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Plutarch's Lives

Plutarch, Bernadotte Perrin
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T. E. PAGE, LITT.D., AND W. H. D. ROUSE, LITT.D.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

I
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

BERNADOTTE PERRIN

IN TEN VOLUMES

I

THESEUS AND ROMULUS
LYCURGUS AND NUMA
SOLON AND PUBLICOLA

LONDON: WILLIAM HEINEMANN
NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN CO.
MCMXIV
PREFATORY NOTE

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

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

B. PERRIN.

New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A.

February, 1914.
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INTRODUCTION

Plutarch's Life and Writings

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

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

The Morals were composed, for the greater part, before the Lives, and are an invaluable prelude to and commentary on them, especially if we would
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know just what manner of man the author of the Lives was. They tell us, as the Lives do not, "of the points of view, moral and religious, from which he contemplated not this man's life or the other's, but the whole life of men. Nor is it too much to affirm that of the two halves of Plutarch's writings, of his Lives and his Morals, each constitutes a complement of the other; the one setting forth to us, and, so far as this was possible, from ideal points of view, what the ancient world had accomplished in the world of action, and the other what, in like manner, it had aimed at and accomplished in the world of thought" (Trench, Plutarch, p. 90). But even in the Lives, Plutarch is far more moralist than historian.

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

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

MANUSCRIPTS, EDITIONS, TRANSLATIONS, ETC.

A full account of the MSS. of Plutarch must be sought in the critical editions of the Lives by Sintenis and Bekker. It will be sufficient to speak here of six. The oldest and, with one exception, the most authoritative MS., is the Codex Sangermanensis (S*),
INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Critical and annotated editions of all the works of Plutarch by Reiske (Leipzig, 1774–82, 12 voll. 8vo), and of the Parallel Lives by Coraës (Paris, 1809–14, 6 voll. 8vo), were followed by the great critical edition of the Parallel Lives by Sintenis (Leipzig, 1839–46, 4 voll. 8vo), which still remains the standard edition (Sintenis1). A minor edition of this work appeared in the Bibliotheca Teubneriana (Leipzig, 1852–55, 5 voll. 12mo, re-issued without much change in 1873–75). It shows more boldness in the correction of obvious error, and greater freedom in the admission of conjecture, than the major edition, but is the most generally accepted text of the Lives (Sintenis2). The Tauchnitz text, edited by Immanuel Bekker (Leipzig, 1855–57, 5 voll. 8vo), does not differ very much from the first minor edition of Sintenis, but has a convenient division of the chapters into sections, which has been adopted in the present text.

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

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

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

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

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

The best monograph on Plutarch in English is
ORDER OF THE PARALLEL LIVES IN THIS EDITION IN THE CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF THE GREEK LIVES.

**Volume I.**
2. Lycurgus and Numa. Comparison.

**Volume II.**
4. Themistocles and Camillus.

**Volume III.**

**Volume IV.**
12. Lysander and Sulla. Comparison.

**Volume V.**

**Volume VI.**
22. Dion and Brutus. Comparison.

**Volume VII.**
17. Alexander and Julius Caesar.

**Volume VIII.**
18. Phocion and Cato the Younger.

**Volume IX.**
11. Pyrrhus and Caius Marius.

**Volume X.**
23. Aratus.
25. Galba.
THE TRADITIONAL ORDER OF THE PARALLEL LIVES.

(1) Theseus and Romulus.
(2) Lycurgus and Numa.
(3) Solon and Publicola.
(4) Themistocles and Camillus.
(5) Pericles and Fabius Maximus.
(6) Alcibiades and Coriolanus.
(7) Timoleon and Aemilius Paulus.
(8) Pelopidas and Marcellus.
(9) Aristides and Cato the Elder.
(10) Philopoemen and Flamininus.
(11) Pyrrhus and Caius Marius.
(12) Lysander and Sulla.
(13) Cimon and Lucullus.
(14) Nicias and Crassus.
(15) Sertorius and Eumenes.
(16) Agesilaus and Pompey.
(17) Alexander and Julius Caesar.
(18) Phocion and Cato the Younger.
(19) Agis and Cleomenes, and Tiberius and Caius Gracchus.
(20) Demosthenes and Cicero.
(21) Demetrius and Antony.
(22) Dion and Brutus.
(23) Aratus.
(24) Artaxerxes.
(25) Galba.
(26) Otho.
PLUTARCH'S PARALLEL LIVES

THESEUS
ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ ΒΙΟΙ ΠΑΡΑΛΛΗΛΟΙ

ΘΗΣΕΥΣ

I. "Ωσπερ ἐν ταῖς γεωγραφίαις, ὁ Σόσσεος Σενεκίων, οἱ ἱστορικοὶ τὰ διαφεύγοντα τὴν γραφὴν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις μέρεσι τῶν πινάκων πειξοῦντες, αἰτίας ἑπεκείνα θίνες ἀνυδροί καὶ θηριώδεις" ἢ "πηλὸς αἰδηνής" ἢ "Σκυθικὸν κρύος" ἢ "πέλαγος πετήγος," οὕτως ἐμοὶ περὶ τὴν τῶν βίων τῶν παραληλῶν γραφῆν, τὸν ἑφικτὸν εἰκότι λόγῳ καὶ βάσιμον ἱστορία πραγμάτων ἐχομένη χρόνον διελθόντι, περὶ τῶν ἀνωτέρω καλῶς εἶχεν εἰπεῖν. "Τὰ δ᾽ ἐπέκεινα τερατώδη καὶ τραγικὰ ποιηταὶ καὶ μυθογράφοι νέμονται, καὶ οὐκέτ᾽ ἑχει πίστιν οὔδε σαφήνειαν." ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν περὶ Ὀυκούργου τοῦ νομοθέτου καὶ Νωμᾶ τοῦ βασιλέως λόγον ἐκδόντες, ἐδοκοῦμεν οὐκ ἂν ἀλόγως τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ προσαναβήναι, πλησίον τῶν χρόνων αὐτοῦ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ γεγονότες, σκοτοῦντι δὲ μοι

1 αἰτίας Amyot, Stephanus, Coraës, Sintenis² with C; Bekker and Sintenis¹ have ἐνιά (explaining some by saying).

²
PLUTARCH'S PARALLEL LIVES

THESEUS

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

¹ One of the many friends whom Plutarch made during his residence at Rome. He was four times consul between the years 98 and 107 B.C. Plutarch addresses him also at the opening of the Demosthenes and the Dion, thus dedicating to him these "books."
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Τοισε δε φωτι (κατ’ Αισχύλου) τις ευμβήσεται; ¹
τιν’ ἀντιτάξεω τάδε; τις φερέγγυς; ²

ἐφαίνετο τὸν τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀοιδίμων οἰκιστήν Ἀθηνῶν ἀντιστήσει καὶ παραβάλειν τῷ πατρὶ τῆς ἀνικήτου καὶ μεγαλοδόξου Ῥώμης, εἰ δὲ μὲν ὁμιλήσαι καὶ λαβέιν ἱστορίας ὅψιν, ὅπου δὲ ἀν αὐθαδῶς τῷ πιθανοῦ περιφρονῇ καὶ μὴ δέχηται τὴν πρὸς τὸ εἰκὸς μίξιν, εὐγνωμόνων ἀκροατῶν δεησόμεθα καὶ πρᾶς τὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν προσδε-χομένων.

Π. Ἐδοκεῖ δ’ οὖν ὁ Θησεύς τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ κατὰ πολλὰς έναρμόττειν ἠμοιότητας. ἀμφοὶ μὲν γὰρ ³ ἀνεγγύω καὶ σκοτίω γενόμενοι δόξαν ἐσχον ἐκ θεῶν γεγονέναι.

’ Ἀμφοὶ δ’ αἱχμητά, τὸ γε δὴ καὶ ἦμεν ἀπαντεῖς, καὶ μετὰ τοῦ δυνατοῦ τὸ συνετὸν ἔχοντες. πόλεων δὲ τῶν ἐπίφανεστάτων ὁ μὲν ἐκτισε τὴν Ῥώμην, ὁ δὲ συνόκισε τὰς Ἀθήνας. ἀρταγή δὲ γυναικῶν ἐκατέρφρο πρόσεστιν. οὐδέτερος δὲ δυστυχῶν περὶ τὰ οίκεια καὶ νέμεσιν ἐγγενῆ διέφυγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τελευτῶντες ἀμφότεροι λέγονται τοῖς ἐαυτῶν προσκρούονται πολίταις, εἰ τι τῶν ἤκιστα τραγι

¹ Seven against Thebes, 435, τοισε δε φωτι πεμπτε - tis ευμβήσεται;
² Ibid. 395 f.

τιν’ ἀντιτάξεωι τάδε; τις Προλτου πυλων κλήθρων λυθέντων προστατειν φερέγγυς;
³ Coraës, Bekker, and Cobet, with C, after Reiske; ἀμφοὶ μὲν.
THESEUS

"With such a warrior" (as Aeschylus says) "who will dare to fight?"
"Whom shall I set against him? Who is competent?"

it seemed to me that I must make the founder of lovely and famous Athens the counterpart and parallel to the father of invincible and glorious Rome. May I therefore succeed in purifying Fable, making her submit to reason and take on the semblance of History. But where she obstinately dains to make herself credible, and refuses to admit any element of probability, I shall pray for kindly readers, and such as receive with indulgence the tales of antiquity.

II. It seemed to me, then, that many resemblances made Theseus a fit parallel to Romulus. For both were of uncertain and obscure parentage, and got the reputation of descent from gods;

"Both were also warriors, as surely the whole world knoweth,"¹

and with their strength, combined sagacity. Of the world's two most illustrious cities, moreover, Rome and Athens, Romulus founded the one, and Theseus made a metropolis of the other, and each resorted to the rape of women. Besides, neither escaped domestic misfortunes and the resentful anger of kindred, but even in their last days both are said to have come into collision with their own fellow-citizens,

¹ Iliad vii. 281, of Aias Telamon and Hector.
κῶς εἰρήσθαι δοκοῦντων ὄφελός ἐστι πρὸς ἀλήθειαν.

III. Ὡςεῶς τὸ μὲν πατρῴων γένος εἰς Ἑρεχθέα καὶ τούς πρώτους αὐτόχθονας ἀνήκει, τῷ δὲ μητρῷ Πελοπίδης ἤν. Πέλοψ γὰρ οὐ χρημάτων πλῆθει μᾶλλον ἢ παίδων μεγιστον ἵσχυσε τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ βασιλέων, πολλὰς μὲν ἐκδόμενος θυγατέρας τοῖς ἀρίστοις, πολλοὺς δὲ ταῖς πόλεσιν νῖον ἐγκαταστείρας ἄρχοντας· ὅν εἰς γενόμενοι Πιτθέως, ὁ Ὡςεώς πάππος, πόλιν μὲν οὐ μεγάλην τὴν Τροιζηνίων ἱκίσε, δόξαν δὲ μάλιστα πάντων ὡς ἀνήρ λόγος ἐν τοῖς τότε καὶ 2 σοφῶτατος ἔσχεν. ἦν δὲ τῆς σοφίας ἐκείνης τοιαύτη τις, ὡς ἐοικεν, ἰδέα καὶ δύναμις, οἰα χρησάμενος Ἡσίοδος εὐδοκίμει μάλιστα περὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς Ἑργοῖς γνωμολογίας. καὶ μίαν γε τούτων ἐκείνην λέγουσι Πιτθέως εἶναι,

Μισθὸς δ’ ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ εἰρημένοις ἄρκιος ἔστω.

τοῦτο μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ φιλόσοφος εἰρήκεν, ὁ δ’ Ἑὐριπίδης, τὸν Ἰππόλυτον ἀγνοῦ Πιτθέως παίδευμα προσειπών, ἐμφαίνει τὴν περὶ τὸν Πιτθέα δόξαν.

3 Αἰγεὶ δὲ παίδων δεομένῳ τὴν Πυθίαν ἀνελεῖν λέγουσι τὸν θρυλούμενον χρησμόν, διακελευμένην μηδεμᾶ ἄνυκι συγγενέσθαι πρὶν ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἀθηνᾶς, οὐ πάνυ δὲ τούτῳ φράζειν εὐθύλως

6
THESEUS

if there is any aid to the truth in what seems to have been told with the least poetic exaggeration.

III. The lineage of Theseus, on the father’s side, goes back to Erechtheus and the first children of the soil; on the mother’s side, to Pelops. For Pelops was the strongest of the kings in Peloponnesus quite as much on account of the number of his children as the amount of his wealth. He gave many daughters in marriage to men of highest rank, and scattered many sons among the cities as their rulers. One of these, named Pittheus, the grandfather of Theseus, founded the little city of Troezen, and had the highest repute as a man versed in the lore of his times and of the greatest wisdom. Now the wisdom of that day had some such form and force as that for which Hesiod was famous, especially in the sententious maxims of his “Works and Days.” One of these maxims is ascribed to Pittheus, namely:—

“Payment pledged to a man who is dear must be ample and certain.” ¹

At any rate, this is what Aristotle the philosopher says,² and Euripides,³ when he has Hippolytus addressed as “nursling of the pure and holy Pittheus,” shows what the world thought of Pittheus.

Now Aegeus, king of Athens, desiring to have children, is said to have received from the Pythian priestess the celebrated oracle in which she bade him to have intercourse with no woman until he came to Athens. But Aegeus thought the words of the command somewhat obscure, and therefore turned

¹ Verse 370. ² Fragment 556. ³ Hippolytus, 11.
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δοκούσαν· ὥθεν εἰς Τροιζήνα παρελθὼν ἀνεκοινούτο Πιτθεῖ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ φωνὴν οὕτως ἐχούσαν·

'Ασκού τὸν προύχουντα πόδα, μέγα φέρτατε λαῶν,
μὴ λύσης πρὶν δήμου Ἀθηνέων εἰσαφικέσθαι.

4 ἃ δήλον ὅτι νοήσας ὁ Πιτθεῖς, ἔπεισεν αὐτὸν ἢ
diηπάτησε τῇ Αἰθρᾷ συγγενέσθαι. συνελθὼν δὲ
καὶ γυνὸς ἐκείνος ὅτι τῇ Πιτθέως θυγατρὶ συγ-
gέγονε, καὶ κύειν αὐτήν ὑπονοήσας, ἀπέλιπεν ἐφος
καὶ πέδιλα κρύψας ὑπὸ πέτραν μεγάλην, ἐντὸς
ἐχουσαν κοιλότητα συμμέτρως ἐμπεριλαμβάνου-

5 σαν τὰ κείμενα. φράσας δὲ πρὸς μόνην ἐκείνην,
καὶ διακελευσάμενος, ἄν νῦς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γένηται,
καὶ λαβὼν ἄνδρος ἡλίκίαν δυνατὸς ἡ τὴν πέτραν
ἀναστήσαι καὶ υφελεῖν τὰ καταλειφθέντα πέμ-
πειν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχοντα ταῦτα μὴδενὸς εἰδότος,
Ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐνεστὶ μάλιστα λαυθάνοντα πάντας
(ἰσχυρῶς γὰρ ἐδεδοίκει τοὺς Παλλαντίδας, ἐπι-
βουλεύοντας αὐτῷ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀπαίνιαν κατα-
φρονούντως· ἢσαν δὲ πεντήκοντα παῖδες ἐκ
Πάλλαντος γεγονότες), ἀπῆλε.

IV. Τεκούσης δὲ τῆς Αἰθρᾶς νῦν, οἱ μὲν εὖθὺς
ὄνομασθήναι Θησέα λέγουσι διὰ τὴν τῶν γνωρι-
σμάτων θέσιν, οἱ δὲ υστερον Ἀθήνης παῖδα
θεμένου τοῦ Αἰγέως αὐτὸν. τρεφόμενον δὲ ὑπὸ
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aside to Troezen and communicated to Pittheus the words of the god, which ran as follows:—

"Loose not the wine-skin's jutting neck, great chief of the people,
Until thou shalt have come once more to the city of Athens." ¹

This dark saying Pittheus apparently understood, and persuaded him, or beguiled him, to have intercourse with his daughter Aethra. Aegeus did so, and then learning that it was the daughter of Pittheus with whom he had consorted, and suspecting that she was with child by him, he left a sword and a pair of sandals hidden under a great rock, which had a hollow in it just large enough to receive these objects. He told the princess alone about this, and bade her, if a son should be born to her from him, and if, when he came to man's estate, he should be able to lift up the rock and take away what had been left under it, to send that son to him with the tokens, in all secrecy, and concealing his journey as much as possible from everybody; for he was mightily in fear of the sons of Pallas,² who were plotting against him, and who despised him on account of his childlessness; and they were fifty in number, these sons of Pallas. Then he went away.

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

¹ Cf. Euripides, Medea, 674, 676 (Kirchhoff).
² His brother.
³ It is impossible to reproduce in English the play on the Greek words.
τοῦ Πιθέως ἐπιστάτην ἔχειν καὶ παιδαγωγὸν ὄνομα Κοννίδαν, ὃ μέχρι νῦν Ἀθηναίοι μᾶς πρότερον ἥμερα τῶν Ῥησείων κριὸν ἐναγίζουσι, μεμημένοι καὶ τιμῶντες πολὺ δικαιότερον ἢ Σιλανίων τιμῶσι καὶ Παρράσιον, εἰκόνων Ῥησείως γραφεῖς καὶ πλάστας γενομένους.

V. Ἕδος δὲ ὁντος ἐτὶ τότε τοὺς μεταβαινοντας ἐκ παίδων ἑλθόντας εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀπάρχεσθαι τῷ θεῷ τῆς κόμης, ἠλθε μὲν εἰς Δελφοὺς ὁ Ῥησεύς, καὶ τόπων ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν Ῥησείαν ἔτι νῦν ὄνομάζεσθαι λέγουσιν, ἐκείρατο δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὰ πρόσθεν μόνον, ὡσπερ Ὄμηρος ἐφ' τοὺς Ἀβαντας καὶ τοῦτο τῆς κουρᾶς τὸ γένος Ῥησείς ἀσυμάςθη δι' ἐκεῖνον.

2 Οἱ δὲ Ἀβαντες ἐκείραντο πρῶτοι τὸν τρόπον τούτων οὐχ ὑπ' Ἀράβων διδαχθέντες, ὡς ἐνοι νομίζουσιν, οὐδὲ Μυσοὺς ξηλώσαντες, ἀλλ' ὁντες πολέμων καὶ ἀγχέμακοι, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ πάντων εἰς χείρας ὥθεισθαί τοῖς ἐναντίοις μεμαθηκότες, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος ἐν τούτως.

3 Οὐ τοι πόλλ' ἐπὶ τόξα τανύσσεται οὐδὲ 3 θαμειας
σφενδόναι, εὖτε ἀν δὴ μῶλον Ἄρης συνάγη ἐν πεδίῳ, ξιφέων δὲ πολύστονον ἐσσεται ἔργον
tαύτης γὰρ κεῖνοι δαίμονες εἰς βίος
dεσπόται Εὐβοίας δουρικλυτοί.
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by Pittheus, as they say, and had an overseer and tutor named Conridas. To this man, even down to the present time, the Athenians sacrifice a ram on the day before the festival of Theseus, remembering him and honouring him with far greater justice than they honour Silanio and Parrhasius, who merely painted and maulded likenesses of Theseus.

V. Since it was still a custom at that time for youth who were coming of age to go to Delphi and sacrifice some of their hair to the god, Theseus went to Delphi for this purpose, and they say there is a place there which still to this day is called the Thesea from him. But he sheared only the fore part of his head, just as Homer¹ said the Ábantes did, and this kind of tonsure was called Theseís after him.

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

"Not many bows indeed will be stretched tight, nor frequent slings

Be whirled, when Ares joins men in the toil of war

Upon the plain, but swords will do their mournful work;

For this is the warfare wherein those men are expert

Who lord it over Euboea and are famous with the spear."²

¹ Iliad, ii. 542. ² Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Gr.⁴, ii. p. 383.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΒΙΟΓΡΑΦΙΑΙ

4 ὡς οὖν οἱ πολέμοι ἀντιληψιν ἑκ τῶν τριχῶν ἀντιληψιν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπεκείραντο. τοῦτο δὲ ἀμέλει καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Μακεδόνα ἐννοησαντά φασὶ προστάξαι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ξυρείν τὰ γένεα τῶν Μακεδόνων, ὡς λαβὴν ταῦταν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις οὐσαν προχειροτάτην.

VI. Τὸν μὲν οὖν ἄλλον χρόνον ἔκρυπτεν Αἰθρα τὴν ἀληθινὴν τοῦ Θησείου γένεσιν ἦν δὲ λόγος ὑπὸ τοῦ Πιτθέως διαδοθεὶς ὡς ἐκ Ποσειδώνος τεκνωθεὶς. Ποσειδώνα γὰρ Τροιζηνοὺς σέβονται διαφερόντως, καὶ θεός οὗτος ἔστιν αὐτῶς πολιοχος, ὁ καὶ καρπῶν ἀπάρχονται καὶ τρίαιναι

2 ἐπίσημον ἔχουσι τοῦ νομίσματος. ἔπει δὲ μειράκιον ὡς, ἀμα τὴν τοῦ σώματος ρώμη διέφαινεν ἄλκην καὶ φρόνημα μετὰ νοῦ καὶ συνέσεως βέβαιον, οὕτως αὐτὸν ἦ Αἰθρα πρὸς τὴν πέτραν προσαγαγούσα, καὶ φράσασα περὶ τῆς γενέσεως τάληθες, ἐκέλευσεν ὑφελείν τὰ πατρῴα σύμβολα

3 καὶ πλεῖν εἰς Ἀθηναίαν. ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν πέτραν ὑπέδυ καὶ ράδιος ἀνέστη, πλεῖν δὲ ἀπέγνω, καιπερ ὑσθη ἀσφαλείας καὶ δεομένων τοῦ τε πάππου καὶ τῆς μητρός. χαλεπῶς γὰρ ἦν πεζῇ πορεύεσθαι τὴν εἰς Ἀθηναίαν οὖν, οὐδὲν μέρος καθαρὸν οὗτο ἀκίνδυνον ὑπὸ ληστῶν καὶ κακούργων ἔχουσαν.

4 Ὁ γὰρ χρόνος ἐκεῖνος ἦνεγερεν ἀνθρώπους χειρῶν μὲν ἐργαζόμενοι καὶ ποδῶν τάχεσθαι καὶ σωμάτων ρωμαῖοι, ὡς ἐοίκεν, ὑπερφυεῖς καὶ ἀκαμάτους, πρὸς οὔτε ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεις χρωμένους ἐπιεικὲς οὔτε ὕφελμον, ἀλλ᾽ ἥβερεν τε χαιροντας ὑπερηφάνους, καὶ ἀπολαύοντας τῆς δυνάμεως ὁμότητα καὶ τικρία, καὶ τῷ κρατεῖν τε καὶ βιαζοσθαι καὶ
Therefore, in order that they might not give their enemies a hold by their hair, they cut it off. And Alexander of Macedon doubtless understood this when, as they say, he ordered his generals to have the beards of their Macedonians shaved, since these afforded the readiest hold in battle.

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

For verily that age produced men who, in work of hand and speed of foot and vigour of body, were extraordinary and indefatigable, but they applied their powers to nothing that was fitting or useful. Nay rather, they exulted in monstrous insolence, and reaped from their strength a harvest of cruelty and bitterness, mastering and forcing and destroying everything that came in their path. And as for
διαφθείρειν τὸ παραπέπτον, αἰδὼ δὲ καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ τὸ ἱσον καὶ τὸ φιλάνθρωπον, ὡς ἀτολμὰ τοῦ ἀδικεῖν καὶ φόβῳ τοῦ ἀδικεῖσθαι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας, οὐδὲν οἰομένους προσ-κύκλους εἶχεν δυναμένους. τούτων Ἡρακλῆς τοὺς μὲν ἐξέκοπτε καὶ ἀνήρει περιῶν, οἱ δὲ λαθάνουσε ἐκεῖνον παριόντος ἐπτησον καὶ ἀνεδύνονται καὶ παρημελοῦντο ταπεινὰ πράττοντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ἐχρήσατο συμφορὰ, καὶ κτείνας Ἡφιστός εἰς Λυδίαν ἀπῆρε καὶ συχνῶν ἐκεῖ χρόνων ἔδουλευε παρ' Ὀμφάλης, δίκην τοῦ φόνου ταύτην ἐπιθεῖς αὐτῷ, τότε τὰ μὲν Λυδῶν πράγματα πολλήν ἐςχεν εἰρήνην καὶ ἄδειαν ἐν δὲ τοῖς περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τόποις αὐθέν ἐξήρθησαν καὶ κακίαι καὶ ἀνερράγησαν, οὐδενὸς πιεζοῦντος οὐδὲ καταργοῦντος.

6 Ἡν οὖν ὀλέθριος ἢ περεία τοῖς Ἀθηναῖς πεζῷ βαδίζουσιν εἰς Πελοποννήσου καὶ τῶν κακούργων ἔκαστον ἐξηγούμενος Πιτθεύς ὁποῖος εἶναι ὁποῖα δρώθη περὶ τοὺς ξένους, ἐπειδὴ τῶν Ῥήσεων κομίζεσθαι διὰ ταλάντης. τῶν δὲ πάλαι μὲν, ὡς ἐοικε, λεληθότως διέκαιεν ἡ δόξα τῆς Ἡρακλέους ἀρετῆς, καὶ πλεῖστον ἐκείνου λόγον εἴχε, καὶ προθυμότατος ἀκροατής ἐγίνετο τῶν διηγομενῶν ἐκείνου ὅς εἶναι, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν ἑωρακότων καὶ πράττοντι καὶ λέγοντι

7 προστετυχηκότων· τότε δὲ παντάπασιν ἦν φανερὸς πεπονθὼς ὅπερ ὅστερον χρόνοις πολλοῖς Ὁμειστοκλῆς ἔπαθε, καὶ εἶπεν ὡς καθεύδειν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔφη τῷ Μίλτιάδῳ τρόπαιον· οὕτως ἐκεῖνο τοῦ Ἡρακλέους θαυμάζοντι τὴν ἀρετὴν, καὶ
reverence and righteousness, justice and humanity, they thought that most men praised these qualities for lack of courage to do wrong and for fear of being wronged, and considered them no concern of men who were strong enough to get the upper hand. Some of these creatures Heracles cut off and destroyed as he went about, but some escaped his notice as he passed by, crouching down and shrinking back, and were overlooked in their abjectness. And when Heracles met with calamity and, after the slaying of Iphitus, removed into Lydia and for a long time did slave’s service there in the house of Omphale, then Lydia indeed obtained great peace and security; but in the regions of Hellas the old villainies burst forth and broke out anew, there being none to rebuke and none to restrain them.

The journey was therefore a perilous one for travellers by land from Peloponnesus to Athens, and Pittheus, by describing each of the miscreants at length, what sort of a monster he was, and what deeds he wrought upon strangers, tried to persuade Theseus to make his journey by sea. But he, as it would seem, had long since been secretly fired by the glorious valour of Heracles, and made the greatest account of that hero, and was a most eager listener to those who told what manner of man he was, and above all to those who had seen him and been present at some deed or speech of his. And it is altogether plain that he then experienced what Themistocles many generations afterwards experienced, when he said that he could not sleep for the trophy of Miltiades.\footnote{Cf. Themistocles, iii. 3.}

In like manner Theseus admired the valour of Heracles, until by night his dreams were of the hero’s
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υόκτωρ ὀνειρὸς ἦσαν αἱ πράξεις, καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν ἐξήγησαν αὐτὸν ὁ ξῆλος καὶ ἀνηρέθιζε ταῦτα πράττειν διανοούμενον.

VII. Ἐτυγχανον δὲ καὶ γένους κοινωνοῦτες ἐξ ἀνεψιῶν ὄντες. Αἰθρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν Πιτθέως θυγάτηρ, Ἀλκμήνη δὲ Λυσιδίκη, Λυσιδίκη δὲ καὶ Πιτθέως ἀδελφοὶ γεγονότες εξ Ἰπποδαμείας καὶ Πέλοπος. δεινὸν οὖν ἐποιεῖτο καὶ σὺν ἀνεκτὸν ἑκείνον μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς πανταχοῦ ποιημένους βαδίζοντα καθαρέως γῆν καὶ θαλατταν, αὐτὸν δὲ τοὺς 2 ἐμποδῶν ἄθλους ἀποδιδράσκειν, τὸν μὲν λόγῳ καὶ δόξῃ πατέρα κατασκόνων διὰ θαλάττης φυγὴς κομιζόμενος, τῷ δὲ ὡςιν προσφέρον γνωρίσματα πέδιλα καὶ ξίφος ἀναιμακτον, οὐκ ἐργησεν εὐθύς ἀγαθούς καὶ πράξει παρέχων ἐμφανῇ χαρακτῆρα τῆς εὐγενείας. τοιοῦτοι φρονήσαντε καὶ τοιούτοις λογισμὸς ἐξώρισαν, ὡς ἀδικήσουν μὲν οὐδένα, τοὺς δὲ ὑπάρχοντας βίας ἀμυνούμενος.

VIII. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἐπιδαυρίᾳ Περιφήτης, ὅπλῳ χρώμενον κορύφη καὶ διὰ τούτο Κορυνήτην ἐπικαλούμενον, ἀπτόμενον αὐτοῦ καὶ κωλύονται προάγειν συμβαλὼν ἀπέκτεινεν ἡσθήσες δὲ τῇ κορύφῃ λαβὼν ὑπὸν ἐποίησατο καὶ διετέλει χρώμενος, ὡσπερ ὁ Ἰρακλῆς τῷ δέρματι τοῦ λέοντος. ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὖν ἐπίδειξε ηνιοφόρουμεν ἡλίκον τὸ μέγεθος θηρίου κρατήσατεν, οὕτως δὲ τὴν κορύφην ἐπεδείκνυεν ἡττημένην μὲν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, μετ’ αὐτοῦ δὲ ἀγήττητον οὐδένα.

2 'Εν ὁ Ἰσθμῷ Σίννων τὸν πετυκάμπτην ἄποτερο

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achievements, and by day his ardour led him along and spurred him on in his purpose to achieve the like.

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

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

On the Isthmus, too, he slew Sinis the Pine-bender

¹ Cf. chapter vi. 1.
πολλούς ἀνήρει, τούτῳ διέφθειρεν αὐτός, ὦ μεμελετηκός οὐδ' εἰθισμένος, ἐπιδείξας δὲ τὴν ἄρετήν· διότι καὶ τέχνης περίεστι καὶ μελέτης ἀπάσης. ἦν δὲ τῷ Σίνιδι καλλίστῃ καὶ μεγίστῃ θυγάτηρ, ὄνομα Περιγούνη. ταῦτῃ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀνηρμένου φυγοῦσαν ἔζητε περιών ο Θησεύς· ἢ δὲ εἰς τόπον ἀπελθοῦσα λόχην ἔχοντα πολλὴν στοιβήν τε πλείστην καὶ ἀσφάραγον, ἀκάκως πάνω καὶ παιδικῶς ὅσπερ αἰσθανομένων δεομένη προσεύχετο μεθ' ὅρκων, ἄν σώσωσιν αὐτήν καὶ ἀποκρύψωσι, μηδὲποτε λυμανεῖσθαι μηδὲ καύσεων. 3 ἀνακαλομένου δὲ τοῦ Θησείου καὶ πίστιν διδόντος, ὥς ἐπιμελησεται καλῶς αὐτής καὶ οὐδὲν ἀδικήσει, προῆλθε· καὶ τῷ μὲν Θησεὶ συγγενομένη Μελανιπποῦ ἔτεκε, Δηνοῦει δὲ τῷ Εὐρύτου τοῦ Οἰχαλέως ὕστερον συνάφεσθαι, Θησεός δόντος. ἐκ δὲ Μελανιπποῦ τοῦ Θησείου γενόμενος Ἰωξος Ὄρνυτο τῆς εἰς Καρίαν ἀποκιάς μετέσχεν· ὅθεν Ἰωξίδαις καὶ Ἰωξίσι πάτριοι κατέστη μήτε ἀκανθαν ἀσφαράγου μήτε στοιβῆν καλείν, ἀλλὰ σέβεσθαι καὶ τιμᾶν.

IX. Ἡ δὲ Κρομμωνία σὺς, ἦν Φαιάν προσωπόμαξον, οὐ φαίλον ἦν θηρίον, ἀλλὰ μάχιμον καὶ χαλεπῶς κρατηθῆναι ταύτῃ ὅδοι πάρεργον, ὡς μὴ δοκοίν πάντα πρὸς ἀνάγκην πονεῖν, ὑποστὰς ἀνείλε, καὶ ἁμα τῶν μὲν ἀνθρώπων τοῖς πονηροῖς ἀμυνόμενοι ὁμόμενος δεῖν τῶν ἀγαθῶν προσφέρεσθαι, τῶν δὲ θηρίων καὶ προπειχεροῦντα τοῖς γενναίοις μάχεσθαι καὶ διακινδυ-
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in the very manner in which many men had been destroyed by himself, and lie did this without practice or even acquaintance with the monster's device, but showing that valour is superior to all device and practice. Now Sinis had a very beautiful and stately daughter, named Perigune. This daughter took to flight when her father was killed, and Theseus went about in search of her. But she had gone off into a place which abounded greatly in shrubs and rushes and wild asparagus, and with exceeding innocence and childish simplicity was supplicating these plants, as if they understood her, and vowing that if they would hide and save her, she would never trample them down nor burn them. When, however, Theseus called upon her and gave her a pledge that he would treat her honourably and do her no wrong, she came forth, and after consorting with Theseus, bore him Melanippus, and afterwards lived with Deioneus, son of Eurytus the Oechalian, to whom Theseus gave her. From Melanippus the son of Theseus, Ioxus was born, who took part with Ornytus in leading a colony into Caria; whence it is ancestral usage with the Ioxids, men and women, not to burn either the asparagus-thorn or the rush, but to revere and honour them.

IX. Now the Crommyonian sow, which they called Phaea, was no insignificant creature, but fierce and hard to master. This sow he went out of his way to encounter and slay, that he might not be thought to perform all his exploits under compulsion, and at the same time because he thought that while the brave man ought to attack villainous men only in self defence, he should seek occasion to risk his life in battle with the nobler beasts. However, some say
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νεύειν. ἔνιοι δὲ φασι τὴν Φαίδων ληστρίδα γενέσθαι γυναῖκα φοινικήν καὶ ἀκόλαστον, ἀυτόθι κατοικοῦσαν ἐν Κρομμυώνι, σὺν δὲ ἐπονομασθέισαν διὰ τὸ ἥθος καὶ τὸν βλόν εἶτα ὑπὸ Θησέως ἀποθανεῖν.

X. Σκείρωνα δὲ πρὸ τῆς Μεγαρικῆς ἀνείλε βίτας κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν, ὡσ μὲν ὁ πολὺς λόγος ληστεύοντα τοὺς παριόντας, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι λέγουσιν ὕβρει καὶ τρυφῇ προτείνοντα τῷ πόδε τοῖς ξένοις καὶ κελεύοντα νῦπτειν, εἶτα λακτίζοντα καὶ ἄπω-2 

θοῦντα νῦπτοντας εἰς τὴν θάλατταν. οἱ δὲ Μεγαρόθεν συγγραφεῖς, ὡμόσε τῇ φήμῃ βαδίζοντες καὶ τῷ πολλῷ χρόνῳ, κατὰ Σιμωνίδην, πολεμοῦντες, ὡπὲ ὑβριστήν ὡπὲ ληστήν γεγονέναι τὸν Σκείρωνα φασίν, ἀλλὰ ληστῶν μὲν κολαστήν, ἀγαθῶν δὲ καὶ δικαίων οἴκειον ἀνδρῶν καὶ φίλων. Αἰακὸν τε γὰρ Ἐλλήνων ὀσιώτατον νομίζεσθαι, 5 καὶ Κυκρέα τιμᾶς θεῶν ἔχειν Ἀθήνησι τὸν Σαλαμίνιον, τὴν δὲ Πηλέως καὶ Τελαμώνος ἀρε-3 

τὴν ὑπ᾽ οὐδενὸς ἀγνοεῖσθαι. Σκείρωνα τοῖνυν Κυκρέως μὲν γενέσθαι γαμβρόν, Αἰακὸν δὲ πεν- 

θερόν, Πηλέως δὲ καὶ Τελαμώνος πάππον, ἐξ Ἐνδήδος γεγονότων τῆς Σκείρωνος καὶ Χαρι-

κλούς θυγατρός. οὐκοιν εἰδῶς εἰναι τῷ κακίστῳ 

τοὺς ἄριστους εἰς κοινωνίαν γένους ἐλθεῖν, τὰ 

μέγιστα καὶ τιμώτατα λαμβάνοντας καὶ δι-

δόντας. ἀλλὰ Θησέα φασίν οὐχ ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον ἐβάδιζεν εἰς Ἀθῆνας, ἀλλ᾽ ὕστερον Ἐλευσίνα 

tε λαβεῖν Μεγαρέων ἐχόντων, παρακροουσάμενον 

Διοκλέα τῶν ἄρχοντα, καὶ Σκείρωνα ἀποκτεῖναι. 

ταύτα μὲν οὖν ἔχει τοιαύτας ἀντιλογίας.
THESEUS

that Phaea was a female robber, a woman of murderous and unbridled spirit, who dwelt in Crommyon, was called Sow because of her life and manners, and was afterwards slain by Theseus.

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

\(^1\) Fragment 193 (Bergk).
XI. Ἐν δὲ Ἑλευσίνι Κερκύνων τὸν ἔξοδον Ἀρκάδιας καταπαλαίσας ἀνείλε. καὶ μικρὸν προελθὼν Δαμάστην ἐν Ἐρμείῳ 1 τὸν Προκρούστην, ἀναγκάσας αὐτὸν ἀπισώφαν τοῖς κλιντήρισιν ὀστερτοῖς ἔναντι εἰκος ἐκεῖνος. ἔπραττε δὲ ταῦτα μμούμενοι τὸν Ἡρακλέα. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος οἶς ἐπεβουλεύετο τρόποις ἀμνυμένοις τοὺς προεπιχειροῦντας, ἔθυνε τὸν Βούσιριν καὶ κατεπάλαισε τὸν Ἀνταίον καὶ τὸν Κύκνον κατεμονομάχησε καὶ τὸν Τέρμερον συρρήξας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέκτεινεν. ἂφ’ οὖ δὴ καὶ τὸ Τερμέρειον κακῶν ὀνομασθῆναι λέγουσιν παῖς γὰρ, ὅς ἐοικε, τῇ κεφαλῇ τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ὁ Τέρμερος ἀπόλλυεν. οὕτω δὴ καὶ Θησεὺς κολάζων τοὺς πυρηνοὺς ἐπεξήλθε, οἷς μὲν ἐβιάζοντο τοὺς ἄλλους, ὅπ’ ἐκεῖνοι καταβιαζόμενοι, ἐν δὲ τοῖς τρόποις τῆς ἐαυτῶν ἀδικίας ἡ δίκαια πάσχουντας.

XII. Προϊόντες δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ γενομένῳ κατὰ τὸν Κηφίσον, ἄνδρες ἐκ τοῦ Φυταλίδων γένους ἀπαντήσαντες ἑστάσαντο πρῶτοι, καὶ δεσμένου καθαρθῆναι, τοῖς νεομμεμένοις ἀγνίσαντες καὶ μειλίχια θύσαντες εἰστίασαν οὐκοί, μηδένοις πρότερον αὐτῷ φιλανθρώπου καθ’ ὦδον ἐντυχόντος.

Ἡμέρα μὲν οὖν ὄγδον λέγεται Κρονίου μηνός, ὡς νῦν Ἐκατομβαίων καλοῦσι, κατελθεῖν. κατελθὼν δὲ εἰς τὴν πόλιν εὕρε τά τε κοινὰ ταραχῆς μεστά καὶ διχοφορούντης, καὶ τὰ περὶ 2 τὸν Αἰγέα καὶ τὸν οἶκον ἱδία νοσοῦντα. Μήδεια

1 Ἐρμεῖ with Coraës, after Pausanias, i. 38, 5: Ἐρμεῖ, a correction by Palmerius of the MSS. Ἐρμίδην.
XI. In Eleusis, moreover, he out-wrestled Cercyon the Arcadian and killed him; and going on a little farther, at Erineüs, he killed Damastes, surnamed Procrustes, by compelling him to make his own body fit his bed, as he had been wont to do with those of strangers. And he did this in imitation of Heracles. For that hero punished those who offered him violence in the manner in which they had plotted to serve him, and therefore sacrificed Busiris, wrestled Antaeus to death, slew Cycnus in single combat, and killed Termerus by dashing in his skull. It is from him, indeed, as they say, that the name "Termerian mischief" comes, for Termerus, as it would seem, used to kill those who encountered him by dashing his head against theirs. Thus Theseus also went on his way chastising the wicked, who were visited with the same violence from him which they were visiting upon others, and suffered justice after the manner of their own injustice.

XII. As he went forward on his journey and came to the river Cephisus, he was met by men of the race of the Phytalidae, who greeted him first, and when he asked to be purified from bloodshed, cleansing him with the customary rites, made propitiatory sacrifices, and feasted him at their house. This was the first kindness which he met with on his journey.

It was, then, on the eighth day of the month Cronius, now called Hecatombaeon, that he is said to have arrived at Athens. And when he entered the city, he found public affairs full of confusion and dissension, and the private affairs of Aegeus and his household in a distressing condition. For Medea,
γὰρ ἐκ Κορίνθου φυγοῦσα, φαρμάκους ὕποσχομένη
tῆς ἀτεκνίας ἀπαλλάξειν Αἰγέα, συνὴν αὐτῷ.
προαισθομένη δὲ περὶ τοῦ Ἐθσέως αὐτῆς, τοῦ
dὲ Αἰγέως ἀγνοοῦντος, δυντὸς δὲ πρεσβυτέρου καὶ
φοβουμένου πάντα διὰ τὴν στάσιν, ἔπεισεν αὐτὸν
ὡς ξένου ἐστίν τινα φαρμάκους ἀνελεῖν. ἔλθὼν
οὐν ὁ Ἐθσεύς ἑπὶ τὸ ἀριστον οὐκ ἐδοκίμαζε
φράζειν αὐτὸν, ὅστις εἴη, πρότερος, ἐκείνῳ δὲ
βουλόμενος ἀρχὴν ἀνευρέσεως παρασχεὶν, κρεῶν
παρακειμένων σπασάμενος τὴν μάχαιραν, ὡς
3 ταύτη τέμνων, ἐδείκνυν εκείνῳ. ταχὺ δὲ κατα-
μαθῶν ὁ Αἰγεύς, τὴν μὲν κύλικα τοῦ φαρμάκου
κατέβαλε, τὸν δὲ υἱὸν ἀνακρίνας ήσπάζετο, καὶ
συναγαγὼν τοὺς πολίτας ἐγνώριζεν, ἣδεως δεχο-
μένως διὰ τὴν ἀνδραγαθίαν. λέγεται δὲ τῆς
κύλικος πεσοῦσης ἐκχυθῆναι τὸ φάρμακον ὅπου
νῦν ἐν Δελφινῷ τὸ περὶφρακτὸν ἔστιν, ἐνταῦθα
γὰρ ὁ Αἰγεύς ὅκει, καὶ τὸν Ἐρμῆν τὸν πρὸς ἐὼ
τοῦ ἰεροῦ καλοῦσιν ἐπὶ Αἰγέως πύλαις.

XIII. Οἱ δὲ Παλλαντίδαι πρῶτοι μὲν ἠλπίζον
 αὐτὸι τὴν βασιλείαν καθέξειν Αἰγέως ἀτέκνου
 τελευτῆσαις. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἐθσεύς ἀπεδείχθη διά-
 δοχὸς, χαλεπῶς φέροντες εἰ βασιλεύει μὲν Αἰγεύς
 θετὸς γενόμενος Πανδίου καὶ μηδὲν Ἐρεχθείδαις
 προσήκων, βασιλεύσει οἳ ὁ Ἐθσεύς πάλιν ἔπηλυς
2 ὁν καὶ ξένος, εἰς πόλεμον καθίσταντο. καὶ
THESEUS

who had fled thither from Corinth, and promised by her sorceries to relieve Aegeus of his childlessness, was living with him. She learned about Theseus in advance, and since Aegeus was ignorant of him, and was well on in years and afraid of everything because of the faction in the city; she persuaded him to entertain Theseus as a stranger guest, and take him off by poison. Theseus, accordingly, on coming to the banquet, thought best not to tell in advance who he was, but wishing to give his father a clue to the discovery, when the meats were served, he drew his sword, as if minded to carve with this, and brought it to the notice of his father. Aegeus speedily perceived it, dashed down the proffered cup of poison, and after questioning his son, embraced him, and formally recognized him before an assembly of the citizens, who received him gladly because of his manly valour. And it is said that as the cup fell, the poison was spilled where now is the enclo- sure in the Delphinium, for that is where the house of Aegeus stood, and the Hermes to the east of the sanctuary is called the Hermes at Aegeus’s gate.

XIII. Now the sons of Pallas had before this themselves hoped to gain possession of the kingdom when Aegeus died childless. But when Theseus was declared successor to the throne, exasperated that Aegeus should be king although he was only an adopted son of Pandion and in no way related to the family of Erechtheus, and again that Theseus should be prospective king although he was an immigrant and a stranger, they went to war. And dividing

1 The site of this sanctuary of the Delphianian Apollo is conjectured to have been somewhere to the east of the Olympieum.
Διελόντες έαυτοὺς οἱ μὲν ἐμφανῶς Σφηττόθεν ἢχώρουν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ μετὰ τοῦ πατρός, οἱ δὲ Γαργηττοὶ κρύφαντες έαυτοὺς ἐνήδρευον, ὡς διχόθεν ἐπίθησόμενοι τοῖς υπεναντίοις. ἢν δὲ κηρύξα ταῖς αὐτῶν, ἀνὴρ Ἀγνούσιος, ὄνομα Δεώς, οὗτος ἔξηγειλε τῷ Θησεῖ τὰ βεβουλευμένα τοῖς

3 Πάλλαντίδαις. ο̣ δὲ ἔξαφνης ἐπιπέσαν τοῖς ἐνεδρεύουσι πάντας διέσθειρεν. οἱ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Πάλλαντος πυθόμενοι διεσπάρθησαν. ἐκ τούτου φασὶ τῷ Παλληρέων δήμῳ πρὸς τὸν Ἀγνούσιον ἐπιγαμίαν μὴ εἶναι, μηδὲ κηρύττεσθαι τοῦ-πιχώριον παρ’ αὐτοῖς "Ἀκοῦετε λεῖθ’" μισοῦσι γὰρ τούνομα διὰ τὴν προδοσίαν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς.

XIV. Ὅ δὲ Θησεὺς ἐνεργὸς εἶναι βουλόμενος, ἀμα δὲ καὶ δημαγωγῶν, ἐξῆλθαν ἐπὶ τὸν Μαρα-θώνιον ταύρον, οὐκ ἀλάμα πράγματα τοῖς οἰκούσι τὴν Τετράπολιν παρέχωσαν καὶ χειρωσάμενοι ἐπεδείκατο ζώντα διὰ τοῦ ἀστεὸς ἐλάσσας, εἶτα τῷ

2 Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Δελφινίῳ κατέβουσεν. ἡ δὲ Ἕκαλή καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτὴν μυθολόγημα τοῦ ἄμα ζευσμοῦ καὶ τῆς ὑποδοχῆς ἔοικε μὴ πάσης ἀμορφῶς ἀληθείας. ἔθεν γὰρ Ἕκαλήσσια 1 οἱ περὶς δημοὶ συνιόντες Ἕκαλὴ Διί, καὶ τὴν Ἕκαλήν ἐτίμων, Ἕκαλίνην ὑποκοριζόμενοι διὰ τὸ κάκειν ἑνὸς ὄντα κομιδῇ τὸν Θησέα ἐξεύζοσαν ἀσπάσασθαι πρεσβυτικῶς καὶ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι

1 Ἕκαλήσσια the correction of Coraës: Ἕκαλήσιων,
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themselves into two bands, one of these marched openly against the city from Sphettus with their father; the other hid themselves at Gargettus and lay in ambush there, intending to attack their enemies from two sides. But there was a herald with them, a man of Agnus, by name Leos. This man reported to Theseus the designs of the Pallantidae. Theseus then fell suddenly upon the party lying in ambush, and slew them all. Thereupon the party with Pallas dispersed. This is the reason, they say, why the township of Pallene has no intermarriage with the township of Agnus, and why it will not even allow heralds to make their customary proclamation there of “Akouete leoi” (Hear, ye people!). For they hate the word on account of the treachery of the man Leos.

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

1 An early name for a district of Attica comprising Marathon and three other adjacent townships.
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3 τοιούτως ἦποκορισμοῖς. ἔπει δὲ εὔξατο μὲν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τῷ Διῷ, βαδίζοντος ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην, εἰ σῶς παραγένοιτο, θύσεων, ἀπέθανε δὲ πρὶν ἐκεῖνον ἐπανελθεῖν, ἐσχε τὰς εἰρημένας ἀμοιβὰς τῆς φιλοξενίας τοῦ Ἡσσέως κελεύσαντος, ὡς Φιλόχορος ἱστόρηκεν.

XV. Ὁλόγω δὲ ὑστερον ἦκον ἐκ Κρήτης τὸ τρίτον οἱ τῶν δασμῶν ἀπάξουσες. ὅτι μὲν οὖν Ἄνδρόγεω περὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀποθανεῖν δόλῳ δόξαντο, ὃ τε Μίνως πολλὰ κακὰ-πολεμῶν εἰργάζετο τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὸ δαμόνιον ἐφθειρε τὴν χώραν (ἀφορία τε γὰρ καὶ νόσος ἐνέσκηψε πολλὴ καὶ ἀνέδυσαν οἱ ποταμοί), καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ προστάξαντος ἰλασαμένοις τὸν Μίνω καὶ διαλαγείσι λωφήσειν τὸ μήμιμα καὶ τῶν κακῶν ἔσεσθαι παῖλαν, ἐπικήρυκεςάμενοι καὶ δεηθέντες ἐποιήσαντο συνθήκας ὡστε πέμπειν δι’ ἐννέα ἐτῶν δασμὸν ἥθεους ἐπτὰ καὶ παρθένους τοσαύτας, ὁμολογούσιν οἱ πλείστοι τῶν συγγρα-2 φέων. τοὺς δὲ παίδας εἰς Κρήτην κομιζομένους ὁ μὲν τραγικώτατος μῦθος ἀποφαίνει τὸν Μινώ-ταυρον ἐν τῷ Λαβυρίνθῳ διαφθείρειν, ἢ πλανω-μένους αὐτούς καὶ τυχεῖν ἔξοδον μη δυναμένους ἐκεῖ καταβνήσκειν, τὸν δὲ Μινώταυρον, ὡστερ Εὐρυπίδης φησί.

Σύμμικτον εἴδος κάποιίων βρέφος γεγονέναι, καὶ

Ταύρου μεμίχθαι καὶ βροτοῦ διπλῆ φύσει.

28
THESEUS

him affectionately by such diminutive names. And since she vowed, when the hero was going to his battle with the bull, that she would sacrifice to Zeus if he came back safe, but died before his return, she obtained the above mentioned honours as a return for her hospitality at the command of Theseus, as Philochorus has written.

XV. Not long afterwards there came from Crete for the third time the collectors of the tribute. Now as to this tribute, most writers agree that because Androgeos was thought to have been treacherously killed within the confines of Attica, not only did Minos harass the inhabitants of that country greatly in war,¹ but Heaven also laid it waste, for barrenness and pestilence smote it sorely, and its rivers dried up; also that when their god assured them in his commands that if they appeased Minos and became reconciled to him, the wrath of Heaven would abate and there would be an end of their miseries, they sent heralds and made their supplication and entered into an agreement to send him every nine years a tribute of seven youths and as many maidens. And the most dramatic version of the story declares that these young men and women, on being brought to Crete, were destroyed by the Minotaur in the Labyrinth, or else wandered about at their own will and, being unable to find an exit, perished there; and that the Minotaur, as Euripides says, was

“A mingled form and hybrid birth of monstrous shape,”

and that

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

XVI. Φιλόχορος δὲ φησίν οὐ ταῦτα συγχωρεῖν Κρήτας, ἀλλὰ λέγειν ὅτι φρουρᾶ μὲν ἢν ὁ Δαβύρων, οὐδὲν ἔχων κακῶν ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ μὴ διαφυγεῖν τοὺς φυλαττομένους, ἀγώνα δὲ ὁ Μίνως ἐπὶ Ἀνδρόγειος γυμνικὸν ἔποιεί καὶ τοὺς παίδας ἀθλα τὸισ νικῶσιν ἐδίδου τέως ἐν τῷ Δαβύρῳ ὕψος φυλαττομένους· ἐνίκα δὲ τοὺς προτέρους ἀγώνας ὁ μέγιστον παρὰ αὐτῷ δυνάμενος τότε καὶ στρατηγῶν, ὅνομα Ταῦρος, ἀνήρ οὗκ ἐπιεικῆς καὶ ἕμερος τὸν τρόπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς παισὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπερήφανως καὶ χαλεπῶς προσ-2 φερόμενοι. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ Βοττιαίων πολιτείᾳ δὴλος ἐστὶν οὗ νομίζων ἀνατρείσθαι τοὺς παίδας ὑπὸ τοῦ Μίνω, ἀλλὰ θετεύοντας ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ καταγγέλλοντας καὶ ποτὲ Κρήτας εὐχὴν παλαιὰν ἀποδιδόντας ἀνθρώπων ἀπαρχὴν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀποστέλλειν, τοῖς δὲ πεπομένοις ἀναμιχθέντας ἐκγόνους ἐκείνων συνεξελθεῖν· ὄς δὲ οὐκ ἦσαν ἰκανοὶ τρέφειν ἐαυτῶς αὐτοῖς, πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Ἰταλίαν διαπερᾶσαι ἑκατοκεί περὶ τὴν Ἰταλικὴν, ἐκείθεν δὲ ἀνθίσεις ἐκ Θράκης κομισθῆναι καὶ κληθῆναι Βοττιαίους· διὸ τὰς κόρας τῶν Βοττιαίων θυσίαν τινὰ τελοῦσας ἔπαθεν· "Ἰωμεν εἰς Ἀθήνας· Ἔσοικε γὰρ ὅπως χαλεπῶς εἶναι φωνῆν ἐχούση 3 πόλει καὶ μοῦσαν ἀπεχθάνεσθαι καὶ γὰρ ὁ Μίνως ἀεὶ διετέλει κακῶς ἀκούσων καὶ λοιδοροῦ-μενος εἰς τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς θεάτροις, καὶ οὔτε Ἡσίοδος
THESEUS

XVI. Philochorus, however, says that the Cretans do not admit this, but declare that the Labyrinth was a dungeon, with no other inconvenience than that its prisoners could not escape; and that Minos instituted funeral games in honour of Androgeos, and as prizes for the victors, gave these Athenian youth, who were in the meantime imprisoned in the Labyrinth; and that the victor in the first games was the man who had the greatest power at that time under Minos, and was his general, Taurus by name, who was not reasonable and gentle in his disposition, but treated the Athenian youth with arrogance and cruelty. And Aristotle himself also, in his "Constitution of Bottiaea," ¹ clearly does not think that these youths were put to death by Minos, but that they spent the rest of their lives as slaves in Crete. And he says that the Cretans once, in fulfilment of an ancient vow, sent an offering of their first-born to Delphi, and that some descendants of those Athenians were among the victims, and went forth with them; and that when they were unable to support themselves there, they first crossed over into Italy and dwelt in that country round about Iapygia, and from there journeyed again into Thrace and were called Bottiaeans; and that this was the reason why the maidens of Bottiae, in performing a certain sacrifice, sing as an accompaniment: "To Athens let us go!"

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

¹ Not extant. ² In some passage not extant.
αὐτὸν ὄνησε “βασιλεύτατον” οὔτε “Ομήρους, “όαριστὴν Διὸς” προσαγορεύσας, ἀλλὰ ἐπικρατήσαντες οἱ τραγικοὶ πολλὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ λογεῖου καὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ἄδοξαν αὐτοῦ κατεσκέδασαν ὡς χαλεποῦ καὶ βιαίου γενομένου. καίτοι φασὶ τὸν μὲν Μίνω βασιλέα καὶ νομοθέτην, δικαστὴν δὲ τὸν Ῥαδάμανθυν εἶναι καὶ φύλακα τῶν ὁρισμένων ὑπ’ ἐκείνου δικαίων.

ΧVII. Ἐπεὶ δ’ οὖν καθήκεν ὁ χρόνος τοῦ τρίτου δασμοῦ, καὶ παρέχειν ἔδει τοὺς πατέρας ἐπὶ τὸν κλήρον οἷς ἦσαν ἥθελοι παῖδες, αὐθεὶς ἀνεφύνοντο τῷ Αἰγεί διαβολαὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας, ὅπως ἐξανακτοῦντας ὅτι πάντων αἰτίου ὡν ἐκείνων, οὐδὲν μέρος ἔχει τῆς κολάσεως μόνος, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ νόθῳ καὶ ξένῳ παιδὶ τὴν ἄρχην πεποιημένος αὐτοῦ περιορᾷ γνησίως ἔρημους καὶ 2 ἀπαιδᾶς ἀπολειπομένους. ταῦτ’ ἦν τὸν Θησέα, καὶ δικαίων μὴ ἀμελεῖν, ἀλλὰ κοινωνεῖν τῆς τύχης τοῖς πολίταις, ἐπέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν άνευ κλήρου προσελθὼν. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις τὸ τε φρόνημα θαμμαστὸν ἔφανε καὶ τὸ δημοτικόν ἡγατησαν, ὁ δὲ Αἰγεύς, ἐπεὶ δεόμενος καὶ καθικετεύων ἁμετάπειστον ἑώρα καὶ ἁμετάτρεπτον, ἀπεκλήρωσε τοὺς ἄλλους παιδᾶς.

3 Ἐλλάνικος δὲ φησιν οὗ τοὺς λαχῶντας ἀπὸ κλήρου καὶ τὰς λαχύσας ἐκτέμπειν τὴν πόλιν, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Μίνω παραγινόμενον ἐκλέγεσθαι καὶ τὸν Θησέα πάντων ἐλέσθαι πρῶτον ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁρισθεῖσιν ὁρισμένον δ’ εἶναι τὴν μὲν νὰ ἂν Ἀθηναίων παρέχειν, ἐμβάντας δὲ πλεῖστον σὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς ἥθελοις μηδὲν ὁπλον ἄρηιον ἐπιφερό-
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royal," or that Homer\(^1\) styled him "a confidant of Zeus," but the tragic poets prevailed, and from platform and stage showered obloquy down upon him, as a man of cruelty and violence. And yet they say that Minos was a king and lawgiver, and that Rhadamanthus was a judge under him, and a guardian of the principles of justice defined by him.

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

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

\(^1\) Odyssey, xix. 179.
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μένουσ, ἀπολομένου δὲ τοῦ Μινώταυρον πέρας ἔχειν τὴν ποινήν.

4 Πρῶτερον μὲν οὖν οὐδεμία σωτηρίας ἐλπίς ὑπέκειτο: διὸ καὶ μέλαν ἵστον ἔχουσαν, ὡς ἐπὶ συμφορὰ προδήλῳ, τὴν ναῦν ἔπεμπον· τότε δὲ τοῦ Θησέως τὸν πατέρα θαρρύνοντος καὶ μεγαληγορούντος ὡς χειρώσεται τὸν Μινώταυρον, ἔδωκεν ἔτερον ἵστον λευκῶν τῷ κυβερνήτῃ, κελεύσας ὑποστρέφοντα σωζομένου τοῦ Θησέως ἐπάρασθαι τὸ λευκόν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τῷ μέλαν πλεῖν καὶ ἀποσημαίνειν τὸ πάθος.

5 Ὅ δὲ Σιμωνίδης οὐ λευκῶν φθινὼν εἴναι τὸ δοθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Αἰγέως, ἀλλὰ "φοινίκεος ἵστον ὑγρῷ πεφυμένου πρίνῳ ἀνθεὶ ἐριθάλλου" καὶ τούτο τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι σημεῖον. ἐκυβέρνα δὲ τὴν ναῦν Ἄμαρσνάδας Φέρεκλος,

6 ὡς φθινὶ Σιμωνίδης. Φιλόχορος δὲ παρὰ Σκίρου φθινῷ ἐκ Σαλαμίνος τὸν Θησέα λαβεῖν κυβερνήτην μὲν Ναυσίθοον, πρωρέα δὲ Φαίακα, μηδέπω τότε τῶν Ἀθηναίων προσεχῶντων τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ γὰρ εἶναι τῶν ἥθελων ἐνα Μενέσθην Σκίρον θυγατρίδον. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τούτως ἡρᾶ Ναυσίθοον καὶ Φαίακος εἰσαμένου Θησέως Φαληροῖ πρὸς τῷ τοῦ Σκίρου ἰερῷ,1 καὶ τὴν ἐορτὴν τὰ Κυβερνησία φασίν ἐκείνοις τελεῖσθαι.

XVIII. Γενομένου δὲ τοῦ κλήρου παραλαβῶν τοὺς λαχώνας ὁ Θησέως ἐκ τοῦ πρυτανείου, καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς Δελφίνων, ἔθηκεν ύπὲρ αὐτῶν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τὴν ἱκτηρίαν. ἦν δὲ κλάδος ἀπὸ

1 ἰερῷ bracketed by Bekker (near that of Scirus).
with him carrying no warlike weapon, and that if the Minotaur was killed the penalty should cease. On the two former occasions, then, no hope of safety was entertained, and therefore they sent the ship with a black sail, convinced that their youth were going to certain destruction; but now Theseus encouraged his father and loudly boasted that he would master the Minotaur, so that he gave the pilot another sail, a white one, ordering him, if he returned with Theseus safe, to hoist the white sail, but otherwise to sail with the black one, and so indicate the affliction.

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

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

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Footnote 1: Fragment 54 (Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graeci, iii.4 p. 413).


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tῆς ἱερᾶς ἐλαιᾶς, ἐρίφω λευκῷ κατεστεμένος. εὐξάμενος δὲ κατέβαινεν ἐκτῇ μηνὸς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἰσταμένου Μουνυχίων, ἦ καὶ νῦν ἔτι τὰς κόρας πέμπουσιν ἱλασομένας εἰς Δελφίνιον.

2 λέγεται δὲ αὐτῷ τὸν μὲν ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀνελείν θεόν 'Αφροδίτην καθηγομόνα ποιεῖσθαι καὶ παρακαλεῖν συνέμπορον, θύντει δὲ πρὸς θαλάσσῃ τὴν αἶγα θήλειαν οὐσαν αὐτομάτως τράγον γενέσθαι· διὸ καὶ καλεῖσθαι τὴν θεόν 'Επιτραγίαν.

XIX. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέπλευσεν εἰς Κρήτην, ὡς μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ γράφοντο καὶ ἄδουσι, παρὰ τῆς Ἀριάδνης ἔρασθείσης τὸ λίνον λαβών, καὶ διδαχθῆς ὡς ἔστι τοῦ λαβυρίνθου τοὺς ἐλιγμοὺς διεξελθεῖν, ἀπέκτεινε τὸν Μινώταυρον καὶ ἀπέπλευσε τὴν Ἀριάδνην ἀναλαβῶν καὶ τοὺς ἥιθεοὺς. Φερεκύδῃς δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐδάφη τῶν Κρητικῶν νεών φησίν ἐκκόψαι τὸν Θησέα, τὴν διώξειν ἄφαιρούμενον. Δήμων δὲ καὶ τὸν Ταύρον ἀναπεθήναι φησὶ τὸν τοῦ Μίνω στρατηγὸν, ἐν τῷ λιμένι διαναμάχοντα τὸν Θησέας ἐκπλέοντος. ὡς δὲ Φιλοχορος ἰστόρηκε, τὸν ἀγώνα τοῦ Μίνω συντελοῦντος, ἐπίδοξος δὲν ἄπαντας τάλιν νικήσειν, ο Ταύρος ἐφθονείτο. καὶ γὰρ ἡ δύναμις αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸν τρόπον ἦν ἐπαχθής, καὶ διαβολήν εἰχεν ὡς τῇ Πασιφάξ πλησιαζον. διὸ καὶ τοῦ Θησέως ἀξιοῦντος ἀγωνίσασθαι συνεχεῖς ὁ Μίνως. ἔθους δὲ ὄντος ἐν Κρήτῃ θεᾶσθαι καὶ τὰς γυναίκας, Ἀριάδνη παροῦσα πρὸς

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was a bough from the sacred olive-tree, wreathed with white wool. Having made his vows and prayers, he went down to the sea on the sixth day of the month Munychion, on which day even now the Athenians still send their maidens to the Delphinium to propitiate the god. And it is reported that the god at Delphi commanded him in an oracle to make Aphrodite his guide, and invite her to attend him on his journey, and that as he sacrificed the usual she-goat to her by the sea-shore, it became a he-goat ("tragos") all at once, for which reason the goddess has the surname Epitragia.

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

1 Cf. chapter xvi. 1.
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τε τὴν ὤψιν ἐξεπλάγη τοῦ Θησέως καὶ τὴν ἀθλησιν ἐθαύμασε πάντων κρατήσαντος. ἦσθεις δὲ καὶ ὁ Μίνως μάλιστα τοῦ Ταύρου καταπαλασθέντος καὶ προπηλακισθέντος, ἀπέδωκε τῷ Θησεί τοὺς παῖδας καὶ ἀνήκε τῇ πόλει τῶν δασμόν.

4 Ἰδίως δὲ πως καὶ περιττῶς ο Κλείδημος ἀπήγειλεν περὶ τοῦ τοῦ, ἀνωθέν ποθὲν ἀρξάμενος, ὦ τι δόγμα κοινὸν ἦν Ἑλλήνων μηδεμίαν ἐκπλείων τριήρῃς μηδαμόθεν ἀνδρῶν πέντε πλείωνας δεχομένην τὸν δὲ ἅρχοντα τῆς Ἀργοῦς 'Ιάσουν μὸνον περιπλείων ἐξείργοντα τῆς θαλάττης τὰ ληστήρια. Δαίδαλον δὲ πλοῖοφ φυγόντος εἰς Ἀθήνας, Μίνως παρὰ τὰ δόγματα μακράς ναυτικῆς διώκων ὑπὸ χειμόνοις εἰς Σικελίαν ἀπηνέχθη κάκει κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον. ἔπει δὲ Δευκάλιων ὁ νῖος αὐτοῦ πολεμικῶς ἔχων πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπεμψεν, ἐκδιόναι Δαίδαλον αὐτῷ κελεύων ἢ τοὺς παῖδας ἀποκτενεῖν ἀπειλῶν οὔς ἔλαβεν ὁμήρους ὁ Μίνως, τοῦτο μὲν ἀπεκρίνατο πρὰ ὁ Θησεύς, παραιτούμενος ἄνεψιν ὡντα Δαίδαλον κάκεινον κατὰ γένος προσήκοντα, μητρὸς οὖν Μερότης τῆς Ἐρεχθέως, αὐτὸς δὲ ναυτηγίαν ἐπεβάλετο, τὴν μὲν ἐν Θυμαιταδῶν αὐτόθι μακρὰν τῆς ἕνεκής ὁδού, τὴν δὲ διὰ Πιθώεως ἐν

5 τροίχην, βουλομένοις λανθάνειν. γενομένων δὲ ἐτούμων ἐξέπλευσε τὸν τε Δαίδαλον ἔχων καὶ φυγάδας ἐκ Κρήτης καθηγεμόνας οὖν ἔνδειος δὲ

1 περιπλείων Sintenis and Bekker assume a lacuna after this word. A Bodleian MS. (B*) has τριήρει πλήρει ἀνδρῶν ἵκανων (with a trireme fully manned).

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

Cleidemus, however, gives a rather peculiar and ambitious account of these matters, beginning a great way back. There was, he says, a general Hellenic decree that no trireme should sail from any port with a larger crew than five men, and the only exception was Jason, the commander of the Argo, who sailed about scouring the sea of pirates. Now when Daedalus fled from Crete in a merchant-vessel to Athens, Minos, contrary to the decrees, pursued him with his ships of war, and was driven from his course by a tempest to Sicily, where he ended his life.¹ And when Deucalion, his son, who was on hostile terms with the Athenians, sent to them a demand that they deliver up Daedalus to him, and threatened, if they refused, to put to death the youth whom Minos had received from them as hostages, Theseus made him a gentle reply, declining to surrender Daedalus, who was his kinsman and cousin, being the son of Merope, the daughter of Erechtheus. But privately he set himself to building a fleet, part of it at home in the township of Thymoetadae, far from the public road, and part of it under the direction of Pittheus in Troezen, wishing his purpose to remain concealed. When his ships were ready, he set sail, taking Daedalus and exiles from Crete as his guides, and since none

¹ Cf. Herodotus, vii. 170; Diodorus, iv. 79.
προειδότος, ἀλλὰ ναύς φιλίας οἰομένων τῶν Κρητῶν προσφέρεσθαι, τοῦ λιμένος κρατῆσας καὶ ἀποβὰς ἐφθασεν εἰς τὴν Κνωσοῦν παρελθὼν καὶ μάχην ἐν πύλαις τοῦ Δαβυρίθου συνάψας ἀπέκτεινε τὸν Δευκαλίωνα καὶ τοὺς 7 δορυφόρους. ἔν δὲ τοῖς πράγμασι τῆς Ἀριάδνης γενομένης, σπεισάμενος πρὸς αὐτὴν τοὺς τε ἡδέους ἀνέλαβε καὶ φιλίαν ἐποίησε τοῖς Ἀθη-
ναίοις πρὸς τοὺς Κρήτας, ὁμόσαντας μηδέποτε πολέμου κατάρξειν.

ΧΧ. Πολλοὶ δὲ λόγοι καὶ περὶ τούτων ἔτι λέγονται καὶ περὶ τῆς Ἀριάδνης, οὐδὲν ὁμολο-
γούμενον ἔχοντες. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπάγξασθαι φασίν αὐτὴν ἀπολειφθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θησέως, οἱ δὲ εἰς Νάξον ὑπὸ ναυτῶν κομισθείσαν Οἰνάρῳ τῷ ἱερεὶ τοῦ Διονύσου συνοικεῖν, ἀπολειφθῆναι δὲ τοῦ Θησέως ἔρωτος ἐτέρας.

Δεινὸς γὰρ μὲν ἐτειρεν ἔρως Πανοπηίδος Αἰγίλης.

2 τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ἔπος ἐκ τῶν Ἡσιόδου Πεισίστρατον ἐξελεῖν φησιν Ἡρέας ὁ Μεγαρεύς, ὦστερ αὖ πά-
λιν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ὀμήρου νέκυιαν τὸ

Θησέα Πειρίθοον τε θεῶν ἀριδείκετα τέκνα,

χαριτόμενον Ἀθηναίοις· ἐνιοί δὲ καὶ τεκεῖν ἐκ Θησέως Ἀριάδνη Οἰνοπίωνα καὶ Στάφυλου· δὲν καὶ ὁ Χίος Ἰων ἐστὶ περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος λέγων·

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

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

"Dreadful indeed was his passion for Aigle child of Panopeus." ¹

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

"Theseus, Peirithous, illustrious children of Heaven," ²

and all to gratify the Athenians. Moreover, some say that Ariadne actually had sons by Theseus, Oenopion and Staphylus, and among these is Ion of Chios, who says of his own native city:—

"This, once, Theseus's son founded, Oenopion." ³

"Α δ’ ἐστιν εὐφημότατα τῶν μυθολογομένων, πάντες ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν διὰ στόματος ἔχοσιν. ἴδιον δὲ τινα περὶ τούτων λόγον ἐκδέδωκε Παίων 3 ὁ Ἀμαθούσιος. τὸν γὰρ Θησέα φησίν ὅποι χειμῶνος εἰς Κύπρον ἐξενεχθέντα καὶ τὴν Ἀριάδνην ἔγνυν ἐχοντα, φαύλως δὲ διακειμένη ὑπὸ τοῦ σάλου καὶ δυσφοροῦσαν, ἐκβιβάσας μόνην, αὐτὸν δὲ τῷ πλοῖῳ βοηθοῦντα πάλιν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς φέρεσθαι. τὰς οὖν ἐγχωρίους γυναίκας τὴν Ἀριάδνην ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ περιέπειν ἀθυμοῦσαν ἔπὶ τῇ μονώσει, καὶ γράμματα πλαστὰ προσφέρειν, ὡς τοῦ Θησέως γράφοντος αὐτῇ, καὶ περὶ τὴν ὅδινα συμπονεῖν καὶ βοηθεῖν ἀπο-4 θανοῦσαν δὲ θάψαι μὴ τεκοῦσαν. ἐπελθόντα δὲ τὸν Θησέα καὶ περίλυπον γενόμενον τοὺς μὲν ἐγχωρίους ἀπολιπεῖν χρῆματα, συντάξαντα θύειν τῇ Ἀριάδνῃ, δύο δὲ μεκροὺς ἀνδραυτίσκους ἱδρύσασθαι, τὸν μὲν ἀργυροῦ, τὸν δὲ χαλκοῦ. ἐν δὲ τῇ θυσίᾳ τοῦ Γορτυαίου μηνὸς ισταμένου δευτέρα κατακλινόμενον τινα τῶν νεανίσκων φθέγγεσθαι καὶ ποιεῖν ἀπερ ὁδίνουσαι γυναίκες· καλεῖν δὲ τῷ ἅλσος Ἀμαθούσιος, ἐν φ’ τὸν τάφον δεικνύοσθαι, Ἀριάδνης Ἀφροδίτης.

5 Καὶ Νάξων δὲ τινὲς ἵδιως ἱστοροῦσι δύο Μίνωας γενέσθαι καὶ δύο Ἀριάδνας, ὃν τὴν μὲν Διονύσῳ γαμηθῆναι φασιν ἐν Νάξῳ καὶ τοὺς περὶ Στάφυλου τεκεῖν, τὴν δὲ νεωτέραν ἄρπασθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θησέως καὶ ἀπολειφθεῖσαν εἰς Νάξον ἐλθεῖν, καὶ τροφὸν μετ’ αὐτῆς ὄνομα 42
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Now the most auspicious of these legendary tales are in the mouths of all men, as I may say; but a very peculiar account of these matters is published by Paeon the Amathusian. He says that Theseus, driven out of his course by a storm to Cyprus, and having with him Ariadne, who was big with child and in sore sickness and distress from the tossing of the sea, set her on shore alone, but that he himself, while trying to succour the ship, was borne out to sea again. The women of the island, accordingly, took Ariadne into their care, and tried to comfort her in the discouragement caused by her loneliness, brought her forged letters purporting to have been written to her by Theseus, ministered to her aid during the pangs of travail, and gave her burial when she died before her child was born. Paeon says further that Theseus came back, and was greatly afflicted, and left a sum of money with the people of the island, enjoining them to sacrifice to Ariadne, and caused two little statuettes to be set up in her honour, one of silver, and one of bronze. He says also that at the sacrifice in her honour on the second day of the month Gorpiaeus, one of their young men lies down and imitates the cries and gestures of women in travail; and that they call the grove in which they show her tomb, the grove of Ariadne Aphrodite.

Some of the Naxians also have a story of their own, that there were two Minoses and two Ariadnes, one of whom, they say, was married to Dionysus in Naxos and bore him Staphylus and his brother, and the other, of a later time, having been carried off by Theseus and then abandoned by him, came to Naxos, accompanied by a nurse named Coreyne,
Κορκόνην, ὃς δείκνυσθαι τάφον. ἀποθανεῖν δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀριάδνην αὐτὸθι καὶ τιμᾶς ἔχειν οὐχ ὀμοίας τῇ προτέρᾳ. τῇ μὲν γὰρ ἡδομένους καὶ παίζοντας ἔορτάζειν, τὰς δὲ ταύτῃ δρωμένας θυσίας εἶναι πένθει τινὶ καὶ στυγνότητι με-μυγμένας.

XXI. Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κρήτης ἀποπλέων εἰς Δήλον κατέσχε· καὶ τῷ θεῷ θύσαις καὶ ἀναθεῖς τὸ ἀφροδίσιον ὥ παρὰ τῆς Ἀριάδνης ἠλαβεν, ἔχο-ρευσε μετὰ τῶν ἱδέων χορείαν ἢν ἔτι νῦν ἐπι-τελεῖν Δηλίους λέγουσι, μίμημα τῶν ἐν τῷ Δαβυρύθῳ περιόδων καὶ διεξόδων, ἐν τινὶ ρυθμῷ παραλλάξεις καὶ ἀνελίξεις ἔχουτοι γιγαμένην.

2 καλεῖται δὲ τὸ γένος τούτο τῆς χορείας ὑπὸ Δηλίων γέραιος, ὡς ἰστορεῖ Δικαιάρχος. ἔχο-ρευσε δὲ περὶ τὸν Κερατώνα βωμόν, ἐκ κεράτων συνημμοσμένων εὐωνύμων ἀπάντων. ποιησάι δὲ καὶ ἀγώνα φασίν αὐτὸν ἐν Δήλῳ, καὶ τοῖς νικῶσι τότε πρῶτον ὑπ' ἐκείνου φοινικὰ δοθῆναι.

XXII. Τῇ δὲ Ἀττικῇ προσφερομένων ἐκλα-θέσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν, ἐκλαθέσθαι δὲ τὸν κυβερνῆτην ὑπὸ χαρᾶς ἐπάρασθαι τὸ ἱστίων ὧ τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτῶν ἔδει γνώριμον τῷ Αἰγεῖ γενέσθαι· τὸν δὲ ἀπογόνῳ ρήψαι κατὰ τῆς πέτρας ἑαυτῶν καὶ διαφθαρῆναι. καταπλεύσας δὲ ὁ Θησεὺς ἔθηκε μὲν αὐτὸς ἀς ἕκπλεών θυσίας εὐξατο τοῖς θεοῖς Φαληροῖ, κήρυκα δὲ ἀπέστειλε τῆς σωτη-2 ρίας ἀγγελον εἰς ἀστυ. οὗτος ἐντυχεὶν ὁδυρομέ-νοις τε πολλοῖς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως τελευτήν καὶ χαίρουσιν, ὡς εἰκός, ἐτέροις καὶ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι.
whose tomb they show; and that this Ariadne also died there, and has honours paid her unlike those of the former, for the festival of the first Ariadne is celebrated with mirth and revels, but the sacrifices performed in honour of the second are attended with sorrow and mourning.

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

XXII. It is said, moreover, that as they drew nigh the coast of Attica, Theseus himself forgot, and his pilot forgot, such was their joy and exultation, to hoist the sail which was to have been the token of their safety to Aegeus, who therefore, in despair, threw himself down from the rock and was dashed in pieces. But Theseus, putting in to shore, sacrificed in person the sacrifices which he had vowed to the gods at Phalerum when he set sail, and then dispatched a herald to the city to announce his safe return. The messenger found many of the people bewailing the death of their king, and others full of joy at his tidings, as was natural, and eager to welcome him.
καὶ στεφανοῦν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ προθύμους ὦσι. τοὺς μὲν οὖν στεφάνους δεχόμενος τὸ
κηρύκειον ἀνέστεφεν, ἐπανελθὼν δὲ ἐπὶ Θά-
λασσαν οὕτω πεποιημένου σπουδᾶς τοῦ Ὀθσέως
ξέω περιέμεινε, μὴ βουλόμενος τὴν θυσίαν ταρά-
ξαι. γενομένων δὲ τῶν σπουδῶν ἀπήγγειλε τὴν
τοῦ Ἀιγέως τελευτὴν. οἱ δὲ σὺν κλαυθμῷ καὶ
θορύβῳ σπεύδοντες ἀνέβαινον εἰς τὴν πόλιν.
ὅτεν καὶ νῦν ἐν τοῖς ὁσχοφορίοισι στεφανοῦσθαι
μὲν οὐ τὸν κηρύκα λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ κηρύκειον,
ἐπιφωνεῖν δὲ ἐν ταῖς σπουδαῖς, Ἐλεέλει, Ἰοὺ,
Ἰοῦ, τοὺς παρόντας· ὅν τὸ μὲν σπεύδοντες ἀνα-
φωνεῖν καὶ παϊωνίζοντες εἰώθασι, τὸ δὲ ἐκπλήρω-
ξεώς καὶ ταραχῆς ἑστι.
4 Ἡπᾶς δὲ τὸν πατέρα, τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τὴν
εὐχὴν ἀπεδίδου τῇ ἐβδόμῃ τοῦ Πνευμούνος
μηνὸς ἱσταμένου ταῦτῃ γὰρ ἀνέβησαν εἰς ἀστυ
σωθέντες. ὡς μὲν οὖν ἔψησι τῶν ὀσπρίων λέγε-
ται γίνεσθαι διὰ τὸ σωθέντας αὐτοὺς εἰς ταύτῳ
συμμέχει τὰ περιόντα τῶν σιτίων καὶ μᾶν
χύτραν κοινῆν ἔψησαντας συνεστίαθησαί καὶ
5 συγκαταφαγεῖν ἀλλῆλοις. τὴν δὲ εἰρεσίων ἐκφέρουσι κλάδον ἑλάιας ἔριψι μὲν ἀνεστερμένου,
ὡσπερ τὸ τῆς ἱκετηρίαν, παντοδαπῶν δὲ ἀνά-
πλεων καταργμάτων διὰ τὸ λήξαι τὴν ἀφορίαν,
ἐπιάδοντες.
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and crown him with garlands for his good news. The garlands, then, he accepted, and twined them about his herald's staff, and on returning to the seashore, finding that Theseus had not yet made his libations to the gods, remained outside the sacred precincts, not wishing to disturb the sacrifice. But when the libations were made, he announced the death of Aegeus. Thereupon, with tumultuous lamentation, they went up in haste to the city. Whence it is, they say, that to this day, at the festival of the Oschophoria, it is not the herald that is crowned, but his herald's staff, and those who are present at the libations cry out: "Eleleu! Iou! Iou!" the first of which cries is the exclamation of eager haste and triumph, the second of consternation and confusion.

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

1 A vintage festival, during which branches of the vine with grapes upon them (σέρχοι) were borne in procession from Athens to Phalerum. See chapter xxiii. 2.
Εὐρεσιώνη σύκα φέρει καὶ πίονας ἄρτους καὶ μέλι ἐν κοτύλῃ καὶ ἑλαιον ἀποψήσασθαι καὶ κύλικ' εὐξώρων, ὡς ἄν μεθύσοσα καθεύδη.

καίτοι ταῦτα τίνες ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἑρακλείδαις γίνεσθαι λέγουσιν, οὕτως διατρεφομένοι υπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὁ δὲ πλείονες ὡς προείρηται.

XXIII. Τὸ δὲ πλοῖον ἐν φωτεινοὶ τῶν ἠθέων ἐπλευσε καὶ πάλιν ἐσώθη, τὴν τρικόντον, ἄχρι τῶν Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως χρόνων διεφυλάττον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ μὲν παλαιὰ τῶν ξύλων ύφαιρουντες, ἀλλὰ δὲ ἐμβαλλοῦντες ἵσχυρά καὶ συμπηγνώντες οὕτως ὡστε καὶ τοῖς ἱστοφόροις εἰς τὸν αὐξόμενον λόγων ἀμφιδοξοῦμενον παράδειγμα τὸ πλοῖον εἶναι, τῶν μὲν ὡς τὸ αὐτό, τῶν δὲ ὡς οὐ τὸ αὐτὸ διαμένοι λεγόντων.

2 Ἀγουσι δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν ὠσχοφορίων ἔρτην Θησέως καταστήσαντος. οὐ γὰρ ἀπάσας αὐτῶν ἐξαγαγεῖν τὰς λαχούσας τότε παρθένους, ἀλλὰ τῶν συνήθων νεανίσκων δύο θηλυκαίες μὲν ὑφημέναι καὶ νεαροῖς, ἀνδρώδεις δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ προθύμους, λυτροῖς τε θερμοῖς καὶ σκιατράφαις καὶ ταῖς περὶ κόμην καὶ λειώτητα καὶ χροίαν ἀλοιφαῖς καὶ κοσμήσεσιν ὡς ἐστιν ἐξαλλάζοντα κομιδῆ, καὶ διδάξαντα φωνὴν καὶ σχῆμα καὶ
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"Eiresione for us brings figs and bread of the richest,
Brings us honey in pots and oil to rub off from the
body,
Strong wine too in a beaker, that one may go to
bed mellow."

Some writers, however, say that these rites are in
memory of the Heracleidae,¹ who were maintained
in this manner by the Athenians; but most put the
matter as I have done.

XXIII. The ship on which Theseus sailed with
the youths and returned in safety, the thirty-oared
galley, was preserved by the Athenians down to the
time of Demetrius Phalereus.² They took away the
old timbers from time to time, and put new and
sound ones in their places, so that the vessel became
a standing illustration for the philosophers in the
mooted question of growth, some declaring that it
remained the same, others that it was not the same
vessel.

It was Theseus who instituted also the Athenian
festival of the Oschophoria. For it is said that he did
not take away with him all the maidens on whom the
lot fell at that time, but picked out two young men
of his acquaintance who had fresh and girlish faces,
but eager and manly spirits, and changed their out-
ward appearance almost entirely by giving them warm
baths and keeping them out of the sun, by arranging
their hair, and by smoothing their skin and beauti-

¹ On the death of Hercules, his children, to escape the
wrath of the tyrant Eurystheus, came as suppliants to
Athens, bearing branches in their hands. See the Heracleidae
of Euripides.
² Regent of Athens for Cassander of Macedon, 317–307 B.C.
Cf. Plato, Phaedo, p. 58.
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βάδισεν ὡς ἐνι μάλιστα παρθένους ὁμοιοῦσθαι καὶ
μηδὲν φαίνεσθαι διαφέροντας, ἐμβάλειν εἰς τὸν
tῶν παρθένων ἁριθμὸν καὶ διαλαθεῖν ἀπαντάς.
3 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπανῆλθεν, αὐτὸν τε πομπεύσαι καὶ τοὺς
πειστικοὺς φύτων ἀμπεχομένους ὡς νῦν ἀμπε-
χονται τοὺς ὅσχους φέροντες. φέρουσι δὲ Διο-
νύσῳ καὶ Ἀριάδνῃ χαριζομένου διὰ τὸν μύθον, ἥ
μᾶλλον ὅτι συγκομιζομένης ὑπόρας ἐπανῆλθον.
αἱ δὲ δειπνοφόροι παραλαμβάνονται καὶ κοινο-
νοῦσι τῆς θυσίας ἀπομιμούμεναι τὰς μητέρας
ἐκείνων τῶν λαχῶντων ἐπεφοίτων γὰρ αὐτοῖς
Ὡς καὶ σιτία κομίζουσαν καὶ μῦθοι λέγονται
dιὰ τὸ κακείνας εὐθυμίας ἐνεκα καὶ παραγορίας
μύθους διεξέναι τοῖς παισί. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ
Δήμων ἱστόρηκεν. ἐξηρέθη δὲ καὶ τέμενος αὐτῷ,
kαὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν παρασχόντων τὸν δασμὸν
οἰκῶν ἔταξεν εἰς θυσίαν αὐτῷ τελεῖν ἀποφοράς,
kαὶ τῆς θυσίας ἐπεμελοῦντο Φυταλίδαι, Ὀσέως
ἀποδότος αὐτοῖς ἀμοιβὴν τῆς φιλοξενίας.

XXIV. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀιγέως τελευτην μέγα καὶ
θαυμαστὸν ἔργον εἰς νοῦν βαλόμενος συνήκισε
τοὺς τὴν Ἀττικὴν κατοικοῦντας εἰς ἐν ἄστυ, καὶ
μᾶς πέλεως ἐνα δήμου ἀπέφημε, τέως σποράδας
δυτας καὶ δυσανακλήτους πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν πάντων

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fying their complexions with unguents; he also taught them to imitate maidens as closely as possible in their speech, their dress, and their gait, and to leave no difference that could be observed, and then enrolled them among the maidens who were going to Crete, and was undiscovered by any. And when he was come back, he himself and these two young men headed a procession, arrayed as those are now arrayed who carry the vine-branches. They carry these in honour of Dionysus and Ariadne, and because of their part in the story; or rather, because they came back home at the time of the vintage. And the women called Deipnophoroi, or supper-carriers, take part in the procession and share in the sacrifice, in imitation of the mothers of the young men and maidens on whom the lot fell, for these kept coming with bread and meat for their children. And tales are told at this festival, because these mothers, for the sake of comforting and encouraging their children, spun out tales for them. At any rate, these details are to be found in the history of Demon. Furthermore, a sacred precinct was also set apart for Theseus, and he ordered the members of the families which had furnished the tribute to the Minotaur to make contributions towards a sacrifice to himself. This sacrifice was superintended by the Phytalidae, and Theseus thus repaid them for their hospitality.¹

XXIV. After the death of Aegeus, Theseus conceived a wonderful design, and settled all the residents of Attica in one city, thus making one people of one city out of those who up to that time had been scattered about and were not easily called together for the common interests of all, nay, they

¹ Cf. chapter xii. 1.
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συμφέρον, ἦστι δ' ὦτε καὶ διαφερομένους ἄλληλοις
2 καὶ πολεμοῦντας. ἐπιών σὺν ἀνέπειθε κατὰ
dήμους καὶ γένη, τῶν μὲν ἰδιωτῶν καὶ πενήτων
ἐνδεχομένων ταχὺ τὴν παράκλησιν αὐτοῦ, τοῖς
dὲ δυνατοῖς ἀβασίλευτον πολιτείαν προτείνων
καὶ δημοκρατίαν αὐτῷ μόνον ἄρχοντι πολέμουν
καὶ νόμων φύλακι χρησμούν, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων
3 παρέξουσαν ἀπασιν ἰσομοιρίαν. τοὺς μὲν
ταύτα ἐπειθεν, οἱ δὲ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ δεδιότες
μεγάλην οὐσαν ἤδη καὶ τὴν τόλμαν, ἐβούλοντο
πειθόμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ βιαζόμενοι ταύτα συγχρείν.
kαταλύσας οὖν τὰ παρ’ ἐκάστοις πρυτανείας καὶ
βουλευτήρια καὶ ἄρχας, ἐν δὲ ποιήσας ἀπασι
κοινὸν ἐνταῦθα πρυτανείαν καὶ βουλευτήριον
ὅπου νῦν ἵδρυται τὸ ἀστυ, τὴν τε πόλιν Ἀθηνῶς
προσηγόρευσε καὶ Παναθηναία θυσίαν ἐποίησε
4 κοινὴν. ἔθυσε δὲ καὶ Μετοίκια τῇ ἐκτῇ ἐπὶ
δέκα τοῦ Ἐκατομβαιῶνος, ἵνα ἔτη νῦν θύωσι.
καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἄφες, ὅσπερ ὁμολογήσῃ,
διεκόσμει τὴν πολιτείαν ἀπὸ τέθειν ἀρχόμενος
ἡκε γὰρ αὐτῷ χρησμὸς ἐκ Δελφῶν μαντευομένῳ
περὶ τῆς πόλεως.

5 Ἀγαίδη Θησεύ, Πυθηνίδως ἐγκυόνε κούρης,
pολλαῖς τοι πολέσσι πατήρ ἐμὸς ἐγκατέθηκε
τέρματα καὶ κλωστήρας ἐν ύμετέρῳ πτολείθρῳ.
ἀλλὰ σὺ μὴ τι λίθν πεπονθμένον ἐνδοθὶ θυμῶν
βουλεύειν· ἀσκός γὰρ ἐν οἶδατι ποντοπορεῖσθαι.

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

"Theseus, offspring of Aegeus, son of the daughter of Pittheus,
Many indeed the cities to which my father has given Bounds and future fates within your citadel's confines.
Therefore be not dismayed, but with firm and confident spirit
Counsel only; the bladder will traverse the sea and its surges."
τούτο δὲ καὶ Σίβυλλαν ὑστερον ἀποστοματίσαι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἱστοροῦσιν, ἀναφθεγξαμένην

'Ασκός βαπτίζῃ δύναι δὲ τοι οὐ θέμις ἐστίν.

XXV. Ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον αὐξησαι τὴν πόλιν βουλόμενος ἐκάλει πάντας ἔπει τοῖς ἵσοις, καὶ τὸ "Δεῦρ' ίτε πάντες λεψ" κήρυγμα Θεσέως γενέσθαι φασὶ πανδημίαι τινὰ καθιστᾶτος. οὐ μὴν ἀτακτον οὐδὲ μεμιμένην περιείδειν ὑπὸ πλήθους ἐπικυθήντως ἀκρίτου γενομένην τὴν δημοκρατίαν, ἀλλὰ πρῶτος ἀποκρίνας χρήσ εὐπατρίδας καὶ 2 γεωμόροις καὶ δημιουργοὺς, εὐπατρίδαις δὲ γινώσκειν τὰ θεῖα καὶ παρέχειν ἄρχοντας ἀποδοῦν καὶ νόμων διδασκάλους εἶναι καὶ ὅσιών καὶ ἱερῶν ἐξηγητάς, τοῖς ἀλλοις πολίταις ὀσπερ εἰς ἱσοὺ κατέστησε, δόξη μὲν εὐπατριδῶν, χρεία δὲ γεωμόρων, πλήθει δὲ δημιουργῶν ὑπερέχειν δοκοῦντων. ὅτι δὲ πρῶτος ἀπέκλινε πρὸς τὸν ὀχλον, ὥς 'Αριστοτέλης φησὶ, καὶ ἀφήκε τὸ μοναρχεῖν, ἐοικε μαρτυρεῖν καὶ 'Ὁμηρος ἐν νεῶν καταλόγῳ μόνου Ἀθηναίοις δῆμον προσαγορεύσας.

3 Ἐκοψε δὲ καὶ νόμισμα, βοῦν ἐγχαράξας, ἢ διὰ τὸν Μαραθώνιον ταύρον, ἢ διὰ τὸν Μίνωον στρατηγὸν, ἢ πρὸς γεωργίαν τοὺς πολίτας παρακαλῶν. ἀπρικόνειν δὲ φασὶ τὸ ἐκατὸμβιον καὶ τὸ δεκαβιον ὃνομασθήναι. προσκηπτάμενος δὲ τῇ 'Αττικῇ τὴν Μεγαρικὴν βεβαιῶν, τὴν θρυλουμένην

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And this oracle they say the Sibyl afterwards repeated to the city, when she cried:—

"Bladder may be submerged; but its sinking will not be permitted."

XXV. Desiring still further to enlarge the city, he invited all men thither on equal terms, and the phrase "Come hither all ye people," they say was a proclamation of Theseus when he established a people, as it were, of all sorts and conditions. However, he did not suffer his democracy to become disordered or confused from an indiscriminate multitude streaming into it, but was the first to separate the people into noblemen and husbandmen and handicraftsmen. To the noblemen he committed the care of religious rites, the supply of magistrates, the teaching of the laws, and the interpretation of the will of Heaven, and for the rest of the citizens he established a balance of privilege, the noblemen being thought to excel in dignity, the husbandmen in usefulness, and the handicraftsmen in numbers. And that he was the first to show a leaning towards the multitude, as Aristotle says, and gave up his absolute rule, seems to be the testimony of Homer also, in the Catalogue of Ships,¹ where he speaks of the Athenians alone as a "people."

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

¹ _Iliad_, ii. 547.
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ἐν Ἡσθμήφ στήλην ἐστησεν, ἐπιγράψας τὸ διορίζον ἔπιγραμμα τὴν χώραν δυσὶ τριμέτροις, δὲν ἔφραξε τὸ¹ μὲν πρὸς ἑω

Τάδ’ οὖχι Πελοπόννησος, ἀλλ’ Ἰωνία.

τὸ¹ δὲ πρὸς ἑσπέραν

Τάδ’ ἐστὶ Πελοπόννησος, οὐκ Ἰωνία.

4 καὶ τὸν ἀγώνα πρῶτος ἔθηκε κατὰ ξῆλον Ἡρακλέους, ὡς δὲ ἐκείνῳ Ὄλυμπια τῷ Διί, καὶ δὲ αὐτὸν Ἡσθμα τῷ Ποσειδῶνι φιλοτιμηθεὶς ἄγεω τοῦς Ἐλλήνας. ὁ γὰρ ἐπὶ Μελικέρτη τεθεὶς αὐτόθι νυκτὸς ἐδράτω, τελετῆς ἔχων μᾶλλον ἡ θέας καὶ πανηγυρισμοῦ τάξιν. ἐνοι δὲ φασίν ἐπὶ Σκείρωνι τὰ Ἡσθμα τεθήναι, τοῦ Θησέως ἀφοσιουμένου τὸν φόνον διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν. Σκείρωνα γὰρ νῦν εἶναι Κανήθου καὶ Ἡμιόχης τῆς Πιθέως.

5 οἱ δὲ Σίνων, οὐ Σκείρωνα, καὶ τὸν ἀγώνα τεθήναι διὰ τοῦτον ὑπὸ Θησέως, οὐ δὲ ἐκείνων. ἔταξεν οὖν καὶ διωρίσατο πρὸς τοὺς Κορινθίους Ἀθηναίων 12 τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις ἐπὶ τὰ Ἡσθμα παρέχειν προεδρίαν ὅσον ἀν τόπον ἐπίσχη καταπετασθέν τὸ τῆς θεωρίδος νεὼς ἵστιον, ὡς Ἐλλάνικος καὶ Ἀνδρων ὁ Ἀλικαρνασσεύς ἰστορήκασιν.

¹ τὸ μὲν, τὸ δὲ with Coraës, after Reiske: τὰ μὲν, τὰ δὲ.
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Attica, he set up that famous pillar on the Isthmus, and carved upon it the inscription giving the territorial boundaries. It consisted of two trimeters, of which the one towards the east declared:—

"Here is not Peloponnesus, but Ionia;"

and the one towards the west:—

"Here is the Peloponnesus, not Ionia."

He also instituted the games here, in emulation of Heracles, being ambitious that as the Hellenes, by that hero's appointment, celebrated Olympian games in honour of Zeus, so by his own appointment they should celebrate Isthmian games in honour of Poseidon. For the games already instituted there in honour of Melicertes were celebrated in the night, and had the form of a religious rite rather than of a spectacle and public assembly. But some say that the Isthmian games were instituted in memory of Sciron, and that Theseus thus made expiation for his murder, because of the relationship between them; for Sciron was a son of Canethus and Henioche, who was the daughter of Pittheus. And others have it that Sinis, not Sciron, was their son, and that it was in his honour rather that the games were instituted by Theseus. However that may be, Theseus made a formal agreement with the Corinthians that they should furnish Athenian visitors to the Isthmian games with a place of honour as large as could be covered by the sail of the state galley which brought them thither, when it was stretched to its full extent. So Hellanicus and Andron of Halicarnassus tell us.
XXVI. Εἰς δὲ τὸν πόντον ἐπλευσε τὸν Ἑὔξεινον, ὡς μὲν Φιλόχωρος καὶ τινὲς ἄλλοι λέγουσι, μεθ' Ἡρακλέους ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀμαζόνας συστρατεύσας, καὶ γέρας 1 'Αντιόπης ἔλαβεν· οἱ δὲ πλείους, ὅν ἔστι καὶ Φερεκύδης καὶ Ἐλλάνικος καὶ Ἡρόδωρος, ὑστερῶν φασὶν Ἡρακλέους ἰδιώστολον πλεύσαι τὸν Θησέα καὶ τὴν Ἀμαζόνα λαβεῖν αἰχμάλωτον, πιθανώτερα λέγοντες. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἄλλος ἱστόρηται τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατευσάντων 2 Ἀμαζόνα λαβεῖν αἰχμάλωτον. Βίων δὲ καὶ ταύτην παρακρουσάμενον οἰχεθαὶ λαβόντα· φύσει γὰρ οὕσας τὰς Ἀμαζόνας φιλάνδρους οὔτε φυγεῖν τὸν Θησέα προσβάλλοντα τῇ χώρᾳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξένια πέμπειν· τὸν δὲ τὴν κομίζουσαν ἐμβῆναι παρακαλεῖν εἰς τὸ πλοῦν· ἐμβάσῃς δὲ ἀναχῇναι.

Μενεκράτης δὲ τις, ἱστοριάν περὶ Νικαίας τῆς ἐν Βιθυνίᾳ πόλεως ἐκδεδωκὼς, Θησέα φησὶ τὴν 'Αντιόπην ἔχοντα διατρῆψαι περὶ τούτους τοὺς τόπους τυγχάνειν δὲ συστρατεύοντας αὐτῷ τρεῖς νεανίσκους ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἀδελφοὺς ἅλληλων, Εὔνων καὶ Θάνατος καὶ Σολόνεντα. τοῦτον οὖν ἔρωντα τῆς 'Αντιόπης καὶ λανθάνοντα τοὺς ἄλλους ἔξεπεῖν πρὸς ἑνα τῶν συνήθων· ἐκεῖνον δὲ περὶ τούτων ἐντυχόντως τὴν Ἀντιόπη, τὴν μὲν πείραν ἱσχυρὸς ἀποτρίψασθαι, τὸ δὲ πράγμα σωφρόνως ἀμα καὶ πράσως ἐνεγκεῖν καὶ πρὸς τὸν Θησέα μὴ κατηγορῆσαι. τού δὲ Σολόνεντος ὡς ἀπέγνως ῥήσαντος ἐαυτὸν εἰς ποταμὸν τινα καὶ διαφθαρέντος, ἦσθημένον τότε τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ τὸ πάθος τοῦ

1 γέρας with Cobet; γέρας ἄριστειν MSS., Coraës, Bekker; γέρασ ἄριστειων.

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XXVI. He also made a voyage into the Euxine Sea, as Philochorus and sundry others say, on a campaign with Heracles against the Amazons, and received Antiope as a reward of his valour; but the majority of writers, including Pherecydes, Hellanicus, and Herodorus, say that Theseus made this voyage on his own account, after the time of Heracles, and took the Amazon captive; and this is the more probable story. For it is not recorded that any one else among those who shared his expedition took an Amazon captive. And Bion says that even this Amazon he took and carried off by means of a stratagem. The Amazons, he says, were naturally friendly to men, and did not fly from Theseus when he touched upon their coasts, but actually sent him presents, and he invited the one who brought them to come on board his ship; she came on board, and he put out to sea.

And a certain Menecrates, who published a history of the Bithynian city of Nicaea, says that Theseus, with Antiope on board his ship, spent some time in those parts, and that there chanced to be with him on this expedition three young men of Athens who were brothers, Euneos, Thoas, and Solois. This last, he says, fell in love with Antiope unbeknown to the rest, and revealed his secret to one of his intimate friends. That friend made overtures to Antiope, who positively repulsed the attempt upon her, but treated the matter with discretion and gentleness, and made no denunciation to Theseus. Then Solois, in despair, threw himself into a river and drowned himself, and Theseus, when he learned the fate of
νεανίσκου τὸν ὘ησέα βαρέως ἐνεγκεῖν, καὶ δυσφο-ροῦντα λόγιον τι πυθόχρηστον ἀνεγκεῖν πρὸς ἕαυτόν· εἶναι γὰρ αὐτῷ προστεταγμένον ἐν Δελ-φοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίας, ὅταν ἐπὶ ξένης ἀνιάθῆ μάστα καὶ περίλυπος γένηται, πόλιν ἐκεῖ κτίσαι καὶ τῶν ἀμφ’ αὐτόν τινας ἠγεμόνας καταλιπεῖν.

5 ἐκ δὲ τούτου τήν μὲν πόλιν, ἢν ἐκτίσευ, ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ Πυθόπολιν προσαγορεῦσαι, Σολῶντα δὲ τὸν πλησίον ποταμὸν ἐπὶ τιμῆ τοῦ νεανίσκου. κατα- λιπεῖν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ, οἷον ἐπιστά- τας καὶ νομοθέτας, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Ἔρμον ἀνδρὰ τῶν Ἁθήνασιν εὐπατριδῶν, ἀφ’ οὗ καὶ τόπον Ἔρμον καλεῖν οἰκίαιν τοὺς Πυθοπολῖτας, οὐκ ὀρθῶς τὴν διεύρεσθαι συλλαβῆν περιστοῦντας καὶ τὴν δῶξαν ἐπὶ θεόν ὑπὸ ἑρωος μετατιθέντας.

XXVII. Πρὸφασιν μὲν οὖν ταύτην ἡ τῶν Ἁμαζόνων πόλεμος ἔσχε· φαίνεται δὲ μὴ φαύλον αὐτοῦ μηδὲ γυναικεῖον γενέσθαι τὸ ἔργον. οὐ γὰρ ἄν ἐν ἀστεὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσαν οὐδὲ τὴν μάχην συνῆψαν ἐν χρόνῳ περὶ τὴν Πυνία καὶ τὸ Μου- σεῖον, εἰ μὴ κρατοῦσα τῆς χώρας ἁδεῶς τῇ πόλει 2 προσέμειξαν. εἰ μὲν οὖν, ὡς Ἐλλάνικος ἱστόρηκε, τῷ Κιμμερικῷ Βοσσόρῳ παγέντι διαβάσαι περι- ἴλθον, ἔργον ἐστὶ πιστεύσαι· τὸ δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει σχεδὸν αὐτὰς ἐνστρατοπεδεύσας μαρτυρεῖται καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασι τῶν τόπων καὶ ταῖς θήκαις τῶν πεσόντων.

Πολὺν δὲ χρόνον ὅκνου ήταί καὶ μέλλησις ἀμ- φοτέρους τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως· τέλος δὲ Θησεύς κατά

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

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

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

1 Literally, giving it the circumflex accent.
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ti λόγιον τῷ Φόβῳ σφαγασάμενος συνήψευ 3 αὐταίς. ἢ μὲν οὖν μάχη Βοηδρομώνως ἐγένετο μηνὸς ἐφ’ ἦ τὰ Βοηδρόμα μέχρι νῦν Ἀθηναίοι θύουσιν. ἴστορεῖ δὲ Κλείδημος, ἐξακριβῶν τὰ καθ’ ἐκαστὰ βουλόμενος, τὸ μὲν εὑώνυμον τῶν Ἀμαζόνων κέρας ἐπιστρέφειν πρὸς τὸ νῦν καλούμενον Ἀμαζόνειον, τῷ δὲ δεξιῷ πρὸς τὴν Πινύκα κατὰ τὴν Χρύσαν ἤκειν. μάχεσθαι δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀπὸ τοῦ Μουσείου ταῖς Ἀμαζόσι συμπεσόντας, καὶ τάφους τῶν πεσόντων περὶ τὴν πλατείαν εἶναι τὴν πέρουσαν ἔτι τὰς 13 πύλας παρὰ τὸ Χαλκώδοντος ἱρόφου, ἃς νῦν 4 Πειραίκας ὄνομάζουσι. καὶ ταύτη μὲν ἐκβιασθῆναι μέχρι τῶν Εὐμενίδων καὶ ὑποχωρῆσαι ταῖς γυναιξίν, ἀπὸ δὲ Παλλαδίου καὶ Ἀρδηττοῦ καὶ Δυκείου προσβαλόντας ὠσασθαι τὸ δεξίῳ αὐτῶν ἄχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ πολλὰς καταβαλεῖν. τετάρτῳ δὲ μὴν συνθῆκας γενέσθαι διὰ τῆς Ἰππολύτης. Ἰππολύτην γὰρ οὗτος ὄνομάζει τὴν τῷ Θησείῳ συνοικοῦσαν, οὐκ Ἀντιόπην.

Ἐνιοὶ δὲ φασὶ μετὰ τοῦ Θησεῶς μαχομένην πεσεῖν τὴν ἀνθρωπον ὑπὸ Μολπᾶδιας ἀκοντισθεῖσαν, καὶ τὴν στήλην τὴν παρὰ τὸ τῆς Ὀλυμπίδος ἱέρον ἐπὶ ταύτη κείσθαι. καὶ θαυμαστόν οὐκ ἔστων ἐπὶ πράγμασιν οὗτῳ παλαιὸς πλανᾶσθαι τὴν ἱστορίαν, ἐπεί καὶ τὰς τετρωμένας φασὶ τῶν Ἀμαζόνων ὑπ’ Ἀντιόπης εἰς Χαλκίδα λάθρα διαπεμφθείσας τυχχάνειν ἐπιμελεῖσας, καὶ ταφήναι τινὰς ἢ ἐκεῖ περὶ τὸ νῦν Ἀμαζόνειον καλοῦμενον.

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Theseus, after sacrificing to Fear, in obedience to an oracle, joined battle with the women. This battle, then, was fought on the day of the month Boëdromion on which, down to the present time, the Athenians celebrate the Boëdromia. Cleidemus, who wishes to be minute, writes that the left wing of the Amazons extended to what is now called the Amazoneum, and that with their left they touched the Pnyx at Chrysa; that with this left wing the Athenians fought, engaging the Amazons from the Museum, and that the graves of those who fell are on either side of the street which leads to the gate by the chapel of Chalcodon, which is now called the Peiraic gate. Here, he says, the Athenians were routed and driven back by the women as far as the shrine of the Eumenides, but those who attacked the invaders from the Palladium and Ardettus and the Lyceum, drove their right wing back as far as to their camp, and slew many of them. And after three months, he says, a treaty of peace was made through the agency of Hippolyta; for Hippolyta is the name which Cleidemus gives to the Amazon whom Theseus married, not Antiope.

But some say that the woman was slain with a javelin by Molpadia, while fighting at Theseus's side, and that the pillar which stands by the sanctuary of Olympian Earth was set up in her memory. And it is not astonishing that history, when dealing with events of such great antiquity, should wander in uncertainty, indeed, we are also told that the wounded Amazons were secretly sent away to Chalcis by Antiope, and were nursed there, and some were buried there, near what is now called the Amazoneum. But that the war ended in a
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άλλα τοῦ γε τοὺν πόλεμον εἰς σπουδᾶς τελευτῆσαι μαρτύριον ἠστιν ἢ τε τοῦ τόπου κλήσις τοῦ παρὰ τὸ Θησείου, ὀνπερ Ὄρκωμοσιον καλοῦσιν, ἢ τε γνωμένη πάλαι θυσία ταῖς Ἀμαζόσι πρὸ τῶν 6 Θησείων. δεικνύοντι δὲ καὶ Μεγαρεῖς Ἀμαζόνων θήκην παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἐπὶ τὸν καλοῦμενον Ῥοῦν βαδίζουσιν εξ ἀγορᾶς, ὅπου τὸ Ῥομβωειδές. λέγεται δὲ καὶ περὶ Χαιρώνειαν ἐτέρας ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ ταφῆναι παρὰ τὸ θευματίον δ' πάλαι μὲν, ὡς ἐοικε, Θερμώδων, Αἴμων δὲ νῦν καλεῖται: περὶ δὲν ἐν τῷ Δημοσθένους βίῳ γέγραπται. φαίνονται δὲ μηδὲ Θεσσαλίαν ἀπραγμόνως αἱ Ἀμαζόνες διελθοῦσαι: τάφῳ γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐτὶ καὶ νῦν δεῖκνυνται περὶ τῆς Σκοτουσαίαν καὶ τὰς Κυνὸς κεφαλάς.

XXVIII. Ταύτα μὲν οὖν ἄξια μνήμης περὶ τῶν Ἀμαζώνων. ἦν γὰρ ὁ τῆς Θησείδος ποιητῆς Ἀμαζώνων ἐπανάστασιν ἱέγοντα, Θησεί ἐγαμοῦντι Φαίδραν τῆς Ἀντιόπης ἐπιτυθεμένης καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτῆς Ἀμαζώνων ἀμυνομένων καὶ κτείνοντος αὐτῶν Ἡρακλέους, περιφανῶς ἐοικε μύθῳ καὶ 2 πλάσματι. τῆς δὲ Ἀντιόπης ἀποθανούσης ἔγιμε Φαίδραν, ἔχονν νῦν Ἰππόλυτον ἔξ' Ἀντιόπης, ὡς δὲ Πίνδαρος φησί, Δημοφώντα. τὸς δὲ περὶ ταύτην καὶ τὸν νῦν αὐτοῦ δυστυχίας, ἐπεὶ μηδὲν ἀντι-
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solemn treaty is attested not only by the naming of
the place adjoining the Theseum, which is called
Horcomosium, but also by the sacrifice which, in
ancient times, was offered to the Amazons before
the festival of Theseus. And the Megarians, too,
show a place in their country where Amazons were
buried, on the way from the market-place to the
place called Rhus, where the Rhomboid stands.
And it is said, likewise, that others of them died
near Chaeroneia, and were buried on the banks of
the little stream which, in ancient times, as it seems,
was called Thermodon, but nowadays, Haemon;
concerning which names I have written in my Life
of Demosthenes. It appears also that not even
Thessaly was traversed by the Amazons without
opposition, for Amazonian graves are to this day
shown in the vicinity of Scotussa and Cynoscephalae.

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

1 From the oaths of ratification.
2 "Stream," because water from the mountains above the
city once flowed this way. Pausanias, i. xli. 2. The
"Rhomboid" may have been an irregular mound.
3 Chapter xix. 4 In a passage not extant.
πίπτει παρὰ τῶν ἱστορικῶν τοῖς τραγικοῖς, οὕτως ἔχειν θετέον ὡς ἐκεῖνοι πεποιήκασιν ἀπαντεῖς.

XXIX. Εἰσι μέντοι λόγοι περὶ γάμων Ὁμήρου καὶ έτεροι, τὴν σκηνήν διαπεφυγότες, οὕτε ἀρχάς εὐγνώμονας οὔτε εὔτυχείς τελευτάς ἔχουντες. καὶ γὰρ Ἀναξίω τινα Τροιζήνιαν ἀρπάσαι λέγεται, καὶ Σίμων ἀποκτείνας καὶ Κερκύνωνα συγγενέσθαι βία ταῖς θυγατρασίν αὐτῶν· γῆμαι δὲ καὶ Περίβοιαν τὴν Αἰαντος μητέρα καὶ Φερέβοιαν αὐθίς καὶ Ἰόπην τὴν Ἰφικλέους· καὶ διὰ τῶν Αἰγίλης ἔρωτα τῆς Πανοπέως, ὅσπερ εἰρηται, τὴν Ἀριάδνης ἀπόλειψιν αἰτιώνται μὴ καλὴν γενέσθαι μηδὲ πρέπουσαν· ἐπὶ πάσι δὲ τὴν Ἐλένης ἀρπαγήν πολέμου μὲν ἐμπλήσαι τὴν Ἀττικῆν, αὐτῷ δὲ εἰς φυγήν καὶ διέθροι τελευτήσας· περὶ δὲν ὀλίγων ύστερον εἰρήσεται.

2 Πολλῶν δὲ τότε τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἄθλων γενομένων Ἡρόδωρος μὲν οὐδενὸς οἶεται τὸν Ὅμηρον μετασχείν, ἀλλὰ μόνος Λατίθαι τῆς κενταυρομαχίας· ἔτεροι δὲ καὶ μετὰ Ἰάσων ἐν Κόλχοις γενέσθαι καὶ Μελεάγρῳ συνεξελεῖν τῶν κάπρων· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παραιμᾶν εἶναι τὴν "Οὐκ ἂνεν Ὁμήρους" αὐτὸν μέντοι μηδενὸς συμμάχου δεηθέντα πολλοὺς καὶ καλοὺς ἄθλους κατεργάσασθαι, καὶ τὸν ᾿Αλλος οὕτος Ῥηκλῆς λόγον ἐπὶ ἐκείνου κρατήσας. συνέπραξε δὲ καὶ ᾿Αδράστῳ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ὑπὸ τῇ Καδμείᾳ πεσόντων.
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historians and tragic poets, we must suppose that they happened as represented by the poets uniformly.

XXIX. There are, however, other stories also about marriages of Theseus which were neither honourable in their beginnings nor fortunate in their endings, but these have not been dramatised. For instance, he is said to have carried off Anaxo, a maiden of Troezen, and after slaying Sinis and Cercyon to have ravished their daughters; also to have married Periboea, the mother of Aias, and Phereboea afterwards, and Iope, the daughter of Iphicles; and because of his passion for Aegle, the daughter of Panopeus, as I have already said,¹ he is accused of the desertion of Ariadne, which was not honourable nor even decent; and finally, his rape of Helen is said to have filled Attica with war, and to have brought about at last his banishment and death, of which things I shall speak a little later.

Of the many exploits performed in those days by the bravest men, Herodorus thinks that Theseus took part in none, except that he aided the Lapithae in their war with the Centaurs; but others say that he was not only with Jason at Colchis,² but helped Meleager to slay the Calydonian boar, and that hence arose the proverb “Not without Theseus”; that he himself, however, without asking for any ally, performed many glorious exploits, and that the phrase “Lo! another Heracles” became current with reference to him. He also aided Adrastus in recovering for burial the bodies of those who had fallen before the walls of the Cadmeia,³ not by mastering the

¹ Chapter xx: 1. ² In quest of the golden fleece. ³ The citadel of Thebes.
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οὐχ ὡς Εὐριπίδης ἐποίησεν ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ, μάχη τῶν Θηβαίων κρατήσας, ἄλλα πείσας καὶ σπειρόμενος οὗτο γὰρ οἱ πλείστοι λέγουσι. Φιλόχορος δὲ καὶ σπονδάς περὶ νεκρῶν ἀναφέρεσθαι γενέσθαι πρώτας ἐκείνας. ὅτι δὲ Ἡρακλῆς πρὸς ἀπέδωκε νεκροὺς τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἐν τοῖς περὶ Ἡρακλέους γέγραπται, ταφαί δὲ τῶν μὲν πολλῶν ἐν Ἐλευθεραῖς δείκνυται, τῶν δὲ ἡγεμόνων περὶ Ἐλευσίνα, καὶ τούτῳ Θησέως Ἀδράστῳ χαρισμένου. καταμαρτυροῦσι δὲ τῶν Εὐριπίδου Ἰκετίδων ὁ Αἰσχύλου Ἐλευσίνιοι, ἐν οἷς καὶ ταῦτα λέγον ὁ Θησέως πεποίηται.

XXX. Τὴν δὲ πρὸς Πειρίδουν φιλίαν τούτην τῶν τρόπων αὐτῶ γενέσθαι λέγοντι. δόξαι εἰχέν ἐπὶ ρώμη καὶ ἀνδρεία μεγίστην βουλόμενος σῶν ὁ Πειρίδος ἐξελεγχαὶ καὶ λαβεῖν διάπειραν, ἡλάσατο βοῦς ἐκ Μαραθῶνος αὐτοῦ, καὶ πυθόμενος διώκειν μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἐκείνον οὐκ ἔφυγεν, ἀλλὰ ἀναστρέψας ἀπῆμνησεν. ὡς δὲ εἶδον ἀτεροὺς τῶν ἔτερον καὶ τὸ κάλλος ἑθαύμασε καὶ τὴν τόλμαν ἡγάσθη, μάχης μὲν ἔσχοντο, Πειρίδος δὲ πρότερος τὴν δεξίαν προτείνας ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῶν γενέσθαι δικαστὴν τῶν Θησέα τῆς βοηθαίας ἐκῶν γὰρ ὑφέξειν ἢν ἄριστη δίκην ἐκείνος. Θησέως δὲ καὶ τὴν δίκην ἀφήκεν αὐτῷ καὶ προορικαλεῖτο φίλον εἶναι καὶ σύμμαχον ἐποίησαντο δὲ τὴν φιλίαν ἔνωρκον.

3 Ἡκ δὲ τούτου γαμῶν ὁ Πειρίδος Δηδάμειαν, ἐδείχθη τοῦ Θησέως ἐλθεῖν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἵστο-
THESEUS

Thebans in battle, as Euripides has it in his tragedy,\(^1\) but by persuading them to a truce; for so most writers say, and Philochorus adds that this was the first truce ever made for recovering the bodies of those slain in battle, although in the accounts of Heracles it is written that Heracles was the first to give back their dead to his enemies. And the graves of the greater part of those who fell before Thebes are shown at Eleutheræ, and those of the commanders near Eleusis, and this last burial was a favour which Theseus showed to Adrastus. The account of Euripides in his “Suppliants”\(^2\) is disproved by that of Aeschylus in his “Eleusinians,”\(^3\) where Theseus is made to relate the matter as above.

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

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

\(^1\) Suppliants, 653 ff.  \(^2\) Verses 1213 ff.  \(^3\) Not extant.
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ρῆσαι καὶ συνγενέσθαι τοὺς Δαπίθαις. ἔτυγχανε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Κενταύρους κεκληκὼς ἐπὶ τὸ δείπνιον. ὡς δὲ ἤσέλγαιων ὑβρεὶ καὶ μεθύοντες οὐκ ἀπει-χοντο τῶν γυναικῶν, ἔτραποντο πρὸς ἄμυναν οἱ Δαπίθαι· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐκτειναν αὐτῶν, τοὺς δὲ πολέμῳ κρατήσαντες ύστερον ἔξεβαλον ἐκ τῆς χώρας, τοῦ Θησέως αὐτοῖς συμμαχομένου, καὶ 4 συμπολεμοῦντος. Ἡρόδωρος δὲ ταῦτα πραχθῆναι φησιν οὐχ οὔτως, ἀλλὰ τοῦ πολέμου συνεστῶτος ἦδη τὸν Θησέα βοηθοῦντα τοὺς Δαπίθαις παρα-γενέσθαι, καὶ τότε πρὸ τοῦ ὠφει γνωρίσαι τὸν Ἡρακλέα, ποιησάμενον ἔργον ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῷ περὶ Τραχίνα πεπαμένῳ πλάνης ἦδη καὶ ἅθλων- γενέσθαι δὲ μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ φιλοφροσύνης καὶ 5 πολλῶν ἐπαίνων ἁμφοτέρως τὴν ἐντυχεῖν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον αὖ τις πρόσχοι τοῖς πολλάκις ἐντυχεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις ἱστοροῦσιν· καὶ τὴν μῦθον Ἡρακλεὶ γενέσθαι Θησέως σπουδάσαντος καὶ τὸν πρὸ τῆς μνήσεως καθαρὸς ὡς δειμένῳ διὰ τινας πράξεις ἄβουλητος.

XXXI. Ἡδὴ δὲ πεντήκοντα ἔτη γεγονός, ὡς φήσων Ἑλλάνικος, ἐπράξε τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἑλένην, οὐ καθ' ὄραν. θεον ὡς δὲ μέγιστον ἐπανορθού-μενοι τοῦτο τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, ἐνιοὶ λέγουσιν οὐκ αὐτῶν ἀρπάσαι τὴν Ἑλένην, ἀλλὰ Ἰδα καὶ Δυγκέως ἀρπασάντων παρακαταθήκην λα-βόντα τηρεῖν καὶ μὴ προίσθαι τοῖς Διοσκούροις ἀπαιτοῦσιν· ὥ v η Διά Τυνδάρεω παραδόντος

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

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

1 Castor and Pollux, her brothers.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΗΣ: ΤΑ ΖΩΗΜΑΤΑ

αὐτοῦ, φοβηθέντος Ἕναρπόρον τὸν Ἰπποκόωνος ἔτι νηπίαν οὖσαν βιαζόμενον τὴν Ἑλένην λαβῆν. τὰ δὲ εἰκότα καὶ πλεῖστους ἔχοντα μάρτυρας τοιαύτα ἔστιν.

2 Ὑλθον μὲν εἰς Σπάρτην ἁμφότεροι καὶ τὴν κόρην ἐν ἱερῷ Ἀρτέμιδος Ὀρθίας χορεύουσαν ἄρπάσαντες ἔφυγον· τῶν δὲ πεμφθέντων ἐπὶ τὴν δίωξιν οὐ πορρωτέρῳ Τεγέας ἐπακολουθησάντων, ἐν ἀδελφὲ γενόμενοι καὶ διελθόντες τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐποιήσαντο συνθήκας, τὸν μὲν λαχῶνα κλήρῳ τὴν Ἑλένην ἔχειν γυναῖκα, συμπράττειν

3 δὲ θατέρῳ γάμων ἄλλοι. ἐπὶ ταῦτας δὲ κληρομένων ταῖς ὁμολογίαις ἔλαχε Ὁσσεύς καὶ παραλαβὼν τὴν παρθένον οὐπω γάμων ὤραν ἔχουσαν εἰς Ἀφίδνας ἐκόμισε· καὶ τὴν μητέρα καταστήσας μετ' αὐτῆς Ἀφίδνῳ παρέδωκεν ἵνα φίλῳ, διακελευσάμενος φυλάττειν καὶ λανθάνειν τοῖς ἄλλοις. αὐτὸς δὲ Πειρίθω τῆν ὑπουργίαν ἀποδίδοις, εἰς Ἡπειρον συναπεδήμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀἰδώνεως θυγατέρα τοῦ Μολοσσῶν βασιλέως, δε τῇ γυναίκι Φερσεφόνην ὑπομα θέμενος, Κόρην δὲ τῇ θυγατρί, τῷ δὲ κυβ. Κέρβερον, ἐκέλευσεν τοῦτω διαμάχεσθαι τοὺς μνωμένους τὴν παῖδα καὶ λαβῆν τὸν κρατήσαντα. τοὺς μέντοι περὶ τὸν Πειρίθουν οὐ μνηστήρας ἤκειν, ἀλλ' ἀρπασομένους πυθανόμενος συνέλαβε· καὶ τὸν μὲν Πειρίθουν εὐθὺς ἡφάσισε διὰ τοῦ κυνὸς, τὸν δὲ Ὁσσέα καθείρζαις ἐφύλαττεν.

XXXII. Ἔν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ Μενεσθεύς ὁ Πετεὼ τοῦ Ὀρνέως τοῦ Ἐρεχθέως πρῶτος, ὡς φαισι, ἀνθρώπων ἐπιθέμενος τῷ ἰδιαγωγείν καὶ
entrusted her to Theseus, for fear of Enarsphorus, the son of Hippoçoën, who sought to take Helen by force while she was yet a child. But the most probable account, and that which has the most witnesses in its favour, is as follows.

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

XXXII. Meanwhile Menestheus, the son of Peteos, grandson of Orneus, and great-grandson of Erechtheus, the first of men, as they say, to affect popularity
Πρὸς χάριν ὁχλώ διαλέγεσθαι, τοὺς τε δυνατοὺς συνίστη καὶ παρώξυνε, πάλαι βαρυνομένους τὸν Ῥησέα καὶ νομίζοντας ἁρχὴν καὶ βασιλείαν ἀφηρμένον ἐκάστον τῶν κατὰ δῆμον εὐπατριδῶν, εἰς ἐν ἀστιν συνεἱρξαντα πάντας ὑπηκόοις χρῆσθαι καὶ δούλους, τοὺς τε πολλοὺς διετάραττε καὶ διέβαλλεν, ὡς ὅναρ ἐλευθερίας ὁρῶντας, ἔργῳ δὲ ἀπεστερημένους πατρίδων καὶ οἱρῶν, ὅπως ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ ἁγαθῶν καὶ γνησίως βασιλέων πρὸς ἔνα δὲ ἡσύχῃν ἔπηλυν καὶ ἔξον ἀποβλέποντα. Ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ πραγματευομένου μεγάλην ῥοπὴν ὁ πόλεμος τῷ νεωτερισμῷ προσέθηκε, τῶν Τυνάριδῶν ἐπελθόντων· οἱ δὲ καὶ ὅλως φασίν ὑπὸ τούτον πεισθέντας ἔλθείν.

Τὸ μὲν οὐν πρῶτον οὐδὲν ἡδίκουν, ἀλλ' ἀπήτουν τὴν ἀδελφήν. ἀποκριμαμένοι δὲ τῶν ἐν ἀστεὶ μῆτε ἔχειν μῆτε γυνώσκειν ὅπου καταλέκειται, πρὸς πόλεμον ἐτράποντο. φράζει δὲ αὐτοῖς 'Ἀκάδημοι ἃς ἤθημένοις δ' ἐν τινὶ τρόπῳ τὴν ἐν 'Ἀφίδναις κρύψων αὐτῆς. ὅθεν ἔκειναν τε τιμᾶν ζώντι παρὰ τῶν Τυνάριδῶν ἐγένοντο, καὶ πολλάκις ὕστερον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐμβαλόντες Δακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ πᾶσαν ὦμοι τὴν χώραν τέμνοντες, τῆς Ἀκαδημείας ἀπείχοντο διὰ τῶν Ἀκαδήμων. ὁ δὲ Δικαίαρχος Ἐχεδήμου ἦν φησὶ καὶ Μαράθου συστρατευσάντων

1 Ἐχεδήμου with Coraës, Sintenis, and Bekker, after Xylander: Ἐχέμου.
THESEUS

and ingratiated himself with the multitude, stirred up and embittered the chief men in Athens. These had long been hostile to Theseus, and thought that he had robbed each one of the country nobles of his royal office,¹ and then shut them all up in a single city, where he treated them as subjects and slaves. The common people also he threw into commotion by his reproaches. They thought they had a vision of liberty, he said, but in reality they had been robbed of their native homes and religions in order that, in the place of many good kings of their own blood, they might look obediently to one master who was an immigrant and an alien. While he was thus busying himself, the Tyndaridae² came up against the city, and the war greatly furthered his seditious schemes; indeed, some writers say outright that he persuaded the invaders to come.

At first, then, they did no harm, but simply demanded back their sister. When, however, the people of the city replied that they neither had the girl nor knew where she had been left, they resorted to war. But Academus, who had learned in some way or other of her concealment at Aphidnae, told them about it. For this reason he was honoured during his life by the Tyndaridae, and often afterwards when the Lacedaemonians invaded Attica and laid waste all the country round about, they spared the Academy,³ for the sake of Academus. But Dicaearchus says that Echedemus and Marathus of

¹ Cf. chapter xxiv. 1-3.
² Or Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux.
³ A shady precinct near the river Cephissus, about a mile N.W. of Athens. Here Plato and his disciples taught. See Plutarch’s Cimon, xiii. 8.
τότε τοὺς Τυνδαρίδας ἔξ Ἀρκαδίας, ἀφ’ οὐ μὲν Ἕχεδημίαν προσαγορευθῆσαι τὴν νῦν Ἀκαδημείαν, ἀφ’ οὐ δὲ Μαραθώνα τὸν δήμον, ἐπιδόντος ἑαυτὸν ἐκουσίως κατὰ τὸ λόγιον σφαγιάσασθαι πρὸ τῆς παρατάξεως.

'Ελθόντες οὖν ἔπὶ τὰς Ἀφίδνας καὶ μάχη
5 κρατήσαντες ἐξείλον τὸ χωρίον. ἐνταῦθα φασὶ καὶ Ἀλυκοὺς πεσεῖν τὸν Σκείρωνος νῦν, συστρατευόμενον τότε τοῖς Διοσκούροις, ἀφ’ οὐ καὶ τόπον τῆς Μεγαρικῆς Ἀλυκοῦ καλεῖσθαι τοῦ σώματος ἐνταφέντος. Ἡρέας δ’ ὑπὸ Θησέως αὐτοῦ περὶ Ἀφίδνας ἀποθανεῖν τὸν Ἀλυκοῦ ἱστόρηκε, καὶ μαρτύρια ταύτῃ τὰ ἐπὶ παρέχεται περὶ τοῦ Ἀλύκου.

τὸν ἐν εὐρυχόρῳ ποτ’ Ἀφίδνη
μαρνάμενον Θησεύς Ἐλένης ἐνεκ’ ἥκομοιο κτείνειν.

Οὐ μὴν εἰκὸς αὐτοῦ Θησέως παρόντος ἄλωναι τὴν τε μητέρα καὶ τὰς Ἀφίδνας.

XXXIII. Ἐχομένων δ’ οὖν τῶν Ἀφίδνων καὶ τῶν ἐν ἀστεί δεδιότων, ἔπεισε τὸν δήμον ὁ Μενεσθέες δέχεσθαι τῇ πόλει καὶ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι τοὺς Τυνδαρίδας, ὡς μόνω Θησεί βίας ὑπάρχαντι πολεμοῦντας, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων εὐρεγήτας ὄντας ἀνθρώπων καὶ σωτήρας. ἐμαρτύρει δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ παρ’ ἐκείνων οὐδὲν γὰρ ἤξιοισαν ἀπάντων 16 κρατοῦντες ἀλλ’ ἢ μυνηθῆναι, μὴδὲν ἤττον Ἡρα-2 κλέους τῇ πόλει προσήκοντες. καὶ τοῦτο οὖν.
THESEUS

Arcadia were in the army of the Tyndaridae at that time, from the first of whom the present Academy was named Echedemia, and from the other, the township of Marathon, since in accordance with some oracle he voluntarily gave himself to be sacrificed in front of the line of battle.

To Aphidnae, then, they came, won a pitched battle, and stormed the town. Here they say that among others Alycus, the son of Sciron, who was at that time in the army of the Dioscuri, was slain, and that from him a place in Megara where he was buried is called Alycus. But Hereas writes that Alycus was slain at Aphidnae by Theseus himself, and cites in proof these verses about Alycus:

"whom once in the plain of Aphidnae, Where he was fighting, Theseus, ravisher of fair-haired Helen, Slew."

However, it is not likely that Theseus himself was present when both his mother and Aphidnae were captured.

XXXIII. At any rate, Aphidnae was taken and the city of Athens was full of fear, but Menestheus persuaded its people to receive the Tyndaridae into the city and show them all manner of kindness, since they were waging war upon Theseus alone, who had committed the first act of violence, but were benefactors and saviours of the rest of mankind. And their behaviour confirmed his assurances, for although they were masters of everything, they demanded only an initiation into the mysteries, since they were no less closely allied to the city than Heracles. This privilege was accordingly granted
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υπῆρξεν αὐτοῖς, Ἀφίδνου ποιησαμένου παιδας, ὡς Πύλιος Ἡρακλέα καὶ τιμάς ἵσοθεους ἔσχον, Ἄνακας προσαγορευθέντες, ἥ διὰ τὰς γενομένας ἀνοχὰς ἥ διὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ κηδεμονίαν τοῦ μηδένα κακῶς παθεῖν στρατιᾶς τοσαύτης ἐνδον οὐσις, ἄνακῶς γὰρ ἔχειν τοὺς ἐπιμελομένους ἥ φυλάττοντας ὅτιοι καὶ τοὺς βασιλείας ἵσως ἄνακτας διὰ τοῦτο καλοῦσιν. εἰς δὲ οἱ λέγουτες διὰ τὴν τῶν ἁστέρων ἐπιφάνειαν Ἄνακας ὁνομάζονται τὸ γὰρ ἀνω τοὺς Ἀττικοῦς ἄνεκὰς ὁνομάζειν, καὶ ἀνέκαθεν τὸ ἂνωθεν.

XXXIV. Αἰθραν δὲ τὴν Θησέως μητέρα γενομένην αἰχμάλωτον ἀπαχθήναι λέγουσιν εἰς Δακιδάμονα, κακεῖθεν εἰς Τροίαν μετὰ Ἐλεύθης καὶ μαρτυρεῖν "Ομηρον, ἐπεσθαί τῇ Ἐλένῃ φάμενον·

Αἰθρην Πιτθήος θύγατρα Κλυμένην τε βοῶπτιν.

Οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔσως διαβάλλουσι καὶ τὴν περὶ Μουνύχου μυθολογίαν, διν ἐκ Δημοφῶντος Δασικῆς κρύφα τεκούσης ἐν Ἰλίῳ συνεκτρέψαι 2 τὴν Αἰθραν λέγουσιν. ἦδιον δὲ τινα καὶ παρηλαγμένον ὅλως λόγον ὁ Ἰστρος ἐν τῇ τρισκαιδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἀναφέρει περὶ Αἰθρας, ὡς ἐνίων λεγόντων Ἀλέξανδρου μὲν τὸν Πάριν ἐν Θεσσαλία 1 ὑπ’ Ἀχιλλεώς καὶ Πατρόκλου μάχῃ κρατηθήναι παρὰ τὸν Σπερχείων, Ἐκτορα δὲ τὴν Τροιζηνίων πόλιν λαβόντα διαρπάσαι καὶ

1 τὸν Πάριν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ, with Bekker: τὸν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ Πάριν.
THESEUS

them, after they had been adopted by Aphidnus, as Pylius had adopted Heracles. They also obtained honours like those paid to gods, and were addressed as “Anakes,” either on account of their stopping hostilities, or because of their diligent care that no one should be injured, although there was such a large army within the city; for the phrase “anakos echein” is used of such as care for, or guard anything, and perhaps it is for this reason that kings are called “Anaktes.” There are also those who say that the Tyndaridae were called “Anakes” because of the appearance of their twin stars in the heavens, since the Athenians use “anekas” and “anekathen” for “ano” and “anothen,” signifying above or on high.

XXXIV. They say that Aethra, the mother of Theseus, who was taken captive at Aphidnae, was carried away to Lacedaemon, and from thence to Troy with Helen, and that Homer1 bears witness to this when he mentions as followers of Helen:

“Aethra of Pittheus born, and Clymene large-eyed and lovely.”

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

1 Iliad, iii. 144.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ

τὴν Αἴθραν ἀπάγειν ἐκεῖ καταλειφθεῖσαν. ἀλλὰ
tοῦτο μὲν ἔχει πολλὴν ἀλογίαν.

ΧΧΧ. Αἰδώνεως δὲ τοῦ Μολοσσοῦ ξενί-
ζοντος Ἡρακλέα καὶ τῶν περὶ τῶν Ὑσείᾳ καὶ
Πειρίθουν κατὰ τύχην μνησθέντος, ἀ τε πρά-
ζοντες ἤλθον καὶ ἄ φωραθέντες ἔπαθον, βαρέως
ἥνεγκεν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς, τοῦ μὲν ἀπολωλότος ἅδοξος,
tοῦ δὲ ἀπολυμένου. καὶ περὶ Πειρίθου μὲν
οὐδὲν φέτο ποιήσεων πλέον ἔγκαλων, τοῦ δὲ
Ὑσεία παρητείτο καὶ χάριν ἥξιον ταύτην αὐτῷ
2 δοθήναι. συγχωρήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀἰδώνεως, λυ-
θεὶς ὁ Ὑσείς ἐπανήλθε μὲν εἰς τὰς Ἀθῆνας,
οὐδέπω παντάπασι τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ κεκρατη-
μένων, καὶ ὁσα ὑπήρχε τεμένη πρότερον αὐτῷ
tῆς πόλεως ἐξελούσης ἀπαντά καθίσασθε τῷ
Ἡρακλεὶ καὶ προσηγορεύσειν ἀντὶ Ὑσείων Ἡρά-
κλεία, πλὴν τεσσάρων, ὡς Φιλόχροος ἰστόρηκεν.
αὐθές1 δὲ βουλόμενος ὡς πρότερον ἄρχείοι καὶ
καθηγεῖσθαι τοῦ πολιτεύματος εἰς στάσεις ἐνέ-
πειε καὶ ταραχάς, οὓς μὲν ἀπέλπισε μισοῦντας
αὐτοῦ εὐρίσκων τὸ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τῷ μισεῖ τρο-
ειληφότας, ἐν δὲ τῷ δήμῳ πολύ τὸ διεφθαρ-
μένον ὅρων καὶ θεραπεύσεθαι βουλόμενον ἀντὶ
3 τοῦ ποιεῖν σιωπῆ τὸ προστατῶμεν. ἐπιχειρῶν
οὐν βιάζεσθαι κατεδημαγωγεῖτο καὶ κατεστα-
σιάζετο. καὶ τέλος ἀποχων τὰ πράγματα τοὺς
μὲν παίδας εἰς Εὐβοίαν ὑπεύθυνε πρὸς Ἐλε-
φύνορα τὸν Χαλκόδοντος, αὐτὸς δὲ Γαργηττοῖ
κατὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἄρας θέμενος, οὐ υῦν ἔστι
τὸ καλούμενον Ἀρατηρίον, εἰς Σκύρου εξέπλευσεν,

1 αὐθές Coræs, after Reiske: εὐθὺς (at once).

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THESEUS

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

XXXV. Now while Heracles was the guest of Aëdoneus the Molossian, the king incidentally spoke of the adventure of Theseus and Peirithoüs, telling what they had come there to do, and what they had suffered when they were found out. Heracles was greatly distressed by the inglorious death of the one, and by the impending death of the other. As for Peirithoüs, he thought it useless to complain, but he begged for the release of Theseus, and demanded that this favour be granted him. Aëdoneus yielded to his prayers, Theseus was set free, and returned to Athens, where his friends were not yet altogether overwhelmed. All the sacred precincts which the city had previously set apart for himself, he now dedicated to Heracles, and called them Heracleia instead of Theseia, four only excepted, as Philochorus writes. But when he desired to rule again as before, and to direct the state, he became involved in factions and disturbances; he found that those who hated him when he went away, had now added to their hatred contempt; and he saw that a large part of the people were corrupted, and wished to be cajoled into service instead of doing silently what they were told to do. Attempting, then, to force his wishes upon them, he was overpowered by demagogues and factions, and finally, despairing of his cause, he sent his children away privately into Euboea, to Elephenor, the son of Chalcodon, while he himself, after invoking curses upon the Athenians at Gargettus, where there is to this day the place called Araterion,¹ sailed away to the island of Seyros,

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

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οὐσὶς αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς ἐκεῖ φίλιας, ὡς φιετο, καὶ χωρίων ἐν τῇ νῆσῳ πατρῴων. ἐβασίλευε δὲ
4 Δυκομήδης τότε τῶν Σκυρίων. πρὸς τούτον οὖν ἀφικόμενος ἐξῆτε τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἀπολαβεῖν, ὡς
αὐτῶθι κατοικήσων· ἦνοι δὲ φασὶ παρακαλεῖν αὐτὸν βοηθεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ὁ δὲ Δυκο-
μήδης, εἰτε δεῖξας τὴν δόξαν τοῦ ἄνδρός, εἰτε τῷ
Μνεσθεί χαρίζομενος, ἐπὶ τὰ ἄκρα τῆς χώρας
ἀναγαγὼν αὐτὸν, ὡς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπιδείξων τοὺς
ὑγροὺς, ὥσε κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν καὶ διέφθειρεν.
ἦνοι δ’ ἀφ’ ἐαυτοῦ πεσεῖν φασὶ σφαλέντα, μετὰ
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deίπνου, ὁσπερ εἰσθεῖ, περιπατοῦντα. καὶ παρα-
τίκα μὲν οὐδὲν ἔσχεν αὐτοῦ λόγον οὐδένα τεθυ-
κότος, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν Ἀθηναίων ἐβασίλευσε
Μνεσθεύς, οἱ δὲ παῖδες ἱδιωτεύοντες Ἐλεφήνορι
συνεστράτευσαν εἰς Ἴλιον. ἐκεῖ δὲ Μνεσθέως
ἀποθανόντος ἐπανελθόντες αὐτοὶ τὴν βασιλείαν
ἀνεκομίσαντο. χρόνοις δὲ ύστερον Ἀθηναίους
ἀλλὰ τε παρέστησεν ὡς ἄροι τιμᾶν Θησέα, καὶ
τῶν ἐν Μαραθῶι πρὸς Μήδους μαχομένων ἔδοξαν
οὐκ ὁλοίᾳ φάσμα Θησέως ἐν ὁπλοὶ καθορᾶν πρὸ
αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους φερόμενον.

XXXVI. Μετὰ δὲ τὰ Μηδικὰ Φαίδωνος ἄρ-
χοντος μαχευομένους τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀνείλειν ἡ
Πυθία τὰ Θησέως ἀναλαβεῖν ὡστὰ καὶ θεμένοις
ἐντίμως παρ’ αὐτοῖς φυλάττειν. ἦν δὲ καὶ λα-
βεῖν ἀπορία καὶ γνώνα τὸν τάφον ἀμιξία καὶ
χαλεπότητα τῶν ἐνοικούντων Δολόπων. οὐ μὴν
THESEUS

where the people were friendly to him, as he thought, and where he had ancestral estates. Now Lycomedes was at that time king of Scyros. To him therefore Theseus applied with the request that his lands should be restored to him, since he was going to dwell there, though some say that he asked his aid against the Athenians. But Lycomedes, either because he feared a man of such fame, or as a favour to Menestheus, led him up to the high places of the land, on pretence of showing him from thence his lands, threw him down the cliffs, and killed him. Some, however, say that he slipped and fell down of himself while walking there after supper, as was his custom. At the time no one made any account of his death, but Menestheus reigned as king at Athens, while the sons of Theseus, as men of private station, accompanied Elephenor on the expedition to Ilium; but after Menestheus died there, they came back by themselves and recovered their kingdom. In after times, however, the Athenians were moved to honour Theseus as a demigod, especially by the fact that many of those who fought at Marathon against the Medes thought they saw an apparition of Theseus in arms rushing on in front of them against the Barbarians.¹

XXXVI. And after the Median wars, in the archonship of Phaedo,² when the Athenians were consulting the oracle at Delphi, they were told by the Pythian priestess to take up the bones of Theseus, give them honourable burial at Athens, and guard them there. But it was difficult to find the grave and take up the bones, because of the inhospitable and savage nature of the Dolopians,

¹ Cf. Pausanias, i. 15, 4. ² 476–475 B.C.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ἀλλὰ Κύμων ἐλὼν τὴν νῆσον, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γέγραπται, καὶ φιλοτιμούμενος ἐξανευ- ρεῖν, ἀετοῦ τινα τόπον βουνοειδῆ κόπτοντος, ὡς φασὶ, τῷ στόματι καὶ διαστέλλοντος τοῖς ὄνυξι 2 θεία τινὶ τύχῃ συμφρονήσας ἀνέσκαψεν. εὑρέθη δὲ θήκη τε μεγάλου σώματος αἰχμή τε παρακει- μένη χαλκῆ καὶ ξίφος. κομψότερων δὲ τούτων ὑπὸ Κύμωνος ἐπὶ τῆς τριήρους, ἤσθεντες οἱ Ἀθηναίοι πομπαῖς τε λαμπραῖς ἐδέξαντο καὶ θυσίαις ὡσπερ αὐτὸν ἐπανερχόμενον εἰς τὸ ἀστυ. καὶ κείται μὲν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει παρὰ τὸ νῦν γυμνάσιον, ἐστὶ δὲ φύξιμον οἰκέταις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ταπεινοτέροις καὶ δεδιόσι κρείττονας, ὡς καὶ τοῦ Θησέως προστατικὸν τινὸς καὶ βοηθητικοῦ γενομένου καὶ προσδεχομένου φιλανθρώπως τὰς 3 τῶν ταπεινοτέρων δεήσεις. θυσίαις δὲ ποιοῦσιν αὐτῷ τὴν μεγίστην ὁγδόνη Πυανεψιώνος, ἐν ἦ μετὰ τῶν ἥθελων ἢ Κρήτης ἐπανήλθεν. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ὁγδόαις τιμῶσιν αὐτοῦ, ἢ διὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἢ Τροιζήνοις ἀφικέσθαι τῇ ὁγδόῃ τοῦ Ἐκατομβαιώνος, ὡς ἰστόρηκε Διόδωρος ὁ περιηγητής, ἢ νομίζοντες ἐτέρου μᾶλλον ἐκείνῳ προσήκειν τὸν ἀριθμὸν τούτον ἢ Ποσειδώνος 4 γεγονέναι λεγομένῳ. καὶ γὰρ Ποσειδώνα ταῖς

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THESEUS

who then inhabited the island. However, Cimon took the island, as I have related in his Life,¹ and being ambitious to discover the grave of Theseus, saw an eagle in a place where there was the semblance of a mound, pecking, as they say, and tearing up the ground with his talons. By some divine ordering he comprehended the meaning of this and dug there, and there was found a coffin of a man of extraordinary size, a bronze spear lying by its side, and a sword. When these relics were brought home on his trireme by Cimon, the Athenians were delighted, and received them with splendid processions and sacrifices, as though Theseus himself were returning to his city. And now he lies buried in the heart of the city, near the present gymnasium,² and his tomb is a sanctuary and place of refuge for runaway slaves and all men of low estate who are afraid of men in power, since Theseus was a champion and helper of such during his life, and graciously received the supplications of the poor and needy. The chief sacrifice which the Athenians make in his honour comes on the eighth day of the month Pyanepson, the day on which he came back from Crete with the youths. But they honour him also on the eighth day of the other months, either because he came to Athens in the first place, from Troezen, on the eighth day of the month Hecatombaeon, as Diodorus the Topographer states, or because they consider this number more appropriate for him than any other since he was said to be a son of Poseidon.³ For they pay honours to Poseidon on the eighth day

¹ Chapter viii. 3–6.
² The gymnasium of Ptolemy. Pausanias, i. 17, 2.
³ Cf. chapter vi. 1.
ογδώαις τιμώσωιν. ἦ γὰρ ογδοὰς κύβος ἀπ᾿ ἀρτίου
πρῶτος οὖσα καὶ τοῦ πρώτου τετραγώνου δι-
πλασία, τὸ μόνιμον καὶ δυσκίνητον οἰκεῖον ἔχει
τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεως, ὃν ἀσφάλειον καὶ γαίησικοῦ
προσονομάζομεν.
THESEUS

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

1. Τὸ μέγα τῆς Ῥώμης ὄνομα καὶ δόξη διὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων κεχωρηκός ἂφ’ ὅτου καὶ δι’ ἦν αἰτίαν τῇ πόλει γέγονεν, οὐχ ὁμολόγηται παρὰ τοῖς συγγραφεύσιν, ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν Πελασγοὶ ἐπὶ πλείστα τῆς οἰκουμένης πλανηθέντας ἀνθρώπων τε πλείστων κρατήσαντας, αὐτόθι κατοικήσαντες, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ῥώμην 2 οὕτως ὄνομάσαι τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δὲ Τροίαι ἀλλ᾽ ἀλησκομένης διαφυγόντας ἐνίους καὶ πλοίων ἐπιτυχῶν ὑπὸ πνευμάτων τῇ Τυρρηνίᾳ προσπέσειν φερομένους, καὶ περὶ τὸν Θύμβριον ποταμὸν ὀρμῶσαν ταῖς δὲ γυναιξὶν αὐτῶν ἀπορουμέναις ἦδη καὶ δυσανασχετούσαις πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν ὑποθέσαν μίαν, ἤ καὶ γένει προὔχειν καὶ φρονεῖν ἐδόκει μάλιστα, Ῥώμην ὄνομα, καταπρήσασε τὰ 3 πλοῖα: πραχθέντος δὲ τούτων πρῶτων μὲν ἀγανακτεῖν τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἔπειτα δὲ ἀνάγκην ἰδρυθέντας περὶ τὸ Παλλάντιον, ὡς ὅλης χρόνῳ κρείττον ἐλπίδος ἑπράττον, ἀγαθῆς ἐπὶ πειρώμενοι χώρας καὶ δεχομένων αὐτῶς τῶν προσωπικῶν, ἀλλην τε τῆς ἀπονέμειν τῇ Ῥώμη καὶ τῆν 4 πόλιν ἄπ’ αὐτῆς, ὡς αἰτίας, προσαγορεύειν. ἐξ ἐκείνου τε παραμένειν λέγουσι τὸ τοὺς συγγενεῖς
ROMULUS

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

τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ ὁικείους ἄνδρας ἀσπάζεσθαι τοῖς στόμασιν καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνας, ὅτε τὰ πλοῖα κατέπρησαν, οὕτως ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ φιλοφρο-νεῖσθαι τοῖς ἄνδρας, δεομένας αὐτῶν καὶ παραιτομένας τὴν ὀργὴν.

II. Ἄλλοι δὲ Ἡρώμην, Ἰταλοῦ θυγατέρα καὶ Λευκαρίας, οἳ δὲ, Τηλέφου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, Ἀδελφόν τοῦ Ἰταλίου, λέγουσι τούνομα θέσθαι τῇ πόλει, οἳ δὲ Ἡρώ-μανόν, Ὀδυσσέως παῖδα καὶ Κύρκης, οἷς ἡ πόλις οἳ δὲ Ἡρώμην ἐκ Τροίας ὡς Διομήδους ἀποσταλέντα τὸν Ἡμαθίωνος, οἳ δὲ Ἡρώμην Λατίνων τυραννοῦ, ἱκανώτατα Τυρρηνοῦ τοῦς εἰς Λυθίαν μὲν ἐκ Θεσπάλεας, ἐκ δὲ Λυθίας εἰς Ἰταλίαν παραγενομένους. οὐ μὴν οὖδ’ οἳ Ἡρώ-μαν τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ τῶν λόγων ἀποφαίωντες ἐπώνυμον τῆς πόλεως ὁμολογοῦσιν περὶ τοῦ 2 γένους αὐτοῦ. οἳ μὲν γὰρ Ἰταλίου καὶ Δεξιδέας τῆς Φόρβακτος υἱὸν ὄντα νήπιον εἰς Ἰταλίαν κομοσθῆναι, καὶ τὸν ἅδελφον αὐτοῦ Ἡρώμην ἐν δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ πλημμύραν τῶν ἄλλων σκαφῶν διαφθαρεῖν, εἰς τὸ δὲ ἡ σαῖς οἱ παῖδες εἰς μα- λαχήν ἀποκλιθέντος οὖν ἀτρέμα, σωθέντας
3 ἀπροσδοκήτως, ὁνομασθῆναι Ἡρώμην. οἳ δὲ Ἡρώμην θυγατέρα τῆς Τρώαδος ἐκείνης Λατίνω- τῷ Τηλεμάχου γαμήθεσθαι τεκεῖν τὸν Ἡρώμην οἳ δὲ Αἰμιλίαν τὴν Ἰταλικοῦ καὶ Λαβίνιας Ἀρεί συνγενομένην οἳ δὲ μυθῶδη παντάπασι περὶ τῆς

1 σωθέντας MSS., Coraes, Sintenis¹, and Bekker: σωθέντος.
2 ἀπροσδοκήτως after this word, Bekker assumes a lacuna in the text.

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customary for the women to salute their kinsmen and husbands with a kiss; for those women, after they had burned the ships, made use of such tender salutations as they supplicated their husbands and sought to appease their wrath.

II. Others again say that the Roma who gave her name to the city was a daughter of Italus and Leucaria, or, in another account, of Telephus the son of Heracles; and that she was married to Aeneas, or, in another version, to Ascanius the son of Aeneas. Some tell us that it was Romanus, a son of Odysseus and Circe, who colonized the city; others that it was Romus, who was sent from Troy by Diomedes the son of Emathion; and others still that it was Romis, tyrant of the Latins, after he had driven out the Tuscans, who passed from Thessaly into Lydia, and from Lydia into Italy. Moreover, even those writers who declare, in accordance with the most authentic tradition, that it was Romulus who gave his name to the city, do not agree about his lineage. For some say that he was a son of Aeneas and Dexithea the daughter of Phorbas, and was brought to Italy in his infancy, along with his brother Romus; that the rest of the vessels were destroyed in the swollen river, but the one in which the boys were was gently directed to a grassy bank, where they were unexpectedly saved, and the place was called Roma from them. Others say it was Roma, a daughter of the Trojan woman I have mentioned, who was wedded to Latinus the son of Telemachus and bore him Romulus; others that Aemilia, the daughter of Aeneas and Lavinia, bore him to Mars; and others still rehearse what is altogether fabulous concerning his
γενέσεως διεξάσθη. Ταρχετίφ γὰρ Ἀλβανῶν βασιλεῖ παραγωμωτάτῳ καὶ ὁμοτάτῳ φάσμα δαιμόνιον οἰκοι γενέσθαι· φαλλόν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ἐστίας ἄνασχεῖν καὶ διαμένειν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας· εἶναι δὲ Τηθύνος ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ χρηστήριον, ἀφ’ οὗ κομισθῆναι τῷ Ταρχετίῳ χρησμὸν ὡστε συμμίξαι τῷ φάσματι παρθένον· ἔσεσθαι γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῆς παιδᾶ κλεινότατον ἁρέτῃ καὶ τύχῃ καὶ ρώμῃ διαφέροντα. φράσαντος οὖν τὸ μάντευμα τοῦ Ταρχετίου μὲν τῶν θυγατέρων καὶ συνγενέσθαι τῷ φαλλῷ προστάξαντοσ, αὐτὴν μὲν 5 ἀπαξίσασθαι, θεράπασσαν δὲ εἰσπέμψα. τὸν δὲ Ταρχετίον, ὃς ἤγνω, χαλεπῶς φέροντα συλλαβεῖν μὲν ἀμφοτέρας ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, τὴν δ’ Ἐστίαν ἰδόντα κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνοὺς ἀπαγορεύουσαν αὕτῳ τὸν φόνον, ἰστὸν τινα παρεγγυησαί ταῖς κόραις ὑφαίνειν δεδεμέναις, ὡς ὅταν ἐξυφήνωσε, τότε δοθησομέναις πρὸς γάμον. ἐκείναις μὲν οὖν δὶ’ ἡμέρας ὑφαίνειν, ἐτέρας δὲ νῦκτω τῷ Ταρ- χετίῳ κελεύοντος ἀναλύειν τὸν ἰστόν. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ φαλλοῦ τῆς θεραπαύειν τεκούσης δίδυμα, δοιναὶ τινὶ Τερατίῳ τὸν Ταρχετίῳ ἀνελεῖν κελεύσαντα. 6 τὸν δὲ θείναι φέροντα τοῦ ποταμοῦ πλησίον· εἶτα λύκαιναν μὲν ἔπιφοιτὰν μαστῶν ἐνδιδύσαν, δρυάδες δὲ παντοδαπῶς ψωμίσματα κομίζοντας ἐντιθέναι τοῖς βρέφεσιν, ἀχρὶ οὗ βουκόλον ἰδόντα καὶ θαυμᾶσαντας τολμῆσαι προσελθεῖν καὶ ἀνε- λέσθαι τὰ παιδία. τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶς γενομένης, ἐκτραφέντας ἐπιθέσθαι τῷ Ταρχετίῳ καὶ κρατήσαί. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Προ-
ROMULUS

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

III. Τού δὲ πίστιν ἔχοντος λόγου μάλιστα καὶ πλείστους μάρτυρας τὰ μὲν κυριώτατα πρῶτος εἰς τοὺς Ἐλλήνας ἐξέδωκε Διοκλῆς Πεπαρήθιος, ὃ καὶ Φάβιος ὁ Πίκτωρ ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις ἐπηκολουθηκε. γεγονασι δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτων ἔτεραι διαφορὰι τύπῳ δὲ εἰπεῖν τουοῦτός ἐστι. τῶν ἀπ’ Αἰνείου γεγονότων ἐν Ἁλβη βασιλέων εἰς ἀδελφοὺς δύο, Νομήτωρ καὶ Αμούλιον, ἡ διαδοχὴ καθήκεν. Ἀμουλίων δὲ νείμαντος τὰ πάντα δίχα, τῇ δὲ βασιλείᾳ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὸν ἐκ Τροίας κομισθέντα χρυσὸν ἀντιθέντος, ἐθέτο τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ Νομήτωρ. ἔχουν οὖν ὃ Αμούλιον τὰ χρήματα καὶ πλέον ἀπ’ αὐτῶν δυνάμενος τοῦ Νομήτωρος, τὴν τε βασιλείαν ἀφεῖλετο ῥάδιος, καὶ φοβουμένος ἐκ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι παῖδας ἰέρειαν τῆς Ἐστίας ἀπέδειξεν, ἄγαμον καὶ παρθένον ἀεὶ βιωσομένην. ταύτην οἱ μὲν Ἰλίαν, οἱ δὲ Ἄρεαν, οἱ δὲ Σιλουταν ὀνομάζουσι. φωρᾶται δὲ μετ’ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον κυνύσα παρὰ τῶν καθεστῶτα ταῖς Ἐστιάσι νόμον. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀνήκεστα μὴ παθεῖν αὐτὴν ἢ τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατρῆς Ἀνθῆν ταρακησατο, δεσθείσα τοῦ πατρὸς’ εἰρχῇ δὲ καὶ διάτων ἐδείχεν ἀνεπήμεικτον, ὅπως τῇ λάθοι τεκούσα τὸν Αμουλίων. ἔτεκε δὲ δύο παῖδας ὑπερφυεῖς μεγέθει καὶ κάλλει. δι’ ὃ καὶ μᾶλλον ὁ Αμουλίως φοβηθείς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς ἤπηρέτην λαβῶντα ὑψάσται. τούτων ἔνιοι Φαυστύλου ὀνομάζεσθαι

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At any rate, this is what a certain Promathion says, who compiled a history of Italy.

III. But the story which has the widest credence and the greatest number of vouchers was first published among the Greeks, in its principal details, by Diocles of Peparethus, and Fabius Pictor follows him in most points. Here again there are variations in the story, but its general outline is as follows. The descendants of Aeneas reigned as kings in Alba, and the succession devolved at length upon two brothers, Numitor and Amulius.¹ Amulius divided the whole inheritance into two parts, setting the treasures and the gold which had been brought from Troy over against the kingdom, and Numitor chose the kingdom. Amulius, then, in possession of the treasure, and made more powerful by it than Numitor, easily took the kingdom away from his brother, and fearing lest that brother’s daughter should have children, made her a priestess of Vesta, bound to live unwedded and a virgin all her days. Her name is variously given as Iilia, or Rhea, or Silvia. Not long after this, she was discovered to be with child, contrary to the established law for the Vestals.² She did not, however, suffer the capital punishment which was her due, because the king’s daughter, Antho, interceded successfully in her behalf, but she was kept in solitary confinement, that she might not be delivered without the knowledge of Amulius. Delivered she was of two boys, and their size and beauty were more than human. Wherefore Amulius was all the more afraid, and ordered a servant to take the boys and cast them away. This servant’s name was Faustulus, according to some, but others

¹ Cf. Livy, i. 3. ² Cf. Livy, i. 4, 1-5.
λέγουσιν, οί δ' ού τούτον, ἄλλα τόν ἀνελόμενον. ἐνθέμενος οὖν εἰς σκάφην τὰ βρέφη, κατέβη μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ὡς ρῦψων, ἵνα δὲ κατιόντα πολλῷ ρεύματι καὶ τραχυνόμενον ἕδεισε προσέλθειν, ἐγγύς δὲ τῆς ὕδαθος καταθείς ἀπηλλάσσετο. τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ κατακλύζοντος ἡ πλῆμμυρα τὴν σκάφην ὑπολαβοῦσα καὶ μετεωρίσασα πρᾶξις κατήνευκεν εἰς χωρίον ἐπιεικὸς μαλθακόν, ὅ νῦν Κερμαλὸν καλοῦσι, πάλαι δὲ Γερμανόν, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐτὶ καὶ τούς ἀδελφοὺς γερμανοὺς ὅνυμάξουσιν.

IV. Ἡν δὲ πλησίον ἐρυνεός, διὸ Ἦρωμιναίλιον ἐκάλουν, ἦ διὰ τὸν Ἦρωμιλον, ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν, ἦ διὰ τὰ μηρυκόμενα τῶν θρεμάτων ἐκεῖ διὰ τὴν σκιὰν ἐνδιάζειν, ἦ μάλιστα διὰ τὸν τῶν βρέφων θηλασμόν, ὅτι τὴν τε θηλήν ῥούμαν ὄνωμαζον οἱ παλαιοί, καὶ θεὸν τινα τῆς ἐκτροφῆς τῶν νηπίων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δοκοῦσαν ὅνυμάξουσιν Ἦρωμιλίαν, καὶ θύωσιν αὐτὴν νηφάλη, καὶ γάλα τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐπιστενδούσιν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ τοῖς βρέφεσι κειμένοις τὴν τε λύκαιναν ἱστοροῦσι θηλαξομένην, καὶ δρυοκολάπτην τινὰ παρεῖναι συνεκτρέφουτα καὶ φυλάττοντα. νομίζεται δ' Ἦρως ἱερὰ τὰ ξύρα: τὸν δὲ δρυοκολάπτην καὶ διαφερόντως Δατίνοι σέβονται καὶ τιμῶσιν οὖν ὅτι καὶ πίστιν ἔσχεν ἡ τεκόνσα τὰ βρέφη τεκεῖν ἐξ Ἦρως φάσκουσα. καίτοι τοῦτο παθεῖν αὐτὴν ἕξαπατηθεῖσαν λέγουσιν, ὡς τοῦ Ἦρωμιλίου διαπαρθενεθεῖσαν ἐν ὅπλοις ἐπιφανέντος αὐτῆς καὶ συναρπάσαντος.
ROMULUS.

give this name to the man who took the boys up. Obeying the king’s orders, the servant put the babes into a trough and went down towards the river, purposing to cast them in; but when he saw that the stream was much swollen and violent, he was afraid to go close up to it, and setting his burden down near the bank, went his way. Then the overflow of the swollen river took and bore up the trough, floating it gently along, and carried it down to a fairly smooth spot which is now called Kermalus, but formerly Germanus, perhaps because brothers are called “germani.”

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

¹ Cf. Livy, i. 4, 6–7.
Οἱ δὲ τούτοις τῆς τροφοῦ δι᾽ ἀμφιβολίαν ἐπὶ τὸ μυθῶδες ἑκτροπὴν τῇ φήμῃ παρασχείν. λούπας γὰρ ἐκάλουν οἱ Λατῖνοι τῶν τε θηρίων τὰς λυκαίνας, καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν τὰς ἑταίρουσας· εἰναι δὲ τοιαύτῃ τῇ Φαυστύλου γυναῖκα τοῦ τὰ βρέφη θέρφαντος, Ἀκκαν Λαρεντίαν ὄνομα. ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ θύουσιν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ χώσε ἐπιφέρει τού Ἅπριλλίου μηνὸς αὐτὴ ἡ τοῦ Ἅρεως ἱερεύς, καὶ Λαρεντίαν καλοῦσι τὴν ἔορτὴν.

V. Ἐστέραν δὲ τιμῶσι Λαρεντίαν ἐξ αὐτίας τοιαύτης. ὁ νεωκόρος τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἀλύων, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὑπὸ σχολῆς, προὔθετο πρὸς τὸν θεὸν διακυβεύειν, ὑπειπὼν ὅτι νυκῆςα μὲν αὐτὸς ἔζει τι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ χρηστοῦ, ἡττηθεὶς δὲ τῷ θεῷ τράπεζαν ἀφθονον παρέξει καὶ γυναῖκα καλήν 2 συναναπαυσομένην. ἐπὶ τούτοις τὰς μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ τιθεῖς, τὰς δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ψήφους, ἀνεφάνη νυκῶμενος. εὐσυνθετεῖν δὲ βουλόμενος καὶ δικαιῶν ἐμένειν τοῖς ὀρισθείσι, δεῖτον τι τῷ θεῷ παρεσκεύασαι, καὶ τὴν Λαρεντίαν οὔσαν ωραίαν, οὕτω δὲ ἐπιφανῆ, μυσθωσάμενος, εἰστίασεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, κλίνην ὑποστορέσας, καὶ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον συνείρξεν, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἔξοντος αὐτῆν.

3 καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐντυχεῖν λέγεται τῇ γυναικί καὶ κελεύσαι βαδίζειν ἐωθὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορᾶν καὶ τὸν ἀπαντήσαντα πρῶτον ἀσπασαμένην ποιεῖσθαι φίλου. ἀπήντησεν οὖν αὐτῇ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀνήρ ἡλικίας τε πόρρω ἦκων καὶ

1 αὐτὴ bracketed in Sintenis², to avoid the hiatus.
ROMULUS

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

V. They pay honours also to another Larentia, for the following reason. The keeper of the temple of Hercules, being at a loss for something to do, as it seems, proposed to the god a game of dice, with the understanding that if he won it himself, he should get some valuable present from the god; but if he lost, he would furnish the god with a bounteous repast and a lovely woman to keep him company for the night. On these terms the dice were thrown, first for the god, then for himself, when it appeared that he had lost. Wishing to keep faith, and thinking it right to abide by the contract, he prepared a banquet for the god, and engaging Larentia, who was then in the bloom of her beauty, but not yet famous,¹ he feasted her in the temple, where he had spread a couch, and after the supper locked her in, assured of course that the god would take possession of her. And verily it is said that the god did visit the woman, and bade her go early in the morning to the forum, salute the first man who met her, and make him her friend. She was met, accordingly, by one of the citizens who was well on in years and possessed of considerable property, but

¹ In Morals, p. 273 a, she is called a public courtezan.
συνειλοχώς ουσίαν ἰκανήν, ἀπαίς δὲ καὶ βεβιώ-
4 κὼς ἀνευ γυναικός, ὄνομα Ταρρούτιος. οὗτος
ἐγνώ τὴν Δαρεντίαν καὶ ἡγάτησε, καὶ τελευτῶν
ἀπέλιπτε κληρονόμον ἐπὶ πολλοῖς καὶ καλοῖς
κτήμασιν, διότι οὐκ ἔγνωτα τὰ πλεῖστα τῷ δήμῳ κατὰ
διαθήκας ἔδωκε. λέγεται δὲ αὐτὴν ἐνδοξοῦν οὔσαν
ηδὴ καὶ θεόφιλη νομιζομένη, ἀφανὴ γενέσθαι
περὶ τούτων τῶν τόπων ἐν φ. καὶ τὴν προτέραν
5 ἐκείνην Δαρεντίαν κεῖσθαι. καλεῖται δὲ νῦν ὁ
τόπος Βιλαυροῦ, ὅτι τοῦ ποταμοῦ πολλάκις
ὑπερχεομένου διεπεραιοῦντο πορθμείοις κατὰ τοῦ-
το τὸ χωρίον εἰς ἀγορὰν τὴν ἑπταπορθμείαν
βιλαυροῦ πανοραμήν. ἔν τῶν ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἑτέρων
ἐν τοῖς ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἑτέρων ἑτέρων ἑτέρων
ἰστίοις καταπετανύναι τοὺς τὴν θέαν παρέ-
χοντας, ἐντεθέν ἀρχομένους. ἑρμαίστι δὲ τὸ
ἰστίον βῆλον ὁμοίουσι. διὰ ταύτα μὲν ἔχει
τιμᾶς ἡ δευτέρα Δαρεντία παρὰ Ἱωμαίοις.

VI. Τὰ δὲ βρέφη Φαυστύλος Ἀμούλιον συ-
φορῆς ἀνείλετο λαθῶν ἀπαντας, ὡς δὲ ἐνοῖ
φασὶ τῶν εἰκότων ἐχόμενοι μᾶλλον, εἰδότος τοῦ
Νομήτωρος καὶ συγχρητικοῦντος τροφᾶς κρύφα
τοῖς τρέφοντας. καὶ γράμματα λέγονται καὶ
τάλα μανθάνειν οἱ παῖδες εἰς Γαβίους κομι-
2 σθέντες, ὅσα χρή τους εὐ γεγονότας. κληθήμαι
dὲ καὶ τούτων ἀπὸ τῆς θηλῆς ἵστορούσι Ρωμύλον
καὶ Ρώμον, ὅτι θηλάζοντες ὄφθησαν τὸ θηρίον.
ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν εὐγένεια καὶ νηπίων
οὐν τῶν εὔθυς ἐξεφαίνει μεγέθει καὶ ἱδέα τῆς
φύσιν
αὐξόμενοι δὲ θυμοειδεῖς ἦσαν ἀμφότεροι καὶ
ἀνδρόδεις καὶ φρονήματα πρὸς τὰ φαινόμενα
ROMULUS

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

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

1 That is, the Circus Maximus.  2 Cf. chapter iv. 1.
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dεινά καὶ τόλμαν ὅλως ἀνέκπληκτον ἔχοντες· ὁ δὲ Ῥωμύλος γνώμη τε χρήσθαι μᾶλλον ἐδόκει καὶ πολιτικῆν ἔχειν σύνεσιν, ἐν ταῖς περὶ νομᾶς καὶ κυνηγίας πρὸς τοὺς γειτνιῶτας ἐπιμελεῖσι πολλὴν ἕαυτοῦ παρέχων κατανόησιν ἡγεμονικοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ πειθαρχικοῦ φύσει γεγονότος. διὸ τοῖς μὲν ὀμοφύλοις ἡ τατεινοτέροις προσφίλεισ ἦσαν, ἐπιστάτας δὲ καὶ διόσπους βασιλικοὺς καὶ αγαλάρχας, ὡς μηδὲν αὐτῶν ἀρετή διαφέροντας, ὑπερφρονοῦτες οὔτ' ἀπειλῆς ἐφρόνιζον οὔτε ὀργῆς. ἤχρωντο δὲ διαίταις καὶ διατριβαῖς ἐλευ-θερίοις, οὓς τὴν σχολὴν ἐλευθέροιν ἡγούμενοι καὶ τὴν ἀπονιάν, ἀλλὰ γυμνάσια καὶ θηρᾶς καὶ ὅρμους καὶ τὸ λιστάς ἀμύνασθαι καὶ κλώτσας ἐλεῖν καὶ βίαις ἐξελέσθαι τοὺς ἀδικομένους. ἦσαν δὴ διὰ ταῦτα περιβόητοι.

VII. Γενομένης δὲ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς Νομήτορος βουκόλους τοῖς Ἀμούλιοι διαφορᾶς καὶ βοσκη-μέτων ἐλάσεως, οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοι συγκόπτουσι μὲν αὐτοὺς καὶ τρέπονται, ἀποτέμονται δὲ τῆς λείας συχνῆς. ὑγανακτοῦντος δὲ τοῦ Νομήτορος ὠλιγώρουν· συνήγον δὲ καὶ προσεδέχοντο πολλοὺς μὲν ἄπρους, πολλοὺς δὲ δούλους, θράσους ἀπο-2 στατικοῦ καὶ φρονήματος ἀρχὰς ἐνδιδόντες. τοῦ δὲ Ῥωμύλου πρὸς τινα θυσίαν ἀποτραπομένου (καὶ γὰρ ἦν φιλοθύτης καὶ μαντικός), οἱ τοῦ Νομήτορος βοτήρες τῷ Ῥώμῳ μετ’ ὀλίγων βαδί-ξοντε προστυχόντες ἐμάχοντο. καὶ γεγομένων πληγῶν καὶ τραυμάτων ἐν ὑμφιτέροις ἐκράτησαν οἱ τοῦ Νομήτορος καὶ συνελάβον ξόντα τὸν

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

VII. When a quarrel arose between the herdsmen of Numitor and Amulius,¹ and some of the latter’s cattle were driven off, the brothers would not suffer it, but fell upon the robbers, put them to flight, and intercepted most of the booty. To the displeasure of Numitor they gave little heed, but collected and took into their company many needy men and many slaves, exhibiting thus the beginnings of seditious boldness and temper. But once when Romulus was busily engaged in some sacrifice, being fond of sacrifices and of divination, the herdsmen of Numitor fell in with Remus as he was walking with few companions, and a battle ensued. After blows and wounds given and received on both sides, the herdsmen of Numitor prevailed and took Remus prisoner, who was

¹ Cf. Livy, i. 5, 3 ff.
'Ρώμον. ἀναχθέντος οὖν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Νομή-τορα καὶ κατηγορηθέντος, αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ἐκόλασε, χαλεπῶς ὄντα δεδιός τὸν ἀδελφὸν, ἔλθων δὲ πρὸς ἐκείνον ἐδείτο τυχεῖν δίκης, ἀδελφὸς δὲ καὶ καθυβρισμένος ὑπὸ οἰκετῶν ἐκείνου βασιλέως ὑμῶν. συναγαγακτοῦντων δὲ τῶν ἐν Ἀλβη καὶ δεινὰ πᾶσχειν οἰομένων τὸν ἄνδρα παρ᾽ ἄξιαν, κινηθεὶς ὁ Ἀμούλιος αὐτῷ παραδίδωσι τῷ Νομή-τορι τὸν Ἦρωμον ὁ τί βούλειν χρήσασθαι.

Παραλαβῶν δὲ ἐκείνος, ὡς ἦκεν οἰκαδε, θαυμάζων μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος τὸν νεκρότον ὑπερθέρμνεται καὶ ἐμφανίζεται καὶ ὑπερθέρμνεται καὶ ἐμφανίζεται. τὸ προσώπῳ τὸ θαρραλέουν καὶ ἱματίῳ τῆς ψυχῆς ἄδούλωτον καὶ ἀπαθὲς ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων, ἔργα δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ πράξεις ὁμοία τοῖς βλεπομένοις ἀκούων, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ὡς ἔοικε, θεοῦ συμπαρόντος καὶ συνεπευθύνοντος ἀρχαῖα μεγάλων πραγμάτων, ἀπτόμενος ἐπινοεῖ τῇ τύχῃ τῆς ἀληθείας, ἀνέκρινεν δοσίς ἐν καὶ ἐν τῷ γένοιτο, φωνῇ τε προσαίει καὶ φίλανθρωπίᾳ βλέμματι πίστιν αὐτῷ μετ' ἐλπίδος ἐνδιδοῦσιν. οὐ δὲ θαρρῶν ἔλεγεν· "Ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲν ἀποκρύψομαι σε καὶ γὰρ ἐναίκες Ἀμούλιον βασιλικότερος... ἀκούεις γὰρ καὶ ἀνακρίνεις πρὶν ἡ κολάζειν. οῦ δὲ ἀκρίτους ἐκδίδωσιν. πρότερον μὲν ἐαυτοῦς οἰκετῶν βασιλέως Φαυστύλου καὶ Δαρεντίας ἡπιστάμεθα παῖδας (ἐσμὲν δὲ δίδυμοι), γενόμενοι δὲ ἐν αὐτίᾳ πρὸς σὲ καὶ διαβολαίς καὶ τοὺς περὶ ψυχῆς ἀγώνις, ἀκούομεν μεγάλα περὶ ἐαυτῶν· εἰ δὲ πιστά, κρίνειν ἔοικεν νῦν ὁ κίνδυνος. γοναὶ μὲν
ROMULUS

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

When Numitor came home, after getting Remus into his hands, he was amazed at the young man's complete superiority in stature and strength of body, and perceiving by his countenance that the boldness and vigour of his soul were unsubdued and unharmed by his present circumstances, and hearing that his acts and deeds corresponded with his looks, but chiefly, as it would seem, because a divinity was aiding and assisting in the inauguration of great events, he grasped the truth by a happy conjecture, and asked him who he was and what were the circumstances of his birth, while his gentle voice and kindly look inspired the youth with confidence and hope. Then Remus boldly said: "Indeed, I will hide nothing from thee; for thou seemest to be more like a king than Amulius; thou hearest and weighest before punishing, but he surrenders men without a trial. Formerly we believed ourselves (my twin brother and I) children of Faustulus and Larentia, servants of the king; but since being accused and slandered before thee and brought in peril of our lives, we hear great things concerning ourselves; whether they are true or not, our present danger is likely to decide. Our birth is said to have been secret, and
γὰρ ἡμῶν ἀπόρρητοι λέγονται, τροφαὶ δὲ καὶ θείας ἀτοπώτεραι νεογνῶν, οἷς ἐρρίφημεν οἰωνοῖς καὶ θηρίοις, ὑπὸ τοὺτων τρεφόμενοι, μαστῶν λυκαίνης καὶ δρυκοκόλαπτον ψωμίσμασιν, ἐν σκάφῳ τινὶ κείμενοι παρὰ τῶν μέγαν ποταμῶν. ἔτσι δὲ ἡ σκάφη καὶ σώζεται, χαλκοῖς ὕποζωσμασί γραμμάτων ἀμυδρῶν ἐγκέχαραγμένων, ἃ γένοιτ' ἂν ἴσως ύστερον ἀνωφελῆ γνωρίσματα 7 τοῖς τοκεύσιν ἡμῶν ἀπολομένων.”

‘Ὁ μὲν οὖν Νομίτωρ ἐκ τοῦ τῶν λόγων τούτων καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν εἰκάζων τὸν χρῶνον, οὐκ ἔφευγε τὴν ἐλπίδα σάινουσαν, ἀλλ’ ἐφρούτευν ὅπως τῇ θυγατρὶ περὶ τούτων κρύφα συγγενόμενος φράσειν ἐφρουρεῖτο γὰρ ἐτί καρτέρωσ.

VIII. Ὁ δὲ Φαυστύλος ἀκούσας τὴν τε σύλληψιν τοῦ 'Ῥώμου καὶ τὴν παράδοσιν, τὸν μὲν 'Ῥωμύλου ἥξιον βοηθεῖν, τότε σαφῶς διδάξας περὶ τῆς γενέσεως' πρότερον δὲ υπηρίττετο καὶ παρεδήλου τοσοῦτον ὅσον προσέχοντας μὴ μικρὸν φρονείν αὐτός δὲ τὴν σκάφην κομίζων ἔχωρει πρὸς τὸν Νομίτωρα, σπουδὴς καὶ δέους μεστὸς 2 ὅφ διὰ τὸν καριόν. ὑποφιάν οὖν τοῖς περὶ τὰς πύλας φρουρῶν του βασιλέως παρέχων, καὶ ύφορόμενος 1 ὑπ’ αὐτῶν καὶ ταραττόμενος περὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, οὐκ ἔλαβε τὴν σκάφην τῷ χλαμυδῶν περικαλύπτων. ἢν δὲ τις ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τύχης τῶν τὰ παύδια μῆια λαβώντων καὶ γεγονότων περὶ τὴν ἐκθέσιν. οὕτως ἵδον τὴν σκάφην τότε, καὶ γνωρίσας τῇ κατασκευῇ καὶ τοῖς γραμ-

1 ύφορόμενος corrected by Bekker to ἐρωτόμενος (questioned).
our nursing and nurture as infants stranger still. We were cast out to birds of prey and wild beasts, only to be nourished by them,—by the dugs of a she-wolf and the morsels of a woodpecker, as we lay in a little trough by the side of the great river. The trough still exists and is kept safe, and its bronze girdles are engraved with letters now almost effaced, which may perhaps hereafter prove unavailing tokens of recognition for our parents, when we are dead and gone."

Then Numitor, hearing these words, and conjecturing the time which had elapsed from the young man's looks, welcomed the hope that flattered him, and thought how he might talk with his daughter concerning these matters in a secret interview; for she was still kept in the closest custody.

VIII. But Faustulus, on hearing that Remus had been seized and delivered up to Numitor, called upon Romulus to go to his aid, and then told him clearly the particulars of their birth; before this also he had hinted at the matter darkly, and revealed enough to give them ambitious thoughts when they dwelt upon it. He himself took the trough and went to see Numitor, full of anxious fear lest he might not be in season. Naturally enough, the guards at the king's gate were suspicious of him, and when he was scrutinized by them and made confused replies to their questions, he was found to be concealing the trough in his cloak. Now by chance there was among the guards one of those who had taken the boys to cast them into the river, and were concerned in their exposure. This man, now seeing the trough, and recognizing it by its
μασιν, ἔτυχεν ὑπονοία τοῦ ὄντος καὶ οὐ παρημέλησεν, ἀλλὰ φράσας τὸ πράγμα τῷ βασιλεὶ
κατέστησεν εἰς ἔλεγχον. ἐν δὲ πολλαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις ἀνάγκαις ὁ Φαυστύλος οὐτ’ ἀντιτην
ἐαυτὸν διεφύλαξεν οὔτε παντάπασιν ἐκβιωσθείς, σώζεσθαι μὲν ὀμολόγησε τοὺς παῖδας, εἶναι δ’
ἀπωθεῖν τῆς Ἀλβης ἐφ’ οὐκομοντας: αὐτὸς δὲ τούτῳ
πρὸς τὴν Ἰλιαν φέρων βαδίζειν, πολλάκις ἰδεῖν
καὶ θυγαῖν ἐπ’ ἐλπίδι βεβαιοτέρα τῶν τέκνων
ποθήσασιν.

"Ὅτερ οὖν οἱ ταραττόμενοι καὶ μετὰ δέονς ἢ
πρὸς ὀργὴν πράττοντες ὁτιοῦν ἐπιεικῶς πάσχουσιν,
συνέπεσε παθεῖν τὸν 'Αμούλιον. ἀνδρὰ γὰρ ἄλλῃ
τε χρήστον καὶ τοῦ Νομήτωρος φίλον ὑπὸ στοιν
δής ἔπεμψε, διαπυθέσθαι τοῦ Νομήτωρος κε-
λεύσας εὗ τις ἥκοι λόγος εἰς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν
παῖδων ὡς περιγεννημένων. ἀφικόμενος οὖν ὁ
ἀνθρώπος, καὶ θεασάμενος ὅσον οὐτῶ τὸν Ἐρω-
μον ἐν περιβολαῖς καὶ φιλοφροσύναις τοῦ Νομή-
τωρος, τὴν τε πίστιν ἵσχυραν ἔποιήσε τῆς ἐπίθεος
καὶ παρεκελεύσατο τῶν πραγμάτων ὄξεως ἀντι-
λαμβάνεσθαι, καὶ συνὴν αὐτὸς ἡδῆ καὶ συνέ-
πράττειν. ὁ δὲ καίρος οὐδὲ βουλομένοις ὁκνεῖν
παρεῖχεν. ὁ γὰρ 'Ρωμύλος ἐγνίς ἦν ἡδῆ, καὶ
πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξέδοχεν οὖν ὅλογοι τῶν πολιτῶν μίσει
καὶ φύσι τοῦ Ἀμούλιον. Πολλὴν δὲ καὶ σὺν
αὐτῷ δύναμιν ἤγει συλλεχθαμένη εἰς ἐκα-
tοστάς: ἐκάστης δὲ ἀνήρ ἀφηγεῖτο χόρτου καὶ
ὕλης ἀγκαλίδα κοντῷ περικείμενην ἀνέχων μα-
νύπλα ταῦτας Δατῖνοι καλοῦσιν ἀπ’ ἔκεινον δὲ
καὶ νῦν ἐν τοῖς στρατεύμασι τούτοις μαν-
πλαρίους ὀνομάζουσιν. ἀμα δὲ τοῦ μὲν Ἐρωμοῦ

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make and inscription, conceived a suspicion of the truth, and without any delay told the matter to the king, and brought the man before him to be examined. In these dire and pressing straits, Faustulus did not entirely hold his own, nor yet was his secret wholly forced from him. He admitted that the boys were alive and well, but said they lived at a distance from Alba as herdsmen; he himself was carrying the trough to Ilia, who had often yearned to see and handle it, in confirmation of her hope for her children.

As, then, men naturally fare who are confounded, and act with fear or in a passion, so it fell out that Amulius fared. For he sent in all haste an excellent man and a friend of Numitor's, with orders to learn from Numitor whether any report had come to him of the children's being alive. When, accordingly, the man was come, and beheld Remus almost in the affectionate embraces of Numitor, he confirmed them in their confident hope, and entreated them to proceed at once to action, promptly joining their party himself and furthering their cause. And the opportunity admitted of no delay, even had they wished it; for Romulus was now close at hand, and many of the citizens who hated and feared Amulius were running forth to join him. He was also leading a large force with him, divided into companies of a hundred men, each company headed by a man who bore aloft a handful of hay and shrubs tied round a pole (the Latin word for *handful* is "manipulus," and hence in their armies they still call the men in such companies "manipulares."). And when Remus incited the
τοὺς ἐντὸς ἀφιστάντος, τοῦ δὲ Ῥωμύλου προσάγοντος ἕξωθεν, οὕτω πράξας οὐδὲν ὁ τύραννος οὕτε βουλεύσας σωτηρίου ἐαντῷ, διὰ τὸ ἀπορεῖν καὶ ταράττεσθαι, καταληφθείς ἀπέθανεν.

7 Ὄχι τὰ πλείστα καὶ τοῦ Φαβίου λέγοντος καὶ τοῦ Πεπαρθίου Διοκλέους, ὃς δοκεὶ πρῶτος ἐκδούναι Ῥώμης κτίσιν, ὑποτεκόν μὲν ἐνίοις ἐστὶ τὸ δραματικὸν καὶ πλασματῶδες, οὐ δεὶ δὲ ἀπιστεῖν τὴν τύχην ὁρῶν τῶν ποιημάτων δημουργός ἐστι, καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα λογιζομένως ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐνταῦθα προβῆθη δυνάμεως, μὴ θείαιν τινὰ ἀρχὴν λαβόντα καὶ μηδὲν μέγα μηδὲ παράδοξον ἔχουσαν.

IX. Ἀμουλίου δὲ ἀποθανόντος καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων καταστάντων, Ἀλβην μὲν οὔτ' οἰκεῖν μή ἄρχοντες οὔτ' ἄρχειν ἐβούλοντο τοῦ μητροπόλος ξώντος, ἀποδόντες δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐκεῖνῳ καὶ τῇ μητρίτι τιμᾶς πρεπούσας, ἔγνωσαν οἰκεῖν καθ' ἑαυτούς, πόλει ἐν ὅις χωρίοις ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐνετράφησαν κτίσαντες· αὐτὴ γὰρ ἐυπρεπεστάτη τῶν 2 αἰτιῶν ἐστίν. ἦν δὲ ἱσως ἀναγκαῖον, οἰκεῖοι καὶ ἀποστατῶν πολλῶν ἡδροισμένων πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ἢ καταληφθεῖν παντάπασι τούτων διασπαρέως ἢ συνοικεῖν ἰδίᾳ μετ' αὐτῶν. ὅτε γὰρ οὐκ ἦξον ὁι τῆν Ἀλβην οἴκοντες ἀναμιγνύναι τοὺς ἀποστάτας ἑαυτοῖς οὐδὲ προσδέχεσθαι πολίτας, ἐδήλωσε πρῶτον μὲν τὸ περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἔργον, οὐχ ὑβρεί τολμηθέν, ἀλλὰ δὲ ἀνάγκην, ἐκουσιῶν
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citizens within the city to revolt, and at the same
time Romulus attacked from without, the tyrant,
without taking a single step or making any plan for
his own safety, from sheer perplexity and confusion,
was seized and put to death.

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

IX. Amulius being now dead, and matters settled
in the city, the brothers were neither willing to live
in Alba, unless as its rulers, nor to be its rulers while
their grandfather was alive. Having therefore
restored the government to him and paid fitting
honours to their mother, they resolved to dwell by
themselves, and to found a city in the region where,
at the first, they were nourished and sustained; ¹
this surely seems a most fitting reason for their
course. But perhaps it was necessary, now that
many slaves and fugitives were gathered about them,
either to disperse these and have no following at all,
or else to dwell apart with them. For that the
residents of Alba would not consent to give the
fugitives the privilege of intermarriage with them,
nor even receive them as fellow-citizens, is clear, in
the first place, from the rape of the Sabine women,²
which was not a deed of wanton daring, but one of
necessity, owing to the lack of marriages by consent;

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

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ἀπορία γάμων· ἐτίμησαν γὰρ αὐτὰς ἀρπάζαντες
3 περιττῶς. Ἐπείτα τῆς πόλεως τὴν πρώτην ἱδρυσιν λαμβανούσης, ἵερόν τι φύξιμον τοῖς ἀφισταμένοις κατασκευάσαντες, ὁ Θεοῦ Ἀσυλαίος προσηγόρευν, ἐδέχοντο πάντας, οὔτε δεσπόταις δούλοις οὔτε θήτα χρήσται οὔτε ἄρχουσιν ἀνδροφόνοι ἐκδιδόντες, ἀλλὰ μαντεύματι πυθοχρήστῳ πᾶσι βεβαιοῦν τὴν ἀσυλίαν φάσκοντες, ὥστε πληθύσαι ταχύ τὴν πόλιν ἐπεὶ τὰς γε πρῶτας ἐστίας λέγουσι τῶν χιλίων μὴ πλείονας γενέσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑστεροῦν.

4 Ὅρμησαί δὲ πρὸς τὸν συνοικισμὸν αὐτῶς εὐθὺς ἦν διαφορὰ περὶ τοῦ τόπου. Ῥωμύλος μὲν οὖν τὴν καλουμένην Ῥώμην κοιναδράτην, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τετράγωνον, ἔκτισε, καὶ ἔκεινον ἐβούλετο πολῖζειν τὸν τόπον, Ῥώμος δὲ χωρίον τι τοῦ Ἀβεντίνου καρτερῶν, ὁ δὲ ἔκεινον μὲν ὀνομάσθη.

5 Ῥεμώνιον, νῦν δὲ Ῥιγνάριον καλεῖται. συνθεμένων δὲ τὴν ἐρυμ όρνωσιν αἰσίοις βραβεύσαι καὶ καθεξομένων χωρίς, ἔξαντι τῷ Ῥώμῳ, διπλασίους δὲ τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ προφανῆναι γύπτας. οἱ δὲ τὸν μὲν Ῥώμον ἀληθῶς ἑδείν, ψεύσασθαι δὲ τὸν Ῥωμύλου ἐλθόντος δὲ τοῦ Ῥώμου, τότε τοὺς δώδεκα τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ φαινῆσαι, διὸ καὶ νῦν μάλιστα χρήσθαι γινεῖ Ῥωμαῖοι οἰωνικομένοις.

ἡρόδωρος δὲ ὁ Ποντικὸς ἱστορεῖ καὶ τὸν Ἡρα- 23

6 κλέα χαίρειν γυνῶς ἐπὶ πράξει φανέντος. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ ἀβλαβεστατον ζῷων ἀπάντων, μηδὲν δὲν
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for they certainly honoured the women, when they had carried them off, beyond measure. And in the second place, when their city was first founded, they made a sanctuary of refuge for all fugitives,\(^1\) which they called the sanctuary of the God of Asylum. There they received all who came, delivering none up, neither slave to masters, nor debtor to creditors, nor murderer to magistrates, but declaring it to be in obedience to an oracle from Delphi that they made the asylum secure for all men. Therefore the city was soon full of people, for they say that the first houses numbered no more than a thousand. This, however, was later.

But when they set out to establish their city, a dispute at once arose concerning the site. Romulus, accordingly, built Roma Quadrata (which means square), and wished to have the city on that site; but Remus laid out a strong precinct on the Aventine hill, which was named from him Remonium, but now is called Rignarium. Agreeing to settle their quarrel by the flight of birds of omen,\(^2\) and taking their seats on the ground apart from one another, six vultures, they say, were seen by Remus, and twice that number by Romulus. Some, however, say that whereas Remus truly saw his six, Romulus lied about his twelve, but that when Remus came to him, then he did see the twelve. Hence it is that at the present time also the Romans chiefly regard vultures when they take auguries from the flight of birds.

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

\(^1\) Cf. Livy, i. 8, 5 f.  \(^2\) Cf. Livy, i. 7, 1.
σπείρουσιν ἢ φυτεύουσιν ἢ νέμουσιν ἀνθρώποι σινόμενοι, τρέφεται δὲ ἀπὸ νεκρῶν σωμάτων, ἀποκτίνωσι δ’ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ λυμαίνεται ψυχήν ἔχου, πτηνοῖς δὲ διὰ συγγένειαν οὐδὲ νεκροῖς πρόσεισιν. ἀετοὶ δὲ καὶ γλαύκες καὶ ἓρακες ξώντα κόπτουσι τὰ ὀμόφυλα καὶ φονεύουσι· καίτοι κατ’ Αἰ-σχύλον.

"Ορνιθὸς ὅρνις πῶς ἀν ἀγνεύοι φαγών;

7 ἔτι τάλλα μὲν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς, ὡς ἔτος εἰπεῖν, ἀναστρέφεται καὶ παρέχει διὰ πάντος αἰσθήσεων ἔαυτῶν ο ὅ ἐπὶ γῆς σπανίόν ἔστι θέαμα καὶ νεοσσοῖς γνυτός οὐ ἁδίως ἵσμεν ἐντετυχηκότες, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρέσχεν ἐνίοις ἀτοπον ὑπόνοιαν, ἐξωθεὶν αὐτοὺς ἀφ’ ἑτέρας τινὸς γῆς καταίρειν ἐνταῦθα, τὸ σπάνιον καὶ μὴ συνεχῆς, οὖν οἱ μάντεις ἀξιοῦσιν εἶναι τὸ μῆ κατὰ φύσιν μηδ’ ἀφ’ αὐτοῦ, πομπῇ δὲ θεία φαινόμενον.

Χ. Ἔπει δ’ ἔγνυ τὴν ἀπάτην ὁ Ρώμος, ἔχαλεπαίνε, καὶ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου τάφρον ὁρυττοῦντος ἦ τὸ τεῖχος ἔμελλε κυκλούσθαι, τὰ μὲν ἐχλεύαξε τῶν ἔργων, τοῖς δ’ ἐμποδών ἐγένετο. τέλος δὲ διαλλόμενον αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ Ῥωμύλου πατά-ξαντος, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἐταίρων τινὸς Κέλερος, ἐνταῦθα 2 πεσεῖν λέγουσιν. ἐπεσε δὲ καὶ Φαυστύλος ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ Πλειστύνος, διὸ ἀδελφόν ὁντα Φαυστύλον συνεκθρέψας τοὺς περὶ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου ἱστοροῦσιν, ο μὲν οὖν Κέλερ εἰς Τυρρηνίαν μετέστη καὶ ἀπ’ ἔκεινον τοὺς ταχείς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ οὔζεις κέλερας ὀνομάζουσι· καὶ Κόιντον Μέτελλον, στὶ
of all creatures, injures no grain, fruit-tree, or cattle, and lives on carrion. But it does not kill or maltreat anything that has life, and as for birds, it will not touch them even when they are dead, since they are of its own species. But eagles, owls, and hawks smite their own kind when alive, and kill them. And yet, in the words of Aeschylus:—

"How shall a bird that preys on fellow bird be clean?"

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

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

1 _Suppliants_, 226 (Dindorf). 2 Cf. Livy, i. 7, 2.
τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποθανόντος ἀγώνα μονομάχων ἡμέραις ὀλύγαις ἐποίησε, θαυμάσαντες τὸ τάχος τῆς παρασκευῆς Κέλερα προσηγορέσαν.

XI. Ὁ δὲ Ῥωμύλος ἐν τῇ Ἔρεμωνία 1 θάνατος τοῦ Ῥῶμον ὁμοῦ καὶ τοὺς τροφεῖς, ὢκίζε τὴν πόλιν, ἐκ Τυρρηνίας μεταπεμψάμενος άνδρας ἱεροῖς τισὶ θεσμοῖς καὶ γράμμασιν ὑφηγούμενους ἐκαστα καὶ διδάσκοντας ὅσπερ ἐν τελετῇ. βόθρος γὰρ ὀρύγη περὶ τὸ νῦν Κομίτιον κυκλοτερῆς, ἀπαρχαὶ τε πάντων, ὅσοι νόμῳ μὲν ὡς καλοῖς ἐχρώντο, φύσει δ’ ὡς ἀναγκαῖοι, ἀπετέθησαν ἐνταῦθα. καὶ τέλος, ἦς ἂφικτο γῆς ἐκαστος ὀλύγην κομίζων μοιραῖ, ἐβαλλον εἰς ταῦτα καὶ 2 συνεμίγυνον. καλοῦσι δὲ τὸν βόθρον τοῦτον ὁ καὶ τὸν ὀλυμπὸν ὑώματι μοῦνδον. εἶτα ὅσπερ κύκλον κέντρῳ περιέγραψαν τὴν πόλιν. ὁ δ’ οἰκίστης ἐμβαλὼν ἀρότρῳ χαλκῆν ὑγιν, ὑποζεύξας δὲ βοῦν ἀρρενα καὶ θήλειαν, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπάγει περιελαύνων αὐλακα βαθείαι τῶν τέρμασι, τῶν δ’ ἐπομένου ἔργων ἔστιν, ἃς ἀνίστησι βῶλους τὸ ἀροτρον καταστρέφειν εἰσο, καὶ μηδὲμιᾶν ἔξω 3 περιοράν ἐκτρεπομένην. τῇ μὲν οὖν γραμμῇ τὸ τείχος ἀφορίζουσι καὶ καλεῖται κατὰ συγκοπῆν πωμήριον, οἶνον ὀπίσθεν τείχους ἡ μετὰ τείχος· ὅπου δὲ πύλην ἐμβαλεῖν διανοοῦνται, τὴν ὕγιν ἐξελόντες καὶ τὸ ἀροτρον ὑπερθέντες διάλειμμα

1 'Ερεμωνία Coraës and Bekker, with C: 'Ερμορία.
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took only a few days to provide gladiatorial contests in his honour, and the people were so amazed at his speed in preparing them that they gave him the surname of Celer.

XI. Romulus buried Remus, together with his foster-fathers, in the Remonia,¹ and then set himself to building his city, after summoning from Tuscany men who prescribed all the details in accordance with certain sacred ordinances and writings, and taught them to him as in a religious rite. A circular trench was dug around what is now the Comitium,² and in this were deposited first-fruits of all things the use of which was sanctioned by custom as good and by nature as necessary; and finally, every man brought a small portion of the soil of his native land, and these were cast in among the first-fruits and mingled with them. They call this trench, as they do the heavens, by the name of "mundus." Then, taking this as a centre, they marked out the city in a circle round it. And the founder, having shod a plough with a brazen ploughshare, and having yoked to it a bull and a cow, himself drove a deep furrow round the boundary lines, while those who followed after him had to turn the clods, which the plough threw up, inwards towards the city, and suffer no clod to lie turned outwards. With this line they mark out the course of the wall, and it is called, by contraction, "pomerium," that is "post murum," behind or next the wall. And where they purposed to put in a gate, there they took the share out of the ground, lifted the plough over, and left a vacant

¹ See chapter ix. 4.
² A space adjoining the forum where the people met in assembly. The mundus, or augural centre of the city, was really on the Palatine.
ποιούσιν. ὅθεν ἀπαν τὸ τεῖχος ἱερὸν πλὴν τῶν πυλῶν νομίζουσι τὰς δὲ πύλας ἱερὰς νομίζοντας ὅπερ ἦν ἄνευ δεισιδαιμονίας τὰ μὲν δεχομαί, τὰ δ’ ἀποτέμπειν τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ μὴ καθαρῶν.

XII. "Οτι μὲν οὖν ἡ κτίσις ἡμέρα γένοιτο τῇ πρὸ ἐνδεκα καλαιδῶν Ματών ομολογεῖται καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην ἐστίν τίῳ Πωμαίοι, γενέθλιοι τῆς πατρίδος οὐμάζοντες. ἐν ἀρχῇ δ’, ὡς φασιν, οὗτοι ἐμπυγνοῦ ἔθυον, ἀλλὰ καθαρὰν καὶ ἀναίμακτον φώνη δειν ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος τὴν ἐπώνυμον τῆς γενέσεως ἐορτήν πυλάται. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ πρὸ τῆς κτίσεως βοτηρικὴ τῆς ἦν αὐτοῦ ἔορτή κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν, καὶ Παρίλα προσηγόρευον αὐτήν.

2 Νῦν μὲν οὖν οὗτοι οὐδὲν αἱ Ἡρωμαίκαι νυμφώναι πρὸς τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς ομολογούμενον ἔχουσιν ἐκείνην ὑπὸ τὴν ἡμέραν, ἢ τὴν πόλιν ὁ Ἡρωμύλος ἐκτιζέν, ἀτρεχὴ τριακάδα τυχεῖν λέγουσι καὶ σύνοδον ἐκλειπτικὴν ἐν αὐτῇ γενέσθαι σελήνης πρὸς ἧλιον, ἢν εἰδέναι καὶ Ἀντίμαχον οἴονται, τὸν Τητῖον ἐποποίον, ἔτει τρίτῳ τῆς ἐκτῆς ἀλμυρ- εισί. 3 πιάδος συμπεσοῦσαν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατὰ Βάρρωνα τὸν φιλόσοφον χρόνοις, ἄλλα Ἡρωμαίοι ἐν ἰστορία βιβλιακάτω, ἦν Ταρούτιος ἐταῖρος αὐτοῦ, φιλόσοφος μὲν ἄλλως καὶ μαθηματικός, ἀποτέμενοι δὲ τῆς περὶ τῶν πιάδας μεθόδου θεωρίας 4 ἐνεκα καὶ δοκῶν ἐν αὐτῇ περίττος εἶναι. τοῦτο προσβάλειν ὁ Βάρρων ἀναγαγεῖν τὴν Ἡρωμύλου γένεσιν εἰς ἡμέραν καὶ ὧραν, ἐκ τῶν λεγομένων ἀποτελεσμάτων περὶ τῶν ἄλλα ποιησάμενον τῶν συλλογισμῶν, ὦσπερ αἱ τῶν γεωμετρικῶν υφή-
space. And this is the reason why they regard all the wall as sacred except the gates; but if they held the gates sacred, it would not be possible, without religious scruples, to bring into and send out of the city things which are necessary, and yet unclean.

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

At the present time, indeed, there is no agreement between the Roman and Greek months, but they say that the day on which Romulus founded his city was precisely the thirtieth of the month, and that on that day there was a conjunction of the sun and moon, with an eclipse, which they think was the one seen by Antimachus, the epic poet of Teos, in the third year of the sixth Olympiad.\(^1\) And in the times of Varro the philosopher, a Roman who was most deeply versed in history, there lived Tarutius, a companion of his, who, besides being a philosopher and a mathematician, had applied himself to the art of casting nativities, in order to indulge a speculative turn of mind, and was thought to excel in it. To this man Varro gave the problem of fixing the day and hour of the birth of Romulus, making his deductions from the conjunctions of events reported in the man’s life, just as the solutions of

\(^1\) 754 B.C.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

góynatai probolemátων ἀναλύσεις· τῆς γὰρ αὐτῆς
θεωρίας εἶναι χρόνον τε λαβώντας ἀνθρώπου
γενέσεως βίων προειπέω καὶ βίῳ δοθέντι θηρεύ-
5 σαι χρόνον. ἐποίησεν οὖν τὸ προσταχθὲν ὁ
Ταρούντιος, καὶ τὰ τε πάθη καὶ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ
ἀνδρὸς ἐπιδῶν καὶ χρόνον ζωῆς καὶ τρόπων
τελευτῆς καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα συνθεῖς, εὖ
μάλα τεθαρρυκότως καὶ ἀνδρείως ἀπεφήνατο τὴν
μὲν ἐν τῇ μητρί γεγονέναι τοῦ Ῥωμύλου σύλλη-
ψιν ἔτει πρότω τῆς δευτέρας ὀλυμπιάδος, ἐν
μηι καὶ Αἰγυπτίων Χοιάκ, τρίτη καὶ εἰκάδι,
τρίτης ὡρας, καθ' ἡ θλίος ἔξελπτε παντελῶς·
τὴν δ' ἐμφανῆ γένεσιν ἐν μηι Θώθ, ἡμέρα
6 πρώτῃ μετ' εἰκάδι, περὶ θλίον ἀνατολάς. κτι-
σθήναι δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τῇ ἑνάτῃ Φαρ-
μοβί θνιός ἱσταμένου, μεταξὺ δευτέρας ὡρας
καὶ τρίτης· ἔπει καὶ πόλεως τύχην, ὡσπερ ἀν-
θρώπον, κύριον ἔχειν οἶνοντα χρόνον, ἐκ τῆς
πρώτης γενέσεως πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἄστερων ἐποχὰς
θεωρούμενον. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἵσως καὶ τὰ
τοιαῦτα τῷ ξένῳ καὶ περὶς προσάξεται μᾶλ-
λον ἢ διὰ τὸ μυθώδες ἐνοχλήσει τοὺς ἐντυγχά-
νοντας αὐτοῖς.

XIII. Κτισθείσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως πρώτων μὲν
ὅσον ἦν ἐν ἥλιοις πλῆθος εἰς συντάγματα στρα-
τιωτικά διεῖλεν· ἐκαστον δὲ σύνταγμα πεζῶν
τρισχιλίων ἦν καὶ τρικατσίων ἵππων. ἐκλήθη
δὲ λεγεών τῷ λογάδας εἶναι τοὺς μαχίμους ἐκ
πάντων. ἔπειτα τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἐχρήτῳ δήμῳ
καὶ πολίτευλος ἀνομάσθη τὸ πλῆθος· ἐκατὸν δὲ
toūs ἀρίστους ἀπέδειξε βουλευτάς, καὶ αὐτοὺς

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geometrical problems are derived; for the same science, he said, must be capable not only of foretelling a man's life when the time of his birth is known, but also, from the given facts of his life, of hunting out the time of his birth. This task, then, Tarutius performed, and when he had taken a survey of the man's experiences and achievements, and had brought together the time of his life, the manner of his death, and all such details, he very courageously and bravely declared that Romulus was conceived in his mother's womb in the first year of the second Olympiad,\(^1\) in the month Choeac of the Egyptian calendar, on the twenty-third day, and in the third hour, when the sun was totally eclipsed; and that he was born in the month Thoth, on the twenty-first day, at sun-rise; and that Rome was founded by him on the ninth day of the month Pharnuthi, between the second and third hour: for it is thought that a city's fortune, as well as that of a man, has a decisive time, which may be known by the position of the stars at its very origin. These and similar speculations will perhaps attract readers by their novelty and extravagance, rather than offend them by their fabulous character.

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

\(^1\) 772 B.C.
μὲν πατρικίους, τὸ δὲ σύστημα σενάτων προσήγορε, 2 ρευστεὶς. οὐ μὲν οὖν σενάτων ἀτρεκῶς γερονίαν σημαίνει: πατρικίους δὲ τοὺς βουλευτάς κλη- θήναι λέγουσιν οἱ μὲν ὧτι παῖδων γνησίων πα- τέρες ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ μᾶλλον ὡς αὐτοῦς ἔχοντας ἑαυτῶν ἀποδεῖξαι πατέρας, ὅπερ οὐ πολλοῖς ὑπήρξε τῶν πρῶτων εἰς τὴν πόλιν συνεχοῦσιν· οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τῆς πατρωνείας. οὕτω γὰρ ἐκάλουν τὴν προστασίαν καὶ καλοῦσιν ἄχρι νῦν, οἱ ὑμενεὶ Πατρωνα τίμα τῶν σὺν Εὐανδρῷ παραγενομένων, κηδεμονικὸν τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων ὁντα καὶ βοηθη- τικὸν, ἀφ' αὐτοῦ τῷ πράγματι ταύτην τὴν προση- 3 γορίαν ἀπολιπεῖν. μάλιστα δ' ἂν τις τυγχάνοι τοῦ εἰκότος, εἰ νομίζῃ τὸν Ρωμύλον ἀξιόυσια τοὺς πρῶτους καὶ δυνατωτάτους πατρικῆ κηδε- μονία καὶ φροντίδι προσήκειν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν ταπεινοτέρων, ἀμα δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους διδάσκοντα μὴ δεδέναι μηδ' ἄχθεσθαι ταῖς τῶν κρειττόνων τιμαῖς, ἀλλὰ χρήσθαι μετ' εὐνοίας καὶ νομίζοντας καὶ προσαγορεύοντας πατέρας, οὕτως ὁνομάσαι. 4 καὶ γὰρ ἄχρι νῦν τοὺς ἐν συγκλήτῳ τελοῦσαν οἱ μὲν ἐξωθὲν ἀνδράς ἡγεμόνας καλοῦσιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ Ῥωμαιοὶ πατέρας συγγεγραμμένους, τῷ μέ- γιστον μὲν ἄξιωμα καὶ τιμήν, ἡκίστα δὲ φθόνον ἔχοντι χρόμενοι τῶν ὄνομάτων. ἐν ἄρχῃ μὲν οὖν πατέρας αὐτοὺς μόνων, ὑστερον δὲ πλειώνων προσαναλαμβανομένων, πατέρας συγγεγραμμέ- 25 νους προσηγόρευσαν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἦν ὄνομα σεμνότερον αὐτῷ τῆς προς τὸ δημοτικὸν τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ διαφοράς· ἐτέρους δὲ τοὺς δυνατοὺς 5 νους προσηγόρευσαν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἦν ὄνομα σεμνότερον αὐτῷ τῆς προς τὸ δημοτικὸν τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ διαφοράς· ἐτέροις δὲ τοὺς δυνατοὺς

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appointed to be councillors, calling the individuals themselves "patricians," and their body a "senate." Now the word "senate" means literally a Council of Elders, and the councillors were called "patricians," as some say, because they were fathers of lawful children; or rather, according to others, because they could tell who their own fathers were, which not many could do of those who first streamed into the city; according to others still, from "patronage," which was their word for the protection of inferiors, and is so to this day; and they suppose that a certain Patron, one of those who came to Italy with Evander, was a protector and defender of the poor and needy, and left his own name in the word which designates such activity. But the most reasonable opinion for any one to hold is that Romulus thought it the duty of the foremost and most influential citizens to watch over the more lowly with fatherly care and concern, while he taught the multitude not to fear their superiors nor be vexed at their honours, but to exercise goodwill towards them, considering them and addressing them as fathers, whence their name of Patricii. For down to the present time foreign peoples call the members of their senate "chief men," but the Romans themselves call them "conscript fathers," using that name which has the greatest dignity and honour, and awakens the least envy. At first, then, they called them simply "fathers," but later, when more had been added to their number, they addressed them as "conscript fathers." By this more imposing title Romulus distinguished the senate from the commonalty, and in other ways, too, he separated the nobles from the

1 Cf. Livy, i. 8, 7.
Ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν διήρει, πάτρωνας ὑμομάξων, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ προστάται, ἑκεῖνους δὲ κλέντας, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ πελάται: ἀμα δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους θαυμαστὴν εὕνοιαν αὐτοῖς καὶ μεγάλων δικαίων ὑπάρξουσαν ἐνεποίησεν. οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ ἔξηγητάς τε τῶν νομίμων καὶ προστάτας δικαζομένους συμβούλους τε πάντων καὶ κηδεμόνας ἑαυτοῖς παρεῖχον, ἑκεῖνοι δὲ τούτους ἑθεράπευον οὐ μόνον τιμῶντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ πενομένους θυγατέρας συνεκδιδόντες καὶ χρέα συνεκτίνοντες. καταμαρτυρεῖν τε πελάτον προστάτην, ἢ προστάτον πελάτην, οὔτε νόμος οὔδεις οὔτε ἄρχων ἡμύγακεν. ὤστερον δὲ, τῶν ἄλλων δικαίων μενόντων, τὸ λαμβανεῖν χρήματα τοὺς δυνατοὺς παρὰ τῶν ταπεινοτέρων αἰσχρὸν ἐνομίσθη καὶ ἀγεννές. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τούτων.

XIV. Τετάρτῳ δὲ μηνι μετὰ τὴν κτίσιν, ὡς Φάβιος ἱστορεῖ, τὸ περὶ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν ἐτολμήθη τῶν γυναικῶν. καὶ λέγουσι μὲν ἐνοι τὸν Ῥωμύλον αὐτὸν τῇ φύσει φιλοπόλεμον ὄντα, καὶ πεπεισμένον ἐκ τινῶν ἄρα λογίων ὅτι τὴν Ῥώμην πέπρωται πολέμοις τρεφομένην καὶ αὐξομένην γενέσθαι μεγίσθην, βίας ὑπάρξαι πρὸς τοὺς Σαβίνους· οὐδὲ γὰρ πολλὰς, ἀλλὰ τριάκοντα μόνας παρθένους λαβεῖν αὐτῶν, ἀτε δὴ πολέμου 2 μᾶλλον ἢ γάμων δεόμενον. τούτῳ δὲ οὐκ εἰκός· ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν πόλιν ὅρων ἑποίκων εὐθὺς ἐμπιπταμένην, ὃν ὀλίγοι γυναικάς εἶχον, οὐ δὲ πολλοὶ.
multitude, calling the one "patrons," that is to say, protectors, and the other "clients," that is to say, dependants. At the same time he inspired both classes with an astonishing goodwill towards each other, and one which became the basis of important rights and privileges. For the patrons advised their clients in matters of custom, and represented them in courts of justice, in short, were their counsellors and friends in all things; while the clients were devoted to their patrons, not only holding them in honour, but actually, in cases of poverty, helping them to dower their daughters and pay their debts. And there was neither any law nor any magistrate that could compel a patron to bear witness against a client, or a client against a patron. But in later times, while all other rights and privileges remained in force, the taking of money by those of high degree from the more lowly was held to be disgraceful and ungenerous. So much, then, on these topics.

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

¹ Cf. Livy, i. 9.
μυγάδες ἡξ ἀπόρων καὶ ἀφανῶν ὄντες ὑπερεωρώντο καὶ προσεδοκῶντο μὴ συμμενεῖν βεβαιῶς, ἐλπίζων δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Σαβίνους τρόπον τινὰ συγκράσεως καὶ κοινωνίας ἀρχὴν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἀδικημα ποιῆσεν ἠμερωσαμένοις τὰς γυναῖκας, ἐπεχείρησε τῷ ἔργῳ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον.

3 Διεδόθη λόγος ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πρῶτον ὡς θεοῦ τινος ἀνευρήκοι βωμὸν ὑπὸ γῆς κεκρυμμένον. ὁμόμαζον δὲ τὸν θεὸν Κώνσον, εἶτε βουλαίον ὄντα (κωσσίλιον γὰρ ἔτι νῦν τὸ συμβουλίον καλοῦσι, καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους κωνσούλας, οἷον προβούλουσι), εἶτε ἦπιπιον Ποσειδώ. καὶ γὰρ ὁ βωμὸς ἐν τῷ μεῖζον τῶν ἱπποδρόμων ἐστίν, ἀφανῆς τὸν ἀλλον χρόνου, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἰππικοῖς ἀγῶνων ἀνακαλυπτόμενοι. οἱ δὲ καὶ ὅλως φασὶ τοῦ βουλεύματος ἀπορρήτου καὶ ἀφανοῦς ὄντος ὑπόγειον ὕπκ ἀλόγως τῷ θεῷ βωμὸν γενέσθαι κεκρυμμένον. ἄσ δ’ ἀνεφάνη, θυσίαν τε λαμμαρὰν ἐπὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ἀγώνα καὶ θέαν ἐκ καταγγελίας ἐπετελεί πανηγυρικὴν. καὶ πόλλοι μὲν ἀνθρωποὶ συνήλθον, αὐτὸς δὲ προκάθησε μετὰ τῶν ἄριστῶν ἁλουργίδω κεκοσμημένος. ἦν δὲ τοῦ καιροῦ τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως σύμβολον ἔξαναστάντα τὴν ἁλουργίδα πτύξαι καὶ περιβαλέσθαι πάλιν. ἔχοντες οὖν ἕιφη πόλλοι προσεῖχον αὐτῷ, καὶ τοῦ σημείου γενομένου σπασάμενοι τὰ ἕιφη καὶ μετὰ βοής ὀρμήσας ἠρπαξών τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν Σαβίνων, αὐτοὺς δὲ φεύγοντας εἰών καὶ
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and obscure persons, were looked down upon and expected to have no strong cohesion; and hoping to make the outrage an occasion for some sort of blending and fellowship with the Sabines after their women had been kindly entreated, he set his hand to the task, and in the following manner.

First a report was spread abroad by him that he had discovered an altar of a certain god hidden underground. They called this god Consus, and he was either a god of counsel (for “consilium” is still their word for counsel, and they call their chief magistrates “consuls,” that is to say, counsellors), or an equestrian Neptune. For the altar is in the Circus Maximus, and is invisible at all other times, but at the chariot-races it is uncovered. Some, however, simply say that since counsel is secret and unseen, it is not unreasonable that an altar to the god of counsel should be hidden underground.¹

Now when this altar was discovered, Romulus appointed by proclamation a splendid sacrifice upon it, with games, and a spectacle open to all people. And many were the people who came together, while he himself sat in front, among his chief men, clad in purple. The signal that the time had come for the onslaught was to be his rising and folding his cloak and then throwing it round him again. Armed with swords, then, many of his followers kept their eyes intently upon him, and when the signal was given, drew their swords, rushed in with shouts, and ravished away the daughters of the Sabines, but permitted and encouraged the men

¹ The altar was kept buried in the earth to signify the secret processes of nature in the production of crops and vegetation. For Consus was an ancient Italian god of agriculture.
6 παρίεσαν. ἀρπασθήναι δὲ φασίν οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα μόνας, ἀφ’ ὅν καὶ τάς φρατρίας ὀνόμασθήναι, Οὐαλλέριος δὲ Ἰούντιας ἐπτὰ καὶ εἰκοσι καὶ πεντακοσίας, Ἰόβας δὲ τρεῖς καὶ ὄγδούκοντα καὶ ἕξακοσίας παρθένους. Ὁ μέγιστον ἢν ἀπολόγημα τῷ Ἰωμύλῳ γυναῖκα γὰρ οὐ λαβεῖν ἅλλ’ ἢ μίαν, Ἄρσιλίαν, διὰ λαθοῦσαν αὐτοὺς, ἀτε δὴ μὴ μεθ’ ὑβρεως μη’ ἀδικίας ἐξόντας ἐπὶ τὴν ἅρπαγήν, ἅλλα συμμίξαι καὶ συναγαγεῖν εἰς ταῦτα τὰ γένη ταῖς μεγίσταις ἀνάγκαις διανοηθέντας. τὴν δ’ Ἄρσιλίαν οἱ μὲν Ὀστίλιον γῆμαι λέγουσιν, ἀνδρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐπιφανέστατον, οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν Ἰωμύλον, καὶ γενέσθαι καὶ παῖδας αὐτῷ, μίαν μὲν θυγατέρα Πρίμαν, τῇ τάξει τῆς γενέσεως οὐτω προσαγορευθέσαν, ἔνα δ’ υἱὸν μόνον, ὁν Ἀόλλιον μὲν ἐνεῖνος ἀπὸ τῆς γενομένης ἀθροίσεως υπ’ αὐτοῦ τῶν πολιτῶν ὄνομασεν, οἱ δ’ ὦστερον Ἀβίλλου. ἅλλα ταῦτα μὲν ἰστορῶν Ζηνόδοτος ὁ Τροιζήνας πολλοὺς ἔχει τοὺς ἀντιλέγουται.

XV. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀρπάζοσι τὰς παρθένους τότε τυχεῖν λέγουσι τῶν οὐκ ἐπιφανῶν τινας ἀγοντας κόρην τῷ τε κάλλει πολύ καὶ τῷ μεγέθει διαφέρουσαν. ἐπεὶ δ’ ἀπαντώντες ἔνιοι τῶν κρείττονων ἐπεχείροι άφαρείσθαι, βοᾷν τοὺς ἄγοντας ὡς Ταλασίφ κομίζονεν αὐτὴν, ἀνδρὶ νέῳ 2 μὲν, εὐδοκίμῳ δὲ καὶ χρηστῷ τούτ’ οὖν ἄκοισαντας εὐφημεῖν καὶ κροτεῖν ἐπαινοῦντας, ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ παρακολουθεῖν ἀναστρέφαντας εὐνοία καὶ

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

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

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

2 A Greek etymology, connecting the name with ἄναλης, "in throngs."
χάριτι τοῦ Ταλάσιου, μετὰ βοής τούνομα φθεγγομένους. ἀφ’ οὗ δὴ τοῦ Ταλάσιου ἄχρι νῦν, ὡς Ἑλληνες τὸν Ἱμέναιον, ἐπάδουσι Ῥωμαίοι τοῖς γάμοις· καὶ γὰρ εὐτυχία φασὶ χρῆσασθαι περὶ τῆς γυναίκα τῶν Ταλάσιον.

Σέξτιος δὲ Σύλλας ὁ Καρχηδόνιος, οὔτε μουσῶν οὔτε χαρίτων ἐπιδεής ἀνήρ, ἔλεγεν ἡμῖν ὅτι τῆς ἀρπαγῆς σύνθημα τὴν φωνήν ἐδωκε ταύτην ὁ Ῥωμύλος. ἀπαντεῖσιν οὖν τὸν Ταλάσιον ἐβόων οἱ τάς παρθένους κομίζουσι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῖς γάμοις παραμένει τὸ ἔθος. οἱ δὲ πλείστοι νομίζουσιν, ὅν καὶ Ἡρόδας ἐστί, παράκλησιν εἰναι καὶ παρακέλυσιν εἰς φιλεργίαν καὶ ταλασίαν, οὔπω τότε τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς οὖν μασί τῶν Ἰταλικῶν ἐπικεχυμένων. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο μὴ λέγεται κακῶς, ἀλλ’ ἔχρωντο Ῥωμαίοι τότε τῷ ὅνοματι τῆς ταλασίας, καθάπερ ἡμεῖς, ἔτεραν ἀν τις αἰτίαν εἰκάσει πιθανωτέραν. ἔπει γὰρ οἱ Σαβίνοι πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πολεμήσαντες διηλλάγησαν, ἐγένοντο συνθήκαι περὶ τῶν γυναικῶν, ὅπως μηδὲν ἄλλο ἔργον τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἢ τὰ περὶ τὴν ταλασίαν ὑπουργός. παρέμεινεν οὖν καὶ τοῖς αὐθὲς γαμούσι τοὺς διδόντας ἢ παραπέμποντας ἢ ὅλως παρόντας, ἀναφωνεῖν τὸν Ταλάσιον μετὰ παιδίας, μαρτυρομένους ὡς ἐπ’ οὖδὲν ἄλλο ὑποūργημα τῆς γυναικὸς ἢ ταλασίαν εἰσαγομένης. διαμένει δὲ μέχρι νῦν τὸ τῆς νύμφης αὐτῆς ἀφ’ αὐτῆς μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν τὸν οὖδὲν εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον, ἀλλ’ αἰρομένην εἰσφέρεσθαι, διὰ τὸ καὶ τότε κομισθη-
and accompanied them, out of good will and favour to Talasius, shouting his name as they went along. Hence, indeed, down to the present time, Talasius is the nuptial cry of the Romans, as Hymenæus is of the Greeks; for they say that Talasius was fortunate in his wife.

But Sextius Sulla, the Carthaginian, a man who lacks neither learning nor charm, told me that Talasius was the word which Romulus gave as a watchword for the rape. All those, therefore, who took the maidens away, shouted “Talasius!” and on this account the custom now prevails at marriages. But most writers are of the opinion—and Juba is one of them—that the cry is an exhortation and incitement to industry and “talasia,” as the Greeks call spinning, Italian words having not yet at that time entirely submerged the Greek. Now if this is right, and the Romans did at that time use the word “talasia” for spinning, as we do, then a more credible reason for the custom might be conjectured as follows. When the Sabines, after their war against the Romans, were reconciled with them, it was agreed that their women should perform no other tasks for their husbands than those which were connected with spinning. It was customary, therefore, at subsequent marriages, for those who gave the bride away, or escorted her to her new home, or simply looked on, to cry “Talasius!” merrily, in testimony that the woman was led home for no other task than that of spinning. And it continues to be a custom down to the present time that the bride shall not of herself cross the threshold into her new home, but be lifted up and carried in, because the Sabine women were carried in
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ναι βιασθείσας μη εἰσελθείν.\(^1\) ἦνοι δὲ λέγοντες καὶ τὸ τὴν κόμην τῆς γαμουμένης αἴχημα διακρίνεσθαι δορατίου σύμβολον εἶναι τοῦ μετὰ μάχης καὶ πολεμικῶς τὸν πρῶτον γάμον γενέσθαι. περὶ ὧν ἐπιπλέον ἐν τοῖς Αἴτίοις εἰρήκαμεν.

Ἐτολμήθη μὲν οὖν ἡ ἀρπαγὴ περὶ τὴν ὁκτωκαίδεκάτην ἡμέραν τοῦ τότε μὲν Σεξτιλίου μηνός, Αὐγοῦστον δὲ νῦν, ἐν ἡ τὴν τῶν Κωνσαλίων ἐστὶν ἀγωνίαν.

XVI. Οἱ δὲ Σαβίνοι πολλοὶ μὲν ἦσαν καὶ πολεμικοὶ, κώμας δὲ φόικον ἀτείχιστος, ὡς προσηκόντως μέγα φρονεῖν καὶ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι

2 Δακεδαιμονίων ἀποίκοις οὖσιν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὁμόθετος αὐτοῦς ἔνδεδεμένους μεγάλοις ὀμηρεύμασι, καὶ δεδιότες περὶ τῶν θυγατέρων, πρέσβεις ἀπεστειλαν ἐπιεικῆ καὶ μέτρια προκαλοῦμενοι, τὸν Ῥωμύλου ἀποδόντα τὰς κόρας αὐτοῖς καὶ λύσαντα τὸ τῆς βίας ἔργον, έπειτα πεθόν καὶ νόμῳ πράττειν τοῖς γένεσι φιλίαν καὶ οἰκεῖοτητα. τοῦ δὲ Ῥωμύλου τὰς μὲν κόρας μὴ προιμεῖσθαι, παρακαλοῦντος δὲ τὴν κοινωνίαν δέχεσθαι τοὺς

3 Σαβίνων, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι βουλεύομενοι καὶ παρασκευάζομεν διέτριβον, Ἀκρων δὲ βασιλεὺς Κενηντῶν, ἀνὴρ θυμοειδὴς καὶ δεινός ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς, τὰ τε πρῶτα τολμήματα τοῦ Ῥωμύλου δι' ὑποψίας εἴχε, καὶ τῷ πραχθέντι περὶ τᾶς 27 γυναίκας ἥδη φοβηρὸν ἡγούμενος τᾶσιν εἶναι καὶ οὐκ ἀνεκτόν, εἰ μὴ κολασθείν, προεξεταστή τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ἐχώρησε δυνάμεως ἐπ' 

1 μὴ εἰσελθείν bracketed by Bekker.

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by force, and did not go in of their own accord. And some say also that the custom of parting the bride's hair with the head of a spear is a reminder that the first marriage was attended with war and fighting; on which topic I have spoken more fully in my "Roman Questions." 1

Leaving such matters aside, the rape was committed on the eighteenth day of the month once called Sextilis, but now, August, on which day the festival of the Consualia 2 is celebrated.

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

1 Morals, p. 285 c (Question 87).
2 A harvest festival, named from Consus. See chapter xiv. 3.

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4 αὐτῶν καὶ ὁ Ἀρωμύλος ἐπ’ ἐκείνων. γενόμενοι δὲ ἐν ὁψεὶ καὶ κατιδόντες ἀλλήλους προῦκαλοῦντο μάχεσθαι, τῶν στρατευμάτων ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις ἀτρεμοῦντων. εὐξάμενοι οὖν ὁ Ἀρωμύλος, εἰ κρατήσει καὶ καταβάλλοι, τῷ Δίῳ φέρων ἀναθήσειν αὐτός τὰ ὀπλα τοῦ ἀνδρός, αὐτὸν τε καταβάλλει κρατήσας καὶ τρέπεται τὸ στράτευμα μάχης γενομένης, αἰρεῖ δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν οὐ μὴν ἡδίκησε τοὺς ἐγκαταληφθέντας, ἀλλ’ ἡ τὰς οἰκίας ἐκέλευσε καθελόντας ἀκολουθεῖν εἰς Ἀρωμύλον, ὅσ πολίταις ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱσοίς ἐσομένους.

5 Τούτου μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ τι μᾶλλον ἥξισε τὴν Ἀρωμύλον, ἀλλ’ προσποιοῦσαν ἐαυτὴ καὶ συννέμουσαν ὅν κρατήσειν ὁ δὲ Ἀρωμύλος, ὥσ τιν μάλιστα τὴν εὐχὴν τῷ τε Δίῳ κεχαρισμένην καὶ τοῖς πολίταις ἱδεῖν ἐπιτερπὴ παράσχοι σκεψάμενος, ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου δρῦν ἔτεμεν ὑπερμεγέθη, καὶ διεμόρφωσεν ὡσπερ τρόπαιον, καὶ τῶν ὀπλῶν τοῦ Ἀκρωνος ἔκαστον ἐν τάξει περιήμοσε καὶ κατήρτησεν αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν μὲν ἔσθητα περιεξόσατο, δάφθη δὲ ἐστέψατο τὴν κεφαλὴν κομῶσαν. ὑπολαβὼν δὲ τῷ δεξιῷ τὸ τρόπαιον ὀμορ προσερειδόμενον ὅρθων, ἔβαδιξεν ἐξάρχων ἐπινικίου παιάνος ἐν ὀπλοῖς ἐπομένῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ, δεχομένων τῶν πολιτῶν μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ θαυματος. ἡ μὲν οὖν πομπὴ τῶν αὐθίς θριάμβων ἀρχὴν καὶ ἱλον παρέσχε τὸ δὲ τρόπαιον ἀνά-
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force advanced against him. Romulus also marched out to meet him. But when they were face to face and had surveyed each other, they challenged mutually to single combat before battle, while their armies remained quiet under arms. Romulus, then, after making a vow that if he should conquer and overthrow his adversary, he would carry home the man's armour and dedicate it in person to Jupiter, not only conquered and overthrew him, but also routed his army in the battle which followed, and took his city as well. To the captured citizens, however, he did no harm beyond ordering them to tear down their dwellings and accompany him to Rome, where, he promised them, they should be citizens on equal terms with the rest.

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

1 Cf. Livy, i. 10.
θημα Φερετρίου Δίος ἐπωνομάσθη. τὸ γὰρ πλήξαι φερίε Ῥωμαίοι καλούσιν εὐξατο δὲ πλήξαι 7 τὸν ἀνδρα καὶ καταβαλεῖν ὀπίμα δὲ τὰ σκῦλα, φησὶ Βάρρων, καθότι καὶ τὴν περιουσίαν ὅπεμ λέγονσι. πιθανότερον δ᾿ ἂν τις ἐξεῖ διὰ τὴν πράξιν ὅπους γὰρ ἀνομάζεται τὸ ἔργον. αὐτουργῷ δὲ ἀριστεῖας στρατηγῷ στρατηγὸν ἀνελόντι δέδοται καθιέρωσις ὅπιμων.

Καὶ τρισὶ μόνῳ ποτοῦ τυχεῖν ὑπήρξε Ῥωμαίος ἕγεμος, πρῶτῳ Ῥωμύλῳ, κτείναντι τὸν Κενινήτην Ἀκρωνα, δευτέρῳ Κορυνλῷ Κόσσῳ, Τυρρηνὸν ἀνελόντι Τολούμνιον, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ Κλαυδίῳ Μαρκέλλῳ, Βριτομάρτου κρατήσαντι 8 Γαλατῶν βασιλέως. Κόσσος μὲν οὖν καὶ Μάρκελλος ἤδη τεθρίπτησε περιστερανόν αὐτοῖ στὰ τρόπατα φέροντε. Ῥωμύλον δ᾿ οὐκ ὀρθῶς φησιν ἀρματι χρήσασθαι Διονύσιος. Ταρκύνιον γὰρ ἵστορυσι τὸν Δημαράτου τῶν βασιλέων πρῶτον εἰς τὸ τοῦ τοσχίμα καὶ τὸν όγκον ἐξάραι τοὺς θεράμβους ἐτεροὶ δὲ πρῶτον ἐφ᾿ ἀρματος θραμβεύσαι Ποτλικόλαν. τοῦ δὲ Ῥωμύλου τὰς εἰκόνας ὃραν ἐστιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὰς τροπαιοφόρους πεζὰς ἀπάσας.

XVII. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Κενινητῶν ἄλωσιν ἐτι τῶν ἄλλων Σαβίνων ἐν παρασκευαῖς ὄντων, συνέστησαν οἱ Φιδήνην καὶ Κρουστουμέριον καὶ Ἀντέμναν σικοῦντες ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ μάχης
trophy was styled a dedication to Jupiter Feretrius, so named from the Roman word "ferire," to *smile*; for Romulus vowed to *smile* his foe and overthrow him. And such spoils were called "opima," because as Varro says, "opes" is the Roman word for *richness*; but it would be more plausible to say that they were so called from the *deed of valour* involved, since "opus" is the Roman word for *deed or exploit*. And only to a general who with his own hand has performed the exploit of slaying an opposing general, has the privilege of dedicating the "spolia opima" been granted.

Furthermore, only three Roman leaders have attained this honour: Romulus first, for slaying Acrorn the Caeninensian; next, Cornelius Cossus, for killing Tolumnius the Tuscan;¹ and lastly, Claudius Marcellus, for overpowering Britomartus, king of the Gauls.² Cossus indeed, and Marcellus, already used a four-horse chariot for their entrance into the city, carrying the trophies themselves, but Dionysius³ is incorrect in saying that Romulus used a chariot. For it is matter of history that Tarquin, the son of Demaratus, was first of the kings to lift triumphs up to such pomp and ceremony, although others say that Publicola was first to celebrate a triumph riding on a chariot.⁴ And the statues of Romulus bearing the trophies are, as may be seen in Rome, all on foot.

XVII. After the capture of the Caeninensians, while the rest of the Sabines were still busy with their preparations, the people of Fidenae, Crustumenum, and Antemnae banded together against the

¹ In 436 B.C., according to Livy, iv. 19, 1-5.
² In 222 B.C. See Plutarch's *Marcellus*, vii.
³ *Antiq. Rom.* ii. 34. ⁴ Cf. *Publicola*, ix. 5.
γενομένης ἠττηθέντες ὁμοίως, τάς τε πόλεις Ῥωμύλως παρήκαν ἐλεῖν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀδίστασθαι καὶ μετοικίασαι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἰς Ῥώμην. οὐ δὲ Ῥωμύλος τὴν μὲν ἄλλην κατένεμε χώραν τοῖς πολίταις, ὡσποδέν οἱ τῶν ἄρτηκενων παρθένων πατέρες, αὐτοὺς ἔχειν ἐκεῖνοι εἴσεν. 2 'Επὶ τούτων βαρέως φέροντες οἱ λοιποὶ Σαβῖνοι Τάτιον ἀποδείξαντες στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐστράτευσαν ἣν δὲ δυσπρόσοδος ἡ πόλις, ἔχουσα πρόβλημα τὸ νῦν Καπιτόλιον, ἐν φρουρὰ καθειστὴκει καὶ Ταρπῆιος ἠγεμόνων αὐτῆς, οὐχὶ Ταρπηία παρθένος, ὡς ἔνιοι λέγουσιν, εὐθυθὴ τὸν Ῥωμύλον ἀποδεικνύοντες· ἀλλὰ θυγάτηρ ἡ Ταρπηία τοῦ ἄρχοντος οὐσα προὔδωκε τοῖς Σαβίνοις, ἐπιθυμήσασα τῶν χρυσῶν βραχιωτήρων οὐς εἰδε περιεκεμένους, καὶ ἠτίησε μισθὸν τῆς προ- 28 δοσίας ἃ φοροῖν ἐν ταῖς ἀριστερὰς χερσί. συνθε- μένου δὲ τοῦ Τατίου, νῦκτωρ ἀνοίξασα πύλην μίαν ἐδέξατο τοὺς Σαβίνους. οὐ μόνος οὖν, ὡς ἔοικεν, Ἰωύγνος ἐφῆ προδιδόντας μὲν φιλεῖν, προδεδω- κότας δὲ μισεῖν, οὔδε Καίσαρ, εἰπὼν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ῥακός Ῥομητάλκου, φιλεῖν μὲν προδοσίαν, προ- δότην δὲ μισεῖν· ἀλλὰ κοινὸν τὸ τοῦτο πάθος ἔστι πρὸς τοὺς πονηροὺς τοῖς δεομένοις αὐτῶν, ὃςπερ ἰοῦ καὶ χολῆς ἐνών θηρίων δέονται· τὴν γὰρ χρείαν ὅτε λαμβάνουσιν ἀγαπῶντες, ἐχθαίρουσι 4 τὴν κακίαν ὅταν τύχωσι. τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ταρπηίαν τότε παθῶν ὁ Τάτιος ἐκέλευσε μεμνη-
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Romans, and in a battle which ensued, they were likewise defeated, and surrendered to Romulus their cities to be seized, their territory to be divided, and themselves to be transported to Rome. Romulus distributed among the citizens all the territory thus acquired, excepting that which belonged to the parents of the ravished maidens; this he suffered its owners to keep for themselves.

At this the rest of the Sabines were enraged, and after appointing Tatius their general, marched upon Rome. The city was difficult of access, having as its fortress the present Capitol, on which a guard had been stationed, with Tarpeius as its captain,—not Tarpeia, a maiden, as some say, thereby making Romulus a simpleton. But Tarpeia, a daughter of the commander, betrayed the citadel to the Sabines, having set her heart on the golden armlets which she saw them wearing, and she asked as payment for her treachery that which they wore on their left arms. Tatius agreed to this, whereupon she opened one of the gates by night and let the Sabines in.

Antigonus was not alone, then, in saying that he loved men who offered to betray, but hated those who had betrayed; nor yet Caesar, in saying of the Thracian Rhoemetalces, that he loved treachery but hated a traitor; but this is a very general feeling towards the base on the part of those who need their services, just as they need certain wild creatures for their venom and gall; for while they feel the need of them, they put up with them, but abhor their vileness when they have obtained from them what they want. This, too, was the feeling which Tatius then had towards Tarpeia, when he ordered

1 Cf. Livy, i. 11.
μένους τῶν ὁμολογῶν τοὺς Σαβίνους μηδενὸς αὐτῇ φθονεῖν δὲν ἐν ταῖς ἀριστερᾶς ἔχουσι. καὶ πρῶτος ἄμα τὸν βραχιονιστήρα τῆς χειρὸς περιελὼν καὶ τὸν θυρεόν ἐπέρριψε. πάντων δὲ αὐτὸ ποιοῦντων βαλλομένη τε τῷ χρυσῷ καὶ καταχωσθείσα τοῖς θυρεοῖς ὑπὸ πλήθους καὶ 5 βάρους ἀπέθανεν. ἐάλω δὲ καὶ Ταρπηίος προδοσίας ὑπὸ Ῥωμύλου διωχθείς, ὡς Ἰόβας φησὶ Γάλβαν Σουλπίκιοιν ἱστορεῖν. τῶν δὲ ἄλλα περὶ Ταρπηίας λεγόντων ἀπίθανοι μὲν εἰσίν οἱ Τατίου θυγατέρα τοῦ ἡγεμόνος τῶν Σαβίνων ὁδῶν αὐ- τῆς, Ῥωμύλῳ δὲ βίᾳ συνικουσάν, ἱστοροῦντες ταῦτα ποιήσαι καὶ παθεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρός· δὲν καὶ Ἀντίγονος ἔστι. Σιμύλος δ’ ὁ ποιητὴς καὶ παντάπασι ληρεὶ μὴ Σαβίνους οἰόμενος, ἄλλα Κελτοῖς τὴν Ταρπηίαν προδοῦναι τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἑρασθείσαν αὐτῶν τοῦ βασιλέως. λέγει δὲ ταῦτα·

‘Η δ’ ἄγχος Τάρπεια παραὶ Καπιτώλιοιν αἶπος ναίουσα Ῥώμης ἑπλετο τειχολέτις,
Κελτῶν ἡ στέρξασα γαμήλα λέκτρα γενέσθαι
σκηπτούχῳ, πατέρων οὐκ ἐφύλαξε δόμους.
καὶ μετ’ ὀλίγα περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς·

Τὴν δ’ οὔτ’ ἀρ Βόιοι τε καὶ ἔθνεα μνήμα Κελτῶν
χηράμενοι ἰείθρων ἐντὸς ἔθνεο Πάδουν·
ὅπλα δ’ ἐπιπροβαλόντες ἀρειμανέων ἀπ’ χειρῶν
κούρη ἐπὶ στυγερῆ κόσμου ἔθεντο φόνον.

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

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

And a little after, speaking of her death:—

“Her the Boii and the myriad tribes of Gauls
Did not, exulting, cast amid the currents of the Po;
But hurled the shields from their belligerent arms
Upon the hateful maid, and made their ornament her doom.”
XVIII. Τῆς μέντοι Ταρπηνίας ἐκεί ταφείς ὁ λόφος ὕψος ἡμικάτετο Ταρπηνία, ἀρχι οὗ Ταρκυνίου βασιλέως Διὸ τὸν τόπον καθερώντος ἄμα τε τὰ λείψανα μετηνέχθη καὶ τούνομα τῆς Ταρπηνίας ἐξέλειπε. πλὴν πέτραν ἔτι νῦν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ Ταρπηνίαν καλούσι, ἀφ’ ἦς ἔρριπτον τοὺς κακούργους.

2 Ἔχομένης δὲ τῆς ἀκρας ὑπὸ τῶν Σαβίνων, δέ τε 'Ρωμύλος ὑπ’ ὀργῆς εἰς μάχην αὐτοὺς προύκαλεῖτο, καὶ οὗ Τάτιος ἢμάρρει, καρτεράν, εἰ βιασθεῖτε, ἀνακάρφηστι ὅρων αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχουσαν. ὁ γὰρ μεταξὺ τῶν, ἐν οὗ συμπίπτειν ἔμελλον, ὑπὸ πολλῶν λόφων περιεχόμενος ἀγώνα μὲν ἰὰν ἐδόκει καὶ χαλεπὸν ὑπὸ δυσχαρίας ἀμφοτέρους παρεξεῖν, φυγῆς δὲ καὶ διώξεις ἐν στενῷ βραχεῖας. ἔτυχε δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἁμαράσαντος ὑπὸ πολλὰς πρότερον ἡμέραις, ἐγκαταλελείφθαι τέλμα βιαθῇ καὶ τυφλῶν ἐν τῶν ἐπιπέδων κατὰ τὴν νῦν οὐσίαν ἀγοράντες δὲν οὐκ ἦν ὅπειρο πρόδηλον, οὐδ’ εὐφύλακτον, ἄλλος δὲ χαλεπὸν καὶ ὑπούλιον. επὶ τοῦτο τοῖς Σαβίνοις ἀπειρίᾳ φερομένοις εὐτύχιω νηματε, τούτος Κούρτιος ἤρωρ ἐπιφανῆς, δόξη καὶ φρονήματι γαύρος, ἔπεικε οὐκολ’ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἔχωσι: δεξάμενον δὲ τοῦ βαράθρου τὸν ἐπὶ πάντα ἀχρῆς μὲν τινος ἐπειρᾶτο πληγῆ καὶ παρακελεύσει χρώμενος ἐξελάυσεν, ὡς δ’ ἦν ἀμήχανος, εἴσας τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντα ἐαυτὸν ἔσωσε. ὁ μὲν οὖν τόπος δ’ ἐκεῖνον ἔτι νῦν Κούρτιος λάκκος ὑπομάζεται: μυλαξάμενοι δὲ τὸν κίνδυνον οἱ Σαβίνοι μάχην καρτερὰν ἐμαχέσαντο κρίσιν οὐ λαβόσιν, καὶ τοῖς πολλῶν πεσόντων, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ
ROMULUS

XVIII. However, Tarpeia was buried there, and the hill was called from her Tarpeius, until King Tarquin dedicated the place to Jupiter, when her bones were removed and the name of Tarpeia died out, except that a cliff on the Capitol is still called the Tarpeian Rock, from which they hurl male-factors.

The citadel thus occupied by the Sabines, 1 Romulus angrily challenged them to battle, and Tatius was bold enough to accept, since he saw that the Sabines, if worsted, had a strong place of retreat. For the intervening space, in which they were to join battle, being surrounded by many hills, seemed to impose upon both parties a sharp and grievous contest, owing to the difficulties of the field, where flight and pursuit must be narrowly confined and short. It happened, too, since the river had overflowed not many days before, that a deep and blind slime had been left in the valley where the forum is now. Wherefore it was not apparent to the eye, nor yet easy to avoid, and besides it was soft beneath the surface and dangerous. On to this the Sabines were ignorantly rushing, when a piece of good fortune befell them. Curtius, a conspicuous man among them, eager for glory and high design, was advancing on horseback far in front of the rest, when his horse sank in the gulf of mud. For some time he tried to drive him out, with blows and cries of encouragement, but since it was impossible, he abandoned his horse and saved himself. Accordingly, the place to this day is called from him "lacus Curtius." But the Sabines, having avoided this peril, fought a sturdy fight, and one which was indecisive, although

1 Cf. Livy, i. 12.
5 Ὄστιλιος. τοῦτον Ἑρασίλιας ἄνδρα καὶ πάππον Ὀστιλίου τοῦ μετὰ Νομᾶν βασιλεύσαντος γενέσθαι λέγουσιν. αὐθίς δὲ πολλῶν ἄγωνων ἐν βραχεὶ συνισταμένων, ὡς εἰκός, ἐνὸς μάλιστα τοῦ τελευταίου μνημονεύουσιν, ἐν φ’ Ῥωμύλου τὴν κεφαλὴν πληγέντος λίθῳ καὶ πεσεῖν ὀλίγων δεήσαντος τοῦ τ’ ἀντέχειν υφεμένῳ τοῖς Σαβίνοις, ἐνέδωκαν οἱ Ῥωμαίοι καὶ φυγῆ πρὸς τὸ Παλάτιον
6 ἐχώρουν ἐξωθούμενοι τῶν ἐπιτεόν. ἦδη δὲ οἱ Ῥωμύλος ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς ἀναφέρων ἐβούλετο μὲν εἰς τὰ ὅπλα χωρεῖν τοῖς φεύγονσιν ἐναντίως, καὶ μέγα βοῶν ἵστασθαι καὶ μάχεσθαι παρεκάλει. πολλὴς δὲ τῆς φυγῆς αὐτῷ περιχειμαθής καὶ μηδενὸς ἀναστρέφειν τολμῶντος, ἀνατείνας εἰς οὐρανὸν τὰς χεῖρας εὔξατο τῷ Διός στήσαι τὸ στράτευμα καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα πεσόντα
7 μὴ περιήδειν, ἀλλ’ ὀρθώσαι. γενομένης δὲ τῆς εὐχῆς, αἰώνιος τέ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔσχε πολλοὺς καὶ θάρσους ἐκ μεταβολῆς παρέστη τοῖς φεύγονσιν. ἔστησαν οὖν πρῶτον οὐ νῦν ὁ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Στάτορος ὅρμαι νεώς, ἢν ἐπιστάσιον ἢν τις ἐρμηνεύσειν εἶσα συναπτικὰς πάλιν ἔσωσαν ὅπλοί τῶν Σαβίνων ἐπὶ τὴν νῦν Ῥήγιαν προαγορευομένην καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱερὸν.

XIX. Ἐνταῦθα δ’ αὐτῶς ῥσπερ ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς μάχεσθαι παρασκευαζόμενος ἐπέσχε δεινῶν ἱδεῖν θέαμα καὶ λόγον κρείττων ὄψις. αἱ γὰρ ἡρπασμέναι θυγατέρες τῶν Σαβίνων ὀφθήσαν ἀλλαχόθεν ἀλλαὶ μετὰ βοῆς καὶ ὀλολυγμοῦ διὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν φερόμεναι καὶ τῶν νεκρῶν, ῥσπερ ἐκ θεοῦ
many fell, among whom was Hostilius. This man, they say, was husband of Hersilia \(^1\) and grandfather to the Hostilius who was king after Numa. Afterwards many conflicts raged within a short time, as might be expected, but one is most memorable, namely the last, in which Romulus was hit on the head with a stone and almost fell to the ground, abandoning his resistance to the Sabines. The Romans thereupon gave way and began to fly to the Palatine, now that they were repulsed from the plain. But presently Romulus, recovering from his blow, wished to stem the tide of fugitives and renew the battle, and called upon them with a loud voice to stand and fight. But as the waves of flight encompassed him and no man dared to face about, he stretched his hands towards heaven and prayed Jupiter to stay his army and not suffer the Roman cause to fall, but to restore it. No sooner was his prayer ended than many stopped out of reverence for their king, and courage returned to the fugitives. They made their first stand, then, where now is the temple of Jupiter Stator, which epithet might be interpreted as Stayer. Then they closed their ranks again and drove the Sabines back to where the so-called Regia \(^2\) now stands, and the temple of Vesta.

XIX. Here, as they were preparing to renew the battle, they were checked by a sight that was wonderful to behold and a spectacle that passes description.\(^3\) The ravished daughters of the Sabines were seen rushing from every direction, with shouts and lamentations, through the armed men and the

\(^1\) Cf. chapter xiv. 6 f.
\(^2\) In historical times, the house of the Pontifex Maximus. See Numa, xiv. 1.
\(^3\) Cf. Livy, i. 13.
κάτοχοι, πρός τε τοὺς ἀνδρὰς αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς πατέρας, αἱ μὲν παιδία κομίζουσαν νήπια πρὸς ταῖς ἀγκάλαις, αἱ δὲ τὴν κόμην προϊσχόμεναι λελυμένην, πάσαι δὲ ἀνακαλούμεναι τοῖς φιλτά- 
τοις ὄνομασι ποτὲ μὲν τοὺς Σαβίνους, ποτὲ δὲ 
2 τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. ἔπεκλάσθησαν οὖν ἄμφοτεροι, 
καὶ διέσχον αὐταῖς ἐν μέσῳ καταστήματι τῆς 
παρατάξεως· καὶ κλαυθμὸς ἀμα διὰ πάντων ἐχώ- 
ρει, καὶ πολὺς οἴκτος ἦν πρὸς τε τὴν ὦψιν καὶ 
τοὺς λόγους ἐτὶ μᾶλλον, εἰς ἰκεσίαν καὶ δέσσιν 
ἐκ δικαιολογίας καὶ παρρησίας τελευτῶντας. “Τι 
3 γὰρ (ἔφασαν) ὑμᾶς δεινὸν ἡ λυπηρὰν ἐργασά- 
μεναί, τὰ μὲν ἦδη πεπόνθαμεν, τὰ δὲ πᾶσχομεν 
tῶν σχετικῶν κακῶν; ἡρπάσθημεν ὑπὸ τῶν νῦν 
ἐχόντων βία καὶ παρανόμως, ἀρπασθεῖσαι δὲ 
ἡμελήθημεν ὑπ’ ἀδελφῶν καὶ πατέρων καὶ οἰ- 
κείων χρόνον τοσοῦτον ὅσος ἦμᾶς πρὸς τὰ ἐξθει- 
στα κεράσας ταῖς μεγίσταις ἀνάγκαις, πεποίηκε 
nῦν ὑπὲρ τῶν βιασμένων καὶ παρανομησάντων 
4 δεδείναι μαχομένων καὶ κλαίειν θυσικόντων. οὐ 
γὰρ ἦλθετε τιμωρήσοντες ἦμιν παρθένους οὕσας 
ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀδικούντας, ἀλλὰ νῦν ἀνδρῶν ἀποσπάτε 
γαμετάς καὶ τέκνων μητέρας, οἰκτροτέραν βοη- 
θείαν ἐκείνης τῆς ἀμελείας· καὶ προδοσίας βοη- 
θοῦντες ἦμιν ταῖς ἀθλίαις. τοιαῦτα μὲν ἡγατη- 
θημεν ὑπὸ τούτων, τοιαῦτα δὲ ὑφ’ ὕμων ἐλεού- 
μεθα. καὶ γὰρ εἰ δ’ ἀλλήν αἰτίαν ἐμάχεσθε, 
παύσασθαι δι’ ἡμᾶς πενθεροῦς γεγονότας καὶ
dead bodies, as if in a frenzy of possession, up to their husbands and their fathers, some carrying young children in their arms, some veiled in their dishevelled hair, and all calling with the most endearing names now upon the Sabines and now upon the Romans. So then both armies were moved to compassion, and drew apart to give the women place between the lines of battle; sorrow ran through all the ranks, and abundant pity was stirred by the sight of the women, and still more by their words, which began with argument and reproach, and ended with supplication and entreaty. "Wherein, pray (they said), have we done you wrong or harm, that we must suffer in the past, and must still suffer now, such cruel evils? We were violently and lawlessly ravished away by those to whom we now belong, but though thus ravished, we were neglected by our brethren and fathers and kinsmen until time had united us by the strongest ties with those whom we had most hated, and made us now fear for those who had treated us with violence and lawlessness, when they go to battle, and mourn for them when they are slain. For ye did not come to avenge us upon our ravishers while we were still maidens, but now ye would tear wives from their husbands and mothers from their children, and the succour wherewith ye would now succour us, wretched women that we are, is more pitiful than your former neglect and abandonment of us. Such is the love which we have here enjoyed, such the compassion shown to us by you. Even if ye were fighting on other grounds, it were meet that ye should cease for our sakes, now that ye are become fathers-in-law and grandsires and have
5 ἡμῶν ὁ πόλεμός ἔστι, κομίσασθε ἡμᾶς μετὰ γαμβρῶν καὶ τέκνων καὶ ἀπόδοτε ἡμῖν πατέρας καὶ οἰκείους, μηδὲ ἀφέλησθε παῖδας καὶ ἄνδρας. ἰκετεύομεν ἡμᾶς μὴ πάλιν αἰχμαλώτοι γενέσθαι.

Τοιαῦτα πολλὰ τῆς Ἑρωδίας προαγορευόντας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δειμένων, ἑσπειράθησαν "ἀνοχαί καὶ συνῆλθον εἰς λόγους οἱ ἠγεμόνες. αἱ δὲ γυναίκες ἐν τούτῳ τοῖς πατράσι καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς τοὺς ἄνδρας προσήχον καὶ τὰ τέκνα, προσέφερον τε τροφὴν καὶ ποτῶν τοῖς δειμένοις, καὶ τοὺς τετρωμένους ἐθεράπευον οἰκαδε κομίζουσαν καὶ παρεῖχον ὅραν ἀρχοῦσας μὲν αὐτᾶς τοῦ οἴκου, προσέχοντας δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας αὐτῶς καὶ μετ' εὐνοίας τιμὴν ἀπασαν νέμοντας. ἐκ τούτων συντίθενται τῶν μὲν γυναικῶν τὰς βουλομένας συνοικεῖν τοῖς ἔχουσιν, ὀστερὸν εἰρηταί, παντὸς ἔργου καὶ πάσης λατρείας πλήν ταλασίας ἀφειμένας· οἰκεῖν δὲ κοινῇ τὴν πόλιν Ῥωμαίους καὶ Σαβίνους, καὶ καλεῖσθαι μὲν Ῥώμην ἐπὶ Ῥωμύλῳ τὴν πόλιν, Κυρίτας δὲ Ῥωμαίους ἀπαντας ἐπὶ τῇ Τατίου πατρίδι, βασιλεύειν δὲ κοινῇ καὶ στρατηγεῖν ἄμφοτέρους. ὅτου δὲ ταῦτα συνέθεντο μέχρι νῦν Κομίτιον καλεῖται κομίρε γὰρ Ῥωμαίοι τὸ συνελθεῖν καλοῦσι.

XX. Διπλασιασθείσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως, ἐκατόν μὲν ἐκ Σαβίνων πατρίκιοι προσκατελέχθησαν, αἱ τὰ τέκνα Coraës and Bekker, after Reiske: τέκνα.
family ties among your enemies. If, however, the war is on our behalf, carry us away with your sons-in-law and their children, and so restore to us our fathers and kindred, but do not rob us of our children and husbands. Let us not, we beseech you, become prisoners of war again."

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

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

1 Cf. chapter xv. 4. 2 Cures, a Sabine town. 3 Cf. chapter xiii. 1.
δὲ λεγεώνιες ἐγένοντο πεζῶν μὲν ἐξακισχιλίων, ἱππέων δὲ ἐξακοσίων. φυλᾶς δὲ τρεῖς καταστήσατε ὀνόμασαν τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ Ἡρωμύλου Ἡρμυνήσης, τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ Τατίου Τατιήνης· τρίτους δὲ Λουκερήνης διὰ τὸ ἄλσος, εἰς δὲ πολλοὶ καταφυγόντες, ἀσυλίας δεδομένης, τοῦ πολιτεύματος μετέσχον τὰ δὲ ἄλσοι λούκους ὄνομάζουσιν. ὅτι δὲ ἦσαν αἱ φυλαὶ τοσαῦται, τούνομα μαρτυρεῖ; τρίβουν γὰρ ἐτὶ νῦν τὰς φυλὰς καλοῦσι, καὶ τριβούντως τοὺς φυλάρχους. ἑκάστη δὲ φυλὴ δέκα φρατρίας εἶχεν, ἃς ἔνιοι λέγοντον ἐπωνύμους εἶναι ἐκείνων τῶν γυναικῶν. τούτῳ δὲ δοκεῖ ψεύδος εἶναι· πολλαὶ γὰρ ἤχουσιν ἀπὸ χωρίων τὰς προσηγορίας. ἄλλα μέντοι πολλὰ ταῖς γυναιξίν εἰς τιμὴν ἀπέδωκαν, ὅν καὶ ταῦτά ἐστιν ἐξίστασθαι μὲν ὀδὸν βαδιζόσως, αἰσχρῶν δὲ μηδένα μηδὲν εἴπεῖν παρούσης γυναικὸς, μηδὲ ὀφθηναι γυμνόν, ἢ δίκην φεύγειν παρὰ τοῖς ἑπὶ τῶν φοινικῶν καθεστῶσι, φορεῖν δὲ καὶ τὸν παιδας αὐτῶν τὴν καλουμένην βούλλαν ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος, ὅμοιον πομφόλυγην, περιδέρραιον τι καὶ περιπόρφυρον.

4 Ἐβουλεύοντο δὲ οἱ βασιλεῖς οὓς εὐθὺς ἐν κοινῷ μετ' ἀλλήλων, ἀλλ' ἐκάτερος πρότερον ἱδίᾳ μετὰ τῶν ἐκατόν, εἶτα σύντως εἰς ταῦταν ἀπαντᾶς συνήγον. ὥστε δὲ Τάτιος μὲν ὅτι τὸς Μονήτης ναὸς ἐστί, Ἡρωμύλος δὲ παρὰ τοὺς λεγομένους βαθμοὺς καλής ἂκτης. οὗτοι δὲ εἰσὶ

1 καλής ἂκτης a corruption of Κάκου? Cf. Diodorus, iv. 21, 2.

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to six thousand footmen and six hundred horse-
men.\textsuperscript{1} The people, too, were arranged in three
bodies, the first called Ramnenses, from Romulus;
the second Tatienses, from Tatius; and the third
Lucerenses, from the grove into which many betook
themselves for refuge, when a general asylum
was offered,\textsuperscript{2} and then became citizens. Now the
Roman word for grove is "lucus." That these
bodies were three in number, their very name
testifies, for to this day they call them tribes, and
their chief officers, tribunes. And each tribe had
ten phratries, or brotherhoods, which, as some say,
were named after the thirty Sabine women;\textsuperscript{3} but
this seems to be false, since many of them bear the
names of places. However, they did make many
other concessions to the women, to do them honour,
some of which are as follow: to give them the right
of way when walking; not to utter any indecent
word in the presence of a woman; that no man
should be seen naked by them, or else that he be
liable to prosecution before the judges of homicide;
and that their children should wear a sort of neck-
lace, the "bulla," so called from its shape (which was
that of a bubble), and a robe bordered with purple.
The two kings did not at once hold council in
common with one another, but each at first sat with
his own hundred councillors apart, then afterwards
they united them all into one body, as at the present
time. Tatius dwelt where now is the temple of
Moneta, and Romulus beside the so-called Steps of
Fair Shore;\textsuperscript{4} these are near the descent into the

\begin{footnotes}
\item[1] Cf. chapter xiii. 1.
\item[2] Cf. chapter ix. 3.
\item[3] Cf. chapter xiv. 6.
\item[4] The Greek text is probably corrupt. The "scalae Caci," or Steps of Cacus, must be meant.
\end{footnotes}
περὶ τὴν εἰς τὸν ἵπποδρομὸν τὸν μέγαν ἐκ Πα-5 λατίου κατάβασιν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τὴν κράνειαν ἔφασαν τὴν ἱερὰν γεγονέναι, μυθολογοῦντες ὅτι πειρώμενος ὁ Ῥωμύλος αὐτοῦ λόγχην ἀκού-τίσειν ἀπὸ τοῦ ᾽Αουαντίνου τὸ ἔστων ἔχουσαν κρανείας· καταδύσας δὲ τῆς αἰχμῆς εἰς βάθος, ἀνασπάσαι μὲν οὐδεὶς πειρώμενων πολλῶν ἱσχύσε, τὸ δὲ ἕξυλον ἑστέξειν ἡ γῆ ᾽ξόφυτος οὐσα, καὶ Ἁλαστοὺς ἀνῆκε καὶ στέλεχος εὑρεγεθες κρανείας ἔθρησε. τούτῳ δὲ οἱ μετὰ Ῥωμύλου ὡς ἢν τι τῶν ἀγωτάτων ἱερῶν φυλάττοντες καὶ 6 σεβόμενοι περιετείχισαν. ὅτω δὲ προσιότι δι-ξειε μὴ θαλερὸν εἰναι μηδὲ χλαρον, ἀλλ᾿ οἶνον ἀτροφεῖν καὶ φθίνειν, ο μὲν εὐθὺς ἔφραξε κραυγῇ τοῖς προστυχάνουσιν, οὶ δὲ, ὡσπερ ἐμπρησμῶ βοηθοῦντες, ἐβὸνον ὤδωρ, ὤδωρ, 1 καὶ συνε-τρεχον πανταχόθεν ἀγγεία πλήρη κομίζοντες ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον. Γαῖου δὲ Καλασάρους, ὡς φασι, τὰς ἀναβάσεις ἐπισκευάζοντος καὶ τῶν τεχνιτῶν περιορυττόντων τὰ πλησίον, ἐλαθον αἱ ῥίζαι κακωθείσαι παντάπασι καὶ τὸ φυτὸν ἐμμάρανθη.

XXI. Μήναις μὲν οὖν οἱ Σαβῖνοι τοὺς Ῥωμαίων ἐδέξαντο, καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ὡς καλῶς εἴχαν ἐν τῷ Νομᾶ βίῳ γέγραπται· θυρεοῖς δὲ τοῖς ἐκείνων ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἐχρῆσατο, καὶ μετέβαλε τὸν ὀπλισμὸν ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, Ἀργολικᾶς πρότερον ἀσπίδας φοροῦντων, ἐφροτῶν δὲ καὶ θυσιῶν ἄλληλοις μετείχον, ἃς μὲν ἤγε τὰ γένη πρότερον σύκ ἀνελόντες, ἑτέρας δὲ θέμενοι καινᾶς, ὡν ἡ τε τῶν Ματρωναλίων ἐστί, δοθείσα ταῖς γυναιξιν

1 ὄδωρ, ὄδωρ with two Bodleian MSS. (Bv) : ὄδωρ.
ROMULUS

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

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

1 Chapters xviii. and xix.
επὶ τῇ τοῦ πολέμου καταλύσει, καὶ ἡ τῶν Καρ-2 μενταλίων. τῇ δὲ Καρμένταν οὔτοι τίνις μοῦ∙

ραν εἶναι κυρίαν ἀνθρώπων γενέσεως. διὸ καὶ
tιμῶσιν αὐτὴν αἱ μητέρες. οἱ δὲ τὴν τοῦ Εὐάν-31
δρον τοῦ Ἀρκάδως γυναῖκα, μαντικήν τινα καὶ
foyβαστικὴν ἐμμέτρων χρησμῶν γενομένην, Καρ-
μένταν ὑπονομασθῆναι (τὰ γὰρ ἐπὶ κάρμια

καλοῦσι). Νικοστράτη 1 δὲ ἦν ὄνομα κύριον αὐτῇ.
καὶ τούτῳ μὲν ὁμολογεῖται· τῇ δὲ Καρμένταν

ἐνοὶ πιθανότερον ἀφερμηνεύουσιν οἷον ἐστερη-
mένην νοῦ, διὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἐνθουσιασμοῖς παρα-

φροσύνας. τὸ μὲν γὰρ στέρεσθαι καρῆρε, μέντεμ
3 δὲ τῶν νοῦν ὑμομάξουσι. περὶ δὲ τῶν Παριλάων

προείρηται. τὰ δὲ Δουπερκάλα τῇ μὲν χρόνῳ

dόξειν ἄν εἶναι καθάρσια· δρᾶται γὰρ ἐν ἡμέραις

ἀποφράσι τοῦ Φεβρουαρίου μηνός, διὸ καθάρσιον

ἀν τις ἑρμηνεύσει, καὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ τὸ

παλαιὸν ἑκάλουν Φεβράτην τοῦνα δὲ τῆς

ἐστίν ἐλληνιστὶ σημαίνει Λύκαια, καὶ δοκεῖ διὰ

τοῦτο παμπαλαίον ἀπ` Ἀρκάδων εἶναι τῶν περὶ

4 Εὐάνδρου. ἄλλα τούτῳ μὲν κοινὸν ἐστί. δύναται

γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς λυκαίνης γεγονέναι τοῦνα. καὶ γὰρ

ἀρχομένους τῆς περιδρομῆς τοὺς Δουπέρκους ὀρῷ-

μεν ἐντεύθεν ὅπου τὸν Ῥωμύλου ἐκτεθήναι λέγου-

σι. τὰ δὲ δρόμεναι τὴν αὐτίαν ποιεῖ δυστοπαστῶν

σφάττουσι γὰρ ἀνώς, εἶτα μειρακίων δυοῖν ἀπὸ

1 Νικοστράτη Coraës and Bekker with the MSS. : Νικο-

στράτη after Stephanus.

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stop to the war; and another is the Carmentalia. This Carmenta is thought by some to be a Fate presiding over human birth and for this reason she is honoured by mothers. Others, however, say that the wife of Evander the Arcadian,\(^1\) who was a prophetess and inspired to utter oracles in verse, was therefore surnamed Carmenta, since “carmina” is their word for verses, her own proper name being Nicostrate. As to her own name there is general agreement, but some more probably interpret Carmenta as meaning bereft of mind, because of her ecstasies under inspiration, since “carere” is the Roman word for to be bereft, and “mens” for mind. Of the Parilia I have spoken before.\(^2\) As for the Lupercalia, judging by the time of its celebration, it would seem to be a feast of purification, for it is observed on the inauspicious days\(^3\) of the month of February, which name can be interpreted to mean purification, and the very day of the feast was anciently called Febrata. But the name of the festival has the meaning of the Greek “Lycaea,” or feast of wolves, which makes it seem of great antiquity and derived from the Arcadians in the following of Evander.\(^4\) Indeed, this meaning of the name is commonly accepted; for it can be connected with the she-wolf of story. And besides, we see that the Luperci\(^5\) begin their course around the city at that point where Romulus is said to have been exposed. However, the actual ceremonies of the festival are such that the reason for the name is hard to guess. For the priests slaughter

\(^1\) Cf. Plutarch’s *Roman Questions*, 56 (*Morals*, p. 278 b, c), and Livy, i. 7, 8

\(^2\) Chapter xii. 1.

\(^3\) “Dies nefasti.”

\(^4\) Cf. Livy, i. 5, 1-2.

\(^5\) Priests of Faunus, the Roman Pan.
γένους προσαχθέντων αὐτοῖς, οἵ· μὲν ἦμαγμένη μαχαίρα τοῦ μετώπου θεγγάνουσιν, ἔτεροι δὲ ἀπο-
μάττουσιν εὐθὺς, ἔρισιν βεβρεγμένον γάλακτι
5 προσφέροντες. γελάν δὲ δεὶ τὰ μειράκια μετὰ τὴν ἀπόμαξιν. ἔκ δὲ τούτου τὰ δέρματα τῶν αἰγών
catatemóntes διαθέουσιν ἐν περιξάσμασι γυμνοῖς,
toῖς σκέτεσι τὸν ἐμποδῶν παῖοντες. αἱ δ' ἐν
ηλικίᾳ γυναικὲς οὐ φεύγουσι τὸ παίεσθαι, νομίζου-
sai πρὸς εὐτοκίαν καὶ κύησιν συνεργεῖν. ἵδιον
δὲ τῆς ἐορτῆς τὸ καὶ κύνα θύειν τοὺς Δούτερκους.
6 Βούτας δὲ τις αἰτίας μυθώδες ἐν ἔλεγεισιν
περὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀναγράφων, φηοὶ τοῦ Ἀμο-
λίου τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ῥωμύλου κρατήσαντας ἐλθεῖν
dróμου μετὰ χαρᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ἐν φυτίας
οὐσιν αὐτοῖς ἡ λύκαινα θηλὴν υπέσχε, καὶ μίμημα
tοῦ τε δρόμου τὴν ἐορτὴν ἄγεσθαι, καὶ τρέχειν
toὺς ἀπὸ γένους toὺs

'Εμποδίους τύπτοντας, ὅπως τότε φάσγαν ἔχοντες
ἐξ Ἀλβης ἐθεοῦ Ῥωμύλος ἢδε Ῥέμος.

καὶ τὸ μὲν ξίφος ἦμαγμένον προσφέρεσθαι τῷ
μετώπῳ τοῦ τότε φόνου καὶ κινδύνου σύμβολον,
tὴν δὲ διὰ τοῦ γάλακτος ἀποκάθαρσιν ὑπόμνημα
7 τῆς τροφῆς αὐτῶν εἶναι. Γάιος δὲ Ἀκίλλος ἰστορεῖ
πρὸ τῆς κτίσεως τὰ θρέμματα τῶν περὶ τὸν
Ῥωμύλου ἀφανῆ γενέσθαι· τοὺς δὲ τῷ Φαύνῳ
προσευξαμένους ἐκδραμεῖν γυμνοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ξητή-
sιν, ὅπως ὑπὸ τοῦ ἴδρωτος μὴ ἐνοχλοῦντο· καὶ

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goats, and then, after two youths of noble birth have been brought to them, some of them touch their foreheads with a bloody knife, and others wipe the stain off at once with wool dipped in milk. The youths must laugh after their foreheads are wiped. After this they cut the goats' skins into strips and run about, with nothing on but a girdle, striking all who meet them with the thongs,\(^1\) and young married women do not try to avoid their blows, fancying that they promote conception and easy child-birth. A peculiarity of the festival is that the Luperci sacrifice a dog also.

A certain Butas, who wrote fabulous explanations of Roman customs in elegiac verse, says that Romulus and Remus, after their victory over Amulius, ran exultantly to the spot where, when they were babes, the she-wolf gave them suck, and that the festival is conducted in imitation of this action, and that the two youths of noble birth run

"Smiting all those whom they meet, as once with brandished weapons,
    Down from Alba's heights, Remus and Romulus ran."

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

\(^1\) Cf. Plutarch's *Antony*, xii. 1.
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

diὰ τοῦτο γυμνοὺς περιτρέχειν τοὺς Δουτέρκους. τὸν δὲ κύνα φαίη τις ἂν, εἰ μὲν ἡ θυσία καθαρμός ἦστι, θύεσθαι καθαρσίως χρωμένων αὐτῶν καὶ γὰρ Ἐλλήνες ἐν τε τοῖς καθαρσίοις σκύλακας ἐκφέρουσι καὶ πολλαχοῦ χρόνται τοῖς λεγομένοις περισκυλακισμοῖς· εἰ δὲ τῇ λυκαίνῃ χαριστήρα ταῦτα καὶ τροφεῖα καὶ σωτήρα Ἦρωμύλου τελοῦσιν, οὐκ ἀτόπως ὁ κύων σφάττεται· λύκους γὰρ ἐστὶ πολέμοις· εἰ μὴ νὴ Δία κολάζεται τὸ ζῷον ὡς παρενοχλοῦν τοὺς Δουτέρκους ὀταν περιθέωσι.

XXII. Δέγεται δὲ καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸ πῦρ ἁγιοστείαι Ἦρωμύλου καταστήσας πρῶτον, ἀποδείξαντα παρθένους ιερὰς· Ἑστιάδας προσαγορευμένας. οἱ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν εἰς Νομᾶν ἀναφέρουσι, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τὸν Ἦρωμύλου θεοσεβὴ διαφερόντως, ἔτι δὲ μαντικὸν ἱστοροῦσι γενέσθαι, καὶ φορεῖν ἐπὶ μαντικῇ τὸ καλούμενον λίτυν, ἔστι δὲ καμπύλη ράβδος, ή τὰ πλινθία καθεξομένους ἐπὶ 2 οἰωνῶν διαγράφειν. τούτῳ δὲ ἐν Παλατίῳ φυλαττόμενον ἀφανισθήναι περὶ τὰ Κελτικὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀλούσης· εἶτα μέντοι τῶν βαρβάρων ἐκπεσόντων εὑρεθῆναι κατὰ τέφρας βαθείας ἀπαθὲς ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐν πάσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπολωλόσι καὶ διεφθαρμένοις.

3 Ἐθηκε δὲ καὶ νόμους τινάς, ὁν σφόδρος μὲν ἐστίν ὁ γυναικὶ μὴ διδοὺς ἀπολείπειν ἄνδρα, γυναῖκα δὲ διδοὺς ἐκβάλλειν ἐπὶ φαρμακείᾳ καὶ ἐκβάλλειν Bekker, after Coraës: ἐκβάλλειν.
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the Luperci run about naked. If the sacrifice is a purification, one might say that the dog is sacrificed as being a suitable victim for such rites, since the Greeks, in their rites of purification, carry forth puppies for burial, and in many places make use of the rites called "periskulakismoi;"¹ and if these rites are performed in grateful remembrance of the she-wolf that nourished and preserved Romulus, it is not without reason that the dog is slain, since it is an enemy to wolves, unless, indeed, the animal is thus punished for annoying the Luperci when they run about.

XXII. It is said also that Romulus first introduced the consecration of fire, and appointed holy virgins to guard it, called Vestals. Others attribute this institution to Numa,² although admitting that Romulus was in other ways eminently religious, and they say further that he was a diviner, and carried for purposes of divination the so-called "lituus," a crooked staff with which those who take auguries from the flight of birds mark out the regions of the heavens. This staff, which was carefully preserved on the Palatine, is said to have disappeared when the city was taken at the time of the Gallic invasion; afterwards, however, when the Barbarians had been expelled, it was found under deep ashes unharmed by the fire, although everything about it was completely destroyed.³

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

¹ Sacrifices where puppies were killed and carried about.
² See Numa, chapters ix. and x.
³ Cf. Camillus, xxxii. 4–5.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

tékwn υποβολής 1 καὶ μοιχευθείσαν, εἰ δ' ἄλλως 32
tις ἀποτέμψατο, τής ούσίας αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν τῆς
gυναικὸς εἶναι, τὸ δὲ τῆς Δήμητρος ἱερὸν κελεύον·
tὸν δ' ἀποδόμενον γυναῖκα θύεσθαι χθονίως θεῶς.
4 ἵνα δὲ τὸ μηδεμίαν δίκην κατὰ πατροκτόνων
ὅρισαντα πᾶσαν ἄνδροφωνα πατροκτονίαν προσ-
eπείτων, ὡς τούτου μὲν ὄντος ἔναγούσ, ἐκείνου δὲ
ἀδυνάτου, καὶ μέχρι χρόνων πολλῶν ἔδοξεν
ὁρθῶς ἀπογρῶν τὴν τοιαύτην ἀδικίαν ποιεῖσθαι,
γὰρ ἔδρασε τοιούτοιν ὀφθὲν ἐν Ῥώμη σχεδὸν ἐτῶν
ἐξακοσίων διαγενομένων, ἀλλὰ πρῶτος μετὰ τὸν
Ἀνυβισκὸν πόλεμον ἱστορεῖται Λεύκιος ὁ Ὀστίος
πατροκτόνος γενέσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἱκανὰ
περὶ τούτων.

XXIII. Ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ τῆς Τατίου βασιλείας,
οἶκείοι τινες αὐτοῦ καὶ συγγενεῖς πρέσβεσιν ἄπο
Δαυρέντου βαδίζουσιν εἰς Ῥώμην ἐνυχῶντες καθ' ὁδόν,
ἐπεχείρουν ἀφαίρεσθαι τὰ χρήματα βία,
καὶ μὴ προϊμένους, ἀλλ' ἀμυνομένους ἀνείλουν.
ἔργου δὲ δεινοῦ τολμηθέντος, ὁ μὲν Ῥωμύλος
ἐνθὺς δεῖν φεῖτο κολάξεσθαι τοὺς ἀδικησάντας,
2 ὁ δὲ Τάτιος ἐξέκρουε καὶ παρῆγε. καὶ τοῦτο
μόνον αὐτοῖς ὑπῆρξεν αὐτοῖς ἐμφανοῦς διαφοράς·
tὰ δ' ἄλλα κατακοσμούντες ἑαυτοὺς ὡς ἐν μᾶ-
λιστα κοινῶς ἔχρωντο καὶ μὲθ' ὁμονοίας τοῖς
πράγμασιν. οἱ δὲ τῶν ἀνηργοῦντο ὦνκείοι, πάσης
ἐξειρογόμενοι δίκης νομίμοι διὰ τῶν Τάτιον, ἀπο-
κτιννουσιν αὐτὸν ἐν Δαβιδω θύοντα μετὰ Ῥω-
μύλου προσπεσόντες, τὸν δὲ Ῥωμύλου ὦς δίκαιον

1 ἐπὶ φαρμακεία καὶ τέκνων υποβολή with Cobet: ἐπὶ φαρ-
μακεία τέκνων ἢ κλειδῶν υποβολή (for poisoning his children or
counterfeiting his keys).

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for using poisons, for substituting children, and for adultery; but if a man for any other reason sends his wife away, the law prescribes that half his substance shall belong to his wife, and the other half be consecrate to Ceres; and whosoever puts away his wife, shall make a sacrifice to the gods of the lower world.

It is also a peculiar thing that Romulus ordained no penalty for parricides, but called all murder parricide, looking upon one as abominable, and upon the other as impossible. And for many ages his judgement of such a crime seemed to have been right, for no one did any such deed at Rome for almost six hundred years; but after the war with Hannibal, Lucius Hostius is reported to have been the first parricide. So much, then, may suffice concerning these matters.

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

1 Cf. Livy, i. 14, 1–3.
3 άνδρα προϋπερήφανα εὐφημοῦντες. ο θεός δέ το μὲν 
σώμα τοῦ Τατίου κομίσας ἐντίμως ἔθαψε, καὶ 
κεῖται περὶ τὸ καλοῦμενον Ἀρμιλούστριον ἐν 
Ἀουεντίῳ, τῆς δὲ δίκης τοῦ φώνου πανταπασί 
ημέλησεν. ἐνιοὶ δὲ τῶν συγγραφέων ἱστοροῦσι 
τὴν μὲν πόλιν τῶν Δαυρεντίων φοβηθεῖσαν ἐκδι- 
δόναι τοὺς αὐτόχειρας Τατίου, τὸν δὲ Ρωμύλον 
4 ἀφεῖναι, φήσαντα φώνου φόνῳ λειάσθαι. τούτῳ 
δὲ λόγῳ μὲν τινὰ παρέσχε καὶ ὑποψίαν ὡς 
ἀσμένῳ γέγονεν αὐτῷ τὸ τούτου συνάρχοντος ἀπαλ-
λαγῆναι, τῶν δὲ πραγμάτων οὐδὲν διετάραξεν, 
οὐδὲ διεστάσασε τοὺς Σαβίνους, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν 
εὐνοῦ τῇ πρὸς αὐτόν, οἱ δὲ φόβῳ τῆς δυνάμεως, 
οἱ δ' ὡς θεόν χρώμενοι εἰς πᾶσαν εὐνοιαν, θαν-
μάζοντες διετέλοιν.

5 Ἐδαύμαζον δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἄνθρώπων 
τῶν Ρωμύλον. οἱ δὲ προγενέστεροι Δαυίδοι πέμ-
ψαντες αὐτῷ φιλίαν ἐποίησαν τοῦ καὶ συμμαχίαν. 
Φιδήνας δὲ εἶλεν, ἀστυγείτονα τῆς Ρώμης πόλιν, 
ὡς μὲν εὖνορ φασιν, ἐξαίφνητοι τοὺς ἵππως πέμψαν 
καὶ κελεύσας ὑποτεμεῖν τῶν πυλῶν τοὺς στρο-
φίγγας, εἶτα ἐπιφανεῖς αὐτὸς ἀπροσδοκήτως: 
6 ἐτέροι δὲ λέγουσι προτέρους ἐκείνους ἐμβαλόντας 
ἐλάσσασα τε λείαι καὶ καθυβρίσατο πολλὰ τὴν 
χώραν καὶ τὸ προάστειον, ἐνέδρας δὲ τῶν Ρω-
μύλου τέμενον αὐτοῖς καὶ διαφθείραντα πολλοὺς 
λαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν. οὐ μὴν ἀνέιλεν οὐδὲ κατέ-
σκαψεν, ἀλλ' Ρωμαίων ἐποίησεν ἀποικιάν,

1 χρώμενοι εἰς πᾶσαν εὐνοιαν MSS., Corœs ; Bekker corrects 
to χρώμενον εἰς τὰν εὐμενεί (because heaven favoured him in 
all his undertakings.)

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

Romulus was held in reverence also by many foreign peoples, and the earlier Latins sent ambassadors and established friendship and alliance with him. Fidenae, a neighbouring city to Rome, he took,¹ as some say, by sending his horsemen of a sudden with orders to cut away the pivots of the gates, and then appearing himself unexpectedly; but others say that the men of Fidenae first made an incursion, driving off booty and devastating the territory and outskirts of the city, and that Romulus set an ambush for them, killed many of them, and took their city. He did not, however, destroy or raze it to the ground, but made it a colony of Rome, and sent thither

¹ Cf. Livy, i. 14, 4-11.

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ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΑΓΓΕΛΙΑΙΟΣ

alted

XXIV. Ἐκ τούτων λοιμὸς ἔμπνευσε, θανάτους μὲν αἰφνιδίως ἀνθρώπους ἀνένυσιν νόσοις ἐπιφέρον, ἀπότομοι δὲ καὶ καρπῶν ἀφορίας καὶ θρεματισμῶν ἀγονίαις. ὡσθε δὲ καὶ σταγόσιν αἴματος ἡ πόλις, ὡστε πολλῆς προσαγωγῆς τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις πάθεσι δεισιδαιμονίαι. οὕτως δὲ καὶ τοῖς τὸ Ἀυτέρεντον οἰκοῦσιν ὅμοια συνέβαινεν, ἣ δὴ παντάπασιν ἐδόκει τῶν ἐπὶ Τατίφη συγκεχυμένων δικαίως ἐπὶ τοῖς πρήσεις φονευθεῖσι μήμα δαιμονίων ἢ μόνων ἀμμοτέρας ἐλαύνειν τὰς πόλεις. ἐκδοθέντων δὲ τῶν φονεών καὶ κολασθέντων παρὰ ἀμμοτέροις ἐλώφησεν ἐπίδημος τὰς δεινὰ καὶ καθαροῖς ὁ Ρωμύλος ἦγυμε τὰς πόλεις, οὕτῳ ἐτε νῦν ἱστοροῦσιν ἐπὶ τῆς Φερεντίνης πύλης συντελεῖσθαι.

Πρὶν δὲ λήξαι τὸν λοιμὸν ἐπέθεντο Καμέριοι 33 Ρωμαίοι καὶ κατέδραμον τὴν χώραν, ὡς ἀδύνατον ἀμύνεσθαι διὰ τὸ πάθος. εúdeσι οὖν ὁ Ρωμύλος ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ μάχη κατάσχεσαν ἐξακισιχλίους ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐλών, τοὺς μὲν ἡμίσεις τῶν περιγενομένων εἰς ὁ ρώμη ἐξόσκες, τῶν δ' ὑπομενόντων διπλασίους ἐκ ὁ ρώμης κατάκισεν εἰς τὴν Καμερίαν Σεβτίλιας καὶ δάναιας. τοσοῦτον αὐτῷ περί ὁ πολιτῶν ἐκκαίδεκα ἑττήσει ὁ ὕμνοι ὁ ἕν τοῖς ἀλλοις ζήτησεν καὶ καλκοῦν ἐκόμισεν τεθριππὸν ἐκ Καμερίας τοῦτο δὲ ἀνέστησεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, ποιησάμενος ἑαυτοῦ ὑπὸ νίκης στεφανοῦμενοι.

XXV. Οὕτω δὲ ῥωμυμένοις τοῖς πράγμασιν οἱ μὲν ἀπειρέστεροι τῶν προσόκων ὑπεδύουτο
ROMULUS

twenty-five hundred colonists, on the Ides of April.

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

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

XXV. The Roman state thus gathering strength, its weaker neighbours submitted to it, and were
καὶ τυγχάνουτε ἂδειας ἡγάτων· οἱ δὲ δυνατοὶ
dediotes kai phθονοῦντες οὐκ ὕοντο δεὶν περιορᾶν,
ἄλλ' ἐνίστασθαι τῇ αὐξήσει καὶ κολούειν τὸν
Ῥωμύλον. πρῶτοι δὲ Τυρρηνῶν Οὐήνει, χώραι
κεκτημένοι τολλῆν καὶ πόλιν μεγάλην οἰκοῦντες,
ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσαντο πολέμου Φιδήνας ἀπαίτεῖν,
2 ὡς προσήκουσαν αὐτοῖς. τὸ δὲ οὖκ ἄδικον ἢν
μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ γελοῖον, ὅτι κινδυνεύουσι τότε
καὶ πολεμουμένοις οὐ προσαμύναστε, ἀλλ' ἐά-
santes ἀπολέσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας, οἰκίας καὶ γῆν
ἀπαίτοιεν ἄλλους ἑχόντων. καθυβρισθέντες οὖν
ὑπὸ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου ἐν ταῖς ἀποκρίσεις διὰ διείλον
ἐαυτούς, καὶ τῷ μὲν ἐπέκειντο τῷ Φιδῆνῳ στρα-
tεύματι, τῷ δὲ πρὸς Ῥωμύλον ἀπήτων. πρὸς
μὲν οὖν Φιδήναις δισχίλιους Ῥωμαίων κρατή-
santes ἀπέκτειναν, ὑπὸ Ῥωμύλου δὲ νικηθέντες
3 ὑπὲρ ὀκτακισχίλιους ἀπέβαλον. αὐθις δὲ περὶ
Φιδήνην ἐμαχέσαντο· καὶ τὸ μὲν πλείστον ἔργον
αὐτοῦ Ῥωμύλου γενέσθαι, τέχνην τε μετὰ τόλμης
πάσαν ἐπιδειξαμένου ρώμη τε καὶ ποδωκεία
πολυ δόξαντος ἀνθρωπίνης κρείττονι κεχρήσθαι,
pántes ὀμολογοῦσιν τὸ δ' ὑπ' ἐνώς λεγόμενον
κομιδῆ μυθώδες ἔστι, μᾶλλον δὲ ὅλως ἀπιστον,
ὅτι μυρίων καὶ τετρακισχίλιων πεσόντων ὑπερ-
ημέσεις ἦσαν οὗς αὐτὸς ἴδια χειρὶ Ῥωμύλος ἐ-
κτεινεν, ὅπου γε καὶ Μεσσήνης κόμπῃρ χρήσασθαι
δοκοῦσι περὶ Ἀριστομένους λέγοντες ὡς τρίς
ἐκατομμύρια θύσεις ἀπό Δακεδαιμονίων.
4 Γενομένης δὲ τῆς τροπῆς, ἀφεῖς φεύγειν τοὺς

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satisfied to be let alone; but the powerful ones, out of fear and jealousy, thought they ought not to tolerate, but resist and check the growing power of Romulus. And of the Tuscans, the people of Veii, who possessed much territory and dwelt in a great city, were the first to begin war with a demand for Fidenae, which they said belonged to them. Now this was not only unjust, it was actually ridiculous, that they, who had not come to the aid of the people of Fidenae when they were in the perils of war, but suffered them to perish, then demanded their houses and land from those who had come into possession of them. Accordingly, Romulus gave them contemptuous answers, upon which they divided themselves into two armies, attacked Fidenae with one, and confronted Romulus with the other. Before Fidenae, then, they overpowered two thousand Romans and slew them; but they were defeated by Romulus with a loss of eight thousand men. Once more a battle was fought near Fidenae, and here all agree that the victory was chiefly due to Romulus himself, who displayed every possible combination of skill and bravery, and seemed endowed with strength and swiftness far beyond the lot of man. But there is a statement made by some writers which is altogether fabulous, nay rather, wholly incredible, namely, that of the fourteen thousand Tuscans who fell in this battle, more than half were slain by Romulus with his own hand; for even the Messenians seem to have been boastfully extravagant in saying that Aristomenes thrice offered sacrifice for a hundred Lacedaemonian enemies slain.

After the rout of the enemy, Romulus suffered the

1 Cf. Livy, i. 15, 1-5.
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περιόντας ὁ Ῥωμύλος, ἐπ’ αὐτὴν ἔχωρει τὴν πόλιν· οἱ δ’ οὐκ ἤνεχθοντο μεγάλης συμφορᾶς γενομένης, ἀλλὰ δεσθέντες ὁμολογίαν ἐποίησαντο καὶ φιλίαν εἰς ἐτη ἐκατόν, χῶραν τε πολλὴν προέμενοι τῆς ἐαυτῶν, ἦν Σεπτεμβρίου καλοῦ-
σιν, ὅπερ ἔστω ἐπταμόριον, καὶ τῶν παρὰ τῶν ποταμῶν ἐκστάντες ἀλοπηγίων, καὶ πεντήκοντα τῶν ἀγίστων ὁμήρους ἐγχειρίσαντες. ἐθριαμ-
βευσε δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων εἴδοις Ὁκτωβρίαις, ἀλλοὺς τε πολλοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἔχων καὶ τὸν ἤγεμόνα τῶν Οὐήλων, ἀνδρα πρεσβύτην, ἀφρόνων δόξαντα καὶ παρ’ ἡλικίαν ἀπείρως τοῖς πράγμασι
κεχρήσαθαι. διὸ καὶ νῦν ἐτὶ θύντες ἐπινίκια, γέροντα μὲν ἄγουσι δὲ ἄγορᾶς εἰς Καπιτώλιον ἐν περιπορφύρῳ, βούλλαν αὐτώ παιδικὴν ἄψω-
tes, κηρύττει δ’ ὁ κήρυξ Σαρδιανὸς ὑφίσθ. Τυρρηνοὶ γὰρ ἄποικοι Σαρδιανῶν λέγονται, Τυρ-
ρηνικὴ δὲ πόλις οἱ Οὐήλοι.

XXVI. Τούτων ἔσχατον πόλεμον ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἐπολέμησεν. εἰθ’, δ’ πολλοί, μᾶλλον δὲ πλὴ
ν ὀλίγων πάσχουσι πάντες οἱ μεγάλαις καὶ παρα-
λόγους ἀρθέντες εὐτυχίαις εἰς δύναμιν καὶ ὄγκον,
οὐδ’ αὐτός διέφυγε παθεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐκτεθαρρηκῶς
toῖς πράγμασι καὶ βαρυτέρῳ φρονήματι χρώ-
μενος, ἐξίστατο τοῦ δημοτικοῦ, καὶ παρῆλθαττεν
eis μοναρχίαν ἐπαχθῇ καὶ λυποῦσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ
σχήματος πρῶτου ὁ κατεσχημάτιζεν έαυτὸν.

2 ἀλουργὴ μὲν γὰρ ἐνεδύσα ἑτόνα, καὶ τῇβεννον
ἔφορε περιπόρφυροι, ἐν ὥργον δ’ ἀνακλήτῳ καθήμενος ἐχρημάτιζεν. ἦσαν δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν
aei τῶν νέων οἱ καλοῦμενοι Κέλερες, ἀπὸ τῆς
περὶ τὰς υπουργίας δέξυτητος. ἐβάδιζον δὲ πρόσ-
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survivors to escape, and moved upon their city itself. But they could not hold out after so great a reverse, and suing for peace, made a treaty of friendship for a hundred years, giving up a large portion of their territory, called Septempagium, or the Seven Districts, abandoning their salt-works along the river, and delivering up fifty of their chief men as hostages. Romulus also celebrated a triumph for this victory on the Ides of October, having in his train, besides many other captives, the leader of the Veientes, an elderly man, who seems to have conducted the campaign unwisely, and without the experience to-be expected of his years. Wherefore to this very day, in offering a sacrifice for victory, they lead an old man through the forum to the Capitol, wearing a boy’s toga with a bulla attached to it, while the herald cries: “Sardians for sale!” For the Tuscans are said to be colonists from Sardis, and Veii is a Tuscan city.

XXVI. This was the last war waged by Romulus. Afterwards, like many, nay, like almost all men who have been lifted by great and unexpected strokes of good fortune to power and dignity, even he was emboldened by his achievements to take on a haughtier bearing, to renounce his popular ways, and to change to the ways of a monarch, which were made hateful and vexatious first by the state which he assumed. For he dressed in a scarlet tunic, and wore over it a toga bordered with purple, and sat on a recumbent throne when he gave audience. And he had always about him some young men called Celeres, from their swiftness in doing service.¹ Others, too, went

¹ Cf. chapter x. 2; and Livy, i. 15, 8.
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θεν άτεροι βακτηρίαις ἀνείργοντες τὸν ὁχλον, ἵππες ὀμένοι δὲ ἰμάντας, ὥστε συνδεῖν εὐθὺς οὕς προστάξεις.

3 Τὸ δὲ δήσαι Λατίνου πάλαι μὲν λυγαρέ, νῦν δὲ ἀλλιγαρέ καλοῦσιν· ὅθεν οὗ τε Ῥαβδούχοι λικτώρεις, αἳ τε Ῥάβδοι βάκυλα καλοῦνται, διὰ τὸ χρῆσθαι τότε βακτηρίαις. εἰκὸς δὲ λικτώρεις ἐντιθεμένου τοῦ κάππα νῦν ὀνομάζεσθαι, πρότερον λικτώρεις, Ἐλληνιστὶ δὲ λειτουργοὺς ἄντας. λῃτοῦν γὰρ τὸ δημόσιον ἔτι νῦν Ἐλληνες καὶ λαὸν τὸ πλῆθος ὀνομάζουσιν.

XXVII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ πάππου Νομήτορος ἐν Ἄλβη τελευτήσαντος, αὐτῷ βασιλεύειν προσήκον, εἰς μέσον ἐθηκε τὴν πολιτείαν δημαγωγῶν, καὶ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπεδείκνυεν ἀρχοντα τοῖς Ἀλβανοῖς, ἐδίδαξε καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ δυνατοὺς ἄβασιλευτοὺς ζητεῖν καὶ αὐτόνομον πολιτείαν, ἀρχομένους ἐν μέρει καὶ ἀρχοντας. οὖδὲ γὰρ οἱ καλούμενοι πατρίκιοι πραγμάτων μετείχον, ἀλλ' ὄνομα καὶ σχῆμα περὶ ἐντιμὸν αὐτοῖς, ἔθους ἐνεκα μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμης ἄθροιζομένοις εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον. ἐἷτα συγὴ προστάττοντος ἕκροδωτο καὶ τῷ πρῶτῳ τῷ δεδογμένῳ ἐκείνῳ πυθέσθαι τῶν πολλῶν πλέον ἔχοντες ἀπηλλάττοντο. καὶ τάλλα μὲν ἢν ἐλάττονα· τῆς δὲ γῆς τὴν δορίκτητον

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before him with staves, keeping off the populace, and they were girt with thongs, with which to bind at once those whom he ordered to be bound.

To bind, in the Latin language, was formerly "ligare," though now it is "alligare"; whence the wand-bearers are called "lictores," and the wands themselves "bacula," from the use, in the time of Romulus, of "bakteriai," which is the Greek word for staves. But it is likely that the "c" in the word "lictores," as now used, has been added, and that the word was formerly "litores," which is the Greek "leitourgoi," meaning public servants. For the Greeks still call a public hall "leiton," and the people "laos." ¹

XXVII. But when his grandfather Numitor died in Alba, and its throne devolved upon Romulus, he courted the favour of the people by putting the government in their hands, and appointed an annual ruler for the Albans. In this way he taught the influential men at Rome also to seek after a form of government which was independent and without a king, where all in turn were subjects and rulers. For by this time not even the so-called patricians had any share in the administration of affairs, but a name and garb of honour was all that was left them, and they assembled in their council-chamber more from custom than for giving advice. Once there, they listened in silence to the commands of the king, and went away with this advantage only over the multitude, that they learned earlier what he had decreed. The rest of his proceedings were of lesser importance; but when of his own motion merely

¹ For this assumed use of Greek words by the Romans, cf. chapter xv. 3.
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άυτὸς ἔφ’ ἑαυτοῦ δασάμενος τοῖς στρατιώταις, καὶ τοὺς ὀμήρους τοὺς Ὀνήτους ἀποδοῦσι, οὔτε πεισθέντων οὔτε βουλομένων ἐκείνων, ἔδοξε κο-3 μιδὴ τὴν γερουσίαν προπηλακίζειν. θεν εἰς ὑποψίαν καὶ διαβολὴν ἐνέτεσε παραλόγως ἀφα-νισθέντος αὐτοῦ μετ’ ὀλίγον χρόνου. ἡφανίζθη δὲ νόμαις Ἰουλίας, ὡς νῦν ὄνομάζουσιν, ὡς δὲ τότε, Κυντιλλίας, οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν βέβαιον οὐδὲ ὀμολογούμενον πυθέσθαι περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς ἀπο- λιπτῶν, ἀλλ’ ἢ τὸν χρόνον, ὡς προείρηται. δρᾶται γὰρ ἐτί νῦν ὄμοια τῷ τότε πάθει πολλὰ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην.

4 Οὐ δεῖ δὲ θαυμάζειν τὴν ἁσάφειαν, ὅποιο τῇ πίστειν εἰς καὶ περὶ τελευτή- σαντος, οὐκ ἔχει πίστιν οὐδ’ ἔλεγχον ὁ τρόπος τῆς τελευτῆς, ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν αὐτομάτως ὡς φύσει νόσῳν, καὶ μὲν ἐκεῖν ἐλεύσει, οἱ δ’ αὐτὸν τῷ ἀνθρώπου ἠκείμενον, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἐξισθοῦν τὴν ἀναπνοὴν ἀπολαβεῖν αὐτοῦ νῦκτωρ παρεισπεσόν-5 τας. καίτοι τῇ πίστει ἔκειστο νεκρός ἐμφανῆς ἰδεῖν πᾶσι, καὶ τῷ σώμα παρεἶχε πάσιν ὄρμενον ὑποψίαν τινὰ τοῦ πάθους καὶ κατανόησιν: ὅπως δὲ ἀφοῦ μεταλλάξαντος οὔτε μέρος ὁφθαλμός ὀμηρότατος οὔτε λείψανον ἐσθήτος. ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν εἰκάζον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τοὺς βουλευταῖς ἐπαναστάτας αὐτῷ καὶ διαφθείραντας, νεῖμαντα τὸ σῶμα καὶ μέρος ἐκαστὸν ἐνθέμενον εἰς 6 τὸν κόλπον ἐξενεγκείν. ἥτεροι δ’ οἴνοται μῆτε εἰς τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου μῆτε μόνον τῶν βουλευ-τῶν παρόντων γενέσθαι τῶν ἀφανισμῶν, ἀλλὰ τυχεῖν μὲν ἔξω περὶ τὸ καλοῦμενον αἰγὸς ἔλος

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he divided the territory acquired in war among his soldiers, and gave back their hostages to the Veientes, without the consent or wish of the patricians, he was thought to be insulting their senate outright. Wherefore suspicion and calumny fell upon that body when he disappeared unaccountably a short time after. He disappeared on the Nones of July, as they now call the month, then Quintilis, leaving no certain account nor even any generally accepted tradition of his death, aside from the date of it, which I have just given. For on that day many ceremonies are still performed which bear a likeness to what then came to pass.

Nor need we wonder at this uncertainty, since although Scipio Africanus died at home after dinner, there is no convincing proof of the manner of his end, but some say that he passed away naturally, being of a sickly habit, some that he died of poison administered by his own hand, and some that his enemies broke into his house at night and smothered him. And yet Scipio's dead body lay exposed for all to see, and all who beheld it formed therefrom some suspicion and conjecture of what had happened to it; whereas Romulus disappeared suddenly, and no portion of his body or fragment of his clothing remained to be seen. But some conjectured that the senators, convened in the temple of Vulcan, fell upon him and slew him, then cut his body in pieces, put each a portion into the folds of his robe, and so carried it away. Others think that it was neither in the temple of Vulcan nor when the senators alone were present that he disappeared, but that he was holding an assembly of the people
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εκκλησίαν ἀγοντα τὸν Ῥωμύλον, ἄφων δὲ θαυμαστὰ καὶ κρείττονα λόγου περὶ τὸν ἀέρα πάθη γενέσθαι καὶ μεταβολὰς ἀπίστους τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἠλίθιον τὸ φῶς ἐπιλιπεῖν, νῦκτα δὲ κατασχεῖν, οὐ πραιταίν, οὔτε ἦσυχον, ἀλλὰ βροντάς τε δεινὰς καὶ πυὸς ἀνέμων ζάλην ἔλαινόντων πανταχόθεν 7 ἔχουσαν. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τὸν μὲν πολὺν ὄχλον σκέδασθέντα φυγεῖν, τοὺς δὲ δυνατοὺς συστραφέναι μετ' ἀλλήλων ἐπει δ' ἐλήξεν ἡ ταραχὴ καὶ τὸ φῶς ἐξέλαμψε καὶ τῶν πολλῶν εἰς ταὐτὸ πάλιν συνερχομένων ξήτησις ἢ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ πόθος, οὐκ ἔαν τοὺς δυνατοὺς ἐξετάζειν οὔτε πολυπραγμονεῖν, ἀλλὰ τιμῶν παρακελεύσθαι πάσι καὶ σέβεσθαι Ῥωμύλον, ὡς ἀνηρπασμένον εἰς θεοὺς καὶ θεὸν εὐμενὴ γεννησόμενον αὐτός ἐκ 8 χριστοῦ βασιλέως. τοὺς μὲν οὖν πολλοὺς ταῖς πειθομένοις καὶ χαίροντας ἀπαλλάττεσθαι μετ' ἐπίδων ἀγαθῶν προσκυνοῦντας· εἰναι δὲ τινας οὗ τὸ πράγμα πικρῶς καὶ δυσμενῶς ἐξελέγχοντες ἐτάραττον τοὺς πατρικίους καὶ διέβαλλον, ὡς ἀβέλτερα τὸν δῆμον ἀναπείθοντας, αὐτοὺς δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτόχειρας ὑντας.

XXVIII. Οὕτως οὖν ἕνα τῶν πατρικίων γένει πρῶτον, ἥθει τε δοκιμῶτατον, αὐτῷ τε Ῥωμύλῳ πιστὸν καὶ συνήθη, τῶν ἀπ' Ἀλβίας ἑποίκων, Ἰουλίων Πρόκλου, εἰς ἀγοραν προελθόντα καὶ τῶν ἀγωτάτων ἑνόρκον ἱερῶν ἀψάμενον οἰπεῖν ἐν πάσιν ὡς ἐκεῖνον αὐτῷ βαδίζοντι Ῥωμύλος ἐξ ἐναντίας προσιῶν φανεῖ, καλὸς μὲν

1 οὕτως οὖν Coraës, following Stephanus and C, has οὕτως οὖν ταραττομένων (while such disorder prevailed).

2 προελθόντα MSS., Coraës, Sinentis 1: παρελθόντα.
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outside the city near the so-called Goat’s Marsh,\(^1\) when suddenly strange and unaccountable disorders with incredible changes filled the air; the light of the sun failed, and night came down upon them, not with peace and quiet, but with awful peals of thunder and furious blasts driving rain from every quarter, during which the multitude dispersed and fled, but the nobles gathered closely together; and when the storm had ceased, and the sun shone out, and the multitude, now gathered together again in the same place as before, anxiously sought for their king, the nobles would not suffer them to inquire into his disappearance nor busy themselves about it, but exhorted them all to honour and revere Romulus, since he had been caught up into heaven, and was to be a benevolent god for them instead of a good king. The multitude, accordingly, believing this and rejoicing in it, went away to worship him with good hopes of his favour; but there were some, it is said, who tested the matter in a bitter and hostile spirit, and confounded the patricians with the accusation of imposing a silly tale upon the people, and of being themselves the murderers of the king.

XXVIII. At this pass, then, it is said that one of the patricians, a man of noblest birth, and of the most reputable character, a trusted and intimate friend also of Romulus himself, and one of the colonists from Alba, Julius Proculus by name,\(^2\) went into the forum and solemnly swore by the most sacred emblems before all the people that, as he was travelling on the road, he had seen Romulus coming

\(^1\) Cf. Livy, i. 16, 1-4.  \(^2\) Cf. Livy, i. 16, 5-8.
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ὁφθῆναι καὶ μέγας, ὡς οὕποτε πρόσθεν, ὄπλοις δὲ
2 λαμπροῖς καὶ φλέγονσι κεκοσμημένοις. αὐτός μὲν
οὖν ἐκπλαγεὶς πρὸς τὴν ὤψιν "Ὤ Βασιλεῦ,"
φάναι, "τί δὴ παθῶν ἢ διανοηθεῖς ἡμᾶς μὲν ἐν
αἰτίαις ἄδικοις καὶ πονηραῖς, πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν πόλιν
ὄρφανήν ἐν μυρίῳ πένθει προκέλοιται;" ἐκείνων
δ' ἀποκρίνασθαι, "Θεοὶς ἔδοξεν, ὦ Πρόκλε, τοσοῦ-
tον ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι μετ' ἀνθρώπων χρόνον, ἐκεῖθεν
ὀντας, καὶ πόλιν ἔτι ἀρχὴ καὶ δόξῃ μεγίστῃ
κτίσαντας αὐθίς οἰκεῖν οὐρανόν. ἀλλὰ χαῖρε, καὶ
φράζῃ Ὁρμαῖοις ὅτι σωφροσύνην μετ' ἀνδρείας
ἀσκοῦντες ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀνθρωπίνης ἀφίξονται
δυνάμεως. ἔγω δὲ ύμῶν εὐμενῆς ἐσομαι δαίμων
3 Κυρίως." ταῦτα πιστὰ μὲν εἶναι τοῖς Ὁρμαῖοις
ἐδόκει διὰ τὸν τρόπον τοῦ λέγοντος καὶ διὰ τὸν
ὄρκον οὗ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ δαιμόνιον τι συν-
εφάγασθαι πάθος ὁμοίων ἐνθουσιασμῷ. μηδὲν
γὰρ ἀντειπεῖν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν ὑπόνοιαν καὶ δια-
βολὴν ἀφέντας εὑχεσθαι Κυρίῳ καὶ θεοκλυ-
τεῖν ἐκείνων.

4 Ἕσοικε μὲν οὖν ταῦτα τοῖς ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων περὶ
τε Ἀριστέου τοῦ Προκοννησίου καὶ Κλεομήδους
τοῦ Ἀστυπαλαιῶς μυθολογομένους. Ἀριστέαν
μὲν γὰρ ἐν τινὶ κναφεῖσι τελευτήσαι φασὶ, καὶ τὸ
σῶμα μετίοντων αὐτοῦ τῶν φίλων ἄφανες ὀιχε-
σθαι λέγειν δὲ τινὰς εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀποδημάς ἦκοντας
ἐντυχεῖν 'Ἀριστέα τὴν ἐπὶ Κρότωνος πορευομένους'
Κλεομήδη δὲ, ρώμῃ καὶ μεγέθει σώματος ὑπερ-
φυὰ γενόμενον ἐμπληκτόν τε τῷ τρόπῳ καὶ
μανικὸν ὄντα, πολλὰ δρᾶν βίας, καὶ τέλος ἐν

1 ἐκείθεν ὄντα MSS., Cornes, Sinentia, and Bekker; Sinentis transposes to follow οὐρανόν.

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to meet him, fair and stately to the eye as never before, and arrayed in bright and shining armour. He himself, then, affrighted at the sight, had said: “O King, what possessed thee, or what purpose hadst thou, that thou hast left us patricians a prey to unjust and wicked accusations, and the whole city sorrowing without end at the loss of its father?” Whereupon Romulus had replied: “It was the pleasure of the gods, O Proculus, from whom I came, that I should be with mankind only a short time, and that after founding a city destined to be the greatest on earth for empire and glory, I should dwell again in heaven. So farewell, and tell the Romans that if they practise self-restraint, and add to it valour, they will reach the utmost heights of human power. And I will be your propitious deity, Quirinus.” These things seemed to the Romans worthy of belief, from the character of the man who related them, and from the oath which he had taken; moreover, some influence from heaven also, akin to inspiration, laid hold upon their emotions, for no man contradicted Proculus, but all put aside suspicion and calumny and prayed to Quirinus, and honoured him as a god.

Now this is like the fables which the Greeks tell about Aristeas of Proconnesus¹ and Cleomedes of Astypaleia.² For they say that Aristeas died in a fuller’s shop, and that when his friends came to fetch away his body, it had vanished out of sight; and presently certain travellers returning from abroad said they had met Aristeas journeying towards Croton. Cleomedes also, who was of gigantic strength and stature, of uncontrolled temper, and like a mad man, is said to have done many deeds

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

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τινι διδασκαλεῖ ψαίδων τὸν ὑπερείδοντα τὴν ὀροφήν κίονα πατάξαντα τῇ χειρὶ κλάσαι μέσον 5 καὶ τὴν στέγην καταβαλεῖν. ἀπολομένων δὲ τῶν ψαίδων διωκόμενον εἰς κιβωτὸν καταφυγεῖν μεγάλην, καὶ τὸ πῶρα κατακλείσαντα συνέχειν ἐντός, ὡστε ἀποσπάσαι μὴ δύνασθαι πολλοὺς ὁμοὶ βιαζόμενους· κατασχίσαντας δὲ τὴν κιβωτὸν οὖτε ξύντα τὸν ἀνθρώπον εὐρεῖν οὖτε νεκρόν. ἐκπλαγέντας οὖν ἀποστείλαι θεοπρόπους εἰς Δελφοὺς, οἷς τὴν Πυθίαν εἶπεῖν.

"Εσχάτος ἡρώων Κλεομῆδης Ἀστυπαλαιών.

6 λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀλκμήνης ἐκκομιζομένης νεκρὸν ἄδηλον γενέσθαι, λίθων δὲ φανῆναι κεῖ-μενον ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης. καὶ ὅλως πολλὰ τοιαῦτα μυθολογοῦσι, παρὰ τὸ εἰκός ἐκθειάζοντες τὰ θυντά τῆς φύσεως ἀμα τοῖς θεοῖς.

Ἀπογυώναι μὲν οὖν παντάπασι τὴν θείατη τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀνόσουν καὶ ἀγεννησία, οὐρανῷ δὲ μι-γνύειν γῆν ἄβελτερον. ἐστέον οὖν, ἐχομένως τῆς ἁσφαλείας, κατὰ Πίνδαρον, όσ

σῶμα μὲν πάντων ἐπεται θανάτῳ περισθενεί, ξών οὖ ἐτι λείπεται αἰῶνος εἰδώλων· τὸ γὰρ ἐστι μόνον ἐκ θεῶν.

7 ἦκεν γὰρ ἐκείθεν, ἐκεῖ δὲ ἀνείσιν, οὐ μετὰ σώματος, ἀλλ’ ἐὰν ὅτι μάλιστα σώματος ἀπαλ- λαγῇ καὶ διακριθῇ καὶ γέννηται καθαρὸν παντά-πασι καὶ ἁσαρκοῦ καὶ ἁγνόν. Αὕτη γὰρ ψυχή
of violence, and finally, in a school for boys, he smote with his fist the pillar which supported the roof, broke it in two, and brought down the house. The boys were killed, and Aristeas, being pursued, took refuge in a great chest, closed the lid down, and held it so fast that many men with their united strength could not pull it up; but when they broke the chest to pieces, the man was not to be found, alive or dead. In their dismay, then, they sent messengers to consult the oracle at Delphi, and the Pythian priestess gave them this answer:—

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

It is said also that the body of Alcmene disappeared, as they were carrying her forth for burial, and a stone was seen lying on the bier instead. In short, many such fables are told by writers who improbably ascribe divinity to the mortal features in human nature, as well as to the divine.

At any rate, to reject entirely the divinity of human virtue, were impious and base; but to mix heaven with earth is foolish. Let us therefore take the safe course and grant, with Pindar,¹ that

“Our bodies all must follow death’s supreme behest,
But something living still survives, an image of life, for this alone
Comes from the gods.”

Yes, it comes from them, and to them it returns, not with its body, but only when it is most completely separated and set free from the body, and becomes altogether pure, fleshless, and undefiled. For “a dry

¹ Fragment 131, Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Gr. i. 4 p. 427.
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άριστη ἢ Ῥάκλειτον, ὥσπερ ἀστράπη νέοις διαπαράνομος τοὺς σώματος. ἡ δὲ σώματι πεφυμένη καὶ περίπλεως σώματος, οἷον ἀναθυμίαις ἐμβρυθῆς καὶ ὑμηλώθης, δυσέξαπτος ἔστι καὶ δυσανακόμος. οὐδὲν οὖν δὲ τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀναθών συναναπέμπειν παρὰ φύσιν εἰς οὐρανόν, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἁρετὰς καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς πανταπαίδευσιν ὀἶει σαί κατὰ φύσιν καὶ δίκην ϑείαν ἐκ μὲν ἄνθρωπον εἰς ἡρωας, ἐκ δὲ ἡρώων εἰς δαίμονας, ἐκ δὲ δαίμονων, ἀν τέλεσι ὥσπερ ἐν τελετῇ καθαρθοῦσι καὶ ὄσικσθῶσιν ἀπαν ἀποφυγόναι τὸ θνητὸν καὶ παθητικὸν, οὐ νόμῳ πόλεως, ἀλλ’ ἀληθεία καὶ κατὰ τὸν εἰκότα λόγον εἰς θεοὺς ἀναφέρεσθαι, τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ μακαριώτατον τέλος ἀπολαβούσας.

XXIX. Τὴν δὲ γενομένην ἐπωνυμίαν τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ τὸν Κυρίνον οἱ μὲν Ἑυνάλιον προσαγορεύουσιν ὦ, δὲ πολίτης, ὥσπερ καὶ τους πολίτας Κυρίτας ὄνομαζον, οἱ δὲ τὴν αἰχμὴν ἤ τὸ δόρυ τοὺς παλαιοὺς κύριον ὄνομαζον, καὶ Κυρίτιδος ἤρας ἀγαλμα καλεῖν ἐπ’ αἰχμῆς ἱδρυμένην, ὥν δὲ τῇ Ῥηγίᾳ δόρυ καθδρυμένον Ἀρεά προσαγορεύειν, καὶ δόρατι τοὺς ἐν πολέμοις ἀριστεύοντας γεραιρεῖν ὡς ὑμῖν ἄρητός τινα τὸν Ῥωμύλον ἂ 2 αἰχμητὴν θεοῦ ὄνομαζόμεναι Κυρίνον. ἤρεον μὲν οὖν αὐτοῦ κατεσκευασμένον ἐν τῷ λόφῳ τῷ Κυρίαι προσαγορευομένῳ δι’ ἔκεινον, ἡ δ’ ἡμέρα ἢ μετήλλαξεν, ὀχλον διὰ τὸ θύειν εἰς τὸ τῆς αἰγός ἔλος ἤκαμι.

1 Ἀθη γὰρ ψυχὴ ἄριστη Bekker: αὕτη γὰρ ψυχὴ ξηρῆ καὶ ἄριστη.
2 οἱ δὲ πολίτης, ὦτι Coraës and Bekker, with two Bodleian MSS. (Babc): οἱ δὲ ὦτι.
soul is best," according to Heracleitus,¹ and it flies from the body as lightning flashes from a cloud. But the soul which is contaminated with body, and surfeited with body, like a damp and heavy exhalation, is slow to release itself and slow to rise towards its source. We must not, therefore, violate nature by sending the bodies of good men with their souls to heaven, but implicitly believe that their virtues and their souls, in accordance with nature and divine justice, ascend from men to heroes, from heroes to demi-gods, and from demi-gods, after they have been made pure and holy, as in the final rites of initiation, and have freed themselves from mortality and sense, to gods, not by civic law, but in very truth and according to right reason, thus achieving the fairest and most blessed consummation.

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

¹ Fragment 74 (Bywater, Heracliti Ephesii reliquiae, p. 30). 183
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πόλεως κατιόντας: την γαρ αλγα κάτραν ὁνομάζονται. ἔξκοιτο δὲ πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν πολλά τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ὁνομάτων φθέγγονται μετὰ βοήθεις, ὅπως Μάρκου, Δοῦλου, Γαίου, μμοῦμενοι τὴν τότε τροπὴν καὶ ἀνάκλησιν ἀλλήλων μετὰ δέους καὶ ταραχῆς.

3 Ἑντοί μέντοι τὸ μίμημα τούτῳ φασὶ μὴ φυγῆς, ἀλλ' ἐπείξεως εἶναι καὶ στοιχῆς, εἰς αὐτίαν τοιαύτην ἀναφέρουσας τὸν λόγον. ἑπεὶ Κελτοὶ τὴν Ῥώμην καταλαβόντες ἔσχεκρούσιον υπὸ Καμίλλου καὶ δι' ἀσθένειαν ἡ πόλις οὐκετὶ ῥαδίως ἐαυτὴν ἀνειλάμβανε, ἐστράτευσαν ἐπ' αὐτήν πολλοὶ τῶν Δατίνων, ἀρχοντα Λίβιων Ποστούμιον ἔχοντες. οὕτως δὲ καθίσας τὸν στρατὸν οὐ πρόσω τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπεμπε κήρυκα, βούλευσαν λέγων τοὺς Δατίνους ἐκλείπονταν ἣδη τὴν παλαιὰν ἰκείοτητα καὶ συγγένειαν ἐκζωτπηρῆσαι, καίναις αὐθεὸς ἀνακραθέντων ἐπιγαμίας τῶν

4 γενῶν. ἄν οὖν πέμψωσι παρθένους τε συγγάς καὶ γυναικῶν τὰς ἀνάνδρους, εἰρήνην ἐσεσθαι καὶ φιλίαν αὐτοῖς, ὡς ὑπῆρξε πρὸς Σαβίνους πρὸτερον ἐκ τῶν ὅμοιων. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν τε πόλεμον ἐφοβοῦντο καὶ τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν γυναικῶν οὐδὲν αἰχμαλωσίας ἐπιεικέστερον ἔχειν ἐνόμιζον. ἀποροῦσι δ' αὐτοῖς θεραπαίνα Φιλωτίς, ὡς δ' ἐνθοῦς λέγουσι, Τοῦτολα καλοῦμένη, συνεβούλευσε μηδέτερα ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ χρησιμένους δόλῳ διαφυγεῖν ἀμα τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὴν

5 ἔξομήρευσιν. ἦν δ' ὁ δόλος αὐτὴν τε τὴν Φιλωτίδα καὶ σὺν αὐτῇ θεραπαίνας εὑρεσις κοσμήσαντας ὡς ἐλευθέρας ἀποστείλαι πρὸς τοὺς πολέμιους. εἴτε νύκτωρ τὴν Φιλωτίδα πυρσὸν

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sacrifice at the Goat's Marsh; and "capra" is their word for she-goat. And as they go forth to the sacrifice, they shout out many local names, like Marcus, Lucius, and Caius, in imitation of the way in which, on the day when Romulus disappeared, they called upon one another in fear and confusion.

Some, however, say that this imitation is not one of flight, but of haste and eagerness, and explain it as referring to the following occasion. After the Gauls had captured Rome and been driven out by Camillus, and when the city was still too weak to recover itself readily, an expedition was made against it by many of the Latins, under the command of Livius Postumius. This general stationed his army not far from Rome, and sent a herald with the message that the Latins wished to renew their ancient relationship and affinity with the Romans, by fresh intermarriages between the two peoples. If, therefore, the Romans would send them a goodly number of virgins and their widows, they should have peace and friendship, such as they had formerly made with the Sabines on the like terms. On hearing this message, the Romans hesitated between going to war, which they feared, and the surrender of their women, which they thought no more desirable than to have them captured. But while they were in this perplexity, a serving-maid called Philotis (or, as some say, Tutola) advised them to do neither, but by the use of a stratagem to escape alike the war and the giving of hostages. Now the stratagem was this, that they should send to the enemy Philotis herself, and with her other comely serving-maids arrayed like free-born women; then in the night Philotis was to display a signal-fire, at which the
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ἀραί, τούς δὲ ’Ρωμαίους ἐπέλθειν μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων καὶ χρήσασθαι κοιμωμένοι τοῖς πολεμίοις. ταῦτα δὲ ἐδράτο πεισθέντων τῶν Δατίων καὶ τὸν πυρὸν ἀνέσχεν ἤ Φιλωτίς ἐκ τινὸς ἐρινεοῦ, περισχοῦσα προκαλύμμασι καὶ παραπετάσμασιν ὤπισθεν, ὡστε τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀόρατον εἶναι τὸ φῶς, τοῖς δὲ ’Ρωμαίοις κατάδηλον. ὡς οὖν ἔπειδον, εὐθὺς ἐξήσαν ἐπειγόμενοι καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπεξειν ἀλλήλους περὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνακαλοῦντες πολλάκις. ἐμπεσόντες δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπροσδοκήτως καὶ κρατήσαντες, ἐπινίκιον ἔγονε τὴν ἐστίν. καὶ Κατρατίναι μὲν αἱ νόμαι καλὸν τεύχονται διὰ τὸν ἐρινεῦν κατρή-φικον ὑπὸ ’Ρωμαίων ὄνομαξομένου, ἐστιῶσι δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας ἔξω, συνῆς κλάδοις σχειρομένας. αἱ δὲ θεραπανίδες ἀγείρονσι περιούσι καὶ παίζοντω, εἰτα πληγαῖς καὶ βολαῖς λίθων χρῶνται πρὸς ἀλλήλας, ὡς καὶ τότε τοῖς ’Ρωμαίοις παραγενούμεναι καὶ συναγωνισάμεναι μαχομένοις.

7 Ταῦτ’ οὖν 1 πολλοὶ προσέντα τῶν συγγρα-φέων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μεθ’ ἡμέραν χρήσθαι τῇ ἀνακλήσει τῶν ὄνοματων καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὸ ἔλος τὸ τῆς αἰγὸς ως ἐπὶ θυσίαν 2 βαδίζοντας οὐκε τῷ προτέρῳ λόγῳ προστίθεσθαι μᾶλλον, εἰ μὴν Δίαι τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἐν χρόνοις ἐτέροις ἀμφό-τερα τὰ πάθη συνετύχει γενέσθαι. λέγεται δὲ ’Ρωμύλος τέσσαρα μὲν ἔτη καὶ πευτήκοντα γε-γονός, ὄγδοον δὲ βασιλεύων ἐκεῖνο καὶ τριακοστὸν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι.

1 oû with Cobet: oû (by few).
2 θυσίαν with Coraës (as in xxix. 2): ἀθλάτταν (sea).
Romans were to come in arms and deal with their enemies while asleep. This was done, with the approval of the Latins, and Philotis displayed the signal-fire from a certain wild fig-tree, screening it behind with coverlets and draperies, so that its light was unseen by the enemy, but visible to the Romans. When, accordingly, they beheld it, they sallied forth at once in great haste, and because of their haste calling upon one another many times at the gates. They fell upon their enemies when they least expected it and mastered them, and now celebrate this festival in memory of their victory. And the Nones on which it falls are called Capratine from the wild fig-tree, the Roman name for which is "caprificus," and they feast the women outside the city in booths made of fig-tree boughs. Then the serving-maids run about in companies and play, after which they strike and throw stones at one another, in token that on that earlier day they assisted the Romans and shared with them in their battle.¹

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

¹ Cf. Camillus, xxxiii.
ΘΗΣΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΡΩΜΥΛΟΥ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

I. "Α μὲν οὖν ἡξια μυνήμης πυθέσθαι περὶ Ῥωμύλου καὶ Θησέως συμβέβηκεν ἡμῖν, ταῦτ’ ἑστὶ. φαίνεται δὲ πρῶτον ὁ μὲν ἐκ προαιρέσεως, οὔδενὸς ἀναγκάζοντος, ἀλλ’ ἐξὸν ἀδεὶς ἐν Τροι-ξῆνι βασιλεύειν διαδεξάμενον ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἄδοξον, αὐτὸς ἀφ’ ἑαυτοῦ μεγάλων ὀρέχθεις· ὁ δὲ δου-λείας φυγὴ παρούσης καὶ τιμωρίας ἐπιφερομένης, ἐκεῖνο τοῦ τοῦ Πλάτωνος, ἀτεχνῶς ὑπὸ δέους ἀν-дрείους γενόμενος, καὶ φόβῳ τοῦ τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ δράν μεγάλα δι’ ἀνάγκην παραγενό-2 μενος. ἔπειτα τούτου μὲν ἔργον ἑστὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἀνελεῖν ἕνα τοῦ Ἀλβής τύραννον, ἐκείνου δὲ πάρεργα καὶ προάγωνες ἦσαν ὁ Σκείρων, ὁ Σίνις, ὁ Προκρούστης, ὁ Κορυνήτης, οὐς ἀναίρων καὶ κολάξων ἀπῆλπατε τὴν Ἑλλάδα δεινῶν τυράννων πρὶν ὄστες ἑστὶ γινώσκειν τοὺς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ σωζο-μένους. καὶ τῷ μὲν παρῆν ἀπραγμόνως κομμέ-ξεσθαι διὰ θαλάςπης ἄδικουμένως μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ληστῶν, Ῥωμύλῳ δ’ οὐ παρῆν μὴ πράγματα
3 ἔχειν Ἀμολύλοις ζῶντος. μέγα δὲ τούτου τεκμή-ριον ὁ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν αὐτὸς ἄδικος μηδὲν ὑπὲρ ἄλλων ἐπὶ τοὺς πονηροὺς, οἱ δ’ ὅσον αὐτοὶ κακῶς οὐκ ἔπασχον ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου, περιεόρων ἄδικοῦντα πάντας. καὶ μὴν εἰ μέγα τὸ τρωθήμαυ
COMPARISON OF THESEUS AND ROMULUS

COMPARISON OF THESEUS AND ROMULUS

1. Such, then, are the memorable things about Romulus and Theseus which I have been able to learn. And it appears, first of all, that Theseus, of his own choice, when no one compelled him, but when it was possible for him to reign without fear at Troezen as heir to no inglorious realm, of his own accord reached out after great achievements; whereas Romulus, to escape present servitude and impending punishment, became simply "courageous out of fear," as Plato phrases it,¹ and through the dread of extreme penalties proceeded to perform great exploits under compulsion. In the second place, the chief deed of Romulus was the slaying of a single tyrant of Alba; whereas for mere by-adventures and preliminary struggles Theseus had Sciron, Sinis, Procrustes, and Corynetes, by slaying and chastising whom he freed Greece from dreadful tyrants before those who were saved by him knew who he was. Theseus might have travelled to Athens by sea without any trouble, and suffering no outrage at the hands of those robbers; whereas Romulus could not be without trouble while Amulius lived. And there is strong proof of this; for Theseus, although he had suffered no wrong at their hands himself, sallied out in behalf of others against those miscreants; while Romulus and Remus, as long as they themselves were not harmed by the tyrant, suffered him to wrong everybody else. And surely, if it was a great thing for Romulus

¹ Phaedo, p. 68 d.
μαχόμενον Σαβίνοις καὶ ἀνελεῖν Ὀκρωνα καὶ πολλῶν μάχη κρατήσαι πολεμῶν, τούτοις μὲν ἐστὶ τοῖς ἔργοις κενταυρομαχίαν καὶ τὰ πρὸς Ἀμαζόνας παραβαλεῖν· δὲ δ’ ἐτόλμησε· Θησεύς περὶ τῶν Κρητικῶν δασμῶν, εἶτε τινὶ θηρίῳ βορᾶν, εἶτε πρόσφαγμα τοῖς Ἀνδρόγεω τάφοις, εἰθ’, δὲ κοινοτατόν ἐστὶ τῶν λεγομένων, λατρεύειν παρ’ ἀνδρᾶσιν ὑβρισταὶς καὶ δυσμενεῖσιν ἀκλῆι λατρείαιν καὶ ἀτιμὸν ἐπίδους ἑαυτὸν, ἐκουσίως μετὰ παρθένων πλεύσας καὶ παίδων νέων, οὐκ ἂν εἶποι τις ἡλίκης ἐστὶ τόλμης ἡ μεγαλοφροσύνης ἡ δικαιοσύνης περὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἡ πόθων δόξης καὶ ἅρετῆς. ὡστ’ ἐμοιγε φαίνεται μὴ κακῶς ὀργίζεσθαι τοὺς φιλοσόφους τῶν ἔρωτα θεῶν ὑπηρεσίαν πρὸς ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ σωτηρίαν νέων. οὐ γὰρ Ἀριάδνης ἐρῶς παντὸς μᾶλλον οὐκεν ἔργον θεοῦ καὶ μηχανὴ γενέσθαι σωτηρίας ἕνεκα τοῦ ἀνδρός. καὶ οὐκ ἄξιον αἰτιᾶσθαι τὴν ἐρασθείαν, ἀλλὰ θαυμάζειν εἰ μὴ πάντες οὕτω καὶ πᾶσαι διετέθησαν· εἰ δ’ ἐκείνη μόνη τούτ’ ἔπαθεν, εἰκότως ἐγγυς φαίνει ἂν αὐτὴν ἄξιόμεστον θεῷ γεγο- νέαι, φιλόκαλον καὶ φιλάγαθον καὶ τῶν ἀρίστων ἐρωτικὴν οὐσάν.

II. Ἀμφοτέρων τῶν τῇ φύσει πολιτικῶν γεγονότων, οὐδέτερος διεφύλαξε τῶν βασιλικῶν τρόπων· ἔξεστι δὲ καὶ μετέβαλε μεταβολὴν ὁ μὲν δημοτικῆς, ὁ δὲ τυραννικῆς, ταύτων ἀπ’ δὲ ἐτόλμησε Coraës and Sintenis would begin the second chapter here.

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

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

\(^1\) Polemon, as cited in *Morals*, p. 780 d.
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έναντίων παθών ἀμαρτόντες. δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἀρ-
χοντα σῶξειν πρῶτον αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρχὴν· σῶξεται
δ' οὐχ ἦττον ἀπεχομένη τοῦ μὴ προσήκοντος ἢ
2 περιεχομένη τοῦ προσήκοντος. ὁ δ' ἐνδίδοις ἢ
ἐπιτείνων οὐ μένει βασιλεὺς οὖδὲ ἀρχων, ἀλλ' ἢ
δημαγωγὸς ἢ δεσπότης γιγαμένος, ἐμποιεῖ τὸ
μισεῖν ἢ καταφρονεῖν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις. οὐ μὴν
ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο μὲν ἐπιεικείας δοκεῖ καὶ φιλανθρω-
πίς εἶναι, τούτῳ δὲ φιλαντίας ἀμάρτημα καὶ
χαλεπόττιτος.

III. Εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ τὰ δυστυχήματα μὴ παντά-
pασι ποιεῖσθαι δαίμονος, ἀλλ' ήθικάς καὶ παθη-
tικὰς ζητεῖν ἐν αὐτοῖς διαφοράς, θυμὸν μὲν ἀλο-
γίστου καὶ τάχος ἐχούσης ἄβουλον ὄργης μήτε
τῆς ἐκείνου ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀπολυνέτω
μῆτε τούτου ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τὸν υἱόν· ἢ δὲ κινήσασα
τὸν ϑυμὸν ἀρχὴ μᾶλλον παραίτεται τὸν ὑπὸ
μείζονος αἰτίας ὡσπερ ὑπὸ πληγῆς χαλεπωτέρας
2 ἀνατραπέντα. Ὄρμυλῳ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ βουλῆς καὶ
σκέψεως περὶ κοινῶν συμφερόντων διαφοράς γε-
νομένης οὐκ ἂν ἦξισθε τίς ἄφον τὴν διάνοιαν
ἐν τηλικοῦτῳ πάθει γενέσθαι. Ὄησεὰ δὲ πρὸς
τὸν υἱόν, δ' πάμπηκαν ὅλοι τῶν ὄντων διαπεφεύ-
γασιν, ἐρως καὶ ζηλοτυπία καὶ διαβολὴ γυναι-
kός ἑσφηλαν. δ' δὲ μείζων ἔστιν, ο μὲν Ὅρμυλος
θυμὸς εἰς ἄργον ἐξέπεσε καὶ πρᾶξεν οὐκ εὐπρο-
χοῦσαν τέλος, ἢ δ' Ὅησεῶς ὄργη μέχρι λόγου
καὶ βλασφημίας καὶ κατάρας πρεσβυτικῆς
προῆλθε, τὰ δ' ἀλλὰ φαῖνεται τῇ τύχῃ χρήσα-
σθαι τὸ μειράκιον. ὡστε ταύτας μὲν ἂν τις ἀπο-
δοῖ τῷ Ὅησεῖ τὰς ψῆφους.
COMPARISON OF THESEUS AND ROMULUS

affections. For the ruler must preserve first of all
the realm itself, and this is preserved no less by
refraining from what is unbecoming than by cleaving
to what is becoming. But he who remits or extends
his authority is no longer a king or a ruler; he
becomes either a demagogue or a despot, and im-
plants hatred or contempt in the hearts of his
subjects. However, the first error seems to arise
from kindliness and humanity; the second from
selfishness and severity.

III. Again, if the misfortunes of men are not to
be attributed altogether to fortune, but to the dif-
ferent habits and passions which will be found
underlying them, then no one shall acquit Romulus
of unreasoning anger or hasty and senseless wrath
in dealing with his brother, nor Theseus in dealing
with his son, although the cause which stirred his
anger leads us to be more lenient towards the one
who was overthrown by a stronger provocation, as by
a heavier blow. For since the difference between
Romulus and his brother arose from a deliberate
investigation of the common welfare, there could
have been no good reason for his flying into such
a passion; while Theseus was impelled to wrong
his son by love, jealousy, and a woman's slanders,
the overmastering power of which very few men
have escaped. And what is of greater weight, the
anger of Romulus vented itself in action and a deed
of most unfortunate issue; whereas the wrath of
Theseus got no farther than words of abuse and an
old man's curse, and the rest of the youth's calamities
seem to have been due to fortune. On these counts,
therefore, one would give his vote of preference to
Theseus.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

IV. Ἐκεῖνος δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ὑπάρχει μέγα τὸ μικροτάτας λαβεῖν ἀρχάς ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα.

δούλων γὰρ δὴ καὶ συφορθῶν παιδεῖς ὀνομαζό-

μενοι, πρὶν ἔλευθερωθεῖ γενέσθαι, πάντας ὀλίγον

dein ἥλευθέρωσαν Δατίνους, εἰνὶ χρόνῳ τῶν

cαλλίστων ὄνομάτων ἁμα τυχόντες, φονεῖς

ἐχθρῶν καὶ σωτῆρες οἰκείων καὶ βασιλείσσεις θυνῶν

καὶ οἰκισταὶ πόλεων, οὐ μετοικισταὶ, καθάπερ

ἡν ὁ Θησεὺς, ἐκ πολλῶν συντιθείς καὶ συνοικο-

dομῶν ἐν οἰκητήριοι, ἀναιρῶν δὲ πολλὰς πόλεις

2 ἐπονυμῶσας βασιλέων καὶ ἡρώων παλαιῶν. Ῥω-

μύλος δὲ ταύτα μὲν ὑστερον ἐδρα, τοὺς πολε-

μίους ἀναγκάζων τὰ οἰκεῖα καταβάλλοντας καὶ

ἀφαινόμενος τοὺς νευκηκόσι προσνέμεσθαι· τὸ

de πρῶτον οὐ μετατιθεῖς οὐδ’ αὐξῶν τὴν ὑπάρ-

χουσαν, ἀλλὰ ποιῶν εἰ ὁὐ υπαρχόντων καὶ

κτώμενος ἑαυτῷ χώραιν ὁμοῦ, πατρίδα, βασιλείαν,

γένη, γάμους, οἰκείοτητας, ἀνήρει μὲν οὐδένα οὐδὲ

ἀπώλλυεν, εὐεργέτει δὲ τοὺς εἰς ἀοίκων καὶ ἀνε-

στίων δήμου ἐθέλοντας εἶναι καὶ πολίτας. Ἀν-

στας δὲ καὶ κακοῦργους οὐκ ἀπέκτεινεν, ἀλλ’

ἐθνὴ προσηγαγοῦσα πολέμῳ καὶ πόλεις κατεστρέ-

ψατο καὶ βασιλείς ἐθριάμβευσε καὶ ἤγευμανα.

V. Καὶ τὸ μὲν Ῥώμου πάθος ἀμφισβητοῦ-

μένον ἔχει τὸν αὐτόχειρα, καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον εἰς

ἐτέρους τῆς αἰτίας τρέπουσι· τὴν δὲ μητέρα

dιολλεμένην ἔσωσε περιφανῶς, καὶ τὸν πάππων

ἀκλεῶς οὐλεύσατα καὶ ἀτίμως εἰς τὸν Δινεῖον

θρόνον ἐκάθισε. καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐκῶν εὐεργέ-

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

V. Besides, there is dispute as to who actually slew Remus, and most of the blame for the deed is put upon others than Romulus; but Romulus did unquestionably save his mother from destruction, and he set his grandfather, who was living in inglorious and dishonourable subjection, upon the throne of Aeneas. Moreover, he did him many favours of his own accord, and did him no harm, not even inadver-
Θησέως λήθην καὶ ἀμέλειαν τῆς περὶ τὸ ἱστόν ἐντολῆς μόνης ἀν οἰμαί μακρὰ τινι παραίτησει καὶ ἐν ραθύμως δικασταῖς αἰτίαν ἀποφυγεῖν πατρόκτονίας: δὴ δὲ καὶ συνιδών τις Ἀττικὸς ἀνήρ ὃς παγχάλεπτον ἐστὶ βουλομένοις ἀπολογεῖσθαι, πλάττει τὸν Ἀιγέα τῆς νεὼς προσφερομένης ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἀνατρέχοντα πρὸς τὴν ἀμύρωπολιν θέας ἕνεκα καὶ σφαλλόμενον καταπεσεῖν, ὅσπερ ὅπα- δὼν ἔρημον, ἢ τὴν ἐπὶ θάλατταν ὅδον σπεύδοντι μὴ παρούσης τινὸς θεραπείας.

VI. Καὶ μήν τὰ περὶ τὰς ἀρπαγὰς τῶν γυναικῶν ἡμαρτημένα Θησέως μὲν εὐσχήμων ἐνδει αἱ προφάσεως γέγονεν. πρῶτον μὲν ὁτι πολλάκις ἠρπάσει γὰρ Ἀριάδνην καὶ Ἀντιόπην καὶ Ἀναξέω τὴν Τροϊζηνίαν, ἑπὶ πάσαις δὲ τὴν Ἑλένην, παρηκμακὼς οὐκ ἄκμαξος, ἀλλὰ νηπίαν καὶ ἀφρόν αὐτὸς ὑπὸν ἔχων ἥδη γάμων πεπαινόσθαι καὶ νομίμων ἐπειτα διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν οὐ γὰρ ἀξιώτεραι γε παιδοποιοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων Ἐρε- χθείδων καὶ Κεκροπίδων αἰ Τροιζηνίων καὶ Δακώνων καὶ Ἀμαζώνων ἀνέγγυοι θυγατέρες 2 ἡγαν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὑποψίαν ἔχει πρὸς ὑβριν καὶ καθ’ ἤδονην πεπράξθαι. Ῥωμύλοις δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ὀκτακοσίων ὅλην ἀριθμῷ δεύςας 39 ἀρπάσας, οὐ πάσας, ἀλλὰ μίαν, ὡς φασίν, Ἐρεσίλιν ἔλαβε, τὰς δ’ ἄλλας διένεμε τοῖς ἀγαθοὶς 1 τῶν πολιτῶν ἔπειτα τῇ μετὰ ταῦτα τιμῇ καὶ ἀγαπῆςει καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ τῇ περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἀπέδειξε τὴν βίαν ἐκείνην καὶ τὴν

1 ἀγαθοὶ MSS. and edd.: ἀγάμοι (unmarried).

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tently. Theseus, on the contrary, for his forgetfulness and neglect of the command about the sail, can hardly, I think, escape the charge of parricide, be the plea of his advocate ever so long and his judges ever so lenient. Indeed, a certain Attic writer, conscious that would-be defenders of Theseus have a difficult task, feigns that Aegeus, on the approach of the ship, ran up to the acropolis in his eagerness to catch sight of her, and stumbled and fell down the cliff; as though he were without a re- tinue, or was hurrying down to the sea without any servants.

VI. Furthermore, the transgressions of Theseus in his rapes of women admit of no plausible excuse. This is true, first, because there were so many; for he carried off Ariadne, Antiope, Anaxo of Troezen, and at last Helen, when he was past his prime and she had not reached her prime, but was an unripe child, while he was already of an age too great for even lawful wedlock. It is true, secondly, because of the reason for them; for the daughters of Troezenians and Laconians and Amazons were not betrothed to him, and were no worthier, surely, to be the mothers of his children than the daughters of Erechtheus and Cecrops at Athens. But one may suspect that these deeds of his were done in lustful wantonness. Romulus, on the other hand, in the first place, although he carried off nearly eight hundred women, took them not all to wife, but only one, as they say, Hersilia, and distributed the rest among the best of the citizens. And in the second place, by the subsequent honour, love, and righteous treatment given to these women, he made it clear that his
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ἀδικίαν κάλλιστον ἔργων καὶ πολιτικώτατον εἰς 3 κοινωνίαν γενομένην. οὕτω συνεμίζειν ἄλληλοις καὶ συνέπηξε τὰ γένη, καὶ παρέσχε πηγήν τῆς εἰς αὕθες εὐνοίας καὶ δυνάμεως τοὺς πράγμασιν. αἰδοὺς δὲ καὶ φιλίας καὶ βεβαιότητος, ἦν εἰργάσατο περὶ τοὺς γάμους, ὦ χρόνος ἐστὶ μάρτυς. ἐν γὰρ ἔτεσι τριάκοντα καὶ διακοσίοις οὐτε ἀνὴρ ἐτόλμησε γυναικὸς οὐτε γυνὴ κοινωνίαν ἀνδρὸς ἐγκαταλείπειν, ἀλλ' ὅσπερ ἐν"Ελλησιν οἱ σφόδρα περιττοί τὸν πρώτων ἔχουσιν εἴπειν πατροκτόνου ἢ μητροφόνου, οὕτω Ἡρωμαῖοι πάντες ἵσασιν ὅτι Καρβίλλος Σπόριος ἀπεπέμψατο γυναῖκα πρῶ- 4 τος, ἀπαιδιάν αἰτιασάμενος. τῷ δὲ τοσοῦτῳ χρόνῳ συμμαρτυρεῖ καὶ τὰ ἔργα. καὶ γὰρ ἀρχής ἐκοινώνησαν οἱ βασιλεῖς, καὶ πολιτείας τὰ γένη διὰ τὴν ἐπιγαμίαν ἐκείνην. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Θησέως γάμ- μων Ἀθηναίων φιλικὸν μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ κοινωνικὸν ὑπήρξε πρὸς οὐδένα συμβόλαιον, ἐχθραὶ δὲ καὶ πόλεμοι καὶ φόνοι πολιτῶν καὶ τέλος Ἀφίδνας ἀπολέσαι καὶ μόλις ὑπ' οἰκτὸν τῶν πολέμων, προσκυνήσατας καὶ θεοὺς ἀνείποντας, μὴ πα- 5 θείν ἄ Τρώες ἔπαθον δι' Ἀλέξανδρον. ἦ μέντοι μὴτηρ ἡ Θησέως οὐκ ἐκκυδύνευσεν, ἀλλ' ἐπάθε τὰ τῆς Ἐκάβης, ἐγκαταλείποντος καὶ προεμένου τοῦ παιδός, εἶγε μὴ πέπλασται τὰ τῆς αἰχμα- λωσίας, ὡς ἐδει γε καὶ τοῦτο ψεύδος εἶναι καὶ τὰ πλείστα τῶν ἄλλων. ἐπεί καὶ τὰ περὶ τοῦ θείου μυθολογούμενα πολλὴν ποιεῖ διαφοράν.
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deed of violence and injustice was a most honourable achievement, and one most adapted to promote political partnership. In this way he intermixed and blended the two peoples with one another, and supplied his state with a flowing fountain of strength and good will for the time to come. And to the modesty, tenderness, and stability which he imparted to the marriage relation, time is witness. For in two hundred and thirty years no man ventured to leave his wife, nor any woman her husband; but, just as the very curious among the Greeks can name the first parricide or matricide, so the Romans all know that Spurius Carvilius was the first to put away his wife, accusing her of barrenness. And the immediate results of his act, as well as the long lapse of time, witness in favour of Romulus. For the two kings shared the government in common, and the two peoples the rights and duties of citizenship, because of that intermarriage; whereas from the marriages of Theseus the Athenians got no new friends at all, nor even any community of enterprise whatsoever, but enmities, wars, slaughters of citizens, and at last the loss of Aphidnae, and an escape from the fate which Troy suffered by reason of Alexander, only because their enemies took compassion on them when they called upon them worshipfully as gods. However, the mother of Theseus was not only in danger, but actually suffered the fate of Hecuba when she was deserted and abandoned by her son, unless, indeed, the tale of her captivity is fictitious, and it may well be false, as well as most of the other stories. For example, the tales told of divine intervention in their lives are in great contrast; for Romulus was
Ρωμύλω μὲν γὰρ ἡ σωτηρία μετὰ πολλῆς ὑπηρέξε 
θεῶν εὐμενείας, ὁ δ’ Αἰγεὶ δοθεῖς χρησμός, ἀπε- 
χεσθαι γυναικὸς ἐπὶ ξένης, ἐοικεὶν ἀποφαίνειν 
παρὰ γνώμην θεῶν γεγονέναι τὴν Ἐθσέως 
tέκνωσιν.
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preserved by the signal favour of the gods, while the oracle given to Aegeus, forbidding him to approach a woman while in a foreign land, seems to indicate that the birth of Theseus was not agreeable to the will of the gods.
LYCURGUS
ΛΥΚΟΥΡΓΟΣ

1. Περὶ Δυκούργου τοῦ νομοθέτου καθόλου μὲν οὔδὲν ἔστιν εἶπεὶν ἀναμφισβήτητον, οὐ γε καὶ γένος καὶ ἀποδημία καὶ τελευτὴ καὶ πρὸς ἄπασιν ἢ περὶ τοὺς νόμους αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν πραγματεία διαφόρους ἐσχάτευν ἱστορίας, ὡς ἱστορία δὲ οἱ χρόνοι καθ᾽ οὗ γέγονεν ο ἀνήρ ὁμολογοῦνται. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἰφίτῳ συνακμάσαι καὶ συνιδιαθεῖναι τὴν Ὀλυμπιακὴν ἐκεχειρίαν λέγουσιν αὐτῶν, διὸν ἐστὶ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ φιλόσοφος, τεκμήριον προσφέρων τὸν Ὁλυμπίασι δίσκου ἐν φ' τοῦνομα 2 τοῦ Δυκούργου διασώζεται καταγεγραμμένον. οἱ δὲ ταῖς διαδοχαῖς τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ βεβασιλευκότων ἀναλεγόμενοι τῶν χρόνων, ὡσπερ Ἐρατοσθένης καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος, οὐκ ὀλίγοις ἔτεσι πρεσβύτερον ἀποφαίνουσι τῆς πρώτης Ὀλυμπιάδος. Τίμαιος δὲ ὑπονοεῖ, δυσὶ ἐν Σπάρτῃ γεγονότων Δυκούργων οὐ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, τῷ ἐτέρῳ ταῖς ἀμφότεροι πράξεις διὰ τὴν δόξαν ἀνακεῖσθαι καὶ τὸν γε πρεσβύτερον οὐ πόρρω τῶν Ὀμήρου γεγονέναι χρόνων, ἔνοι δὲ καὶ κατ᾽ ὅψιν ἐντυχεῖν Ὀμήρῳ.
LYCURGUS

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

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

2 776–73 B.C.
3 δίδωσι δὲ καὶ Ξενοφῶν ύπόνοιαν ἀρχαιότητος ἐν οἷς τὸν ἀνδρὰ λέγει γεγονέναι κατὰ τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας. γένει μὲν γὰρ Ἡρακλείδαι δητοὺθεν ἦσαν καὶ οἱ νεώτατοι τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ βασιλέων, ὁ δὲ ἐσικε βουλομένῳ τοὺς πρῶτους ἐκείνους καὶ σύνεγγυς Ἡρακλέους ὀνομάζειν Ἡρακλείδας.

Οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καίπερ οὕτως πεπλανμένης τῆς ἱστορίας, πειρασόμεθα τοῖς βραχυτάτας ἔχουσιν ἀντιλογίας ἢ γνωριμωτάτους μάρτυρας ἐπόμενοι τῶν γεγραμμένων περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποδοῦναι τὴν διήγησιν. ἔπειλ καὶ 1 Σιμωνίδης ὁ ποιητὴς οὖν Ἐυνόμου λέγει τὸν Δυκοῦργον πατρός, ἀλλὰ Πρυτάνιδος καὶ τὸν Δυκοῦργον καὶ τὸν Ἐυνόμον, οἱ δὲ 2 πλείστοι σχεδὸν οὐχ οὕτω γενεαλογοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ Προκλέους μὲν τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου γενέσθαι Σόου, Σόου δὲ Εὐρυπώντα, τούτου δὲ Πρυτανίν, ἐκ τούτου δὲ Ἐυνόμου, Ἐυνόμου δὲ Πολυδέκτην ἐκ προτέρας γυναικὸς, Δυκοῦργον δὲ νεώτερον ἐκ Διωνάσσης, ὡς Διευνικίδας ἱστορήκει, ἐκτὸς μὲν ἀπὸ Προκλέους, εἰνδέκατον δὲ ἀφ’ Ἡρακλέους.

II. Τῶν δὲ προγόνων αὐτοῦ μάλιστα μὲν ἐθαν-

1 ἔπειλ καὶ Sintenis would begin the second chapter here, assuming also a lacuna in the text preceding.
2 οἱ δὲ with Bekker: οἱ.
LYCURGUS

Xenophon, also,\(^1\) makes an impression of simplicity in the passage where he says that Lycurgus lived in the time of the Heracleidae. For in lineage, of course, the latest of the Spartan kings were also Heracleidae; but Xenophon apparently wishes to use the name Heracleidae of the first and more immediate descendants of Heracles, so famous in story.

However, although the history of these times is such a maze, I shall try, in presenting my narrative, to follow those authors who are least contradicted, or who have the most notable witnesses for what they have written about the man. For instance, Simonides the poet says that Lycurgus was not the son of Eunomus, but that both Lycurgus and Eunomus were sons of Prytanis; whereas most writers give a different genealogy, as follows: Aristodemus begat Procles, Procles begat Soüs, Soüs begat Eurypon, and he begat Prytanis, from whom sprang Eunomus, and from Eunomus Polydecetes by a first wife, and Lycurgus, who was a younger son by a second wife, Dionassa, as Dieutychidas has written, making Lycurgus sixth from Procles, and eleventh from Heracles.\(^2\)

II. Of these ancestors of Lycurgus, Soüs was most famous, under whom the Spartans made the Helots their slaves, and acquired by conquest from the Arcadians a large additional tract of land. It is also

\(^1\) Reip. Lac. x. 8. "Lycurgus is said to have lived in the times of the Heracleidae."

\(^2\) Aristodemus, from whose twin sons Eurysthenes and Procles the elder and younger royal lines at Sparta (the Agids and Eurypontids) were descended, was the son of Aristomachus, the son of Cleodaeus, the son of Hyllus, the son of Heracles. See Pausanias, iii. 1-10; Herodotus, vii. 204 and viii. 131.
Σόου ἐν χώριῳ χαλεπῷ καὶ ἀνύδρῳ πολιορκούμενον ὑπὸ Κλειτορίων, ὁμολογήσας τὴν δορίκητον γῆν αὐτοῖς ἀφῆσειν, εἰ πίοι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ πάντες ἀπὸ τῆς πλησίους πηγῆς. γενομένων δὲ τῶν ὅρκων ὑπὸ συναγαγόντα τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ διδόναι τῷ μὴ πίοντι τῆς βασιλείας· οὔτεδε καρτερήσαντος, ἀλλὰ πάντων πίοντων, αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πάσι καταβάντα καὶ περιρρανάμενον ἔτι τῶν πολεμίων τακροντῶν ἀπελθεῖν καὶ τὴν χώραν κατασχεῖν, ὡς μὴ πάντων πίοντων.

Ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἐπὶ τούτοις θαυμάζοντες αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀπὸ τούτου τῆς οἰκίας, ἀλλὰ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ προσηγόρευσαν Εὐρυπωνίδας, διὸ δοκεῖ πρῶτος Εὐρυπών τὸ ἄγαν μοναρχικὸν ἀνεῖναι τῆς βασιλείας, δημαγωγῶν καὶ χαριζόμενος τοῖς πολιτοῖς. ἐκ δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης ἄνεσεως τοῦ μὲν δήμου δρασυνομένου, τῶν δὲ ύστερον βασιλέων τὰ μὲν ἀπεχθανομένων τῷ βιαζοῦσαι τοὺς πολλοὺς, τὰ δὲ πρὸς χάριν ἢ δὲ ἀσθένειαν ὑποφερομένων, ἀνομία καὶ ἀταξία κατέσχε τήν Σπάρτην ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ὕψι ἑς καὶ τὸν πατέρα τοῦ Δυκούργου βασιλεύοντα συνέβη τελευτῆσαι. διερύκων γὰρ ἅψιμαχίαν τινά, μαγειρικὴν κοπίδι πληγεῖς ἀπέθανε, τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ παιδὶ Πολυδέκτη καταληπτῶν τὴν βασιλείαν.

III. Ἀποθανόντος δὲ καὶ τούτου μετ' ὀλίγον χρόνον ἔδει βασιλεύειν, ὡς πάντες φώνητο, τὸν Δυκούργου καὶ πρὶν γε τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ φανερῶν γενέσθαι κύουσαν ἐβασιλεύειν. ἐπεὶ

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

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

III. Polydectes also died soon afterwards, and then, as was generally thought, the kingdom devolved upon Lycurgus; and until his brother’s wife was known to be with child, he was king. But as soon
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de touto táxista ἦσθετο, tìn mèn βασιλείαν ἀπέφηνε τοῦ παιδὸς οὖσαν, ἀντερ ἀρρην γένηται, tìn de ἄρχην αὐτὸς ὡς ἐπίτροπος διειπε. toûs de tôn órfanôn βασιλεῶν ἐπιτρόπους Λακέδαι-
2 μόνοι προδίκους1 ὠνόμαζον. ὡς de ἡ γυνὴ προσέπεμπε κρύφα καὶ λόγους ἐποιεῖτο, βου-
λομένη διαφθείραι τὸ βρέφος ἐπὶ τῷ συνοικεῖν ἐκεῖνῳ βασιλεύοντι τῆς Σπάρτης, τὸ μὲν ἥθος αὐτῆς ἐμόσησε, πρὸς de tòn λόγον αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀντεῖπεν, ἀλλ’ ἐπαίνειν καὶ δέχεσθαι προσποιού-
μενος, οὐκ ἐφ’ ἰδίῳ ἀμβλύσκουσαν αὐτῆν καὶ 

3 ποδῶν ἔσται τὸ γεννηθέν. οὖτω de παραγαγόν ἄχρι τοῦ τόκου τὴν ἀνθρωποῦ, ὡς ἦσθετο τίκτου-
σαν, εἰσέπεμψε παρέδρους ταῖς ὃδισσων αὐτῆς καὶ φύλακας, οἷς ἦν προστεταγμένων, ἐὰν μὲν 
θῆλυ τεχθῇ, παραδούναι ταῖς γυναιξίν, ἐὰν de ἅρμεν, κομίσαι πρὸς ἐαυτῶν ὦ τὶ ἄν τύχῃ πράτ-
των. ἐτυχε de δὲ δειπνοῦντος αὐτῶν μετὰ τῶν 

4 ἀρχόντων ἀποκυνήθην ἅρμεν καὶ παρῆσαν οἱ ὑπη-

ρέται τὸ παιδάριον αὐτῷ κομίζοντες. ὡ de δεξα-

μενος, ὡς λέγεται, καὶ prὸs tòus παρὸντας εἶπὼν, "Βασίλειος ὑμῖν γέγονεν, ὦ Σπαρτώται," κατέκλι-

νεν ἐν τῇ βασιλικῇ χώρᾳ καὶ Χαρίλαον ὄνομασε 

diὰ τὸ τοὺς πάντας εἶναι περιχαρεῖς, ἀγαμένου 

αὐτοῦ τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην. ἔβασι-

λευσε de μήνας ὀκτὼ τὸ σύμπαν. ἥν de καὶ 

tάλλα περίβλεπτος ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ πλείο-

1 προδίκους with most MSS. and edd.: προδίκως with A (corrected), the Doric form.
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as he learned of this, he declared that the kingdom belonged to her offspring, if it should be male, and himself administered the government only as guardian. Now the guardians of fatherless kings are called "prodikoi" by the Lacedaemonians. Presently, however, the woman made secret overtures to him, proposing to destroy her unborn babe on condition that he would marry her when he was a king of Sparta; and although he detested her character, he did not reject her proposition, but pretended to approve and accept it. He told her, however, that she need not use drugs to produce a miscarriage, thereby injuring her health and endangering her life, for he would see to it himself that as soon as her child was born it should be put out of the way. In this manner he managed to bring the woman to her full time, and when he learned that she was in labour, he sent attendants and watchers for her delivery, with orders, if a girl should be born, to hand it over to the women, but if a boy, to bring it to him, no matter what he was doing. And it came to pass that as he was at supper with the chief magistrates, a male child was born, and his servants brought the little boy to him. He took it in his arms, as we are told, and said to those who were at table with him, "A king is born unto you, O men of Sparta;" then he laid it down in the royal seat and named it Charilaüs, or People's Joy, because all present were filled with joy, admiring as they did his lofty spirit and his righteousness. And so he was king only eight months in all. But on other accounts also he was revered by his fellow-citizens, and more than
νεσ ἐγένοντο τῶν ὡς ἐπιτρόπῳ βασιλέως καὶ βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντι πειθομένων οἱ δὲ ἀρετὴν προσέχοντες αὐτῷ καὶ ποιεῖν ἐθέλοντες ἐτοίμως τὸ προστατήσουν.

5 Ἔν δὲ τι καὶ τὸ φθονοῦν καὶ πρὸς τὴν αὐξησιν ὅπις νέῳ πειρόμενον ἐνίστασθαι, μάλιστα μὲν οἱ συγγενεῖς καὶ οἶκεὶ τῆς τού βασιλέως μητρός ὑβρίσθαι δοκοῦσης, ὦ δὲ ἀδελφὸς αὐτῆς Δεωνίδας καὶ θρασύτερον ποτὲ τῷ Δυκούργῳ λοιδορθείς, ὑπείπεν ὡς εἰδεὶς σαφῶς μέλλοντα βασιλεύειν αὐτόν, ὑπόνοιαν δίδοις καὶ προκαταλαμβάνων διαβολὴ τῶν Δυκούργων, εἴ τι συμβαίνῃ τῷ βασιλείᾳ παθεῖν, ὡς ἐπιβεβουλευκότα. τοιοῦτοι δὲ τινες λόγου καὶ παρὰ τῆς γνωσίας ἐξεφοίτων ἐφ᾽ οἷς βαρέως φέρων καὶ δεδοκώς τὸ ἄδηλον, ἔγνω φυγεῖν ἀποδημία τῆς ὑπόνοιαν, καὶ πλανηθῆναι μέχρι ἂν ὁ ἀδελφιδοῦς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γενόμενος τεκνώσῃ διάδοχον τῆς βασιλείας.

IV. Οὕτως ἀπάρας πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Κρήτην ἀφίκετο· καὶ τὰς αὐτοθεινα κατανοήσας καὶ συγγενόμενος τοῖς πρωτεύουσι κατὰ δόξαν ἀνδραὶ, τὰ μὲν ἐξήλοσε καὶ παρέλαβε τῶν νόμων, ὡς οἰκαδε μετοίσων καὶ χρησίμων, ἐστὶ δὲ δὲν κατεφρονήσετε. ἔνα δὲ τῶν νομιζομένων ἐκεῖ σοφῶν καὶ πολιτικῶν χάριτι καὶ φιλίᾳ πείσας ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην, Θάλητα, ποιήτην μὲν δοκοῦντα λυρικῶν μελῶν καὶ πρόσχημα τῆς τέχνης ταύτην πεποιημένου, ἔργῳ δὲ ἀπέρ οἱ κράτιστοι τῶν νομοθετῶν διαπραττό-
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those who obeyed him because he was guardian of the king and had royal power in his hands, were those who clave to him for his virtues and were ready and willing to do his bidding.

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

IV. With this purpose, he set sail, and came first to Crete. Here he studied the various forms of government and made the acquaintance of their most distinguished men. Of some things he heartily approved, and adopted some of their laws, that he might carry them home with him and put them in use; for some things he had only contempt. One of the men regarded there as wise statesmen was Thales, whom Lycurgus persuaded, out of favour and friendship, to go on a mission to Sparta. Now Thales passed as a lyric poet, and screened himself behind this art, but in reality he did the work of
2 μενον. λόγοι γὰρ ἦσαν αἱ φόδαι πρὸς εὐπείθειαν καὶ ὀμόνοιαν ἀνακλητικοί, διὰ μελῶν ἀμα καὶ ῥυθμῶν πολὺ τὸ κόσμιον ἐχόντων καὶ καταστατικῶν, ἃν ἄκρομωμενοι κατεπραύνοντο λεληθότως· τὰ ἣθη καὶ συνφοκειόντο τὸ ξῆλφ τῶν καλῶν ἐκ τῆς ἐπιχωριαξούσης τότε πρὸς ἀλλήλους κακοθυμίας, ὡστε τρόπον τινὰ τῷ Δυκούργῳ προοδοποιεῖν τὴν παίδευσιν αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνον.

3 Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Κρήτης ὁ Δυκούργος ἐπὶ Ἁσίαν ἔπλευσε, Βουλόμενος, ὡς λέγεται, ταῖς Κρητικαῖς διαίταις, εὐπελεύσιν οὗτας καὶ αὐστηραίας, τὰς Ἰωνικὰς πολυτελείας καὶ τρυφάς, ὡσπερ ἱατρός σώμασιν ὑγιείνοις ύπουλα καὶ νοσώδη, παραβαλῶν ἀποθεωρήσαι τὴν διαφορὰν τῶν βίων καὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν. ἐκεῖ δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ὀμήρου ποιήμασιν ἐντυχὼν πρῶτον, ως έοικε, παρὰ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις τοῖς Κρεσφύλου διατηρουμένοις, καὶ κατειδών ἐν αὐτοῖς τῆς πρὸς ἠδονήν καὶ ἀκρασίαν διατρήθης τὸ πολιτικὸν καὶ παιδευτικὸν οὐκ ἐλάττωνος ἄξιον σπουδῆς ἀναμεμμένου, ἐνράψατο προβάς καὶ συνήγαγεν ὡς δεύτερο κομμῶν. ἢν γὰρ τῆς ἠδη σὰξα τῶν ἔποι ἀμαυρά παρὰ τοῖς Ἐλλησιν, ἐκέκτυτο δὲ οὐ πολλοὶ μέρη τινὰ, ὑποράς τῇς ποιήσεως, ὡς ἔτυχε, διαφερομένης· γνωρίμην δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ μάλιστα πρῶτος ἐποίησε Δυκούργος.

4 Ἀλλιτωπίω δὲ καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀφικέσθαι τῶν Δυκούργων οἶον ται, καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων γενῶν τοῦ μαχίμου διάκρισιν μάλιστα θαυμάσαντα 214
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one of the mightiest lawgivers. For his odes were so many exhortations to obedience and harmony, and their measured rhythms were permeated with ordered tranquillity, so that those who listened to them were insensibly softened in their dispositions, insomuch that they renounced the mutual hatreds which were so rife at that time, and dwelt together in a common pursuit of what was high and noble. Thales, therefore, after a fashion, was a forerunner in Sparta of Lycurgus and his discipline.

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

The Aegyptians think that Lycurgus visited them also, and so ardently admired their separation of the military from the other classes of society that he
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μετενεγκείν εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην, καὶ χωρίσαντα τοὺς βασιλεύς καὶ χειροτέχνας ἄστειον ὡς ἄληθώς τὸ πολίτευμα καὶ καθαρὸν ἀποδείξαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Αἴγυπτιοι ἔνιοι καὶ τῶν Ἐλληνικῶν συγγραφέων μαρτυροῦσιν ὅτι δὲ καὶ Διβύθην καὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἐπῆλθεν ὁ Δυκοῦργος καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν πλανηθεῖσα τοῖς Γυμνοσοφισταῖς ὄμιλησεν, οὐδένα πλὴν Ἤριστοκράτη τῶν Ἰππάρχου Ἐπαρτιάτην εἰρηκότα γινώσκομεν.

V. Οἱ δὲ Δακεδαίμονοι τῶν Δυκοῦργον ἐπόθουν ἀπόντα καὶ μετεπέμποντο πολλάκις, ὡς τοὺς μὲν βασιλεῖς οὖν καὶ τιμῆν, ἀλλὰ δὲ μηδὲν διαφέρον τῶν πολλῶν ἔχοντας, ἐν ἑκείνῳ δὲ φύσιν ἡγεμονικὴν καὶ δύναμιν ἄνθρωπον ἀγωγὸν οὐσαν. οὐ μὴν οὕδε τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἢ ἀβούλητος ἡ παρουσία τοῦ ἄνδρος, ἀλλ' ἡλπίζον ἑκείνου συμπαρόντος ἦττον ὑβρίζουσι χρῆσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς.

2 ἐπανελθὼν οὖν πρὸς οὕτως διακείμενον εὐθὺς ἐπεχείρει τὰ παρόντα κινεῖν καὶ μεθιστάναι τὴν πολιτείαν, ὡς τῶν κατὰ μέρος νόμων οὐδὲν ἔργον οὐδὲ ὀφέλος, εἰ μὴ τις ὁσπέρ σῶματι ποιηρῷ καὶ γέμοντι παντοδαπῶς νοσημάτων τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἐκτήσας καὶ μεταβαλὼν κράσιν ὕπο φαρμάκων καὶ καθαρμῶν ἔτερας ἀρξείται καὶνής διαίτης. 3 διανοηθεὶς δὲ ταῦτα πρῶτον μὲν ἀπεδήμησεν εἰς Δελφοὺς· καὶ τῷ θεῷ θύσας καὶ χρησάμενος ἐπανῆλθε τὸν διαβόητον ἑκείνου χρησμὸν κομίζων, ὃς θεοφιλὴς μὲν αὐτὸν ἡ Πυθία προσεῖπε καὶ θεών μᾶλλον ἢ ἄνθρωπον, εὐνομίας δὲ χρῆσοντι

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

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

4 Ἐπαρθεὶς δὲ τούτοις προσήγετο τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ συνεφάπτεσθαι παρεκάλει, κρύφα διαλεγόμενος τοῖς φίλοις πρῶτον, εἶτα οὕτως κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπτόμενος πλειώνων καὶ συνιστάς ἐπὶ τὴν πράξιν. ὡς δ’ ὁ καίρος ἥκε, τριάκοντα τοὺς πρῶτους ἐκέλευσε μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἐσθενεύς οἰκοδομοῦσθαι καὶ φόβον πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιπράμποτας. ὄν εἰκοσι τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἔρμιππος ἀνέγραψε: τὸν δὲ μάλιστα τῶν Λυκούργου ἐργῶν κοινωνήσαντα πάντων καὶ συμπραγματευσάμενον τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόμους Ἀρθριμα-δαν ὀνομάζουσιν. ἀρχομένης δὲ τῆς ταραχῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς Χαρίλαος φοβηθεὶς ὡς ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ὅλης τῆς πράξεως συνισταμένης, κατέφυγε πρὸς τὴν Χαλκίοικον· εἶτα πεισθεὶς καὶ λαβὼν ὅρκους ἀνέστη καὶ μετείχε τῶν πραττομένων, φύσει πρᾶσος ὑμ. ὡς καὶ λέγεται συμβασιλεύοντα τὸν Ἀρχέλαον αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς ἐγκωμιάζοντας τὸν νεανίσκον εἴπειν: “Πῶς δ’ ἂν εἴη Χαρίλαος ἀνήρ ἀγαθός, ὃς οúde τοῖς πονηροῖς χαλεπῶς ἔστι;”

5 Πλειώνων δὲ καὶ νοτομουμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Λυκούργου πρῶτον ἢ καὶ μέγιστον ἢ κατάστασις τῶν γερόντων, ἢν φησίν ὁ Πλάτων τῇ τῶν βασιλεῶν ἀρχὴν φλεγμανούση μιχθείσαν καὶ γενομένην ἱσόψηφον εἰς τὰ μέγιστα σωτηρίαν ἀμα καὶ

1 προσήγετο Cobel : προσήγε.
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his prayer for good laws, and promised him a constitution which should be the best in the world.

Thus encouraged, he tried to bring the chief men of Sparta over to his side, and exhorted them to put their hands to the work with him, explaining his designs secretly to his friends at first, then little by little engaging more and uniting them to attempt the task. And when the time for action came, he ordered thirty of the chief men to go armed into the market-place at break of day, to strike consternation and terror into those of the opposite party. The names of twenty of the most eminent among them have been recorded by Hermippus; but the man who had the largest share in all the undertakings of Lycurgus and co-operated with him in the enactment of his laws, bore the name of Arthmiadas. When the tumult began, King Charilaüs, fearing that the whole affair was a conspiracy against himself, fled for refuge to the Brazen House;¹ but he was soon convinced of his error, and having exacted oaths for his safety from the agitators, left his place of refuge, and even joined them in their enterprise, being of a gentle and yielding disposition, so much so, indeed, that Archelaüs, his royal colleague, is said to have remarked to those who were extolling the young king, "How can Charilaüs be a good man, when he has no severity even for the bad?"

Among the many innovations which Lycurgus made, the first and most important was his institution of a senate, or Council of Elders, which, as Plato says,² by being blended with the "feverish" government of the kings, and by having an equal vote with them in matters of the highest importance,

¹ A temple of Athena. ² Laws, p. 691 e.
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σωφροσύνην παρασχεῖν. αἰσχρομένη γὰρ ἡ πολιτεία καὶ ἀποκλίνουσα υἱὸν μὲν ὁς τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐπὶ τυραννίδα, υἱὸν δὲ ὁ τὸ πλήθος ἐπὶ 7 δημοκρατίαν, διὸν ἔμα τὴν τῶν γερόντων ἀρχήν ἐν μέσῳ θεμένη καὶ ἱσορροπήσασα τὴν ἀσφαλεστάτην τάξιν ἔσχε καὶ κατάστασιν, ἀεὶ τῶν ὁκτὼ καὶ ἐκκοσί γερόντων τοὺς μὲν βασιλεὺς προστηθεμένων ὦσον ἀντιβῆναι πρὸς δημοκρατίαν, αὕτης δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ γενέσθαι τυραννίδα τῶν δήμων ἀναρρωνύντων. τοσοῦτος δὲ φησὶ καταστάθηναι τοὺς γέροντας Ἀριστοτέλης, ὅτι τριάκοντα τῶν πρώτων μετὰ Δυκούργου γενομένων δύο τὴν πράξειν ἐγκατέληπτον ἀποδειλάσαντες. ὥ δὲ Σφαίρος ἐξ ἀρχῆς φησὶ τοσοῦτος γενέσθαι τοὺς τῆς γνώμης μετασχόντας. εἰ δ' ἄν τι καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ δὲ ἐβδομάδος τετράδε πολλαπλασιασθείς ἀποτελούμενον, καὶ ὅτι τοῖς αὐτοῖς μέρεσιν ἵσος ὅν μετὰ τὴν ἔξαδα τέλειος ἐστίν. ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ μάλιστα τοσοῦτος ἀποδείξει τοὺς γέροντας ὅπως οἱ πάντες εἶεν τριάκοντα, τοῖς ὁκτὼ καὶ ἐκκοσί τοῖς δυὸ βασιλεῶν 43 προστηθεμένοιν.

VI. Οὔτω δὲ περὶ ταύτην ἐσπούδασε τὴν ἀρχήν ὁ Δυκούργος ὡστε μαντείαν ἐκ Δελφῶν κομίσαι περὶ αὐτῆς, ἦν ρήτραν καλοῦσιν. ἔχει δὲ οὖτως ἸΔΙΟΣ Συλλανίου 1 καὶ Ἀθανάσιος Συλλανίας 1 ἱερὸν ἱδρυσάμενον, φυλὰς φυλάξαντα καὶ ὀβάς ὀβάξαντα, τριάκοντα γεροντίαν σὺν ἀρχαγήταις καταστήσαντα, ὥρας εἰς ῥας ἀπελλάξειν μεταξὺ.

1 Συλλανίου, Συλλανίας Bekker adopts the corrections of Bryan to 'Ελλανίου and 'Ελλανίας.

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

VI. So eager was Lycurgus for the establishment of this form of government, that he obtained an oracle from Delphi about it, which they call a "rhetra." And this is the way it runs: "When thou hast built a temple to Zeus Syllanius and Athena Syllania, divided the people into 'phylai' and into 'obai,' and established a senate of thirty members, including the 'archagetai,' then from time to
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Βαβύκας τε καὶ Κνακιώνος, οὕτως εἰςφέρειν τε καὶ ἀφίστασθαι· δάμῳ δὲ τὰν κυρίαν ἦμεν καὶ 2 κράτος." ἐν τούτοις τὸ μὲν φυλὰς φυλάξαι καὶ ὡβὰς ὡβάξαι διελεῖν ἔστι καὶ κατανεῖμαι τὸ πλῆθος εἰς μερίδας, ὅν τὰς μὲν φυλὰς, τὰς δὲ ὡβὰς προσηγορέμεθαν. ἀρχαγέται δὲ οἱ βασιλεῖς λέγονται, τὸ δὲ ἀπελλάξειν ἐκκλησιάζειν· ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς πολιτείας εἰς τὸν Πύθιον ἀνῆψε. τὴν δὲ Βαβύκαν Χείμαρρος, 1 καὶ τὸν Κνακιώνα νῦν ὄνωντα προσαγορεύοντον Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ τὸν μὲν Κνακιώνα ποταμόν, τὴν δὲ 3 Βαβύκαν γέφυραν. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τούτων τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἡγούν, οὕτε παστάδων οὖσῶν οὕτε ἄλλης τυός κατασκευῆς. οὐθὲν γὰρ φέτο ταῦτα πρὸς εὐβουλίαν εἶναι, μᾶλλον δὲ βλάπτειν, φλαρώδεις ἀπεργαζόμενα καὶ χαίνονς φρονήματι κενῷ τὰς διανοίας τῶν συμπορευομένων, ὅταν εἰς ἀγάλματα καὶ γραφῶς ἡ προσκήνια θεάτρων ἡ στέγας βουλευτηρίων ἡσκημένας περιττῶς ἐκκλησιάζοντες ἀποβλέπωσι. τοῦ δὲ πλῆθους ἄθροισθέντος εἰπεῖν μὲν οὕδειν γνώμην τῶν ἄλλων ἐφείτο, τὴν δ' ὑπὸ τῶν γερόντων καὶ τῶν βασιλέων προτεθείσαν 4 ἐπικρίνα τούς κύριος ἢν οἱ δήμος. ὁστερον μέντοι τῶν πολλῶν ἀφαιρέσει καὶ προσθέσει τὰς γνώμας διαστρεφόντων καὶ παραβιαζομένων, Πολύδωρος καὶ Θεόπομπος οἱ βασιλεῖς τάδε τῇ ῥήτρᾳ παρενεγραψαν· "Αἰ δὲ σκολιᾶν ὁ δὰμος ἐλοίτο, τοὺς πρεσβυγενέας καὶ ἀρχαγέτας ἀποστατήρας ἦμεν," τούτ' ἐστι μὴ κυρίον, ἀλλ' ὅλως ἀφίστασθαι καὶ 1 Χείμαρρος this, or some other later name, is thought to have fallen from the text by Sinentis, after E. Curtius, Peloponnesius, ii. p. 315; Coraës and Bekker have τὴν δὲ Βαβύκαν καὶ τῶν Κνακιώνα, with the MSS.

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time 'appellazein' between Babyca\(^1\) and Cnacion,\(^1\) and there introduce and rescind measures; but the people must have the deciding voice and the power." In these clauses, the "phylai" and the "obai" refer to divisions and distributions of the people into *clans* and *phratries*, or *brotherhoods*; by "archagetai" the kings are designated, and "appellazein" means *to assemble* the people, with a reference to *Apollo*, the Pythian god, who was the source and author of the polity. The Babyca is now called Cheimarrus, and the Cnacion Oenus; but Aristotle says that Cnacion is a river, and Babyca a bridge. Between these they held their assemblies, having neither halls nor any other kind of building for the purpose. For by such things Lycurgus thought good counsel was not promoted, but rather discouraged, since the serious purposes of an assembly were rendered foolish and futile by vain thoughts, as they gazed upon statues and paintings, or scenic embellishments, or extravagantly decorated roofs of council halls. When the multitude was thus assembled, no one of them was permitted to make a motion, but the motion laid before them by the senators and kings could be accepted or rejected by the people. Afterwards, however, when the people by additions and subtractions perverted and distorted the sense of motions laid before them, Kings Polydorus and Theopompus inserted this clause into the rhetra: "But if the people should adopt a distorted motion, the senators and kings shall have power of adjournment"; that is, should not ratify the vote, but dismiss outright and dissolve the session, on the

\(^1\) Probably names of small tributaries of the river Eurotas.
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diaλύειν τὸν δῆμον, ὡς ἐκτρέποντα καὶ μεταποι-5 ὁντα τὴν γρώμην παρὰ τὸ βέλτιστον. ἔπεισαν
dὲ καὶ αὐτὸι τὴν πόλιν ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ ταύτα προσ-
tάσσοντος, ὡς ποιο Τυρταῖος ἐπιμέμνηται διὰ
tοῦτων.

Φοίβου ἀκούσαντες Πυθωνόθεν οἶκαὶ ἔνεικαν
μαντείας τε θεοῦ καὶ τελέεντ' ἔπεα·
ἀρχειν μὲν βουλῆς θεοτιμήτους βασιλῆς,
οἴσι μέλει Σπάρτας ἰμερόσεσα πόλις,
πρεσβύτας τε γέροντας, ἔπειτα δὲ δημότας
ἀνδρας,
eὐθείας ῥήτρας ἀνταπαμειβομένους.

VII. Οὕτω τὸ πολέτευμα τοῦ Λυκούργου μί-
ξαντος, ὡς ἀκρατον ἔτι τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν καὶ
ἰσχυρὰν οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν ὅρωντες σπαργόσαν καὶ
θυμομμένην, ὡς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, οἷον ψάλων
ἐμβάλλουσιν αὐτῇ τὴν τῶν ἐφόρων δύναμιν, ἔτεσι
ποιο μάλιστα τριάκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν μετὰ Λυκούρ-
γον πρῶτων τῶν περὶ Ἐλατον ἐφόρων καταστα-
2 θέντων ἐπὶ Θεοπόμπου βασιλεύοντος· ὡς καὶ
φασιν ὑπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὸς ὑνειδίζομενον ὡς
ἐλάττων παραδόσοντα τοῖς παισὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἡ
παρέλαβε, "Μείζω μὲν οὖν," εἰπεῖν, "ὡς χρονιω-
tέραν." τῷ γὰρ ὄντι τὸ ἄγαν ἀποβαλόοσα μετὰ
τοῦ φθόνου διέφυγε τῶν κίνδυνον, ὡστε μὴ παθεῖν

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ground that it was perverting and changing the motion contrary to the best interests of the state. And they were actually able to persuade the city that the god authorized this addition to the rhetra, as Tyrtaeus reminds us in these verses:—

"Phoebus Apollo's the mandate was which they brought from Pytho,
Voicing the will of the god, nor were his words unfulfilled:
Sway in the council and honours divine belong to the princes
Under whose care has been set Sparta's city of charm;
Second to them are the elders, and next come the men of the people
Duly confirming by vote unperverted decrees."

VII. Although Lycurgus thus tempered his civil polity, nevertheless the oligarchical element in it was still unmixed and dominant, and his successors, seeing it "swelling and foaming," as Plato says,¹ "imposed as it were a curb upon it, namely, the power of the ephors." It was about a hundred and thirty years after Lycurgus that the first ephors, Elatus and his colleagues, were appointed, in the reign of Theopompus. This king, they say, on being reviled by his wife because the royal power, when he handed it over to his sons, would be less than when he received it, said: "Nay, but greater, in that it will last longer." And in fact, by renouncing excessive claims and freeing itself from jealous hate, royalty at Sparta escaped its perils, so that the Spartan kings did not experience the fate which the

¹ Laws, p. 692 a.
Δ Μεσσήνιοι καὶ Ἀργεῖοι τοὺς παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς βασιλεῖς ἔδρασαν, μηδὲν ἐνδούναι μηδὲ χαλάσαι τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐπὶ τὸ δημοτικὸν ἐθελήσαντας. ὃ καὶ μάλιστα τὴν Δυκοῦργον σοφίαν καὶ πρόνοιαν ἐποίησε φανερὰν εἰς τὰς Μεσσηνίων καὶ Ἀργείων, συγγενῶν καὶ γειτόνων, δήμων καὶ βασιλέων στάς· τις καὶ κακοπολιτείας ἀφορώσιν, οὐ τῶν ἴσων ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς τετυχηκότες, ἐν δὲ τῷ κλήρῳ καὶ πλέον ἔχειν ἐκείνων δόξαντες, οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον εὐδαιμόνησαν, ἀλλὰ ὑβρεῖ μὲν τῶν βασιλέων, οὐκ εὐπειθεῖα δὲ τῶν όχλων, τὰ καθεστῶτα συνταραξάντες ἐδείξαντο ὅτι θείον ἢν ὡς ἄληθῶς εὐτύχισαν τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις ὁ τὴν πολιτείαν ἀρμοσάμενος καὶ κεράσας παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑστερον.

VIII. Δεύτερον δὲ τῶν Δυκοῦργου πολιτευμάτων καὶ νεανικώτατον ὁ τῆς γῆς ἄναδασμός ἐστι. δεινῆς γὰρ οὕσης ἀνωμαλίας καὶ πολλῶν ἀκτημόνων καὶ ἀπόρων ἐπιφερομένων τῇ πόλει, τοῦ δὲ πλοῦτον παντάπασιν εἰς ὅλεονς συνερρηκότος, ὑβριν καὶ φθόνον καὶ κακουργίαν καὶ τρυφὴν καὶ τὰ τούτων ἐτὶ πρεσβύτερα καὶ μείζω νοσήματα ἔχων πολιτείας, πλοῦτον καὶ πενίαν, ἐξελάνων, συνέπεσε τὴν χώραν ἀπασαν εἰς μέσον θέντας ἔξω ἀρχῆς ἀναδάσασθαι, καὶ ξῆν μετ᾽ ἄλληλων ἀπαντας ὀμαλεῖς καὶ ἰσοκλήρους τοῖς βίοις γενομένους, τοῦ δὲ πρωτείων ἀρετὴ μετίοντας, ὡς ἄλλης ἔτερφ πρὸς ἑτέρου οὐκ οὕσης διαφορᾶς οὐδὲ ἀνισότητος.
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Messenians and Argives inflicted upon their kings, who were unwilling to yield at all or remit their power in favour of the people. And this brings into the clearest light the wisdom and foresight of Lycurgus, when we contrast the factions and misgovernment of the peoples and kings of Messenia and Argos, who were kinsmen and neighbours of the Spartans. They were on an equality with the Spartans in the beginning, and in the allotment of territory were thought to be even better off than they, and yet their prosperity did not last long, but what with the insolent temper of their kings and the unreasonableness of their peoples, their established institutions were confounded, and they made it clear that it was in very truth a divine blessing which the Spartans had enjoyed in the man who framed and tempered their civil polity for them. These events, however, were of later date.

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

3 Ἐπάγων δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τὸ ἔργον ἔνειμε τήν μὲν ἄλλην τοῖς περιοίκοις Δακωνικῆς τρισμυρίους κλήρους, τήν δὲ εἰς τὸ ἀστυ τήν Σπάρτην συντελοῦσαν ἐνακισχίλιος τοσοῦτοι γὰρ ἐγένοντο κλήροι Σπαρτιατῶν ἐνιοὶ δὲ φασὶ τὸν μὲν Δυκούργου ἐξακισχίλιος νεῖμαι, τρισχίλιους δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα προσθεῖναι Πολύδωρον οί δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἡμίσεις τῶν ἐνακισχίλιων τούτων, τοὺς δὲ ἡμίσεις Δυκούργου. οὐ δὲ κλήρος ἦν ἐκάστου τοσοῦτος ὅστε ἀποφορᾶν φέρειν ἀνδρὶ μὲν ἐβδομήκοντα κριθῶν μεδίμνους, γυναικὶ δὲ δώδεκα, καὶ τῶν ὑγρῶν καρπῶν ἀναλόγως τὸ πλῆθος. ἀρκέσειν γὰρ φεῖτο τοσοῦτοι αὐτοῖς, τῆς τροφῆς πρὸς εὐεξίαν καὶ ὑγείαν ἰκανῆς, ἄλλον δὲ μη-δενὸς δεσπομένους. λέγεται δὲ αὐτὸν ύστερὸν ποτε χρόνῳ τὴν χώραν διερχόμενον ἐξ ἀποδημίας ἀρτι τεθερμένην, ὁρῶντα τοὺς σωροὺς παραλήλους καὶ ὄμαλεις, μειδιᾶσαι, καὶ εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας ὡς ὅ Δακωνικὴ φαίνεται πάσα πολλῶν ἀδελφῶν εἶναι νεωσὶ νεεμημένων.

IX. Ἐπιχειρήσας δὲ καὶ τὰ ἔπιπλα διαπρεῖν, ὅπως παντάπασιν ἐξέλιοι τὸ ἀνισοῦν καὶ ἀνώμαλον, ἔπει χαλεπῶς ἔωρα προσδεχομένους τὴν ἀντικρυ ψαφαίρεσιν, ἔτερα περὶλθεν ὁδῷ καὶ κατεπολυτεῦσατο τὴν ἐν τούτοις πλεονεξίαν. πρώτων μὲν γὰρ ἀκυρώσας τὰν νόμισμα χρυσοῦν καὶ ἄργυρον μόνῳ χρῆσθαι τῷ σιδηρῷ προσέταξε καὶ τούτῳ δὲ ἀπὸ πολλοῦ σταθμοῦ

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and man than that which was established by blame for base actions and praise for good ones.

Suiting the deed to the word, he distributed the rest of the Laconian land among the "perioeci," or free provincials, in thirty thousand lots, and that which belonged to the city of Sparta, in nine thousand lots, to as many genuine Spartans. But some say that Lycurgus distributed only six thousand lots among the Spartans, and that three thousand were afterwards added by Polydorus; others still, that Polydorus added half of the nine thousand to the half distributed by Lycurgus. The lot of each was large enough to produce annually seventy bushels of barley for a man and twelve for his wife, with a proportionate amount of wine and oil. Lycurgus thought that a lot of this size would be sufficient for them, since they needed sustenance enough to promote vigour and health of body, and nothing else. And it is said that on returning from a journey some time afterwards, as he traversed the land just after the harvest, and saw the heaps of grain standing parallel and equal to one another, he smiled, and said to them that were by: "All Laconia looks like a family estate newly divided among many brothers."

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

2 δείσθαι καὶ ξεύγους ἄγωντος. τούτου δὲ κυρωθέντος ἐξέπεσεν ἀδικημάτων γένει πολλὰ τῆς ῥακεδαίμονος. τὸς γὰρ ἡ κλέπτειν ἐμελλεν ἡ δωροδοκεῖν ἢ ἀποστερεῖν ἢ ἀρπάζειν ὃ μήτε κατακρύψαι δυνατὸν ἢ μήτε κεκτήσαι ζηλωτὸν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ κατακόψαι λυσιτελεῖς ὧξει γὰρ, ὡς λέγεται, διαπύρυον σιδήρου τὸ στόμωμα κατασβέσας ἀφεῖλετο τὴν εἰς τὰλλα χρείαν καὶ δύναμιν, ἀδρανοῦς καὶ δυσέρχον γενομένου.

3 Μετὰ δὲ τούτο τῶν ἀχρήστων καὶ περισσῶν ἐποιεῖτο τεχνῶν ἔννοιασίαν. ἐμελλον δὲ ποιν καὶ μηδενὸς ἐξελαίωντος αἱ πολλαὶ τῷ κοινῷ νομίσματι συνεκπεσεῖσθαι, διάθεσαι τῶν ἔργων οὐκ ἐχόντων. τὸ γὰρ σιδηρὸν ἀγώγιμον οὐκ ἦν πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἔλληνας οὐδεὶς εἰχε τὴν καταγελώμενον, ὡστε οὐδὲ πρίασθαι τι τῶν ξενικῶν καὶ ῥωπικῶν ὑπήρχεν, οὐδεὶς εἰσέπλει φόρτος ἐμπορικός εἰς τοὺς λιμένας, οὐδὲ ἔπεθαιν τῆς Δακωνικῆς οὐ σοφιστῆς λόγων, οὐ μάνις ἄγυρτικος, οὐχ ἐταρὼν τροφεύς, οὐ χρυσῶν τίς, οὐκ ἁγνοῦ καλλωπισμάτων δημοουργός, ἅτε δὴ νομίσματος

4 οὐκ ὄντος. ἀλλὰ οὕτως ἀπερημοθείσα κατὰ μικρὸν ἢ τρυφὴ τῶν ἔωτοροντων καὶ τρεφόντων αὐτή δὲ αὐτῆς ἐμαραίνετο καὶ πλεῖον οὐδὲν ἦν τοῖς πολλὰ κεκτήμενοι, ὠδὸν οὐκ ἔχουσας εἰς μέσον τῆς εὐπορίας, ἀλλ' ἐγκατοκοδομημένης καὶ ἀργοῦσης. διὸ καὶ τὰ πρόχειρα τῶν σκευῶν καὶ ἀναγκαία ταῦτα, κλινῆρες καὶ δίφροι καὶ τράπεζαι, βέλτιοτα παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐδημιουργεῖτο, καὶ κόθων ὁ
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value, so that ten minas' worth\(^1\) required a large store-room in the house, and a yoke of cattle to transport it. When this money obtained currency, many sorts of iniquity went into exile from Lacedaemon. For who would steal, or receive as a bribe, or rob, or plunder that which could neither be concealed, nor possessed with satisfaction, nay, nor even cut to pieces with any profit? For vinegar was used, as we are told, to quench the red-hot iron, robbing it of its temper and making it worthless for any other purpose, when once it had become brittle and hard to work.

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

\(^1\) About £40, or $200.
Λακωνίκος ευδοκίμει μάλιστα πρὸς τὰς στρατευάς, τὸ γὰρ ἀναγκαῖος πινὸμενα τῶν ὑδάτων καὶ δυσώπουντα τὴν ὀψιν ἀπεκρύπτετο τῇ χρόᾳ, καὶ τοῦ θολεροῦ προσκόπτοντος ἐντὸς καὶ προσισχομένου τοῖς ἁμβωσι, καθαρώτερον ἐπιλησίαζε τῷ στόματι τὸ πινὸμενον. αἰτίοις δὲ καὶ τοῦτων ὁ νομοθέτης· ἀπηλλαγμένου γὰρ οἱ δημοφυροὶ τῶν ἄχριστων ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις ἐπεδείκνυτο τὴν καλλιτεχνίαν.

Χ. Ἑτε δὲ μᾶλλον ἐπιθέσθαι τῇ τρυφῇ καὶ τὸν ξῆλον ἀφελέσθαι τοῦ πλούτου διανοηθεῖς, τὸ τρίτον πολίτευμα καὶ κάλλιστον ἐπῆρε, τὴν τῶν συσσιτίων κατασκευήν, ὡστε δειπνεῖν μετ’ ἀλλήλων συνύντας ἐπὶ κοινοῖς καὶ τεσσαράς ὅψεως καὶ συνίσκοι, οἷκοι δὲ μὴ διαπλάσθαι κατακλυνόντας εἰς στρωμάς πολυτελεῖς καὶ τραπέζας, χειρὶ δημοφυρῶν καὶ μαγείρων ὑπὸ σκότος, ὥσπερ ἀδηφάγα ξῆλα, πιαυομένους, καὶ διαφθείρουτας ἀμα τοῖς ἁθετεῖ τὰ σώματα πρὸς πᾶσαν ἐπιθυμίαν ἀνειμένα καὶ πλησιμοῦν, μακρῶν μὲν ὑπνών, θερμῶν δὲ λουτρῶν, πολλῆς δὲ ἠσυχίας καὶ τρόπον τινὰ νοσηλείας καθημερινῆς δειμένην. μέγα μὲν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο ἤν, μείζον δὲ τὸ τὸν πλούτον ἀξίηλον, ὦς φησι Θεόφραστος, καὶ ἀπλουτὸν ἀπεργάσασθαι τῇ κοινότητι τῶν δείπνων καὶ τῇ περί 3 τὴν δίαιταν εὐτελεία. χρήσις γὰρ οὐκ ἦν οúde ἀπόλαυσις οὐδὲ ὄψις ὀλος ἢ ἐπίδειξις τῆς πολλῆς παρασκευής, ἡπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ δείπνου τῷ πένητι τοῦ πλουσίου βαδίζοντος. ὡστε τοῦτο δὴ τὸ θρυλούμενον ἐν μόνῃ τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον πόλεων τῇ Σπάρτῃ βλέπεσθαι, τυφλὸν ὄντα τὸν πλούτον καὶ
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for usefulness among soldiers in active service, as
Critias tells us. For its colour concealed the dis-
agreeable appearance of the water which they were
often compelled to drink, and its curving lips caught
the muddy sediment and held it inside, so that only
the purer part reached the mouth of the drinker.
For all this they had to thank their lawgiver; since
their artisans were now freed from useless tasks, and
displayed the beauty of their workmanship in objects
of constant and necessary use.

X. With a view to attack luxury still more and
remove the thirst for wealth, he introduced his third
and most exquisite political device, namely, the
institution of common messes, so that they might
eat with one another in companies, of common and
specified foods, and not take their meals at home,
reclining on costly couches at costly tables, deliver-
ing themselves into the hands of servants and
cooks to be fattened in the dark, like voracious
animals, and ruining not only their characters but
also their bodies, by surrendering them to every
desire and all sorts of surfeit, which call for long
sleeps, hot baths, abundant rest, and, as it were, daily
nursing and tending. This was surely a great
achievement, but it was a still greater one to make
wealth "an object of no desire," as Theophrastus
says, and even "unwealth,"¹ by this community of
meals and simplicity of diet. For the rich man could
neither use nor enjoy nor even see or display his
abundant means, when he went to the same meal
as the poor man; so that it was in Sparta alone, of
all the cities under the sun, that men could have that
far-famed sight, a Plutus blind, and lying as lifeless

¹ Cf. Morals, p. 527 b.
κείμενον ὡσπερ γραφήν ἄψυχον καὶ ἀκίνητον. οὐδὲ γὰρ οἶκοι προδειπυκταστας ἔξην βαδίζειν ἐπὶ τὰ συσσίτια πεπληρωμένους, ἀλλ’ ἐπιμελῶς οἱ λοιποὶ παραφυλάττοντες τὸν μὴ πίνοντα μηδὲ ἐσθίοντα μετ’ αὐτῶν ἐκάκιζον ὡς ἀκρατῇ καὶ πρὸς τὴν κοινὴν ἀπομαλακιζόμενον διαίταν.

ΧΙ. Διὸ καὶ μάλιστα φασί τῷ Δυκούργῳ πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ πολὺτεμα χαλεποὺς γενέσθαι τοὺς εὐπόρους, καὶ συστάντας ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ἄθροοις καταβοάν καὶ ἀγανακτεῖν τέλος δὲ βαλλόμενοι ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἐξέπεσε τῆς ἀγορᾶς δρόμῳ. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐφθασεν εἰς οἱρὸν καταφυγόν· εἰς δὲ τις νεανίςκοι, ἄλλος μὲν οὐκ ἀφυής, οἷς δὲ καὶ θυμοειδῆς, Ἀλκανδρός, ἐπικείμενος καὶ διώκων ἐπιστραφέντως αὐτοῦ τῇ βακτηρίᾳ πα- τάξας τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐξέκοψεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Δυ- κούργῳς οὐδὲν ἐνδοὺς πρὸς τὸ πάθος, ἀλλὰ στὰς ἐναντίος ἐδείξα τοῖς πολῖταις τὸ πρόσωπον ἡμαγ- μένον καὶ διεφθαρμένην τὴν ὄψιν· αἰδῶς δὲ πολλὴ καὶ κατήφεια τοὺς ἰδόντας ἔσχεν, ὡστε παραδοῦναι τὸν Ἀλκανδρον αὐτῷ καὶ προτέμψαι μέχρι τῆς οἰκίας συναγαγόντως. ὁ δὲ Δυκούργος ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐπαινέσας ἄφηκε, τὸν δὲ Ἀλκανδρὸν εἰσαγαγόν οἷκα δὲ κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν οὐτ’ ἐποίησεν οὐτ’ ἐιπὲν, ἀπαλλάξας δὲ τοὺς συνήθεις ὑπηρέτας καὶ θεραπευτῆς ἐκεῖνον ἐκέλευσεν ὑπηρετεῖν. 

3 ὁ δὲ οὖκ ὁν ἀγεννής ἐποίει τὸ προστατόμενον σιωτή, καὶ παραμένων ἁμα τῷ Δυκούργῳ καὶ συνδιαντόμενος ἐν τῷ καταναθήν τὴν πρατήτη καὶ τὸ ἀπαθεῖς αὐτοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὸ περὶ τὴν διαίταν αὐστηρὸν καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς πόνους
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and motionless as a picture. For the rich could not even dine beforehand at home and then go to the common mess with full stomachs, but the rest kept careful watch of him who did not eat and drink with them, and reviled him as a weakling, and one too effeminate for the common diet.

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

Δίκην, ἐκ ποιηροῦ νέου καὶ αὐθάδους ἐμμελέστα-

τος ἀνήρ καὶ σωφρονικότατος γενόμενος. τοῦ
dὲ πάθους ὑπόμνημα Δυκοῦργος ἱδρύσατο τῆς
Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν, ἡν Ὀπτιλίτων προσηγόρευες τοὺς
gὰρ ὀφθαλμοὺς ὀπτίλους οἱ τῇ δῶρει δωρεῖς καλοῦ-

σιν. ἔνιοι μέντοι τὸν Δυκοῦργον, ὡς καὶ Διο-

σκορίδης ἐστὶν ὁ συντεταγμένος τῆς Δακωικῆς

πολιτείαν, πληγήναι μὲν φασιν, οὐ τυφλωθήναι
dὲ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν, ἄλλα καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῇ θεῷ τῆς

ἀκέσεως χαριστήριον ἱδρύσασθαι. τὸ μέντοι

φέρειν βαλκηρίαν ἐκκλησιάζοντες οἱ Σπαρτιάται

μετὰ τὴν συμφορὰν ἐκείνην ἀπέμαθον.

XII. Τὰ δὲ συσσίτια Κρήτες μὲν ἀνδρεία,

Δακεδαμόνιοι δὲ φιδίτια προσαγορεύοντο, εἶτε

ώς φιλίας καὶ φιλοφροσύνης ὑπαρχόντων, ἀντὶ
tοῦ λ τὸ δ λαμβάνοντες, εἶτε όσ πρὸς εὔτελειαν
cαὶ φειδῶ συνεβιβαζόντων. οὐδὲν δὲ κωλύει καὶ
tὸν πρῶτον ἐξωθεὶν ἐπικείσθαι φθόγγον, ὡστερ

ἔνιοὶ φασίν, ἐδιτίων. παρὰ τὴν δίαιταν καὶ τὴν

2 ἐκωθήνη λεγομένων. συνηρχοῦτο δὲ ἀνὰ πεντεκαί-
dεκα καὶ βραχεὶ τούτων ἐλάττως ή πλείους.

ἐφερε δὲ ἐκαστὸς κατὰ μήνα τῶν συσσίτων ἀλφί-
tων μέδιμνων, οὖν χόας ὅκτω, τυροῦ πέντε μνᾶς,

σύκων ἡμιμναία πέντε, πρὸς δὲ τούτους εἰς ὄψι-

νίαν μικρὸν τὴ κομίδη νομίσματος. ἄλλως δὲ

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unwearied industry. He thus became a devoted follower of Lycurgus, and used to tell his intimates and friends that the man was not harsh nor self-willed, as he had supposed, but the mildest and gentlest of them all. Such, then, was the chastisement of this young man, and such the penalty laid upon him, namely, to become, instead of a wild and impetuous youth, a most decorous and discreet man. Lycurgus, moreover, in memory of his misfortune, built a temple to Athena Optilitis, so called from "optilus," which is the local Doric word for eye. Some writers, however, of whom one is Dioscorides, who wrote a treatise on the Spartan civil polity, say that although Lycurgus was struck in the eye, his eye was not blinded, but he built the temple to the goddess as a thank-offering for its healing. Be that as it may, the Spartan practice of carrying staves into their assemblies was abandoned after this unfortunate accident.

XII. As for the public messes, the Cretans call them "andreia," but the Lacedaemonians, "phiditia," either because they are conducive to friendship and friendliness, "phiditia" being equivalent to "philitia"; or because they accustom men to simplicity and thrift, for which their word is "pheido." But it is quite possible, as some say, that the first letter of the word "phiditia" has been added to it, making "phiditia" out of "editia," which refers merely to meals and eating. They met in companies of fifteen, a few more or less, and each one of the mess-mates contributed monthly a bushel of barley-meal, eight gallons of wine, five pounds of cheese, two and a half pounds of figs, and in addition to this, a very small sum of money for such relishes as flesh and fish. Besides this, whenever any one made a
καὶ θύσας τις ἀπαρχήν καὶ θηρεύσας μέρος ἔπεμψεν εἰς τὸ συσσίτιον. ἔξην γὰρ οἶκοι δειπνεῖν ὅποτε θύσας τις ἡ κυνηγὼν ὤψεσε, τοὺς δὲ Ἀλλους ἔδει παρεῖναι. καὶ μέχρι γε πολλοῦ τὰς συσσίτισεις ἀκριβῶς διεφύλαττον. Ἀγιδος γοῦν τοῦ Βασιλέως, ὥσ ἐπανήλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατείας καταπεπολεμηκός Ἀθηναίους, βουλομένου παρὰ τῇ γυναικὶ δειπνεῖν καὶ μεταπεμπομένου τὰς μερίδας, οὐκ ἔπεμψαν οἱ πολέμαρχοι, τοῦ δὲ μὲθ' ἡμέραν ὑπ' ἀργής μὴ θύσαντο ἢν ἔδει θυσίαν, ἐξημίσωσαν αὐτὸν.

4 Еἰς δὲ τὰ συσσίτια καὶ παιδεῖς ἐφοίτων, ὅσπερ εἰς διδασκαλεῖα σωφροσύνης ἀγόμενοι, καὶ λόγων ἥκροὼντο πολιτικῶν καὶ παιδευτὰς ἐλευθερίας ἔσωσίν, αὐτοὶ τε παῖξειν εἰδίεξοντο καὶ σκόπτειν ἀνευ βομολοχίας καὶ σκωπτόμενοι μὴ δυσχεραίνειν. σφόδρα γὰρ ἐδοκεί καὶ τοῦτο Δακονικὸν εἶναι, σκόμματος ἀνέχεσθαι μὴ φέροντα δὲ ἔξην παρατείσθαι, καὶ ὁ σκῶπτων ἐπέπαυτο. τῶν δ' εἰσιόντων ἐκάστῳ δεῖξα τὸ πρεσβύτατος τὰς θύρας, "Διὰ τούτων," φησίν, "ἐξω λόγος οὐκ ἐκπορευέται." δοκιμάζοντι δὲ τὸν βουλόμενον τοῦ συσσιτίου μετασχείν οὕτω φασί. λαβὼν τῶν συσσίτων ἐκαστὸς ἀπομαγαδάλαν εἰς τὴν χεῖρα, τοῦ διακόνου φέροντος ἀγγείον ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἔβαλλε σιωπῆ καθάπερ ψῆφον, ὁ μὲν δοκιμάζων ἀπλώς, ὁ δ' ἐκκρίνων σφόδρα τῇ χειρὶ πιέσας. 6 ἡ γὰρ πεπιεσμένη τὴν τῆς τετρημένης ἔχει δύναμιν. κἂν μίαν εὐρωσὶ τοιαύτην, οὐ προσδέ-
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sacrifice of first fruits, or brought home game from the hunt, he sent a portion to his mess. For whenever any one was belated by a sacrifice or the chase, he was allowed to sup at home, but the rest had to be at the mess. For a long time this custom of eating at common mess-tables was rigidly observed. For instance, when King Agis, on returning from an expedition in which he had been victorious over the Athenians, wished to sup at home with his wife, and sent for his rations, the polemarchs\(^1\) refused to send them to him; and when on the following day his anger led him to omit the customary sacrifice, they laid a fine upon him.

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

\(^{1}\) At Sparta, military commanders under the kings.
χωνται τὸν ἐπεισιῶντα, βουλόμενου πάντας ἡδο-
μένους ἀλλήλοις συνεῖναι. τὸν δὲ οὕτως ἀπο-
dοκιμασθέντα κεκαδδίσθαι λέγουσιν κάδιχος γὰρ
καλεῖται τὸ ἄγγειον εἰς ὅ τὰς ἀπομαγδαλίας
ἐμβάλλουσι. τῶν δὲ ὅσων εὐδοκίμει μάλιστα
παρ' αὐτοῖς οἱ μέλας ζώμος, ὥστε μηδὲ κρεάθιον
dεῖσθαι τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, ἀλλὰ παραχωρεῖν
toῖς νεανίσκοις, αὐτοὺς δὲ τού ζωμοῦ καταχεο-
7 μένους ἐστισάθαι. λέγεται δὲ τινα τῶν Ποντικῶν
βασιλέων ἑνεκα τοῦ ζωμοῦ καὶ πρίασθαι Δακω-
νικὸν μάγειρον· εἶτα χευσάμενον δυσχεράναι· καὶ
tὸν μάγειρον εἰπεῖν· "Ὅ βασιλεύ, τούτον δεί
tὸν ζωμὸν ἐν τῷ Εὐρώτα λελουμένους ἐποψάσθαι."
πιόντες δὲ μετρίως ἀπίσας δίχα λαμπάδος. οὐ
γὰρ ἔξεστι πρὸς φῶς βαδίζειν, οὔτε ταύτην οὔτε
ἀλλήν ὀδὸν, ὅπως ἐβίβαζει σκότους καὶ νυκτὸς
εὐθαρσῶς καὶ ἀδεῶς ὄδευεν. τὰ μὲν οὖν συ\nsί-
tia τοιαύτην ἔχει τάξιν.

XIII. Νόμους δὲ γεγραμμένους ὁ Δυκόμουχος 47
οὗς ἔθηκεν, ἀλλὰ μία τῶν καλομένων ῥητρῶν
ἔστιν αὕτη. τὰ μὲν γὰρ κυριώτατα καὶ μέγιστα
πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν πόλεως καὶ ἄρετήν, ἐν τοῖς
ἡθεσιν φέτος καὶ ταῖς ἀγωγαῖς τῶν πολετῶν
ἀγκατεστοιχειωμένα, μένειν ἄκινητα καὶ βέβαια, ἔχουτα τὴν προαίρεσιν δεσμὸν ἰσχυρὸτερον τῆς
ἀνάγκης, ἂν ἡ παίδευσις ἐμποιεῖ τοῖς νέοις, νομο-
θέτου διάδεσθω ἀπεργαιζομένη περὶ ἕκαστον αὐ-
2 τῶν. τὰ δὲ μικρὰ καὶ χρηματικὰ συμβόλαια καὶ
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of bread had the force of a perforated, or negative, ballot. And if one such is found in the bowl, the candidate is not admitted to the mess, because they wish all its members to be congenial. The candidate thus rejected is said to have been "caddished," for "caddichus" \(^1\) is the name of the bowl into which they cast the pieces of bread. Of their dishes, the black broth is held in the highest esteem, so that the elderly men do not even ask for a bit of meat, but leave it for the young men, while they themselves have the broth poured out for their meals. And it is said that one of the kings of Pontus actually bought a Spartan cook for the sake of having this broth, and then, when he tasted it, disliked it; whereupon the cook said: "O King, those who relish this broth must first have bathed in the river Eurotas." After drinking moderately, they go off home without a torch; for they are not allowed to walk with a light, either on this or any other occasion, that they may accustom themselves to marching boldly and without fear in the darkness of night. Such, then, is the fashion of their common messes.

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

\(^1\) Or "caddos," from which the verb in the Greek text is formed.

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μεταπίπτοντα ταίς χρείαις ἄλλοτε ἄλλως, βέλτιον ἦν μὴ καταλαμβάνειν ἐγγράφοις ἀνάγκαις μηδὲ ἀκινήτους ἔθεσιν, ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἐπὶ τῶν καίρων, προσθέσεις λαμβάνοντα καὶ ἀφαιρέσεις, ἂς ἄν οἱ πεπαιδευμένοι δοκιμάσωσι. τὸ γὰρ ὅλον καὶ πάν τῆς νομοθεσίας ἔργον εἰς τὴν παίδειαν ἀνήψε.

3 Μία μὲν οὖν τῶν ῥητρῶν ἦν, ὥσπερ εἰρηται, μὴ χρῆσθαι νόμοις ἐγγράφοις. ἔτερα δὲ πάλιν κατὰ τὴς πολυτελείας, ὡς οἰκία πᾶσα τὴν μὲν ὄροφὴν ἀπὸ πελέκεως εἰργασμένην ἔχῃ, τὰς δὲ θύρας ἀπὸ πρίονος μόνον καὶ μηδενὸς τῶν ἄλλων ἐργαλείων. ὅπερ γὰρ ὅστερον Ἑπαμεινώνδαν εἰπεὶν λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐαιτοῦ τραπέζης, ὡς τὸ τοιοῦτον ἄριστον οὐ χωρεῖ προδοσίαν, τούτῳ πρῶτος ἐνόσπεις Δυκοῦργος, ὡς οἰκία τοιαύτη τριφήν

4 οὐ χωρεῖ καὶ πολυτέλειαν, οὐδ' ἐστιν οὔδεις οὕτως ἀπειρόκαλος καὶ ἀνόητος ὡςτε εἰς οἰκίαν ἀφελή καὶ δημοτικὴν εἰσφέρειν κλίνας ἀργυρόποδας καὶ στρωμάτας ἀλουργεῖς καὶ χρυσάς κύλικας καὶ τὴν τούτοις ἐπομένην πολυτέλειαν, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκης συναρμοζόμεθα καὶ συνεξομοιοῦμε τῇ μὲν οἰκίᾳ τὴν κλίνην, τῇ δὲ κλίνῃ τὴν ἐσθήτα, ταύτη δὲ τὴν ἀλλήν χρησίμαι καὶ κατασκευήν. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης τῆς συνηθείας φασί καὶ Δεωτυχίδην τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἐν Κορίνθῳ δειπνούντα, καὶ θεασάμενον τῆς στέγης τοῦ οίκου τὴν κατασκευὴν πολυτελὴ καὶ φατεροματικὴν, ἐρωτήσας τὸν ξένου εἰ τετράγωνα παρ' αὐτοῖς τὰ ἕνλα φύεται.

Τρίτην δὲ ῥήτραν διαμηνυμονεύουσι τοῦ Δυκοῦργου, τὴν κωλύουσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς πολεμίους

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matters, such as business contracts, and cases where the needs vary from time to time, it was better, as he thought, not to hamper them by written constraints or fixed usages, but to suffer them, as occasion demanded, to receive such modifications as educated men should determine. Indeed, he assigned the function of law-making wholly and entirely to education.

One of his rhetras accordingly, as I have said, prohibited the use of written laws. Another was directed against extravagance, ordaining that every house should have its roof fashioned by the axe, and its doors by the saw only, and by no other tool. For, as in later times Epaminondas is reported to have said at his own table, that such a meal did not comport with treachery, so Lycurgus was the first to see clearly that such a house does not comport with luxury and extravagance. Nor is any man so vulgar and senseless as to introduce into a simple and common house silver-footed couches, purple coverlets, gold drinking-cups, and all the extravagance which goes along with these, but one must of necessity adapt and proportion his couch to his house, his coverlets to his couch, and to this the rest of his supplies and equipment. It was because he was used to this simplicity that Leotychides the Elder, as we are told, when he was dining in Corinth, and saw the roof of the house adorned with costly panellings, asked his host if trees grew square in that country.

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

πολλάκις¹ στρατεύειν, ἵνα μη̱ πολλάκις ἀμύνε-6 σθαι συνεθιζομενοι πολεμικοὶ γένωνται. καὶ τοῦτὸ
γε μάλιστα κατηγοροῦσιν Ἀγησιλαόν τοῦ βασι-
λέως ύστερον, ὡς ταῖς συνεχέσι καὶ πυκναῖς εἰς
tὴν Βοιωτίαν ἐμβολαῖς καὶ στρατείας τοὺς Ὀη-
βαίους ἀντιπάλους τοὺς Δακεδαμονίους κατα-
σκευάσαντος. διδ καὶ τετραμένου αὐτὸν ίδιων
Ἀνταλκίδας, “Καλά,” ἑφη, “τὰ διδασκάλια παρὰ
Ὀηβαίων ἀπολαμβάνεις, μὴ βουλομένους αὐτοὺς
μηδὲ εἰδότας μάχεσθαι διδάξας.” τὰ μὲν οὖν τοι-
αύτα νομοθετήματα ῥήτρας ὁνόμασεν, ὡς παρὰ
tοῦ θεοῦ κομιζόμενα² καὶ χρησμοὺς ὄντα.

XIV. Τῆς δὲ παιδείας, ἢν μέγιστον ἡγεῖτο τοῦ
νομοθέτου καὶ κάλλιστον ἔργου εἶναι, πόρρωθεν
ἀρχόμενος εὐθὺς ἐπεσκόπει τὰ περὶ τοὺς γάμους
καὶ τὰς γενέσεις. οὐ γάρ, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης φησίν,
ἐπιχειρήσας σωφρονίζει τὰς γυναίκας, ἐπαύσατο
μὴ κρατῶν τῆς πολλῆς ἀνέσεως καὶ γυναικοκρα-
τίας διὰ τὰς πολλὰς στρατείας τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἐν
αἷς ἦμαγκάζοντο κυρίας ἀπολείπεις ἑκεῖνας, καὶ
diὰ τὸῦτο μᾶλλον τοῦ προσήκουτος αὐτὸς ἑθέρά-
pευον καὶ δεσποίνας προσηγόρευον ἄλλα καὶ
toῦτων τὴν ἐνδεχομένην ἐπιμέλειαν ἐποιήσατο.

2 τὰ μὲν γε σῶματα τῶν παρθένων δρόμους καὶ
πάλαις καὶ βολαῖς δίσκων καὶ ἀκοντίων διεπόνη-
σευ, ὡς ἣ τε τῶν γεννωμένων ρίζωσις ἵσχυρὰν ἐν
ἰσχυροῖς σῶμασιν ἀρχὴν λαβοῦσα βλαστάνοι

¹ πολλάκις inserted before στρατεύειν to agree with Morals,
p. 227 c; πολεμικοὶ στρατεύειν.
² κομιζόμενα Cobet, adopting the conjecture of Sintenis:
νομιζόμενα (were believed to come).

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

XIV. In the matter of education, which he regarded as the greatest and noblest task of the law-giver, he began at the very source, by carefully regulating marriages and births. For it is not true that, as Aristotle says,\(^1\) he tried to bring the women under proper restraint, but desisted, because he could not overcome the great licence and power which the women enjoyed on account of the many expeditions in which their husbands were engaged. During these the men were indeed obliged to leave their wives in sole control at home, and for this reason paid them greater deference than was their due, and gave them the title of Mistress. But even to the women Lycurgus paid all possible attention. He made the maidens exercise their bodies in running, wrestling, casting the discus, and hurling the javelin, in order that the fruit of their wombs might have vigorous root in vigorous bodies and come to better maturity, and that they themselves

\(^1\) Pol. ii. 6, 8.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ’ S ΛΗΓΕΣ

βέλτιον, αὖτα τε μετὰ ρώμης τοὺς τόκους ὑπο-
μένουσι καὶ ἀμα καὶ ράδιοι ἀγονύζοντο πρὸς
τὰς ὀδίνας. ἀφελῶν δὲ θρύψει καὶ σκιατραφίαιν
καὶ θηλύτηα πᾶσαν οὐδέν ἦττον εἶθεσε τῶν
κόρων τὰς κόρας γυμνὰς τε πομπεῦει καὶ πρὸς
ἰεροῖς τισὶν ὀρχεῖσθαί καὶ ἄδειν τῶν νέων παρόν-
των καὶ θεωμένων. ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ σκώμματα
λέγουσι πρὸς ἐκαστὸν εὐχρήστως ἐπελαμβά-
νοντο τῶν ἀμαρτανομένων καὶ πάλιν εἰς τοὺς
ἀξίους αὐτῶν ἐγκώμια μετ’ ὕδης πεποιημένα διεξ-
ιούσαι, φιλοτιμίαι πολλὴν καὶ ξύλον ἐνεποίουν
τοῖς νεανίσκοις. ὁ γὰρ ἐγκωμιασθεῖς ἐπ’ ἀνδρα-
γαθία καὶ κλείνος ἐν ταῖς παρθένοις γυναικῶς
ἀπηεὶ μεγαλυνόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπαίνων. οἱ δὲ
μετὰ παιδίας καὶ σκωμμάτων δήξεις οὐδὲν ἄμ-
βλυτερα τῶν μετὰ σπουδῆς νουθετημάτων ἦσαν,
ἀτε δὴ πρὸς τὴν θέαν ὀμοῦ τοῖς ἀλλοῖς πολίταις
καὶ τῶν βασιλέως καὶ τῶν γερόντων συμπορευο-
μένων.

4 Ἥ δὲ γύμνωσι τῶν παρθένων οὐδὲν αἰσχρὸν
ἐλεχει, αἰδοὺς μὲν παροῦσας, ἀκρασίας δὲ ἀπουσίας,
ἀλλ’ ἐθερμὸν ἀφελὴ καὶ ξύλον εὐεξίας ἐνεργάζετο,
καὶ φρονήματος τὸ θῆλυ παρέγενεν όυκ ἀγεννώς,
ὡς μηδὲν ἦττον αὐτῷ καὶ ἄρετῆς καὶ φιλοτιμίας
μετουσίαν οὖσαν. οἶδεν αὐταῖς καὶ λέγειν ἐπηθεὶ
cαι φροεῖν οἷα καὶ περὶ Γοργοῦ ἱστορηται τῆς
Δεσμίδου γυναικὸς. εἰποῦσας γὰρ τινος, ὅσ’ ἐοικε,
ξένης πρὸς αὐτὴν ὡς “Μόναι τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἄρχετε
ἢμὲν αἱ Δάκαιαι,” “Μόναι γὰρ,” ἐφ’ “τικτομεν
ἀνδρας.”

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

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

XV. Moreover, there were incentives to marriage in these things,—I mean such things as the appear-
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tὰς ἀποδύσεις καὶ τοὺς ἀγώνας ἐν ὧν οἱ τῶν νέων, ἀγομένων οὐ γεωμετρικαῖς, ἀλλὰ ἐρωτικαῖς, ὡς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, ἀνάγκαις οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀτιμίαι τινὰ προσέθηκε τοῖς ἀγάμοις. εἰργοντο γὰρ ἐν ταῖς γυμνοπαιδίαις τῆς θέας· τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντες αὐτούς ἐκέλευον ἐν κύκλῳ

2 γυμνοῦς περιέναι τὴν ἀγοράν, οἱ δὲ περιόντες ἦδον εἰς αὐτοὺς φίδην τινα πεποιημένην, ὡς δίκαια πάσχοιεν, ὅτι τοῖς νόμοις ἀπειθοῦσιν τιμῆς δὲ καὶ θεραπείας ἦν νέοι πρεσβυτέροις παρείχων, ἐστέρηντο. ὅθεν καὶ τὸ πρὸς Δερκυλλίδαν ῥηθεὶν οὐδεὶς ἐμέμψατο, καὶ περ εὐδόκιμον ὄντα στρατηγόν. ἐπιόντι γὰρ αὐτῷ τῶν νεωτέρων τις ἔδρας οὐχ ὑπείξεν, εἰπὼν, "Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐμοὶ σὺ τὸν ὑπείξοντα γεγένηκας."

3 Ἐγάμουν δὲ δὲ ἀρπαγῆς, οὐ μικρὰς οὐδὲ ἁώρους πρὸς γύμουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκμαζούσας καὶ πεπείρους. τὴν δὲ αρπασθείσαν ἡ νυμφεύτρια καλουμένη παραλαβοῦσα, τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν ἐν χρῷ περιέκειρεν, ἵματι δὲ ἀνδρεῖῳ καὶ ὑποδήμασιν ἐντεκνάσας κατέκλινεν ἐπὶ στιβάδα μόνην ἀνευ φωτὸς. ο δὲ νυμφίος οὐ μεθύων οὐδὲ θρυπτόμενος, ἀλλὰ νῆφων, ὅσπερ ἀεὶ, δεδείπνηκός ἐν τοῖς φειδίτοις, παρεισελθὼν ἔλυε τὴν ζώνην καὶ

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ance of the maidens without much clothing in processions and athletic contests where young men were looking on, for these were drawn on by necessity, "not geometrical, but the sort of necessity which lovers know," as Plato says.¹ Nor was this all; Lycurgus also put a kind of public stigma upon confirmed bachelors. They were excluded from the sight of the young men and maidens at their exercises, and in winter the magistrates ordered them to march round the market-place in their tunics only, and as they marched, they sang a certain song about themselves, and its burden was that they were justly punished for disobeying the laws. Besides this, they were deprived of the honour and gracious attentions which the young men habitually paid to their elders. Therefore there was no one to find fault with what was said to Dercyllidas, reputable general though he was. As he entered a company, namely, one of the younger men would not offer him his seat, but said: "Indeed, thou hast begotten no son who will one day give his seat to me."

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

¹ Republic, p. 458 d.
4 μετήνεγκεν ἀράμενος ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην. συνδιατριβας δὲ χρόνον οὐ πολὺν ἀπῆκει κοσμώς οὕτως εἰόθει τὸ πρότερον, καθευδήσων μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων νέων. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὔτως ἐπράττε, τοῖς μὲν ἥλικιώτατοις συνδιημερεύοντες καὶ συγκατανόομενοι, πρὸς δὲ τὴν νύμφην κρύφα μετ’ εὐλαβείας φοιτῶν, αἰσχυνόμενοι καὶ δεδοικώς μὴ τις αἰσθοίτο τῶν ἔνδον, ἄμα καὶ τῆς νύμφης ἐπίτεχνωμένης καὶ συνεντορούσης ὅπως ἄν ἐν καιρῷ καὶ λαυθάνοντες Ἀλλήλοις συμπορεύοντο. καὶ τούτῳ ἐπράττον οὐκ ὀλίγον χρόνον, ἀλλ’ ὀστὲ καὶ πάσας γενέσθαι ἐνίοτε πρὶν ἐς ἡμέραν θεάσασθαι τὰς ἑαυτῶν γυναῖκας. ἡ δὲ τοιαύτη σύνοδος οὐ μόνον ἐγκρατείας καὶ σωφροσύνης ἀσκησις ἦν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τε σώμασι γονίμοις καὶ τῷ φίλειν ἄεὶ καινοῦς καὶ προσφάτους ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν, οὔ διακορεῖσον οὐδ’ ἔξετίλους ταῖς ἀνέθην κοινωνίαις, ἀλλ’ ἄεὶ τι λείψανον καὶ υπέκκαιμα πόθου καὶ χάρτος ἑναπολείποντας ἀλλήλοις.

5 Ῥοειαυτὴν δὲ τοῖς γάμοις ἐπιστήσας αἰδῶ καὶ τάξειν, οὐδὲν ᾑττον ἔξεβαλε τὴν κενήν καὶ γυναικώδη ξηλοτύπιαν, ἐν καλῷ καταστήσας ὑβρινοῖς καὶ ἀναξίαις πᾶσαν εἰργεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ γάμου, παίδων δὲ καὶ τεκνώσεως κοινωνεὶν τοῖς ἄξιοις, καταγελώντας τῶν ὡς ἁμικτὰ καὶ ἀκοινώνητα.

6 ταῦτα μετίοντων σφαγαῖς καὶ πολέμοις. ἐξῆν μὲν γὰρ ἀνδρὶ πρεσβυτέρῳ νέας γυναικός, εἰ δὴ τινα τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀστάσαιτο νέων καὶ δοκιμάσεις, εἰσαγαγεῖν παρ’ αὐτὴν καὶ πλήσαντα γενναίου σπέρματος ἵδιον αὐτοῖς ποιήσατε.
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in his arms to the marriage-bed. Then, after spending a short time with his bride, he went away composedly to his usual quarters, there to sleep with the other young men. And so he continued to do from that time on, spending his days with his comrades, and sleeping with them at night, but visiting his bride by stealth and with every precaution, full of dread and fear lest any of her household should be aware of his visits, his bride also contriving and conspiring with him that they might have stolen interviews as occasion offered. And this they did not for a short time only, but long enough for some of them to become fathers before they had looked upon their own wives by daylight. Such interviews not only brought into exercise self-restraint and moderation, but united husbands and wives when their bodies were full of creative energy and their affections new and fresh, not when they were sated and dulled by unrestricted intercourse; and there was always left behind in their hearts some residual spark of mutual longing and delight.

After giving marriage such traits of reserve and decorum, he none the less freed men from the empty and womanish passion of jealous possession, by making it honourable for them, while keeping the marriage relation free from all wanton irregularities, to share with other worthy men in the begetting of children, laughing to scorn those who regard such common privileges as intolerable, and resort to murder and war rather than grant them. For example, an elderly man with a young wife, if he looked with favour and esteem on some fair and noble young man, might introduce him to her, and adopt her offspring by such a noble father as his
σασθαί τὸ γεγυνθέν. ἐξῆν δὲ πάλιν ἄνδρι χρηστῷ, τῶν εὐτέκνων τινὰ καὶ σωφρόνων θανμάσαντι γυναικῶν ἐτέρῳ γεγαμημένην, πεῖσαι τὸν ἄνδρα συνελθεῖν, ὥσπερ ἐν χώρᾳ καλλικάρπῳ φυτεύοντα καὶ ποιούμενον παῖδας ἁγαθούς, ἀγα-θῶν ὁμαίμους καὶ συγγενεῖς ἐσομένους. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἰδίους ἤγειτο τῶν πατέρων τοὺς παῖδας, ἀλλὰ κοινοὺς τῆς πόλεως ὁ Δυκοῦργος, ὅθεν οὐκ ἐκ τῶν τυχόντων, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῶν ἀριστῶν ἐβούλετο γεγονότας εἶναι τοὺς πολίτας. ἐπειτα πολλὴν ἄβεβητεν καὶ τῦφον ἐνεώρα τοῖς περὶ ταῦτα τῶν ἄλλων νομοθετήμασιν, οἷς κύνας μὲν καὶ ἱπποὺς ὑπὸ τοῖς κρατίστοις τῶν ὁχείων βιβάζουσι χάριτι πεῖθοντες ἡ μισθῇ τοῖς κυρίοις, τὰς δὲ γυναικὰς ἐγκλεισάμενοι φρουρούσιν, ἐξ αὐτῶν μόνων τίκτειν ἀξιούντες, καὶ ἄφρονες ὃς, καὶ παρήλκες, καὶ νοσόδεις, ὅς οὐχὶ πρῶτοι τοῖς κεκτημένοις καὶ τρέφουσι τῶν παῖδων γυνομένων ποιηρῶν, ἕαν ἐκ ποιηρῶν γένωνται, καὶ τοναντίον χρηστῶν, ἄν τοιαύτης τούχωσι γενέσεως. ταῦτα δὲ οὕτως πραττόμενα φυσικῶς καὶ πολιτικῶς τότε τοσοῦτον ἀπείχε τῆς υπέρ οὗτον λεγομένης γενέσθαι περὶ τὰς γυναικὰς εὐχερείας ὡστε ὅλως ἀπίστων εἶναι τὸ τῆς μοιχείας παρ’ αὐτοῖς.

10 αὐτοῖς. καὶ λόγος ἀπομημονεύεται Γεράδα τινὸς Σπαρτιάτον τῶν σφόδρα παλαιῶν, δὴ ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ ξένου τί πάσχοις οἱ μοιχοί παρ’ αὐτοῖς,
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own. And again, a worthy man who admired some woman for the fine children that she bore her husband and the modesty of her behaviour as a wife, might enjoy her favours, if her husband would consent, thus planting, as it were, in a soil of beautiful fruitage, and begetting for himself noble sons, who would have the blood of noble men in their veins. For in the first place, Lycurgus did not regard sons as the peculiar property of their fathers, but rather as the common property of the state, and therefore would not have his citizens spring from random parentage, but from the best there was. In the second place, he saw much folly and vanity in what other peoples enacted for the regulation of these matters; in the breeding of dogs and horses they insist on having the best sires which money or favour can secure, but they keep their wives under lock and key, demanding that they have children by none but themselves, even though they be foolish, or infirm, or diseased; as though children of bad stock did not show their badness to those first who possessed and reared them, and children of good stock, contrariwise, their goodness. The freedom which thus prevailed at that time in marriage relations was aimed at physical and political well-being, and was far removed from the licentiousness which was afterwards attributed to their women, so much so that adultery was wholly unknown among them. And a saying is reported of one Geradas, a Spartan of very ancient type, who, on being asked by a stranger what the punishment for adulterers was among them, answered: "Stranger,

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

XVI. Τὸ δὲ γεγυνθέν οὖν ἦν κύριος ὁ γεννήσας τρέφειν, ἀλλ’ ἔφερε λαβὼν εἰς τόπον τινὰ λεύσχην καλούμενον, ἐν οὗ καθήμενοι τῶν φυλετῶν οἱ πρεσβύτατοι καταμαθόντες τὸ παιδάριον, εἰ μὲν εὐπαγές εἶ ἢ καὶ ρωμαλέον, τρέφειν ἐκέλευον, κλήρον αὐτῷ τῶν ἐνακισχιλίων προσνεύμαντες· εἰ δ’ ἄγεννες καὶ ἁμορφοὶ, ἀπέπεμπον εἰς τὰς λεγομένας Ἀποθέτας, παρὰ Ταῦγητον βαραθρών.

2 ὁ τόπον, ὡς οὔτε αὐτῷ ξῆν ἁμεινὸν οὖν οὔτε τῇ πόλει τὸ μὴ καλῶς εὕθυς ἢ ἥν ἁρχης πρὸς εὐεξίαν καὶ ῥώμην. πεφυκός. οὖθεν οὔδε ὑδατὶ τὰ βρέφη, ἀλλ’ οὖν περιέλουν αἱ γυναῖκες, βάσανον τινὰ ποιούμενα τῆς κράσεως αὐτῶν. λέγεται γὰρ ἐξίστασθαι τὰ ἐπιληπτικά καὶ νοσώδη πρὸς τὸν ἄκρατον ἀποσφακελίζοντα, τὰ δ’ ὑγιεινὰ μάλλον στομούσθαι καὶ κρατύνεσθαι τὴν

3 ἔξω. ἢν δὲ περὶ τὰς τροφοὺς ἐπιμέλειας τις μετὰ τέχνης, ὥστ’ ἂνευ σπαργάνων ἐκτρεφούσας τὰ βρέφη τοῖς μέλεσι καὶ τοῖς εἴδεσιν ἐλευθέρα ποιεῖν, ἑτ’ δὲ εὐκολα ταῖς διαίταις καὶ ἁσικχα καὶ ἀθαμβή σκότου καὶ πρὸς ἐρήμιαν ἁφοβα καὶ

1 οὐ supplied by van Herwerden: ἁμεινὸν οὔτε.
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there is no adulterer among us.” “Suppose, then,” replied the stranger, “there should be one.” “A bull,” said Geradas, “would be his forfeit, a bull so large that it could stretch over Mount Taýgetus and drink from the river Eurotas.” Then the stranger was astonished and said: “But how could there be a bull so large?” To which Geradas replied, with a smile: “But how could there be an adulterer in Sparta?” Such, then, are the accounts we find of their marriages.

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

4 Ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μὲν, ὡς Πλάτων φησί, Ζωπυροῦν ἐπέστησε παιδαγωγὸν Περικλῆς, οὐδὲν τι τῶν ἄλλων διαφέροντα δούλων· τοὺς δὲ Σπαρτιάτῶν παίδας οὐκ ἐπὶ ὑντοῖς οὐδὲ μυσθοῖς ἐποίησατο παιδαγωγοῖς ὁ Δυκοῦργος, οὗτος ἐξήν ἐκάστῳ τρέφειν οὐδὲ παιδεύειν ὡς ἐβούλετο τὸν υἱόν, ἀλλὰ πάντας εὐθὺς ἐπτατείς γενομένους παραλαμβάνων αὐτὸς εἰς ἀγέλας κατελόχιζε, καὶ συννόμους ποιῶν καὶ συντρόφους μετ᾽ ἀλλήλων.

5 εἴθιζε συμπαίζειν καὶ συσχολάζειν. Ἀρχοντα δὲ αὐτοῖς παρίστατο τῆς ἀγέλης τοῦ τῷ φρονεῖν διαφέροντα καὶ θυμοειδέστατον ἐν τῷ μάχεσθαι· καὶ πρὸς τούτον ἄφεωρον καὶ προστάττοντος ἱκροῦντο καὶ κολάζοντος ἐκαρτέρουν, ὡστε τὴν παιδείαν εἶναι μελέτην εὐπεθείας. ἐπεσκόπουν δὲ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι παίζοντας αὐτούς, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ μάχας τινὰς ἐμβάλλοντες αἰὲ καὶ φιλονεωκίας, οὐ παρέργως κατεμάνθανον ὁποῖος ἔστι τὴν φύσιν ἐκαστὸς αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ τολμᾶν καὶ μὴ φυγομαχεῖν ἐν ταῖς ἀμίλλαις.

6 Γράμματα μὲν οὖν ἔνεκα τῆς χρείας ἐμάνθανον· ἡ δὲ ἄλλη πάσα παιδεία πρὸς τὸ ἄρχεσθαι καλῶς ἐγίνετο καὶ καρτερεῖν πονοῦντα καὶ νικῶν μαχώμενον. διὸ καὶ τῆς ἡλικίας προερχομένης ἐπετεινὸς αὐτῶν τὴν ἀσκησιν, ἐν χρόνῳ τε κεῖτοντες.
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nor given to contemptible peevishness and whimpering. This is the reason why foreigners sometimes bought Spartan nurses for their children. Amycla, for instance, the nurse of the Athenian Alcibiades, is said to have been a Spartan.¹

And yet Alcibiades, as Plato says,² had for a tutor, set over him by Pericles, one Zopyrus, who was just a common slave. But Lycurgus would not put the sons of Spartans in charge of purchased or hired tutors, nor was it lawful for every father to rear or train his son as he pleased, but as soon as they were seven years old, Lycurgus ordered them all to be taken by the state and enrolled in companies, where they were put under the same discipline and nurture, and so became accustomed to share one another's sports and studies. The boy who excelled in judgement and was most courageous in fighting, was made captain of his company; on him the rest all kept their eyes, obeying his orders, and submitting to his punishments, so that their boyish training was a practice of obedience. Besides, the elderly men used to watch their sports, and by ever and anon egging them on to mimic battles and disputes, learned accurately how each one of them was naturally disposed when it was a question of boldness and aggressiveness in their struggles.

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

¹ Cf. Alcibiades i. 2. ² Alcibiades i. p. 122 b.

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καὶ βαδίζειν ἰωνποδήτους παίζειν τε γυμνοὺς ὡς τὰ πολλά συνεθίζοντες. γενόμενοι δὲ δωδεκασείς ἀνευ χιτώνος ἦδη διετέλουν, ἐν ἰμάτιον εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν λαμβάνοντες, αὐχμηροὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ λουτρῶν καὶ ἀλειμμάτων ἀπειροὶ πλὴν ὅλως ἡμέρας τινὰς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τῆς τοιαύτης φιλανθρωπίας μετείχον. ἔκαθεν δὲ ὅμοι Κληνοκλῆς Κλήνοκλῆς καὶ ἀγέλην ἐπὶ στιβάδων, ὡς αὐτοῖς συνεφόρουν, τοῦ παρὰ τῶν Εὐρώτα τοὺς πεθυμοῦντας καλάμου τὰ ἀκρα ταῖς χερών ἀνευ σιδήρου κατακλάσαντες. ἐν δὲ τῷ χειμώνι τοὺς λεγομένους λυκόφονας ὑπεβάλλοντο καὶ κατεμίγγυναν ταῖς στιβάσι, θερμαντικὸν ὑέχειν τε τῆς ὦλης δοκούσης.

ΧVII. Ἡδὲ δὲ τοῖς τηλικούτων ἐρασταί τῶν εὐδοκίμων νέων συνανεστρέφοντο καὶ προσείχον οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, καὶ μᾶλλον ἔπιφοιτῶντες εἰς τὰ γυμνάσια, καὶ μαχομένοις καὶ σκώπτουσιν ἀλλήλους παρατυγχάνοντες, οὐ παρέργοις, ἀλλὰ τρόποι τινὰ πάντες οἷομενοὶ πάντων καὶ πατέρες εἶναι καὶ παιδαγωγοὶ καὶ ἀρχοῦτες, ὥστε μὴν καίρῳ ἀπολείπεσθαι μὴτε χορίων ἔρημου τοῦ νουθετοῦντος τῶν ἀμαρτάνων καὶ κολάζων τοῦ καὶ τοῦ παῖδος τῶν ἀναθανάτων ἀνδρῶν οὐ ὑποτεταγμένων ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, καὶ καὶ
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were accustomed to going bare-foot, and to playing for the most part without clothes. When they were twelve years old, they no longer had tunics to wear, received one cloak a year, had hard, dry flesh, and knew little of baths and ointments; only on certain days of the year, and few at that, did they indulge in such amenities. They slept together, in troops and companies, on pallet-beds which they collected for themselves, breaking off with their hands—no knives allowed—the tops of the rushes which grew along the river Eurotas. In the winter-time, they added to the stuff of these pallets the so-called "lycophon," or thistle-down, which was thought to have warmth in it.

XVII. When the boys reached this age, they were favoured with the society of lovers from among the reputable young men. The elderly men also kept close watch of them, coming more frequently to their places of exercise, and observing their contests of strength and wit, not cursorily, but with the idea that they were all in a sense the fathers and tutors and governors of all the boys. In this way, at every fitting time and in every place, the boy who went wrong had someone to admonish and chastise him. Nor was this all; one of the noblest and best men of the city was appointed paedonome, or inspector of the boys, and under his directions the boys, in their several companies, put themselves under the command of the most prudent and warlike of the so-called Eirens. This was the name given to those who had been for two years out of the class of boys, and Melleirens, or Would-be Eirens, was the name for the oldest of the boys. This eiren, then, a youth of twenty years, commands his subordinates in their
3 οίκον ὑπηρέταις χρήται πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον. ἐπιτάσσει δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἀδρόις ἥξιλα φέρειν, τοῖς δὲ μικρότεροις λάχανα. καὶ φέρουσι κλέπτουσι, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς κήπους βαδίζουσι, οἱ δὲ εἰς τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν συσσίτια παρεισέρουντες εὐ μᾶλα πανούργος καὶ πεφυλαγμένως. ἂν δ᾽ ἀλφ, πολλὰς λαμβάνει πληγᾶς τῇ μάστιγι, βαθύμως δοκῶν κλέπτειν καὶ ἀτέχνως. κλέπτουσι δὲ καὶ τῶν σιτίων ὧ τι ἄν δύνανται, μανθάνουσι εὐφυῶς ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοῖς καθεύδοσιν ἢ βαθύμως φυλάττουσι. τῷ δὲ ἀλόντι ξημία πληγαὶ καὶ τὸ πείνην. γλύσχων γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἔστι δείπνον, ὅπως δὲ αὐτῶν ἀμυνόμενοι τὴν ἔνδειαν ἀναγκάζονται τολμᾶν καὶ πανούργειν.

Καὶ τούτῳ μὲν ἔργῃ τῆς ὀλυγοστίας παρέργον δὲ φασί τὴν τῶν σωμάτων αὔξησιν. φέρεται γὰρ εἰς μήκος, ὅταν τὸ πνεῦμα μὴ πολλὴν σχῆ διατριβὴν καὶ ἁσχολίαν ὑπὸ πλῆθους τροφῆς εἰς βάθος καὶ πλάτος πιεζόμενου, ἀλλ᾽ ἄνω βαθὺν δίζη διὰ κουφότητα, τοῦ σώματος ἐκλύτως καὶ ραδίως ἐπιδιδόντος. τὸ δ᾽ αὐτὸ τούτῳ καὶ καλοῦσι δοκεῖ τοιεῖν αἱ γὰρ ἰσχυρὶ καὶ διάκενοι μᾶλλον ἔξεσιν ὑπακούουσιν πρὸς τὴν διάρθρωσιν, αἱ δὲ ὀγκώδεις καὶ πολύτροφοι διὰ βάρος ἀντιβαίνουσιν, ὡσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ κύρῳ καθαιρομένων γυναικῶν ἰσχυρὰ μὲν, εὐείδη δὲ καὶ γλαφυρὰ γίνεται τὰ βρέφη, διὰ τὴν ἑλαφρότητα τῆς γλυκορομένης μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τοῦ τυποῦντος. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἢ μὲν αἰτία τοῦ συμβαίνοντος ἐν μέσῳ προκείσθω σκοπεῖν.

XVIII. Οὕτω δὲ κλέπτουσι πεφροντισμένως οἱ παῖδες, ὡστε λέγεται τις ἡδη σκύμνου ἀλώ· 26ο
mimic battles, and in doors makes them serve him at his meals. He commissions the larger ones to fetch wood, and the smaller ones potherbs. And they steal what they fetch, some of them entering the gardens, and others creeping right slyly and cautiously into the public messes of the men; but if a boy is caught stealing, he is soundly flogged, as a careless and unskilful thief. They steal, too, whatever food they can, and learn to be adept in setting upon people when asleep or off their guard. But the boy who is caught gets a flogging and must go hungry. For the meals allowed them are scanty, in order that they may take into their own hands the fight against hunger, and so be forced into boldness and cunning.

This is the main object of their spare diet; a secondary one is to make them grow tall. For it contributes to height of stature when the vitality is not impeded and hindered by a mass of nourishment which forces it into thickness and width, but ascends of its own lightness, and when the body grows freely and easily. The same thing seems also to conduce to beauty of form; for lean and meagre habits yield more readily to the force of articulation, whereas the gross and over-fed are so heavy as to resist it. Just so, we may be sure, women who take physic while they are pregnant, bear children which are lean, it may be, but well-shaped and fine, because the lightness of the parent matter makes it more susceptible to moulding. However, the reason for this I must leave for others to investigate.

XVIII. The boys make such a serious matter of their stealing, that one of them, as the story goes,
πεκος κεκλοφως καὶ τῷ τριβούνῳ περιστέλλων, σπαρασόμενος ύπο τοῦ θηρίου τὴν γαστέρα τοῖς δυνατές καὶ τοῖς ὀδούσιν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαθείν ἐγκαρτερῶν ἀποθανείν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τῶν νῦν ἔφηβων ἀπιστῶν ἔστιν, ὅν πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τῆς Ὀρθίας ἑωράκαμεν ἐναποθνῄσκοντας ταῖς πληγαῖς.

2 Δευτερνήσας δὲ ὁ εἰρήνη κατακείμενος τῷ μὲν ἄσαι προσέταξε τῶν παιδῶν, τῷ δὲ ἐρωτημα τῶν προὺβαλε πεφροντισμένης δεόμενον ἀποκρίσεως· οἷον, ὅστις ἁριστῶς ἐν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἢ πολὰ τις ἢ τούδε πράξεις. ἐκ τούτου δὲ καὶ κρίνειν τὰ καλὰ καὶ πολυπραγμονεῖν εὐθὺς έξ ἀρχῆς εἰθίζουτο περὶ τῶν πολιτῶν. τὸ γὰρ ἐρωτηθέντα, τῖς πολίτης ἁγαθός, ἢ τῖς ὦκε εὐδόκιμος, ἀπορεῖν τοῦ ἀποκρίνασθαι, νωθρὰς ἐποιοῦντο καὶ πρὸς

3 ἀρετήν ἀφιλοτίμου ψυχῆς σημείον. ἔδει δὲ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν καὶ 1 μετ' αἰτίας εἶναι καὶ ἀποδείξεως εἰς βραχὺν τινα συνηγμένης λόγου καὶ σύντομον· ὁ δὲ πλημμελῶς ἀποκρινάμενος ἐκολάζετο δήγμα λαμβάνων ὑπὸ τοῦ εἰρένος εἰς τὸν ἀντίχειρα. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ πρεσβυτέρων παρόντων καὶ ἀρχόντων ὁ εἰρήνη ἐκόλαξε τοὺς παιδας, ἀπόδειξιν διὸν εὶ μετὰ λόγου καὶ ως δεὶ κολάξει. καὶ κολάξων μὲν οὔκ ἐκωλύοτο, τῶν δὲ παιδῶν ἀπελθόντων εὐθὺς ὑπείχεν, εἰ τραχύτερον τοῦ δεόντος ἐπετίμησεν ἡ τοῦνατιόν ἐκελευμένως καὶ ἀτόνως.

4 Ἑκοινώνοιν δὲ οἱ ἐρασταὶ τοῖς παισὶ τῆς δόξης ἐπὶ ἀμφότερα· καὶ λέγεται ποτε παιδὸς ἐν τῷ

1 τὴν ἀπόκρισιν καὶ Coraës, Sintenis1, and Bekker, with the MSS.: καὶ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν.

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who was carrying concealed under his cloak a young fox which he had stolen, suffered the animal to tear out his bowels with its teeth and claws, and died rather than have his theft detected. And even this story gains credence from what their youths now endure, many of whom I have seen expiring under the lash at the altar of Artemis Orthia.

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

The boys’ lovers also shared with them in their honour or disgrace; and it is said that one of them
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μάχεσθαι φωνήν ἀγεννή προεμένου ξημιωθήναι τὸν ἕραστὴν ὑπὸ τῶν ἄρχοντων. οὔτω δὲ τοῦ ἔραν ἐγκεκριμένου παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὡστε καὶ τῶν παρθένων ἔραν τὰς καλὰς καὶ ἀγαθὰς γυναῖκας, τὸ ἀντεράν οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἄρχὴν ἔποιοῦντο φίλίας πρὸς ἄλληλους οἱ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔρασθέντες, καὶ διετέλουν κοινῇ σπουδάζοντες ὅπως ἄριστον ἀπεργάσαιντο τὸν ἐρώμενον.

XIX. Ἐδίδασκον δὲ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ λόγῳ χρήσθαι πικρίαιν ἔχοντες μεμηγέμενην χάριτι καὶ πολλὴν ἀπὸ βραχείας λέξεως ἀναθεώρησιν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ σιδηροῦν νόμισμα μικρὰν ἔχειν ἔποιησεν ἀπὸ πολλοῦ σταθμοῦ δύναμιν ὁ Δυκοῦργος, ὡς εἴρηται, τὸ δὲ τοῦ λόγου νόμισμα τοιναντίον ἀπ' εὐτελοῦς καὶ ὕλης λέξεως εἰς πολλὴν καὶ περίττην κατεσκεύασε διάνοιαν, τῇ πολλῇ σιωπῇ τοὺς παῖδας ἀποφθεγματικοὺς καὶ πεπαιδευμένους πρὸς τὰς ἀποκρίσεις μηχανώμενος. ὡς γὰρ τὸ σπέρμα τῶν πρὸς τὰς συνοντικὰς ἀκολάστων ἄγονον ὡς τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ἀκαρπῶν ἐστίν, οὕτως ἡ πρὸς τὸ λαλεῖν ἀκρασία κεῖνὸν τὸν λόγον ποιεῖ 2 καὶ ἀνόητον. "Ἄγις μὲν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς, σκώπτοντος Ἀττικοῦ τυφοῦς τὰς Δακωνικὰς μαχαίρας εἰς τὴν μικρότητα, καὶ λέγοντος ὅτι μαθίως αὐτὰς οἱ θαυματοποιοὶ καταπίνουσιν ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις, "Καὶ μὴν μάλιστα," εἶπεν, "ἡμεῖς ἐφικνοῦμεθα τοῖς ἐγχειρίδιοις τῶν πολεμίων" ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὸν λόγον ὅρω τῶν Δακωνικῶν βραχίνων μὲν εἶναι δοκοῦτα, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐφικνούμενον, καὶ τῆς διανοίας ἀπτόμενον τῶν ἀκροωμένων.

3 Καὶ γὰρ ὁ Δυκοῦργος αὐτὸς βραχυλόγος 52
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was once fined by the magistrates because his favourite boy had let an ungenerous cry escape him while he was fighting. Moreover, though this sort of love was so approved among them that even the maidens found lovers in good and noble women, still, there was no jealous rivalry in it, but those who fixed their affections on the same boys made this rather a foundation for friendship with one another, and persevered in common efforts to make their loved one as noble as possible.

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

And indeed Lycurgus himself seems to have been

1 Chapter ix. 1.

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τις ἐοικε γενέσθαι καὶ ἀποφθεγματικός, εἴ δὲ
tekmáiresthai tois ἀπομμημονευμάτων οἴνον ἔστι
tὸ περὶ τὰς πολιτείας πρὸς τὸν ἀξιώντα ποιεῖν
dημοκρατίαν ἐν τῇ πόλει "Σὺ γὰρ," ἔφη, "πρῶτος
ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ σου ποιήσον δημοκρατίαν." καὶ περὶ
tῶν θυσίων πρὸς τὸν πυθόμενον διὰ τί μικρὰς
ούτω καὶ εὐτελεῖς ἔταξεν, "Ἅνα μὴ ποτὲ,
4 ἔφη, "τιμώντες τὸ θείον διαλύπωμεν." καὶ περὶ
tῶν ἄληματων, ταῦτα μόνα μὴ κωλύσαντος
ἀγωνίζεσθαι τοὺς πολίτας ἐν ὁδὸς χεῖρ οὐκ ἀνα-
teînetai. φέρονται δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' ἐπιστολῶν
ἀποκρίσεις τοιαύτα πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας. πώς ἂν
πολέμων ἔφοδον ἀλεξοίμεθα; "Ἀν πτωχοὶ μὲ-
nυτε καὶ μὴ μέσδων ἄτεροι θατέρω ἐράτε ἦμεν.
καὶ πάλιν περὶ τῶν τειχῶν. "Οὐκ ἂν εἰς ἀτεί-
χιστος πόλις ἄτις ἀνδρεσι,1 καὶ οὐ πλὴνθος
ἐστεφάνωται." περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων καὶ τῶν
tοιούτων ἐπιστολῶν οὔτε ἀπιστήσασι βάδιον οὔτε
πιστεύσαι.

XX. Τῆς δὲ πρὸς τὰ μῆκη τῶν λόγων δια-
βολῆς δεῖγματα τοιαύτα τῶν ἀποφθεγμάτων ἔστι.
Δεσφίδας ὁ Βασίλεις ἀκαίρως τινὸς περὶ πραγ-
μάτων οὐκ ἀχρήστων διαλεγηθέντος,  "Ὤ ξένε,"
eἶπεν, "οὐκ ἐν δέοντι χρέη τὸ δέοντι." Χαρίλαος
dὲ ὁ ἀδελφιός τοῦ Δυκούργου περὶ τῆς ὀλγότητος
αὐτοῦ τῶν νόμων ἔρωτησε, εἶπεν ός οἱ λόγοις
μὴ χρώμενοι πολλοίς οὔδὲ νόμων δέονται πολλῶν.

2 Ἀρχιδάμιδας δὲ μεμφομένων τινῶν Ἐκαταῖον
tὸν σοφότην ὅτι παραληθεῖς εἰς τὸ συνσίτιον οὗδὲν
ἐλεγεν, "Ὁ εἰδῶς," ἔφη, "λόγον καὶ καίρον οἴδεν.
avras τῶν πικρῶν ἔφην ἀπομμημονεύματων οὐκ

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

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

1 After the manner of men begging their conquerors to spare their lives.
άμοιρεῖν χάριτος, τοιαῦτ’ ἔστι. Δημάρατος ἀνθρώπου ποιηροῦ κόπτοντος αὐτὸν ἄκαλρος ἔρωτήμασι καὶ δὴ τοῦτο πολλάκις ἔρωτῶντος, “Τίς ἄριστος Σπαρτιάτών;” ἐφ’ “Ὁ τίν πολυοίκοτος.”

3 Ἀγις δὲ, ἐπαινοῦντων τινῶν τοὺς Ἡλείους ὡς καλῶς τὰ Ὀλύμπια καὶ δικαίως ἄγοντας, “Καλὲ τί μέγα,” ἐφ’, “Ἡλεῖοι ποιοῦντι δι’ ἐτῶν πέντε ἀμέρα μιᾷ χρόμενοι τὰ δικαιοσύνα;” Θεότομπος δὲ ἐνοῦ τινὸς εὐνοιαν ἐνδείκυμένου, καὶ φάσκοντος ὡς πορὰ τοῖς αὐτοὶ πολλάκιας φιλολάκων καλεῖται, “Κάλλιον Ἰν τοι,” εἶπεν, “ὡς ἕνε, φιλο-


5 “Ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ τοῖς μετὰ παιδιὰς εἰρημένοις ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τεκμήρισθαι τὸν ἐθισμόν. εἰδοίχοιτι γὰρ μηδέποτε χρῆσαι τῷ λόγῳ παρέργος, μηδὲ ἀφίεναι φωνὴν ἡς οὐκ ἀμός γε πὼς εἰχὲ τινὸς θεωρίας ἄξιαν διάνοιαν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀκούσαι τοῦ μμομουμένου τὴν ἀγώνα παρακαλουμένος, “Ἀυτᾶς,” ἐφ’, “ἀκουκα τήνα.” ὁ δὲ ἀναγνωστὸ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τούτο:

Σβεβυθύντας ποτὲ τούσδε τυραννίδα χάλκεος Ἀρης εἰλε. Σελυνοῦντος δ’ ἀμφὶ πῦλας ἔθανον,

1 κάλλιον Cobet, van Herwerden; cf. κρεῖσσον Morals, p. 221 e: καλὸν (it were well).

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not devoid of grace, of which I spoke,1 are the following. Demaratus, when a troublesome fellow was pestering him with ill-timed questions, and especially with the oft repeated query who was the best of the Spartans, answered at last: "He who is least like thee." And Agis, when certain ones were praising the Eleians for their just and honourable conduct of the Olympic games, said: "And what great matter is it for the Eleians to practise righteousness one day in five years?" And Theopompus, when a stranger kept saying, as he showed him kindness, that in his own city he was called a lover of Sparta, remarked: "My good Sir, it were better for thee to be called a lover of thine own city." And Pleistocanax, the son of Pausanias, when an Athenian orator declared that the Lacedaemonians had no learning, said: "True, we are indeed the only Hellenes who have learned no evil from you." And Archidamus, when some one asked him how many Spartans there were, replied: "Enough, good Sir, to keep evil men away."

And even from their jests it is possible to judge of their character. For it was their wont never to talk at random, and to let slip no speech which had not have some thought or other worth serious attention. For instance, when one of them was invited to hear a man imitate the nightingale, he said: "I have heard the bird herself." And another, on reading the epitaph:—

"Tyranny's fires they were trying to quench when panoplied Ares
Slew them; Selinus looked down from her gates on their death,"

1 Chapter xix. 1.

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XXI. 'Ἡ δὲ περὶ τὰς φίδας καὶ τὰ μέλη παί 53 δεισὶς οὐχ ἦτον ἑσπονδάζετο τῆς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις εὐξηλίας καὶ καθαριότητος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μέλη κέντρου εἶχεν ἐγερτικὸν θυμοῦ καὶ παραστατικὸν ὀρμῆς ἐνθουσιώδους καὶ πραγματικῆς, καὶ ἡ λέξις ἢν ἀφελῆς καὶ ἀθρυπτός ἐπὶ πράγμασι σεμνοῖς καὶ ἡθοποιοῖς. ἐπαινοῦ γὰρ ἦσαν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τῶν τεθνηκότων ὑπὲρ τῆς Σπάρτης εὐθαίμουνιζο- μένων, καὶ ψόγοι τῶν τρεσάντων, ὡς ἀλγεινὸν καὶ κακοδαίμονα βιούντων βίον, ἐπαγγελία τε καὶ μεγαλαυχία πρὸς ἅρετην πρέπουσα ταῖς ἡλικίαις· 2 ὁν ἐνεκα δείγματος οὐ χείρον ἔστιν ἐν τι προ- ενέγκασθαι. τριῶν γὰρ χορῶν κατὰ τὰς τρεῖς ἡλικίας συμμετέχοντων ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς, ὡ μὲν τῶν γερόντων ἀρχόμενος ἤδεν.

"Αμμες πόκ' ἢμες ἅλκιμοι νεανίαι.

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said: "The men deserved to die; they should have let the fires burn out entirely." And a youth, when some one promised to give him game-cocks that would die fighting, said, "Don't do that, but give me some of the kind that kill fighting." Another, seeing men seated on stools in a privy, said: "May I never sit where I cannot give place to an elder." The character of their apophthegms, then, was such as to justify the remark that love of wisdom rather than love of bodily exercise was the special characteristic of a Spartan.

XXI. Nor was their training in music and poetry any less serious a concern than the emulous purity of their speech, nay, their very songs had a stimulus that roused the spirit and awoke enthusiastic and effectual effort; the style of them was simple and unaffected, and their themes were serious and edifying. They were for the most part praises of men who had died for Sparta, calling them blessed and happy; censure of men who had played the coward, picturing their grievous and ill-starred life; and such promises and boasts of valour as befitted the different ages. Of the last, it may not be amiss to cite one, by way of illustration. They had three choirs at their festivals, corresponding to the three ages, and the choir of old men would sing first:—

"We once did deeds of prowess and were strong young men."
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ο δὲ τῶν ἀκμαζόντων ἀμειβόμενος ἔλεγεν:
'Αμμες δὲ γ' εἰμέν· αἱ δὲ λῆς, αὐγάσδεο.¹
ο δὲ τρίτος ο τῶν παιδῶν
'Αμμες δὲ γ' ἐσσόμεσθα πολλῷ κάρρονες.

3 "Ολως δὲ ἀν τις ἑπιστήσας τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς
ποιήμασιν, ὃν ἦτο καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔνια διεσώζετο, καὶ
toûς ἐμβατηρίους ὑμθούς ἄναλαβών, οἷς ἔχρωντο
πρὸς τὸν αὐλὸν ἐπάγουτε τοῖς πολέμοις, οὗ
καλῶς ἡγήσατο καὶ τὸν Τέρπανδρον καὶ τὸν
Πίνδαρον τὴν ἀνδρείαν τῇ μουσικῇ συνάπτειν.
ὁ μὲν γὰρ οὔτως πεποίηκε περὶ τῶν Λακεδαι-
μοιῶν:
'Ενθ' αἰχμά τε νέων θάλλει καὶ μοῦσα λίγεια
καὶ δίκα εὐρυάγμα — —

4 Πίνδαρος δὲ φησιν:
'Ενθ' θυμαλα γερόντων
καὶ νέων ἀνδρῶν ἀριστεύοντι αἰχμαί
καὶ χοροὶ καὶ Μοῦσα καὶ ἀγαλαία.

Μουσικώτατος γὰρ ἀμα καὶ πολεμικώτατος
ἀποφαίνουσιν αὐτούς:
'Ρέπει ² γὰρ ἄντα τὸ σιδάρῳ τὸ καλὸς κι
θαρίσδεν,
ὡς ὁ Λακωνικὸς ποιητὴς εἰρήκη. καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς
μάχαις προεθύνετο ταῖς Μοῦσαις ὁ βασιλεύς,
ἀναμμυνῆσκων, ὡς ἔοικε, τῆς παιδείας καὶ τῶν

¹ αὐγάσδεο Cobet, as in Morals, pp. 238 b, 544 e, and S
(first hand): πείπαν λάβε (come take a try).
Lyr. Gr. iii. 4 p. 51 (Alcman, Frag. 35).

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Then the choir of young men would respond:—

"We are so now, and if you wish, behold and see."

And then the third choir, that of the boys, would sing:—

"We shall be sometime mightier men by far than both."

In short, if one studies the poetry of Sparta, of which some specimens were still extant in my time, and makes himself familiar with the marching songs which they used, to the accompaniment of the flute, when charging upon their foes, he will conclude that Terpander and Pindar were right in associating valour with music. The former writes thus of the Lacedaemonians:—

"Flourish there both the spear of the brave and the
Muse's clear message,
Justice, too, walks the broad streets——."

And Pindar says:—¹

"There are councils of Elders,
And young men's conquering spears,
And dances, the Muse, and joyousness."

The Spartans are thus shown to be at the same time most musical and most warlike;

"In equal poise to match the sword hangs the sweet
art of the harpist,"*

as their poet says. For just before their battles, the king sacrificed to the Muses, reminding his warriors, as it would seem, of their training, and of the firm

¹ Fragment 199, Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Gr. i. p. 448.
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κρίσεων, ἵνα ὡςι πρόχειροι παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ λόγου τινὸς ἄξιας παρέχωσι τὰς πράξεις τῶν μαχομένων.

XXII. Τότε δὲ καὶ τοῖς νέοις τὰ σκληρότατα τῆς ἀγωγῆς ἐπανείνετε, οὐκ ἐκώλυν αὐτοκράτες, ἐκ τοῖς κόμην καὶ κόσμων ὁπλων καὶ ἰματίων, χαίροντες, ὡσπερ ἵπποις, γαυρίσει καὶ φρωτομένοι πρὸς τοὺς ἀγώνας. διὸ κομώντες εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἐφήβων ἧλικίας, μάλιστα περὶ τοὺς κινδύνους ἔθεράπευον τὴν κόμην λυπαρὰς τε φαίνεσθαι καὶ διακεκριμένην, ἀπομημονεύοντές τινα καὶ Δυκόουργον λόγον περὶ τῆς κόμης, ὅτι τοὺς μὲν καλὸν ἐνυπεπεστέρους ποιεῖ, τοὺς δὲ αἰσχροὺς φοβερωτέρους. ἔχρωντο δὲ καὶ γυμνασίους μαλακωτέρους παρὰ τὰς στρατείας, καὶ τὴν ἀλλὴν δίαιταν οὐχ οὖτῳ κεκολοσμεῖναν οὐδὲ ὑποεύθυνον τοῖς νέοις παρεῖχον, ὡστε μόνον ἀνθρώπων ἐκείνω τῆς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀσκήσεως ἀνάπαυσιν εἶναι τὸν πόλεμον. ἥδη δὲ συντεταγμένης τῆς φάλαγγος αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν πολεμίων παρόντων, ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄμα τὴν τε χώμαιραν ἐσφαιριζέτο καὶ στεφανωῦσθαι παρῆγγελλε πάσι καὶ τοὺς αὐθητὰς αὐλείων ἔκέλευε τὸ Καστόρειον μέλος.

3 ἢμα δὲ ἐξήρχετο ἐμβαθριῶν παῖδος, ὡστε σεμνὴν ἀμα καὶ καταπληκτικὴν τὴν ὤψιν εἶναι, ὡμοῦ τε πρὸς τῶν αὐλῶν ἐμβαινόντων καὶ μήτε διάστασι ποιούστων ἐν τῇ φάλαγγι μῆτε ταῖς ψυχαῖς θορυβουμένων, ἄλλα πράσι καὶ ἱλαρῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ μέλους ἁγομένων ἐπὶ τὸν κίνδυνον. οὔτε γὰρ φόβον οὔτε θυμὸν ἐγγίνεσθαι πλεονάζοντα

1 παρόντων MSS., Coraës, Sintenis, and Bekker: ὑφόντων (in the sight of), with Xenophon, Reip. Lac. xiii. 8.

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decisions they had made, in order that they might be prompt to face the dread issue, and might perform such martial deeds as would be worthy of some record.¹

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

¹ The Greek of this sentence is obscure, and the translation doubtful.
Δημήτριος, ουδέμιας ἄφρομον πολεμικής πράξεως ἐν εἰρήνῃ καταστήσασθαι τὴν πολεμίαν.

2. Εἴοικε δὲ καὶ τῆς Ὀλυμπιακῆς ἐκεχειρίας ἡ ἐπίνοια πράον καὶ πρὸς εἰρήνην οἰκείως ἔχουσιν ἀνδρὸς εἶναι. καίτοι φασὶ τινὲς, ὡς Ὂ Ἐρμήππος

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

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

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

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μνημονεύει, τὸν Δυκοὺργον οὗ προσέχειν οὐδὲ κοινωνεῖν ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰφιτον, ἀλλὰ τυγχάνειν ἄλλως ἐπιδημοῦντα καὶ θεώμενον· ἀκούσαι δὲ φωνῆν ὃσπερ ἄνθρωπον τίνος ἔξο- πισθεὶν ἐπιτιμῶντος αὐτῷ καὶ θαυμάζοντος ὅτι τοὺς πολίτας οὗ προτρέπεται κοινωνεῖν τῆς πανη- γύρεως· ὥς δὲ μεταστραφέντος οὐδαμοῦ φανερῶς ὁ θεογιάμενος ἦν, θείον ἡγησάμενον, οὕτω πρὸς τὸν Ἰφιτον τραπέσθαι καὶ συνδικασμήσαντα τὴν ἑορτήν ἐνδοξοτέραν καὶ βεβαιοτέραν κατα- στήσαι.

XXIV. Ἡ δὲ παιδεία μέχρι τῶν ἐνηλίκων διέ- τεινεν. οὐδές γὰρ ἦν ἄφεωμενός ὡς ἐβουλεύσαι δὴ, ἀλλὰ οἶνον ἐν στρατοπέδῳ τῇ πόλει καὶ διαίτην ἔχοντες ὀρισμένην καὶ διατριβὴν περὶ τὰ κοινά, καὶ ὅλους νομίζοντες οὐχ αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τῆς πατρί- δος εἶναι διετέλου, εἰ μὴ τι πράττειν ἔτερον εἰς προστεταγμένον, ἔπισκοποῦντες τοὺς παίδας, καὶ διδάσκοντες τι τῶν χρησίμων ἢ μαθήματες ἡμῶν· 2 αὐτοὶ παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ τούτῳ τῶν καλῶν ἦν καὶ μακαρίων ἡ παρεσκεύασθε τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ πολίταις ὁ Δυκοὺργος, ἀφθονία σχο- λῆς, οἷς τέχνης μὲν ἀψάθαι βαναύσου τὸ παρά- παν ὑπὸ ἐφεύτω, χρηματισμοῦ δὲ συναγωγῆς ἔχοντος ἐργάδη καὶ πραγματεεῖν οὐδὲ ὄτιον ἔδει, διὰ τὸ κομιδῇ τὸν πλούτον ἄξιον γεγονέναι καὶ ἐγίνοντες τῇ τήν γῆν ἀποφοράν τὴν εἰρήμενήν τελοῦντες. ἐπίδημοι δὲ τῆς Ἀθῆνας δικαστήριων ὅτεν, καὶ πυθόμενος ἔτειν τίνα δίκην ἀργίας ἀφιληκότα βαδίζειν ἀθυμοῦντα.
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Hermippus reminds us, that at the outset Lycurgus had nothing whatever to do with Iphitus and his enterprise, but happened to come that way by chance, and be a spectator at the games; that he heard behind him, however, what seemed to be a human voice, chiding him and expressing amazement that he did not urge his fellow-citizens to take part in the great festival; and since, on turning round, he did not see the speaker anywhere, he concluded that the voice was from heaven, and therefore betook himself to Iphitus, and assisted him in giving the festival a more notable arrangement and a more enduring basis.

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

1 Chapter viii. 4.
καὶ προτεμπόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων συναχθομένων καὶ βαρέως φερόντων, ἐδείτο δείξας τοὺς συμπαρόντας αὐτῷ τὶς ἐστὶν ὁ τὴν ἐλευθερίας ἕαλωκὼς δίκην. οὕτω δουλοπρεπὲς ἥγοιντο τὴν περὶ τάς τέχνας καὶ τὸν χρηματισμὸν ἀσχολίαν. δικαὶ δὲ, ὡς εἰκός, ἐξέλισσον ἁμα τῷ νομίσματι, μήτε πλεονεξίας μήτε ἀπορίας αὐτοῦς παροῦσης, ἵσοτετος δὲ ἐν εὐπορίᾳ καὶ ῥαστώνης δὲ εὐτέλειαις γεγενημένης. χορὸ δὲ καὶ θαλίαν καὶ εὐωχίαν καὶ διατριβαὶ περὶ τε θῆρας καὶ γυμνάσια καὶ λέσχας τὸν ἀπαντα χρόνον ἐπεχωρίαζον, ὅτε μὴ στρατευόμενοι τύχοιεν.

XXV. Οἱ μὲν γε νεώτεροι τριάκοντα ἔτων τὸ παράπαν οὕτω κατέβαινον εἰς ἀγορᾶν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ τῶν ἔραστῶν ἐποιοῦντο τὰς ἀναγκαίας οἰκονομίας. τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους αἰσχρὸν ἢ συνεχῶς ὀρᾶσθαι περὶ ταύτα διατριβοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς ἡμέρας περὶ τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ τὰς καλουμένας λέσχας ἀναστρέφεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ εἰς ταύτας συνιστᾶτε ἐπιεικῶς ἐσχόλαζον μετ’ ἀλλήλων, οὐδὲνος μεμνημένοι τῶν πρὸς χρηματισμὸν ἢ χρείαν ἀγοραῖον συντε-λούντων. ἀλλὰ τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς τοιοῦτης διατριβῆς ἔργον ἐπαινεῖν τι τῶν καλῶν, ἢ τῶν αἰσχρῶν ψέγειν, μετὰ παιδιᾶς καὶ γέλωτος, ἐλαφρῶς ὑποφέροντος εἰς νουθεσίαν καὶ διόρθωσιν. οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἢν ἄκριτως αὐστηρὸς ὁ Διο-κύρρης ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Γέλωτος ἀγαλμάτιον ἐκεῖνον ἐνδύσασθαι Σωσίβιος ἱστορεῖ, τὴν παι- δίαν ὕπτερ ἤδυσμα τοῦ πόλου καὶ τῆς διάντης

1 ἐλευθερίας, Sintenis with Coraës, after Bryan; ἐλευθερίαν MSS., Sintenis, and Bekker.

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Athenian had been fined for idleness and was going home in great distress of mind and attended on his way by sympathetic and sorrowing friends, begged the bystanders to show him the man who had been fined for living like a freeman. So servile a thing did they regard the devotion to the mechanical arts and to money-making. And law-suits, of course, vanished from among them with their gold and silver coinage, for they knew neither greed nor want, but equality in well-being was established there, and easy living based on simple wants. Choral dances and feasts and festivals and hunting and bodily exercise and social converse occupied their whole time, when they were not on a military expedition.

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

1 Places where men assembled for conversation.
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ἐμβαλόντα κατὰ καίρὸν εἰς τὰ συμπόσια καὶ τὰς τοιαύτας διατριβάς.

3  Τὸ δὲ ὅλον εἰδίχε τοὺς πολίτας μὴ βούλεσθαι μηδὲ ἐπίστασθαι κατ’ ἰδίαιν ξῆν, ἀλλ’ ὀστερ τὰς μελίττας τῷ κοινῷ συμφείς δύτας αἰεὶ καὶ μετ’ ἀλλήλων εἰλουμένους περὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα, μικρὸν δεῖν ἐξεστώτας ἐαυτῶν ὑπ' ἐνθουσιασμὸ καὶ φιλοτιμίας, ὅλους εἶναι τῆς πατρίδος· ὡς ἔστι καὶ φωναίς τισιν αὐτῶν ἀποθεωρήσαι τὴν διά-

4 νοιαν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Παιδάρητος οὐκ ἐγκριθεὶς εἰς τοὺς τριακοσίους ἀπῆκε μάλα φαινότως, ὀστερ πρὸς τοὺς χαίρων ὅτι βελτίωνας αὐτοῦ τριακοσίους ἡ πόλις ἔχει· Πολυκρατίδας δὲ ὁ προσβεσθεὶς πρὸς τοὺς βασιλέως στρατηγοὺς ἔτερων, ἔρομένων αὐ-

5 τῶν πότεροι ἵππα κατέρρουν ἡ δημοσία πεμφθέντες, εἶπεν, “Ἄικα τύχωμεν, δημοσία, ἀικα ἀποτύ-

χωμεν, ἵδια.” ὡς ὣς ἐνικόμενοι τινες εἰς Δακεδαίμονα τῶν ἐξ Ἀμφιπόλεως εἰσῆλθον πρὸς αὐτὴν, ἦρωτησαν εἰ

καλὸς ὁ Βρασίδας ἀπέβαρε καὶ τὰς Σπάρτας ἀξίους· μεγαλυκόντων δὲ ἐκείνων τῶν ἄνδρων καὶ

λεγόντων ὡς οὐκ ἔχει τοιοῦτον ἄλλον ἡ Σπάρτη· “Μὴ λέγετε,” εἶπεν, “ὁ ἔνοι καλὸς μὲν γὰρ

ἂν καὶ ἀγάθος ὁ Βρασίδας, πολλοὶ δὲ ἄνδρας

Δακεδαίμων ἔχει τὴνού κάρρονας.”

XXVI. Τοὺς δὲ γέροντας αὐτὸς μὲν, ὡς εἰρηται, κατέστησε τὸ πρώτον ἐκ τῶν μετασχόντων τοῦ βουλεύματος· ὀστερον δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ τελευτῶντος ἐτάξε καθιστάναι τῶν ἀριστῶν ἀρετῆς κριθέντα τῶν ὑπὲρ ἐξήκουσαν ἐτη γεγονότων. καὶ μέγιστος
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diversions, to sweeten, as it were, their hardships and meagre fare.

In a word, he trained his fellow-citizens to have neither the wish nor the ability to live for themselves; but like bees they were to make themselves always integral parts of the whole community, clustering together about their leader, almost beside themselves with enthusiasm and noble ambition, and to belong wholly to their country. This idea can be traced also in some of their utterances. For instance, Paedaretus, when he failed to be chosen among the three hundred best men, went away with a very glad countenance, as if rejoicing that the city had three hundred better men than himself. And again, Polycratidas, one of an embassy to the generals of the Persian king, on being asked by them whether the embassy was there in a private or a public capacity, replied: "If we succeed, in a public capacity; if we fail, in a private." Again, Argileonis, the mother of Brasidas, when some Amphipolitans who had come to Sparta paid her a visit, asked them if Brasidas had died nobly and in a manner worthy of Sparta. Then they greatly extolled the man and said that Sparta had not such another, to which she answered: "Say not so, Strangers; Brasidas was noble and brave, but Sparta has many better men than he."

XXVI. The senators were at first appointed by Lycurgus himself, as I have said,¹ from those who shared his counsels; but afterwards he arranged that any vacancy caused by death should be filled by the man elected as most deserving out of those above sixty years of age. And of all the contests in

¹ Chapter v. 7 f.
διδάκτου τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώπως ἀγώνων οὐτος εἶναι καὶ περιμαχητότατος· οὐ γὰρ ἐν ταχέσι τάχιστον οὖν ἐν ἰσχυρὸς ἰσχυρότατον, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀγαθοῖς καὶ σῶφροσιν ἀριστος καὶ σωφρονέστατον ἔδει κριθέντα υικητήριον ἔχειν τῆς ἄρετῆς διὰ βίου τὸ σύμπαν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, κράτος ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, κύριον ὄντα καὶ θανάτου καὶ ἀτμίας καὶ ὅλως τῶν 2 μεγίστων. ἔγινετο δὲ ἡ κρίσις τόνδε τῶν τρόπων. ἐκκλησίας ἀθροισθείσης ἄνδρες αἱρετοὶ καθείργυντο πλησίον εἰς οἴκημα, τὴν μὲν ὅψιν ὄνοχ ὀρῶντες οὖν ὅρωμενοι, τὴν δὲ κραυγὴν μοῦν ἀκούοντες ἐκκλησιαζόντων. ὑπ' γὰρ ὡς τὰλλα καὶ τοὺς ἀμμιλλωμένους ἕκρινον, ὄν ὢμοῦ πάντων, ἀλλ' ἐκάστου κατὰ κλήρου εἰςαγομένου καὶ σιωπῆ 3 διαπορευμένου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. ἔχοντες οὖν οἱ κατάκλειστοι γραμματεῖα, καθ' ἐκάστον ἐπεσημαίνοντο τῆς κραυγῆς τὸ μέγεθος, οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτι γένοιτο, πλὴν ὅτι πρῶτος ἡ δεύτερος ἡ τρίτος ἡ ὀπροστοσύνει τῇ τῶν εἰςαγομένων. ὅτῳ δὲ πλείστη γένοιτο καὶ μεγίστη, τοῦτον ἀνηγόρευον. ὁ δὲ στεφανωσάμενος περιήγη τοὺς θεούς· εἴποντο δὲ πολλοὶ νέοι ξηλούντες τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ μεγαλύνοντες, πολλαὶ τε γυναῖκες ἐγκωμιάζουσας δι' ἓδης τὴν ἄρετὴν καὶ τὸν βίον εὐδαιμονίζουσα.
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the world this would seem to have been the greatest and the most hotly disputed. For it was not the swiftest of the swift, nor the strongest of the strong, but the best and wisest of the good and wise who was to be elected, and have for the rest of his life, as a victor's prize for excellence, what I may call the supreme power in the state, lord as he was of life and death, honour and dishonour, and all the greatest issues of life. The election was made in the following manner. An assembly of the people having been convened, chosen men were shut up in a room near by so that they could neither see nor be seen, but only hear the shouts of the assembly. For as in other matters, so here, the cries of the assembly decided between the competitors. These did not appear in a body, but each one was introduced separately, as the lot fell, and passed silently through the assembly. Then the secluded judges, who had writing-tablets with them, recorded in each case the loudness of the shouting, not knowing for whom it was given, but only that he was introduced first, second, or third, and so on. Whoever was greeted with the most and loudest shouting, him they declared elected. The victor then set a wreath upon his head and visited in order the temples of the gods. He was followed by great numbers of young men, who praised and extolled him, as well as by many women, who celebrated his excellence in songs, and dwelt on the happiness of his life. Each of his relations and friends set a repast before him, saying: "The city honours thee with this table." When he had finished his circuit, he went off to his mess-table. Here he fared in other ways as usual, but a second portion of food was set before him,
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παρατεθείσης ἐφύλαττεν ἀράμενος· καὶ μετὰ τὸ
δείπνον ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις τοῦ φιδιτίου τῶν οἰκείων
παρουσών γυναικῶν, ἢν μάλιστα τυγχάνοι τιμῶν
προσεκαλεῖτο, καὶ διδοῦσ τὴν μοίραν ἔλεγεν ὅτι
ταύτῃν αὐτὸς λαβὼν ἀριστεῖον ἐκείνη δίδωσιν,
ὡστε κακείνην ξηλουμένην ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων προ-
πέμπτεσθαι γυναικῶν.

XXVII. Καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς
ἀρισταὶ διεκόσμησεν αὐτοῖς. ¹ πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ
ἀνελὼν δεσιδαιμονίαν ἀπασαν ἐν τῇ πόλει
θάπτειν τοὺς νεκροὺς, καὶ πλησίον ἔχειν τὰ μνή-
ματα τῶν ἱερῶν οὐκ ἐκώλυσε, συντρόφους ποιῶν
taῖς τοιαύταις ὅψει καὶ συνήθεις τοῖς νέοις,
ὡστε μὴ ταράττεσθαι μὴν ὀρρωδεῖν τὸν τάφαν
ὡς μαίνοντά τους ἄψαμένους νεκροί σώματος ἢ
diὰ τάφον διελθόντας. ἔπειτα συνθάπτειν οὐδὲν
εἴασεν, ἀλλὰ ἐν φοινικίδι καὶ φύλλοις ἐλαίας
2 θέντες τὸ σῶμα περιέστελλον. ἐπιγράψαι δὲ
τοὺνομα θάραςτας οὐκ ἐξῆν τοὺς νεκροὺς, πλὴν
ἀνδρὸς ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ γυναῖκος τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπο-
θανόντων. χρόνου δὲ πένθους ὅλοις προσώρισεν,
ἡμέρας ἐνώπιον τῇ δὲ διδακάτῃ θύσασθας ἔδει
Δήμητρι λύειν τὸ πάθος. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἢν ἄργον
οὐδὲ ἄφειμένον, ἀλλὰ πάσι κατεμέγινυ τοῖς
ἀναγκαίοις ἅρτης τινα ζῆλον ἢ κακίας διαβολήν·
καὶ κατεπύκνου παραδειγμάτων πλήθει τὴν
πόλιν, οἷς ἀναγκαίον ἢν ἐντυγχάνοντας ἀεὶ καὶ
συντρέφομένους ἁγεσθαι καὶ κατασχηματίζεσθαι
ἵοντας πρὸς τὸ καλὸν.

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

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

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3. "Οθεν ούδ' ἀποδημεῖν ἔδωκε τοὺς βούλομένους καὶ πλανᾶσθαι, ξενικὰ συνάγοντας ἥθη καὶ μιμήματα βίων ἀπαιδεύτων καὶ πολιτευμάτων διαφόρων. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀθροίζομένους ἐπ' οὐδεὶς χρησίμῳ καὶ παρεισφέροντας εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπήλαυνεν, οὕτως ὡς Θουκυδίδης φησί, δεδιώκες μὴ τῇς πολιτείας μιμηταί γένονται καὶ πρὸς ἀρετὴν τὸ χρήσιμον ἑκμάθωσιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὅπως μὴ

4. διδάσκαλοι κακοῦ τινος ὑπάρξωσιν. ἀμα γὰρ ξένους σώμασιν ἀνάγκη λόγους ἐπεισεῖναι ξένους· λόγοι δὲ καινοὶ κρίσεις καινὰς ἐπιφέρονσιν. ἦξ ὁ ἀνάγκη πάθη πολλὰ φύσει καὶ προαιρείσεις ἀπαδοῦσα πρὸς τὴν καθεστῶσαν πολιτείαν, ὡςπερ ἀρμοί. διδ μᾶλλον ζετο χρῆσαι φυλάττειν τὴν πόλιν ὅπως ἦθων οὐκ ἀναπλησθήσεται πονηρῶν ἢ σωμάτων νοσερῶν ἐξωθεὶν ἐπεισιόντων.

XXVIII. Ἐν μὲν οὖν τούτως οὐδὲν ἔστων ἀδικίας ἵνα σοῦ οὐδὲ πλεονεξίας, ἢν ἐγκαλοῦσιν ἐνιοῦ τοὺς Δυκούργου νόμοις, ὡς ἰκανῶς ἔχουσι πρὸς ἀνδρείαν, ἐνδέως δὲ πρὸς δικαιοσύνην. ἢ δὲ καλομενὴ κρυφτεῖα παρ' αὐτοῖς, εἰ γε δὴ τοῦτο τῶν Δυκούργου πολιτευμάτων ἔν ἔστων, ὡς Αριστοτέλης ἱστορήκε, ταύτην ἄν εἰ ἂν καὶ τῷ Πλάτωνι περὶ τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρός ἐνειργασμένη δόξαιν. ἣν δὲ τοιαύτῃ τῶν νεών οἱ ἀρχοντες διὰ χρόνου τοὺς μάλιστα νοῦν ἔχειν δοκοῦντας εἰς τὴν χώραν ἄλλως ἐξέπεμπον, ἔχουσαν ἐγχειρίδια καὶ τροφὴν ἀναγκαίαν ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν οἱ δὲ μὲθ' ἥμεραν μὲν εἰς ἁσυνδήλους διασπειρόμενοι τόπους, ἀπέκρυπτον ἑαυτοὺς καὶ
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This was the reason why he did not permit them to live abroad at their pleasure and wander in strange lands, assuming foreign habits and imitating the lives of peoples who were without training and lived under different forms of government. Nay more, he actually drove away from the city the multitudes which streamed in there for no useful purpose, not because he feared they might become imitators of his form of government and learn useful lessons in virtue, as Thucydides says, but rather that they might not become in any wise teachers of evil. For along with strange people; strange doctrines must come in; and novel doctrines bring novel decisions, from which there must arise many feelings and resolutions which destroy the harmony of the existing political order. Therefore he thought it more necessary to keep bad manners and customs from invading and filling the city than it was to keep out infectious diseases.

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

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

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ἀνεπαύωντο, νῦκτωρ δὲ κατιόντες εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς
3 τῶν εἰλώτων τὸν ἀλισκόμενον ἀπέσφαττον. πολ-
λάκες δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄγροις ἐπιπορευόμενοι τοὺς
ῥωμαλεωτάτους καὶ κρατίστους αὐτῶν ἀνήρουν.
ὧστε καὶ Θουκυδίδης ἐν τοῖς Πελοποννησιακοῖς
ιστορεῖ τοὺς ἐπ' ἄνδρεία προκριθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν
Σπαρτιατῶν στεφανώσασθαι μὲν ὡς ἐλευθέρους
5 γεγονότας καὶ περελθεῖν τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἱερά,
μικρὸν δὲ ὦστερον ἀπανταὶ ἀφανεῖς γενέσθαι,
πλεῖονας ἢ δισχιλίους ὄντας, ὡς μὴ παραχρήμα
μήτε ὦστερον ἐχεῖν τινὰ λέγειν ὅτ' ἐτοὶ
4 διεφθάρησαν. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ μάλιστα φησι
καὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους, ὅταν εἰς τὴν ἄρχην καταστώσι
πρῶτον, τοῖς εἰλωσὶ καταγγέλλειν πόλεμον,
ὅπως εὐαγές ἢ τὸ ἄνελεῖν.

Καὶ τάλλα δὲ τραχέως προσεφέροντο καὶ
σκληρῶς αὐτοῖς, ὡστε καὶ πίνειν ἀναγκάζοντες
πολὺν ἄκρατον εἰς τὰ συσσίτα παρεισῆγον, ἔπι-
δεικνύμενοι τὸ μεθύειν οἷον ἐστὶ τοῖς νέοις. καὶ
φίδας ἐκέλευον ἄδειον καὶ χορείας χορεύειν ἀγεννεῖς
καὶ καταγελάστους, ἀπέχεσθαι δὲ τῶν ἐλευθέρων.

5 διὸ καὶ φασίν ὦστερον ἐν τῇ Θηβαίῳ εἰς τὴν
Δακωνικήν στρατεία τοὺς ἀλισκόμενους εἴλωτας
κελευμένους ἄδειον τὰ Τερπάνδρου καὶ Ἀλκμάνος
καὶ Σπένδοντος τοῦ Δάκωνος παραπείτεσθαι, φα-
σκοντας οὐκ ἐθέλειν τοὺς δεσποσύνους. ὡστε τοὺς
λέγοντας, ἐν Δακεδαίμονι καὶ τὸν ἐλεύθερον μά-
λιστα ἐλεύθερον εἶναι καὶ τὸν δουλὸν μάλιστα

1 τοῖς ἄγροις MSS. (incl. S): τούς ἄγρους after Coraës.
2 ὅτ' Cobet, cf. Thuc. iv. 80, 4: τῇ.
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where they hid themselves and lay quiet; but in the night they came down into the highways and killed every Helot whom they caught. Oftentimes, too, they actually traversed the fields where Helots were working and slew the sturdiest and best of them. So, too, Thucydides, in his history of the Peloponnesian war,¹ tells us that the Helots who had been judged by the Spartans to be superior in bravery, set wreaths upon their heads in token of their emancipation, and visited the temples of the gods in procession, but a little while afterwards all disappeared, more than two thousand of them, in such a way that no man was able to say, either then or afterwards, how they came by their deaths. And Aristotle in particular says also that the ephors, as soon as they came into office, made formal declaration of war upon the Helots, in order that there might be no impiety in slaying them.

And in other ways also they were harsh and cruel to the Helots. For instance, they would force them to drink too much strong wine, and then introduce them into their public messes, to show the young men what a thing drunkenness was. They also ordered them to sing songs and dance dances that were low and ridiculous, but to let the nobler kind alone. And therefore in later times, they say, when the Thebans made their expedition into Laconia,² they ordered the Helots whom they captured to sing the songs of Terpander, Alcman, and Spendon the Spartan; but they declined to do so, on the plea that their masters did not allow it, thus proving the correctness of the saying: “In Sparta the freeman is more a freeman than anywhere else in the world,

¹ iv. 80.  ² Under Epaminondas, 369 B.C.
δούλων, ού φαύλως τεθεωρηκέναι τήν διαφοράν.
6 τάς μὲν οὖν τοιαύτας χαλεπότητας ύστερον ἐγ-
γενέσθαι, τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις νομίζω, μάλιστα μετά
τοῦ μέγαν σεισμόν, ὃ συνεπιθέσθαι τούς εἴλωτας
μετὰ Μεσσηνίων ἱστορούσι, καὶ πλείστα κακά
τὴν χώραν ἐργάσασθαι καὶ μέγιστον τῇ πόλει
περιστῆσαι κίνδυνον. οὖ γὰρ ἄν ἔγωγε προσθέθην
Δυκούργῳ μιαρὸν οὔτω τῆς κρυπτείας έργον ἀπὸ
tῆς ἀλλής αὐτοῦ πραοτητος καὶ δικαιοσύνης
tεκμαιρόμενος τὸν τρόπον, ὃ καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον
ἐπεμαρτύρησε.

XXIX. Κατειλημμένων δὲ τοῖς ἐθισμοῖς ἦδη
τῶν κυριωτάτων ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῆς πολιτείας
ἐκτεθραμμένης ἰκανὸς καὶ δυναμένης φέρειν εαυ-
τὴν καὶ σώξειν δι᾽ ἐαυτῆς, ὅσπερ ὁ Πλάτων
φησιν ἐπὶ τῷ κόσμῳ γενομένῳ καὶ κυνηθέντι τὴν
πρώτην κίνησιν εὐφρανθῆναι τὸν θεὸν, οὕτως
ἀγαθεῖς καὶ ἀγαπήσας τὸ τῆς νομοθεσίας κάλ-
λος καὶ μέγεθος ἐν ἔργῳ γενομένης καὶ ὅδῷ βαδι-
ζούσης, ἐπεθύμησεν, ὅς ἀνυστόν ἐξ ἀνθρωπίνης
προνοίας, ἀθάνατον αὐτὴν ἀπολυπεῖν καὶ ἀκίνητον
2 εἰς τὸ μέλλον. συναγαγὼν οὖν ἀπαντᾷς εἰς ἐκ-
κλησίαν, τὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ μετρώς ἔχειν ἐφή καὶ
ἰκανῶς πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν καὶ ἀρετὴν τῆς πόλεως,
ὅ δὲ κυριωτάτον ἐστὶ καὶ μέγιστον οὐκ ἂν ἐξε-
νεγκεῖν πρότερον πρὸς αὐτοῦς ἡ χρήσασθαι τῷ
θεῷ. δεῖν οὖν ἐκείνους ἐμμένειν τοῖς καθεστώσι
νόμοις καὶ μηδὲν ἀλλάσσειν μηδὲ μετακινεῖν ἕως
ἐπάνεισιν ἐκ Δελφῶν αὐτοῦ· ἐπανελθῶν γὰρ ὁ τι

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and the slave more a slave.” However, in my opinion, such cruelties were first practised by the Spartans in later times, particularly after the great earthquake, when the Helots and Messenians together rose up against them, wrought the widest devastation in their territory, and brought their city into the greatest peril. I certainly cannot ascribe to Lycurgus so abominable a measure as the “krup-teia,” judging of his character from his mildness and justice in all other instances. To this the voice of the god also bore witness.²

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

¹ 464 B.C. Cf. Plutarch’s Cimon, xvi.
² See chapter v. 3. ³ Timaeus, p. 37 c.
3 ἀν τῷ θεῷ δοκῇ ποιήσειν. ὁμολογούντων δὲ πάντων καὶ κελευόντων βαδίζειν, ὄρκους λαβόν ταράτων βασιλέων καὶ τῶν γερόντων, ἔπειτα παρὰ τῶν ἀλλῶν πολιτῶν, ἐμμενεῖν καὶ χρῆσεθαι τῇ καθεστώσει πολιτείᾳ μέχρις ἀν ἐπανέλθῃ ὁ Δυ-κούργος, ἀπήρεν εἰς Δελφοὺς.

Παραγενόμενος δὲ πρὸς τὸ μαντεῖον καὶ τῷ θεῷ θύσας, ἠρώτησεν εἰ καλῶς οἱ νόμοι καὶ Ἰκανώς πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν καὶ ἀρετὴν πόλεως κείμενοι τυγχάνουσιν. ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοὺς νόμους καλῶς κείσθαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐνδοξοτάτην διαμενεῖν τῇ Δυκούργῳ χρωμένην πολιτεία, τὸ μάντευμα γραψάμενος εἰς Σπάρτην ἀπέστειλεν. αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ θεῷ πάλιν θύσας καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἀστασάμενος καὶ τὸν νιόν, ἔγνω μηκέτι τοῦς πολίτας ἀφεῖναι τὸν ὄρκον, αὐτοῦ δὲ καταλῦσαι τὸν βίον ἐκουσίως, ἡλικίας γεγονός ἐν ἓ καὶ βιοῦν ἔτι καὶ πεπαύσθαι βουλομένους ὡραῖον ἔστι, καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν ἰκανῶς πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν ἔχειν δο-5 κούντων. ἐπελεύσθην οὖν ἀποκαρτηρήσας, ἡγού-μενος χρῆναι τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀνδρῶν μηδὲ τῶν θάνατον ἀπολίτευτων εἶναι μηδὲ ἄργον τὸ τοῦ βίου τέλος, ἄλλ' ἐν ἀρετῆς μερίδι καὶ πράξεως γενόμενον. αὐτῷ τε γὰρ ἐξειργασμένῳ τὰ καλ-λιστὰ τὴν τελευτήν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐπιτελείωσιν εἶναι τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, καὶ τοῖς πολίταις ὅν διὰ τοῦ βίου παρεσκεύασε καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν φύλακα τῶν θάνατον ἀπολέιψειν, ὄμωμοκόσι χρῆσθαι τῇ πο-6 λειτείᾳ μέχρις ἀν ἐκείνος ἐπανέλθῃ. καὶ οὗ διεγεύ-294
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then he would do whatsoever the god thought best. When they all agreed to this and bade him set out on his journey, he exacted an oath from the kings and the senators, and afterwards from the rest of the citizens, that they would abide by the established polity and observe it until Lycurgus should come back; then he set out for Delphi.

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

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σθη τῶν λογισμῶν τοσοῦτον ἐπρώτευσεν ἡ πόλις τῆς Ἐλλάδος εὐνομία καὶ δόξη, χρόνον ἔτων πεντακοσίων τοῖς Λυκούργον χρησαμένη νόμοις, οὔς δεκαεσσάρων βασιλέως μετ᾽ ἐκείνων εἰς Ἀγίων τῶν Ἀρχιδάμου γευμένων οὖν ἐκώθησεν. ἡ γὰρ τῶν ἐφόρων κατάστασις οὐκ ἀνέσις ἦν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπίτατος τῆς πολειτείας, καὶ δοκοῦσα πρὸς τοῦ δήμου γεγονότας σφοδρότεραν ἔποιήσε τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν.

XXX. Ἀγίδος δὲ βασιλεύοντος εἰσερρήθη νόμοις μεγάλων πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην, καὶ μετὰ τοῦ νομίσματος πλεονεξία καὶ πλούτου ξῆλος ἐπέβη διὰ Λύσανδρου, διὸ αὐτὸς ὁ ἄνάλωτος ὑπὸ χρημάτων, ἐνέπλησε τὴν πατρίδα φιλοπλουτίας καὶ τρυφῆς, χρυσὸν καὶ ἀργυρὸν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου καταγαγὼν καὶ τοὺς Λυκούργου καταπολιτευσάμενος νόμους. ὃν ἐπικρατοῦντοι πρῶτον οὐ πόλεως ἡ Σπάρτη πολειτείαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἄνδρος ἀσκητοῦ καὶ σοφοῦ βίου ἔχουσα, μᾶλλον δ᾽, ὅσπερ οἱ ποιηταὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα μυθολογοῦσι δέρμα καὶ ξύλον ἔχοντα τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐπιπερεύεσθαι, κολάζοντα τοὺς παρανόμους καὶ θηριώδεις τυράννους, οὕτως ἡ πόλις ἀπὸ σκυτάλης μιᾶς καὶ τρίβων ἄρχουσα τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἐκουσίς καὶ βουλομένης, κατέλυε τὰς ἀδίκους δυναστείας καὶ τυραννίδας ἐν τοῖς πολιτεύμασι, καὶ πολέμους ἐβράβευε καὶ στάσεις κατέπαυε, πολλάκις οὐδὲ ἀσπίδα κινήσασά μίαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἕνα πέμψασα πρεσβευτὴν, ὁ πάντες εὐθὺς ἐποίοιον τὸ προστασόμενον, ὅσπερ αἱ μέλισσαι φανέντος ἡγεμόνοις, συνερχόντες καὶ κατακοσμούμενοι. τοσοῦτον περιήγη εὐνομία τῇ πόλει καὶ δικαιοσύνης.

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

XXX. But in the reign of Agis, gold and silver money first flowed into Sparta, and with money, greed and a desire for wealth prevailed through the agency of Lysander, who, though incorruptible himself, filled his country with the love of riches and with luxury, by bringing home gold and silver from the war, and thus subverting the laws of Lycurgus. While these remained in force, Sparta led the life, not of a city under a constitution, but of an individual man under training and full of wisdom. Nay rather, as the poets weave their tales of Heracles, how with his club and lion's skin he traversed the world chastising lawless and savage tyrants, so we may say that Sparta, simply with the dispatch-staff and cloak of her envoys, kept Hellas in willing and glad obedience, put down illegal oligarchies and tyrannies in the different states, arbitrated wars, and quelled seditions, often without so much as moving a single shield, but merely sending one ambassador, whose commands all at once obeyed, just as bees, when their leader appears, swarm together and array themselves about him. Such a surplus fund of good government and justice did the city enjoy.
"Othev ἔγωγε θαυμάζω τῶν λεγόντων ὡς ἄρχεσθαι μὲν ἤδεσαν, ἄρχειν δὲ οὐκ ἑπίσταντο Δακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ τὸν Θεσπόμπου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπαινοῦντων λόγον, ὡς, εἰπόντος τινὸς σώζεσθαι τὴν Σπάρτην διὰ τούς βασιλεῖς ἅρχουκας γεγονότας, "Μᾶλλον," εἶπε, "διὰ τοὺς πολίτας πειθαιρχικοὺς ὄντας." ή γὰρ ἀκούειν ὑπομένουσι τῶν προστατεῖν μὴ δυναμένων, ἀλλ' ἡ πειθαρχία μάθημα μὲν ἐστὶν τοῦ ἄρχοντος ἐμποιεῖ γὰρ ὁ καλὸς ἄγων τὸ καλὸς ἔπεσθαι καὶ καθάπερ ἵππηκις τέχνης ἀποτέλεσμα πρᾶον ἵππων καὶ πειθήμων παρασχεῖν, οὕτω βασιλικῆς ἐπιστήμης ἔργων ἀνθρώπους εὐπεθείαν ἐνεργάσασθαι). Δακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐκ εὐπεθείαν, ἀλλ' εἰπθυμίαιν ἐνεργάζοντο τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῦ ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ὑπακουεῖν αὐτοῖς. ἦτον γὰρ οὐ νὰς οὔδὲ χρήματα παρ' αὐτῶν οὔδὲ ὀπλίτας πέμποντες, ἀλλὰ ἐξαί Σπαρτιάτην ἠγεμόνας καὶ λαβόντες ἐχρῶντο μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ δέους, ὡσπερ Γυλίππου Σικέλωται καὶ Βρεσίδα Χαλκιδεῖς, Δυσάνδρφ δὲ καὶ Καλλικράτιδα καὶ Ἀγγειλάρῳ πάντες οἱ τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκοῦντες "Ελλήνες, τοὺς μὲν ἀνδρας ἀρμοτάτας καὶ σωφρονιστάς τῶν ἕκασταχών δήμων καὶ ἁρχώντων ὄνομάζοντες, πρὸς δὲ σύμπασαν τὴν τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν πόλιν ὡσπερ παιδαγωγοῦν ἡ διδάςκαλον εὐσχῆμονος βίον καὶ τεταγμένης πολιτείας ἀποβλέποντες. εἰς δὲ καὶ Στρατόνικος ἐπισκόπαι δοκεῖ, μετὰ παιδίας νομοθετῶν καὶ κελευθ' Ἀθηναίοις ἁγειν μυστήρια καὶ πομπᾶς, Ἡλείους δὲ ἀγωνοθετεῖν, ὡς κάλλιστα τοῦτο ποιοῦντας, Δακεδαιμονίους δὲ, ἀν ἀμαρτάνωσιν 1 τοῦ ἄρχοντος with S: ἄρχοντος.
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Wherefore, I for one am amazed at those who declare that the Lacedaemonians knew how to obey, but did not understand how to command, and quote with approval the story of King Theopompus, who, when some one said that Sparta was safe and secure because her kings knew how to command, replied: "Nay, rather because her citizens know how to obey." For men will not consent to obey those who have not the ability to rule, but obedience is a lesson to be learned from a commander. For a good leader makes good followers, and just as the final attainment of the art of horsemanship is to make a horse gentle and tractable, so it is the task of the science of government to implant obedience in men. And the Lacedaemonians implanted in the rest of the Greeks not only a willingness to obey, but a desire to be their followers and subjects. People did not send requests to them for ships, or money, or hoplites, but for a single Spartan commander; and when they got him, they treated him with honour and reverence, as the Sicilians treated Gylippus; the Chalcidians, Brasidas; and all the Greeks resident in Asia, Lysander, Callicratidas, and Agesilaüs. These men, wherever they came, were styled regulators and chasteners of peoples and magistrates, and the city of Sparta from which they came was regarded as a teacher of well-ordered private life and settled civil polity. To this position of Sparta Stratonicus would seem to have mockingly alluded when, in jest, he proposed a law that the Athenians should conduct mysteries and processions, and that the Eleians should preside at games, since herein lay their special excellence, but that the Lacedaemonians should be cudgelled if the others
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οὗτοι, δέρεσθαι. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν εἰρηται χάριν τού γελοίου. Ἀντισθένης δὲ ὁ Σωκρατικὸς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχης ὁρῶν τοὺς Θηβαῖους μέγα φρονοῦντας, οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ἔφη διαφέρειν 59 παιδαρίων ἐπὶ τῷ συγκόψαι τῶν παιδαγωγῶν γαυριώντων.

XXXI. Οὐ μὴν τούτῳ γε τῷ Δυκούργῳ κεφάλαιον ἢν τότε, πλείστων ἡγουμένην ἀπολυπείν τὴν πόλιν ἀλλ’ ὄσπερ ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς βίῳ καὶ πόλεως ὀλίς νομίζων εὐδαιμονίαν ἀπ’ ἀρετῆς ἐγγίνεσθαι καὶ ὁμονοίας τῆς πρὸς αὐτὴν, πρὸς τούτῳ συνέταξε καὶ συνήμεσεν, ὅπως ἔλευθεροι καὶ αὐτάρκεις γενόμενοι καὶ σωφρονοῦντες ἐπὶ 2 πλείστον χρόνον διατελῶσι. ταύτην καὶ Πλάτων ἔλαβε τῆς πολιτείας ὑπόθεσιν καὶ Διογένης καὶ Ζήνων καὶ πάντες ὅσοι τι περὶ τούτων ἐπιχειρήσαντες εἰπεῖν ἐπαινοῦνται, γράμματα καὶ λόγους ἀπολυπόντες μόνον. οὐ δὲ ὁ γραμματα καὶ λόγους, ἀλλ’ ἔργῳ πολιτείαν ἀμύητον εἰς φῶς προενεγκάμενος, καὶ τοῖς ἀνύπαρκτοι εἶναι τὴν λεγομένην περὶ τὸν σοφὸν διάθεσιν ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ἐπιδείξας ὅλην τὴν πόλιν φιλοσοφοῦσαν, εἰκότως ὑπερήπῃ τῇ δόξῃ τοὺς πώποτε πολιτευσαμένους ἐν 3 τοῖς Ἔλλησι. δι’ ὅπερ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐλάττωνας σχείν φησι τιμᾶς ἢ προσήκον ἢν αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἐν Δακεδαίμονι, καίπερ ἔχοντα τὰς μεγίστας. ἰερῶν τε γὰρ ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ θύσιμα καθ’ ἐκαστοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ὡς θεῷ. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τῶν λαυψάνων αὐτοῦ κομισθέντων οὐκαδε κεραυνὸν εἰς τὸν
LYCURGUS

did amiss. ¹ This was a joke; but Antisthenes the Socratic, when he saw the Thebans in high feather after the battle of Leuctra, ² said in all seriousness that they were just like little boys strutting about because they had thrashed their tutor.

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

¹ Cf. chapter xviii. 4.
² In 371 B.C., when the Thebans under Epaminondas broke the supremacy of Sparta.
τάφον κατασκήνωσαν τοῦτο δὲ οὐ ραδίως ἔτερον τινὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν πλὴν Εὐριπίδης συμπεσεῖν ὑστερον, τελευτήσαντι καὶ ταφέντι τῆς Μακεδονίας περὶ Άρεθουσαν. ὡστε ἀπολόγημα καὶ μαρτύριον μέγα εἶναι τοῖς ἀγαπῶσι τὸν Εὐριπίδην τὸ μόνον συμπεσεῖν αὐτῷ μετὰ τελευτῆν ἵνα τῷ θεοφιλεστάτῳ καὶ ὀσιωτάτῳ πρότερον συνέπεσε.

4 Τελευτήσας δὲ τὸν Λυκούργον οἱ μὲν ἐν Κίρρα Λέγουσιν, Ἀπολλόθεμες δὲ εἰς Ἑλλῆν κομισθέντα, Τίμαιος δὲ καὶ Ἀριστόξειος ἐν Κρήτῃ καταβιώσαντα καὶ τάφον Ἀριστόξειος αὐτοῦ δείκνυσθαι φησιν ὑπὸ Κρητῶν τῆς Περγαμίας περὶ τὴν ξενικὴν ὁδὸν. οἷον δὲ λέγεται μονογενὴς κατάληπτειν Ἀντίωρον ὦ τελευτήσαντος ἀτέκνου τὸ γένος ἔξελπεν. οἱ δὲ ἑταῖροι καὶ οἰκεῖοι διαδοχὴν τινα καὶ σύνοδον ἐπὶ πολλοὺς χρόνους διαμείνασαν κατέστησαν, καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐν αἷς συνήχειοι Λυκούργιδας προσηγόρευσαν. Ἀριστοκράτης δὲ ο Ἰππάρχου φησὶ τοὺς ξένους τοῦ Λυκούργου τελευτήσαντος ἐν Κρήτῃ καῦσαι τὸ σῶμα καὶ διασπείρα τὴν τέφραν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, αὐτοῦ δεσθέντος καὶ φυλαξαμένου μὴ ποτὲ ἁρα τῶν λειψάνων εἰς Δακεδαίμονα κομισθέντων, ὡς ἐπανήκησον αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ὀρκών λευμένων, μεταβάλωσι τὴν πολιτείαν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τοῦ Λυκούργου.

1 The words καὶ γενέσθαι following τελευτήν are deleted by Bekker and Sintenis² in critical notes.

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

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

I. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν Νομά τοῦ βασιλέως χρόνων, καθ' οὐς γέγονε, νεανικὴ διαφορά, καὶ περ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰς τούτων κατὰγεσθαί τῶν στεμμάτων ἀκριβῶς δοκοῦντων. ἀλλά Κλώδιος τις ἐν ἐλέγχῳ χρόνων (οὔτω γάρ πως ἐπιγέγραπται τὸ βιβλίον) ἵσχυρίζεται τὰς μὲν ἀρχαίας ἐκείνας ἀναγραφὰς ἐν τοῖς Κελτικοῖς πάθει τῆς πόλεως ἡφανίσθαι, τὰς δὲ νῦν φαινομένας οὐκ ἀληθῶς συγκείσθαι δι' ἀνδρῶν χαριζομένων τισιν εἰς τὰ πρώτα γένη καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους οἴκους εἰς οὐ προσηκόντων 2 εἰσβιαζομένοις. λεγομένου δ' οὖν ὡς Νομᾶς γένοι- το Πυθαγόρου συνήθης, οἳ μὲν διὰς ἄξιοῦσι μηδὲν Ἑλληνικῆς παιδεύσεως Νομᾶ μετείναι, καθὰ περ ἡ φύσει δυνατὸν καὶ αὐτάρκη γενέσθαι πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἢ βελτίων Πυθαγόρου βαρβάρῳ τινὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποδούνατι παϊδευσιν' οἳ δὲ Πυθαγόραν μὲν ὄψε γενέσθαι, τῶν Νομᾶ χρόνων 3 ὁμοῦ τι πέντε γενεαῖς ἀπολειπόμενον, Πυθαγόραν δὲ τὸν Σπαρτιάτην Ὀλυμπία γενικῇ τοῦ στάδιον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκαιδεκάτῃ Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἂς ἔτει τρίτῳ Νομᾶς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν κατέστη, πλανηθέντα περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν συγγενέσθαι τῷ Νομᾶ καὶ συν-
NUMA

I. There is likewise ¹ a vigorous dispute about the time at which King Numa lived, although from the beginning down to him the genealogies seem to be made out accurately. But a certain Clodius, in a book entitled "An Examination of Chronology," insists that the ancient records were lost when the city was sacked by the Gauls,² and that those which are now exhibited as such were forged, their compilers wishing to gratify the pride of certain persons by inserting their names among the first families and the most illustrious houses, where they had no cause to appear. Accordingly, when it is said that Numa was an intimate friend of Pythagoras, some deny utterly that Numa had any Greek culture, holding either that he was naturally capable of attaining excellence by his own efforts, or that the culture of the king was due to some Barbarian superior to Pythagoras. Others say that Pythagoras the philosopher lived as many as five generations after Numa, but that there was another Pythagoras, the Spartan, who was Olympic victor in the foot-race for the sixteenth Olympiad ³ (in the third year of which Numa was made king), and that in his wanderings about Italy he made the acquaintance of Numa, and helped him arrange the

¹ Cf. Lycurgus, i. 1–3.
³ 657–654 B.C.

x 2
διακοσμήσαι τὴν πολιτείαν, ὅθεν οὐκ ὠλγὰ τοῖς Ὄρωμαῖοις ἐπιτηδεύμασι τῶν Δακωνικῶν ἀναμεμέχθαι Πυθαγόρου διδάσκοντος. Ἀλλὰς δὲ Νομᾶς γένος μὲν ἦν ἐκ Σαβίνων, Σαβίνωι δὲ βουλοῦνταί 4 Δακεδαμονίων ἑαυτοὺς ἀποίκους γεγονόναι. τοὺς μὲν οὖν χρόνους ἐξακριβῶσαι χαλεπὸν ἐστὶ, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ὀλυμπιονικῶν ἀναγομένους, ὅπε τὴν ἀναγραφὴν ὑπὲ φασὶν Ἰππίαν ἐκδούναι τὸν Ἡλεῖον, ἀπ’ οὖν δὲν ὤρμῳμεν ἀναγκαίον πρὸς πίστιν· ἄ δὲ παρειλήφαμεν ἡμεῖς ἄξια λόγου περὶ Νομᾶ, διέξειμεν ἀρχὴν οἰκείαν λαβόντες.

II. Ἔθσιον ἐναυτὸν ἡ Ῥώμη καὶ τριακοστῷ ἡ Ῥωμύλου βασιλεύουσος φιλεῖτο· πέμπτη δὲ ἱσταμένου μηνός, ἴνα νῦν ἡμέραν νόνας Κατρατίνας καλοῦσι, θυσίαν τινὰ δημοτελῆ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἔθεν περὶ τὸ καλοῦμενον Αἴγος Ἑλος, καὶ παρῆν ἡ τε Βουλὴ καὶ τοῦ δήμου 2 τὸ πλεῖστον. ἐξακριβῆς δὲ μεγάλης περὶ τὸν ἀέρα τροπῆς γενομένης καὶ νέφους ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἑρείσαντος ἀμα πνεύματι καὶ ζάλη, τὸν μὲν ἄλλον ὅμοιον ἐκπλαγέντα συνέβη φυγεῖν καὶ σκεδασθῆναι, τὸν δὲ Ῥωμύλον ἀφανὴ γενέσθαι, καὶ μήτε αὐτὸν εἴτε μήτε σῶμα τεθυνόκτος εὑρεθῆναι, χαλεπὴν δὲ τῷ ὑπόνοιαι ἁγαθαί τῶν πατρικίων, καὶ ῥυήναι λόγου ἐν τῷ δήμῳ κατ’ αὐτῶν ὡς πάλαι βαρνύμενοι τὸ βασιλεύουσαν καὶ μεταστήσας τὸ κράτος εἰς αὐτοὺς ἔθλοντες ἀνέλοιεν τὸν βασιλέα. καὶ γὰρ ἐδόκει τραχύτερον ἢ ἥθη 3 προσφέρεσθαι καὶ μοναρχικῶτερον αὐτοῖς. ἀλλὰ ταύτῃ μὲν τὴν ὑποψίαν ἑθεράπευν εἰς θεῶν 308
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government of the city, whence it came about that many Spartan customs were mingled with the Roman, as Pythagoras taught them to Numa. And at all events, Numa was of Sabine descent, and the Sabines will have it that they were colonists from Lacedaemon. Chronology, however, is hard to fix, and especially that which is based on the names of victors in the Olympic games, the list of which is said to have been published at a late period by Hippias of Elis, who had no fully authoritative basis for his work. I shall therefore begin at a convenient point, and relate the noteworthy facts which I have found in the life of Numa.

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

4 Ἐσέρα δὲ ταραχὴ καὶ στάσις κατελάμβανε τὴν πόλιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀποδειχθῆσεσθαι βασιλέως, οὔτω τῶν ἐπιηλύδων κομιδὴ τοῖς πρώτοις συγκεκραμένων πολίταις, ἀλλ' ἔτι τοῦ τε δήμου πολλὰ κυμαίνοντος ἐν ἕαυτῷ καὶ τῶν πατρικίων ἐν ὑποψίας ἐκ τοῦ διαφόρου πρὸς ἄλληλους ὄντων. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ βασιλεύεσθαι μὲν ἔδοκεν πᾶσιν, ἢρισαν δὲ καὶ διέστησαν οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἄνδρός μονον, ἀλλὰ καὶ γένους, ὅποτερον

5 παρέξει τοῦ ἡγεμόνα. καὶ γὰρ οἱ μετὰ 'Rwmýlou πρῶτοι συνοικισάντες τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἀνασχέτον ἐποιοῦντο πόλεως καὶ χώρας τοὺς Σαβίνους μεταλαβόντας ἀρχεῖν βιάζεσθαι τῶν ἐπὶ ταῦτα δεξαμένων, καὶ τοὺς Σαβίνους ἢ τὶς εὐγνώμων λόγους, ἐπεὶ Τατίου τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντος οὐκ ἑστασίασαν πρὸς 'Rwmýlou, ἀλλ' εἶσαν ἀρχεῖν μόνον, αὕτης ἐξιουντών τῶν ἀρ- χοῦτα γενέσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν. οὐτε γὰρ ἐκ τα- πεινοτέρων κρέςτοσι προσγενέσθαι, καὶ προσγε- νόμενοι πλήθει τε ῥῶσαι καὶ προσαγαγεῖν εἰς ἀξίωμα πόλεως ἑκείνους μεθ' ἕαυτῶν. ὑπὲρ μὲν οὖν τούτων ἑστασίαζον.

6 Ὄπως δὲ μὴ σύγχυσιν ἐκ τῆς ἀναρχίας ἢ στάσις ἀπεργάσεται, μετεώρον τοῦ πολιτεύ- ματος ὄντος, ἔταξαν οἱ πατρικίων πεντήκοντα 61
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on the ground that he was not dead, but blessed with a better lot. And Proculus, a man of eminence, took oath that he had seen Romulus ascending to heaven in full armour, and had heard his voice commanding that he be called Quirinus.¹

The city was now beset with fresh disturbance and faction over the king to be appointed in his stead, for the new comers were not yet altogether blended with the original citizens, but the commonalty was still like a surging sea, and the patricians full of jealousy towards one another on account of their different nationalities. It is indeed true that it was the pleasure of all to have a king, but they wrangled and quarrelled, not only about the man who should be their leader, but also about the tribe which should furnish him. For those who had built the city with Romulus at the outset thought it intolerable that the Sabines, after getting a share in the city and its territory, should insist on ruling those who had received them into such privileges; and the Sabines, since on the death of their king Tatius they had raised no faction against Romulus, but suffered him to rule alone, had a reasonable ground for demanding that now the ruler should come from them. They would not admit that they had added themselves as inferiors to superiors, but held rather that their addition had brought the strength of numbers and advanced both parties alike to the dignity of a city. On these questions, then, they were divided into factions.

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

¹ Cf. Romulus, xxvii. 3—xxviii. 3.
καὶ ἕκατὸν ὧντων αὐτῶν, ἔκαστον ἐν μέρει τοῖς βασιλικοῖς παρασήμοις κοσμούμενον θύειν τε τοῖς θεοῖς τὰ νεομισμένα καὶ χρηματίζειν ἐξ μὲν ὀρασι 7 τῆς νυκτὸς, ἐξ δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας. καὶ γὰρ ἡ διανομὴ τῶν κατοίκων ἐκατέρου πρὸς ἱσότητα καλῶς ἔχειν ἐδοκεῖ τοῖς ἄρχουσι, καὶ πρὸς τὸν δήμον ἡ μεταβολὴ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἀφαιρεῖν τὸν φθόνον, ὧραντα τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς τὸν αὐτὸν ἰδιώτην ἐκ βασιλέως γινόμενον. τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τούτο τῆς ἀρχῆς μεσοβασιλείαν Ἄρωμαίοι καλοῦσιν.

III. Ἀλλὰ καίπερ οὕτω πολιτικῶς καὶ ἁνεπαχθώς ἀφηγεῖσθαι δοκοῦντες, ὑπονοοῦντες καὶ θορύβοις περίπεπτον, ὡς μεθιστάντες εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν τὰ πράγματα καὶ διαπαιδαγωγοῦντες ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν πολιτείαν, βασιλεύεσθαι δὲ οὐκ ἔθελον. ἐκ τούτου συνεβήσαν ἀμφότεραι πρὸς ἂλληλας αἱ στάσεις, ὡστε τὴν ἔτεραν ἐκ 2 τῆς ἔτερας ἀποδείξει βασιλέα: μάλιστα γὰρ ἂν οὕτως ἐν τῇ πολίτῃ παύσασθαι τὴν φιλονεικίαν, καὶ τὸν ἀποδείχθεντα πρὸς ἀμφότερον ἰσον γενέσθαι, τοὺς μὲν ὡς ἑλομένους ἁγαπάντα, τοῖς δὲ εὔνους ὑντα διὰ συγγένειαν. ἐπιτρεψάντων δὲ προτέρους τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τῶν Σαβίνων τὴν αὐρέσιν, ἐδοξεῖ μᾶλλον ἐλέσθαι Σαβίνων αὐτοὺς ἀποδείξαντας ἢ παρασχεῖν Ῥωμαίοι ἔκεινων ἐλομένων. καὶ βουλευσάμενοι καθ’ ἕαυτος ἀποδεικνύοντες ἐκ Σαβίνων Νομᾶν Πομπίλιον, ἄνδρα τῶν μὲν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀποφυγόμενον οὐ γενόμενον,
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it was arranged by the senators, who were one hundred and fifty in number,¹ that each of them in his turn should assume the insignia of royalty, make the customary sacrifices to the gods, and transact public business, for the space of six hours by day and six hours by night. This distribution of times seemed well adapted to secure equality between the two factions, and the transfer of power likely to remove all jealousy on the part of the people, when they saw the same man, in the course of a single day and night, become king and then a private citizen again. This form of government the Romans call "interregnum."

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

¹ Cf. Romulus, xx. 1.
γνώριμον δ’ οὕτω δι’ ἀρετὴν ὄντα πᾶσιν ὡστε
tῶν ἐλομένων προθυμότερον ὑνωμασθέντος αὐτοῦ
dέξασθαι τοὺς Σαβίνους. φράσαντες οὖν τῷ δήμῳ
τὰ δεδομένα, πρέσβεις ἐκπέμπουσι πρὸς τὸν
ἀνδρὰ κοινὴ τοὺς πρωτεύοντας ἀπ’ ἀμφοτέρων,
handleSubmit(καὶ) ἰδεσσομένους καὶ παραλαβεῖν τὴν βασι-
λείαν.

4 Ὅν δὲ πόλεως μὲν ὁ Νομᾶς ἐπιφανοῦς ἐν
Σαβίνους τῆς Κύρεως, ἀφ’ ἦς καὶ Κυρίτας
Ῥωμαίοι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀμα τοῖς ἀνακραθείσι
Σαβίνους προσόγροσαν, ύστος δὲ Πόμπωνος,1
ἀνδρὸς εὐδοκίμου, τεσσάρων ἀδελφῶν νεώτατος·
ἡμέρα δὲ γεγονός κατὰ δὴ τινα θείαν τυχῆν ἐν
η τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκτισάν οἱ περὶ Ῥωμύλου· αὐτὴ δὲ
5 ἐστὶ πρὸ δεκαμᾶς καλανδῶν Μαῖων. φύσει δὲ
πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν εὐ κεκραμένος τὸ ἡθος, ἔτι
μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἐξημέρωσε διὰ παιδείας καὶ κακο-
pαθείας καὶ φιλοσοφίας,2 οὐ μόνον τὰ λοιδοροῦ-
μενα πάθη τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν εὐδοκι-
μούσαν ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις βίαι καὶ πλεονεξίαν
ἐκποδῶν ποιησάμενος, ἄνδρεαν δὲ ἀληθῆ τὴν ὑπὸ
λόγον τῶν ἐπιθύμων ἐν αὐτῷ κάθειρξε ἤγος-
μενος. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πᾶσαν ὅκιθεν ἀμα τρυφὴν
καὶ πολυτέλειαν ἐξελάνυν, παυτὶ δὲ πολίτη καὶ
ξένω χρήσατι παρέχων ἑαυτὸν ἄμεμπτον δικασ-
tὴν καὶ σύμβουλον, αὐτὸς δ’ ἐαυτῷ σχολάζοντι
χρώμενος οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡδυπαθείας καὶ πορισμοῦς,
ἀλλὰ θεραπείαν θεῶν καὶ θεωρίαν διὰ λόγου
φύσεώς τε αὐτῶν καὶ δυνάμεως, ὅνομα μέγα καὶ

1 Πόμπωνος a correction of Πομπώνου by Sintenis2 (critical
notes), adopted by Bekker, and now confirmed by S.
2 καὶ φιλοσοφίας omitted by Bekker, with C.

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but was so universally celebrated for his virtues that, when he was nominated, the Sabines accepted him with even greater readiness than those who had chosen him. Accordingly, after making their decision known to the people, the leading senators of both parties were sent as ambassadors to Numa, begging him to come and assume the royal power.

Numa belonged to a conspicuous city of the Sabines called Cures, from which the Romans, together with the incorporated Sabines, took the joint name of Quirites. He was a son of Pompon, an illustrious man, and was the youngest of four brothers. He was born, moreover, by some divine felicity, on the very day when Rome was founded by Romulus, that is, the twenty-first day of April.\(^1\) By natural temperament he was inclined to the practice of every virtue, and he had subdued himself still more by discipline, endurance of hardships, and the study of wisdom. He had thus put away from himself not only the infamous passions of the soul, but also that violence and rapacity which are in such high repute among Barbarians, believing that true bravery consisted in the subjugation of one's passions by reason. On this account he banished from his house all luxury and extravagance, and while citizen and stranger alike found in him a faultless judge and counsellor, he devoted his hours of privacy and leisure, not to enjoyments and money-making, but to the service of the gods, and the rational contemplation of their nature and power. In consequence he had a great

\(^1\) Cf. Romulus, xii. 1.
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dόξαν εἶχεν, ὃστε καὶ Τάτιον τὸν ἐν Ὄρμην
συμβασιλεύσαντα ἴωμύλῳ, μιᾶς αὐτῷ θυγατρὸς
7 οὔσης Τατίας, ποιήσασθαι γαμβρὸν ἐκείνου. οὐ
μὴν ἐπήρθη γε τῷ γάμῳ μετοικίσασθαι πρὸς τὸν
πενθερόν, ἀλλὰ αὐτοῦ περιέπων πατέρα γηραιὸν
ἐν Σαβίνους ὑπέμενεν, ἀμα καὶ τῆς Τατίας ἐλομέ-
νης τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἰδιωτεύουσαν ὅσχοι πρὸ τῆς
ἐν Ὅρμῃ διὰ τὸν πατέρα τιμῆς καὶ δόξης. αὐτὴ
μὲν οὖν λέγεται τρίτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ μετὰ τὸν
γάμον ἔτει τελευτήσαι.

IV. Ὅ δὲ Νομᾶς ἐκλείπον τὰς ἐν ἄστει δια-
τριβὰς ἀγραυλεῖν τὰ πολλὰ καὶ πλανᾶσθαι μόνος
ήθελεν, ἐν ἀλάσει θεών καὶ λειμώσει ἱεροῖς καὶ
τόποις ἐρήμωσε ποιούμενος τὴν διαίτην. θεῦν 62
οὐχ ἥκιστα τὴν ἄρχην ὁ περὶ τῆς θεᾶς ἔλαβε
λόγος, ὥς ἄρα Νομᾶς ἐκείνος οὐκ ἄδημονία τινὶ
ψυχῆς καὶ πλάνη τὸν μετὰ ἀνθρώπων ἀπολέ-
2 λοιπὲ βίον, ἀλλὰ σεμνοτέρας γεγευμένος ὀμιλίας
καὶ γάμων θεῶν ἡξιωμένος, Ἡγερία δαίμον
συνὸν ἐρώση καὶ συναιστώμενος, εὐθαίρων ἄνθρω-
καὶ τὰ θεία πεπυμένων γέγονεν. ὅτι μὲν οὖν
ταῦτα πολλοὶς τῶν πάντων πολλοῖν μῦθοι ἔοικεν,
οὐσι οἱ Φρύγες τε περὶ Ἀττεω καὶ Βιθυνοῦ περὶ
Ἡρόδοτον καὶ περὶ Ἕνδυμωνος Ἀρκάδες ἄλλοι
τε περὶ ἄλλων εὐθαίρων δὴ τινῶν καὶ θεοφιλῶν
γενέσθαι δοκοῦντων παραλαβόντες ἡγάπησαν,
3 οὐκ ἄδηλον ἔστι. καὶ ποις λόγοι ἔχει τὸν θεόν,
οὗ φιλιστοῦν οὐδὲ φίλορυν, ἀλλὰ φιλανθρωποῦ
ντας, τοῖς διαφερόντως ἄγαθοῖς ἔθελεν συνεῖναι,
καὶ μὴ δυσχεραίνειν μηθὲ ἀτιμάζειν ἀνδρὸς ὅσιον
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name and fame, so that Tatius, the royal colleague of Romulus at Rome, made him the husband of his only daughter, Tatia. He was not, however, so exalted by his marriage as to go to dwell with his royal father-in-law, but remained among the Sabines ministering to his aged father. Tatia, too, preferred the quiet life which her husband led as a private citizen to the honour and fame which she had enjoyed at Rome because of her father. But she died, as we are told, in the thirteenth year after her marriage.

IV. Then Numa, forsaking the ways of city folk, determined to live for the most part in country places, and to wander there alone, passing his days in groves of the gods, sacred meadows, and solitudes. This, more than anything else, gave rise to the story about his goddess. It was not, so the story ran, from any distress or aberration of spirit that he forsook the ways of men, but he had tasted the joy of more august companionship and had been honoured with a celestial marriage; the goddess Egeria loved him and bestowed herself upon him, and it was his communion with her that gave him a life of blessedness and a wisdom more than human. However, that this story resembles many of the very ancient tales which the Phrygians have received and cherished concerning Attis, the Bithynians concerning Herodotus, the Arcadians concerning Endymion, and other peoples concerning other mortals who were thought to have achieved a life of blessedness in the love of the gods, is quite evident. And there is some reason in supposing that Deity, who is not a lover of horses or birds, but a lover of men, should be willing to consort with men of superlative goodness, and should not dislike or disdain the company of a wise and holy
καί σώφρονος ὀμιλίαν. ὡς δὲ καὶ σῶματος ἀνθρωπίνου καὶ ἄρας ἐστὶ τις θεός καὶ δαίμονι κοινωνία καὶ χάρις, ἕργον ἥδη καὶ τοῦτο πεισθῆναι.

4 Καίτοι δοκούσιν οὐκ ἀπθάνως Αἰγύπτιοι διαρρέειν ὡς γυναίκι μὲν οὐκ ἀδύνατον πνεῦμα πλησιάσαι θεοῦ καὶ τινας ἐντεκεῖν ἀρχὰς γενέσεως, ἀνδρὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐστὶ σύμμεια πρὸς θεοῦ οὐδὲ ὀμιλία σῶματος. ἀγνοοῦσι δὲ ὅτι τὸ μυρύμενον ὃ μέγυνται τὴν ἴσην ἀνταποδίδουσι κοινωνίαν. οὖ μὴν ἄλλα φιλίας γε πρὸς ἀνθρωπον εἶναι θεός καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ ταύτη λεγόμενον ἔρωτα καὶ φυόμενον εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν ἠθῶς καὶ ἀρετῆς, πρέπουν ἄν εἰη.

5 καὶ οὐ πλημμελοῦσιν οἱ τὸν Φόρβαυτα καὶ τὸν Τάκινθον καὶ τὸν Ἀδμητον ἐρωμένους Ἀπόλλωνος γεγονέναι μυθολογοῦντες, ὥσπερ αὐτὸ καὶ τὸν Σικυώνιον Ἰππόλυτον, ὃ δὲ καὶ φασίν, ὡσάκις τύχοι διαπλέων εἰς Κίρραν ἐκ Σικυώνος, τὴν Πυθίαν, οἷον αἰσθανομένου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ χαίροντος, ἀποθεοπίζειν τόδε τὸ ἥρφον.

Καὶ δ' αὐθ' Ἰππολύτου φίλον κάρα εἰς ἀλὰ βαῖνει.

6 Πινδάρου δὲ καὶ τῶν μελῶν ἔραστὴν γενέσθαι τὸν Πᾶνα μυθολογοῦσιν. ἀπέδωκε δὲ τινα τιμὴν καὶ Ἀρχελόχῳ καὶ Ἡσιόδῳ τελευτήσασι διὰ τὰς Μούσας τὸ δαίμονιον. Σοφοκλεῖ δὲ καὶ ζῶντι
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man. But that an immortal god should take carnal pleasure in a mortal body and its beauty, this, surely, is hard to believe.

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

"Lo, once more doth beloved Hippolytus hither make voyage."

There is a legend, too, that Pan became enamoured of Pindar and his verses. And the divine powers bestowed signal honour on Archilochus and Hesiod after their deaths, for the sake of the Muses.¹ Again,

¹ The Delphian oracle pronounced a curse on the man who killed Archilochus, because "he had slain the servant of the Muses." And the same oracle told the people of Orchomenus, when a plague had fallen upon them, that "the only remedy was to bring back the bones of Hesiod from the land of Naupactus to the land of Orchomenus."
τὸν Ἄσκληπιον ἐπιξενωθήναι λόγος ἐστὶ πολλὰ μέχρι δεύο διασώζων τεκμήρια, καὶ τελευτῆσαντι τυχεῖν ταφῆς ἄλλος θεός, ὃς λέγεται, παρέσχεν. 7 ἀρα οὖν ἄξιόν ἐστι, ταῦτα συγχωροῦντας ἐπὶ τούτων, ἀπιστεῖν εἰ Ζαλεύκῳ καὶ Μίνῳ καὶ Ζωροάστρῃ καὶ Νομά καὶ Λυκούργῳ βασιλείας κυβερνῶσι καὶ πολιτείας διακοσμοῦσιν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ἐφοίτα τὸ δαιμόνιον, ἢ τούτων μὲν εἰκός ἐστι καὶ σπουδάζοντας θεοὺς ὡμιλεῖν ἐπὶ διδασκαλίας καὶ παραίνεσει τῶν βελτίστων, ποιηταῖς δὲ καὶ λυρικοῖς μουρίζονσιν, εἰπερ ἀρα, χρῆσθαι παῖς ἢ χοιτάς; εἰ δὲ λέγει τις ἄλλως, κατὰ Βακχυλίδην, “Πλατεῖα κέλευθος.” οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄτερος λόγος ἔχει τι φαίλον, ὅν περὶ Λυκούργου καὶ Νομᾶ καὶ τοιούτων ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν λέγουσιν, ὡς δυσκάθεκτα καὶ δυσάρεστα πλήθη χειρούμενοι καὶ μεγάλας ἐπιφέρουσι ταῖς πολιτείαις καινοτομίας, προσεποίησαν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δόξαν, αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς όδος ἐσχηματίζουσιν σωτηρίων ὑσίαν.

V. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ έτος ἴδιῃ διατελεῖν τῷ Νομᾶ τεσσαρακοστὸν ἦκον ἀπὸ Ὀρῶμης οἱ πρέσβεις παρακαλοῦντες ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν. τοὺς δὲ λόγους ἐποιήσατο Πρόκλος καὶ Οὐέλεσος, ὃν πρῶτον ἐπίδοξος ἦν ὁ δήμος αἰρήσεθαι τὸν ἔτερον βασιλέα, Πρόκλῳ μὲν τῶν Ὀρωμόλοιοι λαῶν, Οὐέλεσῳ δὲ τῶν ταύτων μάλιστα προσεχόντων. οὕτωι μὲν οὖν βραχέα διελέχθησαν, οἶμενοι τῷ
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there is a story, still well attested, that Sophocles, during his life, was blessed with the friendship of Aesculapius, and that when he died, another deity procured him fitting burial. ¹ Is it worth while, then, if we concede these instances of divine favour, to disbelieve that Zaleucus, Minos, Zoroaster, Numa, and Lycurgus, who piloted kingdoms and formulated constitutions, had frequent audience of the Deity? Is it not likely, rather, that the gods are in earnest when they hold converse with such men as these, in order to instruct and advise them in the highest and best way, but use poets and warbling singers, if at all, for their own diversion? However, if any one is otherwise minded, I say with Bacchylides, "Broad is the way." ² Indeed there is no absurdity in the other account which is given of Lycurgus and Numa and their like, namely, that since they were managing headstrong and captious multitudes, and introducing great innovations in modes of government, they pretended to get a sanction from the god, which sanction was the salvation of the very ones against whom it was contrived.

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

¹ Dionysus is said to have appeared to Lysander and ordered him to allow Sophocles to be buried in the tomb of his fathers, on the road to Deceleia, then occupied by the Lacedaemonian army. See Pausanias, i. 21, 1, with Frazer's note.
² Fragment 29 (Jebb, Bacchylides, p. 423).
2 Νομά τήν συντυχίαν ἀσπαζομένῳ γεγονέναι· ἂν δ’ οὐ μικρόν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἔργον, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγων πολλῶν καὶ δεήσεως τὸ πεῖσαι καὶ μεταστῆσαι γνώμην ἄνδρός ἐν ἰσυχίᾳ καὶ εἰρήνῃ βεβιωκότος εἰς ἀρχήν πόλεως τρόπον τινά καὶ γεγενημένης1 πολέμῳ καὶ συνηξημένης. ἔλεγεν οὖν τοῦ τε 63 πατρὸς αὐτοῦ παρόντος καὶ Μαρκίου, τῶν συγ- γενῶν ἐνός, ὡς “Πάσα μὲν ἀνθρωπίνον βίον μετα- βολὴ σφαλερόν· ὃ δὲ μὴν ἀπετή τι τῶν ἰκανῶν μήτε μεμπτών ἔστι τῶν παρόντων, τούτῳ οὖν ἄλλῳ πλὴν ἀνοία μετακοσμεῖ καὶ μεθίστησιν ἐκ τῶν συνήθων· οἷς καὶ εἰ μηδὲν ἐτερον προσείη, 3 τῷ βεβαιωτέρῳ διαφέρει τῶν ἄδήλων. ἄλλ’ οὖν ἄδηλα τὰ τῆς βασιλείας τοῖς Ἦρωμυλοι τεκμα- ρομένῳ παθήμασιν, ὡς πονηρὰν μὲν αὐτὸς ἔλαβε δοξάν ἐπιβουλεύσαι τῷ συνάρχοντι Τατίῳ, πονη- ράν δὲ τοῖς ὄμοτίνιοι περιποίησεν ὡς ἀνηρ- μένος ὑπ’ αὐτῶν. καίτοι Ἦρωμυλον μὲν οὗτοι παῖδα θεῶν ὑμνοῦσι φήμαις, καὶ τροφήν τινα δαιμόνιον αὐτὸφ καὶ σωστρίαν ἀπιστον ἐτί νη- πίου λέγουσι· ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ γένος θητὸν ἐστὶ καὶ τροφὴ καὶ παίδευσις ὑπ’ ἀνθρώπων ὁν οὐκ 4 ἀγνοεῖτε γεγενημένη· τὰ δ’ ἐπαινοῦμενα τοῦ τρό- που βασιλεύων πόρρως μέλλοντος ἄνδρός, ἰσυχία τε πολλή καὶ διατριβή περὶ λόγους ἀπράγμων, ο’ τε δεινὸς οὗτος καὶ σώματος εἰρήνης ἐρῶς καὶ πραγμάτων ἀπολέμων καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐπι- τιμή θεῶν καὶ φιλοφροσύναις εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ συν- ιόντων, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα καθ’ εαυτοὺς γεωργοῦντων ἡ

1 γεγενημένης Bekker has γεγενημένης (born), after Caroës.
that Numa would welcome his good fortune. It was, however, no slight task, but one requiring much argument and entreaty, to persuade and induce a man who had lived in peace and quiet, to accept the government of a city which owed its existence and growth, in a fashion, to war. His reply, therefore, in the presence of his father and one of his kinsmen named Marcius, was as follows. "Every change in a man's life is perilous; but when a man knows no lack, and has no fault to find with his present lot, nothing short of madness can change his purposes and remove him from his wonted course of life, which, even though it have no other advantage, is at least fixed and secure, and therefore better than one which is all uncertain. But the lot of one who becomes your king cannot even be called uncertain, judging from the experience of Romulus, since he himself was accused of basely plotting against his colleague Tatius, and involved the patricians in the charge of having basely put their king out of the way. And yet those who bring these accusations laud Romulus as a child of the gods, and tell how he was preserved in an incredible way and fed in a miraculous manner when he was still an infant. But I am of mortal birth, and I was nourished and trained by men whom you know. Moreover, the very traits in my disposition which are commended, are far from marking a man destined to be a king, namely, my great love of retirement, my devotion to studies inconsistent with the usual activities of men, and my well-known strong and inveterate love of peace, of unwarlike occupations, and of men who come together only for the worship of the gods and for friendly intercourse, but who otherwise live by themselves as
5 νεμόντων. ύμιν δὲ, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, πολλοὺς μὲν ἵσως
ἀβουλήτους ἀπολέοιτε πολέμους Ῥωμύλοις, οἷς
ἀντερείδοντος ἡ πόλις ἐμπείρου δεῖται βασιλέως
καὶ ἀκμαζόντος· πολλὴ δὲ καὶ συνήθεια καὶ
προθυμία δι’ εὐτυχίαν γέγονε τῷ δῆμῳ, καὶ οὐδένα
λέληθεν αὐξηθαί καὶ κρατεῖν ἐτέρου βουλόμενος,
ὡστε καὶ γέλως ἂν εἶν τὰ μά, θεραπεύοντος θεοὺς,
καὶ δίκην τιμᾶν, βίαν δὲ καὶ πόλεμον ἔχθαρεν
dιδάκτοντος πόλιν στατηλάτου μᾶλλον ἢ βασι-
λέως δεομένην.”

VI. Τοιούτως λόγοις ἀφοσιουμένου τὴν βασι-
λείαν τοῦ ἀνδρός, οὗ τε Ῥωμαῖοι πᾶσαν ἐποίουντο
σπουδὴν ἀντιβολοῦντες καὶ δεόμενοι μὴ σφάς
ἀθικὴ εἰς στάσιν ἐμβαλέων καὶ πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον,
οὐκ ὅτου ἐτέρου πρὸς ὅν ἀμφότερα συννεύοντοι
αἱ στάσεις, ὦ τε πατήρ καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος ἐκείνων
μεταστάντων ἱδίᾳ προσκέιμαι τὸν Νομᾶν ἐπει-
2 θον δέχεσθαι μέγα καὶ θείων δῶρον. “Εἰ δὲ αὐτὸς
οὔτε πλούτου δὲν δι’ αὐτάρκειαν οὔτε δόξαν ἀρ-
χῆς καὶ δυναστείας ἐξῆλθακας κρείσσονα τὴν ἀπ’
ἀρετὴς ἔχων, ἀλλ’ ὑπηρεσίαν γέ θεοῦ τὸ βασι-
λεύειν ἤγουμεν, ὃς ἂν ἀνίστησι καὶ οὐκ ἐξ
κείσθαι καὶ ἁργεῖ τὴν ἐν σοὶ τοσαύτην δικαιο-
σύνην, μὴ φεύγῃ μηδὲ ἀποδίδρασκε τὴν ἁρχήν,
ἀνδρὶ φρονίμῳ πράξεων καλῶν καὶ μεγάλων συ-
σαν χώραν, ἐν ὧ καὶ ἁραπείαι θεῶν μεγαλοπρε-
πείς εἰς καὶ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἀνθρώπων ἡμερῶ-
σεις ῥᾶστα καὶ τάχιστα μετακοσμομένων ὑπὸ

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

VI. With such words did Numa decline the
kingdom. Then the Romans put forth every effort
to meet his objections, and begged him not to
plunge them again into faction and civil war, since
there was none other on whom both parties could
unite. His father also and Marcius, when the
envoys had withdrawn, beset him privately, and
tried to persuade him to accept so great a gift or
the gods. "Even though," they said, "thou neither
desirest wealth for thyself, because thou hast enough,
nor covetest the fame which comes from authority
and power, because thou hast the greater fame which
comes from virtue, yet consider that the work of a
true king is a service rendered to God, who now
roused up and refuses to leave dormant and inactive
the great righteousness which is within thee. Do
not, therefore, avoid nor flee from this office, which
a wise man will regard as a field for great and noble
actions, where the gods are honoured with magnificent
worship, and the hearts of men are easily and
quickly softened and inclined towards piety, through
the moulding influence of their ruler. This people
3 τοῦ κρατοῦντος. οἵτων καὶ Τάτιον ἐστερέξαν ἐπηλυὸν ἠγεμόνα, καὶ τὴν Ῥωμύλου μνήμην ἀποθεοῦσι ταῖς τιμαῖς. τίς δὲ οἶδεν εἰ καὶ ικώντι δήμῳ πολέμου κόρος ἔστι, καὶ μεστὸι θριάμβων καὶ λαφύρων γεγονότες ἠγεμόνα πρᾶον καὶ δίκης ἑταῖρον ἐπὶ εὐνομίᾳ καὶ εἰρήνη ποθοῦσιν; εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ παντάπασιν ἀκρατῶς ἔχουσι καὶ μανικῶς πρὸς πόλεμον, ἄρ’ οὐχὶ βέλτιον ἀλλαχόσε τὴν ὅρμην αὐτῶν τρέπειν, διὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντα τὰς ἴνις, τῇ δὲ πατρίδι καὶ παντὶ τῷ Σαβίνων ἔθνει σύνδεσμον εὐνοίας καὶ φιλίας πρὸς πόλιν ἀκμάζουσαν καὶ δυνατὴν γενέσθαι;” τούτοις προσήν, ὡς λέγεται, σημεῖα τε χρηστὰ καὶ σπουδὴ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ ζῆλος, ὡς ἐπύθοντο τὴν προσβείαν, δεομένων βαδίζειν καὶ παραλαμβάνειν τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπὶ κοινωνία καὶ συγκράσει τῶν πολιτῶν. ¹

VII. Ὅσο οὖν ἐδέδοκτο, θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς προήγεν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην. ἀπήντα δὲ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δήμος ἔρωτι θαυμαστῷ τοῦ ἄνδρός, εὐφημίας τε πρέπουσαι γυναικῶν ἐγίνοντο καὶ θυσίαι πρὸς 64 ιεροῖς καὶ χαρὰ πάντων, ὡσπερ οὐ βασιλέα τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλὰ βασιλείαν δεχομένης. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν κατέστησαν, ὃ μὲν ταῖς ὤραις ἐκείναις συνείληξες μεσοβασιλεὺς Σπόριος Οὐέττιος ψήφων ἐπέδωκε τοῖς πολίταις καὶ πάντες ἠγεγκαροφορομένων ὦν ἄνδρον ἄνδρον βασιλεῖς παρασήμων ἐπισχεῖς κελεύσας ἐφε δεῖσθαι καὶ θεοῦ 2 τὴν βασιλείαν ἐμπεδοῦντος αὐτῶν. παραλαβὼν

¹ πολιτῶν MSS. and edd., including Sintenis¹. Bekker corrects to πόλεων (cities), and is followed by Sintenis².

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

VII. Numa therefore decided to yield, and after sacrificing to the gods, set out for Rome. The senate and people met him on his way, filled with a wondrous love of the man; women welcomed him with fitting cries of joy; sacrifices were offered in the temples, and joy was universal, as if the city were receiving, not a king, but a kingdom. When they were come down into the forum, Spurius Vettius, whose lot it was to be "interrex"¹ at that hour, called for a vote of the citizens, and all voted for Numa. But when the insignia of royalty were brought to him, he bade the people pause, and said his authority must first be ratified by Heaven. Then

¹ Cf. chapter ii. 7.
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δὲ μάντεις καὶ ἱερεῖς ἀνέβαινεν εἰς τὸ Καπνοτάλιον Ταρσήου αὐτὸ λόφον οἱ τότε Ἰωμαιών προσηγόρευον. ἐνταῦθα τῶν μάντεων ὁ πρωτεύων τῶν μὲν εἶς μεσημβρίαν τρέψας ἐγκεκαλυμμένον, αὐτὸς δὲ παραστὰς ἔξοπισθεν καὶ τῇ δεξιᾷ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐφαπτόμενος αὐτοῦ κατεύξατο, καὶ περιεσκόπη τὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐν οἴουνοι ἡ συμβόλοις προφαινόμενα, πανταχὸ τὰς ὅψεις 3 περισέρων. συγκ ἔν ἄπιστος ἐν πλήθει τοσοῦτοι τὴν ἄγοραν κατείχε καραδοκούντων καὶ συναίωρουμένων τὸ μέλλοντι, μέχρι οὗ προφαινομεν ὄρυθες ἁγάθοι καὶ δεξιοὶ ἐπέτρεψαν. 1 οὗτος δὲ τῆς βασιλείης ἀναλαβὼν ἐσθήτα κατέβαινε Νομᾶς εἰς τὸ πλήθος ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας. τότε δὲ καὶ φωνᾷ καὶ δεξιώσεις ἤσαν ὡς εἰσεβέστατον καὶ θεοφιλέστατον ἐνδυμένων.

4 Παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἄρχην πρῶτον μὲν τὸ τῶν τριακοσίων σύστημα διέλυσεν, οὕς Ἰωμύλος ἔχων ἀεὶ περὶ τὸ σῶμα Κέλερας προσηγόρευεν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ ταχείς· οὔτε γὰρ ἀπιστεῖν πιστεύοντες οὔτε βασιλεύειν ἀπιστούντων ἂξιον. δεύτερον δὲ τοῖς οὕσιν ἱερεύσι Δίας καὶ Ἀρεώς τρίτον Ἰωμύλον προσκατέστησεν, ἐν Φλάμινα Κυρίου βάλλετον ἁνόμασεν. ἐκάλουν δὲ καὶ τοὺς προγένεστέρους Φλάμινας ἀπὸ τῶν περικρανίων πίλων οὕς περὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς φοροῦσιν, πιλαμένας τινὰς δύνας, ὡς ἱστοροῦσι, τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ὁμομάτων τότε μᾶλλον ἢ νῦν τοῖς Δατίνοις ἀνακεκραμένων. καὶ γὰρ ἂς ἐφόρουν οἱ ἱερεῖς λαίνατον ὁ

1 καὶ δεξιοὶ ἐπέτρεψαν with S: καὶ δεξιοὶ καὶ ἐπέτρεψαν.

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

His first measure on assuming the government was to disband the body of three hundred men that Romulus always kept about his person, and called "Celeres" (that is, swift ones\(^1\)); for he would not consent to distrust those who trusted him, nor to reign over those who distrusted him. His second measure was to add to the two priests of Jupiter and Mars a third priest of Romulus, whom he called the Flamen Quirinalis. Now before this time the Romans called their priests "flamines," from the close-fitting "pilois," or caps, which they wear upon their heads, and which have the longer name of "pilamenai," as we are told, there being more Greek words mingled with the Latin at that time than now.\(^2\) Thus also the name "laena," which the Romans

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\(^1\) Cf. Romulus, xxvi. 2.
\(^2\) Cf. Romulus, xv. 3. Plutarch does not hesitate to derive the Latin "flamines" from the doubtful Greek "pilamenai."
Τίθασι χλαίνας φησίν εἶναι, καὶ τὸν ὑπηρετοῦντα τῷ ίερεῖ τοῦ Διὸς ἀμφιθαλῆ παῖδα λέγεσθαι Κάμιλλον, ὥς καὶ τὸν Ἕρμῆν οὕτως ἔνιοι τῶν Ἐλλήνων Κάμιλλον ἀπὸ τῆς διακονίας προσήγορευον.

VIII. Ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Νομᾶς ἐπὶ εὐνοία καὶ χάριτι τοῦ δήμου πολυτευσάμενος εὐθὺς ἐπεχείρει τὴν πόλιν, ὡσπερ σίδηρον, ἐκ σκληρᾶς καὶ πολεμικῆς μαλακωτέραν ποιήσας καὶ δικαιοτέραν. ἀτεχνῶς γὰρ ἦν Πλάτων ἀποκαλεῖ φλεγμαίνουσαν πόλιν ἐκείνη τὸν, ἵνα, συντάσσα μὲν εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς τύλιμη τινὶ καὶ παραβόλῳ θρασύτητι τῶν θρασυτάτων καὶ μαχιμωτάτων ἑκεῖ πανταχόν ἐστὶν ὀσμήν, ταῖς δὲ πολλαῖς στρατείαις καὶ τοῖς συνεχέσι πολέμοις τροφῆς χρησάμενη καὶ αὐξήσει τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ καθάπερ τὰ καταπηγνύμενα τῷ σείεσθαι μᾶλλον ἔδραζεται, ῥόμνυσθαι δοκοῦσα διὰ τῶν κινδύνων. οὕτω δὴ μετέωρον καὶ τετραχυμένου δήμου οὐ μικρᾶς οὐδὲ φαύλης οἵμενος εἶναι πραγματείας μεταχείρισασθαι καὶ μετακοσμῆσαι πρὸς εἰρήνην, ἐπηγάζετι γε τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν βοήθειαν, τὰ μὲν πολλὰ θυσίαις καὶ πομπαῖς καὶ χορείαις, ἀς αὐτὸς ἀφρήσας καὶ κατέστησεν, ἀμα σεμνότητι διαγωγήν ἐπίχαριν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἡδονὴν ἐχούσαις, δημαγωγῶν καὶ τιθασεύων τὸ θυμοειδὲς καὶ φιλοσόλεμον ἐστὶ δὴ ὅτε καὶ φόβους τινὰς ἀπαγγέλλων παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ φάρματα δαιμόνων ἄλλοκοτα καὶ φωνὰς οὐκ εὐμενεῖς, ἐδουλοῦν καὶ

1 Κάμιλλον deleted by Bekker; corrected to Καδμίλον by Sintenis.

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

VIII. After taking such measures to secure the goodwill and favour of the people, Numa straightway attempted to soften the city, as iron is softened in the fire, and change its harsh and warlike temper into one of greater gentleness and justice. For if a city was ever in what Plato calls 1 a "feverish" state, Rome certainly was at that time. It was brought into being at the very outset by the excessive daring and reckless courage of the boldest and most warlike spirits, who forced their way thither from all parts, and in its many expeditions and its continuous wars it found nourishment and increase of its power; and just as what is planted in the earth gets a firmer seat the more it is shaken, so Rome seemed to be made strong by its very perils. And therefore Numa, judging it to be no slight or trivial undertaking to mollify and newly fashion for peace so presumptuous and stubborn a people, called in the gods to aid and assist him. It was for the most part by sacrifices, processions, and religious dances, which he himself appointed and conducted, and which mingled with their solemnity a diversion full of charm and a beneficent pleasure, that he won the people's favour and tamed their fierce and warlike tempers. At times, also, by heralding to them vague terrors from the god, strange apparitions of divine beings and threatening voices, he would subdue and humble

1 Cf. Lycurgus, v. 6.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

tapetwv hēpotei tēn diānōian autōn ὑπὸ deisidai-

4 monías. ἐξ ὧν καὶ μάλιστα λόγον ἐσχεν ἡ σοφία καὶ ἡ παίδευσις τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὡς Πυθαγόρα συγγεγονότος. μέγα γὰρ ἦν μέρος, ὡς ἑκείνῳ τῆς φιλοσοφίας, καὶ τούτῳ τῆς πολιτείας ἡ περὶ τὸ θείον ἀγιστεία 1 καὶ διατριβή. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐξώθην οὐκον καὶ σχηματισμὸν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς Πυθαγόρας διανοίας περιβαλέσθαι. καὶ 65 γὰρ ἑκείνος ἄετὸν τε δοκεῖ πραδναι, φωναῖς τισιν ἐπιστήσας καὶ καταγαγὼν ὑπεριπτάμενον, τὸν τε μηρὸν ὑποφῆναι χρυσοῦν Ὁλυμπίασι διαπορευό-

μενος τὴν πανήγυριν ἀλλας τε τερατώδεις μη-

χανάς αὐτού καὶ πράξεις ἀναγεγέλλουσιν, ἕφ' αἰς καὶ Τίμων ὁ Φλιάσιος ἐγραψε.

Πυθαγόρην δὲ γόητας ἀποκλίνουτ' ἐπὶ δόξας

θήρῃ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων, σεμνηγορίς ὀαρεστήν.

6 τὸ δὲ Νομᾶ δράμα θεᾶς τινος ἡ νύμφης ὀρείας ἐρως ἦν καὶ συνουσία πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀπόρρητος, ὀστερ ἑρηται, καὶ κοιναὶ μετὰ Μοῦσῶν δια-

τριβαί. τὰ γὰρ πλείστα τῶν μαντευμάτων εἰς Μοῦσας ἀνήγε, καὶ μίαν Μοῦσαν ἰδίως καὶ διαφερόντως ἐδίδαξε σέβεσθαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους,

Τακίταν προσαγορεύσας, ὁλὸν σωπηλήν ἢ ἐνεάν

ὀπερ εἶναι δοκεῖ τὴν Πυθαγόρειον ἀπομνημονεύ-

οντος ἐξεμβιθίαν καὶ τιμῶντος.

7 Ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν ἀφίδρυμάτων νομο-

θετήματα παντάπασιν ἀδελφὰ τῶν Πυθαγόρου

1 ἀγιστεία Bryan's correction, after Amyot, adopted by Coraës and Bekker: ἀγχιστεία (relationship).

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

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

In like manner Numa's fiction was the love which a certain goddess or mountain nymph bore him, and her secret meetings with him, as already mentioned,¹ and his familiar converse with the Muses. For he ascribed the greater part of his oracular teachings to the Muses, and he taught the Romans to pay especial honours to one Muse in particular, whom he called Tacita, that is, the silent, or speechless one; thereby perhaps handing on and honouring the Pythagorean precept of silence.

Furthermore, his ordinances concerning images are altogether in harmony with the doctrines of

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δογμάτων. οὔτε γὰρ ἐκεῖνος αἰσθητὸν ἢ παθητόν, ἀόρατον δὲ καὶ ἀκτιστὸν 1 καὶ νοητὸν ὑπελάμβανεν εἶναι τὸ πρῶτον, οὔτος τε διεκόλυσεν ἀνθρωποειδῆ καὶ ζωόμορφον εἰκόνα θεοῦ Ῥωμαίοις νομίζειν. οὔδ’ ἦν παρ’ αὐτοῖς οὔτε γραπτὸν ὁ Κνηστὸς τοῖς πρῶτοι ἔτεσθι ναοὺς μὲν οἰκοδομούμενοι καὶ καλιάδας ἱερὰς ἱστώντες, ἀγαλμα δὲ οὔδεν ἔμορφον ποιούμενοι διετέλουν, ὡς οὔτε ὅσιον ἄφομουτ᾽ τὰ βελτίωνα τοῖς χείροσιν οὔτε ἐφάπτεσθαι θεοῦ δυνατὸν ἀλλὰς ή νοσήσει. Κομιδὴ δ’ καὶ τὰ τῶν θυσίων ἔχεται τῆς Πυθαγορικῆς ἀγιοτείας· ἀναίμακτοι γὰρ ἦσαν αἰ’ γε πολλαὶ, δ’ ἀλφίτον καὶ σπουδῆς καὶ τῶν εὐτελεστάτων πεποιημέναι.

9 Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἐτέρωις ἐξωθεὶ ἐπαγωγή τεκμηρίοις οἱ τὸν ἀνδρα ὁ ἀνδρὶ συνουκείοντες. ὅτι ἐν μὲν ἐστὶν ὅτι Πυθαγόρας Ῥωμαίοι τῇ πολιτείᾳ προσέγραψαν, ὡς ἱστήρηκεν Ἑπίχαρμος ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν τινὶ λόγῳ πρὸς Ἀντίνωρα γεγραμμένοι, παλαιὸς ἀνήρ καὶ τῆς Πυθαγορικῆς διατριβῆς μετεσχηκός· ἔτερον δὲ ὅτι πεσάρων νῦν βασιλεῖ Νομᾶ γενομένων ἔνα Μάμερκον ἔπι τῷ

10 Πυθαγόραν παιδὶ προσηγόρευσεν. ἀπ’ ἐκείνων δὲ καὶ τῶν Αἰμιλίων οἰκον ἀναμιχθῆναι τῶν πατρικίων ὀνομαθῆναι φασίν, οὕτως ὑποκοριζόμενον τοῦ βασιλέως τῇ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αἰμιλίαν καὶ χάριν. αὐτοὶ δ’ ἀκηκόαμεν πολλῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ διεξοντων ὅτι χρησμοῦ ποτε Ῥωμαίοις

1 ἀκτιστὸν Sintenis 1 with AC, followed by Bekker: ἀκήρατον (unnixed).

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Pythagoras. For that philosopher maintained that the first principle of being was beyond sense or feeling, was invisible and uncreated, and discernible only by the mind. And in like manner Numa forbade the Romans to revere an image of God which had the form of man or beast. Nor was there among them in this earlier time any painted or graven likeness of Deity, but while for the first hundred and seventy years they were continually building temples and establishing sacred shrines, they made no statues in bodily form for them, convinced that it was impious to liken higher things to lower, and that it was impossible to apprehend Deity except by the intellect. Their sacrifices, too, were altogether appropriate to the Pythagorean worship; for most of them involved no bloodshed, but were made with flour, drink-offerings, and the least costly gifts.

And apart from these things, other external proofs are urged to show that the two men were acquainted with each other. One of these is that Pythagoras was enrolled as a citizen of Rome. This fact is recorded by Epicharmus the comic poet, in a certain treatise which he dedicated to Antenor; and Epicharmus was an ancient, and belonged to the school of Pythagoras. Another proof is that one of the four sons born to king Numa was named Mamercus, after the son of Pythagoras. And from him they say that the patrician family of the Aemilii took its name, Aemilius being the endearing name which the king gave him for the grace and winsomeness of his speech. Moreover, I myself have heard many people at Rome recount how, when an oracle once commanded the
�ενομένου τῶν φρονιμώτατον καὶ τῶν ἀνδρείότατον Ἑλλήνων ἰδρύσασθαι παρ’ αὐτοῖς, ἐστησαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς εἰκόνας χαλκᾶς δύο, τὴν μὲν Ἀλκιβιάδου, τὴν δὲ Πυθαγόρου. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀμφισβήτησεις ἔχοντα πολλὰς καὶ τῷ κινεῖν διὰ μακροτέρων καὶ τῷ πιστοῦσθαι ἡμιακιώδους ἐστὶ φιλονεικίας.

IX. Νομά δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀρχιερέων, οὓς Ποντίφικας καλοῦσι, διάταξιν καὶ κατάστασιν ἀποδιδό- ασι, καὶ φασιν αὐτόν ἕνα τούτων τὸν πρῶτον γεγο- νέαι. κεκλησθαί δὲ τοὺς Ποντίφικας οἱ μὲν ὅτι τοὺς θεοὺς θεραπεύουσι δυνατοὺς καὶ κυρίους ἀπάν- των ὄντας· ὁ γὰρ δυνατός ὑπὸ Ρωμαίων ὄνομάζεται

2 πότης: ἔτεροι δὲ φασὶ πρὸς ὑπεξάιρεσιν γεγο- νέαι τούνομα τῶν δυνατῶν, ὡς τοῦ νομοθέτου τᾶς δυνατᾶς ἐπιτελεῖν ιερουργίας τούς ιερεῖς κελεύ- οντος, ἀν δὲ ἢ τι κόλυμα μείζον, οὐ συκοφαν- τούντος. οἱ δὲ πλείστοι μάλιστα καὶ τὸ γελῶμενον τῶν ὄνομάτων δοκιμάζουσιν, ὡς οὐδὲν ἄλλῳ ἡ γεφυροποιοῦσι τοὺς ἀνδρας ἐπικληθέντας ἀπὸ τῶν ποιομένων περὶ τὴν γέφυραν ιερῶν, ἀγιωτάτων καὶ παλαιοτάτων ὄντων πῶς ἦσαν οἱ Λατῖνοι

3 τὴν γέφυραν ὄνομάζουσιν. εἶναι μὲντοι καὶ τὴν τήρησιν αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν ἐπισκευήν, ὥσπερ ἀλλο τῶν ἀκινήτων καὶ πατρίων ιερῶν, προσήκουσαν ἔτους ἰερεύσιν. οὐ γὰρ θεμιτῶν, ἀλλ’ ἐπάρατον ἠγείρθαι Ῥωμαίους τὴν κατάλυσιν τῆς ἔξυλης γεφύρας. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὸ πάμπαν ἀνευ σιδήρου

1 πιστοῦσθαι a correction of Reiske’s, accepted by Coraës and Bekker: πιστεύεσθαι (believe).
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Romans to erect in their city monuments to the wisest and the bravest of the Greeks, they set up in the forum two statues in bronze, one of Alcibiades, and one of Pythagoras. However, since the matter of Numa’s acquaintance with Pythagoras is involved in much dispute, to discuss it at greater length, and to win belief for it, would savour of youthful contentiousness.

IX. To Numa is also ascribed the institution of that order of high priests who are called Pontifices, and he himself is said to have been the first of them. According to some they are called Pontifices because employed in the service of the gods, who are powerful and supreme over all the world; and “potens” is the Roman word for powerful. Others say that the name was meant to distinguish between possible and impossible functions; the lawgiver enjoining upon these priests the performance of such sacred offices only as were possible, and finding no fault with them if any serious obstacle prevented. But most writers give an absurd explanation of the name; Pontifices means, they say, nothing more nor less than bridge-builders, from the sacrifices which they performed at the bridge over the Tiber, sacrifices of the greatest antiquity and the most sacred character; for “pons” is the Latin word for bridge. They say, moreover, that the custody and maintenance of the bridge, like all the other inviolable and ancestral rites, attached to the priesthood, for the Romans held the demolition of the wooden bridge to be not only unlawful, but actually sacrilegious. It is also said

1 According to the elder Pliny (N.H. xxxiv. 12), these statues stood in the comitium at Rome from the time of the Samnite wars (343–290 B.C.) down to that of Sulla (138–78 B.C.).
κατὰ δὴ τι λόγιον συναγεγομφῶσθαι διὰ τῶν ἕξυλων. ἢ δὲ λαθῖνη πολλοῖς ὑστερον ἔξειργάσθη 4 χρόνος ὑπ’ Αἰμιλίου ταμεῦντος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐξελίνην τῶν Νομᾶ χρόνων ἀπολείπεσθαι λέγουσιν, ὑπὸ Μαρκίου τοῦ Νομᾶ θυγατριδοῦ βασιλεύοντος ἀποτελεσθεῖσαν.

΄Ο δὲ μέγιστος τῶν Ποντιφίκων οἶνον ἐξηγητοῦ καὶ προφήτου, μᾶλλον δὲ ἱεροφάντων τάξιν εἰλη- χεν, οὐ μόνον1 τῶν δημοσίων δρωμένων ἐπιμελοῦ- μενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦς ἱδία θύντας ἐπισκοπῶν καὶ κωλύσων παρεκβαίνειν τὰ νενομισμένα, καὶ διδά- σκων οὗτος τις δεότι πρὸς θεῶν τιμὴν ἢ παραί- 
5 τήσιν. ήν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν παρθένων ἐπίσκοπος, ἃς Ἐστιάδας προσαγορεύουσι. Νομᾶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἐστιάδων παρθένων καθιέρωσιν καὶ ὅλως τὴν περὶ τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἀθάνατον, δ’ φυλάττουσιν αὐτῶν, θεραπείαν τε καὶ τιμὴν ἀποδιδόσιν, εἰτε ὡς καθαρὰν καὶ ἀφαρτον τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς οὐσίαν ἀκηράτως καὶ ἀμιᾶντοις παρατιθεμένοι σώμασιν, εἰτε τὸ ἀκαρπον καὶ ἄγονον τῇ παρθενίᾳ συν- οικεύοντος. ἐπεὶ τοῖς Ἐλλάδοις οὕτω πῦρ ἁβεβεβαίον ἐστίν, ὡς Πυθοὶ καὶ Ἀθήναις, οὐ παρθένοι, γυναῖκες δὲ πεπαυμέναι γάμων ἔχουσι 6 τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, εάν δὲ ὑπὸ τύχης τινὸς ἐκλήτη, καθάπερ Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀριστίνως λέγεται τυραννίδος ἀποσβεσθῆναι τὸν ἱερὸν λύχνων, ἐν Δελφοῖς δὲ τοῦ ναιύ καταπρησθέντος ὑπὸ Μήδων, περὶ δὲ τὰ Μιθριδατικά καὶ τὸν ἐμφύλιον Ῥωμαίων πόλεμον ἀμα τῷ βωμῷ τὸν

1 μόνον with most MSS. (including S) and edd. : μόνων.
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that it was built entirely without iron and fastened together with wooden pins in obedience to an oracle. The stone bridge was constructed at a much later period, when Aemilius was quaestor.\(^1\) However, it is said that the wooden bridge also was later than the time of Numa, and was completed by Ancus Marcius, the grandson of Numa by his daughter, when he was king.

The chief of the Pontifices, the Pontifex Maximus, had the duty of expounding and interpreting the divine will, or rather of directing sacred rites, not only being in charge of public ceremonies, but also watching over private sacrifices and preventing any departure from established custom, as well as teaching whatever was requisite for the worship or propitiation of the gods. He was also overseer of the holy virgins called Vestals; for to Numa is ascribed the consecration of the Vestal virgins, and in general the worship and care of the perpetual fire entrusted to their charge. It was either because he thought the nature of fire pure and uncorrupted, and therefore entrusted it to chaste and undefiled persons, or because he thought of it as unfruitful and barren, and therefore associated it with virginity. Since wherever in Greece a perpetual fire is kept, as at Delphi and Athens, it is committed to the charge, not of virgins, but of widows past the age of marriage. And if by any chance it goes out, as at Athens during the tyranny of Aristion\(^2\) the sacred lamp is said to have been extinguished, and at Delphi when the temple was burned by the Medes, and as during the Mithridatic and the Roman civil wars the altar was demolished.

\(^1\) 179 B.C.
\(^2\) 88-86 B.C. Cf. Lucullus, xix. 6; Sulla, xiii. 3.
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πῦρ ἕφανίσθη, οὐ φασὶ δεῖν ἀπὸ ἑτέρου πυρὸς ἐναύεσθαι, καίνον δὲ ποιεῖν καὶ νέον, ἀνάπτυντας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φλόγα καθαρὰν καὶ ἀμίαντον. 7 ἐξάπτουσι δὲ μάλιστα τοῖς σκαφεῖσι, ἡ κατα-
σκευάζεται μὲν ἀπὸ πλευρᾶς ἱσοσκελοῦς ὀρθογω-
νίου τριγώνου κοιλαινόμενα, συννεῦει δ’ εἰς ἐν ἐκ
τῆς περιφερείας κέντρον. ὅταν οὖν θεσίων ἐναπτίαν
λάβῃ πρὸς τὸν ἡλίον, ὥστε τὰς αὐγὰς παντα-
χόθεν ἀνακοπτομένας ἀθροίζεσθαι καὶ συμπλέ-
κεσθαι περὶ τὸ κέντρον, αὐτόν τε διακρίνει τὸν
ἀέρα λεπτυνόμενον, καὶ τὰ κουφότατα καὶ ξηρό-
τατα τῶν προστιθεμένων ὄξεως ἀνάπτει κατὰ
τὴν ἀντέρεισιν, σώμα καὶ πληγὴ πυρὸς τῆς
8 αὐγῆς λαβούσης. ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τῶν
ἰερῶν παρθένων ἄλλ’ ἢ τὸ ἄσβεστον ἐκεῖνο
φουρεῖσθαι πῦρ νομίζουσιν ἔνιοι δὲ εἰναὶ τινὰ
φασὶν ἅθέατα τοῖς ἄλλοις ιερὰ κρυπτόμενα, περὶ
ὁν ὅσα καὶ πυθόσθαι καὶ φράσαι θεμίτων ἐν τῷ
Καμίλλου βίῳ γέγραπται.

X. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ Νομᾶ καθιερωθῆναι
λέγουσι Γεγανίαν καὶ Βερηνίαν, δεύτερον δὲ
Κανούληιαν καὶ Ταρπηλίαιν ὑστερον δὲ Σερβίου
δύο προσθέντος ἀλλὰς τῷ ἀριθμῷ διατηρεῖσθαι
μέχρι τῶν χρόνων τούτων τὸ πλῆθος. ὁρίζῃ δὲ
ταῖς ἱεραῖς παρθένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀγνείᾳ
τριακοντατετίς, ἐν τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ δεκαετίᾳ ἡ
χρή δρᾶν μανθάνουσιν, τῇ δὲ μέσῃ δὲ μεμαθήκασι
δρῶσι, τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ἐτέρας αὐταὶ διδάσκοντοι.

2 εἶτα ἀνείται τῇ Βουλομένῃ μετὰ τῶν χρόνων τοῦ-

1 διατηρεῖσθαι: the correction of Corais, adopted by Bekker: διατηρήσαι.
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and the fire extinguished, then they say it must not be kindled again from other fire, but made fresh and new, by lighting a pure and unpolluted flame from the rays of the sun. And this they usually effect by means of metallic mirrors, the concavity of which is made to follow the sides of an isosceles rectangular triangle, and which converge from their circumference to a single point in the centre. When, therefore, these are placed opposite the sun, so that its rays, as they fall upon them from all sides, are collected and concentrated at the centre, the air itself is rarefied there, and very light and dry substances placed there quickly blaze up from its resistance, the sun's rays now acquiring the substance and force of fire. Some, moreover, are of the opinion that nothing but this perpetual fire is guarded by the sacred virgins; while some say that certain sacred objects, which none others may behold, are kept in concealment by them. What may lawfully be learned and told about these things, I have written in my Life of Camillus.¹

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

¹ Chapter xx. 3–6.
τον ἥδη καὶ γάμου μεταλαμβάνειν καὶ πρὸς ἐτερον τραπέσθαι βίου, ἀπαλλαγέσθη τῆς ιερουργίας. λέγονται δὲ ὅτι πολλαὶ ταῦτην ἀνάπασασθαι τὴν ἁδειαν, οὐδὲ ἀσπασαμέναις χρηστὰ πράγματα συνυνεῖν, ἄλλα μετανοία καὶ κατηφεία συνούσαι τὸν λοιπὸν βίον ἐμβαλεῖν τὰς ἄλλας εἰς δευσιδαιμονίαν, ὥστε μέχρι γῆρως καὶ θανάτου διατελεῖν ἐγκαρτεροῦσας καὶ παρθενευμένας.

3 Τιμᾶς δὲ μεγάλας ἀπέδωκεν αὐταίς, ὃν ἐστι καὶ τὸ διαθέσθαι ζῶντος ἐξεῖναι πατρὸς καὶ τάλανταν πράττειν ἀνευν προστάτου διαγούσας, ὡσπερ αἱ τριπάδες. βαθύτερον δὲ προύσαις καὶ ἀγομένῳ τινὶ πρὸς θάνατον αὐτομάτως συνυνεῖσιν, οὐκ ἀναιρεῖται. δεὶ δὲ ἀπομόροις τὴν παρθένου ἀκούσιον καὶ τυχαίαν καὶ οὐκ ἐξεπίτηδες γεγονέναι τὴν ἀπάντησιν. ὁ δὲ ὑπελθὼν κομίζον ἐπὶ μένος ὑπὸ τὸ φορεῖν ἀποθνήσκειν. κόλασις δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἀμαρτημάτων πληγαί ταῖς παρθένοις, τοῦ μεγίστου Ποντίφικος κολάζοντος ἐστὶν ὅτε καὶ γυμνὴν τὴν πλημμελήσασαν, ὅθ᾽ ἐν παλινυκρίσ παρατεινομένης· ἢ δὲ τὴν παρθενίαν κατασχύνασα ζῶσα κατορύττετο παρὰ τὴν Ἐλλήνην λεγομένην πύλην· ἐν ἥ τις ἐστὶν ἐντὸς τῆς πόλεως ὁφρὸς γεώτης παρατείνουσα πόρρων.

4 καλεῖται δὲ χῶμα διαλέκτῳ τῇ Δατίνῳ. ἑνταύθα κατασκευάζεται κατάγειος οἶκος οὗ μέγας, ἔχων ἀνωθεν κατάβασιν. κεῖται δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κλίνῃ τῇ ὑπεστρωμένῃ καὶ λύχνως καλόμενος, ἀπαρχάς τε τῶν πρὸς τὸ ξῆν ἄναγκαίων βραχεῖα τίνες, οἷον ἅρτος, ὑδωρ ἐν ἄγγελῳ, γάλα, ἔλαιον, ὁσπερ ἀφοσιουμένων τὸ μὴ λιμῷ διαφθείρειν σῶμα ταῖς μεγίσταις καθιερωμένοις ἀγιστείαις. αὕτην δὲ
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wishes has liberty to marry and adopt a different mode of life, after laying down her sacred office. We are told, however, that few have welcomed the indulgence, and that those who did so were not happy, but were a prey to repentance and dejection for the rest of their lives, thereby inspiring the rest with superstitious fears, so that until old age and death they remained steadfast in their virginity.

But Numa bestowed great privileges upon them, such as the right to make a will during the life time of their fathers, and to transact and manage their other affairs without a guardian, like the mothers of three children. When they appear in public, the fasces are carried before them, and if they accidentally meet a criminal on his way to execution, his life is spared; but the virgin must make oath that the meeting was involuntary and fortuitous, and not of design. He who passes under the litter on which they are borne, is put to death. For their minor offences the virgins are punished with stripes, the Pontifex Maximus sometimes scourging the culprit on her bare flesh, in a dark place, with a curtain interposed. But she that has broken her vow of chastity is buried alive near the Colline gate. Here a little ridge of earth extends for some distance along the inside of the city-wall; the Latin word for it is “agger.” Under it a small chamber is constructed, with steps leading down from above. In this are placed a couch with its coverings, a lighted lamp, and very small portions of the necessaries of life, such as bread, a bowl of water, milk, and oil, as though they would thereby absolve themselves from the charge of destroying by hunger a life which had been consecrated to the highest services of religion.
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τὴν κολαξιμένην εἰς φορείον ἐνθέμενοι καὶ κατα-
stegásantres ἐξοθεν καὶ καταλαβόντες ἰμάσων, ὡς
μηδὲ φωνὴν ἐξάκουστον γενέσθαι, κομίζουσι δι’
ἀγορᾶς. ἔξισταται δὲ πάντες σιωπῆ καὶ παρα-
pέμπτουσιν ἀφθονογοι μετὰ τινος δεινῆς κατηφείας:
οὐδὲ ἐστὶν ἑτερον θέαμα φρυκτότερον, οὐδ’ ἦμεραν
7 ἡ πόλις ἀλλὴν ἄχει στυγνοτέραν ἱκείνης. ὅταν
δὲ πρὸς τὸν τόπον κομισθῇ τὸ φορείον, οἱ μὲν
ὑπηρέται τοὺς δεσμοὺς ἐξέλυσαν, ὦ δὲ τῶν ἱερέων
ἐξαρχὸς εὐχάς τινας ἀπορρήτους ποιησάμενος καὶ
χείρας ἀνατείνας θεοῖς πρὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης, ἔξαγεν
συγκεκαλυμμένην καὶ καθίστησιν ἑπὶ κλίμακος
eἰς τὸ οἴκημα κάτω φεροῦσης. εἰτὰ αὐτὸς μὲν
ἀποπτρέπεται μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερέων τῆς δὲ
καταβάσης ή τε κλίμαξ ἀναρεῖται καὶ κατα-
κρύπτεται τὸ οἴκημα γῆς πολλῆς ἀνωθεν ἐπιφορο-
μένης, ὡστε ἵσοπεδον τῷ λοιπῷ χώματι γενέσθαι
tὸν τόπον. οὕτω μὲν αἱ προέμεναι τὴν ἱερὰν παρ-
θενίαν κολάζονται.

XI. Νομᾶς δὲ λέγεται καὶ τοῦ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱερὸν
ἐγκύκλιον περιβαλέσθαι τῷ ἀσβέστῳ πυρὶ φρο-
rάν, ἀπομιμούμενος οὐ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς γῆς ὡς
Ἑστίας οὐσίας, ἀλλὰ τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου, οὗ
μέσον οἱ Πυθαγορικοὶ τὸ πῦρ ἱδρύσαν νομίζουσι,
2 καὶ τοῦτο Ἑστίαν καλοῦσι καὶ μονάδα· τὴν δὲ
γῆν οὕτε ἄκινητον οὕτε ἐν μέσῳ τῆς περιφορᾶς
οὐσίας, ἀλλὰ κύκλῳ περὶ τὸ πῦρ αἰωρομένην οὐ
τῶν τιμωτάτων οὐδὲ τῶν πρώτων τοῦ κόσμου
μορίων ὑπάρχειν. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Πλάτωνας φασὶ
πρεσβύτην γενόμενον διανενοήσθαι περὶ τῆς γῆς
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Then the culprit herself is placed on a litter, over which coverings are thrown and fastened down with cords so that not even a cry can be heard from within, and carried through the forum. All the people there silently make way for the litter, and follow it without uttering a sound, in a terrible depression of soul. No other spectacle is more appalling, nor does any other day bring more gloom to the city than this. When the litter reaches its destination, the attendants unfasten the cords of the coverings. Then the high-priest, after stretching his hands toward heaven and uttering certain mysterious prayers before the fatal act, brings forth the culprit, who is closely veiled, and places her on the steps leading down into the chamber. After this he turns away his face, as do the rest of the priests, and when she has gone down, the steps are taken up, and great quantities of earth are thrown into the entrance to the chamber, hiding it away, and making the place level with the rest of the mound. Such is the punishment of those who break their vow of virginity.

XI. Furthermore, it is said that Numa built the temple of Vesta, where the perpetual fire was kept, of a circular form, not in imitation of the shape of the earth, believing Vesta to be the earth, but of the entire universe, at the centre of which the Pythagoreans place the element of fire, and call it Vesta and Unit. And they hold that the earth is neither motionless nor situated in the centre of surrounding space, but that it revolves in a circle about the central fire, not being one of the most important, nor even one of the primary elements of the universe. This is the conception, we are told, which Plato also, in his old age, had of the earth, namely that it is
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ός ἐν ἑτέρᾳ χώρᾳ καθεστώσης, τὴν δὲ μέσην καὶ κυριωτάτην ἑτέρῳ τινὶ κρείττονι προσήκοισαν.

XII. Οἱ δὲ Ποντίφικες καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς πάτρια τοῖς χρήζουσιν ἀφηγοῦνται, Νομᾶ διδάξασθος μηδὲν ἦγείσθαι μίασμα τῶν τοιούτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἑκεῖ θεοὺς σέβεσθαι τοὺς νευμοσμένους, ὡς τὰ κυριώτατα τῶν ἡμετέρων ὑποδεχόμενους ἐξαιρέτως δὲ τὴν προσαγορευμένην Δειβίτιναν, ἐπίσκοπον τῶν περὶ τοὺς θυσιοκυντα ὀσίων θεῶν οὐσαν, εἰτε Περσεφόνην εἰτε μάλλον, ὡς οἱ λογισματοὶ Ἡρωμαίων ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, Ἀφροδίτην, οὗ κακῶς εἰς μιᾶς δύναμιν θεοῦ τὰ περὶ τὰς γενέσεις καὶ τὰς τελευταῖς ἀνάπτυκτος.

2 αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ τὰ πένθη καθ’ ἡλικίας καὶ χρόνους ἔταχεν· οἶον παῖδα μὴ πευθεῖν νεώτερον τριετοῦ, μηδὲ πρεσβύτερον πλείονας μήνας ἄν ἐβίωσιν ἐνιαυτῶν μέχρι τῶν δέκα, καὶ περαιτέρω μηδεμίαν ἡλικίαν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μακροτάτου πένθους χρόνον εἶναι δεκαμηνιαίον, ἐφ’ ὅσον καὶ χηρεύουσιν αἱ τῶν ἀποθανόντων γυναῖκες. ἦ δὲ πρῶτον γαμηθεῖσα βοῦν ἐγκύμονα κατέθευεν ἐκείνον νομοθετήσαντος.

3 Πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἄλλας Νομᾶ καταδείξαντος ἱεροσύνας ἐτί δυνεῖν μνησθῆσομαι, τῆς τε Σαλίων καὶ τῆς τῶν Φυτιαλέων, αἱ μάλιστα τὴν εὐσέβειαν τοῦ ἁγίου ἐμφαίνουσιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ 68 Φυτιαλεῖς εἰρηνοφύλακες τινες ὄντες, ώς δ’ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, καὶ τοῦνομα λαβόντες ἀπὸ τῆς πράξεως,
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established in a secondary space, and that the central and sovereign space is reserved for some other and nobler body.

XII. The Pontifices also explain and direct the ancestral rites of burial for those who desire it, and they were taught by Numa not to regard any such offices as a pollution, but to honour the gods below also with the customary rites, since they receive into their keeping the most sovereign part of us, and particularly the goddess called Libitina, who presides over the solemn services for the dead, whether she is Proserpina, or, as the most learned Romans maintain, Venus; thereby not inaptly connecting man’s birth and death with the power of one and the same godess. Numa himself also regulated the periods of mourning according to ages. For instance, over a child of less than three years there was to be no mourning at all; over one older than that, the mourning was not to last more months than it had lived years, up to ten; and no age was to be mourned longer than that, but ten months was the period set for the longest mourning.¹ This is also the period during which women who have lost their husbands remain in widowhood, and she who took another husband before this term was out, was obliged by the laws of Numa to sacrifice a cow with calf.

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

¹ Cf. chapter xix. 1.
Λόγῳ τὰ νείκη κατέπαυν, οὐκ ἐξώτες στρατεύειν πρότερον ἢ πᾶσαν ἕλπίδα δίκης ἀποκοπήναι.
4 καὶ γὰρ εἰρήνην Ἑλληνες καλούσιν ὅταν λόγῳ, μὴ βία, πρὸς ἂλληλους χρώμονες λύσωσι τὰς διαφοράς. οἱ δὲ Ρωμαίων Φιτιαλείς πολλάκις μὲν ἐβαδίζον ὡς τοὺς ἄδικοντας αὐτοί πείθοντες εὐγνωμονείν, ἀγνωμονοῦντων δὲ μαρτυράμενοι θεοῦσ, καὶ κατευχάμενοι πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ καθ’ αὐτῶν αὐτοῖ καὶ τῆς πατρίδος εἰ μὴ δικαίως ἐπεξείσαιν, οὕτω κατήγγελλον αὐτοῖς τὸν πόλεμον.
5 κωλυόντων δὲ τούτων ἡ μὴ συναντώντων, οὔτε στρατιώτηθε θεμιτοῦ οὔτε βασιλεῖ Ῥωμαίων ὀπλα κινεῖν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τούτων ἔδει τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ πολέμου δεξάμενον ὡς δικαίου τὸν ἀρχοντα, τότε σκοπεῖν περὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὸ Κέλτικον ἐκεῖνο πάθος τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι τούτων τῶν ἱερέων παρανομηθέντων.
6 Ἑτυχον μὲν γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι Κλουσίνους πολιορκοῦντες ἐπέμφθη δὲ πρεσβευτὴς Φάβιος Ἀμβουστος εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον διαλύσεις πράξων ὑπὲρ τῶν πολιορκουμένων. λαβῶν δὲ ἀποκρίσεις οὐκ ἔπιεικεῖν καὶ πέρας σχεῖν αὐτῷ τὴν πρεσβείαν οἴμονος, ἐνεανεύσατο πρὸ τῶν Κλουσίνων ὑπλα λαβῶν προκαλέσασθαι τὸν ἀριστεύ-
7 οιτα τῶν βαρβάρων. τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς μάχης εὐτυχεῖτο καὶ καταβαλὼν ἐσκύλευσε τὸν ἀνδραγωγόντας δὲ οἱ Κελτοὶ πέμπουσιν εἰς Ῥώμην κήρυκα τοῦ Φαβίου κατηγοροῦντες ὡς ἐκσπόνδου καὶ ἀπίστου καὶ ἀκαταγγέλτου ἐξενημοχότος πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμον. ἑνταῦθα τὴν μὲν σύγκλητον οἱ Φιτιαλεῖς ἐπειθοῦν ἐκδιδόναι τὸν ἄνδρα τοὺς

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parley¹; and they would not suffer a hostile expedition to be made before every hope of getting justice had been cut off. For the Greeks call it peace when two parties settle their quarrels by mutual conference, and not by violence. And the Roman Fetiales often went to those who were doing them a wrong and made personal appeals for fair treatment; but if the unfair treatment continued, they called the gods to witness, invoked many dreadful evils upon themselves and their country in case they resorted to hostilities unjustly, and so declared war upon them. But if they forbade it or withheld their consent, neither soldier nor king of Rome could lawfully take up arms. War had to begin with their verdict that it was just, and the ruler, on receiving this verdict, must then deliberate on the proper way to wage it. And it is said that the dreadful disaster which the city experienced at the hands of the Gauls was in consequence of the illegal treatment of these priests.

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

¹ Connecting the name with fateri, fari, to speak.
Κελτοῖς, καταφυγῶν δὲ ἐκεῖνος εἰς τοὺς πολλούς καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ σπουδάζοντι χρησάμενος διεκρούσατο τὴν δίκην. μετ’ ὀλίγον δὲ ἐπελθόντες οἱ Κελτοὶ τὴν Ῥώμην πλὴν τοῦ Καπιτωλίου διεπόρθησαν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τοῖς περὶ Καμίλλου μᾶλλον ἀκριβοῦται.

Χ. Τοὺς δὲ Σαλίους ἑρείς ἐκ τοιαύτης λέγεται συστήσασθαι προφάσεως. έτος δὲ ὁδοὺν αὐτοῦ βασιλεύσωτος λοιμώδης νόσος περιῴουσα τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἔστροφησε καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην. ἀθυμοῦνταν δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἰστορεῖται χαλκῆς πέλτην ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταφερμένην εἰς τὰς Νομᾶς πεσεῖν χείρας. ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῇ θαυμαστῶν τινα λόγον λέγεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, δυν Ὑγείας 2 τε καὶ τῶν Μουσῶν πυθέσθαι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὅπλον ἦκειν ἐπὶ σωτηρία τῆς πόλεως, καὶ δεῖν αὐτὸ φρουρεῖσθαι γενομένων ἄλλων ἐνδέκα καὶ σχῆμα καὶ μέγεθος καὶ μορφὴν ἐκείνην παραπλησίων, ὅπως ἀπορον εἰς τῷ κλέπτῃ δι’ ὁμοίοτητα τοῦ διοπτούσι ἐπιτυχεῖν ἄτι δὲ χρῆναι Μουσάς καθιερώσαι τὸ χωρίον ἐκεῖνο καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸ λειμῶνας, ὅπου τὰ πολλὰ φοιτῶσι συνιάτριβουσιν αὐτῷ. τὴν δὲ πηγὴν ἢ κατάρδει τὸ χωρίον, ὅπως ἑρείς ἀποδείξαι ταῖς Ἐστιάσι παρθένους, ὅπως λαμβάνων αὐτῷ ἡμέραν ἄγνιζοι 3 καὶ ῥᾳνυσιν τὸ ἀνάκτορον. τοῦτοι μὲν οὖν μαρτυρῆσαι λέγουσι καὶ τὰς νόσου παραχώρημα παυσάμενα. τὴν δὲ πέλτην προθέντος αὐτοῦ καὶ κελεύσαντος ἀμιλλάσθαι τοὺς τεχνίτας ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁμοίοτητος, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀπειπέν, Οὐντούριον δὲ Μαμούριον ἐνα τῶν ἄκρων δημουργῶν οὕτως ἐφικέσθαι τῆς ἐμφερείας, καὶ
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deliver Fabius into the hands of the Gauls, but he took refuge with the multitude, and through the favour of the populace evaded his punishment. After a little, therefore, the Gauls came up and sacked Rome, with the exception of the Capitol. But this story is more fully given in my Life of Camillus.\(^1\)

XIII. The priesthood of the Salii Numa is said to have been established for the following reason. In the eighth year of his reign a pestilence, which traversed Italy, distracted Rome also. The story goes that while the people were disheartened by this, a bronze buckler fell from heaven, which came into the hands of Numa, and a wonderful account of it was given by the king, which he learned from Egeria and the Muses. The buckler came, he said, for the salvation of the city, and must be carefully preserved by making eleven others of like fashion, size, and shape, in order that the resemblance between them might make it difficult for a thief to distinguish the one that fell from heaven. He said further that the spot where it fell, and the adjacent meadows, where the Muses usually had converse with him, must be consecrated to them; and that the spring which watered the spot should be declared holy water for the use of the Vestal virgins, who should daily sprinkle and purify their temple with it. Moreover, they say that the truth of all this was attested by the immediate cessation of the pestilence. When Numa showed the buckler to the artificers and bade them do their best to make others like it, they all declined, except Veturius Mamurius, a most excellent workman, who was so happy in his imitation of it, and made all the eleven so exactly

\(^1\) Chapters xvii.–xxii.

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κατασκευάσαι πάσας ὁμοίας, ὡστε μηδ' αὐτῶν ἔτι τὸν Νομάν διαγινώσκειν. τούτων οὖν φυ- λακας καὶ ἀμφιπόλους ἀπέδειξε τοὺς Σαλίους ἵστης. Σάλιοι δὲ ἐκλήθησαν, οὖχ, ὡς ἔνοικοι μυθολογοῦσι, Σαμόθρακος ἄνδρος ἡ Μαντινεώς, ὅψημα Σαλίου, πρώτου τὴν ἐνόπλιον ἐκδιδάξαντος ὀρχήσιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀπὸ τῆς ὀρχήσεως αὐτῆς, ἀλτικῆς οὐσίας, ἦν ὑπορχοῦντα διαπορεύομενοι τὴν πόλιν, ὅταν τὰς ἱερὰς πέλτας ἀναλάβωσιν ἐν τῷ Μαρτίῳ μηνί, φοινικοὺς μὲν ἐνδεδυμένους χιτωνίσκους, μῦραι δὲ χαλκαὶ ἐπεξωσμένοι πλατείας καὶ κράνη χαλκὰ φοροῦντες, ἐγχειρί- διοι δὲ μικρὰς τὰ ὅπλα κρούοντες. ἡ δὲ ἀλλή θρήσεως ποδῶν ἔργων ἐστὶν: κινοῦνται γὰρ ἐπιτερπῶς, ἐλεγμοὺς τινὰς καὶ μεταβολὰς ἐν ρυθμῷ τάχους ἔχοντι καὶ πυκνότητα μετὰ ρώμης καὶ κούφοτητος ἀποδιδόντες.

Αὐτὰς δὲ τὰς πέλτας ἄγκυλλα καλοῦσι διὰ τὸ σχῆμα: κύκλος γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ ἀποδίδοσιν, ὡς πέλτη, τὴν περιφέρειαν, ἀλλὰ ἐκτομήν ἔχει γραμμῆς ἐλκοπεδίως, ὡς αἱ κεραία καμπὰς ἐχουσαὶ καὶ συνεπιστρέφοιη τῇ πυκνότητα πρὸς ἄλλης ἄγκυλλος τὸ σχῆμα ποιοῦσιν. ἢ διὰ τῶν ἄγκωνα περὶ δὲ περιφέρονται. ταῦτα γὰρ ὁ Ἡράκλης εἰρήκε γλυκόμενος ἔξελληνος τοῦνομα. δύνατο δ' ἄν τῆς ἀνέκαθεν φορᾶς πρῶτον ἐπόλυμον γεγονέναι, καὶ τῆς ἀκέσεως τῶν νοσούντων, καὶ τῆς τῶν αὐχμῶν ἀλύσεως, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς τῶν δεινῶν ἀνασχέσεως, καθ' ὅ καὶ τοὺς Υἱοσκόρους.
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like it, that not even Numa himself could distinguish them. For the watch and care of these bucklers, then, he appointed the priesthood of the Salii. Now the Salii were so named, not, as some tell the tale, from a man of Samothrace or Mantinea, named Salius, who first taught the dance in armour; but rather from the leaping\(^1\) which characterized the dance itself. This dance they perform when they carry the sacred bucklers through the streets of the city in the month of March, clad in purple tunics, girt with broad belts of bronze, wearing bronze helmets on their heads, and carrying small daggers with which they strike the shields. But the dance is chiefly a matter of step; for they move gracefully, and execute with vigour and agility certain shifting convolutions, in quick and oft-recurring rhythm.

The bucklers themselves are called "ancilia," from their shape; for this is not round, nor yet completely oval, like that of the regular shield, but has a curving indentation, the arms of which are bent back and united with each other at top and bottom; this makes the shape "ancylon," the Greek for curved. Or, they are named from the elbow on which they are carried, which, in Greek, is "ankon." This is what Juba says, who is bent on deriving the name from the Greek. But the name may come from the Greek "anekathen," inasmuch as the original shield fell from on high; or from "akesis," because it healed those who were sick of the plague; or from "auchmon lysis," because it put an end to the drought; or, further, from "anaschesis," because it brought a cessation of calamities, just as Castor and Pollux were called Anakes by the Athenians; if,

\(^1\) The Latin "salire," to leap.
"Ανακάς Ἀθηναίοι προσηγόρευσαν, εἰ γε δεῖ πρὸς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν διάλεκτον ἐξάγειν τοὺν μνῆμα.

7 Τῷ δὲ Μαμουρίῳ λέγουσι μεσθον γενέσθαι τῆς τέχνης ἐκείνης μνήμην τινὰ δι᾽ φόδης ὑπὸ τῶν Σαλίων ἀμα τῇ πυρρίχῃ διαπεραίνομενής. οἰ δὲ οὐ Οὐστούριον Μαμουρίου εἶναι φασὶ τὸν ἁδόμενον, ἀλλὰ οὐστέρεμε μεμορίαμ, ὅπερ ἐστὶ, παλαιὰν μνήμην.

XIV. 'Επεὶ δὲ διεκόσμησε τὰς ιερωσύνας, ἐδείματο πλησίον τοῦ τῆς Ἑστίας ιεροῦ τὴν καλουμένην Ρηγίαν, οἶλον τι βασίλειον οἰκήματι καὶ τὰ πλείστον αὐτοῖς τοῦ χρόνου διέτριβεν ιερουργῶν ἢ διδάσκαλων τοὺς ιερεῖς ἢ πρὸς ἐννοία τινὶ τῶν θείων πρὸς αὐτῶν σχολάζων. οἷς ὁδὲ εἴχεν ἑτέραν περὶ τὸν Κυρίου λόφον, ἦς ἔτι νῦν τὸν τόπον ἐπιδεικνύουσιν. ἐν δὲ ταῖς προπομπαῖς καὶ ὅλως τῶν ιερέων ταῖς πομπαῖς προηγούντο κήρυκες ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐλινύει κελεύοντες καὶ 2 τὰ ἔργα καταπαύστες. ὅς γὰρ φασὶ τοὺς Πυθαγορικοὺς οὐκ ἔναν ἐκ παρόδου προσκυνεῖ καὶ προσεύχεσθαι τοὺς θεοὺς, ἀλλὰ οἰκοθεν εὐθὺς ἔπε τοῦτο γνώμη παρασκευασμένος βαδίζειν, οὕτως φησὶ Νομᾶς χρήναι τοὺς πολίτας μήτε ἀκούειν τιτῶν θείων μήτε ὅραν ἐν παρέργῳ καὶ ἀμελῶς, ἀλλὰ σχολὴν ἀγοντας ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ προσέχοντας τὴν διάνοιαν ὅσ πράξει μεγίστη τῇ περὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν, ψόφων τε καὶ πατάγων καὶ στεναχῶν, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα τοῖς ἀναγκαῖοις καὶ βανάύσοις πόνοις ἔπεται, καθάρας τὰς ὁδοὺς ταῖς ιερουργίαις παρέχοντας. ἄν ἰχνος τι μέχρι 354
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that is, we are bound to derive the name from the Greek.

We are told that Mamertius was rewarded for his wonderful art by having his name mentioned in a song which the Salii sing as they perform their wandance. Some, however, say that the song does not commemorate Veturius Mamurius, but "veterem memoriam," that is to say, ancient remembrance.

XIV. After Numa had thus established and regulated the priestly orders, he built, near the temple of Vesta, the so-called Regia, or royal house. Here he passed most of his time, performing sacred functions, or teaching the priests, or engaged in the quiet contemplation of divine things. He also had another house on the Quirinal hill, the site of which is still pointed out. At all public and solemn processions of the priests, heralds were sent on before through the city, bidding the people make holiday, and putting a stop to all labour. For, just as it is said that the Pythagoreans do not allow men to worship and pray to their gods cursorily and by the way, but would have them go from their homes directly to this office, with their minds prepared for it, so Numa thought that his citizens ought neither to hear nor see any divine service while they were occupied with other matters and therefore unable to pay attention. They should rather be free from all distractions and devote their thoughts to the religious ceremony as a matter of the highest importance. They should also rid their streets of noise and clatter and clamour, and all such accompaniments of menial and manual labour, and clear them for the sacred ceremonies. And the Romans still preserve some traces of this earlier feeling.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΨΗΦΙΩΜΕΝΩΝ

υῦν διασώζοντες, ὅταν ἄρχων πρὸς ὑμῖν ἡ θυσίας διατρίβῃ, βοῶσιν "Ὅκ ἂγε" σημαίνει δὲ ἡ φωνή "Τοῦτο πρᾶσσε," συνεπιστρέφουσα καὶ κατακομμούσα τοὺς προστυγχάνοντας.

3 ἦν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων παραγγελμάτων αὐτοῦ πολλὰ τοῖς Πυθαγορικοῖς ἐουκότα. ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι παρῆκαν ἐπὶ χοίνικος μὴ καθῆκασι, καὶ μαχαίρα πῦρ μὴ σκαλεῦειν, καὶ βαδίζοντας εἰς ἀποδημίας μὴ μεταστρέφεσθαι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν οὐρανίους περισσὰ θύειν, ἄρτια δὲ τοῖς χθενίσισ, δὲν ἐκάστου τῆν διάνοιαν ἀπεκρύπτοντο πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς, οὐτῶς ἐνα τῶν Νομῶν πατρίων ἀπόρρητον ἔχει τὸν λόγον ὅπως τὸ μὴ σπένδεων θεῶς ἐξ ἀμπέλων ἀτμήτων μηδὲ θύειν ἀτερ ἀλφίτων καὶ τὸ προσκυνεῖν περιστρέφομένους

4 καὶ τὸ καθῆκασι προσκυνήσαντας. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα δύο τὴν γῆς ἐξημέρωσαν οἰκε διδάσκειν, ὡς μόριον ἐνδεδειγμένοις οὕσαν ἤ δὲ περιστροφῇ τῶν προσκυνοῦντων λέγεται μὲν ἀπομίμησις εἰναι τῆς τοῦ κόσμου περιφορᾶς, δόξει δὲ ἂν μᾶλλον ὁ προσκυνῶν, ἐπεὶ πρὸς ἐν τῶν ἑαυτῶν βλεπόντων ἀπέστραται τὰς ἀνατολάς, μεταβάλλων ἐαυτὸν ἐνταῦθα καὶ περιστρέφειν ἐπὶ τῶν θεῶν, κύκλων ποιῶν καὶ συνάπτων τὴν ἐπιτελείωσιν τῆς εὐχῆς

5 διὸ ἀμφότεροι εἰ μὴ νὴ Διὸς τοῖς Ἀλλοις τροχοῖς αἰνήτετα τι καὶ διδάσκει παραπλήσιον ἡ μετα-70 βολή τοῦ σχήματος, ὡς οὐδένος ἑστῶτος τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, ἀλλ’ ὅταν ἄν στρέφῃ καὶ ἀνέλίτη τῶν βίων ἡμῶν ὁ θεός, ἀγαπάν καὶ δέχεσθαι προσήκον. τὸ δὲ καθέξεσθαι προσκυνήσαντας ὁ ὑμων οἶκοι εἶναι λέγουσι τοῦ βεβαιότητα ταῖς

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When a magistrate is busy taking auspices or sacrificing, the people cry "Hoc age," which means "Mind this," and helps to make the bystanders attentive and orderly.

Many of his other precepts also resembled those of the Pythagoreans. For instance, the Pythagoreans said: "Don't use a quart-measure as a seat"; "Don't poke the fire with a sword"; "When you set out for foreign parts, don't turn back"; and "To the celestial gods sacrifice an even number, but an odd number to the terrestrial"; and the meaning of all these precepts they would keep hidden from the vulgar. So in some of Numa's rules the meaning is hidden; as, for instance, "Don't offer to the gods wine from unpruned vines"; "Don't make a sacrifice without meal"; "Turn round as you worship"; and "Sit down after worship." The first two rules would seem to teach that the subject of the earth is a part of religion; and the worshippers' turning round is said to be an imitation of the rotary motion of the universe; but I would rather think that the worshipper who enters a temple, since temples face the east and the Sun, has his back towards the sunrise, and therefore turns himself half round in that direction, and then wheels fully round to face the god of the temple, thus making a complete circle, and linking the fulfilment of his prayer with both deities; unless, indeed, this change of posture, like the Aegyptian wheels, darkly hints and teaches that there is no stability in human affairs, but that we must accept contentedly whatever twists and turns our lives may receive from the Deity. And as for the sitting down after worship, we are told that it is an augury of the
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eὐχαίς καὶ διαμονῆν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἐπυγίνεσθαι.
λέγουσι δὲ καὶ πράξεων διορισμὸν εἶναι τὴν
6 ἀνάπαυσιν· ὡς οὖν τῇ προτέρᾳ πράξει πέρας
ἐπιτιθέντας καθέξεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς, ἵνα
ἐτέρας πάλιν ἀρχὴν παρ’ ἐκείνων λάβωσι. δύνα-
ται δὲ καὶ τούτῳ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ὁμολογεῖν, ἐθι-
ξοντος τοῦ νομοθέτου μὴ ποιεῖσθαι τὰς πρὸς
τὸ θείον ἑντεύξεις ἐν ἀσχολίᾳ καὶ παρέργως οἷς
σπεύδοντας, ἀλλ’ ὅταν χρόνον ἔχωμεν καὶ σχολὴν
ἀγωμεν.

XV. Ἐκ δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης παιδαγωγίας πρὸς
tὸ θείον οὕτως ἡ πόλις ἐγεγόνει χειροθής καὶ
κατατεθαμβημένη τὴν τοῦ Νομᾶ δύναμιν, ὡστε
μίθους ἐοικότας τὴν ἀτοπίαν λόγους παρα-
δέχεσθαι, καὶ νομίζειν μηδὲν ἁπίστων εἰναι μηδὲ
2 ἀμήχανον ἐκείνον βουληθέντος. λέγεται γοῦν
ποτε καλέσας ἐπὶ τὴν τραπέζαν οὐκ ὅλγους τῶν
πολιτῶν, σκεύη τε φαίλα καὶ δεῖπνον εὔτελές
πάνω προθέσθαι καὶ δημοτικὸν ἀρξαμένων δὲ
dειπνεῖν ἐμβαλὼν λόγον ὡς ἡ θεοὶ ἡ σύνεστιν
ηκοὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν, αἰφνίδιον ἐπιδείξαι τὸν τε οἶκον
ἐκπωμάτων πλήρη πολυτέλων καὶ τὰς τραπέζας
ὄψων τε παντοδαπῶν καὶ παρασκευῆς δαψιλίοις
3 γεμοῦσας. πᾶσαν δὲ ὑπερβέβληκεν ἀτοπίαν
τὸ ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ Δίως ὑμιλίας ᾠστορούμενον.
μυθολογοῦσι γὰρ εἰς τὸν Ἀβεντῖνον λόφον οὕτω
μέρος ὅντα τῆς πόλεως οὐδὲ συνοικούμενον, ἀλλ’
ἔχοντα πηγάς τε δαψιλεῖς ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ νάπας
σκιερὰς, φοιτάν δύο δαίμονας, Πίκου καὶ Φαύνου
οὐς τὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ Σατύρων ἂν τῆς Ἡ Πανων γένει
προσεκάσειε, δυνάμει δὲ φαρμάκων καὶ δεινότητι
τῆς περὶ τὰ θεία γοητείας λέγονται ταύτα τοῖς
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acceptance of the worshipper's prayers and the duration of his blessings. We are also told, that, as different acts are separated by an interval of rest, so the worshipper, having completed one act, sits down in the presence of the gods, in order that he may begin another with their blessing. But this, too, can be brought into agreement with what was said above: the lawgiver is trying to accustom us not to make our petitions to the Deity when we are busied with other matters and in a hurry, as it were, but when we have time and are at leisure.

XV. By such training and schooling in religious matters the city became so tractable, and stood in such awe of Numa's power, that they accepted his stories, though fabulously strange, and thought nothing incredible or impossible which he wished them to believe or do. At any rate, the story goes that he once invited a large number of the citizens to his table, and set before them mean dishes and a very simple repast; but just as they began to eat, he surprised them by saying that the goddess with whom he consorteds was come to visit him, and lo, on a sudden, the room was full of costly beakers and the tables were laden with all sorts of meats and abundant furniture. But nothing can be so strange as what is told about his conversation with Jupiter. When the Aventine hill—so runs the tale—was not yet a part of the city nor even inhabited, but abounded in springs and shady dells, two demi-gods, Picus and Faunus, made it their haunt. In other ways these divinities might be likened to Satyrs or Pans, but they are said to have used powerful drugs and practised clever incantations, and to have traversed
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Italy playing the same tricks as the so-called Idaean Dactyli\(^1\) of the Greeks. These demi-gods Numa is said to have caught, by mixing wine and honey with the water of the spring from which they were wont to drink. When captured, they dropped their own forms and assumed many different shapes, presenting hideous and dreadful appearances. But when they perceived that they were fast caught and could not escape, they foretold to Numa many things that would come to pass, and taught him besides the charm against thunder and lightning, which is still practised with onions, hair, and sprats. Some, however, say that it was not the imps themselves who imparted the charm, but that they called Jupiter down from heaven by their magic, and that this deity angrily told Numa that he must charm thunder and lightning with "heads." "Of onions?" asked Numa, filling out the phrase. "Of men," said Jupiter. Thereupon Numa, trying once more to avert the horror of the prescription, asked, "with hair?" "Nay," answered Jupiter, "with living—" "sprats?" added Numa, as he had been taught by Egeria to say. Then the god returned to heaven in a gracious mood,—"hileos," as the Greeks say,—and the place was called Ilicium from this circumstance; and that is the way the charm was perfected. These stories, fabulous and ridiculous as they are, show us the attitude which the men of that time, from force of custom, took towards the gods. And Numa himself, as they say, had such implicit confidence in the gods, that once, when a message was brought to him that enemies were coming up against the city, he smiled and said: "But I am sacrificing."

\(^1\) Fabulous gnomes associated with the Mount Ida of Phrygia and Crete.
XVI. Πρῶτον δὲ φασί καὶ Πίστεως καὶ Τέρμονος ἱερὸν ἱδρύσασθαι. καὶ τὴν μὲν Πίστεως ὄρκον ἀποδείξας Ὀρωμάιος μέγιστον, ὃ χρόμενοι μέχρι νῦν διατελοῦσιν· ὦ δὲ Τέρμον ὅρος ἂν τις εἰη, καὶ θύωσιν αὐτῷ δημοσίᾳ καὶ ἱδίᾳ κατὰ τοὺς τῶν ἄγρων περιορισμούς, νῦν μὲν ἐμψύχα, τὸ παλαιὸν δὲ ἀναίμακτος ἦν ἡ θυσία, Νομᾶ 71 φιλοσοφῆς αὐτὸς ὅσο χρῆ τὸν ὄριον θεόν εἰρήνης φύλακα καὶ δικαιοσύνης μάρτυς ὅστα φόνον 2 καθαρὸν εἶναι. δοκεὶ δὲ καὶ δλῶς οὕτως ὀρίσας τὴν χώραν ὁ βασιλεὺς, Ὀρωμύλου μὴ βουληθέντος ἐξομολογήσασθαι τῷ μέτρῳ τοῦ ὅθεν τὴν ἀφαίρεσιν τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου· δεσμόν γὰρ εἶναι τῆς δυνάμεως τὸν ὄρον, ἃν φυλάττηται, μὴ φυλαττόμενον δὲ τῆς ἀδικίας ἔλεγχον. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἦν δαψιλή χώρα τῇ πόλει κατ’ ἀρχάς, ἀλλὰ 3 τὴν πολλὴν αἰχμῆ προσεκτήσατο Ὀρωμύλος· καὶ ταύτην πᾶσαν ὁ Νομᾶς διένειμε τοῖς ἀπόροις τῶν πολιτῶν, ὡς ἀνάγκην τῆς ἀδικίας ἀφαιρέσας τὴν ἀπορίαν, καὶ τρέπων ἑπὶ γεωργίαν τῶν δῆμων ἀμα τῇ χώρᾳ συνεξημερούμενον. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὀφείλεται ἄρσεν ὁμοίως εἰρήνης ἐργαζέται καὶ ταχὺν ὡς ὁ ἀπὸ γῆς βίος, ἐν τῇ καὶ τῆς πολεμικῆς εὐτολμίας τὸ μὲν ὑπερμαχητικῶν τοῦ ὅθεν διαμένει καὶ πάρεστι, τὸ δὲ εἰς ἀδικίαν καὶ πλεονεξίαν ἀνεμένου ἐκκεκόσπητα. 4 διὸ καὶ τὴν γεωργίαν ὁ Νομᾶς οἶδεν εἰρήνης φύλτρον ἐμμέξας τοῖς πολίταις καὶ καλλον ὡς ἡθοποιόν ἢ πλουτοποιόν ἀγαπήσας τέχνην, εἰς μέρη τῇ χώρᾳ διείλεν, ἀ πάγους προσηγότητος, καὶ καθ’ ἑκαστὸν ἐπισκόπους ἔταξε καὶ περι-
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XVI. He was also the first, they say, to build temples to Faith and Terminus; and he taught the Romans their most solemn oath by Faith, which they still continue to use. Terminus signifies boundary, and to this god they make public and private sacrifices where their fields are set off by boundaries; of living victims nowadays, but anciently the sacrifice was a bloodless one, since Numa reasoned that the god of boundaries was a guardian of peace and a witness of just dealing, and should therefore be clear from slaughter. And it is quite apparent that it was this king who set bounds to the territory of the city, for Romulus was unwilling to acknowledge, by measuring off his own, how much he had taken away from others. He knew that a boundary, if observed, fetters lawless power; and if not observed, convicts of injustice. And indeed the city's territory was not extensive at first, but Romulus acquired most of it later with the spear. All this was distributed by Numa among the indigent citizens. He wished to remove the destitution which drives men to wrongdoing, and to turn the people to agriculture, that they might be subdued and softened along with the soil they tilled. For there is no other occupation which produces so keen and quick a relish for peace as that of a farmer's life, where so much of the warrior's daring as prompts a man to fight for his own, is always preserved, while the warrior's licence to indulge in rapacity and injustice is extirpated. Numa, therefore, administering agriculture to his citizens as a sort of peace-potion, and well pleased with the art as fostering character rather than wealth, divided the city's territory into districts, to which he gave the name of "pagi," and in each of them he set
πόλους. ἔστι δ' ὁτε καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφορον καὶ
tεκμαιρόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων τοὺς τρόπους τῶν
πολιτῶν τοὺς μὲν εἰς τιμᾶς καὶ πίστεις ἀνήγε,
tοὺς δὲ ῥαθύμους καὶ ἀμελεῖς ψέγων καὶ κακίζων
ἐσωφρόνιζε.

XVII. Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων αὐτοῦ πολεμευμάτων ἡ
κατὰ τέχνας διανομή τοῦ πλῆθους μάλιστα
θαυμάζεται. τῆς γὰρ πόλεως ἐκ δυνῶν γενῶν,
ὡσπερ εἴρηται, συνεστάναι δοκούσης, διεστώσης
dὲ μᾶλλον καὶ μηδεὶς τρόπῳ μᾶς γενέσθαι βου-
λομένης μηδὲ οἰον ἔξαλείψῃ τὴν ἑτερότητα καὶ
dιαφοράν, ἀλλὰ συγκρούσεις ἀπαύστους καὶ φι-
λονεικίας τῶν μερῶν ἔχουσης, διανοηθεὶς ὅτι καὶ
tῶν σωμάτων τὰ φύσει δύσμικτα καὶ σκληρά
catathráontes καὶ διαιροῦντες ἀναμμυρίουσιν,
ὑπὸ μικρότητος ἀλλήλους συμβαίνοντα μᾶλλον,

2 ἔγνω κατατεμεῖν τομάς πλείονας τὸ σύμπαν πλή-
θος· ἐκ δὲ τούτων εἰς ἑτέρας ἐμβαλὼν διαφοράς
τὴν πρώτην ἐκείνην καὶ μεγάλην ἀφανίσαι ταῖς
ἐλάττωσιν ἐνδιασπαρεῖσαν. ἦν δὲ ἡ διανομὴ
catatὰ τέχνας, αὐλητῶν, χρυσοχῶν, τεκτό-
νων, βαφέων, σκυτοτόμων, σκυτοδεψῶν, χαλκέων,
κεραμέων. τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς τέχνας εἰς ταῦτο συν-
αγαγὼν ἐν αὐτῶν ἑκ πασῶν ἀπέδειξε σύστημα.

3 κοινωνίας δὲ καὶ συνόδους καὶ θεοῦν τιμᾶς ἄπο-
δους ἐκάστῳ γένει πρεπούσας, τότε πρῶτον ἐκ
tῆς πόλεως ἀνείλε τὸ λέγεσθαι καὶ νομίζεσθαι
tους μὲν Σαβίνους, τους δὲ Ῥωμαίους, καὶ τοὺς
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overseers and patrols. But sometimes he would inspect them in person, and judging of the characters of the citizens from the condition of their farms, would advance some to positions of honour and trust; while others, who were indolent and careless, he would chide and reproach, and so try to make them sensible.

XVII. But of all his measures, the one most admired was his distribution of the people into groups according to their trades or arts. For the city was supposed to consist of two tribes, as has been said, although it had no consistency, but was rather divided into two tribes, and utterly refused to become united, or to blot out its diversities and differences. On the contrary, it was filled with ceaseless collisions and contentions between its component parts. Numa, therefore, aware that hard substances which will not readily mingle may be crushed and pulverized, and then more easily mix and mingle with each other, owing to the smallness of their particles, determined to divide the entire body of the people into a greater number of divisions, and so, by merging it in other distinctions, to obliterate the original and great distinction, which would be lost among the lesser ones. He distributed them, accordingly, by arts and trades, into musicians, goldsmiths, carpenters, dyers, leather-workers, curriers, braziers, and potters. The remaining trades he grouped together, and made one body out of all who belonged to them. He also appointed social gatherings and public assemblies and rites of worship befitting each body. And thus, at last, he banished from the city the practice of speaking and thinking of some citizens as Sabines, and of others

1 Chapter ii. 4 f.
μὲν Τατίου, τούς δὲ Ρωμύλου πολίτας, ὡστε τὴν
diaίρεσιν εὐαρμοστίαν καὶ ἀνάμιξιν πάντων γε-
vέσθαι πρὸς πάντας.

4 Ἐπαινεῖται δὲ τῶν πολιτικῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ
περί τὸν νόμον διόρθωμα τὸν διδόντα τοῖς πατρά-
σι τοὺς παίδας πιηράσκειν, ὑπεξελομένου τοὺς
gεγαμήκοτας, εἰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπαινοῦντος καὶ
cελεύοντος ὁ γάμος γένοιτο. δεινὸν γὰρ ἤγειτο
tὴν ὅς ἐλευθέρω γεγαμήκην γυναῖκα δοῦλῳ
συνοικεῖν.

XVIII. "Ἡψατο δὲ καὶ τῆς περί τὸν οὐρανὸν
πραγματείας οὔτε ἀκριβῶς οὔτε παντάπασιν
ἀθεωρήτως. Ῥωμύλου γὰρ βασιλεύοντος ἀλά-
γως ἐχρῶντο τοὺς μησὶ καὶ ἀτάκτως, τοὺς μὲν
οὐδὲ εἰκοσιν ἥμερῶν, τοὺς δὲ πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα,
tοὺς δὲ πλεῖονοι λογιζόμενοι, τῆς δὲ γινομένης
ἀνωμαλίας περὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ τὸν ἥλιον
ἐννοιαν οὐκ ἔχοντες, ἄλλ᾽ ἐν φυλάττοντες μόνον,
ὅπως ἔξηκοντα καὶ τριακοσίων ἥμερῶν ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς

2 ἔσται. Νομάς δὲ τὸ παράλλαγα τῆς ἀνωμαλίας
ἵμερῶν ἔνεδεκα γίνεσθαι λογιζόμενοι, ὡς τοῦ μὲν
σεληνιακοῦ τριακοσίας πεντήκοντα τέσσαρας
έχοντος ἥμερας, τοὐ δὲ ἡλιακοῦ τριακοσίας ἐξή-
κοντα πέντε, τὰς ἐνεδεκα ταύτας ἥμερας διπλα-
σιάξων ἐπήγαγε παρ᾽ ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑβρου

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αρίθ. μην ἦν τὸν ἐμβόλιον, ὑπὸ Ρωμαίου Μερκη-
δίνου καλούμενον, εἶκοσι καὶ δυοῖν ἥμερῶν οὖν.

3 καὶ τούτο μὲν αὐτῷ τὸ ἱαμα τῆς ἀνωμαλίας μει-
ζόνων ἐμελλεν ιαμάτων δεήσεσθαι.

Μετεκίνησε δὲ καὶ τὴν τάξιν τῶν μηνῶν· τὸν
γὰρ Μάρτιον πρῶτον ὄντα τρίτον ἐταξε, πρῶτον
dὲ τὸν Ῥανούριον, ὃς ἦν ἐνδέκατος ἐπὶ Ρωμύλου,

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as Romans; or of some as subjects of Tatius, and others of Romulus, so that his division resulted in a harmonious blending of them all together.

Praise is also given to that measure of his whereby the law permitting fathers to sell their sons was amended. He made an exception of married sons, provided they had married with the consent and approval of their fathers. For he thought it a hard thing that a woman who had married a man whom she thought free, should find herself living with a slave.

XVIII. He applied himself, also, to the adjustment of the calendar, not with exactness, and yet not altogether without careful observation. For during the reign of Romulus, they had been irrational and irregular in their fixing of the months, reckoning some at less than twenty days, some at thirty-five, and some at more; they had no idea of the inequality in the annual motions of the sun and moon, but held to this principle only, that the year should consist of three hundred and sixty days. But Numa, estimating the extent of the inequality at eleven days, since the lunar year had three hundred and fifty-four days, but the solar year three hundred and sixty-five, doubled these eleven days, and every other year inserted after the month of February the intercalary month called Mercedinus by the Romans, which consisted of twenty-two days. This correction of the inequality which he made was destined to require other and greater corrections in the future.

He also changed the order of the months. March, which had been first, he made the third month, and January, which had been the eleventh under Romulus,
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δωδέκατος δὲ καὶ τελευταῖος ὁ Φεβρουάριος, ὁ

νῦν δευτέρῳ χρόνται. πολλοὶ δὲ εἰσὶν οὗ καὶ

προστεθήκατε τούτους υπὸ Νομᾶ τοὺς μηνας λέ-

γουσι, τὸν τε Ἰανουάριον καὶ τὸν Φεβρουάριον,

ἐξ ἀρχῆς δὲ χρήσθαι δέκα μόνον εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν,

ὡς ἔνιοι τῶν βαρβάρων τρισὶ, καὶ τῶν Ἐλλήνων

Ἀρκάδες μὲν τέσσαραν, ἐξ δὲ Ακαρναίες, Αἰγυ-

πτίοις δὲ μηναῖοι ἤν ὁ ἐνιαυτός, εἰτα τετρά-

μῆνος, ὡς φασί. διὸ καὶ νεωτάτην χώραν οἰ-

κούντες ἀρχαιότατοι δοκοῦσιν εἰναι καὶ πλῆθος

ἀμήχανον ἐτῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς γενεαλογίαις καταφέρου-

σιν, ἀτε δὴ τούς μήνας εἰς ἑτῶν ἀριθμοῦ τιθέμενοι.

XIX. Ῥωμαιοὶ δὲ ὅτι μὲν δέκα μῆνας εἰς τὸν

ἐνιαυτὸν ἔταττον, οὐ δώδεκα, τεκμήριον ἢ τὸν

teleutaiou prosphgoria. dekaton gar auton ekri

nyun kaloudian hoti de ton Martion prototon, h

tasias ton gar ap' ekleinon pempoton ekallon

pempoton ekoton de ton ekoton kal ton alloan

exis omoiws ekaston, epiei ton Iaonaria kai

ton Fedrouariou prot ton Martion tibemenois

sunebainen autois ton eirhmenon mhma pempoton

2 mewn onomazein, ebdomon de arithmein. alloan de

cal logon eixe ton Martion Arei katheromeron

upo ton Rwmilo prototon onomazesthai. deuteron

deton Aprillion, epoimunon onta tis Aphrodite

tis, ev o thevosi te te thef kal tais kalandais

ai gynaikes estefanomenei mvrshn loynaitai.
tines de ou diad tis Aphrodithen ton Aprillion
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he made the first month; February, which had been twelfth and last, thus became the second month, as now. But there are many who say that these months of January and February were added to the calendar by Numa, and that at the outset the Romans had only ten months in their year, as some Barbarians have three, and as, among the Greeks, the Arcadians have four, and the Acarnanians six; the Egyptian year had at first only a single month in it, afterwards four, as we are told. And therefore, though they inhabit a very recent country, they have the credit of being a very ancient people, and load their genealogies with a prodigious number of years, since they really count their months as so many years.

XIX. That the Romans had at first only ten months in their year, and not twelve, is proved by the name of their last month; for they still call it December, or the tenth month. And that March used to be their first month, is proved by the sequence of months after it; for the fifth month after it used to be called Quintilis, the sixth Sextilis, and so on with the rest. Therefore, when they placed January and February before March, they were guilty of naming the above-mentioned month Quintilis, or fifth, but counting it seventh. And besides, it was reasonable that March, which is consecrate to Mars, should be put in the first place by Romulus, and April in the second place, since this month is named after Aphrodite. In it they sacrificed to this goddess, and on its first day the women bathe with myrtle garlands on their heads. Some, however, say that April, with its smooth "p," cannot

1 Perhaps as formed by the deposits of the Nile (Herod. ii. 5 and 9).
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φασιν, ἀλλ' ὦσπερ ἔχει τούνομα ψιλόν, Ἀπρίλ-λιον κεκλήσθαι τὸν μὴν τῆς ἐκρινὴς ὀφρα ἀκμα-ξουσῆς ἀνοίγοντα καὶ ἀνακαλύπτοντα τῶν βλα-στοὺς τῶν φυτῶν τοῦτο γὰρ ἦ γλώττα σημαίνει. 3 τῶν δ' ἐφεξῆς τὸν μὲν Μάιον καλοῦσιν ἀπὸ Μαίας. Ἑρμῆς γὰρ ἀνέργωται τὸν καὶ Ἰούνιον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἡρας. εἰσὶ δὲ τινες οἱ τούτους ἡλικίας ἐπωνύμους εἶναι λέγοντες πρεσβυτέρας καὶ νεωτέρας· μαϊώ-ρεις γὰρ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι παρ' αὐτοῖς, οἰωνιώρεις δὲ οἱ νεωτέροι καλοῦνται. τῶν δὲ λουπῶν ἐκαστὸν ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως, ὦσπερ ἀριθμοῦντες, ὄνομαζον πέμπτου, ἔκτου, ἐβδομοῦν, ὕδοιον, ἑνατον, δέκατον. 4 εἶτα ὁ πέμπτος ἀπὸ Καίσαρος τοῦ καταγωνισα-μένου Πομπήιον Ἰούλιος· ὁ δὲ ἐκτός Ἀὐγουστος ἀπὸ τοῦ δευτέρου μὲν ἄρξιτος, Σεβαστοῦ δὲ ἐπικληθέντος, ἀνομάσθη. τοὺς δὲ ἐφεξῆς 1 Δο-μετιανὸς εἰσεποίησε ταῖς αὐτοῦ προσωπικής οὐ- πολῶν χρόνων, ἀλλὰ τὰς αὐτῶν ἀναλαβόντες πάλιν ἔκεινου σφαγέντος ὃ μὲν ἔβδομος, ὁ δὲ ὕδοιο καλοῦνται. μόνοι δ' οἱ τελευταῖοι δύο τῆς ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως κλήσιν, ὦσπερ ἐσχον εξ ἀρχῆς, διεφύλαξαν.

5 Τῶν δὲ ὑπὸ Νομᾶ προστεθέντων ἢ μετατε-θέντων ὃ μὲν Φεβρουάριος οἶον καθάρσιος ἀν τις εἰς· καὶ γὰρ ἡ λέξις ἐγγίστα τοῦτο σημαίνει, καὶ τοὺς φθινοῖς ἐναγίζουσι τότε καὶ τὴν τῶν Δουπερ-καλίων ἐορτὴν εἰς τὰ πολλὰ καθαρμῷ προσεο-κυίαν τελοῦσιν· ὁ δὲ πρῶτος Ἰανουάριος ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰανοῦ. δοκεῖ δὲ μοι τὸν Μάρτιον ὁ Νομᾶς

1 ἐφεξῆς Bekker adds δύο.
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be derived from Aphrodite, with its rough "ph," but that this month of high spring time is called April because it *opens* and discloses the buds and shoots in vegetation, this being the meaning of the word "aperio." The next month in order is called May, from Maia, the mother of Mercury, to whom it is sacred; and June is so named from Juno. There are some, however, who say that these months get their name from an age, older and younger; for "majores" is their name for the *elder,* "juniores" for the *younger* men. Each of the remaining months they named from its arithmetical position in the list, the fifth Quintilis, the sixth Sextilis, and so on with September, October, November, and December. Afterwards the fifth month was named Julius, from Julius Caesar, the conqueror of Pompey; and the sixth month Augustus, from the second Caesar, who was given that title. The seventh and eighth months bore for a short time the names Germanicus and Domitianus, which the emperor Domitian gave them; but when he was slain, they resumed their old names of September and October. Only the last two months, November and December, preserved the names derived from their position in the list just as they were at the outset.

Of the months which were added or transposed by Numa, February must have something to do with purification, for this is nearest to the meaning of the word, and in this month they make offerings to the dead and celebrate the festival of the Lupercalia, which, in most of its features, resembles a purification.1 The first month, January, is so named from Janus. And I think that March, which is

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1 Cf. *Romulus,* xxi. 4-8.
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ἐπώνυμον ὄντα τοῦ Ἀρεως ἐκ τῆς προεδρίας μεταστήσαι, βουλόμενος ἐν παντὶ τῆς πολεμικῆς δύναμεως προτιμᾶσθαι τὴν πολιτικὴν. ὦ γὰρ Ἰανὸς ὑπὸ τοὺς πάνω παλαιοὺς εἶτε δαίμονε ἐίτε βασιλέως γενόμενος πολιτικὸς καὶ κοινωνικὸς ἐκ τοῦ θηριώδους καὶ ἄγριου λέγεται μεταβαλέων τὴν διάιταν. καὶ διὰ τούτο πλάττουσιν αὐτὸν ἀμφιπρόσωπον, ὡς ἔτεραν ἔξ ἔτερας τῇ βίῳ περιποίησαντα τὴν μορφὴν καὶ διάθεσιν.

XX. Ἡστι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ νεώς ἐν Ῥώμη 73 δίθυρος, ὃν πολέμου πύλην καλοῦσι. νομίζεται γὰρ ἀνεφχθαι μὲν αὐτὸν ὅταν ἡ πόλεμος, κεκλεισθαί δὲ εἰρήνης γενομένης. ὦ δὴ χαλεπών ἡν καὶ σπανίως γενόμενον, ἀἐρι τινὶ συνηρτημένης πολέμω τῆς ἤγεμονίας, διὰ μέγεθος τοῖς κύκλῳ περικεχυμένους γένεται βαρβάροις ἀντερειδοῦσιν.

2 πλὴν ἔπι γε τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καϊσαρος ἐκλείσθη καθελόντος Ἄντωνον καὶ πρότερον ὑπατευόντων ἩΜαρκου Ἀτιλίου καὶ Τίτου Μαλλίου χρόνον ὃ πολῶν ἐίτα εὐθὺς ἀνεφχθη πολέμου συρραγέντος. ἀλλὰ ἔπι γε τῆς Νομᾶς καὶ βασιλείας οὐδεμιὰν ἡμέραν ἀνεφγεμένος ὥφθη, τρία δὲ καὶ τετταράκοντα ὑπὶ συνεχῶς ἐμεινε κεκλεισμένος ὑπὸς ἐξήρητο παντελῶς τὰ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ

3 πανταχόθεν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ὁ Ρωμαίων ἡμέρωτο καὶ κατεκκείλητο τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ πραότητι τοῦ βασιλέως δήμος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς κύκλῳ πόλεις, ὡσπερ αὐρας τινὸς ἐκείθεν ἢ πνεύματος ὑγιεινοῦ φέροντος, ἀρχὴ μεταβολῆς ἔλαβε καὶ πόθος εἰσερρῆται πάντας εὐνομίας καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ γῆν φυτεύειν καὶ τέκνα τρέφειν ἐν ἤσυχίᾳ καὶ
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named from Mars, was moved by Numa from its place at the head of the months because he wished in every case that martial influences should yield precedence to civil and political. For this Janus, in remote antiquity, whether he was a demi-god or a king, was a patron of civil and social order, and is said to have lifted human life out of its bestial and savage state. For this reason he is represented with two faces, implying that he brought men's lives out of one sort and condition into another.

XX. He also has a temple at Rome with double doors, which they call the gates of war; for the temple always stands open in time of war, but is closed when peace has come. The latter was a difficult matter, and it rarely happened, since the realm was always engaged in some war, as its increasing size brought it into collision with the barbarous nations which encompassed it round about. But in the time of Augustus Caesar it was closed, after he had overthrown Antony; and before that, when Marcus Atilius and Titus Manlius were consuls, it was closed a short time; then war broke out again at once, and it was opened. During the reign of Numa, however, it was not seen open for a single day, but remained shut for the space of forty-three years together, so complete and universal was the cessation of war. For not only was the Roman people softened and charmed by the righteousness and mildness of their king, but also the cities round about, as if some cooling breeze or salubrious wind were wafted upon them from Rome, began to experience a change of temper, and all of them were filled with longing desire to have good government, to be at peace, to till the earth, to rear their children.
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4 σέβεσθαι θεούς. ἔορταί δὲ καὶ θαλάται καὶ παρ᾽ ἀλλήλους ἄδεως ἱόντων καὶ ἀναμυγμένων ύποδοχαί καὶ φιλοφροσύνα τὴν Ἰταλίαν κατείχον, οἴον ἐκ πηγῆς τῆς Νομᾶ σοφίας τῶν καλῶν καὶ δικαίων ἐπεισυρέωντων εἰς ἀπαντας καὶ διαχεομένης τῆς περὶ ἐκείνου γαλήνης· ὂστε καὶ τὰς ποιητικὰς ὑπερβολὰς ἐνδείξῃ πρὸς τὴν τότε κατάστασιν λέγουσιν. "Ἐν δὲ σιδαρδέτους πόρταξιν αἰθῶν ἄραρχαν ἔργα·" καὶ, "εὖρος δάμναται ἐγχεώ τι λογχωτὰ ξέφεια τ' ἄμφήκεα, χαλκεᾶν δὲ οὐκέτι σαλπίγγων κτύπωσ, οὐδὲ συλάται μελίφρων ὕπνως ἀπὸ βλεφάρων." οὗτε γὰρ πόλεμος οὗτε στάσις οὗτε νεωτερισμὸς περὶ πολέμουν ἱστόρηται Νομᾶ βασιλεύοντος· οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐκείνου ἔχθρα τις ἡ φθόνος ἢ δ' ἔρωτα.

5 βασιλείας ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ σύστασις ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλ᾽ εἴτε φόβος θεῶν προκήδεσθαι δοκοῦτον τοῦ ἀνδρός εἴτε τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀιῶνες εἴτε δαμόνιος 1 τύχη, πάσης κακίας ἄθικτων ἐπ' ἐκείνου καὶ καθαρῶν διαφυλάττουσα τὸν βίον, ἐναργές ἐξήνεγκε παράδειγμα καὶ τεκμήριον τῆς Πλατωνικῆς φωνῆς, ἢν ὑστερον ἐκείνος οὐκ ὁλίγοις χρόνοις

6 γενόμενος ἐτόλμησεν ἀφεῖναι περὶ πολεμιῶν, ὡς μια κακῶν παύλα καὶ λύσις ἀνδρώπους ἐστίν, ἐκ τινος τύχης θείας εἰς ταυτὸ διανοία φιλοσόφοι βασιλεικῆς συμμετοχὰν δύναμιν ἐγκρατῆ καὶ ὑπερδέξιον τῆς κακίας τὴν ἀρετὴν καταστήσαι. "Μακάριος μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς" ὁ σώφρων ὡς ἀλη-

1 δαμόνιος Bryan’s correction, adopted by Coraës and Bekker: δαμάνιος.

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in quiet, and to worship the gods. Festivals and feasts, hospitalities and friendly converse between people who visited one another promiscuously and without fear,—these prevailed throughout Italy, while honour and justice flowed into all hearts from the wisdom of Numa, as from a fountain, and the calm serenity of his spirit diffused itself abroad. Thus even the hyperboles of the poets fall short of picturing the state of man in those days: “And on the iron-bound shield-handles lie the tawney spiders’ webs”; and, “rust now subdues the sharp-pointed spears and two-edged swords; no longer is the blast of brazen trumpets heard, nor are the eyelids robbed of delicious sleep.”¹ For there is no record either of war, or faction, or political revolution while Numa was king. Nay more, no hatred or jealousy was felt towards his person, nor did ambition lead men to plot and conspire against his throne. On the contrary, either fear of the gods, who seemed to have him in their especial care, or reverence for his virtue, or a marvellous felicity, which in his days kept life free from the taint of every vice, and pure, made him a manifest illustration and confirmation of the saying which Plato,² many generations later, ventured to utter regarding government, namely, that human ills would only then cease and disappear when, by some divine felicity, the power of a king should be united in one person with the insight of a philosopher, thereby establishing virtue in control and mastery over vice. “Blessed,” indeed, is such a wise man

¹ A free citation, apparently from memory, of Bacchylides, Fragment 13 (Bergk). See Jebb’s Bacchylides, p. 411.
² Republic, p. 487 e.
θώς, "μακάριοι δὲ οἱ συνήκουν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ σωφρονούντος στόματος ἱόντων λόγων." τάχα γὰρ οὐδὲ ἀνάγκης τινὸς δεῖ πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς οὐδὲ ἀπειληθῆς, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὴν ἁρετὴν ἐν εὐδήλῳ παραδείγματι καὶ λαμπρῷ τῷ βίῳ τῶν ἁρχόντων ὀρῶντες, ἐκουσίως σωφρονοῦσι καὶ συμμετασχηματίζονται πρὸς τὸν ἐν φιλίᾳ καὶ ὀμονοία τῇ πρὸς αὐτοὺς μετὰ δικαιοσύνης καὶ μετριότητος ἀμύμωνα καὶ μακάριον βίον, ἐν ὧδε τὸ κάλλιστον ἀπάσης πολιτείας τέλος ἐστὶ, καὶ βασιλικότατος ἀπάντων ὁ τούτων τῶν βίων καὶ ταὐτῆν τὴν διάθεσιν τοῖς ὑπηκοόις ἐνεργάσασθαι δυνάμενος. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Νομᾶς παντὸς μᾶλλον φαίνεται συνεργάκως.

XXI. Περὶ δὲ παίδων αὐτοῦ καὶ γάμων ἀντιλογίας γεγονοσὶ τοῖς ἱστορικοῖς. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐτε γάμοι ἀλλον ἢ τὸν Τατίας λαβεῖν αὐτῶν οὕτε παιδὸς ἐτέρου γενέσθαι πατέρα πλῆρως μᾶλθαν πρὸς Πομπηλίας λέγουσιν· οἱ δὲ πρὸς ταύτης τέσσαρας νίους ἀναγράφουσιν αὐτοῦ, Πόμπωνα, Πίνου, Κάλπου, Μάμερκου, ὃν ἐκαστὸν οἴκου διαδοχὴν καὶ γένους ἐντίμου καταλείπειν. εἶναι γὰρ ἄποι μὲν τοῦ Πόμπωνος τοὺς Πομπωνίους, ἄποι δὲ Πίνου τοὺς Πιαρίους, ἄποι δὲ Κάλπου 74 τοὺς Καλτουρίους, ἄποι δὲ Μαμέρκου τοὺς Μαμερκίους, οἷς διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὅτι γεγένησθαι παρωνύμιον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ βασιλέας. τρίτοι δὲ εἰσιν οἱ τούτων μὲν κατηγοροῦντες ὡς χαρίζομένων τοῖς γένεσι καὶ προστίθεντος αὐτῷ ἀληθῆ στέμματα τῆς ἀπὸ Νομᾶ διαδοχῆς, τὴν δὲ Πομπηλίαν ὃν ἐκ Τατίας γεγονέναι λέγοντες, ἀλλ’ ἐξ ἐτέρας ἀνα-
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"in himself, and blessed, too, are those who hear the words of wisdom issuing from his lips." 1 For possibly there is no need of any compulsion or menace in dealing with the multitude, but when they see with their own eyes a conspicuous and shining example of virtue in the life of their ruler, they will of their own accord walk in wisdom's ways, and unite with him in conforming themselves to a blameless and blessed life of friendship and mutual concord, attended by righteousness and temperance. Such a life is the noblest end of all government, and he is most a king who can inculcate such a life and such a disposition in his subjects. This, then, as it appears, Numa was preeminent in discerning.

XXI. As regards his marriages and offspring, historians are at variance. Some say that he had no other wife than Tatia, and no other child than one daughter, Pompilia. Others ascribe to him four sons besides, Pompon, Pinus, Calpus, and Mamercus, each one of whom was the founder of an honourable family. From Pompon the Pomponii are descended, from Pinus the Pinarii, from Calpus the Calpurnii, and from Mamercus the Mamercii, who for this reason had also the surname of Reges, or Kings. But there is a third class of writers who accuse the former of paying court to these great families by forging for them lines of descent from Numa, and they say that Pompilia was not the daughter of Tatia, but of Lucretia, another wife whom Numa

1 Cf. Plato, Laws, p. 711 e.

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3 κός, ἦν ἡδὶ βασιλεύων ἐγγεμε, Δουκρητίας. πάντες δ' οὖν ἠμολογοῦσι τὴν Πομπηλίαν Μαρκίας γαμηθήμαι. παίς δὲ ἦν ὁ Μάρκιος ἐκείνου Μαρκίου τοῦ Νομάν παρορμήσαντος ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ γαρ συμμετέχησεν εἰς Ῥώμην αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου μετέσχε τιμώμενος, καὶ μετὰ τὴν Νομᾶ τελευτήν Ὀστιλίῳ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας εἰς ἁγώνα καταστάσας καὶ ἡττηθεὶς ἀπεκαρτέρησεν. ὁ δὲ νῦν αὐτοῦ Μάρκιος ἔχων τὴν Πομπηλίαν κατέμεινεν ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ Μάρκιον Ἀγκοῦ ἐγέννησεν, δὲ μετὰ Τύλλου Ὀστιλίου ἐβασιλεύσει.

4 τούτον, ὡς λέγεται, πενταετῆς καταληπτῶν ὁ Νομᾶς ἐτελεύτησεν, οὗ ταχείας οὖν αἱρείας γενομένης αὐτῷ τῆς τελευτῆς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπὸ γήρων καὶ νόσου μαλακῆς ἀπομαρατώμενος, ὡς ἱστορήματο Πείσων. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ χρόνον οὗ πολὺν τοῖς ὁγδοίκοιτα προσβιώσας.

XXII. Ζηλωτῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ τάφῳ τὸν βίον ἐποίησαν οἱ τε σύμμαχοι καὶ φίλοι δήμους, συνέλθοντες ἐπὶ τὰς ταφὰς ἀμα δημοσίαις ἐπιφοραῖς καὶ στεφάνοις, οἱ τε πατρίκιοι τὸ λέχος ἀράμευοι, καὶ συμπαρόντες οἱ τῶν θεῶν ἱερεῖς καὶ παραπέμποντες, ὁ δ' ἄλλος ῥήμα πάντως ἀναμεμεγέθης καὶ νυνικῶς καὶ παίδων οὐχ ὡς βασιλέως ταφαῖς γηραιοῦ παρόντες, ἀλλ' ὡς τίνα τῶν φιλτάτων ἐκαστός ἐν ἀκμῇ βίοι ποιούμενον τάπτων, μετ' οἷον-

2 γῆς καὶ κλαυθμῶν ἐπόμενοι. πυρὶ μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἔδοσαν τὸν νεκρὸν αὐτοῦ κωλύσαντος, ὡς λέγεται, δύο δὲ ποιησάμενοι λύθης συνώς ὕπο τὸ Ἴανοκλον ἔθηκαν, τὴν μὲν ἑτέραν ἠχοῦσαν τὸ σῶμα, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν τὰς ἱερὰς βίβλους ὡς ἐγράψατο μεναύτός,
married after he became king. However, all are agreed that Pompilia was married to Marcius. Now this Marcius was a son of the Marcius who induced Numa to accept the throne. That Marcius accompanied Numa to Rome, and there was honoured with membership in the Senate. After Numa's death, he competed for the throne with Hostilius, and being defeated, starved himself to death. But his son Marcius, the husband of Pompilia, remained at Rome, and begat Ancus Marcius, who succeeded Tullus Hostilius in the kingdom. This Ancus Marcius is said to have been only five years old when Numa died, not a speedy nor a sudden death, but wasting away gradually from old age and a mild disorder, as Piso writes. He was something over eighty years old when he died.

XXII. His obsequies were as much to be envied as his life. The peoples which were in alliance and friendship with Rome assembled at the rites with public offerings and crowns; the senators carried his bier, the priests of the gods served as its escort, and the rest of the people, including women and children, followed with groans and lamentations, not as though they were attending the funeral of an aged king, but as though each one of them was burying some dearest relation taken away in the flower of life. They did not burn his body, because, as it is said, he forbade it; but they made two stone coffins and buried them under the Janiculum. One of these held his body, and the other the sacred books which he had written out with his own hand, as the Greek

1 Cf. chapter vi.
καὶ πάντων ἔξιν τε καὶ γνώμην ἐνεργασάμενος αὐτοῖς, ἐκέλευεν συνταφῆναι μετὰ τοῦ σώματος, ὡς οὐ καλῶς ἐν ἀψύχοις γράμμασι φρουρουμένων τῶν ἀπορρήτων. Ὁ λογισμὸς φασὶ μηδὲ τοὺς Πυθαγορικοὺς εἰς γραφὴν κατατίθεσθαι τὰ συντάγματα, μνήμην δὲ καὶ παίδευσιν αὐτῶν ἀγαφοῦ ἐμποιεῖν τοὺς ἀξίους. καὶ τῆς γε περὶ τὰς ἀπόρους καὶ ἄρρητους λεγομένας ἐν γεωμετρίᾳ μεθὸδους πραγματείας πρὸς τινα τῶν ἀναξίων ἐκδοθείης, ἐφασαν ἐπισημαίνειν τὸ δαιμόνιον μεγάλῳ τινί καὶ κοινῷ κακῷ τὴν γεγενήμενην παρανομίαν καὶ ἀσέβειαν ἐπεξερχόμενον. ὡστε συγγνώμην ἔχειν πολλὴν τοῖς εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ Πυθαγόρᾳ Νομᾶν φιλοτιμουμένοις συνάγειν ἐπὶ τοσαῦταις ὁμιλήσισιν.

Οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἀντίαν ἱστοροῦσι δῶδεκα μὲν εἶναι βίβλους ἱεροφαντικάς, δῶδεκα δὲ ἄλλας Ἑλληνικὰς ἡλικιωτικὰς τὰς εἰς τὴν σοφὸν συντεθείσας. τετρακοσίων δὲ ποὺ διαγενομένων ἑτῶν ὑπατοί μὲν ἦσαν Πόπλιος Κορηήλιος καὶ Μάρκος Βαϊβιός, ὁμβρῶν δὲ μεγάλων ἐπιπεσόντων καὶ χώματος περιπολαγέντως ἐξέωσε τὰς σοφοὺς τὸ 5 ἰεῦμα καὶ τῶν ἐπιθημάτων ἀποπεσόντων ἡ μὲν ἐτέρα κενῇ πανταπασίῳ ὑφθη καὶ μέρος οὐδὲν οὐδὲ λείψανον ἔχουσα τὸν σώματος, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐτέρᾳ τῶν γραμμάτων εὐρεθέντων ἀναγνώρισε μὲν αὐτὰ λέγεται Πετίλιος στρατηγῶν τότε, πρὸς δὲ τὴν σύγκλητον κομίσαι, μὴ δοκεῖν αὐτῷ θεμνοῦ εἶναι λέγων μηδὲ ὁσιὸν ἐκπυκταὶ πολλοῖς τὰ γε-

1 κομίσαι Coraës, Sintenis, and Bekker, with C: ὁμιλήσαι.
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lawgivers their tablets. But since, while he was still living, he had taught the priests the written contents of the books, and had inculcated in their hearts the scope and meaning of them all, he commanded that they should be buried with his body, convinced that such mysteries ought not to be entrusted to the care of lifeless documents. This is the reason, we are told, why the Pythagoreans also do not entrust their precepts to writing, but implant the memory and practice of them in living disciples worthy to receive them. And when their treatment of the abstruse and mysterious processes of geometry had been divulged to a certain unworthy person, they said the gods threatened to punish such lawlessness and impiety with some signal and wide-spread calamity. Therefore we may well be indulgent with those who are eager to prove, on the basis of so many resemblances between them, that Numa was acquainted with Pythagoras.

Antias, however, writes that it was twelve pontifical books, and twelve others of Greek philosophy, which were placed in the coffin. And about four hundred years afterwards, when Publius Cornelius and Marcus Baebius were consuls, heavy rains fell, and the torrent of water tore away the earth and dislodged the coffins. When their lids had fallen off, one coffin was seen to be entirely empty, without any trace whatever of the body, but in the other the writings were found. These Petilius, who was then praetor, is said to have read, and then brought to the senate, declaring that, in his opinion, it was not lawful or proper that the

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γραμμένα γενέσθαι. διό καὶ κομισθείσας εἰς τὸ Κομίτιον τὰς βίβλους κατακαίνω.
6 Πάσι μὲν οὖν ἔπεται τοῖς δικαίοις καὶ ἰγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι μείζων ὁ κατόπιν καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν ἐπαινος, τοῦ φθόνου πολὺν χρόνον οὐκ ἐπιζῶντος, ἐνίον δὲ καὶ προαποθνησκοντος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνον γε τὴν δόξαν αἱ τῶν υστερον βασιλέων 75 τύχας λαμπροτέραν ἐποίησαν. πέντε γὰρ γενομένων μετ’ αὐτὸν ὁ μὲν ἐσχατὸς ἐκπεσὼν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐν φυγῇ κατεγράσε, τῶν δὲ τεσσάρων οὐδεὶς κατὰ φύσιν ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν τρεῖς 7 ἐπιβουλευθέντες ἐσφάγησαν, Ὀστίλος δὲ Τύλλος, ὃς μετὰ Νομᾶν ἐβασίλευσε, καὶ τὰ πλείστα τῶν ἐκεῖνον καλῶν, ἐν δὲ πρώτοις καὶ μάλιστα τὴν περὶ τὸ θείον εὐλάβειαν, ἐπιχλενάσας καὶ καθυβρίσας ὡς ἀργοποιοῦν καὶ γυναικώδη, πρὸς πόλεμον ἔτρεψε τοὺς πολίτας, οὐδ’ αὐτὸς ἐνέμεινε τοῖς νεανικοῖς τούτοις, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ νόσου χαλεπής καὶ πολυτρόπου τὴν γυνώμην ἀλλασσόμενος εἰς δεισδαιμονίαν ἐνέδωκεν οὐδέν τῇ κατὰ Νομᾶν εὐσεβεία προσήκουσαν, ἐτὶ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐνεποίησε τοῖς ἀλλοῖς τὸ τοιοῦτον πάθος, ὡς λέγεται, κατα- φλεγχθεὶς ὑπὸ κεραυνῶν.

ΛΥΚΟΥΡΓΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΝΟΜΑ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

I. Ἀλλ’ ἔπει τῶν Νομᾶ καὶ Λυκούργου διελη- λύθαμεν βίοι, ἐκκειμένων ἀμφότεροι καὶ χαλεπῶν ἔργον, οὐκ ἀποκυνητέον συναγαγεῖν τὰς διαφορὰς.

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writings should be published abroad. The books were therefore carried to the comitium and burned.

It is true, indeed, of all just and good men, that they are praised more after they have left the world than before, since envy does not long survive them, and some even see it die before them; but in Numa’s case the misfortunes of the kings who followed him made his fame shine all the brighter. For of the five who came after him, the last was dethroned and grew old in exile, and of the other four, not one died a natural death. Three of them were conspired against and slain; and Tullus Hostilius, who reigned next after Numa, and who mocked and derided most of his virtues, and above all his devotion to religion, declaring that it made men idle and effeminate, turned the minds of the citizens to war. He himself, however, did not abide by his presumptuous folly, but was converted by a grievous and complicated disease, and gave himself over to a superstition which was far removed from the piety of Numa. His subjects, too, were even more affected with superstition, as we are told, when he died by a stroke of lightning.

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I. Now that we have recounted the lives of Numa and Lycurgus, and both lie clearly before us, we must attempt, even though the task be difficult, to assemble and put together their points of difference.
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αἱ μὲν γὰρ κοινότητες ἐπιφαίνονται ταῖς πράξεσιν, οἴον ἡ σωφροσύνη τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἡ εὐσέβεια, τὸ πολιτικόν, τὸ παιδευτικόν, τὸ μίαν ἁρχὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀμφότεροις λαβεῖν τῆς νομοθεσίας· τῶν δὲ ἰδίᾳ ἐκατέρου καλῶν πρῶτόν ἐστὶ Νομᾶ μὲν ἡ παράληψις τῆς βασιλείας, Δυκούργῳ δὲ ἡ

2 παράδοσις. ὁ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ αὐτῶν ἔλαβεν, ὁ δὲ ἔχων ἀπέδωκε. καὶ τὸν μὲν ἔτερον κύριον αὐτῶν κατέστησαν ἰδιώτην καὶ ξένον ὄντα, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς αὐτῶν ἰδιώτην ἐκ βασιλείως ἐποίησε. καλὸν μὲν οὖν τὸ κτήσασθαι δικαιοσύνη τῆς βασιλείας, καλὸν δὲ τὸ προτιμῆσαι τὴν δικαιοσύνην τῆς βασιλείας. ἡ γὰρ ἄρετή τῶν μὲν οὕτως ἐνδοξοῦν κατέστησεν ὡστε βασιλείαις ἀξιωθῆναι, τὸν δὲ οὕτω μέγαν ἐποίησεν ὡστε βασιλείαις καταφρονῆσαι.

3 Δεύτερον τοίνυν, ἐπεὶ καθάπερ ἀρμονικὸι λύρας, ὁ μὲν ἐκκλεμομένη καὶ τρυφώσαν ἐπέτεινε τὴν Σπάρτην, ὁ δὲ τῆς Ρώμης τὸ σφοδρόν ἀνῆκε καὶ σύντονον, ἡ μὲν χαλεπότητος τοῦ ἔργου τῷ Δυκούργῳ πρόσεστιν. οὐ γὰρ θώρακας ἐκδύναμεν καὶ ξίφη τοὺς πολίτας καταθέσθαι ἐπειδὴ, ἀλλὰ χρυσὸν καὶ ἀργυρον ἀφεῖναι καὶ στρωματὸς ἐκβαλεῖν πολυτελεῖς καὶ τραπέζας, οὐδὲ παυσαμένους πολέμους ἐορτάζειν καὶ θύειν, ἀλλὰ δεῖταν καὶ πότους ἔσαντας ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ ταῖς παλαιόστρας διαπονείσθαι καὶ ἄσκειν. οἴδεν ὁ μὲν δὲ εὔνοιας καὶ τιμῆς ἀπαντα πείθων ἐπραξεν, ὁ δὲ κινδυνεύων καὶ βαλλόμενος μόχις ἐπεκράτησεν.

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For their points of likeness are obvious from their careers: their wise moderation, their piety, their talent for governing and educating, and their both deriving their laws from a divine source. But each also performed noble deeds peculiar to himself. To begin with, Numa accepted, but Lycurgus resigned, a kingdom. One got it without asking for it, the other had it and gave it up. One was made by others their sovereign, though a private person and a stranger; the other made himself a private person, though he was a king. It was a noble thing, of course, to win a kingdom by righteousness; but it was also a noble thing to set righteousness above a kingdom. For it was virtue which rendered the one so famous as to be judged worthy of a kingdom, and virtue, too, which made the other so great as to scorn a kingdom.

In the second place, then, it is granted that, just as musicians tune their lyres, so Lycurgus tightened the strings at Sparta, which he found relaxed with luxury, and Numa loosened the strings at Rome, where the tones were sharp and high; but the task was more difficult in the case of Lycurgus. For his efforts were to persuade the citizens, not to take off their breast-plates and lay aside their swords, but to cast away gold and silver, and abandon costly couches and tables; not to cease from wars and hold festivals and sacrifices, but to give up feasting and drinking and practise laboriously as soldiers and athletes. Wherefore the one accomplished all his ends by persuasion, through the good-will and honour in which his people held him; but the other had to risk his life and suffer wounds, and scarcely then prevailed.
"Ἡμερος μέντοι καὶ φιλάνθρωπος ἡ τοῦ Νομᾶ μοῦσα πρὸς εἰρήνην καὶ δικαιοσύνην μεθαρμοσμένον καὶ καταπράθυντος καὶ διαπύρων ἥθων τοὺς πολίτας. εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ τοὺς Εἰλωτας ἀναγκάσει τις ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν 5 Δυκούργου θέσθαι πολιτείαν, ἡμότατον ἔργον καὶ παρανομώτατον, μακρῷ τινι τοῦ Νομᾶν ἐλληνικότερον γεγονέναι νομοθέτην φήσομεν, ὡς γε καὶ τοὺς ἀρμολογημένους δοῦλους ἐγενέσθαι τιμῆς ἐλευθέρας, ἐν τοῖς Κρονίοις ἐστιάσθαι μετὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν ἀναμεμμένους θέσας. καὶ γὰρ τούτω τῶν Νομᾶ πατρίων ἐν εἰναι λέγονσιν, ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν ἔτησίων ἀπολαύσεις καρπῶν τοὺς συνεργοὺς παραλαμβάνοντος. ἔνιοι δὲ τούτῳ ὑπόμνημα τῆς Κρονικῆς ἔκεινης ἱσονομίας ἀποσώζεσθαι μυθολογοῦσιν, ὡς μηθὲν δοῦλον μηδὲ δεσπότου, πάντων δὲ συγγενῶν καὶ ἴσοτίμων νομιζομένων.

Π. "Ολως δὲ φαίνονται πρὸς τὴν αὐτάρκειαν ἀμφότεροι καὶ σωφροσύνην ὦμοιος ἄγοντες τὰ πλῆθη, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἀρετῶν ὁ μὲν τῆς ἀνδρείας μάλλον, ὁ δὲ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἡγαπηκός· εἰ μὴ νὴ Δία διὰ τὴν ὑποκείμενην τῶν πολιτευμάτων ἐκατέρων φύσιν ἡ συνήθειαν, οὐχ ὦμοίοις ὦσαν, 2 ἀνομοίας ἔδει παρασκευῆς. οὕτω γὰρ Νομᾶς διὰ 76 δειλίαν κατέλυσε τὸ πολέμειν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ ἀδικεῖν, οὕτω Δυκούργος εἰς ἀδικίαν κατεσκεύασε πολεμικούς, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι. τὰς σὺν ὑπερβολὰς ἀφαιροῦντες ἀμφότεροι καὶ τὰς ἐνδείας ἀναπληροῦντες τῶν ὑπαρχόντων περὶ τοὺς πολίτας, ἡμαγκάζοντο μεγάλαις χρήσθαι μεταβολαίς.
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Numa's muse, however, was gentle and humane, and he converted his people to peace and righteousness, and softened their violent and fiery tempers. And if we must ascribe to the administration of Lycurgus the treatment of the Helots, a most savage and lawless practice, we shall own that Numa was far more Hellenic as a lawgiver, since he gave acknowledged slaves a taste of the dignity of freedom, by making it the custom for them to feast in the company of their masters during the Saturnalia.¹ For this too was one of the institutions of Numa, as we are told, who thereby admitted to the enjoyment of the yearly fruits of the earth those who had helped to produce them. Some, however, fancy that this custom was a reminder of the equality which characterized the famous Saturnian age, when there was neither slave nor master, but all were regarded as kinsmen and equals.

II. In general, both alike manifestly strove to lead their peoples to independence and sobriety; but as regards the other virtues, the one set his affections more on bravery, the other on righteousness; unless, indeed, the different natures or usages on which the government of each was based required different provisions. For it was not out of cowardice that Numa put a stop to the waging of war, but to prevent the commission of injustice; neither was it to promote the commission of injustice that Lycurgus made his people warlike, but that they might not suffer injustice. Accordingly, in removing the excesses and supplying the deficiencies of their citizens, both were forced to make great innovations.

¹ A mid-winter harvest festival in honour of Saturnus.
3 Καὶ μὴν τῆς τε διατάξεως καὶ τῆς διαφέρεσιν τῶν πολιτευμάτων ὠχλική μὲν ἀκράτως ἢ τοῦ Νομᾶ καὶ θεραπευτικὴ τοῦ πλῆθους, ἐκ χρυσοχάων καὶ αὐλητῶν καὶ σκυτοτόμων συμμυχῆ τινα καὶ παμποίκιλον ἀποφαίνοντος δήμον, αὐστηρὰ δὲ ἡ Δυκούργειος καὶ ἀριστοκρατική, τὰς μὲν βαναύσους ἀποκαθαίρουσα τέχνας εἰς οἰκετῶν καὶ μετοίκων χεῖρας αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς πολίτας εἰς τὴν ἀσπίδα καὶ τὸ δόρυ συνάγουσα, πολέμου χειροτέχνες καὶ θεράποντας Ἄρεως ὤντας, ἀλλο δὲ οὐδὲν εἰδότας οὐδὲ μελετῶντας ἤ πείθεσθαι τοῖς ἄρχονται καὶ κράτειν τῶν πολεμῶν. Οὐδὲ γὰρ χρηματίζεσθαι τοῖς ἐλευθεροῖς ἔξεν, ἵνα ἐλευθεροὶ παινελῶς καὶ καθάπεξ ὑσών, ἀλλ' ἣν ἡ περὶ τὰ χρήματα κατασκευὴ δεδομένη δοῦλως καὶ Βίλωσιν, ὥσπερ ἡ περὶ τὸ δείπνον καὶ ὅψις διακονία. Νομᾶς δὲ οὐδὲν διέκρινε τοιοῦτον, ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν στρατιωτικὰς ἐπαυσε πλεονεξίας, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον οὐκ ἐκώλυσε χρηματισμόν, οὐδὲ τὴν τοιαύτην κατεστόρεσεν ἀνωμαλίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλοῦτο προϊέναι μέχρι παντὸς ἐφήκε, καὶ πενίας πολλῆς ἀθροιζομένης καὶ ὑπορεούσης εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἡμέλησε, δέον εὐθύς ἐν ἄρχῃ, μηδὲν πολλῆς μηδὲ μεγάλης ἀνισότητος οὔσης, ἀλλ' ἐτι τοῖς βίοις ὅμαλον καὶ παραπλησίων ὄντων, ἐντῇ πρὸς τὴν πλεονεξίαν, ὥσπερ Δυκούργος, καὶ φυλάξασθαι τὰς ἀπ' αὐτῆς βλάβας, οὐ μικρὰς γενομένας, ἀλλὰ τῶν πλείστων καὶ μεγίστων κακῶν, ὅσα συννήχθη, στέρμα καὶ ἄρχῃ παρα- 6 σχούσας. οὐ δὲ τῆς γῆς ἀναδασμὸς οὔτε τῶν Δυκούργου, ἐμὸ δοκεῖν, ποιεῖν νεκτῶν γενόμενος οὔτε τὸν Νομᾶν μὴ γενόμενος. τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἔδραν 388
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And surely, as regards the arrangement and classification of the citizens under their respective governments, Numa's was strongly popular and inclined to favour the masses, resulting in a promiscuous and variegated commonalty of goldsmiths, musicians, and leather-workers; but that of Lycurgus was rigid and aristocratic, relegating the mechanical arts into the hands of slaves and aliens, but confining the citizens themselves to the use of the shield and the spear, so that they were artificers of war and servants of Ares, but knew and cared for nothing else than to obey their commanders and master their enemies. For freemen were not even permitted to transact business, that they might be entirely and forever free, but the whole apparatus of business was turned over to slaves and Helots, just like the preparation and serving of their meals. Numa, on the contrary, made no such distinctions, but, while he put a stop to military rapacity, he prohibited no other gainful occupation. Nor did he reduce the great inequalities resulting therefrom, but left the acquisition of wealth wholly unrestricted, and paid no attention to the great increase of poverty and its gradual influx into the city. And yet it was his duty at the very outset, while as yet there was no general or great disparity of means, but people still lived on much the same plane, to make a stand against rapacity, as Lycurgus did, and take measures of precaution against its mischiefs; for these were not trifling, but furnished the seed and source of the most and greatest evils of after times. But as regards the redistribution of the land, Lycurgus, in my opinion, is not to be censured for making it, nor Numa for not making it. In the one case, the re-
καὶ κρητίδα τῆς πολιτείας ἡ ἴσοτης αὐτὴ παρέσχε. τὸν δὲ προσφάτον τῆς κληρουχίας οὖσας οὔδὲν ἦπειγεν ἀλλον ἐμβαλεῖν ἀναδασμὸν οὔδὲ κινεῖν τὴν πρώτην νέμησιν, ὡς εἰκός ἔστι, κατὰ χώραν μένουσιν.

III. Τῆς δὲ περὶ τοὺς γάμους καὶ τὰς τεκνώσεις κοινωνίας τὸ ἀξιόλοτυπον ὅρθως καὶ πολιτικῶς ἐμποιοῦντες ἀμφότεροι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν οὐ κατὰ πᾶν εἰς τοῦτο συνυνέχθησαν, ἀλλ’ ὁ Ῥωμαῖας μὲν ἄνηρ ἰκανῶς ἔχων παιδοτροφίας, ὅφ’ ἔτερον δὲ πεισθεὶς δειμένου τέκνων, ἐξιστατὸ τῆς γυναικός, ἐκδόσθαι καὶ μετεκδόσθαι κύριος ὑπάρχων, ὁ δὲ Λάκων, οἶκοι τῆς γυναικός οὖσης παρ’ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ γάμου μένοντος ἐπὶ τῶν ἔξ ἀρχῆς δικαίων, μετεδίδου τῷ πείσαντι

2 τῆς κοινωνίας εἰς τέκνωσιν. πολλοὶ δὲ, ὧσπερ εἰρηται, καὶ παρακαλοῦντες εἰσῆγον ἐξ ὅν ἄν ἐδόκουν μάλιστα παῖδας εὐειδεῖς καὶ ἀγάθους γενέσθαι. τις οὖν ἡ διάκρισις τῶν ἔθισμῶν; ἡ ταῦτα μὲν ἰσχυρὰ καὶ ἀκρατος ἀπάθεια πρὸς γαμήτην καὶ τὰ ταράττοντα καὶ κατακαίουτα ξηλοτυπίας τοὺς πολλοὺς, ἐκεῖνα δὲ ὧσπερ αἰσχυνομένη ἅτυφία τις, παρακάλυμμα τὴν ἐγγύνη ἐφελκομένη καὶ τὸ δυσκάρτηρην ἐξομολογομένη τῆς κοινωνίας;

3 "Ετι δὲ μᾶλλον ἡ περὶ τὰς παρθένους φυλακή κατέσταλται τῷ Νομὰ πρὸς τὸ θῆλυ καὶ κόσμων· ἢ δὲ τοῦ Δυκοῦργου παντάπασιν ἀναπεπταμένη καὶ ἀθηλος οὖσα τοὺς ποιηταῖς λόγον παρέσχηκε. φαινομηρίδας τε γὰρ αὐτῶς ἀποκαλοῦσιν, ὡς
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sulting equality was the foundation and base of his polity; but in the other, since the allotment of lands was recent, there was no urgent reason for introducing another division, or for disturbing the first assignment, which probably was still in force.

III. With regard to community in marriage and parentage, though both, by a sound policy, inculcated in husbands a freedom from selfish jealousy, still, their methods were not entirely alike. The Roman husband, if he had a sufficient number of children to rear, and another, who lacked children, could persuade him to the step, relinquished his wife to him, having the power of surrendering her entirely, or only for a season; but the Spartan, while his wife remained in his house, and the marriage retained its original rights and obligations, might allow any one who gained his consent to share his wife for the purpose of getting children by her. And many husbands, as we have said, would actually invite into their homes men whom they thought most likely to procure them handsome and noble children. What, then, is the difference between the two customs? We may say, perhaps, that the Spartan implies a complete indifference to the wife, and to the jealous emotions which confound and consume the hearts of most men; while the Roman, as if with shame-faced modesty, makes a veil of the new betrothal, and concedes that community of wives is really insupportable.

Still further, Numa's watchful care of young maidens was more conducive to feminine decorum; but the treatment of them by Lycurgus, being entirely unconfinned and unfeminine, has given occasion to the poets. They call them "phainomerides,"

1 Lycurgus, xv. 7.

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ἲβυκος, καὶ ἀνδρομανεῖς λοιδορούσων, ὡς Εὐριπίδης, λέγων:

Αἱ σὺν νέοισιν ἔξερημοῦσιν 1 δόμους γυμνοῖσι μηροῖς καὶ πέπλοις ἀνειμένουσι.

4 τῷ γὰρ ὅντι τοῦ παρθενικοῦ χιτῶνος αἱ πτέρυγες 77 οὐκ ἦσαν συνερραμμέναι κατώθεν, ἀλλὰ ἀνεπτύσσοντο καὶ συνανεγύμνουν ὁλον ἐν τῷ βαδίζειν τὸν μηρόν. καὶ σαφέστατα τὸ γυνόμεον εὑρηκε Σοφοκλῆς ἐν τούτοις.

Καὶ τὰν νέορτον, ὡς ἐτ’ ἀστολος χιτῶν θυραιον ἀμφὶ μηρὸν πτύσσεται, Ἐρμώναν.

5 διὸ καὶ θρασύτεραι λέγονται γενέσθαι καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς πρῶτον ἄνδρώδεις τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἀτέ δὴ τῶν μὲν οἰκών ἄρχουσαι κατὰ κράτος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς δημοσίοις πράγμασι καὶ γνώμης μεταλαμβάνουσαι καὶ παρρησίας περὶ τῶν μεγίστων. ὦ δὲ Νομᾶς ταῖς γαμεταῖς τὸ μὲν ἄξιομα καὶ τὴν τιμὴν ἐτήρησε πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἥν εἰχον ἀπὸ Ἐρωμύλου θεραπευόμεναι διὰ τὴν ἀρπαγήν, αἰδῶ δὲ πολλὴν ἐπεστησεν αὐταῖς καὶ πολυπραγμοσύνην ἄφειλε καὶ νήφειν ἐδίδαξε καὶ σωπᾶν εἴθισεν, οἷνα μὲν ἀπεχομένας τὸ πάμπαν, λόγῳ δὲ μηδὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀναγκαῖων ἄνδρος ἄνευ χρωμένας.

6 λέγεται γούν τοτε γυναικὸς εἰπούσης δίκην ἱδίαν ἐν ἀγορᾷ πέμψαι τὴν σύγκλητον εἰς θεοῦ, πυν-

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1 ἔξερημοῦσιν adapted from ἔξερημοῦσαι (leaving their homes).

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bare-thighed (so Ibycus), and revile them as mad after men. Thus Euripides says 1 :

"They leave their homes to mingle with the youths; Their thighs are naked, flying free their robes."

For in fact the flaps of the tunic worn by their maidens were not sewn together below the waist, but would fly back and lay bare the whole thigh as they walked. Sophocles pictures the thing very clearly in these words 2 :

"And that young maid, whose tunic, still unsewn, Lays bare her gleaming thigh Between its folds, Hermione."

And so their women, it is said, were too bold, putting on men's airs with their husbands even, to begin with, since they ruled their houses absolutely, and besides, on public occasions, taking part in debate and the freest speech on the most important subjects. But Numa, while carefully preserving to the matrons that dignified and honourable relation to their husbands which was bestowed on them by Romulus, 3 when he tried by kindly usage to efface the memory of the violence done them, nevertheless enjoined great modesty upon them, forbade them all busy intermeddling, taught them sobriety, and accustomed them to be silent; wine they were to refrain from entirely, and were not to speak, even on the most necessary topics, unless their husbands were with them. At any rate, it is said that when a woman once pleaded her own cause in the forum, the senate sent to inquire of an oracle what the event might

1 Andromache, 587 f. (Kirchhoff), slightly adapted. 2 Fragment 788 (Nauck). 3 Cf. Romulus, xix. 6.

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θανομένην τίνος ἁρα τῇ πόλει σημείον ἐτή τὸ γεγενμένου. καὶ τῆς ἄλλης εὔπειθείας καὶ πράσοτητος αὐτῶν μέγα τεκμήριον ἢ μνήμη τῶν χειρόνων. ὃς γὰρ παρ’ ἡμῖν οἱ ἰστορικοὶ γράφουσι τοὺς πρώτους ἢ φόνον ἐμφύλιον ἐργασαμένους ἢ πολεμήσαντας ἄδελφοίς ἢ πατρὸς αὐτόχειρας ἢ μητρὸς 7. γενομένους, οὗτῳ Ὀρμαίοι μνημονεύουσιν ὅτι πρῶτος μὲν ἀπεπέμψατο ὑμναῖκα Σπόριος Καρ-βίλιος, μετὰ τὴν Ὀρμῆς κτίσιν ἔτεσι τριάκοντα καὶ διακοσίων οὐδενὸς τοιούτου γεγονότος, πρώτῃ δὲ γυνῆ Πιναρίου Θαλαία τούνομα δηνέχθη πρὸς ἐκυραν αὐτῆς Γεγανίαν Ταρκυνίου Σουπέρβου βασιλεύοντος. οὗτω καλῶς καὶ κοσμίως τεταγμένα τὰ τῶν γάμων ἦν ὑπὸ τοῦ νομοθέτου.

IV. Τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ τῶν παρθένων ἀγωγῇ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς ἐκδόσεις ὁμολογεῖ, τοῦ μὲν Δυκούργου πεπείρους καὶ ὁργώσας νυμφεύοντος, ὅπως ἡ τε ὀμιλία, δεομένης ἤδη τῆς φύσεως, χάριτος ἢ καὶ φιλίας ἀρχῆ μάλλον ἢ μίσους καὶ φόβου παρὰ φύσιν βιαζόμενων, καὶ τὰ σώματα ρώμην ἔχη πρὸς τὸ τὰς κυήσεις ἀναφέρειν καὶ τὰς ὀδινας, ὥς ἐπ’ οὐδὲν ἄλλο γαμομύμενον ἢ τὸ τῆς τεκνώσεως ἐργον, τῶν δὲ Ὀρμαίων δωδεκαετεῖς καὶ νεωτέρας ἐκδιδόντων" οὗτῳ γὰρ ἀν μάλιστα καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ Ἰθος καθαρόν καὶ ἅθικτον ἐπὶ 2 τῷ γαμοῦντι γίνεσθαι. δῆλον οὖν ὅτι τὸ μὲν 394
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portend for the city. And for their usual gentleness and readiness to obey, there is strong evidence in the specific mention made of those who were less amenable. For just as our Greek historians record the names of those who first slew kinsfolk, or made war on their brothers, or were parricides, or matricides, so the Romans make record of the fact that Spurius Carvilius was the first to divorce his wife, two hundred and thirty years after the founding of Rome, there being no precedent for it; also that the wife of Pinarius, Thalaea by name, was the first woman to quarrel with her own mother-in-law, Gegania, in the reign of Tarquinius Superbus. In such fitting and proper manner were marriages regulated by their lawgiver.

IV. Further, the practice of the two peoples in the matter of giving their young maids in marriage conforms to their education of them in general. Lycurgus made them brides only when they were fully ripe and eager for it, in order that intercourse with a husband, coming at a time when nature craved it, might produce a kindly love, instead of the timorous hate that follows unnatural compulsion; also that their bodies might be vigorous enough to endure the strain of conception and child-birth, convinced as he was that marriage had no other end than the production of children. The Romans, on the other hand, gave their maidens in marriage when they were twelve years old, or even younger. In this way more than any other, it was thought, both their bodies and their dispositions would be pure and undefiled when their husbands took control of them. It is clear, therefore, that one practice regarded nature more, with children in view; the other re-
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φυσικώτερον πρὸς τέκνωσιν, τὸ δὲ ἡθικώτερον πρὸς συμβίωσιν.

Ἄλλα μὴν ἐπιστασίαις τε παιδῶν καὶ συναγε-

λασμοῖς καὶ παιδαγωγίαις καὶ κοινωνίαις, περὶ τε
deῖπνα καὶ γυμνάσια καὶ παιδιάς αὐτῶν ἐμμελεί-

αίς καὶ διακοσμήσεις, οὐδέν τι τοῦ προστυχόντος

νομοθέτου βελτίωνα τὸν Νομαν ὁ Δυκούργος

ἀποδείκνυσιν, ἐπὶ ταῖς, τῶν πατέρων ποιησά-

μενον ἐπιθυμίαις ἢ χρείαις τὰς τῶν νέων ἀγω-

γάς, εἰτε τις ἐργάτην γῆς βούλλοιτο ποιεῖν τὸν

νίυν εἰτε ναυπηγὸν ἢ χαλκεὰ διδάσκειν ἢ αὐλητήν,

ὡσπερ οὐ πρὸς ἐν τέλος ὀφείλοντας εξ ἄρχης

ἀγεθαί καὶ συνεπιστρέφεσθαι τοῖς ἦθεσιν, ἀλλ’

οἶνον εἰς ναῦν ἐπιβάτας ἐτερον εξ ἐτέρας ἦκοντα

χρείας καὶ προαιρέσεως ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις μοῦν

φόβῳ τοῦ ἰδίου συνίστασθαι πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν,

4 ἀλλως δὲ τὸ καθ’ αὐτὸν σκοπεῖν ἔκαστον. καὶ

τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς οὐκ ἄξιον ἐγκαλεῖν νομοθέταις

ἐλλείπουσιν ἢ δε’ ἄγνοιαν ἢ δε’ ἀσθένειαν ἀνδρὶ

de σοφὸ βασιλείαν παραλαβόντι δήμου νεωστὶ,

συνισταμένου καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν ἀντιτεύοντος, περὶ

τὸ πρῶτον1 ἡν σπουδάσαι προσήκον ἢ παιδῶν ἐκ-

tροφῆν καὶ νέων ἄσκησιν, ὅπως μὴ διάφοροι μηδὲ

tαραχώδεις γένοιτο τοῖς ἦθεσιν, ἀλλ’ εἰς εν τὶ

κοινὸν ἀρετῆς ἵχνος εὐθὺς εξ ἄρχης πλαττόμενον

5 καὶ τυποῦμενοι συμβαίνοιν ἀλλήλοις; ὡ δὲ πρὸς

tε τὰ ἄλλα καὶ σωτηρίαν νόμων ὁφέλησε τῶν

Δυκούργον. μικρὸς γὰρ ἦν ὁ τῶν ὅρκων φόβος, εἰ

1 πρῶτον Bekker corrects to πρῶτερον.
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garded more the formation of character, with married life in view.

But surely, by his careful attention to boys, by their collection into companies, their discipline and constant association, and by his painstaking arrangements for their meals and bodily exercise and sports, Lycurgus proves that Numa was no more than an ordinary lawgiver. For Numa left the bringing up of youths to the wishes or necessities of their fathers. A father might, if he wished, make his son a tiller of the soil, or a shipwright, or might teach him to be a smith or a flute-player, as if it were not important that all of them should be trained with one and the same end in view from the outset, and have their dispositions formed alike; but rather as if they were like passengers on a ship, each coming with a different object and purpose, and each therefore uniting with the rest for the common good only in times of peril, through fear of private loss, but otherwise consulting only his own interests. Now, it is not worth while to censure the common run of legislators, who fail through ignorance or weakness. But when a wise man had consented to be king over a people newly constituted and pliant to his every wish, what should have been his first care, unless it was the rearing of boys and the training of youths so that there might be no confusing differences in their characters, but that they might be moulded and fashioned from the very outset so as to walk harmoniously together in the same path of virtue? This, indeed, was what helped Lycurgus to secure, among other things, the stability and permanence of his laws. The Spartans took oaths to maintain these laws, it is true, but

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μὴ διὰ τῆς παιδείας καὶ τῆς ἀγωγῆς οἶον ἀνέδευσε ¹ τοῖς θεσι τῶν παιδῶν τοὺς νόμους, καὶ συνοικεῖσθε τῇ τροφῇ τῶν ζήλου τῆς πολιτείας, ὡστε πεντακοσίων ἐτῶν πλείω χρόνον τὰ κυριώτατα καὶ μέγιστα διαμείναι τῆς νομοθεσίας, ὡσπερ βαφῆς ἀκραίου καὶ ἵσχυρος καθαφαμένης.

6 Νομᾶ δὲ ὅπερ ἦν τέλος τῆς πολιτείας, ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ φιλίᾳ τὴν Ἐρώμην ὑπάρχειν, εὐθὺς συνεξέλιπτε· καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν ἐκείνην τὸν ἀμφίθυρον οἶκον, ὅπερ ἐκκελεσίμενον αὐτὸς συνείχε, ὡσπερ ὅντως ἐν αὐτῷ τιθασεῖν καθειργμένον τὸν πόλεμον, ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἀναπτάσαντες αἰματος καὶ νεκρῶν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐνέπλησαν· καὶ οὐδὲ ὅλῳν χρόνον ἡ καλλίστη καὶ δικαιοτάτη κατά- στασις ἐμείνεν, ἀτε δὴ καὶ τὸ συνδετικὸν ἐν αὐτῇ, τὴν παιδείαν, οὐκ ἔχουσα.

7 “Τι οὖν,” φήσει τις, “οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον ἢ Ἐρώμη προῆλθε τοῖς πολεμικοῖς;” ἐρωτῶν ἐρώτημα μακρὰς ἀποκρίσεως δεόμενον πρὸς ἀνθρώπους τὸ βέλτιον ἐν πλοῦτῳ καὶ τρυφῇ καὶ ἡγεμονίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ πραότητι καὶ τῇ μετὰ δικαιοσύνης αὐταρκεία τιθεμένως. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ τούτῳ λυκούργῳ ποι ὄξι βοηθεῖν, τὸ Ἐρωμάιος μὲν τὴν ἐπὶ Νομᾶ κατάστασιν ἐξισαλλά-

8 ξανθαὶ ἐπιδοῦναι τοῖς πράγμασι τοσοῦτον, Δακε- δαμονίους δὲ ἅμα τῷ πρώτῳ ἐκβηθοῦν τὴν λυκούργον διάταξιν, ἐκ μεγίστων ταπεινοτάτους γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἡγεμονίαν ἀπο-

¹ ἀνέδευσε Bekker adopts Reiske's correction to ἀνέδευσε.
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this would have availed little had he not, by means of his training and education of the boys, infused his laws, as it were, into their characters, and made the emulous love of his government an integral part of their rearing. The result was that for more than five hundred years the sovereign and fundamental features of his legislation remained in force, like a strong and penetrating dye.

But that which was the end and aim of Numa's government, namely, the continuance of peace and friendship between Rome and other nations, straightway vanished from the earth with him. After his death the double doors of the temple\(^1\) which he had kept continuously closed, as if he really had war caged-and confined there, were thrown wide open, and Italy was filled with the blood of the slain. Thus not even for a little time did the beautiful edifice of justice which he had reared remain standing, because it lacked the cement of education.

"What, then!" some one will say, "was not Rome advanced and bettered by her wars?" That is a question which will need a long answer, if I am to satisfy men who hold that betterment consists in wealth, luxury and empire, rather than in safety, gentleness, and that independence which is attended by righteousness. However, it will be thought, I suppose, to favour the superior claims of Lycurgus, that, whereas the Romans increased in power as they did after abandoning the institutions of Numa's time, the Lacedaemonians, on the other hand, just as soon as they forsook the precepts of Lycurgus, sank from the highest to the lowest place, lost their supremacy over the Greeks, and were in danger of

\(^1\) Cf. *Numa*, xx. 1.
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βαλόντας κινδυνεύσαι περὶ ἀναστάσεως. ἑκεῖνο μέντοι τῷ Νομῷ μέγα καὶ θεῖον ὡς ἀληθῶς ὑπάρχει, τὸ ξένῳ τε μεταπέμπτῳ γενέσθαι καὶ πάντα πειθοὶ μεταβαλεῖν, καὶ κρατήσαι πόλεως οὔπω συμπεπνευκυίας, μήτε ὅπλων δεηθέντα μήτε βίας τινὸς, ὡς Δυκαῖρος ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ἤγε τοὺς ἀρίστους, ἄλλα σοφία καὶ δικαιοσύνη πάντας προσαγαγόμενον καὶ συναρμόσαντα.
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utter destruction. Nevertheless, this remains a great feature in Numa's career, and one really divine, that he was a stranger, and yet was summoned to the throne, where he changed the whole nature of the state by force of persuasion alone, and mastered a city which was not yet in sympathy with his views; and that he accomplished this without appeal to arms or any violence (unlike Lycurgus, who led the nobles in arms against the commons), but by his wisdom and justice won the hearts of all the citizens and brought them into harmony.
SOLON
ΣΟΛΩΝ

I. Δίδυμος ὁ γραμματικὸς ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν ἀξίων τῶν Σόλωνος ἀντιγραφῇ πρὸς Ἀσκληπιάδην Φιλοκλέους τινὸς τέθεικε λέξιν, ἐν ᾧ τῶν Σόλωνα πατρὸς Εὐφορίωνος ἀποφαίνει παρὰ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων δόξαν, ὅσοι μέμνηνται Σόλωνος. ἔξηκεστίδον γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀπαντεῖ ὁμαλῶς γεγονέναι λέγουσιν, ἀνδρὸς οὐσία μὲν, ὡς φασι, καὶ δυνάμει μέσον τῶν πολιτῶν, οἴκιας δὲ πρώτης κατὰ γένος· ἢν γὰρ Κοδρίδης ἀνέκαθεν. τὴν δὲ μητέρα τοῦ Σόλωνος Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἱστορεῖ τῆς Πεισίστρατον μητρὸς ἀνεψιάν γενέσθαι. καὶ φιλία τὸ πρῶτον ἦν αὐτοῖς πολλὴ μὲν διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν, πολλὴ δὲ διὰ τὴν εὐφυίαν καὶ ἄραν, ὡς ἔνοι φασιν, ἐρωτικὸς τὸν Πεισίστρατον ἀσπαζόμενον τοῦ Σόλωνος. ὅθεν ὕστερον, ὡς ἔοικεν, εἰς διαφορὰν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ καταστάντων οὐδὲν ἦγεγεν ἢ ἔχθρα σκληροῦν οὐδ᾽ ἀγριον πάθος, ἀλλὰ παρέμεινεν ἐκεῖνα τὰ δίκαια ταῖς ψυχαῖς, καὶ παρεφύλαξε.

Τυφόμενα Δίον πυρὸς ἔτι ξῶσαν φλόγα, τὴν ἐρωτικὴν μνήμην καὶ χάριν. ὅτι δὲ πρὸς τούς καλοὺς οὐκ ἦν ἐχυρός ὁ Σόλων οὐδ᾽ ἔρωτι θαρ- ραλέος "ἀνταναστῆμαι πῦκτης ὅπως ἐς χείρας." 1

1 Ερωτί μὲν κυν δοτις ἀντάλλαται πῦκτης ὅπως ἐς χείρας, οὐ καλὸς φρονεῖ.
(Sophocles, Trachiniae, 441 f.)
I. Didymus the grammarian, in his reply to Asclepiades on Solon's tables of law, mentions a remark of one Philocles, in which it is stated that Solon's father was Euphorion, contrary to the opinion of all others who have written about Solon. For they all unite in saying that he was a son of Excecestides, a man of moderate wealth and influence in the city, but a member of its foremost family, being descended from Codrus. Solon's mother, according to Heracleides Ponticus, was a cousin of the mother of Peisistratus. And the two men were at first great friends, largely because of their kinship, and largely because of the youthful beauty of Peisistratus, with whom, as some say, Solon was passionately in love. And this may be the reason why, in later years, when they were at variance about matters of state, their enmity did not bring with it any harsh or savage feelings, but their former amenities lingered in their spirits, and preserved there,

"smouldering with a lingering flame of Zeus-sent fire," ¹

the grateful memory of their love. And that Solon was not proof against beauty in a youth, and made not so bold with Love as "to confront him like a boxer, hand to hand," may be inferred from his

¹ Euripides, Bacchae, 8.
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ἐκ τῶν ποιημάτων αὐτοῦ λαβείν ἐστὶ, καὶ νόμον ἔγραψε διαγορεύοντα δούλου μὴ ἥραλοι-
φεῖν μηδὲ παιδεράστειν, εἰς τὴν τῶν καλῶν
μερίδα καὶ σεμνῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων τιθέμενος τὸ
πράγμα, καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τῶν ἄξιος προκαλοῦ-
4 μενὸς ὅταν τοὺς ἀναξίους ἀπῆλαυνε. Λέγεται δὲ
καὶ Πεισίστρατος ἐραστής Χάρμου γενέσθαι, καὶ
tὸ ἀγαλμα τοῦ Ἐρωτος ἐν Ἀκαδμείᾳ καθε-
ρῶσαι, ὅποιο τὸ πῦρ ἀνάπτουσιν οἱ τὴν ἱερὰν
λαμπάδα διαθέουντες.

II. Ὡ νῦν Σῶλων τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ πατρὸς
ἐλαττώσαντος εἰς φιλανθρωπίας τινάς, ὡς φησίν
"Ἐρμιππος, καὶ χάριτας, οὐκ ἄν ἀπορήσας τῶν
βουλομένων ἐπαρκεῖν, αἰδούμενος δὲ λαμβάνειν
παρ᾽ ἑτέρων εἰς οἰκίας γεγονὼς εἰθισμένης ἑτέρους
βοηθεῖν, ὀρμήσε νέος ὅτι ἐτὶ πρὸς ἐμπορίαν.
καίτοι φασίν ἕνοι πολυπειρίας ἅνεκα μᾶλλον καὶ
ἰστορίας ἡ χρηματισμοῦ πλανηθῆναι τὸν Σῶλωνα.
2 σοφίας μὲν γὰρ ἦν όμολογομένως ἐραστής, ὡς
γε καὶ πρεσβύτερος ὅτι ἔλεγεν "γηράσκειν αἰεὶ
pολλὰ διδασκόμενος."1 πλούτον δ᾽ ὦκ ἐθαύμαζεν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ φῆσιν ὁμοίως πλουτεῖν ὥ τε 2

πολὺς ἄργυρός ἐστι
καὶ χρυσός καὶ γῆς πυροφόρον πεδία
ἵπτοι θ᾽ ἡμίονοι τε, καὶ φ' μόνα ταῦτα πάρεστι,
γαστρὶ τε καὶ πλευρῇ καὶ ποσίν ἀβρὰ παθεῖν,
παιδὸς τ᾽ ἢδε γυναικὸς, ἐπὴν καὶ ταῦτ' ἀφίκηται,
ἡβη, σὺν δ᾽ ὢρῃ γίνεται ἀρμοδία.

1 Γηράσκω δ' αἰεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος. Fragment 18 (Bergk,
Poet. Lyr. Gr. ii.1 p. 47).
2 Πολὺς ἄργυρός ἐστιν, κ.τ.λ.,
Fragment 24 (Bergk), verses 1–6.

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poems. He also wrote a law forbidding a slave to practise gymnastics or have a boy lover, thus putting the matter in the category of honourable and dignified practices, and in a way inciting the worthy to that which he forbade the unworthy. And it is said that Peisistratus also had a boy lover, Charmus, and that he dedicated the statue of Love in the Academy, where the runners in the sacred torch race light their torches.

II. Solon, then, after his father had impaired his estate in sundry benevolent charities, as Hermippus tells us, might have found friends enough who were willing to aid him. But he was ashamed to take from others, since he belonged to a family which had always helped others, and therefore, while still a young man, embarked in commerce. And yet some say that he travelled to get experience and learning rather than to make money. For he was admittedly a lover of wisdom, since even when he was well on in years he would say that he “grew old ever learning many things”; and he was not an admirer of wealth, but actually says that two men are alike wealthy of whom one

“much silver hath,
And gold, and wide domains of wheat-bearing soil,
Horses and mules; while to the other only enough
belongs
To give him comfort of food, and clothes, and shoes,
Enjoyment of child and blooming wife, when these too come,
And only years commensurate therewith are his.”

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3 ἀλλ' ἔτερωθι λέγει·
Χρήματα δ' ιμείρῳ μὲν ἐχεῖν, ἀδίκως δὲ πεπᾶσθαι
οὐκ ἔθελο· πάντως ὦστερον ἦλθε δίκη.
καλύει δὲ οὐδέν τῶν ἁγαθῶν καὶ πολιτικῶν ἄνδρα
µήτε τῶν περιττῶν τὴν κτῆσιν ἐν στουδῆ τί-
θεσθαι µήτε τῆς χρείας τῶν ἁναγκαίων καὶ
ικανῶν καταφρονεῖν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς τότε χρόνοις,
καθ' Ἡσίοδον, ἔργον οὐδέν ἦν ὁνειδός, οὐδὲ τέχνη
diaforān ἐφέρειν, ἐμπορία δὲ καὶ δόξαν εἰχεν
οἰκειουμένη τὰ βαρβαρικὰ καὶ προξενοῦσα φι-
λίας βασιλέων καὶ πραγμάτων ἐμπείρους ποιοῦ-
4 σα πολλών. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ πόλεων οἰκισταὶ γε-
γόναι μεγάλων, ὡς καὶ Μασσαλίας Πρώτως
ὑπὸ Κελτῶν τῶν περὶ τῶν Ῥοδανῶν ἁγαθηθεῖς.
cαὶ Θαλῆν δὲ φασίν ἐμπορία χρήσασθαι καὶ
Ἰπποκράτη τῶν μαθηματικῶν, καὶ Πλάτων τῆς
ἀποδημίας ἐφόδιον ἔλαιον τινὸς ἐν Λιγύπτῳ διά-
θεσιν γενέσθαι.

III. Τὸ δ' οὖν εὐδάπανον τῷ Σόλωνι καὶ ὤγρὸν
πρὸς τὴν δίαιταν, καὶ τὸ φορτικώτερον ἢ φιλοσο-
φῶτερον ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι διαλέγεσθαι περὶ τῶν
ηδονῶν, τῶν ἐμπορικῶν οἴονται βίον προστε-
τρίθαι· πολλοὺς γὰρ ἔχοντα κινδύνου καὶ
μεγάλους ἀνταπαίτειν πάλιν εὐπαθείας τινὰς καὶ
2 ἀπολαύσεις. ὅτι δ' αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ τῶν πενήτων
μερίδε μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ τῶν πλουσίων ἔταττε, δῆλον
ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦτων·

Πολλοὶ γὰρ πλούτευσι κακοὶ, ἁγαθοὶ δὲ πέ-
νονται·
ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς αὐτοῖς οὐ διαμειψόμεθα

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However, in another place he says:—

"Wealth I desire to have; but wrongfully to get it,
I do not wish. Justice, even if slow, is sure."

And there is no reason why a good statesman should either set his heart too much on the acquisition of superfluous wealth, or despise unduly the use of what is necessary and convenient. In those earlier times, to use the words of Hesiod, "work was no disgrace," nor did a trade bring with it social inferiority, and the calling of a merchant was actually held in honour, since it gave him familiarity with foreign parts, friendships with foreign kings, and a large experience in affairs. Some merchants were actually founders of great cities, as Protis, who was beloved by the Gauls along the Rhone, was of Marseilles. Thales is said to have engaged in trade, as well as Hippocrates the mathematician; and Plato defrayed the expenses of his sojourn there by the sale of oil in Egypt.

III. Accordingly, if Solon's way of living was expensive and profuse, and if, in his poems, he speaks of pleasure with more freedom than becomes a philosopher, this is thought to be due to his mercantile life; he encountered many and great dangers, and sought his reward therefor in sundry luxuries and enjoyments. But that he classed himself among the poor rather than the rich, is clear from these verses:—

"For often evil men are rich, and good men poor;
But we will not exchange with them

1 Fragment 13 (Bergk), verses 7f.
2 Works and Days, 311. 3 Fragment 15 (Bergk).
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ

τῆς ἀρετῆς τῶν πλούτων ἐπεὶ τὸ μὲν ἐμπεδοῦν αἰεὶ,
χρήματα δ' ἀνθρώπων ἄλλοτε ἄλλος ἔχει.

3 τῇ δὲ ποιήσει κατ' ἀρχάς μὲν εἰς οὐδὲν ἄξιον 80
σπουδῆς, ἀλλὰ παίζων ἔοικε προσχρησάσθαι
καὶ παράγων ἑαυτὸν ἐν τῷ σχολάζειν ὑστεροῦν
dὲ καὶ γνώμας ἐνέτεινε φιλοσόφους καὶ τῶν
πολιτικῶν πολλὰ συγκατέπλεκε τοῖς ποιήμασιν,
οὐχ ἰστορίας ἔιεκεν καὶ μνήμης, ἀλλ' ἀπολογι-
σμοὺς τε τῶν πεπραγμένων ἔχοντα καὶ προτρο-
pᾶς ἐνιαχοῦ καὶ νοθεσίας καὶ ἐπιπλήξεις πρὸς
τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ἐνοι δὲ φαίνω ὅτι καὶ τοὺς
νόμους ἐπεχείρησεν ἐντείνας εἰς ἔστος ἐξενεγκεῖν,
καὶ διαμνημονεύουσι τὴν ἀρχὴν όπτως ἔχουσαν.

Πρῶτα μὲν εὐχόμεσθα Διὸ Κρονίδη βασιλῆι
θεσμοῖς τοῖς τύχην ἀγαθὴν καὶ κύδος ὑπάσ-
σαι.

Φιλοσοφίας δὲ τοῦ θηκοῦ μᾶλλον τὸ πολιτι-
κών, ὡστερ οἱ πλείστοι τῶν σοφῶν, ἡγάπησεν.
ἐν δὲ τοῖς φυσικοῖς ἀπλοῦς ἔστι λιαν καὶ ἀρχαιός,
ὡς δὴλον ἐκ τούτων.

5 Ἐκ νεφέλης πέλεται χιόνος μένος ἢδε χαλάζης,
βροντῆ δ' ἐκ λαμπρᾶς γίνεται ἀστεροπῆς.
ἐξ ἀνέμων δὲ θάλασσα ταράσσεται. ἢν δὲ τις
ἀυτὴν
μὴ κινῆ, πάντων ἐστὶ δικαιοτάτη.

καὶ ὅλως ἔοικεν ἡ Θάλεω μόνου σοφία τότε
περαιτέρῳ τῆς χρείας ἐξικέσθαι τῇ θεωρίᾳ. τοῖς

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Our virtue for their wealth, since one abides alway,
While riches change their owners every day."

And he seems to have composed his poetry at first with no serious end in view, but as amusement and diversion in his hours of leisure. Then later, he put philosophic maxims into verse, and interwove many political teachings in his poems, not simply to record and transmit them, but because they contained justifications of his acts, and sometimes exhortations, admonitions, and rebukes for the Athenians. Some say, too, that he attempted to reduce his laws to heroic verse before he published them, and they give us this introduction to them:—

"First let us offer prayers to Zeus, the royal son of Cronus,
That he may give these laws of ours success and fame." ¹

In philosophy, he cultivated chiefly the domain of political ethics, like most of the wise men of the time; and in physics, he is very simple and antiquated, as is clear from the following verses:—

"From clouds come sweeping snow and hail,
And thunder follows on the lightning's flash.
By winds the sea is lashed to storm, but if it be Unvexed, it is of all things most amenable." ²

And in general, it would seem that Thales was the only wise man of the time who carried his speculations beyond the realm of the practical; the

¹ Fragment 31 (Bergk).
² Fragment 9, verses 1-2; and fragment 12 (Bergk).
δὲ ἄλλοις ἀπὸ τῆς πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς τούνομα τῆς σοφίας ὑπήρξε.

IV. Γενέσθαι δὲ μετ’ ἄλληλων ἐν τε Δελφοῖς ὁμοῦ λέγονται καὶ πάλιν ἐν Κορίνθῳ. Περιάνδρου σύλλογόν τινα κοινὸν αὐτῶν καὶ συμπόσιον κατασκεύασαντος. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον εἰς ἄξιωμα καὶ δόξαν αὐτοῖς κατέστησεν ἡ τοῦ τρίποδος περίοδος καὶ διὰ πάντων ἀνακύκλησις καὶ ἀνθύπειξις μετ’

2 εὐμενείας φιλοτίμου γενομένη. ΚΦὼν γάρ, ὡς φασί, καταγόντων σαγήνην, καὶ ξένων ἐκ Μιλήτου πριμαμένων τὸν βόλον οὐπο φανερὸν ὄντα, χρυσοῖς ἐφάνη τρίπος ἐλκόμενος, δι λέγοντι τὸν Ἔλενην πλέουσαν ἐκ Τροίας αὐτῷ καθεῖναι χρησμοῦ τινος ἀναμμησθείσαν παλαιοῦ. γενομένης δὲ τοῖς ξένοις πρῶτον ἀντιλογίας πρὸς τοὺς ἀλίεας περὶ τοῦ τρίποδος, ἐτα τῶν πόλεων ἀναδεξαμένων τὴν διαφορὰν ἀχρὶ πολέμου προελθοῦσαν, ἀνείλεν ἀμφοτέρους ἡ Πυθία τῷ σοφω.

3 τάτῳ τὸν τρίποδα ἀποδούναι καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀπεστάλη πρὸς Θαλήν εἰς Μιλήτου, ἐκουσίως τῶν ΚΦὼν ἐνι δωρουμένων ἐκείνης περὶ οὗ πρὸς ἀπαντᾶς ὁμοῦ Μιλησίους ἐπολέμησαν. Θάλεω δὲ Βίαντα σοφώτερον ἀποφαίνοντος αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἱκεον ἀπ’ ἐκείνου δ’ αὐθήν ἀπεστάλη πρὸς ἅλλον ὡς σοφώτερον. εἶτα περίῳ καὶ ἀναπεμπόμενος οὕτως ἐν Ἐρεθίνῃ τὸ δεύτερον ἀφίκετο, καὶ τέλος εἰς Ἐθήνας ἐκ Μιλήτου κομισθεῖς τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ Ἀπόλλωνι καθιερώθη.
rest¹ got the name of wisdom from their excellence as statesmen.

IV. They are all said to have met together at Delphi, and again in Corinth, where Periander arranged something like a joint conference for them, and a banquet. But what contributed still more to their honour and fame was the circuit which the tripod made among them, its passing round through all their hands, and their mutual declination of it, with generous expressions of good will. Some Coans, as the story goes, were dragging in a net, and some strangers from Miletus bought the catch as yet unseen. It proved to contain a golden tripod which Helen, on her voyage from Troy, is said to have thrown in there, when she called to mind a certain ancient oracle. First the strangers had a dispute with the fishermen about the tripod, and then their cities took up the quarrel and went at last to war, whereupon the Pythian priestess of Apollo told both parties in an oracle that the tripod must be given to the wisest man. So in the first place it was sent to Thales at Miletus, the Coans willingly bestowing upon him alone that for which they had waged war against all the Milesians together. But Thales declared that Bias was a wiser man than he, and the tripod was sent to Bias. From Bias, in his turn, it was dispatched to another, as wiser than he. So it went the rounds and was sent away by each in turn, until at last it came to Thales for the second time. Finally, it was carried from Miletus to Thebes and dedicated to Ismenian Apollo.

¹ The names usually given in the list of the Seven Wise Men are: Bias of Priene, Chilon of Sparta, Cleobulus of Lindus, Periander of Corinth, Pittacus of Mitylene, Solon of Athens, and Thales of Miletus. See chapter xii. 4.
4 Θεόφραστος δέ φησι, πρώτον μὲν εἰς Πριήνην Βίαντι τὸν τρίποδα πεμφθήναι, δεύτερον δὲ εἰς Μίλητον Θαλῆ Βίαντος ἀποπέμψαντος. οὕτω δὲ διὰ πάντων πάλιν εἰς Βίαντα περιελθεῖν, τέλος δὲ εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀποσταλῆναι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ πλειόνων τεθρύληται, πλην ὅτι τὸ δῶρον ἄντι τοῦ τρίποδος οἱ μὲν φιάλην ὑπὸ Κροίσου πεμφθείσαν, οἱ δὲ ποτήριον Βαθυκλέους ἀπολεπόντος εἶναι λέγουσιν.

V. Ἡδία δ’ Ἀναχάρσεως τε πρὸς Σῶλωνα καὶ πάλιν Θάλεω συνουσίαν τινὰ καὶ λόγους ἀναγράφουσι τοιούτους. Ἀναχάρσεως μὲν εἰς Ἀθηναίας φασίν ἐπὶ τὴν Σῶλωναν οἰκίαν ἐλθόντα κόπτειν, καὶ λέγειν ὃς ἕνος ὃν ἀφίκεται φιλίαν ποιησόμενος καὶ ξενίαν πρὸς αὐτόν. ἀποκριμαμένου δὲ τοῦ Σῶλωνος ὃς οἶκοι βέβηλον ἔστι ποιεῖσθαι φιλίας, “Οὐκοῦν,” φὰναι τὸν Ἀναχάρσεων, “αὐτὸς ὃν οἶκοι 2 σὺ ποίησαι φιλίαν καὶ ξενίαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς.” οὕτω δὴ θαυμάσαντα τὴν ἀγχύνωιαν τοῦ ἄνδρος τὸν Σῶλωνα δέξασθαι φιλοφρόνος, καὶ χρόνον τινὰ κατασχεῖν παρ’ αὐτῷ, ἣδη τὰ δημόσια πράττοντα καὶ συνταττόμενοι τοὺς νόμους. τὸν οὖν Ἀναχάρσεων 81 πυθόμενον καταγελᾶν τῆς πραγματείας τοῦ Σῶλωνος, οἰκομένου γράμμασιν ἐφέξειν τὰς ἀδικίας καὶ πλεονεξίας τῶν πολιτῶν, ἃ μηδὲν τῶν ἀραχνίων διαφέρειν, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐκεῖνα τοὺς μὲν ἀσθενεῖς καὶ λεπτοὺς τῶν ἀλησκομένων καθέξειν, ὕπ’ δὲ τῶν 3 δυνατῶν καὶ πλουσίων διαρραγήσεσθαι. τὸν δὲ Σῶλωνα πρὸς ταυτά φασίν εἰπεῖν ὅτι καὶ συνθήκας ἀνθρωποφυλάττουσιν, ὡς οὐδετέρῳ λυσι-
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Theophrastus, however, says that the tripod was sent in the first place to Bias at Priene, and in the second place to Thales at Miletus, at the instance of Bias, and so passed through the hands of all the wise men until it came round again to Bias, and finally was sent to Delphi. These, then, are the more common versions of the tale. But some say that the gift thus passed from hand to hand was not the tripod now seen at Delphi, but a bowl sent there by Croesus; and others that it was a beaker left there by Bathycles.

V. In particular we are told of private intercourse between Solon and Anacharsis, and between Solon and Thales, of which the following accounts are given.\(^1\) Anacharsis came to Athens, knocked at Solon's door, and said that he was a stranger who had come to make ties of friendship and hospitality with him. On Solon's replying that it was better to make one's friendships at home, "Well then," said Anacharsis, "do thou, who art at home, make me thy friend and guest." So Solon, admiring the man's ready wit, received him graciously and kept him with him some time. This was when he was already engaged in public affairs and compiling his laws. Anacharsis, accordingly, on learning what Solon was about, laughed at him for thinking that he could check the injustice and rapacity of the citizens by written laws, which were just like spiders' webs; they would hold the weak and delicate who might be caught in their meshes, but would be torn in pieces by the rich and powerful. To this Solon is said to have answered that men keep their agreements with each other when neither party profits by

\(^1\) In chapters. v. and vi.
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

telēs ἐστὶ παραβαίνειν τῶν θεμένων· καὶ τοὺς νόμους αὐτὸς οὕτως ἀρμόζεται τοῖς πολιταῖς ὡστε πᾶσι τοῦ παρανομεῖν βέλτιον ἐπιδείξατο τὸ δικαίο-

πραγμάτων. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὡς Ἀνάχαρσις εἰκαζεὶν ἀπέβη μᾶλλον ἢ κατ’ ἑλπίδα τοῦ Σόλωνος. ἔφη δὲ κάκεινο ταυμάζειν ὡς Ἀνάχαρσις ἐκκλησίας παραγενόμενος, ὅτι λέγουσι μὲν οἱ σοφοὶ παρ’ Ἐλληνι, κρύνουσι δὲ οἱ ἄμαθεῖς.

VI. Πρὸς Θαλῆν δ’ εἰς Μίλητον ἐλθόντα τῶν Σόλωνα ταυμάζειν ὧτι γάμον καὶ παιδοποιεῖ τὸ παράπαν ἡμέληκε. καὶ τὸν Θαλῆν τότε μὲν σιωπῆσαι, διαλείποντα δ’ ὀλύγας ἤμερας ἀνδρὰ παρασκευάσαι ἔχειν, ἀρτίως ἥκειν φάσκοντα δεκατάιον ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν. πυθομένου δὲ τοῦ Σό-

λωνος εἰ δὴ τι καινὸν ἐν ταῖς Ἀθηναῖς, δεδιδαγ-

μένον δ’ ἥκη λέγειν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, “Οὐδὲν,” εἰπεῖν, ἢ ἔτερον, εἰ μὴ νὴ Δία νεανίσκου τινὸς ἤν ἐκφορὰ

2 καὶ προὔπεμπτεν ἡ πόλις. ἦν γὰρ νῦν, ὃς ἐφα-

σαν, ἀνδρὸς ἐνδόξου καὶ πρωτεύοντος ἁρτῆ τῶν πολιτῶν· οὐ παρῆν δὲ, ἀλλ’ ἀποδημεῖν ἐφασαν αὐτὸν ἤδη πολὺν χρόνου.” “Ὡς δυστυχῆς ἐκεῖνος,” φαίη τὸν Σόλωνα. “τίνα δὲ ὠνόμαζον αὐτὸν;” “Ἡκουσα,” φαίη, “τούνομα,” τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ’ οὐ μομενεύω. πλὴν ὅτι πολὺς λόγος ἦν αὐ-

τοῦ σοφίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης.” οὕτω δὴ καθ’ ἐκάστην ἀπόκρισιν τῷ φόβῳ προσαγόμενον τὸν Σόλωνα καὶ τέλος ἦδη συντεταραγμένον αὐτὸν ὑποβάλ-

λειν τούνομα τῷ ξένῳ, πυθανόμενον μὴ Σόλωνος

3 ὁ τεθηκὼς νῦν ὠνομάζετο. φήσαις δὲ τοῦ ἄνθρωπον, τὸν μὲν ὀρμῆσαι παίειν τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τάλλα ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν ἀ συμβαίνει τοῖς

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the breaking of them, and he was adapting his laws to the citizens in such a manner as to make it clear to all that the practice of justice was more advantageous than the transgression of the laws. But the results justified the conjecture of Anacharsis rather than the hopes of Solon. It was Anacharsis, too, who said, after attending a session of the assembly, that he was amazed to find that among the Greeks, the wise men pleaded causes, but the fools decided them.

VI. On his visit to Thales at Miletus, Solon is said to have expressed astonishment that his host was wholly indifferent to marriage and the getting of children. At the time Thales made no answer, but a few days afterwards he contrived to have a stranger say that he was just arrived after a ten days' journey from Athens. When Solon asked what news there was at Athens, the man, who was under instructions what to say, answered: "None other than the funeral of a young man, who was followed to the grave by the whole city. For he was the son, as I was told, of an honoured citizen who excelled all others in virtue; he was not at the funeral of his son; they told me that he had been travelling abroad for a long time." "O the miserable man!" said Solon; "pray, what was his name?" "I heard the name," the man said, "but I cannot recall it; only there was great talk of his wisdom and justice." Thus every answer heightened Solon's fears, and at last, in great distress of soul, he told his name to the stranger and asked him if it was Solon's son that was dead. The man said it was; whereupon Solon began to beat his head and to do and say everything else that betokens a transport of
περιπαθοῦσι, τὸν δὲ Θαλήν ἔπιλαβόμενον αὐτοῦ καὶ γελάσαντα, "Ταῦτα τοι," φάναι, "ὁ Σόλων, ἐμὲ γάμον καὶ παιδοποιίας ἀφίστησιν, ἀ καὶ σὲ κατερείπει τὸν ἐρωμενέστατον. ἀλλὰ θάρρει τῶν λόγων ένεκα τούτων οὐ γάρ εἰσίν ἄλθεῖς." ταῦτα μὲν οὖν "Ερμιππος ἱστορεῖν φησὶ Πάταικον, ὃς ἔφασκε τὴν Ἀισώτου ψυχὴν ἐψειν.

VII. Ἀτοπος δὲ καὶ ἄγεννης ὁ τῷ φόβῳ τῆς ἀποβολῆς τὴν κτήσιν ὅλον χρή προϊέμενοι, οὗτοι γάρ ἂν τις ὧν πλοῦτον, οὐ δόξαν, οὐ σοφίαν ἀγαπήσει ταραγενομένην, δεδώσει στέρεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἀρετὴν ὅτι κτῆμα μεῖξον οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἢδιον, ἐξισταμένην ύπὸ νόσου καὶ φαρμάκων ορῶμεν αὐτῷ τε Θαλή μὴ γῆμαντι πλέον οὐδὲν εἰς ἀφοβίαν, εἰ μή καὶ φίλων κτήσιν ἐφυγε καὶ οἰκεῖων 2 καὶ πατρίδος. ἀλλὰ καὶ παῖδα θετὼν ἔσχε ποιησάμενος αὐτὸς τὸν τῆς ἄδελφής, ὡς φασί, Κύβισθον. ἐχοῦσης γὰρ τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγαπητικῶν ἐν ἑαυτῇ καὶ πεφυκίσας, ὅσπερ αἰσθάνεσθαι καὶ διανοεῖσθαι καὶ μημονεύειν, οὐτω καὶ φιλεῖν, ἐνδύεται τι τούτω καὶ προσφύεται τῶν ἐκτὸς οἷς οἰκεῖον οὐδέν ἐστιν, καὶ καθάπερ οίκον ἡ χώραν γνησίων ἔρθην διαιδόχων, τὸ πιοτοργον ἀλλότρῳ καὶ νόδου παῖδες ἡ θεράποντες εἰσοικεσάμενοι καὶ καταλαβόντες ἂμα τῷ φιλεῖν τὸ φροντίζειν καὶ δεδίναι περὶ αὐτῶν ἐνεποίησαν. 3 ὡστ' ἴδεις ἂν ἀνθρώπων στερροτέρα τῇ φύσει περὶ γάμου καὶ γενέσεως παῖδων διαλεγομένους, εἶτα τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ παιδίν οἰκοτρίβων ἡ θρέμματι παλλακῶν νοσοῦσι καὶ θυησκοῦσι παρατεινομένους πόθῳ καὶ φωνῆς ἄγεννης ἀφιέντας.
SOLON

grief. But Thales took him by the hand and said, with a smile, "This it is, O Solon, which keeps me from marriage and the getting of children; it overwhelms even thee, who art the most stout-hearted of men. But be not dismayed at this story, for it is not true." Such, at any rate, according to Hermippus, is the story of Pataecus, who used to boast that he had Aesop's soul.

VII. However, it is irrational and ignoble to renounce the acquisition of what we want for fear of losing it; for on this principle a man cannot be gratified by the possession of wealth, or honour, or wisdom, for fear he may be deprived of them. Indeed, even virtue, the most valuable and pleasing possession in the world, is often banished by sickness and drugs. And Thales himself, though unmarried, was nevertheless not wholly free from apprehension, unless he also avoided having friends, or relations, or country. On the contrary, he had a son by his own adoption, as we are told, Cybisthus, his sister's son. For the soul has in itself a capacity for affection, and loves just as naturally as it perceives, understands, and remembers. It clothes itself in this capacity, and attaches itself to those who are not akin to it, and just as if it were a house or an estate that lacks lawful heirs, this craving for affection is entered and occupied by alien and illegitimate children, or retainers, who, along with love for them, inspire anxiety and fear in their behalf. So that you will find men of a somewhat rugged nature who argue against marriage and the begetting of children, and then, when children of their servants, or offspring of their concubines fall sick and die, these same men are racked with sorrow and lament abjectly. Some, too,
ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ κυνῶν θανάτῳ καὶ ἱππῶν αἰσχρῶς καὶ ἄβιωτος ὑπὸ λύπης διετέθησαν. ἀλλ' ἔτεροι γε παίδας ἀγαθοὺς ἀποβαλόντες οὐδὲν ἔπαθον δεινῶν οὐδ' ἐποίησαν αἰσχρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρώμενοι τῷ λοιπῷ βίῳ κατὰ λόγου διετέλεσαν. ἀσθένεια γάρ, οὐκ εὐνοια, λύπας ἀπεράντως ἐπάγεται καὶ φόβους ἀνθρώπους ἀνασκήτοις ὑπὸ λόγου πρὸς τύχην, οἷς οὐδ' ἀπόλαυσις ἐγγίνεται τοῦ ποθομένου παρόντος, τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀδίνας ἀεὶ καὶ τρόμους καὶ ἀγώνας, εἰ στερησοῦνται, παρέχοντος αὐτοῖς. δεὶ δὲ μὴν πενία πρὸς χρημάτων πεφράξχαι1 στέρησιν μήτε ἀφιλίᾳ πρὸς φίλων ἀποβολὴν μήτ' ἀπαίδια πρὸς τέκνων θάνατον, ἀλλὰ τῷ λογισμῷ πρὸς πάντα. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν, ὡς ἐν τῷ παρόντι, πλείονα τῶν ἰκανῶν.

VIII. Ἡσεῖ δὲ μακρὸν τινὰ καὶ δυσχερὴ πόλεμον οἱ ἐν ἄστει περὶ τῆς Σαλαμινῶν ἦσαν Μεγαρέως πολεμοῦντες ἐξέκαμον, καὶ νόμον ἔθεντο μήτε γράψαι τινὰ μήτ' εἰπεῖν αὕτα ὡς χρὴ τὴν πόλιν ἀντιποιεῖσθαι τῆς Σαλαμίνος, ἡ θανάτῳ ξημοῦσθαι, βαρέως φέρων τὴν ἀδοξίαν ὁ Σόλων, καὶ τῶν νέων ὀρῶν πολλοὺς δεομένους ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, αὐτοὺς δὲ μὴ θαρροῦντας ἀρξάσθαι διὰ τῶν νόμων, ἐσκήψατο μὲν ἐκστασιν τῶν λο-2 γισμῶν, καὶ λόγος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας διεδόθη παρακινητικῶς ἐχεῖν αὐτῶν, ἔλεγεν δὲ κρύφα συνθῆς καὶ μελετησάς ὥστε λέγειν ἀπὸ στόματος, ἐξετήθησεν εἰς τὴν ἁγορὰν ἄφνω πιλίδιον περὶθέμενος. ὅχλου δὲ πολλοῦ συνήδρα-

1 τεφράχθαι Bekker and Cobet, after Bryan: τεπαύσθαι (be delivered from).
at the death even of dogs and horses, have been plunged into shameful and intolerable grief. But others have borne the loss of noble sons without terrible sorrow or unworthy conduct, and have conformed the rest of their lives to the dictates of reason. For it is weakness, not kindness, that brings men into endless pains and terrors when they are not trained by reason to endure the assaults of fortune. Such men do not even enjoy what they long for when they get it, but are filled with continual pangs, tremors, and struggles by the fear of future loss. However, we must be fortified not by poverty against deprivation of worldly goods, nor by friendlessness against loss of friends, nor by childlessness against death of children, but by reason against all adversities. This, under present circumstances, is more than enough on this head.

VIII. Once when the Athenians were tired out with a war which they were waging against the Megarians for the island of Salamis, they made a law that no one in future, on pain of death, should move, in writing or orally, that the city take up its contention for Salamis. Solon could not endure the disgrace of this, and when he saw that many of the young men wanted steps taken to bring on the war, but did not dare to take those steps themselves on account of the law, he pretended to be out of his head, and a report was given out to the city by his family that he showed signs of madness. He then secretly composed some elegiac verses, and after rehearsing them so that he could say them by rote, he sallied out into the market-place of a sudden, with a cap upon his head. After a large crowd had
μόντος ἀναβάς ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ κήρυκος λίθον ἐν φώθῃ διεξῆλθε τὴν ἐλεγέλαιν, ἣς ἦστιν ἀρχή.

Αὐτὸς κηρυκὴ ἤλθον ἀφ’ ἰμερτῆς Σαλαμῖνος, κόσμον ἐπέων φώθῃ ἀντ’ ἀγορῆς θέμενοι.

3 τοῦτο τὸ ποίημα Σαλαμίδα ἐπιγραφαίται καὶ στίχων ἐκατὸν ἐστὶ, χαριέντως πάνω πεποιημένοι. τότε δὲ ἀσθέντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν φίλων τοῦ Σόλωνος ἀρξαμένων ἐπαινεῖν, μάλιστα δὲ τοῦ Πεισιστράτου τοῖς πολίταις ἐγκεκελουμένου καὶ παρομώντος πεισθήναι τῷ λέγοντι, λύσαντες τὸν νόμον αὐθεῖς ἦπτοντο τοῦ πολέμου, προστη- σάμενοι τὸν Σόλωνα.

4 Ἡ μὲν οὖν δημώδης τῶν λεγομένων τοιαύτ’ ἐστὶν, ὅτι πλεύσας ἐπὶ Κωλιάδα μετὰ τοῦ Πεισιστράτου, καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτόθι πάσας τὰς γυναῖκας τῇ Δήμητρι τῇ πάτριῳ θυσίαν ἐπιτελοῦσας, ἐπεμψεν ἄνδρα πιστὸν εἰς Σαλαμῖνα προσποιούμενον αὐτόμολον εἶναι, κελεύοντα τοὺς Μεγαρεῖς, εἰ βούλονται τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὰς πρώτας λαβεῖν γυναῖκας, ἐπὶ Κωλιάδα μετ’ αὐτοῦ πλεῖν τὴν ταχύστην. ὡς δὲ πεισθέντες οἱ Μεγαρεῖς ἄνδρας ἐξεπεμψαν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ καὶ κατείδευν ὁ Σόλων τὸ πλοίον ἐλαυνόμενον ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου, τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας ἐκποδῶν ἀπελθεῖν ἐκέλευσε, τῶν δὲ νεωτέρων τοὺς μηδέπώ γενεώντας ἐνυμασί καὶ μίτρας καὶ ὑποδήμασι τοῖς ἐκεῖνων σκενασμένους καὶ λαβώντας ἐγχειρίδια κρυπτὰ παίξειν καὶ χορεύειν προσέταξε πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ, μέχρις ἂν ὑποβῆσιν οἱ πολεμιοὶ καὶ γέννηται τὸ 6 πλοῖον ὑποχείριον. οὕτω δὴ τούτων πραττόμενων,
collected there, he got upon the herald’s stone and recited the poem which begins:

"Behold in me a herald come from lovely Salamis,
   With a song in ordered verse instead of a harangue."\textsuperscript{1}

This poem is entitled "Salamis," and contains a hundred very graceful verses. When Solon had sung it, his friends began to praise him, and Peisistratus in particular urged and incited the citizens to obey his words. They therefore repealed the law and renewed the war, putting Solon in command of it.

The popular account of his campaign is as follows. Having sailed to Cape Colias with Peisistratus, he found all the women of the city there, performing the customary sacrifice to Demeter. He therefore sent a trusty man to Salamis, who pretended to be a deserter, and bade the Megarians, if they wished to capture the principal women of Athens, to sail to Colias with him as fast as they could. The Megarians were persuaded by him, and sent off some men in his ship. But when Solon saw the vessel sailing back from the island, he ordered the women to withdraw, and directed those of the younger men who were still beardless, arraying themselves in the garments, head-bands, and sandals which the women had worn, and carrying concealed daggers, to sport and dance on the sea shore until the enemy had disembarked and the vessel was in their power. This being done as he directed, the

\textsuperscript{1} Only six more verses are preserved (Fragments 1–3, Bergk). They contain reproaches of the Athenians for abandoning Salamis, and an exhortation to go and fight for it.
'υπαχθέντες οἱ Μεγαρεῖς τῇ ὁψεί καὶ προσμή-
ξαυτες ἐγγύς, ἐξεπήδων ὡς ἐπὶ γυναικας, ἀμιλλω-
μενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους,1 ὡστε μηδένα διαφυγεῖν,
ἀλλὰ πάντας ἀπολέσθαι, καὶ τὴν νῆσον ἐπιπλευ-
σαντας εὐθὺς ἔχειν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.
IX. Ἄλλοι δὲ φασιν οὐ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον
γενέσθαι τὴν κατάληψιν, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτῷ
τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς θεὸν χρήσαι:

'Ἀρχηγοὺς χώρας θυσίας ἠρωας ἐνοίκους
ἔλασο, τοὺς κόλπους Ἀσωπίας ἀμφικαλύπτει,
οἱ φθίμενοι δὲρκονται ἐς ἡλίουν δύονται.

tὸν δὲ Σόλωνα διαπλεύσαντα νυκτὸς εἰς τὴν
νῆσον ἐντεμείν σφάγια Περιφήμῳ καὶ Κυχρεῖ
2 τοῖς ἠρωσίν. εἶτα παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἔθελοντάς
λαβεῖν πεντακοσίους, δόγματος γενομένου τοῦ-
τους, ἀν κατασχῶσι τὴν νῆσον, κυρίους εἶναι τοῦ
πολιτείματος. ἀναχθέντα δὲ συχνὰς ἀλώσιν
ἄμμα τριακοντὸν συμπαραπλευσθης ύφορμή-
σασθαὶ τῇ Σαλαμίνι κατὰ χηλὴν τινα πρὸς τὴν
Εὔβοιαν 2 ἀποβλέποιειν. πυθομένους δὲ τοὺς ἐν
Σαλαμίνι Μεγαρεῖς ἐκ τινος φήμης οὐδὲν βέβαιων,
αὐτοὺς μὲν εἰς τὰ ὀπλα θορυβομένους βαδίζειν,
μαὴν δ' ἀποστείλαι κατασκεφομένην τῶν πολε-
3 μῶν. ἢς ἐγγύς ἐλθούσης κρατῆσαι τὸν Σόλωνα
καὶ καθεδρεῖ τοὺς Μεγαρεῖς. ἐμβιβάσαι δὲ τῶν
'Ἀθηναίων τοὺς κρατίστους κελεύσαντα πλείν ἐπὶ
tὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἄν ἐνδέχεται μάλιστα κρύπτοντας

1 ἀλλήλους Sinteris and Bekker assume here a lacuna in
the text, where such details were given as are found in
Polyaenus, Strategemata, i. 20.
2 Εὔβοιαν Sinteris suggests Νίσαιαν (cf. xii. 3).

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Megarians were lured on by what they saw, beached their vessel, and leapt out to attack women, as they supposed, vying with one another in speed. The result was that not a man of them escaped, but all were slain, and the Athenians at once set sail and took possession of the island.

IX. Others, however, say that the island was not taken in this way, but that Solon first received this oracle from the god at Delphi:

"The tutelary heroes of the land where once they lived, with sacred rites
Propitiate, whom the Asopian plain now hides in its bosom;
There they lie buried with their faces toward the setting sun."

Thereupon Solon sailed by night to the island and made sacrifices to the heroes Periphemus and Cythereus. Then he took five hundred Athenian volunteers, a decree having been made that these should be supreme in the government of the island if they took it, and setting sail with a number of fishing boats conveyed by a thirty-oared ship, he anchored off the island of Salamis, at a point of land looking towards Euboea. But the Megarians in the city of Salamis, hearing only an uncertain report of what had happened, armed themselves hurriedly and set out for the place, at the same time dispatching a ship to spy out the enemy. This ship came near and was captured by Solon, who put her crew in confinement. Then he manned her with the best of his Athenians, and ordered them to sail against the city, keeping themselves as much
εαυτούς· ἀμα δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀθηναίους ἀναλαβόντα πεζῇ συμφέρεσθαι τοῖς Μεγαρεύσι· καὶ τῆς μάχης ἐτὶ συνεστώσῃς φθάσαι τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς νεὼς καταλαβόντας τὴν πόλιν.

4 Ἔοικε δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ καὶ τὰ δρώμενα μαρτυρεῖν. ναῦς γὰρ τῆς Ἀττικῆ προσέπλει σωπῇ τὸ πρῶτον, ἐτὰ κραυγῆ καὶ ἀλαλαγμῷ προσφερομένων εἰς ἀνήρ ἐνοπλόσ εξαλλόμενος μετὰ βοήθει ἑθεὶ πρὸς ἀκρον τὸ Σκιράδιον ἕκ γῆς προσφερομένους. πλησίον δὲ τοῦ Ἐνυαλίου τὸ ἱερὸν ἑστὶν ἱδρυσαμένου Σόλωνος. ἐνίκησε γὰρ τοὺς Μεγαρέας, καὶ ὅσοι μὴ διεφθάρησαν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, πάντας ὑποστόδους ἀφῆκεν.

Χ. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῶν Μεγαρέων ἐπιμενόντων πολλὰ κακὰ καὶ δρῶντες ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ πάσχοντες, ἐποιήσαντο Δακεδαμονίους διαλλακτᾶς καὶ δικαστὰς. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ τῷ Σόλωνι συναγωνίσασαι λέγουσι τῇ Ὀμήρου δόξαν· ἐμβαλόντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπος εἰς νεὼν κατάλογον ἐπὶ τῆς δίκης ἀναγνώριαν.

Αἰας δ’ ἔκ Σαλαμίνος ἄγεν δυοκαίδεκα νῆσις, στῆσε δ’ ἅγων ἵν’ Ἀθηναίων ἰσταντο φάλαγγες.

2 αὐτοὶ δ’ Ἀθηναίοι ταῦτα μὲν οἴονται φλαρίαν εἶναι, τὸν δὲ Σόλωνα φασὶν ἀποδείξει τοῖς δικασταῖς ὅτι Φιλαιῶς καὶ Εὔρυσάκης, Αἰαντος νῦι, Ἀθήνησι πολιτείας μεταλαβόντες παρέ-

1 Σκιράδιον after this word Sintenis and Bekker assume a lacuna in the text.
concealed as was feasible. At the same time, with the rest of his Athenians, he engaged the Megarians on land, and while the fight was still raging, the crew of the ship succeeded in capturing the city.

Now there seems to be a confirmation of this story in certain ceremonies afterwards established. Namely, an Attic ship would approach the island in silence at first, then its crew would make an onset with shouts and cries, and one man in full armour would leap out with a shout of triumph and run to the promontory of Sciradium to inform those who were attacking by land. Hard by that place is the temple of Enyalius\(^1\) which was erected by Solon. For he conquered the Megarians, and all who were not slain in the battle were released on parole.

X. Notwithstanding all this, the Megarians persisted in their opposition, and both sides inflicted and suffered many injuries in the war, so that finally they made the Lacedaemonians arbiters and judges of the strife. Accordingly, most writers say that the fame of Homer favoured the contention of Solon; for after himself inserting a verse into the Catalogue of Ships, he read the passage at the trial thus:—

"Ajax from Salamis brought twelve ships, 
And bringing, stationed them near the Athenian hosts."\(^2\)

The Athenians themselves, however, think this an idle tale, and say that Solon proved to the judges that Philaeus and Eurysaces, the sons of Ajax, became citizens of Athens, made over their island

\(^1\) Ares. \(^2\) *Iliad*, ii. 557 f.
δοσαν τὴν νῆσον αὐτοῖς, καὶ κατόκησαν ὁ μὲν ἐν Βραυρώνι τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὁ δὲ ἐν Μελίτη καὶ δήμων ἐπώνυμον Φιλαίου τῶν Φιλαιδῶν ἔχουσιν, 3 ὅθεν ἦν Πεισίστρατος. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐξελέγχα ς τοὺς Μεγαρείς βουλόμενον ἰσχυρίσασθαι περὶ τῶν νεκρῶν ὅσοι ὑπὸ δυν τρόπον ἐκεῖνοι θάπτουσι κεκηδεμένων, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ αὐτοῖς. θάπτουσι δὲ Μεγαρείς πρὸς ἐω τοὺς νεκροὺς στρέφοντες, Ἀθηναίοι δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέραν. Ἡραῖ δὲ ὁ Μεγαρεύς ἐνυστάμενος λέγει καὶ Μεγαρείς πρὸς ἐσπέραν τετραμένα τὰ σώματα τῶν νεκρῶν τιθέναι· καὶ μεῖζον ἔτι τούτου, μίαν ἐκαστὸν Ἀθηναίων ἔχειν θήκην, Μεγαρεόν δὲ καὶ τρεῖς καὶ τέσσαρας ἐν 4 μιᾷ κεῖσθαι. τῷ μέντοι Σόλων καὶ Πυθικούς τινάς βοηθήσαι λέγουσι χρησμοὺς, ἐν οἷς ὁ θεὸς Ἰανίαν τὴν Σαλαμίνα προσηγόρευε. ταύτῃ τὴν δίκην ἐδίκασαν Σπαρτιάτων πέντε ἄνδρες, Κριτολαίδας, Ἀμομφάρετος, Τυχέχιδας, Ἀναξίλας, Κλεομένης.

X. Ὡθη μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων ἐνδοξος ἦν ο Σόλων καὶ μέγας. ἔθαναμάσθη δὲ καὶ διεβοήθη μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς "Ελλησσιν εἰπὼν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἰερὸ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς, ὡς χρῆ βοηθεῖν καὶ μὴ περιορὰν Κιρραιόν υβρίζουσας εἰς τὸ μαντεῖον, ἀλλὰ προσαμύνειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ Δελφοῖς. πεισθέντες γὰρ ἦπ’ ἐκείνου πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἀφρισ—

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to them, and took up their residence in Attica, one at Brauron, and the other at Melité; and they have a township named after Philaeus, namely Philaïdae, to which Peisistratus belonged. They say, too, that Solon, wishing to refute the claims of the Megarians still further, made the point that the dead on the island of Salamis were not buried after the Megarian, but after the Athenian fashion. For the Megarians bury their dead facing the east, but the Athenians facing the west. However, Hereas the Megarian denies this, and says that the Megarians also turn the faces of their dead to the west. And what is still more important than this, he says that the Athenians use one tomb for each body, whereas the Megarians (like the early inhabitants of Salamis) place three or four bodies in one tomb. However, they say that Solon was further supported by sundry Pythian oracles, in which the god spoke of Salamis as Ionian. This case was decided by five Spartans, Critolaïdas, Amompharetus, Hypsechidas, Anaxilas, and Cleomenes.

XI. These events, then, presently made Solon famous and powerful. But he was even more admired and celebrated among the Greeks for what he said in behalf of the temple at Delphi, namely, that the Greeks must come to its relief, and not suffer the people of Cirrha to outrage the oracle, but aid the Delphians in maintaining the honour of the god. For it was by his persuasion that the Amphictyons¹ undertook the war, as Aristotle, among others, testifies, in his list of the victors at the Pythian games,

¹ The twelve peoples who had as common sanctuaries the temple of Apollo at Delphi and the temple of Demeter at Anthela, near Thermopylae.
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2 Σόλωνι τὴν γνώμην ἀνατιθείς. οὐ μέντοι στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἀπεδείχθη τὸν πόλεμον, ὡς λέγειν φησὶν Ἑρμιππὸς Ἐυάνθη τὸν Σάμιον· οὔτε γὰρ Ἀισχύνης ο ῥήτωρ τοῦτ’ εἶρηκεν, ἐν τε τοῖς Δελφῶν ὑπομνήμασιν Ἀλκμαίων, οὐ Σόλων, ὥστε Αθηναίων στρατηγὸς ἀναγέγραπται.

ΧΙ. Τὸ δὲ Κυλώνειον ἄγος ἦδη μὲν ἐκ πολλοῦ διετάραττε τὴν πόλιν, ἐξ οὐ τοὺς συνωμότας τοῦ Κύλωνος ἰκετεύοντας τὴν θεὸν Μεγακλῆς ὁ ἄρχων ἐπὶ δίκη κατελθεῖν ἔπεισεν· ἔξαψαντας δὲ τοῦ ἐδοὺς κρόκην κλωστήν καὶ ταύτης ἐχομένους, ὡς ἐγένοντο περὶ τὰς σεμνὰς θεὰς καταβαίνοντες, αὐτομάτως τῆς κρόκης ἀγείσης, ἀρμησε συλλαμβάνειν ὁ Μεγακλῆς καὶ οἱ συνάρχοντες, ὡς τῆς θεοῦ τὴν ἱκεσίαν ἀπολεγομένην καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐξω κατέλευσαν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς βωμοὺς προσφυγόντες ἀπεσφάγησαν· μόνοι δ’ ἀφείδησαν οἱ τὰς γυναι-

2 καὶ αὐτῶν ἰκετεύσαντες. ἐκ τοῦτον δὲ κληθέντες ἐναγείσ ἐμισοῦντο· καὶ τῶν Κυλωνείων οἱ περιγενόμενοι πάλιν ἦσαν ἱσχυροί, καὶ στασιάζοντες ἀεὶ διετέλουν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Μεγακλέους. ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε χρόνῳ τῆς στάσεως ἀκμήν λα-βούσης μάλιστα καὶ τοῦ δῆμου διαστάντος, ἦδη δόξαν ἔχων ὁ Σόλων παρῆλθεν εἰς μέσον ἀμα τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ δεόμενος καὶ διδάσκων ἔπεισε τοὺς ἐναγείσ λεγομένους δίκην

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where he ascribes the measure to Solon. He was not, however, appointed general for this war, as Evanthes the Samian says (according to Hermippus), for Aeschines the orator makes no such statement, and in the records of Delphi it is stated that Alcmaeon, and not Solon, commanded the Athenians.

XII. Now the Cylonian pollution had for a long time agitated the city, ever since Megacles the archon had persuaded Cylon and his fellow-conspirators, who had taken sanctuary in the temple of Athena, to come down and stand their trial. They fastened a braided thread to the image of the goddess and kept hold of it, but when they reached the shrine of the Erinyes on their way down, the thread broke of its own accord, upon which Megacles and his fellow-archons rushed to seize them, on the plea that the goddess refused them the rights of suppliants. Those who were outside of sacred precincts were stoned to death, and those who took refuge at the altars were slaughtered there; only those were spared who made supplication to the wives of the archons. Therefore the archons were called polluted men and were held in execration. The survivors of the followers of Cylon also recovered strength, and were forever at variance with the descendants of Megacles. At this particular time the quarrel was at its height and the people divided between the two factions. Solon, therefore, being now in high repute, interposed between them, along with the noblest of the Athenians, and by his entreaties and injunctions persuaded the men who were held to be polluted to submit to a trial, and to

1 In his speech Against Ctesiphon, § 109.
2 About 636 B.C. Cf. Herod. v. 71 ; Thuc. i. 126.
υποσχείν καὶ κριθῆναι τριακοσίων ἀριστίνδην
3 δικαζόντων. Μύρωνος δὲ τοῦ Φλυέως κατηγο-
ροῦντος ἐάλωσαν οἱ ἄνδρες, καὶ μετέστησαν οἱ
ξώντες τῶν δ’ ἀποθανόντων τῶν νεκροὺς ἀνο-
ρύζαντες ἐξέρριψαν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ὀροὺς. ταῦτας
δὲ ταῖς ταραχαῖς καὶ Μεγαρέων συνεπιθεμένων
ἀπέβαλον τοὺς Νήσαιαν οἱ Ἄθηναιοι καὶ Σαλαμῖνος
ἐξέπεσον αὐθίς. καὶ φόβοι τινὲς ἐκ δεισιδαι-
μονίας ἀμα καὶ φάσματα κατείχε τὴν πόλιν, οἳ
τε μάντεις ἄγη καὶ μιασμοὺς δεομένους καθαρμῶν
προφαίνεσθαι διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ἡγόρευον.

4 Οὕτω δὴ μετάπεμπτος αὐτοῖς ἦκεν ἐκ Κρήτης
Ἐπιμενίδης ὁ Φαῖστιος, ὃν εξῆδομον ἐν τοῖς σοφοῖς
καταρθημοῦσιν ἐνιοί τῶν οὐ προσιεμένων τῶν
Περίανδρον. ἐδοκεῖ δὲ τις εἶναι θεοφιλής καὶ
σοφὸς περὶ τὰ θεία τῆς ἐνθουσιαστικῆς καὶ τε-
λεστικῆς σοφίαν, διὸ καὶ παῖδα νύμφης ὄνομα
Βάλτης καὶ Κούρητα νέον αὐτὸν οἱ τότε ἄνθρωποι
προσηγόρευον. ἔλθων δὲ καὶ τῷ Σόλωνι χρησά-
μενος φίλω πόλλα προσυπεργάσατο καὶ προω-
5 δοποίησεν αὐτῷ τῆς νομοθεσίας. καὶ γὰρ εὐστα-
λεῖς ἐποίησε τὰς ἱερουργίας καὶ περὶ τὰ πένθη
πραστέρους, θυσίας τινὰς εὐθὺς ἀναμίξας πρὸς
τὰ κήδη, καὶ τὸ σκληρὸν ἀφελῶν καὶ τὸ βαρβα-
ρικὸν ὦ συνεῖχοντο πρότερον αἱ πλεῖσται γυ-
ναῖκες. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ἱλασμὸς τις καὶ καθ-
αρμὸς καὶ ἱδρύσει κατοργιάσας καὶ καθοσιῶ-

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abide by the decision of three hundred jurors selected from the nobility. Myron of Phlya conducted the prosecution, and the family of Megacles was found guilty. Those who were alive were banished, and the bodies of the dead were dug up and cast forth beyond the borders of the country. During these disturbances the Megarians also attacked the Athenians, who lost Nisaea, and were driven out of Salamis once more. The city was also visited with superstitious fears and strange appearances, and the seers declared that their sacrifices indicated pollutions and defilements which demanded expiation.

Under these circumstances they summoned to their aid from Crete Epimenides of Phaestus, who is reckoned as the seventh Wise Man by some of those who refuse Periander a place in the list. He was reputed to be a man beloved of the gods, and endowed with a mystical and heaven-sent wisdom in religious matters. Therefore the men of his time said that he was the son of a nymph named Balte, and called him a new Cures. On coming to Athens he made Solon his friend, assisted him in many ways, and paved the way for his legislation. For he made the Athenians decorous and careful in their religious services, and milder in their rites of mourning, by attaching certain sacrifices immediately to their funeral ceremonies, and by taking away the harsh and barbaric practices in which their women had usually indulged up to that time. Most important of all, by sundry rites of propitiation and purification, and by sacred foundations, he hallowed and conse-

1 See note on iii. 5, and cf. Aristotle. Const. of Athens, i.
2 The Curetes were Cretan priests of Idaean Zeus, who took their name from the demi-gods to whose care Rhea was said to have committed the infant Zeus.
σας τὴν πόλιν ὑπήκουν τοῦ δικαίου καὶ μᾶλλον εὐπειθῆ πρὸς ὁμόνωιαν κατέστησε. Λέγεται δὲ τὴν Μουντιάων ἰδῶν καὶ καταμαθῶν πολὺν χρόνου, εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας ὡς τυφλὸν ἔστι τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀνθρωπος· ἐκφαγεῖν γὰρ ἂν ὦ θ' Ἀθηναίοι τοῖς αὐτῶν ὁδούσιν, εἰ προήδεσαν ὅσα τὴν πόλιν ἀνιᾶσε τὸ χωρίον· ὁμοίων δὲ τι καὶ Ἐαλήν εἰκάσαι λέγουσι· κελεύσαι γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐν τινὶ τόπῳ τῆς Μιλησίας φαύλῳ καὶ παρορωμένῳ τελευτήσαντα θείαιν, προειπὼν ὡς ἀγορά ποτὲ τούτῳ Μιλησίων ἔσται τὸ χωρίον. Ἐπιμενίδης μὲν οὐν μᾶλιστα θαυμασθεῖσ, καὶ χρῆματα διδόντων πολλὰ καὶ τιμᾶς μεγάλας τῶν ὦ θ' Ἀθηναίων, οὔδὲν ἡ θαλλὼν ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐλαίας αἰτησάμενος καὶ λαβὼν ἀπήλθεν.

XIII. Ὄι δ’ ὦ θ' Ἀθηναίοι τῆς Κυλωνείου πεπαυμένης ταραχῆς καὶ μεθεστῶτων, ὃσπερ εἰρηται, τῶν ἐναγόν, τὴν παλαιὰν αὖθις στᾶσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς πολιτείας ἐστασίαζον, ὅσα ἡ χώρα διαφοράς εἴχεν, εἰς τοσοῦτο μέρη τῆς πόλεως διαστάσεις. έν γὰρ τὸ μὲν τῶν Διακρίων γένος δημοκρατικῶτατον, ὠλυγαρχικώτατον δὲ τὸ τῶν Πεδιέων τρίτοι δ’ οἱ Πάραλοι μέσον τινὰ καὶ μεμυγμένοι αἰρούμενοι πολιτείας τρόπον, ἐμποδῶν ἥσαν καὶ 2 διεκάλυνον τοὺς ἐτέρους κρατήσαι. τότε δὲ τῆς τῶν πενήτων πρὸς τοὺς πλούσιους ἀνωμαλίας ὃσπερ ἀκμὴν λαβούσῃ παντάπασιν ἐπισφαλῶς ἡ πόλις διέκειτο, καὶ μόνως ἃν ἐδόκει καταστήναι καὶ

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crated the city, and brought it to be observant of justice and more easily inclined to unanimity. It is said that when he had seen Munychia and considered it for some time, he remarked to the bystanders that man was indeed blind to the future; for if the Athenians only knew what mischiefs the place would bring upon their city, they would devour it with their own teeth. A similar insight into futurity is ascribed to Thales. They say that he gave directions for his burial in an obscure and neglected quarter of the city's territory, predicting that it would one day be the market-place of Miletus. Well then, Epimenides was vastly admired by the Athenians, who offered him much money and large honours; but he asked for nothing more than a branch of the sacred olive-tree, with which he returned home.

XIII. But the Athenians, now that the Cylonian disturbance was over and the polluted persons banished, as described, relapsed into their old disputes about the form of government, the city being divided into as many parties as there were diversities in its territory. The Hill-men favoured an extreme democracy; the Plain-men an extreme oligarchy; the Shore-men formed a third party, which preferred an intermediate and mixed form of government, was opposed to the other two, and prevented either from gaining the ascendancy. At that time, too, the disparity between the rich and the poor had culminated, as it were, and the city was in an altogether perilous condition; it seemed as if the only

1 The acropolis of the Peiræus, strategically commanding not only that peninsula, but also Athens itself. It was often garrisoned by conquerors of Athens. 2 Chapter xii. 3. 3 Cf. Aristotle, Const. of Athens, xiii. 4.
παύσασθαι ταραττομένη τυραννίδος γενομενης. ἀπας μὲν γὰρ ὁ δήμος ἦν ὑπόχρεως τῶν πλουσίων. ἦ γὰρ ἐγεώργουν ἐκεῖνοι ἐκτα τῶν γενομένων τελοῦντες, ἐκτημόριοι προσαγορευόμενοι καὶ θήτες, ἢ χρέα λαμβάνοντες ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἀγώγιμοι τοῖς δανείζουσιν ἦσαν, οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ δουλεύοντες, οἱ δ’ ἐπὶ τὴν ξένην πυρρασκόμενοι.

3 πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ παῖδας ἰδίους ἴσαγκάζοντο πωλεῖν (οὐδεὶς γὰρ νόμος ἐκώλυε) καὶ τὴν πόλιν φεύγειν διὰ τὴν χαλεπότητα τῶν δανειστῶν. οἱ δὲ πλείοντες καὶ ῥωμαλεώτατοι συνήσταντο καὶ παρεκάλουσιν ἀλλήλους μὴ περιορᾶν, ἀλλ’ ἐλομένους ἐνα προστάτην ἄνδρα πιστῶν ἀφελέσθαι τοὺς ὑπερημέρους καὶ τὴν γῆν ἀναδάσασθαι καὶ ὅλως μεταστῆσαι τὴν πολιτείαν.

XIV. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἱ φρονιμώτατοι συνορῶντες τὸν Σόλωνα μόνον μάλιστα τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἐκτὸς ὄντα, καὶ μήτε τοῖς πλουσίοις κοινωνοῦντα τῆς ἄδικες μήτε ταῖς τῶν πενήτων ἀνάγκαιοι ἐνεχομενοι, ἐδέοντο τοῖς κοινοῖς προσελθεῖν καὶ καταπαύσαι τὰς διαφορὰς. καίτοι Φανίας ὁ Δέσβιος αὐτὸν ἱστορεῖ τὸν Σόλωνα, χρησάμενον ἀπάτη πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ἐπὶ σωτηρία τῆς πόλεως, ὑποσχέσθαι κρύφα τοῖς μὲν ἀπόροις τὴν νέμησιν, τοῖς δὲ χρηματικοὺς βεβαιώσως τῶν συμβολαίων.

2 ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς ὁ Σόλων ὁκνῶν φησι τὸ πρῶτον ἀφεσθαι τῆς πολιτείας, καὶ δεδοικῶς τῶν μὲν τὴν φιλοχρηματίαν, τῶν δὲ τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν. ἤρεθη δὲ ἄρχων μετὰ Φιλόμμβροτου ὃμοι καὶ διαλλακτῆς καὶ νομοθέτης, δεξιαμένων προθύμως αὐτὸν ὡς μὲν
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way to settle its disorders and stop its turmoils was to establish a tyranny. All the common people were in debt to the rich. For they either tilled their lands for them, paying them a sixth of the increase (whence they were called Hectemoroi and Thetes), or else they pledged their persons for debts and could be seized by their creditors, some becoming slaves at home, and others being sold into foreign countries. Many, too, were forced to sell their own children (for there was no law against it), or go into exile, because of the cruelty of the money-lenders. But the most and sturdiest of them began to band together and exhort one another not to submit to their wrongs, but to choose a trusty man as their leader, set free the condemned debtors, divide the land anew, and make an entire change in the form of government.

XIV. At this point, the wisest of the Athenians cast their eyes upon Solon. They saw that he was the one man least implicated in the errors of the time; that he was neither associated with the rich in their injustice, nor involved in the necessities of the poor. They therefore besought him to come forward publicly and put an end to the prevailing dissensions. And yet Phanias the Lesbian writes that Solon of his own accord played a trick upon both parties in order to save the city, and secretly promised to the poor the distribution of land which they desired, and to the rich, validation of their securities. But Solon himself says that he entered public life reluctantly, and fearing one party's greed and the other party's arrogance. However, he was chosen archon to succeed Philombrotus, and made mediator and legislator for the crisis, the rich

1 Cf. Aristotle, Const. of Athens, v. 3. 2 594 B.C.
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εὐπορον τῶν πλουσίων, ὃς δὲ χρηστὸν τῶν πενήτων. λέγεται δὲ καὶ φωνῇ τις αὐτοῦ περιφερεμένη πρότερον, εἰπόντος ὃς τὸ ἱσον πόλεμον οὐ ποιεῖ, καὶ τοῖς κτηματικοῖς ἀρέσκειν καὶ τοῖς ἀκτήμοις, τῶν μὲν ἀξία καὶ ἀρετή, τῶν δὲ μέτρῳ καὶ ἀριθμῷ τὸ ἱσον ἔξειν προσδοκώντων ὄθεν ἐπ’ ἐλπίδοις μεγάλης ἐκατέρων γενομένων οἱ προϊστάμενοι προσέκειντο τῷ Σόλωνι τυραννίδα προξενοῦντες καὶ ἀναπέιθοντες εὐτολμότερον ἀψασθαί τῆς πόλεως ἐγκρατῆ γενομένων. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν διὰ μέσον πολιτῶν, τῆς ὑπὸ λόγου καὶ νόμου μεταβολῆν ὀρῶντες ἐργώδη καὶ χαλεπῆ οὕσαν, οὐκ ἔφευγον ἕνα τῶν δικαίωτατον καὶ φρονιμώτατον ἐπιστῆσαι τοῖς πράγμασιν. ἔνιοι δὲ φασί καὶ μαντείαν γενέσθαι τῷ Σόλωνι Πυθοὶ τοιαύτην.

Ἡσο μέσην κατὰ νῆα κυβερνητήριον ἔργον εὐθύνων πολλοὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπίκουροι.

μάλιστα δὲ οἱ συνήθεις ἐκάκειζον εἰ διὰ τοῦ νόμου δυσωπεῖται τὴν μοναρχίαν, ὅσπερ οὐκ ἄρετή του λαβόντος εὐθύς ἄν βασιλείαν γενομένην, καὶ γεγενημένην πρότερον μὲν Εὐβοισί τυννώδαν, νῦν δὲ Μιτυληναίοις Πιττακῶν ἰρμημένους τύραννον.

Τούτων οὖν ἔξειν ἐξέκρουσε τὸν Σόλωνα τῆς αὐτοῦ προαιρέσεως, ἀλλὰ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς φίλους εἰπεν, ὡς λέγεται, καλὸν μὲν εἶναι τὴν τυραννίδα χωρίων, οὐκ ἔχειν δὲ ἀπόβασιν, πρὸς δὲ Φῶκον ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι γράφων.

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accepting him readily because he was well-to-do, and the poor because he was honest. It is also said that a certain utterance of his which was current before his election, to the effect that equality bred no war, pleased both the men of substance and those who had none; the former expecting to have equality based on worth and excellence, the latter on measure and count. Therefore both parties were in high hopes, and their chief men persistently recommended a tyranny to Solon, and tried to persuade him to seize the city all the more confidently now that he had it completely in his power. Many citizens, too, who belonged to neither party, seeing that it would be a laborious and difficult matter to effect a change by means of argument and law, were not reluctant to have one man, the justest and wisest of all, put at the head of the state. Furthermore, some say that Solon got an oracle at Pytho which ran as follows:—

"Take thy seat amidsthips, the pilot's task is thine; Perform it; many in Athens are thine allies."

And above all, his familiar friends chid him for being averse to absolute power because of the name of tyranny, as if the virtues of him who seized it would not at once make it a lawful sovereignty. Euboea (they argued) had formerly found this true of Tyrnnondas, and so had the Mitylenaeans, now that they had chosen Pittacus to be their tyrant.

None of these things shook Solon from his resolution. To his friends he said, as we are told, that a tyranny was a lovely place, but there was no way down from it. And in his poems he writes to Phocus:—
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ

Εἰ δὲ γῆς (φησίν) ἐφεισάμην πατρίδος, τυραννίδος δὲ καὶ βίης ἀμειλήχου ὁ ἱππάρχος ὑμᾶς καὶ κατασχύνας κλέος, οὐδὲν αἰδεύματι πλέον γὰρ ὄροι νυκήσειν δοκέων πάντας ἀνθρώπους.

ὁδὲν εὐδήλου ὅτι καὶ πρὸ τῆς νομοθεσίας μεγάλην δόξαν εἶχεν. ἀ δὲ φυγόντος αὐτοῦ τὴν τυραννίδα πολλοὶ καταγελώντες ἔλεγον, γέγραφεν οὖτος.

Οὐκ ἔφυ Σόλων βαθύφρων οὐδὲ βουλήσεις ἀνύρεσθαλα γὰρ θεοῦ διδόντος αὐτὸς οὐκ ἑδέξατο. περιβάλλων δ' ἄγραν ἀγαθείς οὐκ ἐπέσπασεν μέγα δίκτυν, θυμοῦ θ' ἀμαρτή καὶ φρενῶν ἀποσφαλεῖς.

ηθελον 1 γὰρ κεν κρατήσας, πλούτων ἄφθονον λαβὼν καὶ τυραννεύσας Ἀθηνῶν μοῦνον ἡμέραν μίαν, ἀσκὸς 1 ύστερον δεδάρθαι καπιτετρίφθαι γένος.

XV. Ταύτα τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ φαύλους περὶ αὐτοῦ πεποίηκε λέγοντας. οὐ μήν ἀπωσάμενος γε τὴν τυραννίδα τὸν πράσωταν ἐξήγησατο τρόπον τοῖς πράγμασιν, οὐδὲ μαλακῶς οὐδὲ ὑπείκων τοῖς δυναμένοις οὐδὲ πρὸς ἡδονὴ τῶν ἔλομένων ἔθετο

1 ηθελον, ἀσκὸς Bergk, with the better MSS.: ηθελεν, αὐτὸς (he (Solon) would have been willing; himself).
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"And if," he says, "I spared my land, My native land, and unto tyranny and violence implacable Did not set hand, polluting and disgracing my fair -fame, I'm not ashamed; in this way rather shall my name be set above That of all other men." ¹

From this it is clear that even before his legislation he was in high repute. And as for the ridicule which many heaped upon him for refusing the tyranny, he has written as follows;—

"Solon was a shallow thinker and a man of counsel void; When the gods would give him blessings, of his own will he refused. When his net was full of fish, amazed, he would not pull it in, All for lack of spirit, and because he was bereft of sense. I had certainly been willing, for the power, and boundless wealth, And to be tyrant over Athens no more than a single day, Then to have a pouch flayed from me, and my lineage blotted out." ²

XV. Thus he represents the multitude and men of low degree as speaking of him. However, though he rejected the tyranny, he did not administer affairs in the mildest possible manner, nor in the enactment of his laws did he show a feeble spirit, nor make concessions to the powerful, nor consult the pleasure

¹ Fragment 32 (Bergk). ² Fragment 33 (Bergk).
τοὺς νόμους· ἀλλ’ ἂν μὲν ἀριστότον ἦν, οὐκ ἐπήγαγεν ιατρείαν οὐδὲ καωτομίαν, φοβηθεὶς μὴ συγχέας παντάπασι καὶ ταράξας τὴν πόλιν ἵσθενέστερος γένηται τοῦ καταστήσαι πάλιν καὶ συναρμό-2 σαθαὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀριστον· ἀ δὲ καὶ λέγων ἢλπιζε πειθομένοι καὶ προσάγων ἀνάγκην ὑπομένουσι χρήσασθαι, ταῦτ’ ἔπραττεν, ὅσ φησιν αὐτὸς.

Ὁμοὶ βίην τε καὶ δίκην συναρμόσας.¹

οδευν ὑστέρον ἔρωτησει εἰ τοὺς ἀρίστους Ἀθηναίων νόμους ἔγραψεν, “Ὅν ἂν,” ἐφη, “προσεδέ-ξαντο τοὺς ἀρίστους.”

“A δ’ οὖν οἱ νεώτεροι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους λέγουσι τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων δυσχερείας ὁνόμασε χρηστοῖς καὶ φιλανθρώποις ἐπικαλύπτοντας ἀστείως ὑπο-3 κορίζεσθαι, τὰς μὲν πόρνας ἑταῖρας, τοὺς δὲ φόρους συντάξεις, φυλακὰς δὲ τὰς φρουρὰς τῶν πόλεων, οἴκημα δὲ τὸ δεσμωτήριον καλοῦντας, πρῶτον Σόλονος ἦν, ὡς ἔοικε, σόφισμα τὴν τῶν χρεῶν ἀποκοπὴν σεισάχθειαν ὕπομάσατος. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐποίησατο πρῶτον πολίτευμα, γράψας τὰ μὲν ὑπάρχοντα τῶν χρεῶν ἀνείσθα, πρὸς δὲ τὸ 4 λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς σώματι μηδένα δανείζειν. καίτοι τινὲς ἔγραψαν, ὅν ἐστὶν Ἀνδροτίων, οὐκ ἀποκοπὴ χρεῶν, ἀλλὰ τόκων μετριότητι κοιφιαζότας ἀγα-πήσαι τοὺς πένητας, καὶ σεισάχθειαν ὕπομάσαι τὸ φιλανθρωπεύμα τοῦτο καὶ τὴν ἀμα τούτῳ γενομένη τῶν τε μέτρων ἐπαύξησιν καὶ τοῦ νομι-σμάτος τιμήν. ἐκατόν γὰρ ἐποίησε δραχμῶν τὴν

¹ Fragment 36, verse 14 (Bergk); verse 16 of the longer fragment now found in Aristotle’s Const. of Athens, chapter xii. 4, where we have κράτειν νόμου, βίην τε κτλ.

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of his electors. Nay, where a condition was as good as it could well be, he applied no remedy, and introduced no innovation, fearing lest, after utterly confusing and confounding the city, he should be too weak to establish it again and recompose it for the best. But those things wherein he hoped to find them open to persuasion or submissive to compulsion, these he did,

"Combining both force and justice together,"
as he says himself. Therefore when he was afterwards asked if he had enacted the best laws for the Athenians, he replied, "The best they would receive."

Now later writers observe that the ancient Athenians used to cover up the ugliness of things with auspicious and kindly terms, giving them polite and endearing names. Thus they called harlots "companions," taxes "contributions," the garrison of a city its "guard," and the prison a "chamber." But Solon was the first, it would seem, to use this device, when he called his cancelling of debts a "disburdenment." For the first of his public measures was an enactment that existing debts should be remitted, and that in future no one should lend money on the person of a borrower. Some writers, however, and Androtion is one of them, affirm that the poor were relieved not by a cancelling of debts, but by a reduction of the interest upon them, and showed their satisfaction by giving the name of "disburdenment" to this act of humanity, and to the augmentation of measures and the purchasing power of money which accompanied it.¹ For

¹ See Aristotle, Const. of Athens, x. 1, with Sandys' note.
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μνὰν πρότερον ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ τριῶν ὀψαν, ὡςτ’ ἄριθμῳ μὲν ἱσον, δυνάμει δ’ ἐλαττον ἀπο- διδόντων, ὥφελείσθαι μὲν τοὺς ἐκτίνοντας μεγάλα, 5 μηδὲν δὲ βλάπτεσθαι τοὺς κομιζομένους. οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι πάντων ὀμοῦ φασί τῶν συμβολαίων ἀναίρεσιν γενέσθαι τὴν σεισάχθειαν, καὶ τούτως συνάδει μᾶλλον τὰ ποιήματα. Σεμνύνεται γὰρ Σόλων ἐν τούτοις ὅτι τῆς τε προϋποκειμένης γῆς

“Οροὺς ἄνειλε πολλαχὴ πεπηγώτας· πρόσθεν δὲ δουλεύουσα, νῦν ἔλευθέρα· καὶ τῶν ἀγωγίμων πρὸς ἀργύριον γεγονότων πολιτῶν τοὺς μὲν ἀνήγαγεν ἀπὸ ξένης,

γλώσσαν οὐκέτ’ Ἀττικὴν ἱέντας, ὥς ἂν πολλαχὴ πλανωμένους· τοὺς δ’ ἐνθάδ’ αὐτοῦ δουλήν ἀεικέα ἔχοντας ἔλευθέρους φησὶ ποιῆσαι.

6 Πρὰγμα δ’ αὐτῷ συμπεσεῖν λέγεται πάντων ἀνιαρότατον ἀπὸ τῆς πράξεως ἐκείνης. ὡς γὰρ ὠρμησθεὶς ἀνιέναι τὰ χρέα καὶ λόγους ἀρμόττουτας ἐξῆτει καὶ πρέπουσαν ἄρχην, ἐκοινώσατο τῶν φίλων οἰς μᾶλιστα πιστεύων καὶ χρώμενος ἑτύγχανε, τοῖς περὶ Κόνωνα καὶ Κλεινίαν καὶ Ἰππόνικον, ὅτι γῆν μὲν ὃς μέλλει κινεῖν, χρεῶν δὲ ποιεῖν ἀποκοπᾶς ἔγνωκεν. οἱ δὲ προλαβόντες 87 εὐθὺς καὶ φθάσαντες ἔδανείσαντο συχνὸν ἀργύριον
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he made the mina to consist of a hundred drachmas, which before had contained only seventy-three, so that by paying the same amount of money, but money of a lesser value, those who had debts to discharge were greatly benefited, and those who accepted such payments were no losers. But most writers agree that the "disburdenment" was a removal of all debt, and with such the poems of Solon are more in accord. For in these he proudly boasts that from the mortgaged lands

"He took away the record-stones that everywhere were planted;
Before, Earth was in bondage, now she is free."¹

And of the citizens whose persons had been seized for debt, some he brought back from foreign lands,

"uttering no longer Attic speech,
So long and far their wretched wanderings;
And some who here at home in shameful servitude
Were held"²

he says he set free.

This undertaking is said to have involved him in the most vexatious experience of his life. For when he had set out to abolish debts, and was trying to find fitting arguments and a suitable occasion for the step, he told some of his most trusted and intimate friends, namely, Conon, Cleinias, and Hipponicus, that he was not going to meddle with the land, but had determined to cancel debts. They immediately took advantage of this confidence and anticipated

¹ Fragment 36, verses 4 f. (Bergk), with adaptation from the first person; verses 6 f. in Aristotle's citation.
² Fragment 36, verses 9-12 (Bergk); verses 11-14 in Aristotle.
παρὰ τῶν πλουσίων καὶ μεγάλας συνεωνήσαντο 7 χώρας. εἴτε τοῦ δόγματος ἐξενεχθέντος τὰ μὲν κτήματα καρποῦμενοι, τὰ δὲ χρήματα τοῖς δανείσαις οὐκ ἀποδιδόντες, εἰς αἰτίαν τὸν Σόλωνα μεγάλην καὶ διαβολήν, ὡσπερ οὐ συναδικούμενον, ἀλλὰ συναδικοῦντα, κατέστησαν. ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐλύθη τὸ ἔγκλημα τοῖς πέντε ταλάντοις· τοσαῦτα γὰρ εὐρέθη δανείζων, καὶ ταῦτα πρῶτος ἀφῆκε κατὰ τὸν νόμον. ἔνοι δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα λέγουσιν, ὅν καὶ Πολύζηλος ὁ Ῥόδιος ἔστιν τούς μέντοι φίλους αὐτοῦ χρεωκοπίδας καλοῦντες διετέλεσαν.

XVI. Ἡρακλέως καὶ ἑυδαίμονες 2 τῶν πλουσίων ἀνελῶν τὰ συμβολαία, καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι τοὺς πένθος, ὅτι γῆς ἀναδασμὸν οὐκ ἐποίησεν ἐπίθεσις αὐτοῖς, οὐδὲ παντάπασιν, ὡσπερ ὁ Δικαίωμα, ὁμαλοὺς τοὺς βίους καὶ ἰσον κατέστησεν. ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐνδεκατος ὁ ἦν Ἡρακλέως καὶ βεβασιλευκός ἐτη πολλὰ τῆς Δακεδαίμονος, ἐξίσῳ μεγά καὶ φίλους καὶ δύναμιν οἶς ἔγνω καλῶς περὶ τῆς πολιτείας ὑπηρετοῦσαν εἴχε, καὶ βία μᾶλλον ἡ πειθοὶ χρησάμενος, ὡστε καὶ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκοπῆναι, κατεργάζετο τὸ μέγιστον εἰς σωτηρίαν πόλεως καὶ ὀμόνοιαν, μηδένα πένητα μηδὲ πλοῦσιον εἶναι 2 τῶν πολιτών. Σόλων δὲ τούτου μὲν οὐκ ἐφίκετο τῇ πολιτείᾳ δημοτικός ὁυ καὶ μέσος, εὖ δέστερον δὲ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης δυνάμεως οὐδὲν ἐπραξεν,
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Solon's decree by borrowing large sums from the wealthy and buying up great estates. Then, when the decree was published, they enjoyed the use of their properties, but refused to pay the moneys due their creditors. This brought Solon into great condemnation and odium, as if he had not been imposed upon with the rest, but were a party to the imposition. However, this charge was at once dissipated by his well-known sacrifice of five talents. For it was found that he had lent so much, and he was the first to remit this debt in accordance with his law. Some say that the sum was fifteen talents, and among them is Polyzelus the Rhodian. But his friends were ever after called "chreocopidae," or debt-cutters.

XVI. He pleased neither party, however; the rich were vexed because he took away their securities for debt, and the poor still more, because he did not re-distribute the land, as they had expected, nor make all men equal and alike in their way of living, as Lycurgus did. But Lycurgus was eleventh in descent from Heracles, and had been king in Lacedaemon for many years. He therefore had great authority, many friends, and power to support his reforms in the commonwealth. He also employed force rather than persuasion, insomuch that he actually lost his eye thereby, and most effectually guaranteed the safety and unanimity of the city by making all its citizens neither poor nor rich. Solon, on the contrary, could not secure this feature in his commonwealth, since he was a man of the people and of modest station; yet he in no wise

1 Cf. Aristotle, Const. of Athens, vi.
2 Cf. Lycurgus, xi.
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οῥμώμενος ἐκ μόνου τοῦ βούλευσθαι καὶ πιστεύειν αὐτῷ τοὺς πολίτας. ὅτι δ’ οὖν προσέκρουσε τοῖς πλείστοις ἐτερα προσδοκήσασιν, αὐτὸς εἰρῆκε περὶ αὐτῶν, ὡς

Χαῦνα μὲν τότ’ ἐφράσαντο, νῦν δὲ μοι χολούμενοι
λοξὸν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὀρῶσι πάντες ὡστε δῆιον.
καίτοι φησὶν ὡς, εἰ τὶς ἄλλος ἔσχε τὴν αὐτὴν δύναμιν,

Οὐκ ἂν κατέσχε δῆμον, οὐδ’ ἐπαύσατο,
πρὶν ἀνταράξασθι, πίπαρ ἐξεἰλεν γάλα.¹

3 Ταχὺ μέντοι τοῦ συμφέροντος αἰσθάμενοι καὶ
tὰς ἱδίας αὐτῶν μέμψεις ἀφέντες ἔθυσάν τε
κοινῇ, σεισάχθειαν τὴν θυσίαν ὀνομάσαντες, καὶ
tὸν Σόλωνα τῆς πολιτείας διορθωτὴν καὶ νομοθέτην ἀπέδειξαν, οὐ τὰ μὲν, τὰ δ’ οὐχί, πάντα δ’ ὀμαλῶς ἐπιτρέψαντες, ἀρχάς, ἐκκλησίας, δικαστήρια, βουλάς, καὶ τίμημα τούτων ἐκάστου καὶ ἀριθμὸν καὶ καιρὸν ὄρισαι, λύοντα καὶ φυλάττοντα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων καὶ καθεστώτων ὁ τι
dοκοίη.

XVII. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τοῦς Δράκοντος νόμους
ἀνείλε πλὴν τῶν φοινικῶν ἀπαντᾶς, διὰ τὴν
χαλεπότητα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἐπιτιμίων. μία
γὰρ ὀλίγον δεῖν ἀπασίων ὁριστῶ τοῖς ἀμαρτάνονσι

¹ So the verses are now more correctly found in Aristotle (Const. of Athens, xii. 5, Sandys).

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acted short of his real power, relying as he did only on the wishes of the citizens and their confidence in him. Nevertheless he gave offence to the greater part of them, who expected different results, as he himself says of them in the lines:

"Then they had extravagant thoughts of me, but now, incensed,
All look askance at me, as if I were their foe." ¹

And yet had any other man, he says, acquired the same power,

"He had not held the people down, nor made an end
Until he had confounded all, and skimmed the cream."

Soon, however, they perceived the advantages of his measure, ceased from their private fault-finding, and offered a public sacrifice, which they called Seisaetheia, or Disburdenment. They also appointed Solon to reform the constitution and make new laws, laying no restrictions whatever upon him, but putting everything into his hands, magistracies, assemblies, courts-of-law, and councils. He was to fix the property qualification for each of these, their numbers, and their times of meeting, abrogating and maintaining existing institutions at his pleasure.

XVII. In the first place, then, he repealed the laws of Draco, all except those concerning homicide,² because they were too severe and their penalties too heavy. For one penalty was assigned to almost all transgressions, namely death, so that even those

¹ Fragment 34 (Bergk); now verses 4 f. of a fragment of nine verses cited by Aristotle (Const. of Athens, xii. 3).
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ξημία θάνατος, ὡστε καὶ τοὺς ἄργιας ἀλῶντας ἀποθνήσκειν, καὶ τοὺς λάχανα κλέψαντας ἢ ὀπώραν ὁμοίως κολάζεσθαι τοὺς ἱεροσύλους καὶ 2 ἀνδροφόνους. διὸ Δημάδης ὕστερον εὐδοκίμησεν εἰπὼν ὅτι δὲ αἴματος, οὐ διὰ μέλανος, τοὺς νόμους ὁ Δράκων ἔγραψεν. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκεῖνος, ὥς φασιν, ἐρωτώμενος διὰ τῇ τοῖς πλείστοις ἀδικήμασι ξημίαν ἔταξε θάνατον, ἀπεκρίνατο τὰ μὲν μικρὰ ταύτης ἄξια νομίζειν, τοῖς δὲ μεγάλοις οὐκ ἔχειν μείζονα.

XVIII. Δεύτερον δὲ Σόλων τὰς μὲν ἄρχας ἀπάσας, ὅσπερ ἦσαν, τοῖς εὐπόροις ἀπολυπτείν βουλόμενος, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην μίξαν πολιτείαν, ἥς ὁ δήμος οὐ μετείχεν, ἔλαβε τὰ τιμήματα τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν ξηροῖς ὁμοί καὶ υγροῖς μέτρα πεντακόσια ποιοῦντας πρῶτον ἔταξε καὶ πεντακοσιομεδίμνους προσηγόρευσεν. δευτέρους δὲ τοὺς ὑπποὺ τρέφειν δυναμένους ἢ μέτρα ποιεῖν 2 τριακόσια· καὶ τούτους ἵππαδα τελοῦντας ἐκάλουν· ξενηγίατα δὲ οἱ τοῦ τρίτου τιμήματος ἰσο-

μάσθησαν, οἷς μέτρον ἡν συναμφότερων διακοσίων. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες ἐκαλοῦντο θήτες, οἷς οὐδεμίαν ἄρχεν ἔδωκεν ἄρχην, ἀλλὰ τῷ συνεκκλησίαξει καὶ δικάζειν μόνον μετείχον τῆς πολιτείας. ὁ κατ' ἄρχας μὲν οὐδέν, ὕστερον δὲ παμμέγεθες ἐφάνη· τὰ γὰρ πλείστα τῶν διαφόρων ἐνέπτυσεν εἰς τοὺς δικαστάς. καὶ γὰρ ὅσα ταῖς ἄρχαις ἔταξε κρίνειν, ὁμοίως καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων εἰς τὸ
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convicted of idleness were put to death, and those who stole salad or fruit received the same punishment as those who committed sacrilege or murder. Therefore Demades, in later times, made a hit when he said that Draco's laws were written not with ink, but blood. And Draco himself, they say, being asked why he made death the penalty for most offences, replied that in his opinion the lesser ones deserved it, and for the greater ones no heavier penalty could be found.

XVIII. In the second place, wishing to leave all the magistracies in the hands of the well-to-do, as they were, but to give the common people a share in the rest of the government, of which they had hitherto been deprived, Solon made an appraisement of the property of the citizens. Those who enjoyed a yearly increase of five hundred measures (wet and dry), he placed in the first class, and called them Pentakosiomedimnoi; the second class was composed of those who were able to keep a horse, or had a yearly increase of three hundred measures, and they were called Hippada Telountes, since they paid a Knight's tax; the members of the third class, whose yearly increase amounted to two hundred measures (wet and dry together), were called Zeugitai. All the rest were called Thetes; they were not allowed to hold any office, but took part in the administration only as members of the assembly and as jurors. This last privilege seemed at first of no moment, but afterwards proved to be of the very highest importance, since most disputes finally came into the hands of these jurors. For even in cases which Solon assigned to the magistrates

1 Cf. Aristotle, Const. of Athens, vii. 3f.
δικαστήριον ἐφέσεις ἔδωκε τοῖς βουλομένοις.

3 λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἀσαφείστερον γράψας καὶ πολλὰς ἀντιλήψεις ἔχοντας αὐξήσας τὴν τῶν δικαστηρίων ἱσχύν μὴ δυναμένους γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων διαλυθῆναι περί ὁν διεφέροντο, συνεβαίνειν ἀεὶ δεῖσθαι δικαστῶν καὶ πᾶν ἄγειν ἀμφισβήτημα πρὸς ἐκείνους, τρόπον τινῷ τῶν νόμων κυρίους ὄντας. ἐπισημαίνεται δὲ αὐτὸς αὐτῷ τὴν ἀξίωσιν οὕτως:

Δήμῳ μὲν γὰρ ἔδωκα τὸσον κράτος ὅσον ἀπαρκεῖ,

τιμής οὐτ' ἀφελῶν οὐτ' ἐπορεξάμενος
οἷς δ' εἶχον δύναμιν καὶ χρῆμασιν ἡσαν ἄγητοι,
καὶ τοῖς ἐφρασάμην μηδὲν ἀεικὲς ἔχειν.

ἔστην δ' ἀμφιβαλῶν κρατερὸν σάκος ἀμφοτέρωσι

νικᾶν δ' οὖν εἶας' οὐδὲτέρους ἄδικος.

5 Ἐτι μέντοι μᾶλλον οἰόμενος δεῖν ἐπαρκεῖν τῇ τῶν πολλῶν ἁσθενείᾳ, παντὶ λαβεῖν δίκην ὑπὲρ τοῦ κακῶς πεπονθότος ἔδωκε. καὶ γὰρ πληγεῖτος ἐτέρου καὶ βιασθέντος ὃ βλαβέντος ἔξην τῷ δυναμένῳ καὶ βουλομένῳ γράφεσθαι τῶν ἀδικοῦντα καὶ διόκειν, ὁρθῶς ἐθίζοντος τοῦ νομοθετοῦν τοὺς πολίτας ὡσπερ ἐνὸς μέρη σῶματος ¹ συναισθάνεσθαι καὶ συναλγεῖν ἀλλήλοις. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ νόμῳ συμφωνοῦντα λόγον αὐτοῦ διαμιμημονεύουν·

¹ μέρη σῶματος (or σῶματος μέρη) Coraës and Bekker, after Xylander: ἐνὸς μέρους.

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for decision, he allowed also an appeal to a popular court when any one desired it. Besides, it is said that his laws were obscurely and ambiguously worded on purpose to enhance the power of the popular courts. For since parties to a controversy could not get satisfaction from the laws, the result was that they always wanted jurors to decide it, and every dispute was laid before them, so that they were in a manner masters of the laws. And he himself claims the credit for this in the following words:—

"For to the common people I gave so much power as is sufficient, Neither robbing them of dignity, nor giving them too much; And those who had power, and were marvellously rich, Even for these I contrived that they suffered no harm. I stood with a mighty shield in front of both classes, And suffered neither of them to prevail unjustly." ¹

Moreover, thinking it his duty to make still further provision for the weakness of the multitude, he gave every citizen the privilege of entering suit in behalf of one who had suffered wrong. If a man was assaulted, and suffered violence or injury, it was the privilege of any one who had the ability and the inclination, to indict the wrong-doer and prosecute him. The law-giver in this way rightly accustomed the citizens, as members of one body, to feel and sympathize with one another’s wrongs. And we are told of a saying of his which is consonant with this

¹ Fragment 5 (Bergk); Aristotle, Const. of Athens, xii. 1; cf. also ix. 1 f.
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... ἐρωτηθεῖς γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἢτις οἰκεῖται κάλλιστα τῶν πόλεων, "Ἐκείνη," εἶπεν, "ἐν ἧ τῶν ἀδικουμένων οὐχ ἦττον οἱ μὴ ἀδικούμενοι προβάλλονται καὶ κολάζουσι τοὺς ἄδικούντας."

XIX. Συστησάμενος δὲ τὴν ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ βουλὴν ἐκ τῶν κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν ἀρχόντων, ἦς διὰ τὸ ἀρξαὶ καὶ αὐτῶς μετείχεν, ἐτι δ’ ὅροι τῶν δῆμου ὁδοῦντα καὶ θρασυνόμενον τῇ τῶν χρεῶν ἀφέσει, δευτέραν προσκατέειμε βουλὴν, ἀπὸ φυλῆς ἐκάστης, τεττάρων οὐσῶν, ἔκατον ἄνδρας ἐπιλεξάμενος, οὐς προβουλεύειν ἔταξε τοῦ δήμου καὶ μηδὲν εάν ἀπροβούλευτον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν 2 εἰσφέρεσθαι. τὴν δ’ ἄνω βουλὴν ἐπίσκοπον πάντων καὶ φύλακα τῶν νόμων ἐκάθισεν, οἵο-μενὸς ἐπὶ δυσὶ βουλαίσι ὁσπερ ἀγκύραις ὀρμοῦ-σαν ἦττον ἐν σάλφ τὴν πόλιν ἑσεθαι καὶ μᾶλλον ἀπεμοῦντα τὸν δήμον παρέξειν.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν πλείστοι τὴν ἔξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλήν, ὄσπερ εἰρηταὶ, Σόλωνα συστήσασθαι φασί καὶ μαρτυρεῖν αὐτῶς δοκεῖ μᾶλστα τὸ μηδαμοῦ τῶν Δράκοντα λέγειν μηδ’ ὀνομάζειν Ἀρεοπαγίτας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐφέτας ἀεὶ διαλέγεσθαι 3 περὶ τῶν φοικῶν. ὃ δὲ τρισκαιδέκατος ἀξίων τοῦ Σόλωνος τὸν ὄγδοον ἔχει τῶν νόμων οὖτως αὐτῶς ὀνύμασε γεγραμμένον. "Ἀτίμων ὡσοι ἀτιμοὶ ἦσαν πρὶν ἡ Σόλωνα ἀρξαί, ἐπιτίμους εἶναι πλὴν ὡσοὶ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου ἡ ὡσοὶ ἐκ τῶν..."

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law. Being asked, namely, what city was best to live in, "That city," he replied, "in which those who are not wronged, no less than those who are wronged, exert themselves to punish the wrong-doers."

XIX. After he had established the council of the Areiopagus, consisting of those who had been archons year by year (and he himself was a member of this body, since he had been archon), he observed that the common people were uneasy and bold in consequence of their release from debt, and therefore established another council besides, consisting of four hundred men, one hundred chosen from each of the four tribes. These were to deliberate on public matters before the people did, and were not to allow any matter to come before the popular assembly without such previous deliberation. Then he made the upper council a general overseer in the state, and guardian of the laws, thinking that the city with its two councils, riding as it were at double anchor, would be less tossed by the surges, and would keep its populace in greater quiet.

Now most writers say that the council of the Areiopagus, as I have stated, was established by Solon. And their view seems to be strongly supported by the fact that Draco nowhere makes any mention whatsoever of Areiopagites, but always addresses himself to the "ephetai" in cases of homicide. Yet Solon's thirteenth table contains the eighth of his laws recorded in these very words: "As many of the disfranchised as were made such before the archonship of Solon, shall be restored to their rights and franchises, except such as were

1 Cf. Aristotle, Const. of Athens, viii. 4.
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ἐφετῶν ἡ ἐκ πρυτανείου καταδικασθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων ἐπὶ φόνῳ ἢ σφαγαίσιν ἢ ἐπὶ
4 τυραννίδι προευγγυ ότε ο ἰθεσμὸς ἐφανή ὅδε." ταῦτα
dὴ πάλιν ὡς πρὸ τῆς Σόλωνος ἀρχῆς καὶ νομο-
θεσίας την ἐξ 'Αρείου πάγου βουλὴν οὗσαν
ἐνδείκνυται. τίνες γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ πρὸ Σόλωνος
ἐν 'Αρείῳ πάγῳ καταδικασθέντες, εἰ πρῶτος
Σόλων ἐδωκε τῇ ἐξ 'Αρείου πάγου βουλὴ τὸ
κρίνειν; εἰ μὴ νὴ Δία γέγονε τις ἄσάφεια τοῦ
γράμματος ἡ ἐκλειψις, ὡστε τοὺς ἠλωκότας ἐπ'
αἰτίας αἰς κρίνουσι νῦν οἱ 'Αρεσπαγῖται καὶ
ἐφέται καὶ πρυτάνεις, ὅτε ο θεσμὸς ἐφανή ὅδε,
μένειν ἀτίμους, τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτίμων γενομένων.
ταῦτα μὲν ὦν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπισκόπηε.

XX. Τῶν δ' ἄλλων αὐτοῦ νόμων ἰδιος μὲν
μάλιστα καὶ παράδοξος ὁ κελεύων ἀτίμων εἶναι
tὸν ἐν στάσει μηδετέρας μερίδος γενόμενον. Βού-
λεται δ', ὡς έοικε, μὴ ἀπαθῶς μηδ' ἀναισθήτως
ἐχειν πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν, ἐν ἀσφαλεὶ θέμενον τὰ
οἰκεῖα καὶ τῷ μὴ συναλγεῖν μὴ δὲ συννοσεῖν τῇ
πατρίδῃ καλλωπιζόμενον, ἀλλ' αὐτόθεν τοῖς τὰ
βελτίω καὶ δικαιότερα πράττοις προσθέμενον,
συγκεκυδυνεύειν καὶ βοηθεῖν, μᾶλλον ἡ περιμένει
2· ἀκινδύνως τὰ τῶν κρατοῦντων. άτοπος δὲ δοκεῖ
καὶ γελοῖος ὁ τῇ ἐπικλήρῳ διδούς, ἄν ὁ κρατῶν
καὶ κύριος γεγονὼς κατὰ τῶν νόμων αὐτὸς μὴ
dυνατὸς ἡ πλησιάζειν, ὕπο τῶν ἐγγίστα τοῦ

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condemned by the Areiopagus, or by the ephetai, or in the prytaneium by the kings, on charges of murder or homicide, or of seeking to establish a tyranny, and were in exile when this law was published." This surely proves to the contrary that the council of the Areiopagus was in existence before the archonship and legislation of Solon. For how could men have been condemned in the Areiopagus before the time of Solon, if Solon was the first to give the council of the Areiopagus its jurisdiction? Perhaps, indeed, there is some obscurity in the document, or some omission, and the meaning is that those who had been convicted on charges within the cognizance of those who were Areiopagites and ephetai and prytanes when the law was published, should remain disfranchised, while those convicted on all other charges should recover their rights and franchises. This question, however, my reader must decide for himself.

XX. Among his other laws there is a very peculiar and surprising one which ordains that he shall be disfranchised who, in time of faction, takes neither side. He wishes, probably, that a man should not be insensible or indifferent to the common weal, arranging his private affairs securely and glorying in the fact that he has no share in the distempers and distresses of his country, but should rather espouse promptly the better and more righteous cause, share its perils and give it his aid, instead of waiting in safety to see which cause prevails. That law, too, seems absurd and ridiculous, which permits an heiress, in case the man under whose power and authority she is placed by law is himself unable to consort with her, to be married by one of his next of kin.

1 Cf. Aristotle, Const. of Athens, viii. 5.

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ο ἀνδρὸς ὀπύσεθαι. καὶ τούτο δ' ὀρθῶς ἔχειν τινὲς φασὶ πρὸς τοὺς μὴ δυνάμενος συνεῖναι, χρημάτων δ' ἐνεκα λαμβάνοντας ἑπικλήρους καὶ τῷ νόμῳ καταβιαζομένους τήν φύσιν. ὅρωνες γὰρ ϕ' βούλεται τήν ἐπίκληρον συνούσαν ἢ προῆσονται τόν γάμον ἢ μετ' αἰσχύνης καθέξουσι, 3 φιλοπλούτιας καὶ υβρεως δίκην διδόντες. εὖ δ' ἔχει καὶ τὸ μὴ πᾶσιν, ἀλλὰ τῶν συγγενῶν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ϕ' βούλεται διαλέγεσθαι τήν ἐπίκληρον, ὅπως ὀικείον ἢ καὶ μετέχων τοῦ γένους τὸ τικτόμενον. εἰς τούτο δὲ συντελεῖ καὶ τὸ τήν νύμφην τῷ νυμφίῳ συγκαθείργησθαι μὴ λου κυδωνίον κατατραγούσαν, καὶ τὸ τρὶς ἐκάστου μηνὸς ἐντυγχάνειν πάντως τῇ ἐπικλήρῃ τῶν λαβόντα. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ γένοιτο παιδείς, ἀλλὰ τιμὴ τίς ἀνδρὸς αὐτή πρὸς σῶφρονα γυναίκα, καὶ φιλοφροσύνη πολλὰ τῶν συλλεγομένων ἐκάστοτε δυσχερῶν ἀφαιρούσα, καὶ ταῖς διαφοραῖς οὐκ ἐώσα παντάπασιν ἀποστραφῆναι. 4 Τῶν δ' ἄλλων γάμων ἀφέιλε τὰς φερνάς, ἰμάτια τρία καὶ σκεύη μικροῦ νομίσματος ἄξια κελεύσας, ἔτερον δὲ μιθὲν ἐπιφέρεσθαι τήν γαμούμενην. οὐ γὰρ ἐβούλετο μισθοφόρον οὐδ' ὄνιν εἶναι τὸν γάμον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τεκνώσει καὶ χάρτει καὶ φιλότητι γίνεσθαι τῶν ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς συνοικισμόν. ο μὲν γὰρ Διονύσιος, ἥξιος τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ δοθῆναι τινὶ τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς γάμον, ἐφ' οὗ τοὺς μὲν τῆς πόλεως νόμους λεικέειν τυραννῶν, τοὺς δὲ τῆς φύσεως οὐκ εἶναι δυνατὸς βιάζεσθαι γά- 5 μους νυμφαγωγῶν παρ' ἦλθιαν· ἐν δὲ ταῖς πόλεσι τήν ἀταξίαν ταύτην οὐ δοτέον, οὐδὲ περιοπτέον
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Some, however, say that this was a wise provision against those who are unable to perform the duties of a husband, and yet, for the sake of their property, marry heiresses, and so under cover of law, do violence to nature. For when they see that the heiress can consort with whom she pleases, they will either desist from such a marriage, or make it to their shame, and be punished for their avarice and insolence. It is a wise provision, too, that the heiress may not choose her consort at large, but only from the kinsmen of her husband, that her offspring may be of his family and lineage. Conformable to this, also, is the requirement that the bride eat a quince and be shut up in a chamber with the bridegroom; and that the husband of an heiress shall approach her thrice a month without fail. For even though they have no children, still, this is a mark of esteem and affection which a man should pay to a chaste wife; it removes many of the annoyances which develop in all such cases, and prevents their being altogether estranged by their differences.

In all other marriages he prohibited dowries; the bride was to bring with her three changes of raiment, household stuff of small value, and nothing else. For he did not wish that marriage should be a matter of profit or price, but that man and wife should dwell together for the delights of love and the getting of children. Dionysius, indeed, when his mother asked him to give her in marriage to one of his citizens, said that, although he had broken the laws of the city by being its tyrant, he could not outrage the laws of nature by giving in marriage where age forbade. And so our cities should not allow this irregularity, nor tolerate unions which age forbids.
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άφρονς καὶ ἀχαρίτους ἐτιπλοκᾶς καὶ μηδὲν ἔργον
γαμήλιον ἔχονσας μηδὲ τέλος. Ἀλλὰ γέροντι νέαις
ἀγομένῳ φαίη τις ἄν ἐμεληθή ἄρχων ἦ νομοθέτης
τὸ πρὸς τὸν Φιλοκτήτην.

εἰ γοῦν ὡς γαμεῖν ἔχεις τάλας,
καὶ νέον ἐν δωματίω πλούσιας πρεσβύτειδος,
ὡσπερ οἱ πέρδικες, ἀπὸ συνουσίας παχυνόμενον
ἐξανευρόν μετοικίσει πρὸς παρθένον νύμφην
ἀνδρὸς δεομένην. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τούτων.

XXI. Ἐπανεῖται δὲ τοῦ Σόλωνος καὶ ὁ κωλύων
νόμος τόν τεθνηκότα κακός ἀγορεύει. καὶ γὰρ
ὁσιόν τοὺς μεθεστῶτας ιεροὺς νομίζειν, καὶ δίκαιον
ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν υἱῶν υπαρχόντων, καὶ πολιτικὸν
ἀφαιρεῖν τῆς ἔχθρας τὸ ἄῤῥοι. ξόντα δὲ κακὸς
λέγειν ἐκώλυσε πρὸς ιεροῖς καὶ δικαστηρίοις καὶ
ἀρχείοις καὶ θεορίας οὐσις ἄγωνων. ἢ τρεῖς
δραχμῶς τῷ ἰδιώτῃ, δύο δὲ ἄλλας ἀποτίνειν εἰς
τὸ δημόσιον ἔταξε. τὸ γὰρ μηδαμοῦ κρατεῖν
ὁργής ἀπαίδευτον καὶ ἀκόλαστον. δὲ τὸ πανταχοῦ
χαλεπόν, ὕνοις δὲ ἀδύνατον. δεῦτε πρὸς τὸ δυνα-
τὸν γράφεσθαι τὸν νόμον, εἰ βούλεται χρησίμως
ὁλίγους, ἀλλὰ μὴ πολλοὺς ἄχριστως κολάζειν.

2 Εὐδοκίμησε δὲ κἂν τῷ περὶ διαθήκων νόμος
πρότερον γὰρ οὐκ ἔξην, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ γένει τοῦ
τεθνηκότος ἐδει τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὸν οίκον κατα-
μένειν, ὃ δ' φ' βούλεται τις ἐπιτρέψας, εἰ μὴ

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and love does not invite, which do not fulfil the function of marriage, and defeat its object. Nay, to an old man who is marrying a young wife, any worthy magistrate or lawgiver might say what is said to Philoctetes:

"Indeed, poor wretch, thou art in fine state for marrying!"

And if he discovers a young man in the house of a rich and elderly woman, waxing fat, like a cock-partridge, in her service, he will remove him and give him to some marriageable maid that wants a husband. Thus much, then, on this head.

XXI. Praise is given also to that law of Solon which forbids speaking ill of the dead. For it is piety to regard the deceased as sacred, justice to spare the absent, and good policy to rob hatred of its perpetuity. He also forbade speaking ill of the living in temples, courts-of-law, public offices, and at festivals; the transgressor must pay three drachmas to the person injured, and two more into the public treasury. For never to master one's anger is a mark of intemperance and lack of training; but always to do so is difficult, and for some, impossible. And a law must regard the possibilities in the case, if its maker wishes to punish a few to some purpose, and not many to no purpose.

He was highly esteemed also for his law concerning wills. Before his time, no will could be made, but the entire estate of the deceased must remain in his family. Whereas he, by permitting a

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παιδεσ ειεν αυτοφ, δοιναι τα αυτοι, φιλιαν τε
συγγενειας έτιμησε μαλλον και χαριν αναγκης,
και τα χρηματα κτηματα των έχοντων έποιησεν.
3 ου μην ανεδην γε παλιν ουδ απλως τας δοσεις
εφηκαν, άλλοι ει μη νσων ένεκεν η φαρμάκων ή
δεσμων ή αναγκη κατασχεθει η γυναικε πιθο-
μενος, ευ πανι και προσηκόντως το πεισθηναι
παρα το βελτιστον ουδεν ήγουμενος του βιασθηναι
diaferein, άλλοι εις ταυτο την άπατην τη άναγκη
cαι το πονη την ήδωνη θεμενος, ως ουχ ηττον
εκστησαι λογισμον ανθρωπον δυναμενον.

4 'Επεστησε δε και ταις εξοδους των γυναικων
και τοις πενθει και ταις ορταις νομον απειρ-
γουτα το άτακτον και άκολαστον έξεναι μεν
ιματιων τριων μη πλεον έχουσαν κελευσας, μηδε
βρωτον ή ποτὸν πλειονος ή οβολου φερομενον,
μηδε κανητα πηχυαιον μεζων, μηδε νυκτωρ
πορευεσθαι πλην αμαξη κομιζομενη λυχνου προ-
φανοντος. 'Αμυχας δε κοπτομενων και το θρη-
νειν πεποιημενα και το κωκυειν αλλον εν ταφαις
5 ετερων αφελεν. ενανιζειν δε βοιν ουκ ελασεν,
ουδε συντιθεαι πλεον ιματιων τριων, ουδε έπτ
αλλοτρια μνηματα βαδιζειν χωρις έκκομβης. ων
tα πλειστα και τοις ήμετεροις νομοις απηγορευ-
ταν προσκειται δε τοις ήμετεροις ζημιουσθαι

1 δεσμων Bekker adopts Schaefer's correction to δεσμη.
2 πιθομενος Cobet : πειθομενος.

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man who had no children to give his property to whom he wished, ranked friendship above kinship, and favour above necessity, and made a man's possessions his own property. On the other hand, he did not permit all manner of gifts without restriction or restraint, but only those which were not made under the influence of sickness, or drugs, or imprisonment, or when a man was the victim of compulsion or yielded to the persuasions of his wife. He thought, very rightly and properly, that being persuaded into wrong was no better than being forced into it, and he placed deceit and compulsion, gratification and affliction, in one and the same category, believing that both were alike able to pervert a man's reason.

He also subjected the public appearances of the women, their mourning and their festivals, to a law which did away with disorder and licence. When they went out, they were not to wear more than three garments, they were not to carry more than an obol's worth of food or drink, nor a pannier more than a cubit high, and they were not to travel about by night unless they rode in a waggon with a lamp to light their way. Laceration of the flesh by mourners, and the use of set lamentations, and the bewailing of any one at the funeral ceremonies of another, he forbade. The sacrifice of an ox at the grave was not permitted, nor the burial with the dead of more than three changes of raiment, nor the visiting of other tombs than those of their own family, except at the time of interment. Most of these practices are also forbidden by our laws, but ours contain the additional proviso that such
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tous ta toiauta poioynatas upo ton gynaiikonon, 
os anandrou kai gynaiikodezi tois per ta penith 
padhesi kai amartimasis enexomeneus.

XXII. 'Orovn de to men astu pimplamemonon an-
thetapton hei sasreonton pantachoten eti adeias 
eis tin 'Attikin, ta de pleiosta tis xoraas ageinv 
kal faula, tous de chrwmevous tote thalattai mhedn 
eiwthtasa eisaghe tois mhedn exousin antidoynai, 
pros tas technas etrepe tois politas, kal nomos 
egyrafein uho trefein tov patera me didaxamemon 
2 techn enpamanges mei einaii. tote men gar Dukourgos 
kal pollin oikoini kataran ochorou xenikoi kai 
chorai kektemenoi

Pollois polllh, die tosoi de pleiona,1

kat' Europidhen, kai to megistov, elwthikov plh-
theticov, de beltioyn hin me schoikesein, allla triboymenon 
hei kai ponoyn tateinidhthai, periekumemon tis 
Lakedaimon, kalowes eichan ascholion epiponin 
kai banausw anpallexanta tois politas svne-
xein en tois opleis, mian technien taunin ekmanthia-
3 nontas kai askoynantas. Sdoyn de tois pragmasi 
tous nomous mallon h ta pragmata tois vnomois 
prosamarikov, kai tis xoraes tin fisow oron tois 
egwrgyseis ylisschos diarkousan, argon de kai 
skolasthein ochorou ou dynamenein trefein, taiis 
tehnas axioma periethke, kai tin exe Areeov 
pagov boulihen etatezen etiskopewn othen ekatostos 
exei ta epitptdeia, kai tois argon kolaizein.

tosoidhe.

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offenders shall be punished by the board or censors for women, because they indulge in unmanly and effeminate extravagances of sorrow when they mourn.

XXII. Observing that the city was getting full of people who were constantly streaming into Attica from all quarters for greater security of living, and that most of the country was unfruitful and worthless, and that seafaring men are not wont to import goods for those who have nothing to give them in exchange, he turned the attention of the citizens to the arts of manufacture, and enacted a law that no son who had not been taught a trade should be compelled to support his father. It was well enough for Lycurgus, whose city was free from swarms of strangers, and whose country was, in the words of Euripides,

"For many large, for twice as many more than large,"

and because, above all, that country was flooded with a multitude of Helots, whom it was better not to leave in idleness, but to keep down by continual hardships and toil,—it was well enough for him to set his citizens free from laborious and mechanical occupations and confine their thoughts to arms, giving them this one trade to learn and practice. But Solon, adapting his laws to the situation, rather than the situation to his laws, and observing that the land could give but a mere subsistence to those who tilled it, and was incapable of supporting an unoccupied and leisured multitude, gave dignity to all the trades, and ordered the council of the Areopagus to examine into every man's means of livelihood, and chastise those who had no occupation.

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4 Ἐκεῖνο δ' ἦδη σφοδρότερον, τὸ μηδὲ τοῖς ἐξ ἑταίρας γενομένοις ἐπάναγκες εἶναι τοὺς πατέρας τρέφειν, ώς Ἡρακλείδης ἤστορηκεν ὁ Ποντικός. ὁ γὰρ ἐν γάμῳ παρορῶν τὸ καλὸν οὐ τέκνων ἐνεκα δήλως ἑστιν, ἀλλ' ἡδονῆς ἀγόμενος γυναῖκα, τὸν τε μισθὸν ἀπέχει, καὶ παρρησίαιν αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς γενομένους οὐκ ἀπολέοιπεν, οἷς αὐτὸ τὸ γενέσθαι πεποίηκεν ὁμοίως.

XXIII. Ὅλως δὲ πλεῖστην ἔχειν ἀτοπίαν οἱ περὶ τῶν γυναικῶν νόμοι τῷ Σόλωνι δοκοῦσι. μοιχὴν μὲν γὰρ ἄνελεῖν τῷ λαβόντι δέδωκεν· εὰν δ' ἀρπάσῃ τις ἔλευθεραν γυναῖκα καὶ βιάσηται, ξημίαν ἐκατὸν δραχμὰς ἔταξεν καὶ προ- αγωγεύσας, δραχμὰς εἴκοσι, πλὴν ὅσι αἰ πεφασμένως πωλοῦνται, λέγων δὴ τὰς ἑταίρας. αὐτὴν γὰρ

2 ἐμφανῶς φοιτῶσι πρὸς τοὺς διδόντας. ἔτι δ' οὕτε θυγατέρας πωλεῖν οὕτ' ἀδελφάς δίδωσι, πλὴν ἄν μὴ λάβῃ παρθένον ἀνδρὶ συγγεγενμένην. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ πράγμα ποτὲ μὲν πικρὸς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτως κολάζειν, ποτὲ δ' εὐκόλως καὶ παίζοντα, πρόστιμον ξημίαν τὴν τυχώσαν ὁρίζοντα, ἀλογόν ἐστι· πλὴν εἰ μὴ σπανίζοντος τότε τοῦ νομίσματος ἐν τῷ πόλει μεγάλας ἐποίει τὰς ἀργυρικὰς ξημίας

3 τὸ δυσπρόσιτον. εἰς μὲν γε τὰ τιμήματα τῶν θυσιῶν λογίζεται πρόβατον καὶ δραχμὴν ἀντὶ μεδίμνουν. τῷ δ' Ἡσθημα νικήσαντι δραχμὰς ἔταξεν ἐκατὸν δίδοσθαι, τῷ δ' Ἡλίμπτα πεντακοσίας· λύκον δὲ τῷ κομίζαντι πέντε δραχμὰς έδωκε, λυκίδεα δὲ μίαν, ὡν φησιν ὁ Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος τὸ μὲν βοὸς εἶναι, τὸ δὲ προβάτον τιμῆν. ἀς γὰρ

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But that provision of his was yet more severe, which, as Heracleides Ponticus informs us, relieved the sons who were born out of wedlock from the necessity of supporting their fathers at all. For he that avoids the honourable state of marriage, clearly takes a woman to himself not for the sake of children, but of pleasure; and he has his reward, in that he robs himself of all right to upbraid his sons for neglecting him, since he has made their very existence a reproach to them.

XXIII. But in general, Solon's laws concerning women seem very absurd. For instance, he permitted an adulterer caught in the act to be killed; but if a man committed rape upon a free woman, he was merely to be fined a hundred drachmas; and if he gained his end by persuasion, twenty drachmas, unless it were with one of those who sell themselves openly, meaning of course the courtesans. For these go openly to those who offer them their price. Still further, no man is allowed to sell a daughter or a sister, unless he find that she is no longer a virgin. But to punish the same offence now severely and inexorably, and now mildly and pleasantly, making the penalty a slight fine, is unreasonable; unless money was scarce in the city at that time, and the difficulty of procuring it made these monetary punishments heavy. In the valuations of sacrificial offerings, at any rate, a sheep and a bushel of grain are reckoned at a drachma; the victor in the Isthmian games was to be paid a hundred drachmas, and the Olympic victor five hundred; the man who brought in a wolf, was given five drachmas, and for a wolf's whelp, one; the former sum, according to Demetrius the Phalerian, was the price of an ox, the latter that of
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ἐν τῷ ἐκκαιδεκάτῳ τῶν ἀξόνων ὀρίζει τιμᾶς τῶν ἐκκριτῶν ἰερείων, εἰκὸς μὲν εἶναι πολλαπλασίας, ἀλλὰς δὲ κάκειναι πρὸς τὰς νῦν εὑρετεῖς εἰσιν.

4 ἀρχαῖον δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὸ πολεμεῖν τοῖς λύκοις, βελτίωνα νέμειν ἢ γεωργεῖν χώραν ἔχουσι. καὶ τὰς φυλὰς εἰσίν οἱ λέγοντες οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰωνίων νῦν, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν γενῶν, εἰς δὲ διηρήθησαν οἱ βίοι τὸ πρῶτον, ἄνωμάσθαι, τὸ μὲν μάχιμον Ὀπλάτας, τὸ δὲ ἐργατικὸν Ἐργάδεις· δυνῶν δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Γελέοντας μὲν τοὺς γεωργοὺς, Αἰγι-κορέις δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ νομαῖς καὶ προβατεῖαις δια-τρίβοντας.

5 Ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς υδωρ οὕτε ποταμοῖς ἐστιν ἀενάοις οὕτε λίμναις τισιν οὕτ’, ἀφθόνιοις πηγαῖς ἢ χώρα διαρκῆς, ἀλλ’ οἱ πλείστοι φρέασι ποιητoῖς ἔχρωντο, νόμουν ἐγραφεῖν, ὅπου μὲν ἐστὶ δημόσιον φρέαρ ἐντὸς ἱππικοῦ, χρήσθαι τούτῳ· τὸ δὲ ἱππι-κὸν διάστημα τεσσάρων ἦν σταδίων· ὅπου δὲ πλεῖον ἀπέχει, ξητεῖν υδώρ ἱδίων· ἕαν δὲ ὀρύξαντες ὀργυίων δέκα βάθος παρ’ ἑαυτοῖς μὴ εὑρωσί, τότε λαμβάνειν παρὰ τοῦ γείτονος ἐξάχουν ύδριαν διὸς ἐκάστης ὑμέρας πληροῦνται· ἀπορίας γὰρ φέτοι δεῖν βοηθεῖν, οὐκ ἀργίαν ἐφοδιάξειν.

6 ὁρίσε δὲ καὶ φυτεύων μέτρα μᾶλ’ ἐμπείρως, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλο τι φυτεύοντας ἐν ἀγρῷ πέντε πόδας

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a sheep. For although the prices which Solon fixes in his sixteenth table are for choice victims, and naturally many times as great as those for ordinary ones, still, even these are low in comparison with present prices. Now the Athenians were from of old great enemies of wolves, since their country was better for pasturage than for tillage. And there are those who say that their four tribes were originally named, not from the sons of Ion, but from the classes into which occupations were divided; thus the warriors were called Hoplites, the craftsmen Ergadeis; and of the remaining two, the farmers were called Geleontes, the shepherds and herdsmen Aigikoreis.1

Since the country was not supplied with water by ever-flowing rivers, or lakes, or copious springs, but most of the inhabitants used wells which had been dug, he made a law that where there was a public well within a "hippikon," a distance of four furlongs, that should be used, but where the distance was greater than this, people must try to get water of their own; if, however, after digging to a depth of ten fathoms on their own land, they could not get water, then they might take it from a neighbour's well, filling a five gallon jar twice a day; for he thought it his duty to aid the needy, not to provision the idle. He also showed great experience in the limits which he set to the planting of trees; no one could set out a tree in a field within five feet of his

1 This is strained etymology to explain the ancient tribal names of Hopletes, Argadeis, Geleontes, and Aigikoreis, which are derived, in Herodotus v. 66, from the names of the four sons of Ion. The first has nothing to do with "hopla," arms; nor the second with "ergon," work; nor the third with "ge," earth; nor the fourth with "six," goat.
ἀπέχειν τοῦ γεῖτονος κελεύσας, τοὺς δὲ συκῆν ἢ ἐλαίαν ἐνεέα. πορρωτέρῳ γὰρ ἐξικνεῖται ταῦτα ταῖς ρίζαις, καὶ οὐ πᾶσι γειτνιᾷ τοῖς φυτοῖς ἁσινω, ἀλλὰ καὶ τροφὴν παραρεῖται καὶ βλάπτοσαν ἐνίοις ἀπορροήν ἀφίης. βοῦθρος δὲ καὶ τάφρος τὸν βουλόμενον ἐκέλευσεν ὄρυσειν, ὅσον ἐμβάλλει βάθος, ἀφιστάμενον μῆκος τάλλοτρίου καὶ μελισσῶν σμήνη καθιστάμενον ἀπέχειν τῶν υφ' ἑτέρου πρότερου ἱδρυμένων πόδας τρικάσιους.

XXIV. Τὸν δὲ γνωμένων διάθεσιν πρὸς ξένους ἐλαίον μόνον ἐδώκεν, ἀλλὰ δ' ἐξάγειν ἐκάλυπτε· καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐξαγόντων ἀράς τὸν ἄρχοντα ποιεῖσθαι προσέταξεν, ἢ ἐκτίνευν αὐτὸν ἐκατόν δραχμὰς εἰς τὸ δημόσιον. καὶ πρῶτος ἄξων ἐστὶν οἱ τούτων περιέχων τῶν νόμων. οὐκ ἂν οὖν τις ἡγήσατο παντελῶς ἀπιθάνους τοὺς λέγοντας ὃτι καὶ σύκων ἐξαγωγή τὸ παλαιὸν ἀπείρητο, καὶ τὸ φαίνειν ἐνδεικνύμενον τοὺς ἐξαγόντας κληθῆναι συκοφαντεῖν. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ βλάβης τετραπόδων νόμων, ἐν δὲ καὶ κύνα δακόντα παραδοῦνα κελεύει κλοιῷ τριπήχει δεδεμένον· τὸ μὲν ἐνθύμημα χάριεν πρὸς ἁσφάλειαν.

2 Παρέχει δ' ἀπορίαν καὶ ὁ τῶν δημοποιήτων νόμος, ὅτι γενέσθαι πολίταις οὐ δίδωσι πλὴν τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἀειφυγίᾳ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἡ πανεστίος Ἀθήνας μετοικιζομένοις ἐπὶ τέχνη, τούτο δὲ ποιήσαι φασίν αὐτοῖς οὐχ οὕτως ἀπελαύνοντα 92 τοὺς ἄλλους ὡς κατακαλούμενου Ἀθήνας τούτους ἐπὶ βεβαιφ τῆς μεθέξειν τῆς πολιτείας, καὶ ἀμα
neighbour’s field, or, in case it was a fig-tree or an olive-tree, within nine. For these reach out farther with their roots, and injure some trees by their proximity, taking away their nourishment, and emitting an exhalation which is sometimes noxious. He that would dig a pit or a trench, must dig it at the distance of its own depth from his neighbour’s; and he that would set out hives of bees, must put them three hundred feet away from those which another had already installed.

XXIV. Of the products of the soil, he allowed oil only to be sold abroad, but forbade the exportation of others; and if any did so export, the archon was to pronounce curses upon them, or else himself pay a hundred drachmas into the public treasury. His first table is the one which contains this law. One cannot, therefore, wholly disbelieve those who say that the exportation of figs also was anciently forbidden, and that the one who showed up, or pointed out such exporters, was called a “sycophant,” or fig-shower. He also enacted a law concerning injuries received from beasts, according to which a dog that had bitten anybody must be delivered up with a wooden collar three cubits long fastened to it; a happy device this for promoting safety.

But the law concerning naturalized citizens is of doubtful character. He permitted only those to be made citizens who were permanently exiled from their own country, or who removed to Athens with their entire families to ply a trade. This he did, as we are told, not so much to drive away other foreigners, as to invite these particular ones to Athens with the full assurance of becoming citizens; he also thought that reliance could be placed both
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πιστοὺς νομίζοντα τοὺς μὲν ἀποβεβληκότας τὴν ἑαυτῶν διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην, τοὺς δὲ ἀπολελοιπότας διὰ τὴν γνώμην. ίδιον δὲ τοῦ Σόλωνος καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς ἐν δημοσίῳ σιτήσεως, ὅπερ αὐτὸς παρασιτεῖν κέκληκε. τὸν γὰρ αὐτὸν ὅπως ἐὰν σιτείσθαι πολλάκις, έὰν δὲ ὃ καθήκητι μὴ βούληται, κολάζει, τὸ μὲν ἡγούμενος πλεονεξίαν, τὸ δὲ ὑπερψίαν τῶν κοινῶν.

XXV. Ἠσχὺν δὲ τοὺς νόμοις πᾶσιν εἰς ἑκατὸν ἐνιαυτοὺς ἐδώκε· καὶ κατεγράφησαν εἰς ξυλίνους ἁξονας ἐν πλαισίον περιέχουσι στρεφομένους, ὃν ἔτι καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἐν Πρυτανείῳ λείψανα μικρὰ διεσώζετο· καὶ προσηγορεύθησαν, ὡς 'Αριστοτέλης φησί, κύρβεις· καὶ Κρατίνος ὁ κωμικὸς εἰρηκέ πον.

Πρὸς τοῦ Σόλωνος καὶ Δράκοντος οἶσι νῦν φρύγουσιν ἡδῆ τὰς κάρυνας τοῖς κύρβεσιν.

2 ἐνιαυτὸς δὲ φασίν ἵδιως ἐν οἷς ἱερὰ καὶ θυσίαι περιέχονται, κύρβεις, ἁξονας δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀναμάθαι. κοινῶν μὲν οὖν ἄμμυνεν ὅρκον ἡ βουλὴ τοὺς Σόλωνος νόμους ἐμπεδώσειν, ἰδιον δὲ ἐκαστὸς τῶν θεσμοθετῶν ἐν ἄγορᾳ πρὸς τῷ λίθῳ, καταφατίζων, εἰ τι παραβαίνῃ τῶν θεσμῶν, ἀνδραναχρεσίαν ἱσομέτρητον ἀναθήσειν ἐν Δελφοῖς.1

1 ἵσομέτρητον and ἐν Δελφοῖς are not in the text of Aristotle.
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on those who had been forced to abandon their own country, and on those who had left it with a fixed purpose. Characteristic of Solon also was his regulation of the practice of eating at the public table in the townhall, for which his word was "parasitein." 1 The same person was not allowed to eat there often, but if one whose duty it was to eat there refused, he was punished. Solon thought the conduct of the first grasping; that of the second, contemptuous of the public interests.

XXV. All his laws were to have force for a hundred years, and they were written on "axones," or wooden tablets, which revolved with the oblong frames containing them. Slight remnants of these were still preserved in the Prytaneium when I was at Athens, and they were called, according to Aristotle, 2 "kurbeis." Cratinus, also, the comic poet, somewhere says:—

"By Solon, and by Draco too I make mine oath, Whose kurbeis now are used to parch our barley-corns." 3

But some say that only those tablets which relate to sacred rites and sacrifices are properly called "kurbeis," and the rest are called "axones." However that may be, the council took a joint oath to ratify the laws of Solon, and each of the "thesmothetai," or guardians of the statutes, swore separately at the herald's stone in the market-place, vowing that if he transgressed the statutes in any way, he would dedicate at Delphi a golden statue of commensurate worth.

1 Hence, with scornful meaning, the word parasite.
2 Cf. Const. of Athens, vii. 1, with Sandys' notes.
3 Kock, Com. Att. Frag. i. p. 94.
3 Συνιδών δὲ τοῦ μηνὸς τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν, καὶ τὴν κίνησιν τῆς σελήνης οὔτε δυομένῳ τῷ ἥλιῳ πάντως οὔτ' ἀνίσχοιντι συμφερομένην, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας καὶ καταλαμβάνουσαν καὶ παρερχομένην τὸν ἦλιον, αὐτὴν μὲν ἔταξε ταύτην έννη καὶ νέαν καλεῖσθαι, τὸ μὲν πρὸ συνόδου μόριον αὐτῆς τῷ πανομένῳ μηνὶ, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἦδη τῷ ἀρχομένῳ προσήκειν ἤγομένος, πρῶτος, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὅρθῶς ἀκούσας Ὁμήρου λέγοντος,

Τοῦ μὲν φθινοντος μηνὸς, τοῦ δ' ἰσταμένου, τὴν δ' ἑφεξῆς ἡμέραν νομημαλαν ἐκάλεσε. τὰς δ' ἀπ' εικάδος οὐ προστιθεῖς, ἀλλ' ἀφαιρών καὶ ἀναλύων, ὡσπερ τὰ φῶτα τῆς σελήνης ἑώρα, μέχρι τριακάδος ἠρίθμησεν.

4 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν νόμων εἰσενεχθέντων ἔνοι τῷ Σόλωνι καθ' ἐκάστην προσήσαν ἡμέραν, ἐπαινοῦντες ἢ ψέγοντες ἢ συμβουλεύοντες ἐμβάλλειν τοὺς γεγραμμένους δ' τι τύχοιεν ἢ ἄφαιρεῖν, πλείστοι δ' ἦσαν οἱ πυθανόμενοι καὶ ἀνακρίνοντες καὶ κελεύοντες αὐτῶν ὡς ἐκαστὸν ἔχει καὶ πρὸς ἥν κείται διάνοιαν ἐπεκδιδάσκειν καὶ σαφήνειαν ὑλὲιν, ὅρων ὧτι ταῦτα καὶ τὸ πράττειν ἅτοπον καὶ τὸ μὴ πράττειν ἔπιθεσον, ὅλως δὲ ταῖσις ἀπορίαις ὑπεκστήναι βουλόμενος καὶ διαφυγεῖν

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Observing the irregularity of the month, and that the motion of the moon does not always coincide with the rising and setting of the sun, but that often she overtakes and passes the sun on the same day, he ordered that day to be called the Old and New, assigning the portion of it which preceded the conjunction to the expiring month, and the remaining portion to the month that was just beginning. He was thus the first, as it would seem, to understand Homer's verse,¹ which speaks of a day when

"This month is waning, and the next is setting in,"

and the day following this he called the first of the month. After the twentieth he did not count the days by adding them to twenty, but by subtracting them from thirty, on a descending scale, like the waning of the moon.²

No sooner were the laws of Solon put into operation than some would come to him every day with praise or censure of them, or with advice to insert something into the documents, or take something out. Very numerous, too, were those who came to him with inquiries and questions about them, urging him to teach and make clear to them the meaning and purpose of each several item. He saw that to do this was out of the question, and that not to do it would bring odium upon him, and wishing to be wholly rid of these perplexities and to escape from

¹ Odyssey, xiv. 162=xix. 307, of the day when Odysseus would return to Ithaca.
² Thus the twenty-first was called the tenth, the twenty-second the ninth, and so on, "of the waning month." The twenty-ninth was the second of the waning month, the thirtieth the Old and New.

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τὸ δυσάρεστον καὶ φιλαίτιον τῶν πολιτῶν (ἐργασία γὰρ ἐν μεγάλοις πᾶσιν ἀδεὶν χαλεποῦν, ὥς αὐτὸς εἰρήκε), πρόσχημα τῆς πλάνης τὴν ναυκληρίαν ποιησάμενος ἐξέπλευσε, δεκαετῇ παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀποδημίαν αὐτησάμενος. ἤλπιζέ γὰρ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ καὶ τοῖς νόμοις αὐτῶν ἐξέσθαι συνήθεις.

XXVI. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν εἷς Αἰγυπτίων ἀφίκετο καὶ διέτριψεν, ὡς αὐτὸς φησί,

Νείλου ἐπὶ προχώρησε Κανώβιδος ἐγγύθεν ἀκτῆς.

χρόνον δὲ τινα καὶ τοῖς περὶ Ψένωφιν τὸν Ἡλιοπολίτην καὶ Σωγχιν τὸν Σαλτήν, λογιστάτοις οὔσι τῶν ἱερεῶν, συνεφιλοσοφήσει παρ' ὧν καὶ τὸν Ἀτλαντικὸν ἀκούσας λόγον, ὡς Πλάτων φησίν, ἐπεχείρησε διὰ ποιήματος ἐξενεγκείν εἰς 2 τοὺς Ἑλλήνας. ἔπειτα πλεύσας εἰς Κύπρον ἠγαπήθη διαφερόντως ὑπὸ Φιλοκύπρου τινὸς τῶν ἐκεὶ βασιλέων, δὲ εἴχεν οὐ μεγάλην πόλιν, φιλισμένην ὑπὸ Δημοφώντος τοῦ Θησέως, περὶ τὸν Κλάριον ποταμὸν ἐν χωρίοις ὁχυροῖς μὲν, ἄλλως δὲ δυσχερέσι καὶ φαύλους κειμένην. ἔπεισεν οὖν αὐτὸν ὁ Σόλων ὑποκειμένου καλοῦ πεδίου μεταθέντα τὴν πόλιν ἡδίονα καὶ μείζονα 3 κατασκευάσαι. καὶ παρὼν ἐπεμελήθη τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ, καὶ συνδικόσ迫使 πρὸς τε διαγωγὴν ἀριστα καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν, ὡστε πολλοὺς μὲν οἰκήτορας τῷ Φιλοκύπρῳ συνελθεῖν, ἐξηλώσαι δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους βασιλέας· διὸ καὶ τῷ Σώλωνι τιμὴν

1 τοῖς νόμοις αὐτῶν after MSS. cited by Stephanus; Bekker has τοὺς νόμους αὐτῶν, the conjecture of Stephanus (the laws would be familiar to them).
the captiousness and censoriousness of the citizens (for "in great affairs," as he says himself,¹ "it is difficult to please all"), he made his ownership of a vessel an excuse for foreign travel, and set sail, after obtaining from the Athenians leave of absence for ten years. In this time he hoped they would be accustomed to his laws.

XXVI. In the first place, then, he went to Egypt,² and lived, as he himself says,³ "Where Nile pours forth his floods, near the Canobic shore."

He also spent some time in studies with Psenophis of Heliopolis and Sonchis of Saïs, who were very learned priests. From these, as Plato says,⁴ he heard the story of the lost Atlantis, and tried to introduce it in a poetical form to the Greeks.⁵ Next he sailed to Cyprus, and was greatly beloved of Philocyprus, one of the kings of the island. This prince had a small city, founded by Demophon, the son of Theseus, and lying near the river Clarius, in a position which was strong, but otherwise inconvenient and sorry. Solon therefore persuaded him to remove the city to the fair plain which lay below it, and make it more spacious and pleasant. He also remained and took charge of the new city's consolidation, and helped to arrange it in the best possible manner both for convenience of living and for safety. The result was that many colonists flocked to Philocyprus, and he was the envy of the other kings. He therefore paid Solon the honour of

¹ Fragment 7 (Bergk).
² Cf. Aristotle, Const. of Athens, xi. 1.
³ Fragment 28 (Bergk). ⁴ Timaeus, p. 22 a.
⁵ Cf. chapters xxxi. 3; xxxii. 1 f.
άποδιδούσα Αίτημαν τὴν πόλιν καλουμένην πρὸ-4 τερον ἀπ' ἑκείνου Σόλων προσηγόρευσε. καὶ
αὐτὸς δὲ μέμνηται τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ προσαγο-
ρεύσας γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἐλεγείαις τὸν Φιλόκυτρον,

Νῦν δὲ (φησὶ) σὺ μὲν Σολύσις πολὺν χρόνον
ἐνθάδ' ἀνάσσων
τὴν πόλιν ναίοις καὶ γένος ἵμετερον,
αὐτὰρ ἐμὲ ξὺν νηθθεὶς κλεινῇ ἀπὸ νήσου
ἀσκηθῇ πέμπτοι Κύπρις ἰσοτέφανος.
οίκισμῷ δ' ἐπὶ τῷ δὲ χάριν καὶ κύδος ὅπαξοι
ἐσθίον καὶ νόστον πατρίδ' ἐς ἠμετέρην.

XXVII. Τὴν δὲ πρὸς Κροίσον ἐντευξίων αὐτοῦ
dοκοῦσιν ἐννοι τὸς χρόνος ὡς πεπλασμένην
ἐλεγχείν. ἐγὼ δὲ λόγον ἐνδόξου οὕτω καὶ το-
σούτως μάρτυρας ἔχοντα, καὶ, ἐνεῖχον ἐστι,
πρέποντα τῷ Σόλωνος ἢθει καὶ τῆς ἑκείνου με-
γαλοφροσύνης καὶ σοφίας ἄξιον, οὐ μοι δοκῶ
προήσεσθαι χρονικῶς τισι λεγομένοις κανόσιν,
οὐς μυρίοι διορθοῦντες ἄχρι σήμερον εἰς οὐδὲν
αὐτοῖς ὀμολογούμενον δύνανται καταστήσαι τάς
2 ἀντιλογίας. τὸν δ' οὖν Σόλωνα φασιν εἰς Σάρδεις
δεσθέντι τῷ Κροίσῳ παραγενόμενον, παθεῖν τι
παραπλήσιον ἀνδρὶ χερσαίῳ κατόνυ πρῶτον ἐπὶ
θάλατταν. ἐκεῖνος τε γὰρ ὅρων ἄλλων ἕξ ἄλλου
ποταμὸν ὠκετο τὴν θάλασσαν εἶναι, καὶ τῷ Σόλωνι
tῆν αὐλήν διαπορευομένῳ καὶ πολλοὺς ὀρῶντι
tῶν βασιλικῶν κεκοσμημένους πολυτέλως, καὶ
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naming the new city after him, and called it Soli; its name had been Aipeia. Solon himself also makes mention of this consolidation. In his elegies, namely, he addresses Philocypirus, and says:

"Now mayest thou long time be lord and master for the Solii here,
Dwelling in this city thyself, and thy family after thee;
But may I and my swift ship, as we leave this storied isle,
Be brought upon our way in safety by Cypris of the violet crown.
Upon this settlement of thine may she bestow favour and glory;
And upon me an auspicious return to my fatherland."

XXVII. As for his interview with Croesus, some think to prove by chronology that it is fictitious. But when a story is so famous and so well-attested, and, what is more to the point, when it comports so well with the character of Solon, and is so worthy of his magnanimity and wisdom, I do not propose to reject it out of deference to any chronological canons, so called, which thousands are to this day revising, without being able to bring their contradictions into any general agreement. So then, they say that Solon, on visiting Sardis at the invitation of Croesus, had much the same experience as an inland man who goes down for the first time to the sea. For just as such a man thinks each successive river that he sees to be the sea, so Solon, as he passed through the court and beheld many of the king's retainers in

1 Fragment 19 (Bergk). 2 Cf. Herodotus, i. 30–33.
σοβούντας ἐν ὄχλῳ προπομπῶν καὶ δορυφόρων, ἐκαστὸς ἐδόκει Κροῖσος εἶναι, μέχρι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἥχηθ, πάν ὅσον ἐν λίθοις, ἐν βαφαῖς ἐσθήτος, ἐν τέχναις χρυσοῦ περὶ κόσμου ἐκπρεπὲς ἔχειν ἢ περιττὸν ἢ ξηλωτὸν ἐδόκει περικείμενον, ὡς δὴ θέαμα σεμνότατον ὁφθείη καὶ ποικιλώτατον. 3 ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ Σόλων ἀντικρυς καταστὰς οὔτ' ἐπαθεν οὔδὲν οὔτ' εἶπε πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ὅπως ὁ Κροῖσος προσεδόκησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δήλος ἦν τοῖς εὐ φρονοῦσι τῆς ἀπειροκαλλίας καὶ μικροπρεπείας καταφρονῶν, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ τοὺς τε θησαυροὺς ἀνοίξαι τῶν χρημάτων, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἁγοντας ἐπιδείξαι μηδὲν δεομένῳ κατασκευὴν καὶ πολυτελείαν. ἦρκε γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ τοῦ τρόπου κατανόησιν παρασχεῖν. ὡς δ' οὖν αὕτης ἡχὴ γεγονὼς ἀπάντων θεατῆς, ἡρώτησεν αὐτὸν ὁ Κροῖσος εἰ τινα 4 οἴδει ἄνθρωποις αὐτοῖ συμμικρώτεροι. ἀποφημαμένου δὲ τοῦ Σόλωνος ὅτι οἴδε Τέλλον αὐτοῦ πολλήν, καὶ διεξελθόντος ὅτι χρηστὸς ἄνηρ ὁ Τέλλος γενόμενος καὶ παῖδας εὐδοκίμους καταλιπὼν καὶ βίον οὔδεν ἔνδει τῶν ἁναγκαίων, ἐτελεύτησεν ἐνδόξως ἀριστεύσας υπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, ἦδη μὲν ἀλλόκοτος ἐδόκει εἶναι τῷ Κροῖσῳ καὶ ἄγροικος, εἰ μὴ πρὸς ἀργύριον πολὺ μηδὲ χρυσὸν τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ποιεῖται τὴν ἀναμέτρησιν, ἀλλὰ δημοτικῶς καὶ ἰδιώτων βίον καὶ θάνατον ἄνθρωπον μᾶλλον ἠ τοσαύτην ἡγαπή δύναμιν καὶ ἀρχήν. 5 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πάλιν ἡρώτησε αὐτὸν εἰ μετὰ Τέλλον ἄλλον ἐγνωκεν ἄνθρωπων εὐδαιμονεῖστερον. πάλιν δὲ τοῦ Σόλωνος εἰπόντος εἰδέναι Κλέοβιν καὶ Βίτωνα, φιλαδέλφους καὶ φιλομή-
costly apparel and moving proudly amid a throng of couriers and armed guards, thought each in turn to be Croesus, until he was brought to the king himself, who was decked out with everything in the way of precious stones, dyed raiment, and wrought gold that men deem remarkable, or extravagant, or enviable, in order that he might present a most august and gorgeous spectacle. But when Solon, in this presence, neither showed any astonishment at what he saw, nor made any such comments upon it as Croesus had expected, but actually made it clear to all discerning eyes that he despised such vulgarity and pettiness, the king ordered his treasure chambers to be thrown open for the guest, and that he should be led about to behold the rest of his sumptuous equipments. Of this there was no need, for the man himself sufficed to give Solon an understanding of his character. However, when Solon had seen everything and had been conducted back again, Croesus asked him if he had ever known a happier man than he. Solon said he had, and that the man was Tellus, a fellow-citizen of his own; Tellus, he went on to say, had proved himself an honest man, had left reputable sons behind him, and had closed a life which knew no serious want with a glorious display of valour in behalf of his country. Croesus at once judged Solon to be a strange and uncouth fellow, since he did not make an abundance of gold and silver his measure of happiness, but admired the life and death of an ordinary private man more than all this display of power and sovereignty. Notwithstanding, he asked him again whether, next to Tellus, he knew any other man more fortunate than he. Again Solon said he did, naming Cleobis and Bito, men surpass-
τορας διαφέροντως ἄνδρας, οὗ τὴν μητέρα τῶν
βοῶν βραδυνόντων ὑποδύντες αὐτὸι τῷ ξυγῷ τῆς
ἀμάξης ἐκόμισαν πρὸς τὸ τῆς Ἡρας ἴερον εὐδαι-
μονιζομένην ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ χαίρουσαν, εἶτα
θύσαντες καὶ πιόντες οὐκ ἔτι μεθ’ ἥμεραν ἀνέστη-
σαν, ἀλλὰ τεθυγκότες ἀναλυγὴ καὶ ἀλυποῦν ἐπὶ

6 δόξῃ τοσαύτη θάνατον ὄφθησαν, "Ἡμᾶς δὲ,"
eἶπεν ἦδη πρὸς ὁργὴν ὁ Κροίσος, "εἰς οὐδένα
tίθης εὐδαιμόνων ἁριθμὸν ἀνθρώπων;" καὶ ὁ
Σόλων οὐτε κολακεύεις βουλόμενος αὐτῶν οὐτε
περαιτέρω παροξύνεις, ""Ελλησιν," εἶπεν, "ἀδὲ
βασιλεὺς Δυνῶν, πρὸς τε τάλλα μετριῶς ἔχειν ὁ
θεὸς ἔδωκε, καὶ σοφίας τινὸς ἅθαρσος, ὡς ἐοικε,
καὶ δημοτικῆς, οὐ βασιλικῆς οὐδὲ λαμπρᾶς, ὑπὸ
μετριότητος ἡμῖν μετέστητι, ἦ τύχαις ὅρωσα παν-
tοδαπαίς χρόμενον ἀεὶ τῶν βίων, οὔκ ἐξ τοῖς
παρούσις ἁγαθοῖς μέγα φρονεῖν, οὐδὲ θαυμάζειν
ἄνδρὸς εὐτυχίαν μεταβολῆς χρόνων ἔχουσαν.

7 ἔπεισα γὰρ ἑκάστῳ ποικίλον ἐξ ἀδήλου τὸ μέλλον·
φῶ δὲ εἰς τέλος ὁ δαίμων ἔθετο τὴν εὐπραξίαν,
tοῦτον εὐδαιμόνα νομίζομεν. ὁ δὲ ζῶντος ἐτι καὶ
κινδυνεύοντος ἐν τῷ βίῳ μακαρισμός, ὄσπερ
ἀγωνιζομένου κήρυγμα καὶ στέφανος, ἐστὶν
ἀβέβαιος καὶ ἀκυρος." ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ὁ Σόλων
ἀπηλλάττετο λυπήσας μὲν, οὐ νουθησάς δεῖ
tὸν Κροίσον.

XXVIII. Ὄ δὲ λογοποιὸς Ἀἰσωπος, ἐτύγχανε

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ing all others in brotherly love and in dutiful affection towards their mother; for once, he said, when the car in which she was riding was delayed by the oxen, they took the yoke upon their own shoulders and brought their mother to the temple of Hera, where her countrymen called her a happy woman and her heart was rejoiced; then, after sacrifice and feasting, they laid themselves to rest, and never rose again, but were found to have died a painless and tranquil death with so great honour fresh upon them. “What!” said Croesus, who by this time was angered, “dost thou not count us among happy men at all?” Then Solon, who was unwilling to flatter him and did not wish to exasperate him further, said: “O king of Lydia, as the Deity has given us Greeks all other blessings in moderation, so our moderation gives us a kind of wisdom which is timid, in all likelihood, and fit for common people, not one which is kingly and splendid. This wisdom, such as it is, observing that human life is ever subject to all sorts of vicissitudes, forbids us to be puffed up by the good things we have, or to admire a man’s felicity while there is still time for it to change. For the future which is advancing upon every one is varied and uncertain, but when the Deity bestows prosperity on a man up to the end, that man we consider happy; to pronounce any one happy, however, while he is still living and running the risks of life, is like proclaiming an athlete victorious and crowning him while he is still contending for the prize; the verdict is insecure and without authority.” When he had said this, Solon departed, leaving Croesus vexed, but none the wiser for it.

XXVIII. Now it so happened that Aesop, the
γὰρ εἰς Σάρδεις μετάπεμπτος γεγονὸς ὑπὸ Κροίσου καὶ τιμῶμενος, ἡχθέσθη τῷ Σόλωνι μηδεμίας τυχόντι φιλανθρωπίας· καὶ προτρέπων αὐτὸν, "Ὤ Σόλων," ἔφη, "τοὺς βασιλεύσει δεῖ ὡς ἥκιστα ἢ ὡς ἡδίστα ὡμαλεῖν." καὶ ὁ Σόλων, "Μᾶ Δῆ," εἶπεν, "ἀλλὰ ὡς ἥκιστα ἢ ὡς ἄριστα." 2 Τότε μὲν οὖν ὁ Κροῖσος οὔτω τοῦ Σόλωνος κατεφρόνησεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ Κῦρος συμβαλὼν ἐκρατήθη μάχη, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀπώλεσε, καὶ ἕως ἄλοιπος αὐτὸς ἐμέλλεν καταπειμπρασθαι, καὶ γενομένης τυρᾶς ἀνεβιβάσθη δεδεμένος θεωμένων Περσῶν ἀπάνταν καὶ Κῦρον παρόντος, ἐφ’ ὅσον ἐξικνεῖτο καὶ δυνατός ἦν τῇ φωνῇ φθεγξάμενος ἀνεβόησε τρὶς, "Ὤ Σόλων." θαυμάσας οὖν ὁ Κῦρος ἔπεμψε τοὺς ἑρεσμόμενους ὡσὶς ἀνθρώπων ἢ θεῶν οὕτος ἐστιν ὁ Σόλων, διʼ ἐν τύχαις ἁπάροις μόνον 3 ἀνακαλεῖται. καὶ ὁ Κροῖσος οὐδὲν ἀποκρυψάμενος εἶπεν ὅτι "Τῶν παρ’ Ἔλλησι σοφῶν εἰς οὕτως ἦν ὁ ἄνηρ, διʼ ἐγὼ μετεπεμψάμην οὐκ ἄκουσαί τι βουλόμενος οὐδὲ μαθεῖν ὅν ἐνδεχόμαι ἦμι, ἀλλ’ ὡς δὴ μοι θεατὴς γένοιτο καὶ μάρτυς ἀπίοι τῆς εὕδαιμονίας ἑκείνης, ἦν ἀποβαλείν ἄρα μείζον ἢ τακὼν ἢ λαβεῖν ἁγάθων. λόγος γὰρ ἦν καὶ δόξα τῶν ἀνθρώπων παρούσης: αἱ μεταβολαὶ δὲ μοι αὐτῆς εἰς πάθη δεινὰ καὶ συμφορὰς ἀνηκέστους 4 ἐργὸς τελευτῶσι. καὶ ταύτ’ ἐκείνος ὁ ἄνηρ ἐκ τῶν τότε τὰ νῦν τεκμαρόμενος, ἐκέλευε τὸ τέλος τοῦ βίου σκοπεῖν καὶ μὴ ἥρασυνόμενον ἀβεβαιοῖς ὑπονοοῖς υβρίζειν." ἐπεὶ δὲ τούτ’ ἀννεύχθη πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον, ἄτε δὴ σοφότερος ὃν τοῦ Κροῖσον καὶ

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1 ἐν τύχαις Coraës, Cobet, and S: τύχαις.

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writer of fables, was in Sardis, having been summoned thither by Croesus, and receiving much honour at his hands. He was distressed that Solon met with no kindly treatment, and said to him by way of advice: "O Solon, our converse with kings should be either as rare, or as pleasing as is possible." "No, indeed!" said Solon, "but either as rare or as beneficial as is possible."

At this time, then, Croesus held Solon in a contempt like this; but afterwards he encountered Cyrus, was defeated in battle, lost his city, was taken alive and condemned to be burnt; and then, as he lay bound upon the pyre in the sight of all the Persians and of Cyrus himself, with all the reach and power of which his voice was capable, he called out thrice:¹ "O Solon!" Cyrus, then, astonished at this, sent men to ask him what man or god this Solon was on whom alone he called in his extremity. And Croesus, without any concealment, said: "This man was one of the sages of Greece, and I sent for him, not with any desire to hear or learn the things of which I stood in need, but in order that he might behold, and, when he left me, bear testimony to the happiness I then enjoyed, the loss of which I now see to be a greater evil than its possession was a good. For when it was mine, the good I derived from it was matter of report and men's opinion, but its departure from me issues in terrible sufferings and irreparable calamities which are real. And that man, conjecturing this future from what he then saw, bade me look to the end of my life, and not let insecure conjectures embolden me to be proud and insolent." When this was reported to Cyrus, since he was a wiser man than Croesus, and

¹ Cf. Herodotus, i. 86.
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tόν λόγον τοῦ Σόλωνος ἵσχυρόν ἐν τῷ παραδείγματι βλέπων, οὐ μόνον ἀφήκε τὸν Κροῖσον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμών ἐφ’ ὅσον ἔζη διετέλεσε· καὶ δόξαν ἔσχεν ὁ Σόλων ἐνὶ λόγῳ τῶν μὲν σώσας, τῶν δὲ παίδευσας τῶν βασιλέων.

XXIX. Οἳ δὲ ἐν ἀστεὶ πάλιν ἐστασίαξον ἀποδημούντος τοῦ Σόλωνος· καὶ προειστήκει τῶν μὲν Πεδιέων Δυκούργος, τῶν δὲ Παράλλων Μεγακλῆς ὁ Ἀλκμαίωνος, Πεισίστρατος δὲ τῶν Διακρίων, ἐν οἷς ἦν ὁ θητικός ὄχλος καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς πλουσίοις ἀχθόμενοι· ἦστε χρήσθαι μὲν ἐτι τοῖς νόμοις τὴν πόλιν, ἦδη δὲ πράγματα νεώτερα προσδοκῶν καὶ ποθείν ἀπαντᾶν ἐτέραν κατάστασιν, οὐκ ἰσον ἐπιζύοντας, ἀλλὰ πλέον ἔξειν ἐν τῇ μεταβολῇ καὶ κρατήσει παντάπασι τῶν διαφερόμενων. οὗτοι δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐχόντων ὁ Σόλων παραγενόμενος εἰς τὸς Ἀθήνας, αἰδῶν μὲν εἰχε καὶ τιμήν παρὰ πάσιν, ἐν δὲ κοινῷ λέγειν καὶ πράσσειν ὁμοίως οὐκ ἔτ’ ἦν δυνατὸς οὐδὲ πρόθυμος ὑπὸ γήρως, ἀλλ’ ἐνυγχάνων ἰδίᾳ τοῖς προεστῶσι τῶν στάσεων ἀνδράσιν ἐπειρᾶτο διαλύειν καὶ συναρμότειν, μάλιστα τοῦ Πεισίστρατον προσέχειν δοκούντος αὐτῶ. καὶ γὰρ αἰμύλων τι καὶ προσφιλές εἶχεν ἐν τῷ διαλέγεσθαι, καὶ βοηθητικὸς ἦν τοῖς πένησι καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐχθρὰς ἐπιεικής καὶ μέτριος. δὲ δὲ φύσει μή προσήν αὐτῷ, καὶ ταῦτα μμούμενοι ἐπιστεύετο μᾶλλον τῶν ἐχόντων, ὡς εὐλαβῆς καὶ κόσμιος ἄνηρ καὶ μάλιστα δὴ τὸ ἵσον ἰγαπῶν, καὶ δυσχεραίνων εἰ τις τὰ παρόντα
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saw the word of Solon confirmed in the example before him, he not only released Croesus, but actually held him in honour as long as he lived. And thus Solon had the reputation of saving one king and instructing another by means of a single saying.

XXIX. But the people of Athens were again divided into factions while Solon was away. The Plain-men were headed by Lycurgus; the Shore-men by Megacles the son of Alcmaeon, and the Hill-men by Peisistratus. ¹ Among the last was the multitude of Thetes, who were the bitter enemies of the rich. As a consequence, though the city still observed the new laws, yet all were already expecting a revolution and desirous of a different form of government, not in hopes of an equality, but each party thinking to be bettered by the change, and to get the entire mastery of its opponents. Such was the state of affairs when Solon returned to Athens. He was revered and honoured by all, but owing to his years he no longer had the strength or the ardour to speak and act in public as before. He did, however, confer privately with the chiefs of the opposing factions, endeavouring to reconcile and harmonize them, and Peisistratus seemed to pay him more heed than the others. For Peisistratus had an insinuating and agreeable quality in his address, he was ready to help the poor, and was reasonable and moderate in his enmities. Even those virtues which nature had denied him were imitated by him so successfully that he won more confidence than those who actually possessed them. He was thought to be a cautious and order-loving man, one that prized equality above all things, and would take it ill if any one disturbed the existing

¹ Cf. Aristotle, Const. of Athens, xiii. 4.
κινοίη καὶ νεωτέρων ὅργωστι. τοῦτοι γὰρ ἔξη-
pάτα τοὺς πολλούς. ὁ δὲ Σόλων ταχὺ τὸ ὄθος
ἐφώρασεν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν πρῶτος
ἐγκατείδειν οὐ μὴν ἐμίσησεν, ἀλλ’ ἐπειράτο
πραύνειν καὶ νουθετεῖν, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔλεγε καὶ
πρὸς ἐτέρους ὡς εἰ τις ἐξέλοι τὸ φιλόπρωτον αὐτοῦ
tῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἱάσαιτο τῆς τυραν-
νίδος. οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος εὐφυεστερος, πρὸς ἀρετὴν
οὐδὲ βελτίων πολιτῆς.

4 Ἀρχομένων δὲ τῶν περὶ Θέσπιν ἦδη τὴν
τραγῳδίαν κινεῖν, καὶ διὰ τὴν καινότητα τοὺς
πολλοὺς ἁγοντος τοῦ πράγματος, οὕτω δὲ εἰς
ἀμίλλαν ἐναγώνιον ἐξηγήμενον, φύσει φιλήκουσ ὁ
καὶ φιλομάθης ὁ Σόλων, ἢ τι μᾶλλον ἐν γήρᾳ
σχολῇ καὶ παιδίᾳ καὶ νὴ Δία πότοις καὶ μονικῇ
παραπέμπου ἑαυτῶν, ἑθεάσατο τὸν Θέσπιν αὐτὸν
ὑποκριμόμενον, ὡσπερ ἔθος ἢ τοῖς παλαιοῖς.

5 μετὰ δὲ τὴν θέαν προσαγορεύσας αὐτὸν ἤρωτησεν
εἰ τοσοῦτον ἔναντίον οὐκ αἰσχύνεται τηλικαίτα
ψευδόμενος. φήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Θέσπιδος μὴ δεινὸν
εἴναι τὸ μετὰ παιδιάς λέγειν τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ
πράσειν, σφόδρα τῇ βακτρίᾳ τὴν γῆν ὁ Σόλων
πατίξας. "Ταχὺ μέντοι τὴν παιδιὰν," ἔφη, "ταῦ-
tὴν ἐπαινούντες οὕτω καὶ τιμῶντες εὐρίσομεν ἐν
τοῖς συμβολαίοις."

XXX. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατατρώσας αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ὁ
Πεισίστρατος ἦκεν εἰς ἀγορὰν ἐπὶ ζεύγους κομ-
ξόμενος, καὶ παρόξυνε τὸν ὑδίμνον ὡς διὰ τὴν
πολιτείαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιβεβουλευμένος,
order and attempted a change. On these points, indeed, he completely deceived most people. But Solon quickly detected his real character, and was the first to perceive his secret designs. He did not, however, treat him as an enemy, but tried to soften and mould him by his instructions. He actually said to him and to others that if the desire for pre-eminence could but be banished from his soul, and his eager passion for the tyranny be cured, no other man would be more naturally disposed to virtue, or a better citizen.

Thespis was now beginning to develop tragedy, and the attempt attracted most people because of its novelty, although it was not yet made a matter of competitive contest. Solon, therefore, who was naturally fond of hearing and learning anything new, and who in his old age more than ever before indulged himself in leisurely amusement, yes, and in wine and song, went to see Thespis act in his own play, as the custom of the ancient poets was. After the spectacle, he accosted Thespis, and asked him if he was not ashamed to tell such lies in the presence of so many people. Thespis answered that there was no harm in talking and acting that way in play, whereupon Solon smote the ground sharply with his staff and said: "Soon, however, if we give play of this sort so much praise and honour, we shall find it in our solemn contracts."

XXX. Now when Peisistratus, after inflicting a wound upon himself,¹ came into the market-place riding in a chariot, and tried to exasperate the populace with the charge that his enemies had plotted against his life on account of his political

¹ Cf. Herodotus, i. 59; Aristotle, Const. of Athens, xiv. 1.
καὶ πολλοὺς εἶχεν ἀγανακτοῦντας καὶ βοῶντας, προσελθὼν ἐγγὺς ὁ Σόλων καὶ παραστάς, "Ὁ καλῶς," εἶπεν, "ὡς Παί Ἱπποκράτους, ὑποκρίνη τὸν Ὀμηρικὸν Ὄδυσσεα· ταῦτα γὰρ ποιεῖς τοὺς πολίτας παρακρούόμενος οἷς ἔκεινος τοὺς πολε-μοὺς ἐξηπατήσεις, αἰκισάμενος ἑαυτὸν." ἐκ τούτου τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἢν ἔτοιμον ὑπερμαχεῖν τοῦ Πει-σιστράτου, καὶ συνήλθεν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ὁ δῆμος. Ἀρίστωνος δὲ γράφαντος ὡς δοθώσι πεντήκοντα κορυφηφόροι τῷ Πεισιστράτῳ φυλακὴ τοῦ σώ-ματος, ἀντεῖπεν ὁ Σόλων ἀναστάς καὶ πολλὰ διεξῆλθεν ὧμοια τούτοις οἷς διὰ τῶν ποιημάτων γέγραφεν·

Εἰς γὰρ γλῶσσαν ὅρατε καὶ εἰς ἑπὶ αἰμύλου ἀνδρὸς.

ὕμων δέ εἰς μὲν ἐκαστὸς ἀλάπεκος ἐκνεσι βαίνει,

σύμπασιν δ' ὕμων χαύνος ἐνεστὶ νόσος.

3 ὁρῶν δὲ τοὺς μὲν πένητας ὄρμημένους χαρίζεσθαι τῷ Πεισιστράτῳ καὶ θορυβοῦντας, τοὺς δὲ πλου-σίους ἀποδιδάσκοντας καὶ ἀποδείκνυτας, ἀπήλθεν εἰπὼν ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἔστι σοφῶτερος, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρεὼτερος· σοφῶτερος μὲν τῶν μὴ συννέντων τὸ πραττόμενον, ἀνδρεῶτερος δὲ τῶν συννέντων μὲν, ἐναντιοῦσθαι δὲ τῇ τυραννίδι φοβουμένων. τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα κυρώσας ὁ δῆμος οὐδὲ περὶ τοῦ πλῆθους ἐτὶ τῶν κορυφήφορων διεμικρολογεῖτο πρὸς τὸν Πεισιστράτον, ἀλλ' ὅσους ἐβούλετο τρέφοντα καὶ συνάγωντα φανερῶς περιεύρα, μέχρι τὴν ἀκρό-πολιν κατέσχε.
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opinions, and many of them greeted the charge with angry cries, Solon drew near and accosted him, saying: "O son of Hippocrates, thou art playing the Homeric Odysseus badly; for when he disfigured himself it was to deceive his enemies, but thou doest it to mislead thy fellow-citizens." After this the multitude was ready to fight for Peisistratus, and a general assembly of the people was held. Here Ariston made a motion that Peisistratus be allowed a body-guard of fifty club-bearers, but Solon formally opposed it, and said many things which were like what he has written in his poems:—

"Ye have regard indeed to the speech and words of a wily man.
Yet every one of you walks with the steps of a fox,
And in you all dwells an empty mind." ²

But when he saw that the poor were tumultuously bent on gratifying Peisistratus, while the rich were fearfully slinking away from any conflict with him, he left the assembly, saying that he was wiser than the one party, and braver than the other; wiser than those who did not understand what was being done, and braver than those who, though they understood it, were nevertheless afraid to oppose the tyranny.³ So the people passed the decree, and then held Peisistratus to no strict account of the number of his club-bearers, but suffered him to keep and lead about in public as many as he wished, until at last he seized the acropolis.

When this had been done, and the city was in an

¹ Odyssey, iv. 244-264.
² Fragment 11 (Bergk), verses 7, 5, and 6. Plutarch has changed the order; Bekker and Cobet restore it.
³ Cf. Aristotle, Const. of Athens, xiv. 2.
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ῥαχθείσης, ο μὲν Μεγακλῆς εὐθὺς ἔφυγε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀλκμαιωνιδῶν, ο δὲ Σόλων ἦδη μὲν 96 ἢν σφόδρα γέρων καὶ τοὺς βοηθοῦντας οὐκ εἶχεν, ὡμοὶ δὲ προῆλθεν εἰς ἀγορὰν καὶ διελέξθη πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας, τὰ μὲν κακίζων τὴν ἀβουλίαν αὐτῶν καὶ μαλακίαν, τὰ δὲ παροξύνων ἔτι καὶ 5 παρακαλῶν μὴ προέσθαι τὴν ἔλευθερίαν· ὅτε καὶ τὸ μυημονεύμονον εἶπεν, ὡς πρώθη μὲν ἢν εὐ-μαρέστερον αὐτοῖς τὸ κωλύσαι τὴν τυραννίδα συνισταμένην, νῦν δὲ μειζὸν ἔστι καὶ λαμπρότερον ἐκκύψαι καὶ ἀνελεῖν συνεστῶσαν ἣδη καὶ πεφυ-κυίαν. οὐδενὸς δὲ προσέχοντος αὐτῷ διὰ τὸν φόβον ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν ἐαυτοῦ, καὶ λαβὼν τὰ ὅπλα καὶ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν θέμενος εἰς τὸν στενωπόν, “Ἐμοὶ μὲν,” εἶπεν, “ὡς δυσμῶν 6 ἢν βεβοηθήται τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τοῖς νόμοις·” καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἰσχίαν ἤγε, καὶ τῶν φίλων φεύγειν παραινούντων οὐ προσεῖχεν, ἀλλὰ ποιήματα γρά-φων ὑψεῖδιζε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις.

Εἰ δὲ πεπόνθατε λυγρὰ δι’ ὑμετέρην κακότητα, μὴ τι θεοῖς τοῦτων μὴν ἐπαμφέρετε. αὐτοὶ γὰρ τούτους ἡξῆσατε ρύματα δόντες, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα κακὴν ἐσχετε δουλοσύνην.

XXXI. Ἐπὶ τούτως δὲ πολλῶν νουθετοῦντων αὐτῶν ὡς ἀποθανοούμενον ὕπο τοῦ τυράννου, καὶ
up roar, Megacles \(^1\) straightway fled, with the rest of the Alcmaeonidae. But Solon, although he was now a very old man, and had none to support him, went nevertheless into the market-place and reasoned with the citizens, partly blaming their folly and weakness, and partly encouraging them still and exhorting them not to abandon their liberty. Then it was, too, that he uttered the famous saying, that earlier it had been easier for them to hinder the tyranny, while it was in preparation; but now it was a greater and more glorious task to uproot and destroy it when it had been already planted and was grown. No one had the courage to side with him, however, and so he retired to his own house, took his arms, and placed them in the street in front of his door, saying: "I have done all I can to help my country and its laws." \(^2\) From that time on he lived in quiet retirement, and when his friends urged him to fly, he paid no heed to them, but kept on writing poems, in which he heaped reproaches on the Athenians:

"If now ye suffer grievously through cowardice all your own,
Cherish no wrath against the gods for this,
For ye yourselves increased the usurper's power by giving him a guard,
And therefore are ye now in base subjection." \(^3\)

XXXI. In view of this, many warned him that the tyrant would put him to death, and asked him on

\(^1\) Grandson of the Megacles who brought the taint of pollution upon the family (chapter xii. 1–3). He had been allowed to return from banishment.

\(^2\) It was for others now to do the same. Cf. Aristotle, Const. of Athens, xiv. 2.

\(^3\) Fragment 11 (Bergk), verses 1–4.

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πυθαγόρευς τίνι πιστεύων οὕτως ἀπονοεῖται, ἴνα γέρᾳ, εἴπεν. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα ὁ Πεισιστράτως ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος τῶν πραγμάτων οὕτως ἔξε-θεράπευσε τὸν Σόλωνα, τιμῶν καὶ φιλοφρονοῦμενος καὶ μεταπεμπόμενος, ὅστε καὶ σύμβουλον εἶναι καὶ πολλὰ τῶν πρασσομένων ἐπαινεῖν. καὶ γὰρ ἐφύλαττε τοὺς πλείστους νόμους τοῦ Σόλωνος, ἐμμένων πρῶτος αὐτός καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἀναγκάζον ὅσι γε καὶ φῶνου προσκληθείς εἰς Ἀρειον πάγον, ἥδη τυραννῶν, ἀπήντησε κοσμίως ἀπολογησόμενος, ὁ δὲ κατήγορος οὐχ ὑπήκουσε· καὶ νόμους αὐτός ἔτέρως ἔγραψεν, ὃν ἔστι καὶ ὁ τοὺς πηρωθέντας ἐν πολέμῳ δημοσίᾳ τρέφεσθαι κελεύων. τούτο δὲ φησιν Ἡρακλείδης καὶ πρό-τερον ἐπὶ Θερσίππῳ πηρωθέντι τοῦ Σόλωνος ψηφισαμένου μμήσασθαι τὸν Πεισιστρατον. ὡς δὲ Θεόφραστος ἱστόρηκε, καὶ τὸν τῆς ἀργίας νόμον οὐ Σόλων ἔθηκεν, ἀλλὰ Πεισιστρατος, ὡς τὴν τε χώραν ἕνεργοτέραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἥρμηματέραν ἐποίησεν.

3 Ὅ δὲ Σόλων ἀγαμεύοντος μεγάλης τῆς περὶ τὸν Ἀτλαντικὸν λόγον ἡ μῦθον πραγματειάς, ὅν διήκουσε τῶν περὶ Σάιν λογίων προσήκοντα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐξέκαμεν, οὐ δὲ ἀσχολῶν, ὡς Πλάτων φησίν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὑπὸ γῆς, φοβηθεὶς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς γραφῆς. ἐπεὶ σχολῆς
what he relied that he was so lost to all sense, to which he answered, “My old age.” However, when Peisistratus had become master of the situation, he paid such court to Solon by honouring him, showing him kindness, and inviting him to his palace, that Solon actually became his counsellor and approved of many of his acts. For he retained most of Solon’s laws, observing them first himself, and compelling his friends to do so. For instance, he was summoned before the Areiopagus on a charge of murder, when he was already tyrant, and presented himself there to make his defence in due form, but his accuser did not put in an appearance. He also made other laws himself, one of which provides that those who are maimed in war shall be maintained at the public charge. But Heracleides says that even before that Solon had caused a decree to be passed to this effect in the case of Thersippus, who had been so maimed, and that Peisistratus was following his example. Moreover, Theophrastus writes that the law against idleness, in consequence of which the country became more productive and the city more tranquil, was not made by Solon, but by Peisistratus.

Now Solon, after beginning his great work on the story or fable of the lost Atlantis, which, as he had heard from the learned men of Saïs, particularly concerned the Athenians, abandoned it, not for lack of leisure, as Plato says, but rather because of his old age, fearing the magnitude of the task. For

1 Cf. chapter xxvi. 1. There is no trace of any such work of Solon’s, and the attribution of it to him is probably a play of Plato’s fancy.
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γε περιουσίαν αὐτοῦ μηνύουσιν αἱ τοιαῦται φωναί.

Γηράσκω δ' αἰεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενοι:

καὶ,

"Εργα δὲ Κυπρογενοῦς νῦν μοι φίλα καὶ Διο-

νύσου

καὶ Μουσέων, ᾧ τίθησ' ἀνδράσιν εὐφροσύνας.

XXXII. Ὡς δὲ χώρας καλῆς ἔδαφος ὁ Πλάτων

ἔρημον, αὐτῷ δὲ πως κατὰ συγγένειαν προσήκον,

ἐξεργάσασθαι καὶ διακοσμήσαι φιλοτιμοῦμενος

τὴν Ἀτλαντικὴν ὑπόθεσιν, πρόθυμα μὲν μεγάλα

καὶ περιβόλους καὶ αὐλὰς τῇ ἁρχῇ περιέθηκεν,

οἶα λόγος οὐδεὶς ἄλλος ἔσχεν οὐδὲ μῦθος οὐδὲ

2 ποίησις, ὡς ἐν τῷ ἀρξάμενοι προκατέλυσε τοῦ

ἔργου τὸν βίον, ῥαμνὸν μᾶλλον εὐφραίνει τὰ γε-

γραμμένα, τοσοῦτοι μᾶλλον τοῖς ἀπολειφθεῖσιν

ἀνώσαι. ὥς γὰρ ἡ πόλις τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ

'Ὁλυμπιείον, οὕτως ἡ Πλάτωνος σοφία τὸν

'Ατλαντικὸν ἐν πολλοῖς καλοῖς μόνον ἔργον ἀτε-

λέας ἔσχεν.

3 'Επεβίωσε δ' οὖν ὁ Σόλων ἀρξαμένου τοῦ

Πεισιστράτου τυραννεῖν, ὡς μὲν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ

Ποντικὸς ἱστορεῖ, συγχοῦν χρόνων, ὡς δὲ Φανίας

ὁ Ἐρέσιος, ἐλάττωνα δυνόν ἑτῶν. ἔπι Κωμίου 97

μὲν γὰρ ἥρξατο τυραννεῖν Πεισιστράτος, ἐφ' Ἡ-

'Ἡσστράτου δὲ Σόλωνά φησιν ὁ Φανίας ἀπο-

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that he had abundant leisure, such verses as these testify:

"But I grow old ever learning many things;" 1

and again,

"But now the works of the Cyprus-born goddess are
dear to my soul,

Of Dionysus, too, and the Muses, which impart
delights to men." 2

XXXII. Plato, ambitious to elaborate and adorn
the subject of the lost Atlantis, as if it were the soil
of a fair estate unoccupied, but appropriately his by
virtue of some kinship with Solon, 3 began the work
by laying out great porches, enclosures, and courtyards,
such as no story, tale, or poesy ever had before. But he was late in beginning, and ended
his life before his work. 4 Therefore the greater
our delight in what he actually wrote, the greater
is our distress in view of what he left undone.
For as the Olympieium in the city of Athens, so the
tale of the lost Atlantis in the wisdom of Plato is
the only one among many beautiful works to remain
unfinished.

Well, then, Solon lived on after Peisistratus had
made himself tyrant, as Heracleides Ponticus states,
a long time; but as Phania of Eresos says, less than
two years. For it was in the archonship of Comeas 5
that Peisistratus began his tyranny, and Phanaia says
that Solon died in the archonship of Hegestratus,

1 Cf. chapter ii. 2.  2 Fragment 26 (Bergk).
3 Plato mentions the relationship of Critias, his maternal
uncle, with Solon (Charmides, p. 155a).
4 Plato's Critias is a splendid fragment.  5 561-60 B.C.
4 θανείν τοῦ μετὰ Κωμίαν ἀρξαντος. ἡ δὲ δια-
σπορὰ κατακαυθέντος αὐτοῦ τῆς τέφρας περὶ
tὴν Σαλαμινίων νῆσον ἔστι μὲν διὰ τὴν ἀτοπίαν
ἀπίθανος παντάπασι καὶ μυθώδης, ἀναγέγραπται
δ’ ὑπὸ τε ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν ἀξιολόγων καὶ Ἀριστο-
tέλους τοῦ φιλοσόφου.
SOLON

the successor of Comeas. The story that his body was burned and his ashes scattered on the island of Salamis is strange enough to be altogether incredible and fabulous, and yet it is given by noteworthy authors, and even by Aristotle the philosopher.
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ΠΟΠΛΙΚΟΛΑΣ

1. Τοιούτω δὴ γενομένω τῷ Σόλωνι τὸν Ποπλικόλαν παραβάλλομεν, ὃ τούτο μὲν ὑστερον ὁ Ῥωμαίων δήμος ἔξευρεν ἐπὶ τιμὴ τοῦ νομα, πρὸ τοῦ δὲ Πόπλιος Οὐαλλέριος ἐκαλεῖτο, Οὐαλλερίον δοκῶν ἀπόγονον εἶναι τῶν παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν αἰτιωτάτον γενομένου Ῥωμαίους καὶ Σαβίνους ἐκ πολεμίων ἔνα γενέσθαι δήμον· ὁ γὰρ μᾶλλον τοὺς βασιλεῖς εἰς ταύτα πείσας συνελθεῖν καὶ διαλλάξας ἐκείνος ἐστὶ. τοιοῦτῳ δὴ κατὰ γένος προσήκον ὁ Οὐαλλέριος, ὡς φασί, βασιλευομένης μὲν ἐτὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπιφανῆς ἦν διὰ λόγου καὶ πλούτου, ὅν τῷ μὲν ὅρθῳ καὶ μετὰ παρρησίας ἀεὶ χρώμενος ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων, ἀφ' οὗ δὲ τοῖς δεομένοις ἐλευθερίως καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἐπαρκῶν, δήλος· ἦν εὐθύς, εἰ γένοιτο δημοκρατία, πρωτεύσων.

3, Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ταρκύνιον Σούπερβον ὅπερ λαβόντα τὴν ἀρχήν καλῶς, ἀλλ' ἀνοσίως καὶ παρανόμως, σὺτε χρώμενον αὐτή βασιλεικῶς, ἀλλ' ὑβρίζοντα καὶ τυραννοῦντα, μεσῶν ὁ δήμος καὶ βαρυνόμενος, ἀρχήν ἀποστάσεως ἔλαβε τὸ Δουκρητίας πάθος αὐτῆν ἐπὶ τῷ βιασθήμαι διεργασαμένης, καὶ Δεύκιος Βροῦτος ἀπτόμενος τῶν πραγμάτων.
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I. Such was Solon, and with him we compare Publicola, to whom the Roman people gave this surname later as a mark of honour. Before that he was called Publius Valerius, and was reputed to be a decendant of that ancient Valerius who was most instrumental in making the Romans and the Sabines one people instead of enemies; for it was he more than anyone else that persuaded their kings to come together, and settled their differences. Such being his lineage, Valerius, as we are told, while Rome was still a kingdom, was conspicuous for his eloquence and wealth, always employing the one with integrity and boldness in the service of justice, while with the other he gave liberal and kindly aid to the poor and needy. It was therefore clear that, should Rome become a democracy, he would at once be one of its foremost men.

Now Tarquinius Superbus had not acquired his power honourably, but by the violation of divine and human laws; nor did he exercise it in kingly fashion, but after the manner of an insolent and haughty tyrant. The people therefore hated him, resented his oppressions, and found occasion for revolt in the fate of Lucretia, who made away with herself after violence had been done to her. Lucius Brutus, engaging in the revolution, came to
tῆς μεταβολῆς ἐπὶ πρῶτων ἦλθε τὸν Οὐαλλέριον καὶ χρησάμενος αὐτῷ προθυμοτάτῳ συνεξέβαλε 4 τοὺς βασιλεῖς, μέχρι μὲν ἐπίδοξος ἦν ὁ δῆμος ἕνα χειροτονήσειν ἀντὶ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατηγῶν, ἦσυχίαν ἤγει ὁ Οὐαλλέριος, ὡς τῷ Βρούτῳ μᾶλλον ἄρχειν προσήκον ἤγεμόνι τῆς ἐλευθερίας γεγενημένης· δυσχεραινομένου δὲ τοῦ τῆς μοναρ- χίας ὁνόματος, καὶ δοκοῦντος ἃν ἄλυπτερον τοῦ δήμου μερισθέοις υπομεῖναι τὴν ἄρχην καὶ δύο προβαλλομένου καὶ καλοῦντος, ἐπιίζων μετὰ τῶν Βρούτων ἀγεθήσεσθαι καὶ συνυπατεύσειν δήμαρ- τεν. ἦρεθι γὰρ ἀκοντι τῷ Βρούτῳ συνάρχων ἀντὶ τοῦ Οὐαλλερίου Ταρκύνιος Κολλατίνος, ὁ Δουκρητίας ἀνήρ, οὐδὲν ἀρετὴ Οὐαλλερίου δια- φέρων, ἀλλ' οἱ δυνατοὶ δεδιότες τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἔτι πολλὰ πειρώντας ἐξώθεν καὶ μαλάσσοντας τὴν πόλιν, ἐβούλοντο τὸν ἐντονώτατον αὐτῶς ἐχθρὸν ἔχειν στρατηγὸν ὡς οὐχ ὕφησόμενον.

II. Ἀγανακτῶν οὖν ὁ Οὐαλλέριος, εἰ μὴ πιστεύεται πάντα πράττειν ἑνεκα τῆς πατρίδος, ὅτι μηδὲν ἵδια κακὸν ὕπο τῶν τυράννων πέπονθε, τῆς τε βουλῆς ἀπέστη καὶ τὰς συνηγορίας ἀπεῖπε καὶ τὸ πράττειν τὰ κοινὰ παντελῶς ἐξέλιπεν, ὡστε καὶ λόγον τοῖς πολλοῖς παρασχέων καὶ φροντίδα, φοβουμένοις μὴ δι' ὅργην προσθέμενοι τοῖς βασιλεύσιν ἀνατρέψῃ τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὴν 98 2 πόλιν ἐπισφαλῶς ἔχουσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς
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Valerius first of all, and with his most zealous assistance drove out the kings.\footnote{1} Then, as long as the people was likely to elect one man as their commander in place of the king, Valerius acquiesced, thinking it more fitting that Brutus should have the office, because he had led the way to freedom. But the very name of monarchy was odious to the people, who thought that it would be less vexatious to submit to an authority which was divided, and therefore proposed and demanded that two men should be elected to the highest office. Then Valerius, who hoped that he would be chosen next to Brutus, and would be consul with him, was disappointed. For against the wishes of Brutus, Tarquinius Collatinus, the husband of Lucretia, was elected as his colleague,\footnote{2} instead of Valerius. He was a man of no greater excellence than Valerius, but the influential citizens were afraid of the kings, who were still putting forth many efforts outside, and trying to appease resentment inside the city, and they therefore desired to have as their commander the most pronounced enemy of the royal family, believing that he would make no concessions to them.

II. Valerius, accordingly, vexed that his desire to do his utmost for his country should be doubted, merely because he had received no private injury at the hands of the tyrants, withdrew from the senate, gave up his practice as an advocate, and abandoned entirely his public activities. This caused anxious remark among the multitude. They feared lest, in his wrath, he should attach himself to the royal exiles, and subvert the established order of the city, which was in a dangerous pass. But when Brutus,

\footnote{1} Cf. Livy, i. 58 f.; ii. 2, 11. \footnote{2} Cf. Livy, i. 60, 4.
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who had his suspicions of certain others also, desired the senators to take a sacrificial oath, and set a day for the ceremony, Valerius went down with a glad countenance into the forum, and was the first to take oath that he would make no submission or concession to the Tarquins, but would fight with all his might in defence of freedom. This pleased the senate and inspired the consuls with courage. And his actions speedily confirmed his oath. For envoys came from Tarquin bringing letters calculated to seduce the people, and specious words by which they thought the multitude were most likely to be corrupted, coming as they did from a king who seemed to have humbled himself, and to ask only moderate terms. These envoys the consuls thought should be brought before the assembled people, but Valerius would not suffer it. He was unalterably opposed to giving poor men, who considered war a greater burden than tyranny, occasions and excuses for revolution.

III. After this, other envoys came announcing that Tarquin abdicated his throne and ceased to wage war upon the city, but demanded for himself, his friends, and his kinsmen, their moneys and effects,¹ wherewith to maintain themselves in exile. Many were inclined to grant this favour, and Collatinus in particular joined in advocating it, but Brutus, a man of harsh and unyielding temper, ran forth into the forum and denounced his colleague as a traitor, because he would bestow the means for waging war and maintaining tyranny on men to whom it were a terrible mistake to vote even a bare subsistence in exile. And when an assembly of the citizens was held, the first to speak among them

¹ Cf. Livy, ii. 3, 5.

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Γάιος Μινώκιος, τῷ τε Βροῦτῳ διακελευόμενος καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις παραίνων ὅταν ὅπως τὰ χρήματα μετ' αὐτῶν ὄντα πολεμοῖν πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους μᾶλλον ἢ μετ' ἐκείνων πρὸς αὐτοὺς, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἔδοξε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἔχονσιν, ὑπὲρ ἦς ἐπολέμουν, μὴ προέσθη τὴν εἰρήνην ἕνεκα χρημάτων, ἀλλὰ συνεκβαλεῖν καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς τυράννοις.

 epoll. Ἰν δὲ ἅρα Ταρκυνίῳ λόγος μὲν ἐλάχιστος τῶν χρημάτων, ἢ δ' ἀπαίτησις ἀμα πείρα τοῦ δήμου καὶ κατασκευή προδοσίας. καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπράττουν οἱ πρέσβεις υπομένοντες ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν χρημάτων προφάσει, τὰ μὲν ἀποδίδοσθαι, τὰ δὲ φυλάττειν, τὰ δ' ἀποπέμπειν φάσκοντες, ἀχρι οὐ διέφθειραν οἶκους δύο τῶν καλῶν κάγαθῶν νομιζομένων, τὸν Ἀκυλλίων τρεῖς ἔχοντα βουλέυτας καὶ δύο τῶν Οὐιτέλλων. οὕτω πάντες ἦσαν ἀπὸ μητέρων ἀδελφίδοι πολλατίνων τοῦ ὑπατεύοντος, ἰδία δὲ Οὐιτέλλους ἐτέρα πρὸς Βροῦτον οἰκείοτης ὑπῆρχεν. ἀδελφὴν γὰρ αὐτῶν ὁ Βροῦτος εἰσὶ καὶ παῖδας εξ αὐτῆς πλείονας· ὄν δύο τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ συγγενεῖς ὄντας ἀμα καὶ συνήθεις οἱ Οὐιτέλλοι προσηγάγοντο καὶ συνεπείαν ἐν τῇ προδοσίᾳ γενέσθαι καὶ καταμίξαντας ἑαυτοὺς εἰς γένος μέγα τὸ τῶν Ταρκυνίων καὶ βασιλικὰς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπελλαγὴν τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀβελτερίας καὶ χαλεπότῃστος· χαλεπότῃστα μὲν τὸ ἀπαραίτητον αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς πονηροὺς λέγοντες, τῇ δ' ἀβελτερία προσποιήθ.
was Caius Minucius, a private man, who exhorted Brutus and advised the Romans to see to it that the treasures fought with them against the tyrants, rather than with the tyrants against them. However, the Romans decided that, since they had the liberty for which they were at war, they would not sacrifice peace for the sake of wealth, but cast this also out along with the tyrants.¹

Now the wealth, of course, was of very slight consequence to Tarquin, but the demand for it was at once a test of the people’s disposition and a means of instigating treachery among them. And it was with this that the envoys busied themselves, making the property merely a pretext for remaining in the city, and saying that they were selling part of it, and reserving part, and sending part of it away. At last they succeeded in corrupting two of the noble families of Rome, that of the Aquillii, which had three senators, and that of the Vitellii, which had two. All these, by the mother’s side, were nephews of Collatinus the consul, and besides, the Vitellii were related in another manner to Brutus. For Brutus had married a sister of theirs, and she had borne him several sons. Two of these, who had come to manhood, and were their near kindred and close companions, the Vitellii won over and persuaded to join the plot for betraying the city, to ally themselves with the great family and the royal expectations of the Tarquins, and rid themselves of the stupidity and cruelty of their father. For they gave the name of cruelty to that father’s inexorable treatment of criminals, and as for his stupidity, he had for a long time, as it appears, feigned and

¹ Cf. Livy, ii. 4, 3.
ματι καὶ παρακαλύμματι πολὺν χρόνον, ὡς ἔοικε, χρησάμενος ἀσφαλείας ἐνεκα πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους, οὐδ' ὑστερον ἔφυγεν αὐτῆς τὴν ἐπώνυμιαν.

IV. Ὁ όυς δ' οὖν συνεπείσθη τὰ μειράκια καὶ τοὺς Ἀκυλλίους εἰς λόγους ἠθένει, ὥρκον ὁμόσαι μέγαν ἐδοξεῖ πᾶσι καὶ δεινόν, ἀνθρώπου σφαγέντος ἐπισπείσαντας αἶμα καὶ τῶν σπλάγχνων θυγόντας. ἐπὶ τούτοις εἰς τὴν Ἀκυλλίων οἰκίαν συνῆλθον. ἦν δ' ὁ οἶκος, ἐν δ' ταῦτα δράσεων ἐμελλὼν, οἶον εἰκός, ὑπέρημος καὶ σκοτώδης. ἔλαθεν οὖν αὐτοῖς οἰκέτης ὀνομα Οὐινδίκιος ἐνδον κατακρύψῃ ἐαυτόν, οὐ κατ' ἐπιβουλήν ἢ προαίσθησιν τινὰ τοῦ μέλλοντος, ἀλλ' ἐνδον ὑπὸ ἔτυχε καὶ προσῳδώσῃ αὐτοῖς μετὰ σπουδῆς ὥθηναι φοβηθεῖς ὑπέστη, λάρνακα κειμένην πρὸ αὐτοῦ ποιησάμενος, ὡστε καὶ τῶν πραττομένων θεατῆς γενέσθαι καὶ τῶν βουλευμάτων ἐπήκους. ἐδοξεῖ δ' αὐτοῖς τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀναίρειν, καὶ ταῦτα δηλούσας γράψαντες ἐπιστολὰς πρὸς τὸν Ταρκύνιον ἐδωκαν τοὺς πρέσβεσι καὶ γὰρ φίκουν αὐτῶθι, τῶν Ἀκυλλίων ἐξόνι γεγονότες, καὶ τότε τῇ συνωμοσίᾳ παρῆσαν.

3 Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα πράξαντες ἀπηλλάγησαν, ὑπεξελθὼν ὁ Οὐινδίκιος λάθρα, χρησάσθαι τοῖς προσπεσοῦσιν αὐτήν εἰχεν, ἀλλ' ἐπορεῖτο, δεινῶν μὲν ἡγούμενος, ὡσπερ ἦν, πρὸς πατέρα Βρούτων νήσου ἐξάγιστα κατηγορεῖν ἢ πρὸς θείον ἅδελφιδῶν τῶν Κολλατίνου, ἱδιότην δὲ Ἑρμαίων οὐδένα νο-
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assumed this, to insure his safety from the cruel designs of the tyrants, and afterwards the surname of Brutus, which had been given him for it, clung to him.

IV. When, accordingly, the youths had been persuaded and held conference with the Aquillii, it was decided that all the conspirators should swear a great and dreadful oath, pouring in libation the blood of a slain man, and touching his entrails. For this purpose they met at the house of the Aquillii.\(^1\) Now the room in which the ceremony was to be held was, as was natural, dark and somewhat desolate. Without their knowing it, therefore, a slave named Vindicius had concealed himself therein, not with design, or with any inkling of what was to happen there; he merely chanced to be there, and when they came in with anxious haste, he was afraid to be seen by them, and hid himself behind a chest that lay there, so that he saw what they did, and heard what they resolved upon. Their decision was to kill the consuls, and when they had written letters to Tarquin to this effect, they gave them to his envoys, who were living there as guests of the Aquillii, and were then present at the conspiracy.

Their business transacted, the conspirators departed, and then Vindicius stole secretly away from the house. He knew not what use to make of what had befallen him, but was at a loss, considering it a dreadful thing, as it really was, to arraign the sons of Brutus before their father, or the nephews of Collatinus before their uncle, on the most abominable charges, and yet believing that no Roman in a private station could be entrusted with such im-

\(^1\) At the house of the Vitellii, according to Livy, ii. 4, 5.
4 μῖξων ἐχέγγυνον ἀπορρήτων τηλικούτων. πάν τοίνυν ᾧ μᾶλλον ἡ δυνάτως ὄν Ἑσυχίαν ἄγειν, ἐλαυνόμενος δὲ τῷ συνειδότι τοῦ πράγματος, ὁρμησέ πως πρὸς τὸν Οὐαλλέριουν, μάλιστα τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ φιλανθρώποις ἐπαχθεῖς τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὅτε πάσιν εὐπρόσοδος ἦν τοῖς δεομένοις, καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἂεὶ παρεῖχεν ἀνεφομένην, καὶ λόγον οὐδὲν ὦδὲ χρείαν ἀπερρίπτει τῶν ταπεινῶν.

V. Ὡς οὖν ἀνέβη πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Οὐινδίκιος καὶ κατέκυξε πάντα, Μάρκου τε τοῦ ἄδελφοι παρόντος αὐτῷ μόνου καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς, ἐκπλαγεὶς καὶ δείσας ὁ Οὐαλλέριος οὐκέτι προήκατο τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν, ἀλλὰ κατακλείσας εἰς τὸ οἴκημα καὶ φύλακα τὴν έαυτοῦ γυναίκα ταῖς θύραις ἐπιστήσας, τὸν μὲν ἄδελφον ἐκέλευσε τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐπαυλὸν περισχόντα τὰ γράμματα λαβεῖν, ἀν δυνατὸν ὦ, καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας παραφυλάττειν αὐτὸς δὲ πελατῶν τε πολλῶν καὶ φίλων ἂεὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ὄντων καὶ θεραπείας συχνῆς, ἐβάδιζε πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν τῶν Ἀκυλλίων οὐκ ἔνδον ὄντων.

2 διὸ μηδενὸς ἂν προσδοκήσαντος ὡσμένος διὰ θυρών ἐπιτυγχάνει τοῖς γράμμασι κείμενοις ὅπου κατέλυνον οἱ πρέσβεις. τάυτα δ′ αὐτοῦ πράττοντος οἱ Ἀκυλλίοι δρόμῳ προσεφέροντο, καὶ περὶ τὰς θύρας συμμένοις ἐξήτων ἀφελέσθαι τὰς ἐπιστολάς. οἱ δ′ ἡμύνοντο, καὶ τὰ ἰματία περιβαλόντες αὐτῶν τός τραχύλοις ὑπὸ βίας καὶ μόλις ὠθούμενοι καὶ ἐθούντες διὰ τῶν στενωπῶν εἰς τὴν ἄγοραν ἐνέβαλον. τά δ′ αὐτὰ καὶ περὶ τὴν ἐπαυλὴν ἀμα τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐγίνετο, τοῦ Μάρκου γραμμάτων ἐτέρων ἐν τοῖς σκεύεσθι κομιζομένων

1 φιλανθρώποι Bekker supplies τρόποι, after Porson.
PORTANT SECRETS. The last thing that he could do, however, was to hold his peace, and driven on by his knowledge of the affair, he made his way somehow to Valerius, attracted especially by the affable and kindly ways of the man. For he was easily accessible to all the needy, always kept open house, and never refused to hear or help one of the lowly.

V. Accordingly, when Vindicius came to him and told him the whole story, in the presence of his brother Marcus only, and of his wife, Valerius was struck with consternation and fear, and would not now let the man go, but shut him up in a room and set his own wife to guard the door. Then he ordered his brother to surround the royal residence, seize the letters, if possible, and take the servants into custody. He himself, with the numerous clients and friends who were always about him, and with a large company of retainers, went to the house of the Aquillii, who were not at home. Therefore, to the surprise of everybody, he forced the door, and came upon the letters lying in the quarters where the envoys were lodging. Meantime the Aquillii came up in hot haste, joined battle at the door, and sought to take away the letters. But Valerius and his party resisted the attack, threw their togas about their opponents' necks, and after much struggling on both sides, at last succeeded in pushing them through the streets into the forum. The same success was had at the royal residence, where Marcus laid hands on other letters which were to be conveyed away in the baggage, seized as many

1 Vindicius laid the matter before the consuls, according to Livy, ii. 4, 6.

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L. L
επιλαμβανομένου, καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν ὅσους δύ
νατός ἦν ἐκοινος eis τὴν ἁγοράν.
VI. Ἑπεὶ δὲ τὸν θόρυβον κατέπαυσαν οἱ ὑπα-
τοι καὶ τοῦ Ὀυαλλερίου κελεύσαντος ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας
ὁ Οὐνδίκιος προήχθη, καὶ γενομένης κατηγορίας
ἀνεγρώθη τὰ γράμματα καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐτόλμη-
σαν ἀντεπεῖν οἱ ἄνδρες, ἦν μὲν κατήφεια καὶ
σιωπη τῶν ἄλλων, ὅλγοι δὲ βουλόμενοι τῷ
Βρούτῳ χαρίζεσθαι φυγής ἐμέμηντο. καὶ τι
καὶ Κολλατίνος αὐτοῖς ἐλπίδος ἐπιεικοῦς ἐνεδίδου
διδακρυμένος καὶ Οὐαλλέριος σιωπῶν. ὁ δὲ
Βρούτως ὄνομαστι τῶν νῦν ἐκάτερον προσεπών,
"Ἀγε, ὁ Τίτη," εἶπεν, "ἄγε, ὁ Τύβεριε, τί οὐκ
2 ἀπολογεῖσθε πρὸς τὴν κατηγορίαν;" ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν
ἀπεκρίναντο τρὶς ἐρώτησεν, οὕτως πρὸς τοὺς
ὑπηρέτας ἀποστρέψας τὸ πρόσωπον, "Τμέτερον
ἡδη," εἶπε, "τὸ λοιπὸν ἐργον." οἱ δὲ εὑθὺς
συλλαβόντες τοὺς νεανίσκους περιερρήγυνον τὰ
ἰμάτια, τὰς χείρας ἀπήγγειν ὀπίσω, ῥάβδοις
3 έξαινον τὰ σώματα, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐ δυνα-
μένων προσορᾶν οὔθε καρτεροῦντων, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ
λέγεται μήτε τὰς ὑγειάς ἀπαγαγεῖν ἀλλαχόσε
μήτ' ὁικτῷ τι τρέψας τῆς περὶ τὸ πρόσωπον
ὁργῆς καὶ βαρύτητος, ἀλλὰ δεινὸν ἐνορὰν κολα-
ζομένοις τῶν παισίν ἄχρι οὐ κατατείναντες αὐ-
τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦδαφος πελέκει τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀπέ-
κοψαν. οὕτω δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπὶ τῷ συνάρχοντι
ποιησάμενος φιλὲ έξαναστάς, ἔργον εἰργασμένος
οὕτ' ἐπαινεῖν βουλομένοις ἄξιως οὕτε ψέγειν
4 ἐφικτόν. ἡ γὰρ ἀρετὴς ψυχος eis ἀπάθειαν
έξεσθησε τὴν ψυχήν, ἡ πάθους μέγεθος eis ἀνάλ-

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of the king's people as he could, and haled them to the forum.

VI. When the consuls had quieted the tumult, Valerius ordered Vindicius to be brought from his house, the denunciation was made, the letters were read aloud, and the accused had no courage to reply. Most of the people held their peace for very sorrow, but a few spoke of exile as a penalty, wishing to do Brutus a kindness. They were also somewhat encouraged to hope by the tears of Collatinus and the silence of Valerius. But Brutus, calling each of his sons by name, said: "Come, Titus, come Tiberius, why do ye not defend yourselves against this denunciation?" But when they made no answer, though he put his question to them thrice, he turned to the lictors and said: "It is yours now to do the rest." These straightway seized the young men, tore off their togas, bound their hands behind their backs, and scourged their bodies with their rods. The rest could not endure to look upon the sight, but it is said that the father neither turned his gaze away, nor allowed any pity to soften the stern wrath that sat upon his countenance, but watched the dreadful punishment of his sons until the lictors threw them on the ground and cut off their heads with the axe. Then he rose and went away, after committing the other culprits to the judgement of his colleague.¹ He had done a deed which it is difficult for one either to praise or blame sufficiently. For either the loftiness of his virtue made his spirit incapable of suffering, or else the magnitude of his

¹ With this account, compare Livy, ii. 5, 5–9. Brutus looked on "eminentem animo patrio inter publicae poenae ministerium."
γησίαν. οὐδέτερον δὲ μικρὸν οὐδ’ ἀνθρώπινον, ἀλλ’ ἢ θείον ἢ θηριώδες. δίκαιον δὲ τῇ δέξῃ τοῦ ἀνδρός την κρίσιν ἐπεσθαί μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν ἀρετήν ἀσθενεία τοῦ κρίνοντος ἀπιστεύησαι. Ἡρωμαίοι γὰρ οὐ τοσοῦτον ἔργον οἴονται Ἡρωμύλου γενέσθαι τῆς πόλεως τὴν ἱδρυσιν, δόσον Βροῦτον τὴν κτίσιν τῆς πολιτείας καὶ κατάστασιν.

VII. Ὡς δ’ οὖν ἀπῆλθεν εὖ ἀγοράς τότε, πολὺν μὲν χρόνον ἐκπληξίας εἶχε καὶ φρίκη καὶ σιωπὴ πάντας ἐπὶ τοῖς διαπετραγμένοις· πρὸς δὲ τὴν Κολλατίνου μαλακίαν καὶ μέλλησιν ἀνεθάρρησαν οἱ Ἀκόλλωι, καὶ χρόνον ἡξίουν λαβόντες ἀπολογήσασθαι, καὶ τὸν Οὐνδίκιον αὐτοῖς ἀποδοθήναι δούλου ὄντα, καὶ μὴ παρὰ τοῖς κατηγόροις 2 εἶναι. Βουλομένου δὲ ταῦτα συγχωρεῖν καὶ διαλύνοντος ἐπὶ τούτων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὁ Οὐνάλερης οὔτε τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν οἷος τ’ ἦν ἀφεῖναι τῷ περὶ αὐτοῦ χρόνῳ καταμεμωμένον, οὔτε τὸν δῆμον εἰς πρόεμον τοὺς προδότας ἀπελθεῖν. τέλος δὲ τοῖς σώμασιν ἐπιβαλὼν τὰς χείρας ἐπεκαλεῖτο τὸν Βροῦτον, καὶ τὸν Κολλατίνου ἔβοι δεινὰ ποιεῖν, εἰ τὸ συνάρχοντι παιδοφονίας ἀνάγκῃ προστριψάμενος αὐτὸς οίρεται δεῖν καταχαρίζεσθαι ταῖς γυναιξὶ τοὺς προδότας καὶ πολεμούς τῆς 3 πατρίδος. ἂγανακτοῦντος δὲ τοῦ ὑπάτου καὶ κελεύοντος ἀπ᾿ ἄγεσθαι τὸν Οὐνδίκιον, οἱ μὲν ὑπηρέται διώσῳμεν τὸν χρόνον ἦπτοντο τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τοὺς ἀφαίρουμένους ἔτυπτον, οἱ
suffering made it insensible to pain. In neither case was his act a trivial one, or natural to a man, but either god-like or brutish. However, it is right that our verdict should accord with the reputation of the man, rather than that his virtue should be discredited through weakness in the judge. For the Romans think that the work of Romulus in building the city was not so great as that of Brutus in founding and establishing its form of government.

VII. After Brutus had left the forum at this time, for a long while consternation, horror, and silence prevailed among all who remained, as they thought of what had been done. But soon the weakness and hesitation of Collatinus gave the Aquillii fresh courage; they demanded time in which to make their defence, and the surrender of Vindicius to them, since he was their slave, and ought not to be in the hands of their accusers. Collatinus was willing to grant this request, and was about to dissolve the assembly with this understanding; but Valerius was neither able to surrender the slave, who had mingled with the throng about him, nor would he suffer the people to release the traitors and withdraw. So at last he seized the persons of the Aquillii and summoned Brutus to the scene, crying aloud that Collatinus was acting shamefully in laying upon his colleague the necessity of killing his own sons, and then thinking it necessary for himself to bestow upon their wives the lives of his country's betrayers and foes. The consul was indignant at this, and ordered that Vindicius should be taken away, whereupon the lictors pushed their way through the crowd, seized the man, and beat those who tried to rescue him. Then Valerius and his
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de filoi tou Oualleiron proesthsean imunomevou
cal o deimos ebda kellewn pareinai ton Broouton.
heven ouv arthis upostrephas kal genvomeni aytou
swphei estepen oti tois mew viois aytos apochroin
hun dikasth racei peri de tois alloin tois politais
eleutherois odsai yfion didwsi legeto de o
boulomenos kal peitheto ton deimon. oukei menoi
logon edhsegan, allla tis yfion dotheiasis pásaies
alontes epelektishtsai.

4 'O de Kollatinos hyn mev, wos eoikein, en upoypia
tini kai dia syngeneian ton basilew, hthounto
d' aytou kai to deuterof ton onomata, afosion-
mevoi ton Tarkinion. wos de kai tafta sunebhe,
pantapa aporokousas afheke tis arkh en kow
kai tis polwos ypexhlinein. outw de plion
archireioi genvomenow upatos apedeikthe lamo-
prw o Oualleiros, axian apolabw tis pror-
5 thymias chari h e oimonevוס ti dein apolaisai
ton Ouvndikion enypfisato prwton apelusidoro
kevnon en Romh yenevbai polithe kai ferew
yfion h bouloito fratria prosnevmhentea. tois
d' allois apelusidoro yfe kai meta polw
chrwno exousian yfion dhmagonwv edwken 'Ap-
pios. h de pantelhes apelusidrosis axri vyn
ouvndiktai legetai dei kevnon, os fasw, ton
Ouvndikion.

VIII. 'Ek touton ta mev chrwmata ton basi-
lewv diarptasa tois 'Romaiois edwkan, tivn de

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friends stood forth in the man's defence, while the people shouted for Brutus to come. He turned back, therefore, and came, and when silence had been made for him, said that for his sons, he himself sufficed as judge, but he would leave the fate of the other traitors to the votes of the citizens, who were free, and any one who wished might speak and try to persuade the people. However, by this time there was no need of oratory, but a vote was taken which unanimously condemned the men, and they were beheaded.

Collatinus, as it would seem, was already under some suspicion on account of his relationship to the royal family, and the second of his names also was hateful to the people, who loathed the sound of Tarquin. But after these recent events, he saw that he was altogether obnoxious, and therefore resigned his office and withdrew secretly from the city.\(^1\) A new election was consequently held, and Valerius was triumphantly declared consul, thus receiving a worthy reward for his zeal. In this reward he thought that Vindicius ought to share, and therefore had a decree passed which made him, first of all freedmen, a citizen of Rome, and entitled him to vote with any curia in which he chose to be enrolled. Other freedmen received the right of suffrage in much later times from Appius,\(^2\) who thus courted popularity. And from this Vindicius, as they say, a perfect manumission is to this day called "vindicta."\(^3\)

VIII. After this, the property of the royal family was given to the Romans to plunder, and their house

\(^1\) Cf. Livy, ii. 2, 3–10.
\(^2\) Appius Claudius Caecus, censor in 312 B.C.
\(^3\) Cf. Livy, ii. 5, 10.
οἰκίαν κατέσκαψαν καὶ τὴν ἔπαυλιν· τοῦ δὲ Ἄρειου πεδίου τὸ ἡδιστον ἐκέκτητο Ταρκύνιος, καὶ τούτῳ τῷ θεῷ καθιέρωσαν. ἔτυχε δὲ τεθερμημένον ἄρτι, καὶ κειμένων ἔτι τῶν δραγμάτων οἴκῳ φόντο δεῖν ἄλοιάν οὐδὲ χρήσθαι διὰ τὴν καθιέρωσιν, ἀλλὰ συνδραμόντες ἐφόρουν τὰς ἀμάλλας εἰς τὸν ποταμόν. ός δὲ αὐτῶς καὶ τὰ δένδρα κόπτοντες ἐνέβαλλον, ἄργουν παντάπασι τὸ χωρίον ἀνέντες τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἄκαρτον. ὠθουμένων δὲ πολλῶν ἐπὶ ἄλληλους καὶ ἄθροίν ὑπῆγαγεν ὁ βοῦς οὐ πολὺν τότου, ἀλλ’ ὅπου τὰ πρῶτα συνενεχέντα καὶ περιπεσόντα τοὺς στερεοῖς ὑπέστη, τῶν ἐπιφερομένων διέξοδον οὐκ ἐχόντων, ἀλλ’ ἐνισχυμένων καὶ περιπλεκομένων, ἔλαμβανεν ἡ σύμπηξις ἱσχὺν καὶ ρίζωσιν αὐξανο- 101

3 μένην ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥεύματος. ἰλίνῃ τε γαρ ἐπήγαγε πολλῆς, ἢ προσισταμένη τροφῆν παρεῖχεν ἀμα καὶ κόλλησιν, αἰ τε πληγαὶ σάλον οὐκ ἔποιον, ἀλλὰ μαλακῶς πιέζουσαι συνήλαυνον εἰς ταῦτα πάντα καὶ συνέπλαττον. ὑπὸ δὲ μεγέθους καὶ στάσεως ἔτερον αὐτὸ μέγεθος ἐκτάτο καὶ χώραν ἀναδεχομένην τὰ πλείστα τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καταφερομένων. τοῦτο ὑπὸ νήσου ἔστιν ίερὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ἔχει δὲ ναὸς θεῶν καὶ περιπάτους, καλεῖται δὲ φωνῇ τῇ Δατίνων Μέση δυὸν γεφυρῶν.

4 Ἔνοι ὅτε τούτῳ συμπέσειν ἱστοροῦσιν οἷς ὦ τα Ῥατυνίου καθιερώθη τὸ πεδίον, ἀλλὰ χρόνιοις ὕστερον ἀλλ’ χωρίον ὁμορούν ἐκείνῳ Ῥατυνίας

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and palace were razed to the ground. But the pleasantest part of the field of Mars, which had belonged to Tarquin, was dedicated to that god. Now it chanced that it had just been reaped, and the grain still lay upon the ground; but since the field had been consecrated, they thought it not right to thresh it or use it in any way. They therefore with one accord carried the sheaves to the river and cast them in. In like manner also they cast in the trees which had been cut, and left the place wholly untilled and barren for the god of war. The quantities of stuff thus heaped together were not borne along by the current very far, but the advanced portions stopped and accumulated at the shallows which they encountered. The portions that followed these could not get through them, but impinged upon them and blended inextricably with them, and the aggregation was made increasingly firm and fast by the action of the stream. For this brought along great quantities of mud, the addition of which increased the size and cohesion of the mass. And besides, the impacts of the current were not rude, but with a gentle pressure pushed and moulded everything together. Owing to its size and position the mass acquired fresh size, and an extent sufficient to receive most of what was brought down by the river. It is now a sacred island over against the city, containing temples of the gods and covered walks,¹ and is called in the Latin tongue "Inter duos pontes."

Some, however, say that this did not happen when the field of Tarquin was consecrated, but in later times, when Tarquinius devoted another field adjacent

Cf. Livy, ii. 5, 1-4.

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ἀνείσης. ἦ δὲ Ταρκυνία παρθένος ἦν ἱέρεια, 
μία τῶν Ἑστιάδων, ἐσχε δὲ τιμᾶς ἀντὶ τούτου 
μεγάλας, ἐν αἷς ἦν καὶ τὸ μαρτυρίαν αὐτῆς 
δέχεσθαι μόνης γυναικῶν. τὸ δὲ ἐξεῖναι γαμεῖσθαι 
ψηφισμαένων οὐ προσεδέξατο. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν 
οὕτω γενέσθαι μυθολογοῦσι.

IX. Ταρκυνίον δὲ τὴν ἐκ προδοσίας ἀπογρόντα 
τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀνάληψιν ἐδέξαντο Τυρρηνοὶ προθύμως 
καὶ μεγάλη δυνάμει κατηγόν. ἀντεξῆγον δὲ τοὺς 
Ῥωμαίους οἱ ὑπατοὶ καὶ παρέταξαν ἐν χωρίοις 
ιεροῖς, δῶν τὸ μὲν Ἀρσιον ἄλσος, τὸ δὲ Αἰσούειον 
λειμώνα προσαγορεύουσιν. ἀρχιμένων δὲ αὐτῶν 
συνάγει εἰς χείρας Ἀρρων ὁ Ταρκυνίον παῖς 
καὶ Βρούτος ὁ Ῥωμαίων ὑπατος οὐ κατὰ τύχην 
ἀλλήλους περιπεσόντες, ἄλλῃ ὑπ’ ἔχθους καὶ 
2 ὀργῇ, ὁ μὲν ὁς ἐπὶ τύραννον καὶ πολέμων τῆς 
πατρίδος, ὁ δὲ τῆς φυγῆς ἀμυνόμενος, ὁρμησαν 
όμως τοὺς ἱπποὺς. θυμῷ δὲ μᾶλλον ἡ λογισμῷ 
προσμίζασαν ἱφείδησαν αὐτῶν καὶ συνατέθανον 
ἀλλήλους. οὕτω δὲ δεινοῦ γενομένου τοῦ προά-
γωνος οὐκ ἐσχεν ὁ ἀγών τέλος ἑπεικέστερον, 
ἀλλὰ καὶ δράσαντες ἵσα καὶ παθόντες οἱ στρατοὶ 
διεκρίθησαν ὑπὸ χειμώνος.

3 Ἡμ σὺν ἐν ἀπόροις ὁ Οὐαλλέριος, οὐκ εἰδὼς 
τὸ τῆς μάχης πέρας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς στρατιῶτας ὁρῶν 
τοῖς μὲν αὐτῶν νεκροῖς ἀθυμοῦντας, ἐπαιρομένους 
δὲ τοῖς τῶν πολεμῶν οὕτως ἀκρίτος ἦν καὶ

1 Ἀρσιον Amyot, Coraës, Bekker, after Livy's silva Arxia (ii. 7, 2) : Ωδρον.

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to this. Now Tarquinia was a holy virgin, one of
the Vestals, and received great honours for this act,
among which was this, that of all women her testi-
mony alone should be received. The people also
voted her permission to marry, but she did not avail
herself of it. This is how the thing happened, as
the tale runs.

IX. But Tarquin, despairing of attempts to regain
his throne by treachery, was eagerly welcomed by
the Tuscans,\(^1\) who set out to restore him with a
great force. The consuls led the Romans out to
meet them, and arrayed their forces in certain sacred
precincts, one of which was called the Arsian grove,
the other the Aesuvian meadow. When the engage-
ment began, Aruns the son of Tarquin and Brutus
the Roman consul encountered each other. It was
not by chance, but both were driven on by hatred
and wrath, the one to attack a tyrant and foe of his
country, the other to avenge himself on the author
of his exile. They urged their horses to the combat,
but since they engaged with fury rather than calcu-
lation, they were reckless of themselves, and fell by
one another's hands. The battle which had such a
dreadful beginning, ended no less disastrously; the
armies, after inflicting and suffering equal losses,
were separated by a tempest.\(^2\)

Valerius was therefore in perplexity, not knowing
what the issue of the battle was, but seeing his
soldiers as much disheartened by their own losses as
they were encouraged by those of their enemies. So
undistinguishable and equal was the slaughter on

\(^1\) By the people of Veii and Tarquinii, according to Livy,
ii. 6, 4f.

\(^2\) According to Livy (ii. 7, 1), the Tuscans departed in
terror after the battle.

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παράλληλος ὑπὸ πλήθους ὁ φῶνος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐκατέρους ἐγγύθεν ὄρωμενα τὰ οἰκεῖα μᾶλλον ἐβεβαιοῦ τὴν ἦτταν ἢ τὴν νίκην εἰκαζό-μενα τὰ τῶν πολεμίων. ἐπελθούσης δὲ νυκτὸς οἷαν εἰκὸς οὕτω μεμαχημένοις, καὶ γενομένων ἐν ἥσυχια τῶν στρατοπέδων, λέγουσι σεισθῆναι τὸ ἄλσος, ἐκ δ' αὐτοῦ φωνήν ἐκπεσεῖν μεγάλην φράξουσαν ὡς ἐν πλείον ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τεθνήκασι Τυρρηνῶν ἢ 'Ῥωμαίων. ἤν δ' ἄρα θείον τι τὸ φθειχάμενον εὐθὺς τε γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς μὲν ἀλαλάξας παρέστη μέγα καὶ θαρραλέον, οἱ δὲ Τυρρηνοὶ περίφοβοι γενόμενοι καὶ συνταρα-χέντες ἐξέπεσον ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ διε-σπάρθησαν οἱ πλείστοι τοὺς δὲ καταλειφθέντας ὄλγῳ πεντακισχιλίων ἔλασσους ἐπελθόντες εἰ-λον οἱ 'Ῥωμαίοι, καὶ τάλλα διήρπασαν. οἱ δὲ νεκροὶ διαρθημένες εὑρέθησαν τριακόσιοι μὲν ἐπὶ χιλίοις καὶ μυρίοις οἱ τῶν πολεμίων, οἱ δὲ 'Ῥωμαίων παρ' ἕνα τοσοῦτοι.

Ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ λέγοντες γενέσθαι πρὸ μᾶς καλανδῶν Μαρτίων. ἐθριάμβευσε δ' ἀπ' αὐτῆς Ὀυαλλέριος εἰσελάσας τεθρίππως πρῶτος ὑπάτων. καὶ τὸ πράγμα σεμνὴ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὴ παρέ-σχεν ὡς, οὐκ ἐπήφθον οὗ τοῦ ἀνιάσασαι, ὡς ἐνιοὶ λέγοντες, τοὺς ὄρωντες, οὐ γὰρ ἄν ἐσχα ξῆλον τοσοῦτον οὐδὲ φιλοτιμίαν εἰς ἔτη πάμ-πολλα διαμένουσαν. ἀπεδέξαντο δὲ τοῦ Ὀυαλ-λερίου καὶ τὰς εἰς τὸν συνάρχουτα τιμάς, αἰς ἐκκομιζόμενοι καὶ θαππόμενοι ἐκόσμησε. καὶ λόγον ἐπ' αὐτῷ διεξῆλθεν ἐπιτάφιον, ὡς οὕτως 102 ὑπὸ 'Ῥωμαίων ἡγαπήθη καὶ τοσαῦτην ἐσχε χάριν

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both sides. Each army, however, was more convinced of defeat by the near sight of its own dead, than it could be of victory by conjecturing those of the enemy. But when such a night came on as must needs follow such a battle, and both camps were quiet, they say that the grove was shaken, and a loud voice issued from it declaring that the Tuscans had lost one man more in the battle than the Romans. The utterance was manifestly from some god,¹ for at once the Romans were inspired by it to loud shouts of courage, while the Tuscans were panic-stricken, abandoned their camp in confusion, and were for the most part dispersed. As for those that remained, a little less than five thousand in number, the Romans fell upon them, took them prisoners, and plundered the camp. And when the dead on both sides were numbered, those of the enemy were found to be eleven thousand and three hundred, and those of the Romans as many less one.

It is said that this battle was fought on the last day of February. Valerius celebrated a triumph for it, being the first consul to drive into the city on a four-horse chariot. And the proceeding afforded a spectacle which was imposing and magnificent, not odious and offensive to the spectators, as some say; otherwise it would not have been continued with such ardour and emulation for countless years. The people were also pleased with the honours which Valerius bestowed upon his colleague at the funeral ceremonies. He even delivered a funeral oration in his honour, which was so admired by the Romans and won such favour that from that time on, when

¹ Silvanus, as Livy tells the tale (ii. 7, 2).
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ὡστε πάσι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις ὑπάρχειν ἐξ ἐκείνου τελευτήσασιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρίστων ἐγκωμίζεσθαι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐπιταφίων ἐκείνος γενέσθαι πρεσβύτερος, εἰς μὴ καὶ τούτῳ Σόλωνός ἦστιν, ὡς Ἀναξιμένης ὁ ῥήτωρ ἱστώρηκεν.

Χ. Ἀλλὰ δι’ ἐκείνα μᾶλλον ἥχθουτο τῷ Ὀυαλλερίῳ καὶ προσέκρουν, ὡς Ἡρότωνος μὲν, δυν πατέρα τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐνόμιζε ὁ δῆμος, οὐκ ἥξισε μόνος ἄρχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρῶτον αὐτὸ συνάρχοντα προσεῖλετο καὶ δεύτερον: "Οὕτως δ’, ἔφασαν, "εἰς αὐτὸν ἄπαντα συνενεγκάμενον οὐκ ἔστι τῆς Ἡρότου κληρονόμος ὑπατείας μηδὲν αὐτῷ προσηκούσας, ἀλλὰ τῆς Ταρκυνίου τυραννοῦ νίδος. καίτοι τί δεῖ λόγῳ μὲν Ἡρότων έγκωμίζειν, ἔργῳ δὲ μιμεῖται Ταρκυνίου, ὕπο βάθδοις ὅμοι πάσαις καὶ τελέκεις κατιῶντα μόνον ἕξ οἰκίας τοσαύτης τὸ μέγεθος ὅσην οὐ καθεῖλε τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως;" καὶ γὰρ ὅτως ὁ Ὀυαλλέριος ὕμηκε τραγικότερον ὑπὲρ τῆς καλουμένης Ὀυελίαν οἰκίαν ἐπικρεμαμένην τῇ ἁγορᾷ καὶ καθορώσαν ἕξ ύψους ἄπαντα, δυσπρόσδοκον δὲ πελάσαι καὶ χαλεπὴν ἔξωθεν, ὡστε καταβαίνοντος αὐτοῦ τὸ σχῆμα μετέωρον εἶναι καὶ βασιλικὸν τῆς πρὸ- 3 πομπῆς τῶν ὅγκον. ὅσον οὖν ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ πράγματι μεγάλοις ἄγαθοι ἦν ἔχειν ἕτοι παρρησίαν αὐτὶ κολακείας προσείμενα καὶ λόγους ἀληθεῖς, ἔδειξεν. ἀκούσας γὰρ ὅτι τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀμαρτα- νεῖν ἔδοκε τῶν φίλων διεξόντων, οὐκ ἐφίλουνεν κησεν, οὐδ’ ἡγανάκτησεν, ἀλλὰ τὰχ’ πολλοὺς

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their great and good men died, encomiums were
pronounced upon them by the most distinguished
citizens. And this funeral oration of his is said to
have been earlier than any among the Greeks, unless
Anaximenes the orator is right in saying that the
custom originated with Solon.

X. But that which the rather displeased and
offended the people in Valerius was this. Brutus,
whom they regarded as the father of their liberties,
would not consent to rule alone, but once and again
chose a colleague to rule with him. "But this
Valerius," they said, "in concentrating all power
upon himself, is not a successor to the consulate of
Brutus, to which he has no right, but to the tyranny
of Tarquin. Yet why should he extol Brutus in
words, while in deeds he imitates Tarquin, descending
to the forum alone, escorted by all the rods and
axes together, from a house no less stately than the
royal house which he demolished?" For, as a
matter of fact, Valerius was living in a very splendid
house on the so-called Velia.\(^1\) It hung high over
the forum, commanded a view of all that passed
there, and was surrounded by steeps and hard to
get at, so that when he came down from it the
spectacle was a lofty one, and the pomp of his
procession worthy of a king. Accordingly, Valerius
showed what a good thing it is for men in power and
high station to have ears which are open to frankness
and truth instead of flattery. For when he heard
from his friends, who spared him no detail, that he
was thought by the multitude to be transgressing,
he was not obstinate nor exasperated, but quickly
got together a large force of workmen, and while it

\(^1\) An eminence of the Palatine hill.
συναγαγὼν τεχνίτας ἐτι νυκτὸς οὐσίας κατέβαλε τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ κατέσκαψαν εἰς ἔδαφος πᾶσαν,
4 ὥστε μεθ' ἡμέραν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὀρῶντας καὶ συνισταμένους τοῦ μὲν ἀνδρὸς ἀγαπᾷν καὶ θαυ-
μάζειν τὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην, ἀχθεσθαί δὲ τῆς οἰκίας καὶ ποθεῖν τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ κάλλος,
ὡσπερ ἄνθρωπον, διὰ φθόνον οὐ δικαίως κατα-
λευμένης, τοῦ δὲ ἅρχωντος, ὡσπερ ἀνέστιον,
παρ' ἐτέρως οἰκοῦντο. ἐδέχοντο γὰρ οἱ φίλοι
tὸν Οὐαλλέριον ἄχρι οὗ τόπον ἔδωκεν ὁ δήμος
αὐτῷ καὶ κατεσκεύασεν οἰκίαν ἐκείνης μετριω-
τέραν, ὅπου νῦν ἱερὸν ἐστὶν Οὐίκας πότας ὀνομα-
ζόμενον.
5 Βουλόμενος δὲ μὴ μόνον ἑαυτὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν
ἀρχὴν ἀντὶ φοβερὰς χειροῆθη καὶ προσφιλὴ
pοιεῖν τοὺς πολλοὺς, τοὺς τε πελέκεις ἀπέλυσε
tῶν ράβδων, αὐτὰς τε τὰς ράβδους εἰς ἐκκλησίαν
παρὼν ὑφήκε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ κατέκλυσε, μέγα
ποιῶν τὸ πρόσχημα τῆς δημοκρατίας. καὶ τοῦτο
6 μέχρι νῦν διαφυλάττουσιν οἱ ἅρχοντες. ἐλάνθανε
dὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς οὐχ ἑαυτὸν, ὡς φόντο, ποιῶν
ταπεινῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸν φθόνον τῇ μετριότητι ταύτη
καθαιρῶν καὶ κολούων, αὐτῷ δὲ προστίθετι το-
σοῦτον μέγεθος δυνάμεως ὅσον ὄφαιρεῖν ἔδοκε
τῆς ἐξουσίας, ὕποδυνομένου μεθ' ἡδονῆς αὐτῷ τοῦ

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was still night tore the house down, and razed it all
to the ground. In the morning, therefore, the
Romans saw what had happened, and came flocking
together. They were moved to love and admiration
by the man's magnanimity, but were distressed for
the house, and mourned for its stately beauty, as if
it had been human, now that envy had unjustly
compassed its destruction. They were also distressed
for their ruler, who, like a homeless man, was now
sharing the homes of others. For Valerius was
received into the houses of his friends until the
people gave him a site and built him a house, of
more modest dimensions than the one he had lived
in before, where now stands the temple of Vica Pota,\(^1\)
so-called.

Wishing now to make not only himself but also
the government, instead of formidable, submissive
and agreeable to the multitude, he removed the
axes from the lictors' rods, and when he came into
the assembly, inclined and lowered the rods them-
soever to the people, emphasizing the majesty of the
democracy. This custom the consuls observe to this
day. And before the multitude were aware of it, he
had succeeded, not by humbling himself, as they
thought, but by checking and removing their envious
feelings through such moderation on his part, in add-
ing to his real influence over them just as much as he
had seemed to take away from his authority, and the
people submitted to him with pleasure and bore his

\(^1\) Victrix Possessor, a name of the goddess of victory,
whose temple was at the foot of the Velia (Livy, ii. 7, 12).
According to Livy, Valerius was building the house on the
Velia, but in order to allay the people's jealousy, brought
the materials to the foot of the hill, and built the house
there.

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δήμου καὶ φέροντος ἐκουσίως. ὃστε καὶ Ποπλικόλαν ἀνηγόρευσεν αὐτῶν σημαίνει δὲ τούνομα
dημοκρηδῆ καὶ τούτο μᾶλλον ἴσχυσε τῶν ἀρ-
χαίων ὄνομάτων, φι καὶ ἡμεῖς χρησόμεθα τὸν
λοιπὸν βίον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἱστοροῦντες.

XI. Τπατείαν μὲν γὰρ ἑδοκε μετέναι καὶ
παραγγέλλειν τοὺς βουλομένους· πρὸ δὲ τῆς
καταστάσεως τοῦ συνάρχοντος οὐκ εἰδὼς τῶν
γενησόμενον, ἀλλὰ δεδωκαν ἀντίπραξιν ὑπὸ φθόνον
tινὸς ἡ ἀγνοίας, ἐχθρόστατο τῇ μοναρχίᾳ πρὸς
tὰ κάλλιστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν πολιτευμάτων.
πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀνεπλήρωσε τὴν βουλὴν ὅλι-
γανδρούσον ἐτεθνήκεσαν γὰρ οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ Ταρ-

2 κυνίου πρότερον, οἱ δὲ ἔναγχος ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, τοὺς
οῖ δ᾽ ἐγγραφέντας ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ λέγουσιν ἐκατόν καὶ
ἐξήκοντα τέσσαρας γενέσθαι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα
νόμους ἐγγραφέντα, δὴν μάλιστα μὲν ἰσχυρούς ἐποίησε
τοὺς πολλοὺς ὁ τῶν δήμου ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων τῷ
φεύγοντι δίκην ἐπικαλεῖσθαι διδοῦς· δεύτερος οὐ
tοὺς ἀρχὴν ἀναλαβόντας, ἦν ὁ δῆμος οὐκ ἑδοκεν,

3 ἄποθνήσκειν κελεύων τρίτος δὲ μετὰ τούτους,
δἐ ἔβοηθησε τοῖς πένησιν, φι τὰ τέλη τῶν πολιτῶν
ἀφείλε καὶ προθυμότερον ἀπεσθαι τῶν ἐργασίων
ἐποίησεν ἀπαντας. οὐ δὲ γραφεῖς κατὰ τῶν
ἀπευθυντῶν τοῖς ὑπάτως οὐχ ἦτον ἐδοξε δημο-
τικὸς εἶναι, καὶ πρὸς τῶν πολλῶν μᾶλλον ἡ
dυνατῶν γεγράφθαι. ἦμιαν γὰρ ἀπεθνάς ἐταξε

4 βοῶν πέντε καὶ δυεῖν προβάτων ἄξιαν. ἦν δὲ
tιμὴ προβάτων μὲν ὀβολοὶ δέκα, βοῶς δὲ ἐκατόν,
οὐπο υνμίσματι χρωμένων πολλῷ τότε Ῥωμαιῶν,
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yoke willingly. They therefore called him Publicola,\textsuperscript{1} a name which signifies \textit{people-cherisher}. This name prevailed over the older names which he had borne, and it is the name which I shall use for him in the remainder of this Life.

XI. For he permitted any who wished to enter the lists and sue for the consulship. But before the installation of his colleague, not knowing who he would be, but fearing an opposition due to some jealousy or ignorance, he used his sole authority for the enactment of his best and most important measures. In the first place, he filled up the senate, which was much reduced in numbers; for some had long before been put to death by Tarquin, and others had recently fallen in the battle with the Tuscans. Those who were enrolled in this body by him amounted, they say, to a hundred and sixty-four. After this he enacted several laws, one of which especially strengthened the position of the commons by allowing a defendant to appeal to the people from the judgement of the consuls. A second made it a capital offence to assume a magistracy which the people had not bestowed. A third, following these, came to the relief of the poor; it lifted the taxes from the citizens, so that all engaged more zealously in manufactures and commerce. And the one which was enacted against disobedience to the consuls was thought to be no less popular in its character, and to be in the interest of the many rather than of the powerful. For the fine which it imposed on disobedience was only the worth of five oxen and two sheep. Now the value of a sheep was ten obols, and that of an ox, a hundred, for the Romans at

\textsuperscript{1} Cf. Livy, ii. 8, 1.
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"άλλα προβατείαις καὶ κτηνοτροφίαις εὐθηνοῦντων. διό καὶ τὰς οὐσίας ἄχρι νῦν ἀπὸ τῶν προβάτων πεκούλια καλοῦσι, καὶ τῶν νομισμάτων τοῖς παλαιοτάτοις βοῦν ἐπεχάραττον ἦ πρόβατον ἢ σῦν. ἐτίθεντο δὲ καὶ παισὶν αὐτῶν Σουίλλος καὶ Βουβούλκος καὶ Καπραρίους καὶ Πορκίους· κάπρας μὲν τὰς αὐγας, πόρκους δὲ τοὺς χοῖρους ὀνομάζοντες.

ΧΙΙ. Οὕτω δὲ περὶ ταύτα δημοτικὸς γενόμενος νομοθέτης καὶ μέτριος, ἐν τῷ μὴ μετρίῳ τὴν τιμορίαν ὑπερέτεινεν. ἔγραψε γὰρ νόμον ἄνευ κρίσεως κτείναι διὸντα τὸν βουλόμενον τυραννεῖν κτείναντα δὲ φόνου καθαρὸν ἐποίησεν, εἰ παρασχοιτο τοῦ ἀδικήματος τοὺς ἐλέγχους. ἐπεὶ γὰρ οὐ δυνατὸν ἐπιχειροῦντα τῆλικοῦτοι λαθεῖν ἄπαντας, οὐκ ἀδύνατον δὲ τὸ μὴ λαθόντα τοῦ κριθηναι φθάσαι κρείττονα γενόμενον, ἦν ἀναιρεῖ τὸ ἀδίκημα κρίσιν, προλαβεῖν ἐδωκε τῷ δυναμένῳ κατὰ τοῦ ἀδικοῦντος.

2 Ἐπηνέθη δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν ταμευτικῶν νόμων. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἔδει χρήματα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον εἰσενεχείν ἀπὸ τῶν οὐσιῶν τοὺς πολίτας, οὕτ' αὐτῶς ἀγαθαί τῆς οἰκονομίας οὕτε τοὺς φίλους ἐᾶσαι βουλόμενος οὐθ' ὅλως εἰς οἶκον ἰδιώτου παρελθεῖν δημόσια χρήματα, ταμειῶν μὲν ἀπέδειξε τὸν τοῦ Κρόνου ναὸν, ὡς μέχρι νῦν χρώμενοι διατελοῦσιν, ταμίας δὲ τῷ δῆμῳ δύο τῶν νέων ἔδωκεν ἑπτα-3 δεῖξαι καὶ ἀπεδείχθησαν οἱ πρῶτοι Πούπλιος

1 ἐν τῷ μὴ μετρίῳ with Coraës: ἐν τῷ μετρίῳ.
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that time did not use much coined money, but their wealth consisted in flocks and herds. Therefore to this day they call their substance "peculium," from "pecus," cattle; and their oldest coins are stamped with the figure of an ox, a sheep, or a hog. And they actually gave their own sons such surnames as Suillius, Bubulcus, Caprarius, and Porcius; the last two from "capra" and "porcus," their words for goat and pig.1

XII. But although in these particulars he showed himself a popular and moderate lawgiver, in the case of an immoderate offence he made the penalty severe. For he enacted a law by which any one who sought to make himself tyrant might be slain without trial, and the slayer should be free from blood-guiltiness if he produced proofs of the crime. For although it is impossible for one who attempts so great a task to escape all notice, it is not impossible for him to do so long enough to make himself too powerful to be brought to trial, which trial his very crime precludes. He therefore gave any one who was able to do so the privilege of anticipating the culprit's trial.

He also received praise for his law concerning the public treasury. When it was necessary for the citizens to contribute from their substance means for carrying on the war, he was unwilling to assume the administration of it himself, or to allow his friends to do so, or, indeed, to have the public moneys brought into any private house. He therefore made the temple of Saturn a treasury, as it is to this day, and gave the people the privilege of appointing two young men as quaestors, or treasurers. The first to

1 The first two from forms of "sus," swine, and "bos," ox.
Οὐστούριος καὶ Μινυκιός Μάρκος καὶ χρήματα 
συνήχθη πολλά. τρισκαίδεκα γὰρ ἀπεγράφαντο 
μυριάδες, ὄρφανοις παῖσι καὶ χήραις γυναιξὶν 
ἀνεθείσης τῆς εἰσφορᾶς.  
4 Ταῦτα δὲ διοικήσας ἀπέδειξεν ἑαυτῷ συμάρχουτα τὸν Δουκριτίας πατέρα Δουκρίτιον, ὁ τῆς ἠγεμονικωτέρας ἐξιστάμενος ὑπὸ πρεσβυτέρω τάξεως παρέδωκε τοὺς καλουμένους φάσκης καὶ 
τούτο διέμεινεν εἰς ἡμᾶς τὸ πρεσβεύον ἀπ’ ἑκείνου 
τοὺς γεραιτέρους φυλαττόμενον. ἔπει δ’ ὀλίγας 
ἡμέρας ὑστερον ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ Δουκρίτιος, πάλιν 
ἀρχαιεσιών γενομένων ἡρέθη Μάρκος Ὄρατιος, 
καὶ συνήρχε τῷ Ποπλικόλα τὸν ὑπολειπόμενον 
χρόνον τοῦ ἑνιαυτοῦ.  
XIII. Ταρκύνιον δὲ ὅρωμαίος δεύτερον πόλεμον 
ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ κινοῦντο μέγα σημεῖον λέγεται 
γενέσθαι βασιλεύων γὰρ ἐτὸς καὶ τῶν νεῶν τοῦ 
Καπιτωλίου Δίως ἔχουν ὁ Ταρκύνιος ὅσον οὕτω 
συντελεσμένων, εἴτε μαντείας γενομένης εἰτ’ αὐ-
τῷ δόξαν ἀλλος, ἀρμα κατὰ κορυφὴν ἐπιστῆσαι 
κεραμεύνην ἐξέδωκε Τυρρηνοῖς τοῦ δὲ Ὅητίων δημουργοῖς, 
εἰτ’ ὀλίγον ὑστερον ἐξέστη ὅς 
2 ἀρχής. τῶν δὲ Τυρρηνῶν διαπεπλασμένων τὸ 
τέθριππον ἐμβαλόντων εἰς κάμινον, οὐκ ἔπαθεν 
ἀ προσήκει πάσχειν πολὺν ἐν πυρί, πυκνοῦσθαι 
καὶ συνιζαίνει, ἐκτηκομένης τῆς ὑγρότητος, ἀλλ’ 
ἐξέστη καὶ φῶς καὶ μεγέθους ἐσχεν ἄμα ρώμῃ 
καὶ σκληρότητι τοσοῦτον ὅστε μόις ἐξαιρεθήναι 
τὴν ὀροφήν ἀποσκευασμένων τῆς κάμινον καὶ 
3 τῶν τοίχων περιαρθέντων. ὡς οὖν ἐδόκει τοῖς 
μάντεσι θείου εἶναι σημείον εὐτυχίας καὶ δυνά-
μεως παρ’ οἷς ἔσοιτο τὸ τέθριππον, ἔγρωσαν οἱ 
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be thus appointed were Publius Veturius and Marcus Minucius, and large sums of money were collected. For one hundred and thirty thousand names were on the assessment lists, orphans and widows being excused from the contribution.¹

This matter regulated, he caused Lucretius, the father of Lucretia, to be appointed his colleague in the consulship.² To him he yielded the precedence, as the elder man, and committed to him the so-called "fasces," a privilege of seniority which has continued from that day to this. But Lucretius died a few days afterwards, and in a new election Marcus Horatius was chosen consul, and shared the office with Publicola for the remainder of the year.

XIII. While Tarquin was stirring up in Tuscany another war against the Romans, a thing of great portent is said to have happened. When Tarquin was still king, and had all but completed the temple of Jupiter Capitoline, either in consequence of an oracle, or else of his own good pleasure, he commissioned certain Tuscan craftsmen of Veii to place upon its roof a chariot of terra cotta. Soon after this he was driven from his throne. The Tuscans, however, modelled the chariot and put it in a furnace for firing, but the clay did not contract and shrink in the fire, as it usually does, when its moisture evaporates. Instead of this, it expanded and swelled and took on such size, strength, and hardness, that it could with difficulty be removed, even after the roof of the furnace had been taken off and its sides torn away. To the seers, accordingly, this seemed a divine portent of prosperity and power for those who should possess the chariot, and the

¹ Cf. Camillus, ii. 2. ² Cf. Livy, ii. 8, 1–4.
Οὐ̄ς ιοί μὴ προέσθαι τοῖς Ῥωμαῖοις ἀπαιτοῦσι, καὶ ἀπεκρίναντο τούτῳ Ταρκυνίοις, οὐ τοῖς Ταρκυνίοις ἐκβαλοῦσι προσήκειν. ὅλγαι δ’ ὅστερον ἡμέραις ἦσαν ἵππων ἀγώνες αὐτοῖς. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ θέαν καὶ σπουδὴν εἰωθοῦν παρεἰχε, τὸ δὲ νικήσαν τέθριππον ὁ μὲν ἦν ὄχος ἐξήλαυνε τὸν ἵπποδρόμον σχέδην ἐστεφανωμένος, οἱ δὲ ἵπποι πτομήνες ἀπ’ οὐδεμίας ἑμφάνων προφάσεως, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ δαμόνιον ἢ τύχην ἱεντὸ παντὶ τάχει πρὸς τὴν Ῥωμαίών πόλιν, ἔχοντες τὸν ἦν ὅτι ἑργον αὐτοῦ κατατείνοντος οὐδὲ παρηγοροῦντος, ἀλλ’ ἠρπαστο, δόντα τῇ ρώμῃ καὶ φερόμενον, ἀρχὶ οὐ τῇ Καπιτωλίᾳ προσμέμισται εξῆβαλον αὐτὸν ἐνταῦθα παρὰ τὴν πύλην ἢν νῦν Ῥατομέναν καλοῦσι. γενομένου δὲ τούτων θαυμάσαντες οἱ Οὐ̄ς ιοί καὶ φοβηθέντες ἐπέτρεψαν ἀποδοῦναι τὸ ἀρμα τοῖς τεχνίταις.

XIV. Τὸν δὲ νεόν τοῦ Καπιτωλίου Διὸς εὐ-ξατο μὲν ἀναθήσειν Ταρκυνίος ὁ Δημαράτου πολεμὸν Σαβῖνοις, ἡποδόμησε δὲ Ταρκυνίος ὁ Σοῦπερβος νῖος δὲν ἢ νῖον τοῦ εὐξαμένου καθιέρωσαι δὲ οὐκ ἐφθασεν, ἀλλὰ μικρὸν ἀπε-λείπετο τοῦ τέλος ἔχειν ὅτε Ταρκυνίος ἐξέπιπτεν. ὡς οὖν ἀπείραστο τελέως καὶ τὸν προσήκουτα κόσμου ἀπείχεν, ἤν τῷ Ποπλικόλα φιλοτιμία 2 πρὸς τὴν καθιέρωσιν. ἑφθάνουσι δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν δυνατῶν, καὶ ἤχθοντο ταῖς μὲν ἀλλαῖς τιμαῖς ἦττον, ἄς νομοθετῶν καὶ στρατηγῶν ἐκ προση-κόντων ἐσχε· ταύτην δ’ οὖσαν ἄλλοτριάν οὐκ ἔσχεν δεῖν αὐτῷ προσηγενέσθαι, καὶ τὸν Ὡράτιον 536
people of Veii determined not to give it up. When the Romans asked for it, they were told that it belonged to the Tarquins, not to those who had expelled the Tarquins. But a few days afterwards there were chariot races at Veii. Here the usual exciting spectacles were witnessed, but when the charioteer, with his garland on his head, was quietly driving his victorious chariot out of the race-course, his horses took a sudden fright, upon no apparent occasion, but either by some divine ordering or by merest chance, and dashed off at the top of their speed towards Rome, charioteer and all. It was of no use for him to rein them in or try to calm them with his voice; he was whirled helplessly along until they reached the Capitol and threw him out there, at the gate now called Ratumena. The Veientines were amazed and terrified at this occurrence, and permitted the workmen to deliver their chariot.

XIV. The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus had been vowed by Tarquin, the son of Demaratus, when he was at war with the Sabines, but it was actually built by Tarquininius Superbus, the son, or grandson, of him who vowed it. He did not, however, get so far as to consecrate it, but was driven out before it was quite completed. Accordingly, now that it was completely finished and had received all the ornaments that belonged to it, Publicola was ambitious to consecrate it. But this excited the jealousy of many of the nobility. They could better brook his other honours, to which, as legislator and military commander, he had a rightful claim. But this one they thought he ought not to have, since it was more appropriate for others, and therefore they
προετρέποντο καὶ παρὼξυνον ἀντιποιεῖσθαι τῆς καθιερώσεως. γενομένης οὖν τῷ Ποπλικόλα στρατείας ἀναγκαίας, ψηφισάμενοι τὸν Ὄρατιον καθιεροῦν ἀνήγον εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, ὡς οὐκ ἄν ἐκείνου περιγενέμενοι παρόντος. ἔνοιο de φασὶ κλήρῳ τῶν ὑπάτων λαχεῖν ἐκείνου ἐπὶ τὴν στρατείαν ἅκοντα, τούτων de ἐπὶ τὴν καθιερώσει. ἐξεστὶ de περὶ τούτων ὡς ἐσχῆν εἰκάζειν τοῖς πραξθείςι περὶ τὴν καθιερώσειν. εἰδοῖς οὖν Σεπτεμβρίαις, ὅ συντυγχάνει περὶ τὴν πανσέληνον μάλιστα τοῦ Μεταγενετικοῦ, συνηθρουσμένων ἀπάντων εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, ὁ μὲν Ὄρατιος σιωπητὴς γενομένης τὰ τ' ἀλλα δράσας καὶ τῶν θυρῶν ἁγάμενος, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστὶν, ἐπεφθέγγετο τὰς νεομομμένας ἐπὶ τῇ καθιερώσει φωνὰς: ὁ δ' ἀδελφός τοῦ Ποπλικόλα Μάρκος ἐκ πολλοῦ παρὰ τὰς θύρας ύφεστὼς καὶ παραφυλάττων τὸν καιρόν, "Ὄ ὑπάτε," εἶπεν, "ὁ νιὸς σου τέθηκεν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ νοσήσας." τούτῳ πάντας ἤνισε τοὺς ἀκούσαντας: ὁ δ' Ὄρατιος οὐδὲν διαταραχθεῖς, ἀλλὰ ἢ τοσοῦτον μόνον εἰπὼν, "Ῥίψατε τοίνυν ὅποι βουλευθεῖ τὸν νεκρόν, ἐγὼ γὰρ ὦ προσέμει τὸ πένθος," ἐπέραισε τὴν λοιπὴν καθιερώσειν. ἦν δὲ τὸ προσηγγελμένον ὦν ἄλλης, ἀλλὰ ὁ Μάρκος ὡς ἀποστήσαν τὸν Ὄρατιον ἐψεύσατο. θαυμαστὸς οὖν ὁ ἄνὴρ τῆς εὐσταθείας, εἶτε τὴν ἁπάθην ἐν καιρῷ βραχεῖ συνείδειν εἶτε πιστευθεῖς ὁ λόγος οὐκ ἔκλινησεν αὐτῶν.

XV. Ἔοικε δὲ καὶ περὶ τὸν δεύτερον ναὸν
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ecouraged and incited Horatius to claim the privilege of consecrating the temple. At a time, then, when Publicola was necessarily absent on military service, they got a vote passed that Horatius should perform the consecration, and conducted him up to the Capitol, feeling that they could not have gained their point had Publicola been in the city. Some, however, say that Publicola was designated by lot, against his inclination, for the expedition, and Horatius for the consecration. And it is possible to infer how the matter stood between them from what happened at the consecration. It was the Ides of September, a day which nearly coincides with the full moon of the Attic month Metageitnion; the people were all assembled on the Capitol, silence had been proclaimed, and Horatius, after performing the other ceremonies and laying hold upon the door of the temple, as the custom is, was pronouncing the usual words of consecration. But just then Marcus, the brother of Publicola, who had long been standing by the door and was watching his opportunity, said: "O Consul, thy son lies dead of sickness in the camp." This distressed all who heard it; But Horatius, not at all disturbed, merely said: "Cast forth the dead then whither ye please, for I take no mourning upon me," and finished his consecration. Now the announcement was not true, but Marcus thought by his falsehood to deter Horatius from his duty. Wonderful, therefore, was the firm poise of the man, whether he at once saw through the deceit, or believed the story without letting it overcome him.\footnote{Cf. Livy, ii. 8, 6–8.}

XV. A similar fortune seems to have attended the
ὁμοία τύχη γενέσθαι τῆς καθιερώσεως. τὸν μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον, ὡς εἰρηταί, Ταρκυνίου κατασκευά-
σαντος, Ὀματίου δὲ καθιερώσαντος, ἐν τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις πολέμοις πῦρ ἀπώλεσεν τὸν δὲ δεύ-
τερον ἀνέστησε μὲν Σύλλας, ἑπεγράφη δὲ τῇ καθιερώσει Κάτουλος Σύλλα προσποθανόντος.
2 τούτον δὲ πάλιν ἐν ταῖς κατὰ Οὐήτελλιον στᾶσει διαφθαρέντος τὸν τρίτον τῇ πρὸς τᾶλλα καὶ
tούτο χρησάμενος εὐποτμίᾳ Οὐεσπεσιανὸς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τέλους ἀναγαγών, ἐπείδε γενόμενον καὶ
φθειρόμενον μετ' ὀλύγον οὐκ ἐπείδευν, ἀλλὰ
tοσοῦτον εὐτυχίᾳ Σύλλαν παρῆλθεν ὡσον ἐκείνοὺ
μὲν τῆς ἀφιερώσεως τοῦ ἔργου, τούτον δὲ τῆς
ἀναιρέσεως προσποθανεῖν. ἀμα γὰρ τῷ τελευ-
tήσα τοῦ Οὐεσπεσιανοῦ ἐνεπρήσθη τῷ Καπιτώλιον.
3 ὁ δὲ τέταρτος οὕτως ὑπὸ Δομετιανοῦ καὶ 105
συνετελέσθη καὶ καθιερώθη. λέγεται δὲ Ταρ-
κύνιον εἰς τοὺς θεμελίους ἀναλῶσαι λίτρας ἀρ-
γυρίου τετρακισμυρίας. τούτον δὲ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς
tὸν μέγιστον ἐν Ὁρώμη τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν πλοῦτον ἐκλογισθέντα τὸ τῆς χρυσώσεως μὴ τελέσαι ἀν
ἀνάλωμα, πλέον ἡ δισχίλιοι καὶ μυρίων τα-
4 λάντων γενόμενον. οἱ δὲ κίνινε σὲ τοῦ Πεντε-
lήσιν ἐτμήθησαν λίθου, κάλλιστα τῷ πάχει
πρὸς τὸ μῆκος ἔχοντες εἰδομέν γὰρ αὐτοὺς Ἀθη-
νησίων. ἐν δὲ Ὁρώμη πληγέντες αὖθις καὶ ἀναξι-
σθέντες ὑπὸ τοσοῦτον ἕσχον γιαλφυρίας ὡσον
ἀπώλεσαν συμμετρίας καὶ τοῦ καλοῦ, διάκενοι

1 kal supplied by Bekker. after G. Hermann: συμμετρίας
tοῦ καλοῦ (the symmetry of their beauty).
dedication of the second temple. The first, as I have said, was built by Tarquin, but consecrated by Horatius; this was destroyed by fire during the civil wars.\(^1\) The second temple was built by Sulla, but Catulus was commissioned to consecrate it,\(^2\) after the death of Sulla. This temple, too, was destroyed, during the troublous times of Vitellius,\(^3\) and Vespasian began and completely finished the third, with the good fortune that attended him in all his undertakings. He lived to see it completed, and did not live to see it destroyed, as it was soon after; and in dying before his work was destroyed he was just so much more fortunate than Sulla, who died before his was consecrated. For upon the death of Vespasian the Capitol was burned.\(^4\)

The fourth temple, which is now standing on the same site as the others, was both completed and consecrated by Domitian. It is said that Tarquin expended upon its foundations forty thousand pounds of silver. But the greatest wealth now attributed to any private citizen of Rome would not pay the cost of the gilding alone of the present temple, which was more than twelve thousand talents.\(^5\) Its pillars are of Pentelic marble,\(^6\) and their thickness was once most happily proportioned to their length; for we saw them at Athens. But when they were recut and scraped at Rome, they did not gain as much in polish as they lost in symmetry and beauty,

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\(^1\) 83 B.C. \(^2\) 69 B.C. \(^3\) 69 A.D. \(^4\) 80 A.D.

\(^5\) For purposes of comparison a talent may be reckoned as worth £250, or $1200.

\(^6\) Pentelé was an Attic deme on the N.E. edge of the Athenian plain, near which excellent marble was quarried from the mountain. This was called Brilessus in earlier times then Pentelicus.
καὶ λαγαροὶ φανέντες. ὁ μὲντοι θαυμάσας τοῦ Καπιτωλίου τὴν πολυτέλειαν, εἰ μᾶν εἶδην ἐν ὁικίᾳ Δομετιανοῦ στοὰν ἢ βασιλικὴν ἢ βαλανεῖον ἢ παλλακίδων δίαιταν, οἶδον ἐστὶ τὸ λεγόμενον Ἐπιχάρμου πρὸς τὸν ἀσωτοῦ,

Οὐ φιλάνθρωπος τῷ γ’ ἐσσ’ ἔχεις νόσον καίρεις διδοὺς,

toioúton ἃν τι πρὸς Δομετιανοῦ εἰπέων προήχθη. “Οὐκ εὐσεβὴς οὐδὲ φιλότιμος τῷ γ’ ἐσσ’ ἔχεις νόσον καίρεις κατουκοδομόν, ὡσπερ ὁ Μίδας ἐκεῖνος, ἀπαντά σοι χρυσὰ καὶ λίθων βουλόμενος γίνεσθαι.” ταῦτα μὲν ὅπερ περὶ τούτων.

XVI. Ὅ δέ Ταρκύνιος μετὰ τὴν μεγάλην μάχην ἐν ἢ καὶ τὸν νῦν ἀπόλεσε μονομαχήσαντα Βρούτῳ, καταφυγὼν εἰς τὸ Κλοῦσιον ἴκετευσε Λάραν Πορσίναν, ἀνδρα καὶ δύναμιν μεγίστην ἔχοντα τῶν Ἰταλικῶν βασιλέων καὶ δοκοῦντα χρηστὸν εἶναι καὶ φιλότιμον ὁ δ’ ὑπεσχετο βοηθήσειν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐπεμψεν εἰς Ῥώμην κελεύων δέχεσθαι τῶν Ταρκύνιον ὡς δ’ οὐχ ὑπῆκουσαν οἱ Ῥώμαιοι, καταγγέλλας αὐτοῖς τόλμησαν καὶ χρόνων ἐν ὕ καὶ τόπων εἰς ὃν ἔμελλεν

2 ἐμβαλεῖν, ἀφίκετο μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως. Πο- πλικόλασ δ’ ᾑρέθη μὲν ἀπ’ ὅπου ὑπατος τὸ δεύτερον, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Τίτος Δουκρήτιος ἐπανελθὼν δὲ εἰς Ῥώμην καὶ βουλόμενος τῷ φρονήματι πρῶτον ὑπερβαλέσθαι τῶν Πορσίναν, ἔκτετε ρόλην Σι- γλιουρίαν ἢ δὴ πλησίον ὁντος αὐτοῦ. καὶ τει- χίσας μεγάλοις ἀναλώμασιν ἐπτακοσίους ἐπο-
and they now look too slender and thin. However, if anyone who is amazed at the costliness of the Capitol had seen a single colonnade in the palace of Domitian, or a basilica, or a bath, or the apartments for his concubines, then, as Epicharmus says to the spendthrift,

"'Tis not beneficent thou art; thou art diseased; thy mania is to give,"

so he would have been moved to say to Domitian: "'Tis not pious, nor nobly ambitious that thou art; thou art diseased; thy mania is to build; like the famous Midas, thou desirest that every thing become gold and stone at thy touch." So much, then, on this head.

XVI. But to return to Tarquin, after the great battle in which he lost his son in a duel with Brutus, he fled for refuge to Clusium, and became a suppliant of Lars Porsena, the most powerful king in Italy, who was thought also to be a man of worth and noble ambitions. He promised Tarquin his aid and assistance. So in the first place he sent to Rome and ordered them to receive Tarquin as their king. Then when the Romans refused, he declared war upon them; proclaimed the time and place of his attack, and marched thither with a great force. Publicola was chosen consul for the second time, in his absence, and Titus Lucretius as his colleague. Returning, therefore, to Rome, and wishing, in the first place, to surpass Porsena in the loftiness of his spirit, he built the city of Signiliuria, although his adversary was already near at hand. After he had fortified it at great expense, he sent to it a colony of seven hundred

1 Cf. Livy, ii. 9.
κοὺς ἀπέστειλεν, ὡς ῥάδιως φέρων καὶ ἀδεῶς τὸν 3 πόλεμον. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα προσβολῆς ὀξείας τῷ τείχῃ γενομένης ἐξεώσθησαν οἱ φύλακες ὑπὸ τοῦ Πορσίνα, καὶ φεύγοντες ὀλίγου συνεπεσπά- σαντο τοὺς πολεμίους εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ἔφθη δὲ πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐκβοηθήσας ο Ποπλικόλας, καὶ μάχην συνάψας παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἀντείχε πλή- θει βιαζομένους τοὺς πολεμίους, ἄχρι οὗ τραύματι νεανικοῖς περιπέσων ἀπεκομίσθη φοράδην ἐκ τῆς 4 μάχης. τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ καὶ Δουκρητίου τοῦ συνάρ- χοντος αὐτῷ παθόντος ἀθυμία τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐνέπεσε, καὶ φυγῇ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔσωξαν ἔαυ- τοὺς. ὥθωμεν δὲ τῶν πολεμίων διὰ τῆς ξυλί- νης γεφύρας ἐκινδύνευσεν ἡ Ῥώμη κατά κράτος ἀλάναι. πρῶτος δὲ Κόκλιος Ὁράτιος καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ δύο τῶν ἑπιφανεστάτων ἄνδρῶν, Ἑρμῖνος καὶ Δάρκιος, ἀντέστησαν περὶ τὴν ξυλίνην γέφυ- 5 ραν. ο δ’ Ὁράτιος τὸν Κόκλιον ἐπονύμιον ἐσχεν ἐν πολέμῳ τῶν ὀμμάτων θάτερον ἐκκοπεῖς. ὡς δ’ ἐνιοὶ λέγουσι, διὰ σιμότητα τῆς ῥινὸς ἐνδεδυ- κνιάς ὡστε μηδὲν εἶναι τὸ διορίζον τὰ ὀμματα καὶ τὰς ὀφρὺς συγκεχύσθαι. Κύκλωτα βουλό- μενοι καλεῖν αὐτὸν οἱ πολλοὶ τῆς γλώττης ὀμ- σθανοῦσης ἔκρατησαν ὑπὸ πλῆθους Κόκλιον κα- 6 λείσθαι. οὔτος ἐστις πρὸ τῆς γεφύρας ἡμύνετο τοὺς πολεμίους, ἄχρι οὗ διέκοψαν οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ κατόπιν τὴν γέφυραν. οὔτω δὲ μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἀφεὶς ἐαυτὸν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπενηξάτο, καὶ προσέμεξε τῇ πέραιν ὀχθῇ δόρατι Τυρρηνικῷ 7 βεβλημένου τὸν γλυτών. ο δὲ Ποπλικόλας τὴν ἀρετὴν θαυμάσας αὐτίκα μὲν εἰσηγήσατο 'Ῥω- 106
men, indicating that he had no concern or fear about the war. However, a sharp assault was made upon its wall by Porsena, and its garrison was driven out. They fled to Rome, where the pursuing enemy almost followed them into the city. But Publicola promptly sallied out to their aid in front of the gate, joined battle by the river side with the enemy, who pressed on in great numbers, and held out against them until he was desperately wounded and carried bodily out of the battle. The same fate overtook Lucretius, his colleague, also, so that dismay fell upon the Romans, and they fled for safety towards the city. But as the enemy were forcing their way onto the wooden bridge, Rome was in danger of being taken by storm. Horatius Cocles, however, first, and with him two of the most illustrious men of the city, Herminius and Lartius, defended the wooden bridge against them. Horatius had been given his surname of Cocles because he had lost one of his eyes in the wars. Some, however, say that his nose was flat and sunken, so that there was nothing to separate his eyes, and his eye-brows ran together, and that for this reason the multitude wished to call him Cyclops, but by a slip of the tongue the name of Cocles became generally prevalent instead. This Cocles, standing at the head of the bridge, kept the enemy back until his companions had cut the bridge in two behind him. Then, all accoutred as he was, he plunged into the river and swam across to the other side, in spite of a wound in the buttocks from a Tuscan spear. Publicola, out of admiration for his valour, proposed that every Roman should at once

1 The exploit of Horatius is much more dramatically narrated by Livy (ii. 10).
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μαίους ἀπαντας, ὅσην ἐκαστὸς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τροφὴν ἀνήλισκε, δούναι συνεισενεγκόντας, ἐπειτα τῆς χώρας ἦν αὐτὸς περιαρόσειεν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις εἰκόνα χαλκῆν ἐστησαν αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ ιερῷ τοῦ Ὡφαῖστου, τὴν γενομένην ἐκ τοῦ τραυματος τῶν ἄνδρι χωλότητα μετὰ τιμῆς παρηγοροῦντες.

XVII. Ἐπικειμένου δὲ Πορσίνα τῇ πόλει καὶ λιμὸς ἡπτετο τῶν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ Τυρρηνῶν ἔτερος στρατὸς αὐτὸς καθ᾽ αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐνέβαλε. Ποπλικόλας δὲ τὸ τρίτον ὑπατεύων Πορσίνα μὲν ἀτρεμὼν καὶ φυλάττων τὴν πόλιν ὥστε δειν ἀντέχειν, τοῖς δὲ Τυρρηνοῖς ἐπεξήλθε καὶ συμβαλὼν ἐτρέψατο καὶ πεντακισχιλίους αὐτῶν ἀνείλε.

Τὸ δὲ περὶ Μούκιον εἰρήται μὲν ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ διαφόρων, λεκτέων δὲ ἦ μάλιστα πιστεύεται καὶ Ἡμῖν. ἦν ἀνηρ εἰς πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἀγαθός, εἰς τοῦτος πολεμικοῖς ἀριστός: ἐπιβουλεύων δὲ τὸν Πορσίναν ἀνελεῖν παρεισήλθεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον Τυρρηνίδα φορῶν ἐσθήτα καὶ φωνῇ χρώμενος ὁμοία. περιελθὼν δὲ τὸ βῆμα τοῦ βασιλέως καθέξομένου, καὶ σαφῶς μὲν αὐτὸν ὅπις εἰδὼς, ἐρέσθαι δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ δεδώσας, ὅν φήσῃ μάλιστα τὸν συγκαθέξομένων ἐκεῖνον εἶναι σπασάμενος τὸ ἔφος ἀπέκτεινεν. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ συλλήφθεις ἀνεκρίνετο· καὶ τοὺς ἐσχαρίδος πῦρ ἐχούσης μέλλοντι τῷ Πορσίνα δύειν κεκομισμένης, ὑπεραχών τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα καιμόμενης τῆς σαρκὸς εἰσπήκει πρὸς τὸν Πορσίναν ἀποβλέπων ἵταμοκαὶ ἀτρέπτω τῷ προσώπῳ, μέχρι οὗ θαυματοστίως τὸν συγκαθεξομένων ἐκεῖνον εἶναι σπασάμενος τὸ ἔφος ἀπέκτεινεν. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ συλλήφθεις ἀνεκρίνετο· καὶ τοὺς ἐσχαρίδος πῦρ ἐχούσης μέλλοντι τῷ Πορσίνα δύειν κεκομισμένης, ὑπεραχών τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα καιμόμενης τῆς σαρκὸς εἰσπήκει πρὸς τὸν Πορσίναν ἀποβλέπων ἵταμοκαὶ ἀτρέπτω τῷ προσώπῳ, μέχρι οὗ θαυματοστίως τὸν συγκαθεξομένων ἐκεῖνον εἶναι σπασάμενος τὸ ἔφος ἀπέκτεινεν.
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contribute for him as much provision as each consumed in a day, and that afterwards he should be given as much land as he could plough round in a day. Besides this, they set up a bronze statue of him in the temple of Vulcan, to console him with honour for the lameness consequent upon his wound.

XVII. While Porsena was closely investing the city, a famine afflicted the Romans, and another Tuscan army on its own account invaded their territory. Publicola, who was now consul for the third time, thought that Porsena must be met by a quiet and watchful resistance within the city; but he sallied out upon the other Tuscan army, engaged it, routed it, and slew five thousand of them.

The story of Mucius has been often and variously told, but I must give it as it seems most credible to me. He was a man endowed with every virtue, but most excellent in war. Designing to kill Porsena, he stole into his camp, wearing a Tuscan habit, and using a speech to correspond. After walking around the tribunal where the king was sitting with others, not knowing him certainly, and fearing to inquire about him, he drew his sword and slew that one of the group whom he thought most likely to be the king. Upon this he was seized, and was being questioned, when a sort of pan containing live coals was brought to Porsena, who was about to offer sacrifice. Mucius held his right hand over the flames and, while the flesh was burning, stood looking at Porsena with a bold and steadfast countenance, until the king was overcome with

1 Cf. Livy, ii. 12, 1.
2 Plutarch’s version is far less coherent and dramatic than Livy’s (ii. 12).
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μάσας ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ ἔλφος ἀποδιδοὺς ὤρεξεν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος· ὁ δὲ τὴν εὐώνυμον προτείνας ἐδέξατο. καὶ διὰ τούτῳ φασὶν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τὸν Σκαίολαν ἐπίκλησιν, ὅπερ ἔστὶ

4 Δαιών. ἔφη δὲ τὸν φόβον τοῦ Πορσίνα νευκηκὼς ἤττᾶσθαι τῆς ἀρετῆς, καὶ χάριτι μηνίειν ἃ πρὸς ἀνάγκην οὐκ ἄν ἐξηγὸρευσε. “Τριακόσιοι γὰρ Ῥωμαίοι,” ἔφη, “τὴν αὐτὴν ἐμοὶ γνώμην ἔχοντες ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ σου πλανῶνται καιρὸν ἐπιτηροῦντες· ἐγὼ δὲ κλήρῳ λαχῶν καὶ προ- επιχειρήσας οὐκ ἀχθομαι τῇ τύχῃ, διαμαρτῶν ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ φίλου μᾶλλον ἢ πολεμίου

5 Ῥωμαίοις εἶναι πρέποντος.” ταῦθ’ ὁ Πορσίνας ἀκούσας ἐπίστευσε καὶ πρὸς τᾶς διαλύσεις ἦδιον ἔσχεν, οὐ τοσοῦτο, μοι δοκεῖ, φόβῳ τῶν τριακο- σίων, ὃσον ἄγασθεὶς καὶ θαυμάσας τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων.

Τούτων τῶν ἀνδρά Μοῦκιον ὁμοῦ τι πάντων καὶ Σκαίολαν καλοῦντων Ἀθηνόδωρος ὁ Σάνδωνος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ὀκταοῦντα τὴν Καίσαρος ἀδελφὴν καὶ Ὀψίγονον ὀνομάσθαι φησίν.

ΧΧΙΠ. ὁ μέντοι Ποπλικόλας αὐτὸς, οὐχ οὗτῳ πολέμιον ὑντα τὸν Πορσίναν βαρὺν ἡγούμενος ὡς ἀξίων πολλοῦ τῇ πόλει φίλον γενέσθαι καὶ σύμμαχον, οὐκ ἐφευγεν ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ δίκη κρίθηναι πρὸς Ταρκύνιον, ἀλλ’ ἐθάρρης καὶ προϊκαλεῖτο

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admiration and released him, and handed him back his sword, reaching it down to him from the tribunal. Mucius stretched out his left hand and took it (on which account, they say, he received the surname of Scaevola, which means Left-handed). Then he said that although he had conquered the fear which Porsena inspired, he was vanquished by the nobility which he displayed, and would reveal out of gratitude what he would not have disclosed under compulsion. "Three hundred Romans, then," said he, "with the same resolution as mine, are now prowling about in thy camp and watching their opportunity. I was chosen by lot to make the first attempt upon thee, and I am not distressed at what has happened, so noble is the man whom I failed to kill, and so worthy to be a friend rather than an enemy of the Romans." On hearing this, Porsena believed it to be true, and felt more inclined to come to terms, not so much, I suppose, through fear of the three hundred, as out of wondering admiration for the lofty spirit and bravery of the Romans.¹

All other writers agree in giving this Mucius the surname of Scaevola, but Athenodorus, the son of Sandon, in his book addressed to Octavia, the sister of Augustus Caesar, says that his surname was Postumus.

XVIII. Publicola himself, moreover, thinking that Porsena would be more valuable as a friend and ally of the city than he was dangerous as its enemy, did not shrink from making the king an arbitrator in his dispute with Tarquin,¹ but often boldly challenged

¹ According to Livy (ii. 13, 1–5), Porsena was so terrified by the disclosures of Mucius, that he made propositions of peace to the Romans.
πολλάκις ὡς ἔξελέγχειν κάκιστον ἀνδρῶν καὶ
dικαίως ἀφαιρεθέντα τὴν ἀρχήν. ἀποκριναμένου
dὲ τοῦ Ταρκυνίου τραχύτερον, οὐδένα ποιεῖσθαι
dικαστήν, ἢκιστα δὲ Πορσίνας, εἰ σύμμαχος
2 ὥν μεταβάλλεται, δυσχεράνας καὶ καταγωγοῦ ὁ
Πορσίνας, ἀμα δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀρροντος δεομένου
καὶ σπουδάζοντος ὑπὲρ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, κατελύ-
σατο τὸν πόλεμον ἐξισταμένου ἢ ἀπετέμοντο
τῆς Τυρρηνίδος χώρας καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους
ἀποπέμπουσι, κομιζομένους δὲ τοὺς αὐτομόλους.
ἐπὶ τούτους ὀμήρους ἐδώκαν ἐξ εὐπατριδῶν περι-
πορφύρους δέκα καὶ παρθένους τοσαύτας, ὡν
ἡν καὶ Ποπλικόλα θυγάτηρ Οὐαλλερία.

XIX. Πραττομένων δὲ τούτων τοῦ τε Πορσίνα
πᾶσαν ἦδη τὴν πολεμικὴν ἀνεκότος παρασκευὴν
dιὰ πίστιν, αἱ παρθένοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατῆλθον
ἐπὶ λοιπὸν ἑνθα δὴ μηνοειδῆς τις ὁχὴ περι-
βάλλουσα τὸν ποταμὸν ἱσυχίαν μάλιστα καὶ
γαλήνην τοῦ κύματος παρεῖχεν. ὡς δὲ 101
tων ἑλκακῆν ἔωρων ousi παριών ἄλλως ἢ
dιαπλέοντας, ὀρμὴν ἐσχον ἀπονήξιασθαι πρὸς
2 Ἐπὶ οὖτε τοῦ κοιλίου καὶ τῶν δινῶν βαθείας. ἔννοι ἤ ὧς 
μίαν αὐτῶν, ὅνομα Κλοιίαι, ἵππῳ διεξελάσσαι
τὸν πόρον, ἐγκελευμένην ταῖς ἄλλαις νεούσαις
καὶ παραθαρρύνουσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ σωθεῖσαι πρὸς
τὸν Ποπλικόλαν ἦκον, ousi ἐθαύμασεν οὗ ἡγά-
pησεν, ἀλλ' ἠμάθῃ, ὅτι Πορσίνα κακίων ἐν
πίστει φανεῖται, καὶ τὸ τόλμημα τῶν παρθένων
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Tarquin to do so, confident of proving that he was the basest of men and justly deprived of his kingdom. And when Tarquin gave him a rough answer, saying that he would make no man his judge, least of all Porsena, seeing that he was swerving from his alliance with him, Porsena was displeased and perceived the weakness of his cause. His son Aruns also pleaded earnestly with him in behalf of the Romans. Consequently, he put an end to his war against them, on condition that they gave up the territory of Tuscany which they had taken, sent back their prisoners of war, and received back their deserters. In confirmation of these conditions, the Romans gave as hostages ten young men from their noblest families, and as many maidens, of whom Valeria, a daughter of Publicola, was one.

XIX. After these stipulations had been carried out, and when Porsena had already remitted all his warlike preparations through his confidence in the treaty, these Roman maidens went down to the river to bathe, at a place where the curving bank formed a bay and kept the water especially still and free from waves. As they saw no guard near, nor any one else passing by or crossing the stream, they were seized with a desire to swim away, notwithstanding the depth and whirl of the strong current. And some say that one of them, named Cloelia, crossed the stream on horseback, exhorting and encouraging the rest as they swam. But when they were come in safety to Publicola, he bestowed no admiration or affection upon them, but was distressed because he would be thought less true to his word than Porsena, and because the daring exploit of the maidens would be called a base fraud on the part of
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αὐτίαν ἔξει κακούργημα Ἄρωμαίων γεγονέναι. διὸ συλλαβῶν αὐτὰς πάλιν ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τὸν
3 Πορσίναν. ταῦτα δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ταρκύνιον προανεσθομένου, καὶ καθίσαντες ἐνέδραν τοῖς ἀγονοῖς
tὰς παιδὰς, ἐν τῷ περὰν ἐπέθεντο πλείονες ὄντες. ἐκείνων δὲ ὦμοι ἀμυνομένων, ἡ Ποπλικόλα
θυγάτηρ Οὐαλλερία διὰ μέσων ὁμήραςα τῶν
μαχομένων ἀπέφυγε, καὶ τρεῖς τινες οἴκεται
συνεκκεπότες ἐσωζοῦν αὐτὴν. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων
οὗκ ἀκινήτως ἀναμεμειγμένων τοῖς μαχομένοις,
αἰθόμενος Ἀρρων ὁ Πορσίνα υἱὸς ὄξεως προσε-
βοήθησε, καὶ φυγῆς γενομένης τῶν πολεμιῶν
περιποίησε τοὺς Ἄρωμαίους.
4 Ὡς δὲ τὰς παρθένους κομισθείσας ὁ Πορσίνας
εἶδε, τὴν καταρξαμένην τῆς πράξεως καὶ παρα-
κελευσμένην ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐξήτει. ἀκούσας δὲ
tὸ ὄνομα τῆς Κλοιλίας προσέβλεψεν αὐτὴν ἴλεων
καὶ φαίδρῳ τῷ προσώπῳ, καὶ κελεύσας ἵππον
ἀχθῆναι τῶν βασιλικῶν κεκοσμημένον ἐπτρεπῶς
ἐδωρήσατο. τούτῳ ποιοῦντας μαρτύριον οἱ μόνη
τῆς Κλοιλίαν λέγοντες ἵππῳ διεξελάσατο τὸν
5 ποταμὸν. οἱ δὲ οὐ φασιν, ἄλλα τιμήσαν τὸ
ἀνδρῶδες αὐτῆς τὸν Τυρρηνόν. ἀνάκειται δὲ τὴν
ἰερᾶν ὄδον πορευομένου εἰς Παλάτιον ἀνδριάς
αὐτῆς ἐφίππος, ὅν τινας οὐ τῆς Κλοιλίας, ἄλλα
τῆς Οὐαλλερίας εἶναι λέγουσιν.

Ὁ δὲ Πορσίνας διαλλαγεῖς τοῖς Ἄρωμαίους
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the Romans. He seized them, therefore, and sent them back again to Porsena. But Tarquin and his men got timely intelligence of this, set an ambush for the convoy of the maidens, and attacked them in superior numbers as they passed along. The party attacked defended themselves, nevertheless, and Valeria, the daughter of Publicola, darted through the combatants and fled, and with the help of three attendants who broke through the crowd with her, made good her escape. The rest of the maidens were mingled with the combatants and in peril of their lives. But Aruns, the son of Porsena, learning of the affair, came with all speed to their assistance, put their enemies to flight, and rescued the Romans.

When Porsena saw the maidens thus brought back, he asked for the one who had begun the enterprise and encouraged the rest in it. And when he heard Cloelia named as the one, he looked upon her with a gracious and beaming countenance, and ordering one of the royal horses to be brought, all fittingly caparisoned, he made her a present of it. Those who say that Cloelia, and Cloelia alone, crossed the river on horseback, produce this fact in evidence. Others dispute the inference, and say that the Tuscan merely honoured in this way the maiden's courage. But an equestrian statue of her stands by the Via Sacra, as you go to the Palatine, though some say it represents not Cloelia, but Valeria.¹

Porsena, thus reconciled with the Romans, gave

¹ According to Livy, who gives a very different version of the Cloelia episode (ii. 13, 6–11), the maidens were incited by the example of Mucius to their display of courage, in memory of which the Romans erected at the top of the Via Sacra an equestrian statue, "virgo insidens equo."
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ἀλλην τε ἑαυτοῦ πολλήν μεγαλοφοροσύνην ἐπε- 
δείξατο τῇ πόλει, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς 6 ἀναλαβεῖν κελεύσας, ἀλλῳ δὲ μηδὲν, ἀλλ’ ἐκλεί-
πευν τῶν χάρακα σίτου τε πολλοῦ καὶ χρημάτων 
γέμοντα παντοδαπῶν, παρέδωκε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. 
διὸ καὶ καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἔτι πωλοῦντες τὰ δημόσια 
πρώτα κηρύττουσι τὰ Πορσίνα χρήματα, τιμὴν 
τῷ ἀνδρὶ τῆς χάριτος ἀδίδον ἐν τῇ μυήῳ 
δια-
φυλάττοντες. εἰστήκει δὲ καὶ χαλκῶς ἀνδρίας 
αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἀπλοῦς καὶ ἀρ-
χαίκος τῇ ἐργασίᾳ.

XX. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Σαβίνων ἐμβαλόντων 
εἰς τὴν χώραν ὑπατός μὲν ἀπεδείχθη Μάρκος 
Οὐαλλέριος, ἀδελφὸς Ποπλικόλα, καὶ Ποστού-
μος Τούβερτος. Πραττομένων δὲ τῶν μεγίστων 
γνώμης καὶ παρουσία Ποπλικόλα δυσὶ μάχαις 
μεγάλαις ὁ Μάρκος ἐνίκησεν, διὸ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ 
μηδένα Ῥωμαίον ἀποβάλων τρισχιλίους ἐπὶ 
2 μυρίων τῶν πολεμίων ἀνέβλε. καὶ γέρας ἔσχεν 
ἐπὶ τοῖς θριάμβοις οἰκίαν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι δημοσίου 
ἀναλώμασιν ἐν Παλατίῳ. τῶν δ’ ἄλλων τότε 
θυρῶν εἰσὶν τῆς οἰκίας εἰς τὸ κλεισίον ἀνοιγ-
μένων, ἐκείνης μόνης τῆς οἰκίας ἐποίησαν ἐκτὸς 
ἀπάγεσθαι τὴν αὐλεῖον, ὡς δὴ κατὰ τὸ συνχώ-
ρημα τῆς τιμῆς ἀεὶ τοῦ δημοσίου προσεπι-
λαμβάνοι.

Τὰς δ’ Ἑλληνικὰς πρὸτερον οὕτως ἔχειν ὑπάσας 
λέγουσιν, ἀπὸ τῶν κομμιδῶν λαμβάνοντες, ὅτι 
κόπτοντι καὶ ψιθυρίζοι τὰς αὐτῶν θύρας ἐνδοθέν 
οἱ προϊέναι μέλλοντες, ὡς οὐκ ἔστησις ἔξω γένοιτο 
τοῖς παρερχομένοις ἡ προεστώς καὶ μὴ κατα-
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the city many proofs of his magnanimity. In particular, he ordered his Tuscan soldiers, when they evacuated their camp, to take with them their arms only, and nothing else, leaving it full of abundant provisions and all sorts of valuables, which he turned over to the Romans. Therefore it is that down to this very day, when there is a sale of public property, Porsena's goods are cried first, and thus the man's kindness is honoured with perpetual remembrance. Moreover, a bronze statue of him used to stand near the senate-house, of simple and archaic workmanship.¹

XX. After this, when the Sabines invaded the Roman territory, Marcus Valerius, a brother of Publicola, was made consul, and with him Postumius Tubertus. Inasmuch as the most important steps were taken with the advice and assistance of Publicola, Marcus was victorious in two great battles, and in the second of them, without losing a single Roman, slew thirteen thousand of the enemy.² Besides his triumphs, he also obtained the honour of a house built for him at the public charge on the Palatine. And whereas the doors of other houses at that time opened inwards into the vestibule, they made the outer door of his house, and of his alone, to open outwards, in order that by this concession he might be constantly partaking of public honour.

They say that all Greek doors used to open outwards in this way, and the conclusion is drawn from their comedies, where those who are about to go out of a house beat noisily on the inside of their own doors, in order that persons passing by or standing in front of them may hear, and not be

¹ Cf. Livy, ii. 14, 1–4. ² Cf. Livy, ii. 16, 1.
Λαμβάνοντο προϊόνσας ταῖς κλεισιάσιν εἰς τὸν στενωπὸν.

ΧΧΙ. Τῷ δ’ ἐξῆς ἦσε πάλιν ὑπάτευε Ποπλικόλας τὸ τέταρτον· ἦν δὲ προσδοκία πολέμου Σαβίνων καὶ Δατίνων συνισταμένων. καὶ τὸι ἄμα δεισιδαιμονία τῆς πόλεως ἤψατο· πᾶσαι γὰρ αἱ κυνώσαι τότε γυναῖκες ἐξέβαλλον ἀνάπηρα, καὶ τέλος οὐδεμία γένεσις ἐσχεν. Ὁθὲν ἐκ τῶν Σιβυλλείων ὁ Ποπλικόλας ἰλασάμενος τῷ Ἀιδή καὶ τινὰς ἀγώνας πυθοχρήστους ἀναλαβῶν καὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσι πρὸς τὸ θείον ἥδιον καταστήσας τὴν πόλιν, ἤδη τοῖς ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων φοβεροῖς προσέχε. μεγάλη γὰρ ἐφαίνετο κατασκευὴ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ σύστασις.

2 Ὡν οὖν Ἀππιος Κλαῦσος ἐν Σαβίνωι, ἀνὴρ χρήμασι τε δυνατός καὶ σώματος ῥώμη πρὸς ἄλκην ἑπιφανῆς, ἀρετῆς δὲ δόξῃ μάλιστα καὶ λόγου δεινότητι πρωτεύοι. δὲ πᾶσι συμβαίνει τοῖς μεγάλοις οὐ διέφυγε παθεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐφθονεῖτο καὶ τοῖς φθονοῦσιν αἰτίαν παρέσχε καταπάυον τὸν πόλεμον αὔξειν τὰ Ῥωμαίων, ἐπὶ τυραννίδι

3 καὶ δουλώσει τῆς πατρίδος. αἰσθήμενος δὲ τοὺς λόγους τοῦτους βουλομένω τῷ πλήθει λεγομένον, καὶ προσκρούοντα τοῖς πολεμοποιοῖς καὶ στρατιωτικοῖς ἑαυτὸν, ἐφοβεῖτο τὴν κρίσιν. ἔτασελαν δὲ καὶ δύναμιν φίλων καὶ οἰκείων ἔχων ἀμύ-
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taken by surprise when the doors open out into the street.

XXI. In the following year Publicola was consul again, for the fourth time, when there was expectation of a war with the Sabines and Latins combined.¹ At the same time also a sort of superstitious terror seized upon the city because all the women who were pregnant were delivered of imperfect offspring, and all births were premature. Wherefore, by direction of the Sibylline books, Publicola made propitiatory sacrifices to Pluto, and renewed certain games that had been recommended by Apollo, and after he had thus made the city more cheerful in its hopes and expectations from the gods, he turned his attention to what it feared from men. For their enemies were plainly making great preparations and a powerful league against them.

Now there was among the Sabines one Appius Clausus,² a man whose wealth made him powerful, as his personal prowess made him illustrious, but who was most eminent for his lofty character and for his great eloquence. He could not, however, escape the fate of all great men, but was an object of jealous hate, and when he tried to stop the war, those who hated him charged him with trying to increase the power of Rome, with a view to making himself tyrant and master of his own country. Perceiving that the multitude gave a ready ear to these stories, and that he himself was obnoxious to the war party and the military, he feared the issue, but with a large and powerful coterie of friends and

¹ Livy gives a very brief account of this war (ii. 16, 2–6).
² Attius Clausus among the Sabines, Appius Claudius among the Romans, according to Livy, ii, 16, 4.
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νοσάν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐστασίαζε. καὶ τούτ’ ἦν τοῦ πολέμου διατριβῆ καὶ μέλλησις τῶν Σαβίνων.

4 Ταύτ’ οὖν ὁ Ποπλικόλας οὐ μόνον εἰδέναι ποιούμενος έργον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κινεῖν καὶ συνεξ- ὁμᾶν τὴν στάσιν, εἶχεν ἄνδρας ἐπιτηδείους οἱ τῷ Κλαύσφῳ διελέγοντο παρὰ αὐτοῦ τοιαῦτα, ὡς ὁ Ποπλικόλας ἄνδρα σε χρηστὸν ὄντα καὶ δίκαιον οὐδεὶ κακῷ δεῖν οἴεται τοὺς σεαυτοῦ πολίτας ἀμώνεσθαι, καὶπερ ἁδικούμενον εἰ δὲ βούλουσιν σώζων ἔαυτόν μεταστήναι καὶ φυγεῖν τοὺς μι- σοῦντας, ὑποδέθεται σε δημοσίᾳ καὶ ἱδίᾳ τῆς τε σῆς ἀρετῆς ᾧξιώς καὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων λαμπρότητος.

5 ταύτα πολλάκις ἀνασκοποῦντι τῷ Κλαύσφῳ βέλ- τιστα τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐφαίνετο, καὶ τοὺς φίλους συμπαρακαλῶν, ἐκεῖνων τε πολλοὺς ὅμοιος συναναπειθόντων, πεντακισχιλίων ὁικέων ἀνα- στήσας μετὰ παιδών καὶ γυναικῶν, ὅπερ ἦν ἐν Σαβίνωι ἄθορυβον μάλιστα καὶ βίον πράον καὶ καθεστώτος οἰκεῖον, εἰς Ῥώμην ἡγε, προειδότος τοῦ Ποπλικόλα καὶ δεχομένου φιλοφρόνως καὶ

6 προθύμως ἐπὶ πάσι δικαίος. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ὁικεὺς εὐθὺς ἀνέμιξε τῷ πολιτεύματι, καὶ χώραν ἀπένειμεν ἐκάστῳ δυεῖν πλέθρων περὶ τῶν Ἀνί- ωνα ποταμόν, τῷ δὲ Κλαύσῳ πλέθρα πέντε καὶ εἰκοσι γῆς ἔδωκεν, αὐτῶν δὲ τῇ βουλῇ προσε- γαγεν, ἀρχὴν πολιτείας λαμβάνοντα ταύτην, ὁ χρώμενος ἐμφρόνως ἀνέδραμεν εἰς τὸ πρῶτον ἱμα καὶ δύναμιν ἔσχε μεγάλην, καὶ γένος τὸν ἀμαυρότερον ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὸ Κλαυδίων ἀφ’ οὗ κατέληπε.

ΧΙΙ. Τα δὲ Σαβίνων οὕτω διακριθέντα τῷ
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kinsmen to defend him, continued his opposition. This made the Sabines put off and delay the war.

Publicola, accordingly, making it his business not only to know about these matters, but also to foment and promote the faction, kept some of his followers employed in bringing to Clausus from him such messages as this: "Publicola thinks thee too worthy and just a man to inflict any evil upon thy fellow citizens in self-defence, even though thou art wronged by them. But if thou wishest, for thine own safety, to change thine allegiance and flee from those who hate thee, he will receive thee with public and private honours which are worthy of thine own excellence and the splendour of Rome." On repeated consideration of the matter, this course seemed to Clausus the best that was open to him; he therefore summoned his friends, who in like manner persuaded many more, to join him, and taking five thousand families from their homes, wives and children included, the most peaceful folk among the Sabines, of gentle and sedate lives, he led them to Rome. Publicola knew beforehand of their coming, and gave them an eager and a kindly welcome, admitting them to all rights and privileges. For he at once incorporated the families in the Roman state, and gave each one two acres of land on the river Anio. To Clausus, however, he gave twenty-five acres of land, and enrolled him among the senators. This was the beginning of a political power which he used so wisely that he mounted to the highest dignity and acquired great influence. The Claudian family, which is descended from him, is no less illustrious than any in Rome.

XXII. Though the schism among the Sabines was
μετοικισμῷ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὐκ εἶχαν οἱ δημαγωγοῦντες ἀπεμῆσαι καὶ καταστήσαν, σχετικά-ξουντες εἰς Κλαύσος ἃ παρὰν οὐκ ἔπεισε διαπρά-ξεται φυγὰς γενόμενος καὶ πολέμιος, μὴ δοῦναι δίκην Ἦρωμαιοι δὲν ὑβρίζουσιν. ἄραντες οὖν στρατῷ μεγάλῳ περὶ Φειδήνας κατηνιλίσαντο, καὶ τινα λόχων θέμενοι πρὸ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐν χωρίοις συνηρεφέσι καὶ κοίλοις δισχιλίοις ὀπλῖταις, ἐμελ-λον ἂμ ἡμέρᾳ φανερῶς ὅλγοις ἰππεύσι λείαν ἐλαύ-νειν. εἰρητὸ δ’ αὐτοῖς, ὅταν τῇ πόλει προσελά-σωσιν, ὑποφεύγειν ἔως ἐμβάλλωσιν εἰς τὴν ἐνέδραν τοὺς πολέμιους· ταῦθ’ ὁ Ποπλικόλας αὐθημερὸν πυθόμενος παρ’ αὐτομόλων ταχύ διηρμόσατο πρὸς πάντα καὶ διένειμε τὴν δύναμιν. Ποστούμιος μὲν γὰρ Βάλβος ὁ γαμβρός αὐτοῦ τρισχιλίως ὀπλῖταις ἑσπέρας ἐτὶ προσελθὼν καὶ κατα-λαβὼν τοὺς ἄκρολόφους, ὑπ’ οίς ἐνήδρευον οἱ 3 Σαβίνοι, παρεφύλλατεν· ὃ δὲ συνάρχων Δου-κρήτιοι ἔχων τὸ κοινότατον ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ γενναιότατον ἔταχθη τοῖς ἐλαύνοντι τὴν λείαν ἰππεύσιν ἐπιχειρεῖν, αὐτοῦ δὲ τὴν ἄλλην ἀνα-λαβὼν στρατίαν κύκλῳ περίκλεθε τοὺς πολέμιους. καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὁμόχλης βαθείας ἐπιπεσοῦσης, περὶ ὀρθον ἄμα Ποστούμιος τοὺς ἐνεδρεύοντας ἐμβοήσας ἐβαλεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων, καὶ τοῖς προϊππασαμένοις ἐφήκε τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Δου-κρήτιος, καὶ Ποπλικόλας προσέβαλε τοῖς στρατοῖ-4 πέδοις τῶν πολεμίων. πάντη μὲν οὖν ἐκακόυτο τὰ Σαβίνων καὶ διεφθείρετο· τοὺς δὲ ἐνταῦθα μηδ’ ἀμμομένους, ἀλλὰ φεύγοντας, ευθὺς ἐκτεινον οἱ Ἦρωμαιοι, τῆς ἑλπίδος αὐτοῖς ὀλεθριωτάτης γενο-560
thus removed by the emigration of these men, their popular leaders would not suffer them to settle down into quiet, but complained bitterly that Clausus, by becoming an exile and an enemy, should bring to pass what he could not effect by his persuasions at home, namely, that Rome pay no penalty for her outrages. Setting out, therefore, with a large army, they encamped near Fidenae, and placed two thousand men-at-arms in ambush just outside of Rome in wooded hollows. Their intention was that a few of their horsemen, as soon as it was day, should boldly ravage the country. But these had been ordered, whenever they approached the city and were attacked, to retire gradually until they had drawn the enemy into the ambuscade. That very day Publicola learned of this plan from deserters, and took measures accordingly, dividing up his forces. Postumius Balbus, his son-in-law, while it was yet evening, went out with three thousand men-at-arms, occupied the hills under which the Sabines were lying in ambush, and kept the enemy under observation; Lucretius, his colleague, retaining in the city the lightest armed and most impetuous troops, was ordered to attack the enemy's horsemen as they ravaged the country; he himself took the rest of the army and encircled the enemy in their camp. Favoured by a heavy fog, at break of day Postumius, with loud shouts, fell upon the ambuscade from the heights, while Lucretius hurled his troops upon the horsemen when they rode towards the city, and Publicola attacked the camp of the enemy. At all points, then, the Sabines were worsted and undone. Wherever they were, they made no defence, but fled, and the Romans straightway slew them.
μένης. σώζεσθαι γὰρ οἰόμενοι τοὺς ἐτέρους οἱ ἔτεροι τῷ μάχεσθαι καὶ μένειν οὐ προσεῖχον, ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἔρματων πρὸς τοὺς ἐνεδρεύ-5 ουτας, οἱ δὲ πάλιν ὡς ἐκεῖνοι εἰς τὸ στρατό-πεδον θέωντες ἐναντίοι θεούχουσιν ἐνέπιπτον πρὸς ὅδε ἐφευγον καὶ βοηθείᾁς δεομένοις οὐς ἠλπίζον αὐτοῖς βοηθήσειν. τὸ δὲ μὴ πάντας ἀπολέσθαι τοὺς Σαβίνους, ἀλλὰ καὶ περιγενέσθαι τινὰς ἡ Φιδηντῶν πόλις ἐγγὺς οὐσα παρέσχε, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐκ τῶν στρατοπέδων, ὅθ᾽ ἦλισκετο, διεκπίπτουσιν. ὅσοι δεὶ Φιδηνῶν διήμαρτον διε-θάρησαν ἡ ζῶντες ἀπήχθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν λαβόντων. 

XXIII. Τοῦτο τὸ κατόρθωμα Ῥωμαίοι, καὶ περ ἐισχοτές ἀπασὶ τοῖς μεγάλοις ἐπιφημίζειν τὸ δαι-μόνιον, ἐνός ἔρχον ἡγούμενο τοῦ στρατηγοῦ γεγο-νέαι. καὶ τῶν μεμαχημένων πρῶτον ἢν ἀκοίνει ὅτι χωλοῦς καὶ τυφλοὺς αὐτοῖς καὶ μόνον οὐ καθείρξας τοὺς πολεμίους Ποτίκολας παρέδωκε χρῆσθαι τοῖς ξίφεσιν. ἑρρόσθη δὲ καὶ χρῆσαιν ὁ δήμος ἐκ τῶν λαβύρων καὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων.

2 'Ο δὲ Ποτίκολας τὸν τε θρίαμβον ἄγαγὼν καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτὸν ἀποδείχθειν ὑπάτους παρα- δοὺς τὴν πόλιν εὐθὺς ἐτελεύτησεν, ωσ ἐφικτῶν ἐστιν ἀνθρώπως μάλιστα τοῖς νεομισμένοις κα- λοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς, τὸν ἑαυτὸν βίον ἐκτελείωσας. ο δὲ δήμος ὡσπερ οὐδὲν εἰς ζῶντα τῶν ἄξιων πεποιηκὼς, ἀλλὰ πάσαν ὀφείλουν χάριν, ἐγηφί- σατο δημοσίᾳ ταφῆναι τὸ σῶμα, καὶ τεταρτη-3 μόριον ἐκαστοῦ ἐπὶ τιμὴ συνεισενεγκείν. αἱ δὲ 562
very hopes they placed in one another proved most fatal to them. For each party, supposing that the other was safe, had no thought of holding their ground and fighting, but those in the camp ran towards those in the ambuscade, while these, on their part, ran to those in the camp, so that fugitives encountered fugitives, and found those needing succour from whom they expected succour themselves. And all the Sabines would have perished, had not the neighbouring city of Fidenae afforded a refuge to some, especially to those who fled from the camp when it was captured. All who did not gain this city were either slain or brought back to Rome as prisoners.

XXIII. This success the Romans, although they were wont to attribute all such great events to the influence of the gods, considered to be the work of their general alone. And the first thing his soldiers were heard to say was that Publicola had delivered their enemies into their hands lame, blind, and all but imprisoned, to be dispatched by their swords. Great wealth also accrued to the people from the spoils and prisoners.

But Publicola, immediately after celebrating his triumph and handing the city over to the consuls appointed to succeed him, died. So far as it can possibly be achieved by men who are regarded as honourable and good, he had brought his life to perfection. The people, as if they had done nothing to show their esteem for him while he was alive, but owed him every homage, decreed that his body should be buried at the public charge, and that every man should contribute a quadrans towards the honour. The women also, by private agreement
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γυναῖκες, ἵδια πρὸς αὐτὰς συμφρονήσασαι, διεπένθησαν ἐνιαυτὸν δλον ἐπὶ τῷ ἄνδρι πένθος ἐντιμοῦ καὶ ζηλωτάν. ἔταφη δὲ καὶ οὕτως τῶν πολιτῶν ψηφισαμένων ἐντός ἁςτεος παρὰ τὴν καλουμένην Οὐελλαν, ὡςτε καὶ γέει παντὶ τῆς ταφῆς μετείναι. νῦν δὲ θάππεται μὲν οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀπὸ γένους, κομίσαντες δὲ τὸν νεκρὸν ἐκεῖ κατατεθενται καὶ δᾶδα τις ἡμιμένην λαβῶν ὅσον ύπήνεγκεν, εἰτα ἀναιρεῖται, μαρτυρόμενος ἔργῳ τὸ ἑξείναι, φείδεσθαι δὲ τῆς τιμῆς, καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν οὕτως ἀποκομίζουσιν.

ΣΩΛΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΠΛΙΚΟΛΑ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

I. Ἄρ’ οὖν ἰδιῶν τι περὶ ταύτην τὴν σύγκρισιν ὑπάρχει καὶ μὴ πάνυ συμβεβηκός ἐτέρα τῶν ἀναγεγραμμένων, τὸν ἐτέρον γεγονέναι μιμητὴν τοῦ ἐτέρου, τὸν ἐτέρον δὲ μάρτυν; ὥρα γὰρ ἢν ο Σόλων εξήνεγκε περὶ εὐδαιμονίας ἀπόφασιν πρὸς Κροίσων, ὡς Ποπλικόλα μᾶλλον ἢ Τέλλωρ

2 προσήκει. Τέλλωρ μὲν γὰρ, δι’ εἰπε γεγονέναι μακαριώτατον δ’ εὐποτμίαν καὶ ἀρετὴν καὶ εὐτεκνίαν, οὔτ’ αὐτός ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι ως ἀνήρ ἀγαθὸν λόγον ἔσχεν οὔτε παίδες οὔτ’ ἀρχή τις εἰς δόξαν ἤλθεν. Ποπλικόλας δὲ καὶ ξών ἐπρότευσε δυνάμει καὶ δόξῃ δ’ ἀρετὴν Ἐρμαίων, καὶ

1 "In the following year, Agrippa Menenius and P. Postumius being consuls, P. Valerius, by universal consent the foremost Roman in the arts of war and peace, died, in the height of his glory, but so poor that means to defray his
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amongst themselves, mourned a whole year for him, with a mourning which was honourable and enviable. He was buried, too, by express vote of the citizens, within the city, near the so-called Velia, and all his family were to have privilege of burial there. Now, however, none of the family is actually buried there, but the body is carried thither and set down, and some one takes a burning torch and holds it under the bier for an instant, and then takes it away, attesting by this act that the deceased has the right of burial there, but relinquishes the honour. After this the body is borne away.

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COMPARISON OF SOLOM AND PUBLICOLA

1. There is, then, something peculiar in this comparison, and something that has not been true of any other thus far, namely, that the second imitated the first, and the first bore witness for the second. For it must be plain that the verdict concerning happiness which Solom pronounced to Croesus, is more applicable to Publicola than to Tellus. Tellus, whom Solom pronounced the most blessed man he knew, because of his fortunate lot, his virtue, and his goodly offspring, was not celebrated in Solom’s poems as a good man, nor did his children or any magistracy of his achieve a reputation; whereas Publicola, while he lived, was foremost among the Romans in infuneral expenses were lacking. He was therefore buried at the public charge, and the matrons mourned for him as they had done for Brutus” (Livy, ii. 16, 7).

2 See chapter x. 2.
τεθυκότος ἐν τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις γένεσι καὶ στέμμασιν ἔτι καθ’ ἡμᾶς Ποπλικόλαι καὶ Μεσσάλαι καὶ Οὐαλλέριοι δι’ ἐτῶν ἐξακοσίων τῆς 3 εὐγενείας τὴν δόξαν ἀναφέρουσι. καὶ Τέλλος μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ὡς ἀνὴρ ἄγαθὸς ἐν τάξει μένων καὶ μαχόμενος κατέστρεψε. Ποπλικόλας δὲ τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους κτείνας, ὃ τοῦ πεσεὶν ἐντυχέστερον ἔστι, τὴν δὲ πατρίδα νικῶσαν ἐπὶδών δὲ αὐτὸν ἀρχοντα καὶ στρατηγοῦντα, τιμηθεὶς δὲ καὶ θριαμβεύσας ἐτυχε τῆς ζηλομένης ὑπὸ Σόλωνος καὶ μακαριζομένης τελευτῆς. 4 ἔτι τούτων ὅσ πρὸς Μύμνερμον ἀντεπτῶν περὶ χρόνου νυὸς ἐπιτεφώνηκε,

Μηδὲ μοι ἀκλαυστὸς θάνατος μόλοι, ἀλλὰ φίλοις
ποιήσαμι θανῶν ἁλγεὰ καὶ στοναχάς,
eυδαίμονα τὸν Ποπλικόλαν ἀνδρὰ ποιεῖ. τελευτήσας γὰρ οὐ φίλοις οὐδ’ οἰκείοις μόνον, ἀλλὰ τῇ πόλει πάσῃ, μυριάσι πολλαῖς, δάκρυα καὶ πόθον καὶ κατήφειαν ἐφ’ αὐτῷ παρέσχεν αἳ γὰρ Ἰωμαῖοι γυναῖκες ἐπένθησαν αὐτὸν ὡσpest ὦν ἢ 5 ἀδελφὸν ἡ πατέρα κοινὸν ἀποβαλοῦσα. “Χρήματα δ’ ἰμείρω μὲν ἔχειν,” φησίν ὁ Σόλων, “ἀδίκως δὲ πεπᾶσθαι οὐκ ἐθέλω,” ὡς δίκης ἐπιούσῃς. Ποπλικόλα δ’ ὑπήρχεν οὐ μόνον μὴ κακῶς πλουτεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ καλῶς ἀναλίσκειν εὐ ποιοῦντι τοὺς δεομένους. ὡστ’ εἰ σοφώτατος ἀπάντων ὁ Σόλων, εὐδαίμονέστατος ὁ Ποπλικόλας. ἀ γὰρ εὔξατο τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐκείνος ὃς μέγιστα καὶ
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fluence and repute for virtue, and since his death the most illustrious family lines of our own day, like the Publicolae, the Messalae, and the Valerii, have for six hundred years ascribed the glory of their noble birth to him. Tellus, moreover, though he kept his post and fought like a brave man, died at the hands of his enemies; whereas Publicola slew his enemies, which is a better fortune than to be slain by them, saw his country victorious through his efforts as consul and general, and enjoyed honours and triumphs before he came to the end which Solon pronounced so enviable and blest. Still further, what Solon says to Mimnermus,\(^1\) in arguing with him on the proper duration of human life,

"May not an unlamented death be mine, but unto friends
Let me be cause, when dead, for sorrow and for sighing,"

argues Publicola a happy man. For when he died, his loss filled not only friends and kindred, but the entire city, numbering many tens of thousands, with weeping and yearning and sorrow. For the women of Rome mourned for him as though they had lost a son, or a brother, or a common father. "Wealth I desire to have," says Solon, "but wrongfully to get it, I do not wish,"\(^2\) believing that punishment would follow. And Publicola's wealth was not only not ill got, but also nobly spent in benefactions to the needy. So that if Solon was the wisest, Publicola was the most happy of men, since what Solon prayed for as the greatest and

\(^1\) Fragment 21 (Bergk).  
\(^2\) See Solon, ii. 3.
κάλλιστα, ταύτα καὶ κτῆσασθαι Ποπλικόλα καὶ
φυλάξαι χρωμένω μέχρι τέλους ὑπῆρξεν.

II. Οὔτω μὲν ὁ Σόλων κεκόσμηκε τὸν Ποπλικόλα, τὸν Σόλωνα δ' αὐτὸ πάλιν ἐκείνους ἐν τῇ
πολυτείᾳ παραδειγμάτων κάλλιστον ἀνδρὶ κο-
σμοῦντι δημοκρατίαν θέμενος. τῆς μὲν γὰρ ἀρχῆς
tὸν ὄγκον ὀφελῶν εὐμενῆ πᾶσι καὶ ἀληθῶν κατ-
έστησε, νόμως δὲ πολλοῖς ἐχρήσατο τῶν ἐκείνου.
καὶ γὰρ ἀρχόντων καταστάσεως κυρίους ἐποίησε
tους πολλοὺς, καὶ τοὺς φεύγουσι δίκην ἐπικαλεί-
σθαι τὸν δήμου, ὡσπερ ὁ Σόλων τοὺς δικαστάς,
ἐδωκε. καὶ βουλήν μὲν ἐτέραν οὐκ ἐποίησεν,
ὡσπερ ὁ Σόλων, τὴν δ' οὔσαν ἡξύσαν ἀριθμὸ
2 μικροῦ διπλασίας. ἢ τε τῶν ταμών ἐπὶ τοὺς
χρήσασι κατάστασις ἐκείθεν ἤλθεν, ὅπως ὁ
ἀρχῶν μήτ' εἰ χρηστός ἐστιν ἀσχολῶν ἔχῃ πρὸς
tὰ μείζω, μήτ' εἰ φαύλος ἀφορμὰς τοῦ ἀδικεῖν
μᾶλλον, καὶ τῶν πράξεων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων
κύριος γενόμενος. τὸ δὲ μισοτύραννον ἐν τῷ
Ποπλικόλα σφοδρότερον. εἰ γὰρ τις ἐπιχειροῖν
tυραννεῖν, ὁ μὲν ἀλῶντι τὴν δίκην ἐπιτίθησιν, ὁ
3 δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῆς κρίσεως ἄνελειν δίδωσι. σεμνο-
νομένου δὲ τοῦ Σόλωνος ὅρθως καὶ δικαίως ὅτι καὶ
tῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῷ διδόντων τυραννεῖν καὶ τῶν
πολιτῶν οὐκ ἀκουσάτως δεχομένων ἀπεῖπεν, οὐχ
.FindAsync; καὶ τὸν ὑπάρχοντα τυραννικὸν ἀρχὴν
ποιῆσαι δημοτικοτέραν καὶ μηδ' οἷς ἐξῆν ἔχουντα χρήσασθαι. καὶ τούτο δ' 568
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fairest of blessings, these Publicola was privileged to win and continue to enjoy until the end.

II. Thus did Solon enhance the fame of Publicola. And Publicola, too, in his political activities, enhanced the fame of Solon, by making him the fairest of examples for one who was arranging a democracy. For he took away the arrogant powers of the consulship and made it gracious and acceptable to all, and he adopted many of Solon's laws. For instance, he put the appointment of their rulers in the power of the people, and gave defendants the right of appealing to the people, as Solon to the jurors. He did not, indeed, create a new senate, as Solon did, but he increased the one already existing to almost double its numbers. And his appointment of quaestors over the public moneys had a like origin. Its purpose was that the consul, if a worthy officer, might not be without leisure for his more important duties, and, if unworthy, might not have greater opportunities for injustice by having both the administration and the treasury in his hands. Hatred of tyranny was more intense in Publicola than in Solon. For in case any one attempted to usurp the power, by Solon's law he could be punished only after conviction, whereas Publicola made it lawful to kill him before any trial. Moreover, though Solon rightly and justly plumes himself on rejecting absolute power even when circumstances offered it to him and his fellow-citizens were willing that he should take it, it redounds no less to the honour of Publicola that, when he had received a tyrannical power, he made it more democratic, and did not use even the prerogatives which were his by right of possession. And of the wisdom of such a course
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ἔσοικε συνιδεῖν πρότερος ὁ Σόλων, ὅτι δήμος

νῦν ἄριστα σὺν ἧγεμόνεσσιν ἔποιοτο,
μὴτε λίην ἀνέθεες μὴτε πιεζόμενος.

III. Ἡδιον δὲ τοῦ Σόλωνος ἡ τῶν χρεῶν ἀνέσις, ἡ
μάλιστα τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἐβεβαιώσε τοῖς πολίταισιν.
οὔδὲν γὰρ ὅφελος νόμων ἰσότητα παρεχόμεθαν,
ἡν ἀφαιρεῖται τὰ χρεά τοὺς πένητας. ἀλλ' ὅπου
μάλιστα χρὴσθαι τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ δοκοῦσι, δου-
λεύσοι μάλιστα τοῖς πλουσίοις, ἐν τῷ δικάζειν
καὶ ἄρχειν καὶ λέγειν ἐπιταττόμενοι καὶ ὑπηρε-
τοῦσε. τούτῳ δὲ μείζον, ὅτι πάση χρεῶν ἀπο-
κοπὴ στάσεως ἐπομένης, ἐκείνῃ μόνῃ, καθάπερ
φαρμάκῳ παραβόλῳ μέν, ἵσχυρῷ δὲ χρησάμενος
εὐκαίρως, καὶ τὴν ὁύσαν στάσιν ἔλυσε, τῇ περὶ
αὐτῶν ἀρετῇ καὶ δόξῃ τῆς τοῦ πράγματος ἀδοξίας
καὶ διαβολῆς περιγενέμενος.

Τῆς δ' ὅλης πολιτείας τῇ μὲν ἄρχῃ λαμπρό-
τερος ὁ Σόλων. ἡγήσατο γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἤκολούθησε,
καὶ καθ' αὐτὸν, οὐ μεθ' ἐτέρων, ἐπραξε τὰ πλεῖστα
καὶ μέγιστα τῶν κοινῶν τῷ τέλει δὲ ἄτερος
ἐυτυχῆς καὶ ξηλωτός. τὴν μὲν γὰρ Σόλωνος
πολιτείαν αὐτὸς ἐπείδη Σόλων καταλυθεῖσαν, ἡ
δὲ Ποπλικόλα μέχρι τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων
dieψύλαξεν ἐν κόσμῳ τὴν πόλιν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀμα
τῷ θέσθαι τοὺς νόμους ἀπολιπτῶν ἐν ξύλοις καὶ

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Solon seems to have been conscious even before Publicola, when he says ¹ that a people

"then will yield the best obedience to its guides
When it is neither humoured nor oppressed too much."

III. Peculiar to Solon was his remission of debts, and by this means especially he confirmed the liberties of the citizens. For equality under the laws is of no avail if the poor are robbed of it by their debts. Nay, in the very places where they are supposed to exercise their liberties most, there they are most in subjection to the rich, since in the courts of justice, the offices of state, and in public debates, they are under their orders and do them service. And what is of greater moment here, though sedition always follows an abolition of debts, in this case alone, by employing opportunely, as it were, a dangerous but powerful medicine, Solon actually put an end to the sedition that was already rife, for his own virtue and high repute prevailed over the ill-repute and odium of the measure.

As regards their political careers in general, Solon's was more brilliant in the beginning. For he led the way and followed no man, and it was alone and without colleagues that he effected the most and greatest of his public measures. But in the ending, the other was more fortunate and enviable. For Solon lived to see with his own eyes the dissolution of his polity, while that of Publicola preserved order in the city down to the civil wars. Solon, as soon as he had made his laws, left them

¹ Fragment 6 (Bergk); cf. Aristotle, Const. of Athens, xii. 2.
γράμμασιν ἐρήμους τοῦ βοσθοῦντος ὕχετ' ἀπὶ δὲ μὲνον καὶ ἄρχων καὶ πολιτευόμενος ἱδρυσε καὶ κατέστησε εἰς ἀσφαλεῖς τὴν πολιτείαν. ἔτι δ' ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὐδὲ μέλλουντα κωλύσαι προαισθομένῳ Πεισίστρατον ὑπήρξεν, ἀλλὰ θητῆθη συνισταμένης τῆς τυραννίδος. οὗτος δὲ βασιλείαν ἵσχυσαν ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων ἦδη καὶ κρατοῦσαν ἐξέβαλε καὶ κατέλυσεν, ἄρετὴν μὲν ἵσην καὶ προαίρεσιν ὁμοίαν παρασχόμενος, τύχη δὲ καὶ δυνάμει τελεσιουργῷ πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν χρησάμενος.

IV. Τῶν μέντοι πολεμικῶν Σόλων μὲν οὐδὲ τὰ πρὸς Μεγαρεῖς Δαίμαχος ὁ Πλαταείως μεμαρτύρηκεν, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς διεληλύθαμεν. Ποπλικόλας δὲ τοὺς μεγίστους ἀγῶνας αὐτὸς καὶ μαχόμενος καὶ στρατηγῶν κατώρθωσε. καὶ μὴν ἔτι πρὸς τὰς πολιτικὰς πρᾶξεις οὐ μὲν ἐν παιδιάς τινι τρόπῳ καὶ προσποίημα μανίας ἀναλαβὼν, ὑπὲρ 2 Σαλαμῖνος ἐρῶν προήλθεν. ὁ δ' αὐτόθεν ἀναρρίψας τὸν περὶ τῶν μεγίστων κίνδυνων ἐπανέστη τε Ταρκυνίους καὶ τὴν προδοσίαν ἐφώρασε καὶ τοῦ κολασθῆναι καὶ μὴ διαφυγεῖν τοὺς ποιηροὺς αἰτιώτατος γενόμενος οὐ τὰ σώματα μόνον τῶν τυραννῶν ἐξέβαλε τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐξέκοψεν. οὕτω δὲ τοῖς δεχομένοις πράγμασιν ἀγῶνα καὶ θυμὸν καὶ ἀντίταξιν ἐρρωμένως καὶ ἀπενῶς ἀπαντήσας, ἔτι βέλτιον ἔχρησατο τοῖς ὁμιλίας ἀπολέμου καὶ πειθοὺς

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COMPARISON OF SOLON AND PUBLICOLA

inscribed on wooden tables and destitute of a defender, and departed from Athens; whereas Publicola, by remaining in the city, serving as consul, and busying himself with public affairs, firmly and safely established his form of government. And further, though Solon knew beforehand of the designs of Peisistratus, he was not able to hinder them, but yielded to his tyranny in its incipiency; whereas Publicola subverted and drove out a kingly power which was strong with the might which many ages bring. Thus, while exhibiting virtues equal to Solon’s, and a purpose identical with his, he enjoyed a good fortune and an efficacious power which supplemented his virtues.

IV. When we consider their military careers, moreover, Daimachus of Plataea does not allow Solon even the conduct of the war against the Megarians, as we have described it; but Publicola, fighting and commanding in person, brought the greatest struggles to a successful issue. And still further, comparing their political activities, Solon, in play, so to speak, and counterfeiting madness, went forth to plead for the recovery of Salamis; but Publicola, without any subterfuges, ran the greatest risks, set himself in opposition to the party of the Tarquins, and detected their treachery. Then, after being mainly instrumental in the capture and punishment of the traitors, he not only drove the tyrants themselves from the city, but extirpated their very hopes of return. And if he thus sturdily and resolutely confronted situations which called for active and spirited opposition, still better did he deal with those which required peaceable intercourse and gentle


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υπεικούσης δεομένοις, Πορσίναν ἀμαχων ἀνδρα καὶ φοβερον ἐμμελῶς προσαγαγόμενος καὶ μετα-
στήσας εἰς φιλίαν.

3 Καίτοι φήσει τις ἐνταῦθα τὸν μὲν Σόλωνα προεμένοις ἀναλαβέω Ἀθηναίοις Σαλαμίνα, τὸν
de Πολυκόλων ὡς ἐκέκτηντο Ρωμαιοὶ χώρας ἀποστήναι. δεὶ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ὑποκειμένους
cαιροὺς τὰς πράξεις θεωρεῖν. ποικίλος γὰρ ὁν ὁ πολιτικὸς ὁ τρόπῳ τῶν ὄντων ἐκαστον εὐλη-
πτόν ἐστι μεταχειρίσεται,1 καὶ μέρους ἄφεσει
πολλάκις ἔσωσε τὸ πᾶν καὶ μικρῶν ἀποστάς

4 μειζόνων ἔτυχεν, ὡσπερ ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἀνήρ τότε τῆς
μὲν ἀλλοτρίας χώρας ἀποστάς ἔσωσε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ
βεβαιῶς ἀπασάν, ὡς δὲ ἂν μέγα τὴν πόλιν
διαφυλάξαι προσεκτήσατο τὸ τῶν πολιορκοῦντων
στρατόπεδου, ἐπιτρέψας δὲ τῷ πολεμῷ δικαστὴ
gενέσθαι, καὶ περιγενόμενος τῇ δίκῃ, προσέλαβεν
ὅσα ὄντας ἀγαπητῶν ἦν νικήσαι· καὶ γὰρ τῶν
πόλεμον διέλυσε καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν τοῦ πολέ-
μου κατέλυτεν αὐτῷ διὰ πίστιν ἀρετῆς καὶ
καλοκαγαθίας, ἂν ὁ ἄρχων ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων
ἐνεποίησεν αὐτῷ.

1 μεταχειρίσεται with two Paris MSS., Coraeæs, and Bekker: μεταχειρίσασθαι.
COMPARISON OF SOLON AND PUBLICOLA

persuasion, as when he tactfully won over Porsena, an invincible and formidable foe, and made him a friend of Rome.

But here, perhaps, some one will say that Solon won back Salamis for the Athenians when they had given it up, whereas Publicola relinquished territory which the Romans had acquired. But we must view men's actions in the light of the times which call them forth. The subtle statesman will handle each issue that arises in the most feasible manner, and often saves the whole by relinquishing a part, and by yielding small advantages secures greater ones. And so Publicola, in that instance, by yielding the territory which belonged to others, saved all that was assuredly his own, and procured besides, for those who were hard put to it to save their city, the camp of their besiegers with all its stores. He made his adversary judge in the controversy, won his case, and received besides what his people would gladly have given for the victory. For Porsena put a stop to the war, and left the Romans all his provisions for carrying it on, owing to the confidence in their virtue and nobility with which their consul had inspired him.
A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

A

Abantes, 11, a people of Euboea in the Homeric period.

Adrastus, 67, king of Argos, and leader of the "Seven against Thebes."

Acilius, Calus, 159, interpreter in the Roman senate for the Athenian embassy of 155 B.C. (Cato Major, xxii. 4), author of a history of Rome from the earliest to his own time.

Aeacus, 21, a mythical king of Aegina, after death one of the judges in Hades.

Agnus, 27, an Attic township N.E. of Athens.

Alba, 97, a very ancient town of Latium, on the Alban lake, some twelve miles S.E. of Rome.

Aleman, 291, a Lydian of Sardis, who came in his youth to Sparta, and became the founder of Dorian lyric poetry. He flourished in the latter half of the seventh century B.C.

Alemene, 17, wife of Amphitryon of Thebes, and mother of Heracles by Zeus.

Anacharsis, 415, a Scythian, who travelled extensively in pursuit of knowledge (Herod. iv. 76 f).

Anaximenes, the orator, 527, of Lampsacus, a pupil of Diogenes the Cynic, active at Athens as rhetorician and historian in the latter half of the fourth century B.C.

Androgeos, 29, son of Minos the king of Crete.

Andron of Halicarnassus, 57, a genealogical writer of the fourth century B.C.

Androction, 443, active in the political life of Athens from 376 to 346 B.C. In old age and exile he wrote an Attis, or History of Attica, which was much read.

Antias, Valerius, 131, 381, a Roman historian who flourished in the earlier part of the first century B.C. His history extended from the earliest times down to those of Sulla, and was much used by both Livy and Plutarch.

Antigonus, 141, probably the general of Alexander who was afterwards king of Asia, surnamed the One-eyed.

Antigonus, 143, author of a History of Italy, in Greek, probably in the latter part of the third century B.C.

Antimachus, of Teos, 121, an early epic poet. Two poems of the epic cycle, the Thebaïs, and the Epigoni, went under his name.

Antithenes the Socratic, 301, a pupil of Gorgias and friend of Socrates.

Aphidnae, 75, an ancient Attic township, about fifteen miles N.W. of Athens.

Apollodorus, 205, a learned grammarian of Athens in the latter part of the second century B.C. A treatise of his on mythology, the Bibliotheca, has come down to us.

Apollonius, 303, mentioned only here.

Archilochus, 11, 319, of Paros, one of the earliest Ionian lyric poets, flourishing in 650 B.C.

Ardatius, 63, a hill in the S.E. suburbs of Athens.

Ariadne, 37, daughter of Minos and Pasiphaë, of Crete.
DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

A

Aristocrates, 217, 303, known only as the author of an antiquarian and historical work on Sparta, probably of the early Roman imperial period.

Aristomenes, 169, the Messenian hero of the second war between Messenia and Sparta (685–668 B.C.).

Aristoxenus, 303, of Tarentum, a Greek writer on philosophy and music, a pupil of Aristotle, flourishing in 330 B.C. Parts of his works on Harmony and Rhythm have come down to us.

Athenodorus, son of Sandon, 549, of Tarsus, a Stoic philosopher long resident at Rome, and much esteemed by Augustus.

B

Blon, 59, of Proconnesus, a compiler of mythical history, of uncertain date, not earlier than the fourth century B.C.

Boedromion, the third month in the Attic calendar, corresponding nearly to our September.

Brasidas, 283, the greatest Spartan hero of the Peloponnesian war. His death at Amphipolis is described by Thucydides in v. 10.

Brauron, 429, an ancient city on the eastern coast of Attica.

Busiris, 23, a mythical Egyptian king, who sacrificed all foreigners that entered his country.

Butas, 159, probably the freedman of Cato the Younger (Plutarch, Cato Minor, lxx.), known as a writer only from this mention of his work.

C

Cameria, 167, an ancient city of Latium, the site of which is unknown.

Cephus, 23, a river flowing through the plain west of Athens.

Haeronela, 65, a town on the northern confines of Boeotia.

Chalcis, 63, the chief town of Euboea, on the straits of the Euripus.

Chrysa, 63, apparently a district of Athens at the foot of the Pnyx hill; but there are no other allusions to it.

Cirrha, 429, a town on the Corinthian gulf, serving as the seaport of Delphi.

Cleidemus, 39, 63, the oldest annalist of Athens, circa 420–350 B.C.

Ciodus, 307, a Roman chronographer, otherwise unknown.

Corinthus, 465, the last king of Athens, who, according to tradition, sacrificed himself for his country.

Colchis, 67, a district on the eastern shore of the Euxine sea.

Collias, Cape, 423, about three miles to the south-east of the ancient harbour of Phalerum.

Cresphynx, 215, one of the earliest epic poets of Greece, said to have been a native of Chios, and a relative of Homer. The epic poem Oecheus was attributed to him.

Crommyon, Crommyonia, 19, a village and district on the Isthmus of Corinth.

Cycnus, 23, a mythical son of Ares, slain by Heracles in Thessaly.

D

Daedalus, 39, the mythical "cunning artificer" of Athens, who took refuge with king Minos of Crete, for whom he built the Labyrinth. He was the father of Icarus.

Dalmachus of Plataea, 573, a Greek historian active in the latter part of the fourth century B.C., author of a work on India.

Delphames, 69, wife of Perithoös, commonly called Hippodamela.

Deinon, 37, 51, one of the annalists of Athens, contemporary with Philochorus (306–260 B.C.).
DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

Demades, 451, a prominent orator and statesman at Athens in the times of Philip, Alexander, and Antipater; a member of the Macedonian party.

Demetrius the Phalerean, 277, 467, regent at Athens for Cassander 317-307 B.C., a voluminous writer on history, politics, poetry, and philosophy.

Dicaearchus, 45, a celebrated Peripatetic philosopher, a disciple of Aristotle and a friend of Theophrastus.

Didymus, 405, the celebrated Alexandrian grammarian, of the time of Augustus.

Dieutychidas, 207, perhaps Dieuchidas is meant, a Megarian chronicler, of the fourth century B.C.

Diocles of Peparethus, 97, 113, an otherwise almost unknown Greek writer, whom Plutarch regards as a source for Fabius Pictor.

Diodorus the Topographer (or Periegete), 85, was probably an Athenian, and flourished at and after the time of Alexander the Great (330-300 B.C.). He wrote a work on the townships of Attica, and one on its monuments.

Diogenes, 301, probably Diogenes the Babylonian is meant, the head of the Stoic school at Athens, and one of the Athenian embassy to Rome in 155 B.C. He wrote a treatise on Laws.

Dionysius, 459, the Elder, tyrant of Syracuse 405-367 B.C.

Dionysius, 139, of Halicarnassus, went to Rome about 29 B.C., where he remained for twenty-two years, collecting materials for his great work on the antiquities and history of Rome.

Dioscorides (or Dioscurides), 237, a pupil of Isocrates, writing in the latter part of the fourth century B.C.

Draco, 449, one of the "thesmothetals," or six legislative archons at Athens, in 621 B.C.

E

Eleusis, 21, a city some twelve miles west of Athens, the seat of the celebrated mysteries.

Eleutherae, 69, a mountain fastness between Eleusis and Boeotia.

Epicharmus the comic poet, 335, 542, born on the island of Cos, about 540 B.C., but early taken to Megara in Sicily, and from 484 to 450 B.C. one of the ornaments of the court of Hiero of Syracuse.

Epidaurus, 17, between Troezen, on the N.E. coast of Peloponnesus, and the Isthmus of Corinth.

Eratosthenes, 205, of Cyrene, 276-196 B.C., a learned geographer and mathematician, for many years librarian at Alexandria.

Erechtheus, 39, a mythical king of Athens.

Eurytus, 19, a mythical king of the Thessalian city of Oechalia.

Evander, 125, the reputed leader of a colony from Arcadia into Italy, some sixty years before the Trojan war.

G

Gabii, 103, one of the oldest cities of Latium, about twelve miles S.E. of Rome; probably an earlier colony from Alba than Rome.

Gargettus, 27, an Attic township N.E. of Athens.

Gymnosophists, 217, the naked philosophers of India. See Plutarch's Alexander, lxiv.

H

Hecataeus the Sophist, 267, of Abdera, a learned philosopher, critic, and grammarian, contemporary with the first Ptolemy (324-283 B.C.).

Hectombaeon, the first month of the Attic calendar, corresponding nearly to our July.
DICIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

Hellanicus, 33, of Lesbos, the greatest of the Greek chroniclers, 480–395 (?) B.C.

Heracleides Ponticus, 405, 467, so called from his birth in Heraclea of Pontus, a pupil of Plato and Aristotle, and a learned and voluminous writer on almost all possible subjects. Cicero thought him superstitious and uncritical.

Heracleitus, 183, of Ephesus, a philosopher of the Ionian school, who flourished in the latter part of the sixth century B.C.

Heraclides, 41, 77, 429, known only through Plutarch's citations.

Hermippus, 279, 407, of Smyrna, a distinguished philosopher and biographer, active in the second half of the third century B.C.

Herodorus, 59, of Heraclea in Pontus, flourished in the latter half of the sixth century B.C., and was the author of an extended work on the mythology and worship of Heracles.

Hippas the Sophist, 277, 309, a native of Ellis, and a contemporary of Socrates. Two dialogues of Plato bear his name.

Hippocrates, 409, of Chios, a Pythagorean philosopher, flourishing in the middle of the fifth century B.C., and chiefly famous as a mathematician.

Hippodameia, 17, daughter of Oenomaus, and wife of Pelops.

I

Idas, 71, a Messenian hero, inseparable from his brother, the keen-eyed Lyceus, with whom he took part in the Argonautic expedition and the Calydonian boar hunt.

Ides, the fifteenth day of the Roman month (the thirteenth of March, May, July, and October).

Ion of Chios, 41, a popular poet at Athens between 452 and 421 B.C., also author of a prose work entitled "Sojourns," in which he recounted his experiences with famous men of the day.

Ister, 79, of Cyrene, a Greek historian flourishing between 250 and 230 B.C.

J

Juba, 131, 331, 353, Juba II., king of Mauritania. He lived from 50 B.C. to about 20 A.D., was educated at Rome, and became a learned and voluminous writer. Among his works was a History of Rome.

L

Lapithae, 67, a mountain tribe of Thessaly.

Laurentum, 165, the ancient capital of Latium, on the sea-coast, about sixteen miles S.W. of Rome.

Lavinium, 163, an ancient city of Latium, about seventeen miles S.W. of Rome.

Lyceum, 63, in historic times a gymnasium in the eastern suburbs of Athens.

Lyceus, 71, see Idas.

M

Mantinea, 353, one of the most ancient and powerful towns in Arcadia.

Mellieres, 57, a legendary personage, son of Athamas and Ino and, after his death by drowning, a beneficent sea deity.

Mellite, 429, a deme, or ward, of the city of Athens, comprising the hill-region west of the acropolis.

Menocrates, 59, otherwise unknown.

Metellus, Quintus, 117, probably the consul of 60 B.C. His father had been consul in 93 B.C.

Molpadia, 63, an Amazon who was said to have slain Antiope. She was herself slain by Theseus, and her tomb was shown at Athens (Pausanias, I, 2, 1).
Munychion, the tenth month of the Attic calendar, corresponding nearly to our April.
Museum, 63, one of three hills to the S.W. of the acropolis at Athens.

N
Naxos, 41, the largest of the Cyclades islands, half way between Attica and Asia Minor.
Nones, the ninth day of the Roman month (the seventh of March, May, July, and October).

O
Oechalia, 19, see Eurytus.
Omphalé, 15, a mythical queen of Lydia.

P
Paeon the Amathusian, 43, otherwise unknown.
Palladium, 63, a sacred precinct, evidently near Ardeatts, in the S.E. suburbs of Athens. In historical times the "epheba" sat here to try cases of involuntary homicide.
Palléne, 27, an Attic township N.E. of Athens.
Parrhasius, 11, a celebrated painter, a native of Ephesus, but resident at Athens, flourishing in 400 B.C.
Pasipphe, 37, wife of Minos, and mother of Ariadne and the Minotaur.
Pataeaeus, 419, otherwise unknown.
Peirithoüs, 41, king of the Lapithae, a mountain tribe of Thessaly.
Pelasgus, 41, became tyrant of Athens in 560 B.C.
Peleus, 21, mythical king of the Myrmidons of Thessaly, father of Achilles.
Pelops, 17, a mythical king of Elis in Peloponnesus, husband of Hippodamela.
Periander, 413, tyrant of Corinth 625–585 B.C., one of the Seven Wise Men.

Phalerum, 35, the ancient harbour of Athens, before Themistocles fortified Peiraeus.
Phanias the Lesbian, 437, of Eresos, the most distinguished pupil of Aristotle after Theophrastus, a prolific writer on philosophy and history, an historicalRomancer. Pherecydes, 37, of Leros, one of the Greek logographers, who lived at Athens, and died about 400 B.C.
Philochorus, 29, 35, the most celebrated writer on the antiquities of Athens, 306–260 B.C.
Philostephanus, 277, of Cyrene, an Alexandrian historian and geographer, who was flourishing in 250 B.C.
Phyla, 433, a township in the eastern part of Attica.
Pictor, Fabius, 97, 113, the earliest Roman annalist, flourishing in the latter part of the third century B.C.
Plutus, 233, the god of wealth.
Pnyx, 61, that one of the three hills to the S.W. of the acropolis of Athens on which the people's assembly was held.
Polyzelsus the Rhodian, 447, an historian of uncertain date.
Promathion, 97, otherwise unknown.
Pyanepseus, the fourth month of the Attic calendar, corresponding nearly to our October.

Rhodamantus, 33, a brother of Minos king of Crete, and like him a judge in the under world.

Samothrace, 353, a large island in the northern Aegean sea, about forty miles south of the Thracian coast.
Sicyon, 81, an island east of Euboea.
Selinus, 269, a Greek city on the southern coast of Sicily.
Silanio, 11, a famous Athenian
statuary in bronze, flourishing in
320 B.C.
Simonides, 21, 35, of Ceos, the
greatest lyric poet of Greece,
556–467 B.C.
Simylus the poet, 143, otherwise
unknown.
Sosibius, 281, a distinguished
Lacedaemonian grammarian,
flourishing about 250 B.C.
Spendon the Spartan, 291, otherwise
unknown.
Sphaerus, 221, a Stoic philosopher
who lived at Alexandria and
Sparta, and flourished early in
the third century B.C.
Sphettus, 27, a township in the
eastern part of Attica.
Stratonicus, 299, probably the
famous Athenian musician of the
time of Alexander the Great.
Sulla, Sextius, the Carthaginian,
133, otherwise unknown.

T

Tegea, 73, an ancient city in
southern Arcadia.
Telamon, 21, a mythical king of
Salamis, son of Aeacus, father of
Alas.
Termerus, 23, a mythical highway-
man slain by Heracles.
Terpander, 291, of Lesbos, father
of Greek music and lyric poetry,
who taught at Sparta during the
seventh century B.C.
Thales, 409, 411, 417, of Miletus,
the most celebrated Ionian
philosopher, one of the Seven
Wise Men, flourishing in the sixth
century B.C.

Thales (or Thaletas), 213, a Cretan
musician and poet, who was
flourishing about 680 B.C.
Timaeus, 205, 303, of Tauromenium,
a famous historian of Sicily,
352–256 B.C.
Timon the Philiasian, 333, a native
of Phlius in N.E. Peloponnesus,
composed satirical poems on
carrier and current systems of
Trachis, 71, a city of Mactis, com-
manding the approach to Ther-
mopylae.
Trozen, 7, a city on the N.E. coast
of Peloponnesus.
Tyrtæus, 225, a poet who flourished
at Sparta during the second
Messenian war (685–668 B.C.).

V

Valerias, 131, see Antias.
Varro, 121, M. Terentius, "the
most learned of the Romans,"
an intimate friend of Cicero,
whose political principles he
Veii, 169, an ancient and powerful
city of Etruria, about twelve
miles north of Rome.

Z

Zeno, 301, probably the Stoic
philosopher is meant, who taught
at Athens in the third century
B.C., and wrote on law and
government.
Zenodotus of Trozen, 131, referred
to by Dionysius Hal. (II. 49) as
author of a history of Umbria.
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