PLUTARCH'S LIVES

II
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
BERNADOTTE PERRIN

IN TEN VOLUMES
II

THEMISTOCLES AND CAMILLUS
ARISTIDES AND CATO MAJOR
CIMON AND LUCULLUS

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PREFATORY NOTE

As in the first volume of this series, 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. Any preference of one to the other where they differ, and any departure from both, have been indicated. The more important ameliorations of the text which have been secured by collations of Codex Parisinus 1676 (F*) and Codex Seitenstettensis (S), have been introduced. The relative importance of these MSS. is explained in the Introduction to the first volume. 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 Sîntenis, and also, unless otherwise stated in the note, of the Tauchnitz Bekker.

Among editions of special *Lives* included in this volume should be noted that of Fuhr, *Themistokles und Perikles*, Berlin, 1880, in the Haupt-Sauppe
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series of annotated texts; that of Blass, Themistokles und Perikles, Leipzig, 1883, in the Teubner series of annotated texts; and the same editor’s Aristides und Cato, Leipzig, 1898, in the same series. All these editions bring F* and S into rightful prominence as a basis for the text. This has been done also by Holden, in his edition of the Themistocles (Macmillan, 1892).

The translations of the Themistocles, Aristides, and Cimon have already appeared in my “Plutarch’s Themistocles and Aristides” (New York, 1901), and “Plutarch’s Cimon and Pericles” (New York, 1910), and are reproduced here (with only slight changes) by the generous consent of the publishers, the Messrs. Charles Scribner’s Sons. The translations of the Camillus, Cato, and Lucullus appear here for the first time. All the standard translations of the Lives have been carefully compared and utilised, including that of the Lucullus by Professor Long.

B. PERRIN.

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ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ

I. Θεμιστοκλεὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐκ γένους ἀμαυρότερα πρὸς δόξαν ὑπήρχε· πατρὸς γὰρ ἦν Νεοκλέους οὐ τῶν ἀγαν ἐπιφανῶν Ἀθήνης, Φρεαρίου τῶν δήμων ἐκ τῆς Δεοντίδος φυλῆς, νόθος δὲ πρὸς μητρός, ὡς λέγουσιν.

'Αβρότονον Ὄρθισσα γυνὴ γένος· ἀλλὰ τεκέσθαι τὸν μέγαν Ἐλλησίων φημὶ Θεμιστοκλέα.

2 Φανίας γὰρ τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους οὐ Θράτταν, ἀλλὰ Καρίνην, οὐδὲ 'Αβρότονον ὅνομα, ἀλλὰ Ἐυτέρπην ἀναγράφει. Νεάνθις δὲ καὶ πόλιν αὐτὴ τῆς Καρίας Ἀλικαρνασσῶν προστίθησι.

Διὸ καὶ τῶν νόθων εἰς Κυνόσαργες συντελοῦντων (τούτῳ δ’ ἐστὶν ἔξω πυλῶν γυμνάσιον Ἡρακλέους, ἐπεὶ κακείνος οὐκ ἦν γνήσιος ἐν θεοῖς, ἀλλ’ ἐνείχετο νοθεία διὰ τὴν μητέρα θητήν οὖσαν) ἐπειθὲ τινας ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς τῶν εὗ γεγονότων νεανίσκων καταβαίνοντας εἰς τὸ Κυνόσαργες ἀλείφεσθαι μετ’ αὐτοῦ· καὶ τούτου γενομένου
THEMISTOCLES

I. In the case of Themistocles, his family was too obscure to further his reputation. His father was Neocles,—no very conspicuous man at Athens,—a Phrearrian by deme, of the tribe Leontis; and on his mother's side he was an alien, as her epitaph testifies:

"Abrotonon was I, and a woman of Thrace, yet I brought forth
That great light of the Greeks,—know! 'twas Themistocles."  

Phanias, however, writes that the mother of Themistocles was not a Thracian, but a Carian woman, and that her name was not Abrotonon, but Euterpe. And Neanthes actually adds the name of her city in Caria,—Halicarnassus.

It was for the reason given, and because the aliens were wont to frequent Cynosarges,—this is a place outside the gates, a gymnasiaum of Heracles; for he too was not a legitimate god, but had something alien about him, from the fact that his mother was a mortal,—that Themistocles sought to induce certain well-born youths to go out to Cynosarges and exercise with him; and by his success in this bit of cunning

1 It is probable that one or more introductory paragraphs of this biography have been lost. 2 Athenaeus, xiii. p. 576.
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3 "Othn méntoi toû Luvkomídow génous meteîche déllos èstî. Tô gar Fulûsi teléstîrion, oter ën Luvkomídow koînôn, èmpthrêsen ùpò tôwn bár-bárown autós èpesekeúasa kai gráfaíès èkorrîsasen, ùs Sîmôvîdês istórîsên.

II. "Eti de paîdî òn òmolougeîtai forâs meóstîs eînai, kai tî mêv-fûsîe suneîtos, tî de proaiîresei megaloiprâmîmûn kai politikôs. En gar taîs ánëseis, kai scholaisù apò tôwn mahëmatôn gnô-meinou oùî: épâizên ouî èrrathîmêi, katháper oi loîtoî paîdes, allè eürâketo lóghous tinës melê-tîon kai suîntatômenos pròs èaûtôn. Õsan ð oî lógoi katégoriâ tîn òs ñunhgoriâ tôwn paîdôn.

2 òðen eîwîthei lêgeîn prôs autôn ò didâskalos òs "Oûden èsç, paî, òn mikróon, allà méga pântos ñagathôn ò kakkôn." èpêi kai tôwn pайдêûseoun tás mêv ñthopoiouî ð prôs ñdônîn tîn kai ñárên èleuðerînon stoudaçomènas ñkynêrôs kai ìprou-thûmous èzemânthane, tôwn ðe eîs sûnesin ð prâçîn legeomènon déllos òn èperorôn" par' ñlikian, ùs tî fûsîe piîsteûn.

3 "Oðen ùperestov ën taîs èleuðerîous kai ìsteiâs legeomènâs diastrîbaïs ùpò tôwn pepaidêûseîn dòkouîton chlevazómênous ñnagkaçetô fôrtikô-teron ìmûnèsthaî, lêgwn, òti lûran mêv ìrmôsa-

1 òperorôn Sîtenis3 with the best MSS.; Sîtenis1 and Bekker have òçî ðperorôn, showed attentiveness.
THEMISTOCLES

he is thought to have removed the distinction between aliens and legitimates.

However, it is clear that he was connected with the family of the Lycomidae, for he caused the chapel shrine at Phlya, which belonged to the Lycomidae, and had been burned by the Barbarians, to be restored at his own costs and adorned with frescoes, as Simonides has stated.

II. However lowly his birth, it is agreed on all hands that while yet a boy he was impetuous, by nature sagacious, and by election enterprising and prone to public life. In times of relaxation and leisure, when absolved from his lessons, he would not play nor indulge his ease, as the rest of the boys did, but would be found composing and rehearsing to himself mock speeches. These speeches would be in accusation or defence of some boy or other. Wherefore his teacher was wont to say to him: "My boy, thou wilt be nothing insignificant, but something great, of a surety, either for good or evil." Moreover, when he was set to study, those branches which aimed at the formation of character, or ministered to any gratification or grace of a liberal sort, he would learn reluctantly and sluggishly; and to all that was said for the cultivation of sagacity or practical efficiency, he clearly showed an indifference far beyond his years, as though he put his confidence in his natural gifts alone.

Thus it came about that, in after life, at entertainments of a so-called liberal and polite nature, when he was taunted by men of reputed culture, he was forced to defend himself rather rudely, saying that
σθαί καὶ μεταγειρίσασθαι ψαλτήριον οὐκ ἐπί-
σταται, πόλιν δὲ μικρὰν καὶ ἀδοξον παραλαβὼν
ἐνδοξον καὶ μεγάλην ἀπεργάσασθαι. καίτοι
Στησίμβροτος Ἀναξαγόρον τε διακούσαι τὸν
Θεμιστοκλέα φησὶ καὶ περὶ Μέλισσον σπουδάσαι
τῶν φυσικῶν, οὐκ εὖ τῶν ἆρων ἀπτόμενος:
Περικλῆι γάρ, ὃς πολὺ νεωτέρος ἦν Θεμιστο-
κλέους, Μέλισσος μὲν ἀντεστράτηγε πολυρκοῦντι
Σαμίους, Ἀναξαγόρας δὲ συνδιέτριβε.

4 Μᾶλλον οὖν ἄν τις προσέχοι τοῖς Μησισφίλου
τῶν Θεμιστοκλέα τοῦ Φρεαρίου ζηλωτὴν γενε-
σθαι λέγουσι, οὔτε ῥήτορος ὄντος οὔτε τῶν
φυσικῶν κληθέντων φιλοσοφῶν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τὸτε
καλομενήν σοφίαν, οὕσαν δὲ δεινοτῆτα πολι-
τικὴν καὶ δραστήριον σύνεσιν, ἐπιτίθεμα πε-
ποιημένον καὶ διασώξοντος ὦσπερ αἵρεσιν ἐκ
diadochῆς ἀπὸ Σόλωνος· ἦν οἷς μετὰ ταύτα
dikainikai μίξαντες τέχναι καὶ μεταγαγόντος
ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων τὴν ἀσκησιν ἐπὶ τοὺς λόγους,
σοφισταὶ προσήγουσαν. τούτω μὲν οὖν ἢ ἂν
πολιτεύμονας ἐπλησίαζεν.

5 Ἐν δὲ ταῖς πρώταις τῆς νεότητος ὅρμαι ἀνώ-
μαλος ἦν καὶ ἀστάθμητος, ἀτε τῇ φύσει καθ'
αὐτὴν χρώμενος ἀνευ λόγου καὶ παιδείας ἕπ'
ἀμφότερα μεγάλας ποιομένην μεταβόλας τῶν
ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ πολλάκις ἐξιστάμενη πρὸς τὸ
χείρον, ὥς ύστερον αὐτὸς ὡμολογεῖ, καὶ τοὺς
τραχυτάτους πόλους ἁρίστους ὕππους γίνεσθαι
φάσκων, ὅταν ἦς προσήκει τύχως παιδείας καὶ
καταρτύσεως. ἀ ὅ τοῦτον ἐξαρτώσιν ἐνοὶ
diēγήματα πλάττοντες, ἀποκηρυξίν μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ

1 τὴν τὸτε Fuhr and Blass with S: τὴν.
THEMISTOCLES

tuning the lyre and handling the harp were no accomplishments of his, but rather taking in hand a city that was small and inglorious and making it glorious and great. And yet Stesimbrrotus says that Themistocles was a pupil of Anaxagoras, and a disciple of Melissus the physicist; but he is careless in his chronology. It was Pericles, a much younger man than Themistocles, whom Melissus opposed at the siege of Samos,¹ and with whom Anaxagoras was intimate.

Rather, then, might one side with those who say that Themistocles was a disciple of Mnesiphilus the Phrearrhian, a man who was neither a rhetorician nor one of the so-called physical philosophers, but a cultivator of what was then called sophia, or wisdom, although it was really nothing more than cleverness in politics and practical sagacity. Mnesiphilus received this sophia, and handed it down, as though it were the doctrine of a sect, in unbroken tradition from Solon. His successors blended it with forensic arts, and shifted its application from public affairs to language, and were dubbed "sophists." It was this man, then, to whom Themistocles resorted at the very beginning of his public life.

But in the first essays of his youth he was uneven and unstable, since he gave his natural impulses free course, which, without due address and training, rush to violent extremes in the objects of their pursuit, and often degenerate; as he himself in later life confessed, when he said that even the wildest colts made very good horses, if only they got the proper breaking and training. What some story-makers add to this, however, to the effect that his father disinherited him, and his mother took her

¹ 440 B.C.
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πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, θάνατον δὲ τῆς μητρὸς ἐκούσιον ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀτιμία περιλύπτων γενομένης, δοκεῖ κατεψευσθαί: καὶ τούναντίον εἰσὶν οἱ λέγοντες, ὅτι τοῦ τὰ 1 κοινὰ πράγματον ἀποτρέπων αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ ἐπεδεικνὺς πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ τᾶς παλαιᾶς τριήρεις ἐρριμμένας καὶ παρωρμένας, ὡς δὴ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς δημαγωγούς, ὅταν ἄχρηστοι φαίνονται, τῶν πολλῶν ὁμοίως ἔχοντων.

III. Ταχὺ μέντοι καὶ νεανικῶς ἔοικεν ἁψασθαι τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους τὰ πολιτικὰ πράγματα καὶ σφόδρα ἤ πρὸς δόξαν ὅρμη κρατήσαοι. δε’ ἢν εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχὴς τοῦ πρωτεύουσι ἐφείμενος ἴταμας 113 υφίστατο τάς πρὸς τοὺς δυνάμενος ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ πρωτεύουσας ἀπεχθείας, μάλιστα δὲ Ἀριστείδην τὸν Δυσμάχον, τὴν ἐναντίαν ἄει πορευόμενον 2 αὐτῷ. καίτοι δοκεῖ παντάπασιν ἡ πρὸς τούτον ἔχθρα μειρακιώδη λαβεῖν ἀρχῆν ἠράσθησαν γὰρ ἀμφότεροι τοῦ καλοῦ Σησίλεω, Κείνου τὸ γένος ὄντος, ὡς Ἀριστοτὸν ὁ φιλόσοφος ἴστα-2 ῥηκεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου διετέλου καὶ περὶ τὰ δημόσια στασιάζοντες. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ ἢ τῶν βίων καὶ τῶν τρόπων ἀνομοίωτης ἔοικεν αὐξῆσαι τὴν διαφοράν. πρῶος γὰρ ἄν χόσει καὶ καλοκαγαθικὸς τὸν τρόπον ὁ Ἀριστείδης, καὶ πολιτευόμενος οὐ πρὸς χαίρειν οὐδὲ πρὸς δόξαν, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου μετὰ ἀσφαλείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης, ἠναγκάζετο τῷ Θεμιστοκλεί τὸν δήμον ἐπὶ πολλὰ κινοῦντι καὶ μεγάλας ἐπιφέροντι καὶ τούτων ἐναντιωθαὶ πολλάκις, ἐνιστάμενος αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν αὐξήσιν.

1 τού τὰ Fuhr and Blass with F²S: τὰ.
2 πορευόμενον with Bekker and the MSS.: πορευόμενος.
THEMISTOCLES

own life for very grief at her son’s ill-fame, this I think is false. And, in just the opposite vein, there are some who say that his father fondly tried to divert him from public life, pointing out to him old triremes on the sea-shore, all wrecked and neglected, and intimating that the people treated their leaders in like fashion when these were past service.

III. Speedily, however, as it seems, and while he was still in all the ardour of youth, public affairs laid their grasp upon Themistocles, and his impulse to win reputation got strong mastery over him. Wherefore, from the very beginning, in his desire to be first, he boldly encountered the enmity of men who had power and were already first in the city, especially that of Aristides the son of Lysimachus, who was always his opponent. And yet it is thought that his enmity with this man had an altogether puerile beginning. They were both lovers of the beautiful Stesilaüs, a native of Ceos, as Ariston the philosopher has recorded, and thenceforward they continued to be rivals in public life also. However, the dissimilarity in their lives and characters is likely to have increased their variance. Aristides was gentle by nature, and a conservative in character. He engaged in public life, not to win favour or reputation, but to secure the best results consistent with safety and righteousness, and so he was compelled, since Themistocles stirred the people up to many novel enterprises and introduced great innovations, to oppose him often, and to take a firm stand against his increasing influence.
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3 Λέγεται γάρ οὗτοι παράφορος πρὸς δόξαν εἶναι καὶ πράξεων μεγάλων ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας ἐρα- στής, ὥστε νέος ὅπι ἐτί τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχης πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους γενομένης καὶ τῆς Μιλτιά- δου στρατηγίας διαβοηθείσης σύννοις ὁρᾶσθαι τὰ πολλὰ πρὸς ἐαυτῷ καὶ τὰς νύκτας ἀγρυπνεῖν
4 καὶ τοὺς πότους παραίτεσθαι τοὺς συνήθεις, καὶ λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς ἑρωτῶτας καὶ θαυμάζοντας τὴν περὶ τὸν βίον μεταβολῆν, ὡς καθεύθειν αὐτὸν σὺκ ἔφη τὸ τοῦ Μιλτιάδου τρόπαιον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι πέρας φούντο τοῦ πολέμου τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι τῶν βαρβάρων ἤτταν εἶναι, Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ ἀρχὴν μειζόνων ἀγώνων, ἐφ’ οἷς ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὦλης Ἑλλάδος ἤλειφε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἦσκει πόρ- ρωθεν ἔτι 1 προσδοκῶν τὸ μέλλον.

IV. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν Δαυρεωτικὴν πρόσοδον ἀπὸ τῶν ἄργυρεῖν μετάλλων ἔθος ἑχόντων Ἄθηναιῶν διανέμεσθαι, μόνος εἰπεὶν ἐτόλμησε παρελθὼς εἰς τὸν δήμον, ὡς χρῆ τὴν διανομὴν εἰσάγαντας ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων τούτων κατασκευά- σασθαι τρυὴρες ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Ἀιγινῆτας πόλεμον. ἦκμαζε γὰρ οὗτος ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι μάλιστα καὶ κατείχον οἱ νησιώται 2 πλῆθει νεῶν τὴν θάλασ- 
2 σαν. ἦ καὶ ῥᾶν Ἰθεμίστοκλῆς συνέπεσεν, οὐ Δαρείον οὐδὲ Πέρσας (μακρὰν γὰρ ἦσαν οὕτωι

1 ἔτι Fuhr and Blass with ΦαΣ: ὡδη.
2 νησιώται Fuhr and Blass with ΦαΣ: Αἰγινῆται.
THEMISTOCLES

It is said, indeed, that Themistocles was so carried away by his desire for reputation, and such an ambitious lover of great deeds, that though he was still a young man when the battle with the Barbarians at Marathon \(^1\) was fought and the generalship of Miltiades was in everybody's mouth, he was seen thereafter to be wrapped in his own thoughts for the most part, and was sleepless o' nights, and refused invitations to his customary drinking parties, and said to those who put wondering questions to him concerning his change of life that the trophy of Miltiades would not suffer him to sleep. Now the rest of his countrymen thought that the defeat of the Barbarians at Marathon was the end of the war; but Themistocles thought it to be only the beginning of greater contests, and for these he anointed himself, as it were, to be the champion of all Hellas, and put his city into training, because, while it was yet afar off, he expected the evil that was to come.

IV. And so, in the first place, whereas the Athenians were wont to divide up among themselves the revenue coming from the silver mines at Laureium, he, and he alone, dared to come before the people with a motion that this division be given up, and that with these moneys triremes be constructed for the war against Aegina.\(^2\) This was the fiercest war then troubling Hellas, and the islanders controlled the sea, owing to the number of their ships. Wherefore all the more easily did Themistocles carry his point, not by trying to terrify the citizens with dreadful pictures of Darius or the Persians—

\(^1\) 490 B.C., \(^2\) 484–483 B.C.
3 Λέγεται γὰρ οὗτο παράφορος πρὸς δόξαν εἶναι καὶ πράξεων μεγάλων ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας ἑραστής, ὡστε νέος δὲν ἐτὶ τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχης πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους γενομένης καὶ τῆς Μιλτιάδου στρατηγίας διαβοθείσης σύννοις ὀρᾶσθαι τὰ πολλὰ πρὸς έαυτῷ καὶ τὰς νύκτας ἀγρυπνεῖν καὶ τοὺς πόλους παρατείσθαι τοὺς συνήθεις, καὶ λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς ἑρωτῶντας καὶ θαυμάζοντας τὴν περὶ τὸν βίον μεταβολὴν, ὡς καθεύδειν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔφη τὸ τοῦ Μιλτιάδου τρόπαιον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι πέρας φοντο τοῦ πολέμου τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶν τῶν βαρβάρων ἢτταν εἶναι, Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀρχὴν μειξώνων ἀγώνων, ἐφ’ οὓς ἐαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ὅλης Ἑλλάδος ἦλειφε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἦρθην προσδοκῶν τὸ μέλλον.

IV. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν Δαυρεωτήκην ἀπὸ τῶν ἀργυρεῖων μετάλλων ἐπὶ τὴν Ἁθηναίων διανέμεσθαι, μόνος τε παρελθὼν εἰς τὸν δήμον, ὡς ἠπατήσατο ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων, ζητηθεὶς τρῆρες ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἥκμαζε γὰρ οὗτος ἐν τῇ καταίχῳ οἱ νησίωται 2

2 σαν. ἡ καὶ ῥᾶν Θ. Δαρείων οὐδὲ Πέρσων.

1 ἔτι Fuhr and Blass.
2 νησίωται Fuhr a. s.
It is said, indeed, that Themistocles was so carried away by his desire for reputation, and such an ambitious lover of great deeds, that though he was still a young man when he fell with the Barbarians at Salamis, and was for a long time the generalship of Miltiades, in every respect the most subtle, he was seen thereafter frequently wrapped up in brooding thoughts for the next day, and of the excess of nights, and refused to go to bed until after the great drinking parties, and accordingly he was not answering questions to him on the morrow. This it is said that the people of Miltiades, in consequence of the fact that they did not see him in the morning, thought he was dead, and had thought it was for the worse, the more effectually the states, on the contrary, he was not dead, but the vision of Miltiades, because, according to the ancient proverb, 'the evil that was intended for the better is often worse than the good that was intended for the worse.'
καὶ δέος οὐ πάνυ βέβαιον ὡς ἀφιξόμενοι παρεῖ-χου) ἐπισείων, ἀλλὰ τῇ πρὸς Αἰγυπτίας ὥργῃ καὶ φιλονεικία τῶν πολιτῶν ἀποχρησάμενος εὐκαίρως ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν. ἐκατόν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν χρη-μάτων ἐκείνων ἐποίησαν τριήρεις, αἱς τρὸς Ξέρξην ἐναυμάχθησαν.

3 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπάγων καὶ καταβιβάζων τὴν πόλιν πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν, ὡς τὰ πεζὰ μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἀχρόνοις ἀξιομάχους οὐνας, τῇ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀλκή καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀμύνασθαι καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄρχειν δυναμένους, ἀντὶ μονίμων ὀπλιτῶν, ὡς φησίν ὁ Πλάτων, ναυ-βάτας καὶ θαλαττίους ἑποίησε, καὶ διαβόλην καθ' αὐτοῦ παρέσχεν, ὡς ἀρα Θεμιστοκλῆς τὸ δόρυ καὶ τὴν ἀστίδα τῶν πολιτῶν παρελόμενος εἰς ὑπηρέσιον καὶ κόπην συνέστειλε τὸν Ἀθη-ναίων δήμον. ἐπραξε δὲ ταῦτα Μιλτιάδου κρατήσας ἀντιλέγοντος, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Στησίμ-βροτος.

4 Εἰ μὲν δὴ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν καὶ τὸ καθαρὸν τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἔβλαψεν ἢ μὴ ταῦτα πράξας, ἔστω φιλοσοφότερον ἐπισκοπεῖν· ὅτι δὲ ἡ τότε σωτη-ρία τοῖς Ἑλλησίν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ὑπήρξε καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν αὖθις ἀνέστησαν αἱ τριήρεις ἐκεῖναι, τὰ τ' ἀλλὰ καὶ Ξέρξης αὐτὸς ἐμαρτύρησε. τῆς γὰρ πεζικῆς δυνάμεως ὑθραύστου διαμενούσης ἐφυγε μετὰ τὴν τῶν νεῶν ἤτταν, ὡς ὅπω ἀξιόμαχοι, καὶ Μαρδόνιου ἐμποδῶν εἶναι τοῖς

1 aís Fuhr and Blass with S: αἱ.
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these were too far away and inspired no very serious fear of their coming, but by making opportune use of the bitter jealousy which they cherished toward Aegina in order to secure the armament he desired. The result was that with those moneys they built a hundred triremes, with which they actually fought at Salamis

And after this, by luring the city on gradually and turning its progress toward the sea, urging that with their infantry they were no match even for their nearest neighbours, but that with the power they would get from their ships they could not only repel the Barbarians but also take the lead in Hellas, he made them, instead of "steadfast hoplites"—to quote Plato's words,—sea-tossed mariners, and brought down upon himself this accusation: "Themistocles robbed his fellow-citizens of spear and shield, and degraded the people of Athens to the rowing-pad and the oar." And this he accomplished in triumph over the public opposition of Miltiades, as Stesimbrrotus relates.

Now, whether by accomplishing this he did injury to the integrity and purity of public life or not, let the philosopher rather investigate. But that the salvation which the Hellenes achieved at that time came from the sea, and that it was those very triremes which restored again the fallen city of Athens, Xerxes himself bore witness, not to speak of other proofs. For though his infantry remained intact, he took to flight after the defeat of his ships, because he thought he was not a match for the Hellenes, and he left Mardonius behind, as it seems to me,

1 480 B.C.  
Ελλησι τῆς διώξεως μᾶλλον ἡ δουλωσόμενον αὐτούς, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, κατέλεπεν.

V. Σύντονον δὲ αὐτὸν γεγονέναι χρηματιστήν 114 οἱ μὲν τινὲς φασὶ δὲ ἐλευθερότητα· καὶ γὰρ φιλοθύτην ὄντα καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐν ταῖς περὶ τοὺς ξένους δαπάναις ἀφθόνου δεῖσθαι χορηγίας· οἱ δὲ τούπαντιον γλυσχρότητα πολλὴν καὶ μικρολογίαν κατηγοροῦσιν, ὡς καὶ τὰ πεμπόμενα τῶν ἔωδι-2 μῶν πωλοῦντος. ἔπει δὲ Φιλίδης ὁ ἵπποτρόφος αἰτηθεὶς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πῶλον οὐκ ἔδωκεν, ἥπειλησε τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ ταχὺ ποιήσει δοῦρευν ἵππου, αἰνιξάμενος ἐγκλήματα συγγενικά καὶ δίκαι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ πρὸς οἰκείους τινὰς ταράξειν.

Τῇ δὲ φιλοτιμίᾳ πάντας ὑπερέβαλεν, ὡστ’ ἔτι μὲν νέος ὃν καὶ ἀφανῆς Ἐπικλέα τὸν Ἕξ ᾿Ερμόνης κιθαριστὴν σπουδαζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ᾿Αθηναίων ἐκληπταρήσαι μελετᾶν παρ’ αὐτῷ, φιλοτιμούμενος πολλοὺς τὴν οἰκίαν ζητεῖν καὶ φοιτῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν. 3 εἰς δὲ Ὁλυμπίαν ἐλθὼν καὶ διαμιλλῶμενος τῷ Κύμωνι περὶ δεῖττα καὶ σκηνὰς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην λαμπρότητα καὶ παρασκευῆν, οὐκ ἥρεσκε τοῖς Ἀλλησίων. ἐκείνῳ μὲν γὰρ ὄντι νέῳ καὶ ἅπ’ οἰκίας μεγάλης θὸντο δεῖν τὰ τοιαῦτα συγχωρεῖν· ὃ δὲ μήπω γνώριμος γεγονός, ἀλλὰ δοκῶν ἐξ οὐχ ὑπαρχόντων καὶ παρ’ ἀξίαν ἐπαφεῖσθαι 4 προσωφλίσκανεν ἄλαξονείαν. ἐνίκησε δὲ καὶ χορηγῶν τραγῳδοῖς, μεγάλην ἤδη τότε σπουδὴν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν τοῦ ἀνήνος ἔχοντος, καὶ πίνακα 14
themistocles

rather to obstruct their pursuit than to subdue them.

V. Some say that Themistocles was an eager money-maker because of his liberality; for since he was fond of entertaining, and lavished money splendidly on his guests, he required a generous budget. Others, on the contrary, denounce his great stinginess and parsimony, claiming that he used to sell the very food sent in to him as a gift. When Philides the horse-breeder was asked by him for a colt and would not give it, Themistocles threatened speedily to make his house a wooden horse; thereby darkly intimating that he would stir up accusations against him in his own family, and lawsuits between the man and those of his own household.

In his ambition he surpassed all men. For instance, while he was still young and obscure, he prevailed upon Epicles of Hermione, a harpist who was eagerly sought after by the Athenians, to practise at his house, because he was ambitious that many should seek out his dwelling and come often to see him. Again, on going to Olympia, he tried to rival Cimon in his banquets and booths and other brilliant appointments, so that he displeased the Hellenes. For Cimon was young and of a great house, and they thought they must allow him in such extravagances; but Themistocles had not yet become famous, and was thought to be seeking to elevate himself unduly without adequate means, and so was charged with ostentation. And still again, as choregus, or theatrical manager, he won a victory with tragedies, although even at that early time this contest was conducted with great eagerness and
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tῆς νίκης ἀνέθηκε τοιαύτην ἔπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα·
“Θεμιστοκλῆς Φρεάρριος ἔχορῆγει, Φρύνιχος
ἐδίδασκεν, Ἀδείμαντος ἤρχεν.”

Οὔ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐνήρμοττε, τούτῳ
μὲν ἐκάστου τῶν πολιτῶν τούνομα λέγων ἀπὸ
στόματος, τούτῳ δὲ κριτὴν ἀσφαλῆ περὶ τὰ
συμβόλαια παρέχων ἑαυτόν, ὡστε ποὺ καὶ πρὸς
Σιμωνίδην τὸν Κείνον εἰπέτι, αὐτούμενον τι τῶν
οὐ μετρίων παρ’ αὐτοῦ στρατηγοῦντος, ὡς οὐτ’
ἐκεῖνος ἄν γένοιτο ποιητής ἄγαθος ἄδων παρὰ
μέλος οὐτ’ αὐτὸς ἀστείος ἄρχων παρὰ νόμον
5 χαριζόμενος. πάλιν δὲ ποτὲ τῶν Σιμωνίδην ἐπι-
σκόπτοντων ἔλεγεν νοῦν οὐκ ἔχειν, Κορινθίους μὲν
λοιδοροῦντα μεγάλην οἰκονύμας πόλιν, αὐτοῦ δὲ
ποιούμενον εἰκόνας οὔτως οὖντος άισχροῦ τὴν
ὁψιν. αὐξόμενος δὲ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρέσκων
τέλος κατεστασίασε καὶ μετέστησεν ἑξοστρα-
κισθέντα τὸν Ἀριστείδην.

VI. Ἡδη δὲ τοῦ Μήδου καταβαίνοντος ἐπὶ τὴν
Ἐλλάδα καὶ τῶν Ἑλληναίων βουλευομένων περὶ
στρατηγοῦ, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐκόψας ἐκστήναι
τῆς στρατηγίας λέγουσιν ἐκπεπληγμένους τὸν
κίνδυνον, Ἐπικύριδην δὲ τὸν Εὐφημίδου, δη-
μαγωγοῦν οὖντα δεινὸν μὲν εἰπέτι, μαλακὸν δὲ
τὴν ψυχήν καὶ χρημάτων ἤττονα, τῆς ἀρχῆς
ἐφέσθαι καὶ κρατήσειν ἐπίδοξον εἶναι τῇ χει-
ροτονίᾳ. τὸν οὖν Θεμιστοκλέα δείσαντα, µὴ τὰ
πράγματα διαφθαρεῖ ὑπεντάπαι τῆς ἡγεμονίας
eis ἐκείνου ἐμπεποῆσε, χρήματι τὴν φιλοσυμίαν
ἐξωθησάσθαι παρὰ τοῦ Ἐπικύρου.
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ambition, and set up a tablet commemorating his victory with the following inscription: "Themistocles the Phrearrhian was Choregus; Phrynichus was Poet; Adeimantus was Archon." ¹

However, he was on good terms with the common folk, partly because he could call off-hand the name of every citizen, and partly because he rendered the service of a safe and impartial arbitrator in cases of private obligation and settlement out of court; and so he once said to Simonides of Ceos, who had made an improper request from him when he was magistrate: "You would not be a good poet if you should sing contrary to the measure; nor I a clever magistrate if I should show favour contrary to the law." And once again he banteringly said to Simonides that it was nonsense for him to abuse the Corinthians, who dwelt in a great and fair city, while he had portrait figures made of himself, who was of such an ugly countenance. And so he grew in power, and pleased the common folk, and finally headed a successful faction and got Aristides removed by ostracism.²

VI. At last, when the Mede was descending upon Hellas and the Athenians were deliberating who should be their general, all the rest, they say, voluntarily renounced their claims to the generalship, so panic-stricken were they at the danger; but Epicydes, the son of Euphemides, a popular leader who was powerful in speech but effeminate in spirit and open to bribes, set out to get the office, and was likely to prevail in the election; so Themistocles, fearing lest matters should go to utter ruin in case the leadership fell to such a man, bribed and bought off the ambition of Epicydes.

¹ 476 B.C. ² 483–482 B.C.
2 Ἐπαινεῖται δ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν δύγλωττον ἐργὸν ἐν τοῖς πεμφθείσιν ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ ὑδατος αὐτῆς. ἔρμηνεα γὰρ ὅταν συλλαβῶν διὰ ψηφίσματος ἀπέκτεινεν ὅτι φωνὴν Ἐλληνίδα βαρβάρους προστάγμασιν ἐτόλμησεν χρήσαι. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ Ἀρθμοῦ τῶν Ζελείτην. Θεμιστοκλέους γὰρ εἰπόντος καὶ τούτων εἰς τοὺς ἀτίμους καὶ πάλιν ἀτού καὶ γένος ἐνέγραψαν, ὅτι τὸν ἐκ Μήδων χρυσὸν εἰς τοὺς Ἐλλήνας ἐκόμισε. μέγιστον δὲ πάντων τὸ καταλύσαι τοὺς Ἐλληνικοὺς πολέμους καὶ διαλλάξαι τὰς πόλεις ἀλλήλαις, πείσαντα τὰς ἕχθρας διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἀναβαλέσθαι. πρὸς δὲ καὶ Χείλεων τὸν Ἀρκάδα μάλιστα συναγωνίσασθαι λέγοντι.

VII. Παραλαβῶν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθὺς μὲν ἐπεχείρει τοὺς πολίτας ἐμβιβάζειν εἰς τὰς τρίηρεις, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπείθεν ἐκλιπόντας ὡς προσωτὰς τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἀπαντῶν τῷ βαρβάρῳ κατὰ θάλατταν. ἐνισταμένων δὲ πολλῶν ἐξῆγαγεν πολλὴν στρατιάν εἰς τὰ Τέμπη μετὰ Δακεδαμοὺν, ὡς αὐτοῦ προκωδυνευσόντων τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐπώ τὸτε μηδέξειν δοκούσης. ἐπεί δ’ ἀνεχώρησαν ἐκείθεν ἄπρακτοι καὶ Θετταλῶν βασιλεῖ προσγευμένων ἐμίδιζε τὰ μέχρι Βοιωτίας, μᾶλλον ἦδη τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ προσέχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ πέμπτει μετὰ νεών ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμίσιον τὰ στενὰ φυλάξαν.

*Ενθα δὴ τῶν μὲν Ἐλλήνων Εὐρυβιάδην καὶ
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Praise is given to his treatment of the linguist in the company of those who were sent by the King to demand earth and water as tokens of submission: this interpreter he caused to be arrested, and had him put to death by special decree, because he dared to prostitute the speech of Hellas to Barbarian stipulations. Also to his treatment of Arthmius of Zeleia: on motion of Themistocles this man was entered on the list of the disfranchised, with his children and his family, because he brought the gold of the Medes and offered it to the Hellenes. But the greatest of all his achievements was his putting a stop to Hellenic wars, and reconciling Hellenic cities with one another, persuading them to postpone their mutual hatreds because of the foreign war. To which end, they say, Cheileos the Arcadian most seconded his efforts.

VII. On assuming the command, he straightway went to work to embark the citizens on their triremes, and tried to persuade them to leave their city behind them and go as far as possible away from Hellas to meet the Barbarians by sea. But many opposed this plan, and so he led forth a large army to the vale of Tempe, along with the Lacedaemonians, in order to make a stand there in defence of Thessaly, which was not yet at that time supposed to be medising. But soon the army came back from this position without accomplishing anything, the Thessalians went over to the side of the King, and everything was medising as far as Boeotia, so that at last the Athenians were more kindly disposed to the naval policy of Themistocles, and he was sent with a fleet to Artemision, to watch the narrows.

It was at this place that the Hellenes urged
Λακεδαιμονίων ἠγείσθαι κελεύοντων, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι πλήθει τῶν νεών σύμπαντας ὁμοῦ τι τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπερέβαλλον, οὐκ ἀξιοῦντων 3 ἐτέρους ἔσεσθαι, συνιδὼν τῶν κίνδυνον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς αὐτὸς τε τὴν ἀρχήν τῷ Ἑπερίβαδῃ παρῆκε καὶ κατετράυνε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἰππισχυρούμενος, ἄν ἀνδρεῖς ἄγαθοι γένωνται πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἐκόντας αὐτοῖς παρέξειν εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ πειθόμενοι τοὺς Ἑλλήνας. διότερ δοκεῖ τῆς σωτηρίας αἰτιῶτας γενέσθαι τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους προαγαγεῖν εἰς δόξαν, ὡς ἀνδρεία μὲν τῶν πολεμίων, εὐγνωμοσύνη δὲ τῶν συμμάχων περιγενομένους.

4 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῖς Ἀφεταῖς τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ στόλου προσμίξαντος ἐκπλαγεῖς ἐν Ἑπερίβαδῃ τῶν κατὰ στόμα νεῶν τὸ πλήθος, ἄλλας δὲ πυθανόμενος διακοσίας ὑπὲρ Σκιάθου περιπλεῖν, ἐβούλετο τὴν ταχύστην εἰσώ τῆς Ἑλλάδος κομισθείς ἄψασθαι. Πελοποννήσου καὶ τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν ταῖς ναυις προσπερβαλέσθαι, πάντακαίνῃ ἀπρόγαλλοι ἡγούμενοι τὴν κατὰ θάλασσαν ἀλκήν βασιλέως, δεῖσαντες οἱ Ἑπερίβαις ηὐθεῖς μη σφάζεις οἱ Ἑλλήνες προςωποι, κρύφα τῷ Ἐπερίβαδεί πελάγοντο, Πελά-5 γοντα μετὰ χρημάτων πολλῶν πεμψαντες. ἕλαβον ἐκείνος, ὡς Ἑρόδοτος ἱστορήκε, τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἑπερίβαδην ἔδωκεν.

Ἐναντιουμένου δὲ αὐτῶ μάλιστα τῶν πολιτῶν Ἀρχιτέλους, δς ἦν μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς νεῶς τριήραρχος, οὐκ ἐχὼν δὲ χρήματα τοῖς ναυταῖς χορηγεῖν ἐσπευδῶ ἀποπλεῦσαι, παρώξυνεν ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς τοὺς τριήρίτας ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν,
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Eurybiades and the Lacedaemonians to take the lead, but the Athenians, since in the number of their ships they surpassed all the rest put together, disdained to follow others,—a peril which Themistocles at once comprehended. He surrendered his own command to Eurybiades, and tried to mollify the Athenians with the promise that if they would show themselves brave men in the war, he would induce the Hellenes to yield a willing obedience to them thereafter. Wherefore he is thought to have been the man most instrumental in achieving the salvation of Hellas, and foremost in leading the Athenians up to the high repute of surpassing their foes in valour and their allies in magnanimity.

Now Eurybiades, on the arrival of the Barbarian armament at Aphetae, was terrified at the number of ships that faced him, and, learning that two hundred ships more were sailing around above Sciaithus to cut off his retreat, desired to proceed by the shortest route down into Hellas, to get into touch with Peloponnesus and encompass his fleet with his infantry forces there, because he thought the power of the King altogether invincible by sea. Therefore the Euboeans, fearing lest the Hellenes abandon them to their fate, held secret conference with Themistocles, and sent Pelagon to him with large sums of money. This money he took, as Herodotus relates,¹ and gave to Eurybiades.

Meeting with most opposition among his fellow-citizens from Architeles, who was captain on the sacred state galley, and who, because he had no money to pay the wages of his sailors, was eager to sail off home, Themistocles incited his crew all the

¹ viii. 5.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ

6 Ὅστε τὸ δεῖπνον ἀρτάσαι συνδέματος. τοῦ δ' Ἀρχιτέλους ἀθμοῦντος ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ καὶ βαρέως φέροντος, εἰσέπεμψεν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν κίστῃ δεῖπνον ἄρτων καὶ κρέαν, ὑποθεῖς κάτω τάλαντον ἀργυρίου καὶ κελεύσας αὐτόν τε δειπνεῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιμεληθήναι τῶν τριπτριῶν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, καταβοῦσεν αὐτοῦ ἑκατόν πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας ὃς ἠχοντος ἀργυρίου παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Φάνιας ὁ Δέσβιος εἰρήκεν.

VIII. Αἱ δὲ γενόμεναι τότε πρὸς τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων ναύς περὶ τὰ στενὰ μάχαν κρίσιν μὲν εἰς τὰ ὅλα μεγάλην οὐκ ἐποίησαν, τῇ δὲ πείρᾳ μέγιστα τοὺς Ἔλληνας ὄνησαν, ὕπὸ τῶν ἐργῶν παρὰ τοὺς κινδύνους διδαξθέντας, ὡς οὔτε πλῆθος νεῶν οὔτε κόσμοι καὶ λαμπρότητες ἐπισήμων οὔτε κρανγαλ κομπώδεις ἡ βάρβαροι παιδεῖς ἠχοῦσι τι δεινὸν ἄνδρασιν ἐπισταμένους εἰς χειρας ἵναι καὶ μάχεσθαι τολμῶσιν, ἀλλὰ δεῖ τῶν τοιούτων καταφρονουντας ἐπ' αὐτὰ τὰ σώματα φέροντες καὶ πρὸς ἑκεῖνα διαγωνίζεσθαι συμβ. 2 πλακέντας. ὡς δὲ καὶ Πίνδαρος οὐ κακῶς ἐνεκε συνίδων ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν Ἀρτεμισίῳ μάχης εἰπεῖν:

"Οθι παῖδες Ἀθαναίων ἐβάλοντο φαενναν
κρηπίδι ἐλευθερίας·
ἀρχή γὰρ ὄνως τοῦ νικα ἃ τὸ θαρρεῖν.
"Εστι δὲ τῆς Εὐβοίας τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ὑπὲρ
tῆν Ἐστίαιαν αἰγιαλὸς εἰς βορέαν ἀναπτα-
μένος, ἀντιτείνει δ' αὐτῷ μάλιστα τῆς ὑπὸ

1 παρόντας Fuhr and Blass with FaS: πολίτας.
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more against him, so that they made a rush upon him and snatched away his dinner. Then, while Architeles was feeling dejected and indignant over this, Themistocles sent him a dinner of bread and meat in a box at the bottom of which he had put a talent of silver, and bade him dine without delay, and on the morrow satisfy his crew; otherwise he said he would denounce him publicly as the receiver of money from the enemy. At any rate, such is the story of Pharias the Lesbian.

VIII. The battles which were fought at that time with the ships of the Barbarians in the narrows were not decisive of the main issue, it is true, but they were of the greatest service to the Hellenes in giving them experience, since they were thus taught by actual achievements in the face of danger that neither multitudes of ships nor brilliantly decorated figure-heads nor boastful shouts or barbarous battle-hymns have any terror for men who know how to come to close quarters and dare to fight there; but that they must despise all such things, rush upon the very persons of their foes, grapple with them, and fight it out to the bitter end. Of this Pindar seems to have been well aware when he said of the battle of Artemisium:

"Where Athenians' valiant sons set in radiance eternal
Liberty's corner-stone."

For verily the foundation of victory is courage.

Artemisium is a part of Euboea above Hestiaea,—a sea-beach stretching away to the north,—and just about opposite to it lies Olizon, in the territory

1 Bergk, Frag. 77.
Φιλοκτήτη γενομένης χώρας Ὄλιξων. ἔχει δὲ ναῦν οὗ μέγαν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπίκλησιν Προσήφας, 116 καὶ δένδρα περὶ αὐτῷ πέφυκε καὶ στήλαι κύκλῳ λίθου λευκοῦ πεπήγασιν ὁ δὲ λίθος τῆς χειρὶ τριβόμενος καὶ χρῶν καὶ ὁσμὴν κροκίζουσαν 3 ἀναδίδωσιν. ἐν μιᾷ δὲ τῶν στηλῶν ἐλεγείον ἦν τόδε γεγραμμένον:

Παντοδαπῶν ἄνδρῶν γενεὰς Ἀσίας ἀπὸ χώρας παῖδες Ἀθηναίων τῷ δὲ ποτ' ἐν πελάγει ναυμαχή δαμάσαντες, ἐπεὶ στρατὸς ὀλετο Μῆδων,

σήματα ταύτ' ἔθεσαν παρθένῳ Ἀρτέμιδι.

deίκνυται δὲ τῆς ἀκτῆς τόπος ἐν πολλῇ τῇ πέριξ θυίν κόνων τεφρώδη καὶ μέλαιναν ἐκ βάθους ἀναδίδουσι, ὥσπερ πυρίκαιστον, ἐν ὃ τὰ ναυάγια καὶ νεκροὺς καῦσαι δοκούσι.

IX. Τῶν μέντοι περὶ Θερμοπύλας εἰς τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἀπαγγελλόντων 1 πυθόμενοι Δεονίδαι τε κείσθαι καὶ κρατεῖν Ἐρέτην τῶν κατὰ γῆν παρόδων, εἰς τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνεκομίζοντο, τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ πάσι τεταγμένων δὲ ἄρετῆν καὶ μέγα τοῖς πεπραγμένοις φρονοῦσιν. παραπλέον δὲ τὴν χώραν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, ἦσσο δὲ τοῖς κατάρσεις ἀναγκαίας καὶ καταφυγάς ἐφόρα τοῖς πολεμίωσι, ἐνεχάραττε κατὰ τῶν λίθων ἐπιφανῆ 2 γράμματα, τοὺς μὲν εὐρίσκων ἀπὸ τύχης, τοὺς δ' ἀπαγγελλόντων Fuhr and Blass with FaS: ἀπαγγελθέντων.
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once subject to Philoctetes. It has a small temple of Artemis surnamed Proseoea, which is surrounded by trees and enclosed by upright slabs of white marble. This stone, when you rub it with your hand, gives off the colour and the odour of saffron. On one of these slabs the following elegy was inscribed:

"Nations of all sorts of men from Asia's boundaries coming,
Sons of the Athenians once, here on this arm of the sea,
Whelmed in a battle of ships, and the host of the Medes was destroyed;
These are the tokens thereof, built for the Maid Artemis." ¹

And a place is pointed out on the shore, with sea sand all about it, which supplies from its depths a dark ashen powder, apparently the product of fire, and here they are thought to have burned their wrecks and dead bodies.

IX. However, when they learned by messengers from Thermopylae to Artemision that Leonidas was slain and that Xerxes was master of the pass, they withdrew further down into Hellas, the Athenians bringing up the extreme rear because of their valour, and greatly elated by their achievements. As Themistocles sailed along the coasts, wherever he saw places at which the enemy must necessarily put in for shelter and supplies, he inscribed conspicuous writings on stones, some of which he found to his hand there by chance, and some he himself caused to be set near the inviting anchorages and

¹ Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graeci, iii. p. 480.
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αὐτὸς ἵστατε περὶ τὰ ναύλοχα καὶ τὰς ύδρείας, ἐπισκήπτων Ἰωσί διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων, εἰ μὲν οἶον τε, μετατάξασθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς πατέρας ὄντας καὶ προκινδυνεύοντας ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνων ἐλευθερίας, εἰ δὲ μή, κακοῦν τὸ βαρβαρικὸν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις καὶ συνταράττειν. ταῦτα δὲ ἡλιπίζεται ἡ μεταστήσεως τοῖς Ἰωναῖς ἦ ταράξεων ὑποπτοτέρους τοῖς βαρβάροις γενομένους.

3 Ξέρξοι δὲ διὰ τῆς Δωρίδος ἀνοθευ εμβαλλόντος εἰς τὴν Ἰωκίδα καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἰωκέων ἀστή πυρπολούντος οὐ προσήμυναν οἱ Ἑλληνες, καὶ περὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δεομένων εἰς τὴν Βουωτίαν ἀπαντήσαυσαν πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὡσπερ αὐτοὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐβοήθησαν. μηδενὸς δὲ ὑπακούοντος αὐτοῖς, ἄλλα τῆς Πελοποννήσου περιεχομένων καὶ πᾶσαν ἐντὸς Ἰσθμοῦ τὴν δύναμιν ἐρμημένων συνάγειν, καὶ διατείχειν τῶν Ἰσθμοῦ εἰς θάλατταν ἐκ θαλάττης, ἀμα μὲν ὀργῆ τῆς προδοσίας εἰ ὑπετοῦ Ἀθηναίους, ἀμα δὲ δυσθυμία καὶ κατήφεια μεμονωμένους. μάχεται μὲν γὰρ οὐ διευνοῦντο μυριάμεθα στρατοῦ τοσαύτως. δὲ ἂν μόνον ἀναγκαίοιν ἐν τῷ παρόντι, τὴν πόλιν ἀφέντας ἐμφύνεται ταῖς ναυσίν, οἱ πολλοὶ χαλεπῶς ἦκον, ὡς μήτε νίκης δεομενοί, μήτε σωτηρίαν ἐπιστάμενοι θεῶν τε ιερὰ καὶ πατέρων ἢρα προϊσμένων.

4 Ἐνθα δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀπορῶν τοῖς ἄνθρωποις λόγισμοις προσάγεσθαι τὸ πλῆθος, ὡσπερ 26
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watering places. In these writings he solemnly enjoined upon the Ionians, if it were possible, to come over to the side of the Athenians, who were their ancestors, and who were risking all in behalf of their freedom; but if they could not do this, to damage the Barbarian cause in battle, and bring confusion among them. By this means he hoped either to fetch the Ionians over to his side, or to confound them by bringing the Barbarians into suspicion of them.

Although Xerxes had made a raid up through Doris into Phocis, and was burning the cities of the Phocians, the Hellenes gave them no succour. The Athenians, it is true, begged them to go up into Boeotia against the enemy, and make a stand there in defence of Attica, as they themselves had gone up by sea to Artemisium in defence of others. But no one listened to their appeals. All clung fast to the Peloponnesus, and were eager to collect all the forces inside the Isthmus, and went to running a wall through the Isthmus from sea to sea. Then the Athenians were seized alike with rage at this betrayal, and with sullen dejection at their utter isolation. Of fighting alone with an army of so many myriads they could not seriously think; and as for the only thing left them to do in their emergency, namely, to give up their city and stick to their ships, most of them were distressed at the thought, saying that they neither wanted victory nor understood what safety could mean if they abandoned to the enemy the shrines of their gods and the sepulchres of their fathers.

X. Then indeed it was that Themistocles, despairing of bringing the multitude over to his views by

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In the age of Menander, Demetrius and his brother, Chrestus, having been avowed sons of their mother, 2 the former being by her first husband, the latter by her second, they disputed for the hand of the daughter of Cleisthenes. At this time, Socrates, the wise man, was living in the city, and he brought them to the house of Cleisthenes, and the daughter of Cleisthenes was married to Cleisthenes. And the daughter of Cleisthenes was married to Cleisthenes. And the daughter of Cleisthenes was married to Cleisthenes.

1 geneas Madvig's correction, adopted by Blass: γενειας parents.
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any human reasonings, set up machinery, as it were, to introduce the gods to them, as a theatrical manager would for a tragedy, and brought to bear upon them signs from heaven and oracles. As a sign from heaven he took the behaviour of the serpent, which is held to have disappeared about that time from the sacred enclosure on the Acropolis. When the priests found that the daily offerings made to it were left whole and untouched, they proclaimed to the multitude,—Themistocles putting the story into their mouths,—that the goddess had abandoned her city and was showing them their way to the sea. Moreover, with the well-known oracle 1 he tried again to win the people over to his views, saying that its “wooden wall” meant nothing else than their fleet; and that the god in this oracle called Salamis “divine,” not “dreadful” nor “cruel,” for the very reason that the island would sometime give its name to a great piece of good fortune for the Hellenes. At last his opinion prevailed, and so he introduced a bill providing that the city be entrusted for safe keeping “to Athena the patroness of Athens,” but that all the men of military age embark on the triremes, after finding for their children, wives, and servants, such safety as each best could. Upon the passage of this bill, most of the Athenians bestowed their children and wives in Troezen, where the Troezenians very eagerly welcomed them. They actually voted to support them at the public cost, allowing two obols daily to each family, and to permit the boys to pluck of the vintage fruit everywhere, and

1 Herod., vii. 141.
πανταχόθεν, ἔτι δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν διδασκάλοις τελεύων μυσθούς. τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα Νικαγόρας ἔγραψεν.

4. Οὐκ οὖν τοῖς δὲ δημοσίων χρημάτων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, Ἀριστοτέλης μὲν φησί τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλήν πορίσασαν ὁκτὼ δραχμάς ἐκάστῳ τῶν στρατευόμενων αἰτιωτάτην γενέσθαι τοῦ πληρωθῆναι τὰς τρήρεις, Κλείδημος δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ποιεῖται στρατήγημα. καταβαίνοντων γὰρ εἰς Πειραιᾶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, φησὶν ἀπολέσθαι τὸ Γοργόνειον ἀπὸ τῆς θεοῦ τοῦ ἀγάλματος τῶν οὖν Θεμιστοκλέα προσποιούμενον ξητεῖν καὶ διερευνώμενον ἄπαντα χρημάτων ἀνευρήσειν πλῆθος ἐν ταῖς ἀποσκευαῖς ἀποκεκρυμμένον, δὲν εἰς μέσον κομισθέντων εὐπορῆσαι τοὺς ἐμβαίνοντας εἰς τὰς ναίς ἐφοδίων.

5. Ἐκπλεούσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως τοῖς μὲν οἴκτον τὸ θέαμα, τοῖς δὲ βαύμα τῆς τόλμης παρεῖχε, γενεὰς μὲν ἄλλῃ προπεμπόντων, αὐτῶν δ' ἀκάμπτων πρὸς οἰμωγάς καὶ δάκρυα γονέων καὶ περιβολῶς διαπερώντων εἰς τὴν νῆσον. καίτοι πολλοὶ μὲν διὰ γῆρας ὑπολειπόμενοι τῶν πολιτῶν ἔλεον εἶχον. ἦν δὲ τις καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἥμερων καὶ συντρόφων ξών ἔπικλώσα γλυκυθυμία, μετ' ὀρνυθᾶς καὶ πόθου συμπαραθεόντων ἐμβαίνονσι

6. τοῖς ἑαυτῶν τροφεύσειν. ἐν οἷς ἱστορεῖται κύρων Ξενθίππου τοῦ Περικλέους πατρὸς οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μόνωσιν ἐναλέονθαι τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ τῇ τρήρει παρανηχόμενος ἐκπεσεῖν.
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besides to hire teachers for them. The bill was introduced by a man whose name was Nicagoras.

Since the Athenians had no public moneys in hand, it was the Senate of Areiopagus, according to Aristotle, which provided each of the men who embarked with eight drachmas, and so was most instrumental in manning the triremes; but Cleidemus represents this too as the result of an artifice of Themistocles. He says that when the Athenians were going down to the Piraeus and abandoning their city, the Gorgon's head was lost from the image of the goddess; and then Themistocles, pretending to search for it, and ransacking everything, thereby discovered an abundance of money hidden away in the baggage, which had only to be confiscated, and the crews of the ships were well provided with rations and wages.

When the entire city was thus putting out to sea, the sight provoked pity in some, and in others astonishment at the hardihood of the step; for they were sending off their families in one direction, while they themselves, unmoved by the lamentations and tears and embraces of their loved ones, were crossing over to the island where the enemy was to be fought. Besides, many who were left behind on account of their great age invited pity also, and much affecting fondness was shown by the tame domestic animals, which ran along with yearning cries of distress by the side of their masters as they embarked. A story is told of one of these, the dog of Xanthippus the father of Pericles, how he could not endure to be abandoned by his master, and so sprang into the sea, swam across the strait by the side of his master's trireme,
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eίς τὴν Σαλαμίνα καὶ λιποθυμήσας ἀποθανεῖν εὐθὺς· οὖ καὶ τὸ δεικνύμενον ἁρχὴ νῦν καὶ καλοῦ-
μενον Κυνὸς σῆμα τάφον εἶναι λέγουσι.

XI. Ταῦτα τε δὴ μεγάλα τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους,
καὶ τοὺς πολίτας αἰσθόμενος ποθοῦντας Ἀρι-
στείδην καὶ δεδίστας, μὴ δὲ ὅργην τῷ βαρβάρῳ
προσθεῖσ τῶν ἀνατρέψῃ τὰ πράγματα τῆς
Ἐλλάδος (ἐξωστράκιστο γὰρ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου
καταστασιασθεὶς ὑπὸ Θεμιστοκλέους), γράφει
ψήφισμα, τοῖς ἑπτά χρόνωι μεθεστῶσιν ἐξεῖναι
κατελθοῦσι πράττειν καὶ λέγειν τὰ βέλτιστα τῇ
Ἐλλάδι μετὰ τῶν ἀλλῶν πολιτῶν.

2 Ἕρυβιάδου δὲ τὴν μὲν ἡγεμονίαν τῶν νεῶν
ἐχοντος διὰ τὸ τῆς Σπάρτῆς ἄξιόμα, μαλακοῦ
δὲ περὶ τῶν κινδυνοῦν ὄντος, αἱρεῖν δὲ βουλομένου
καὶ πλεῖν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰσθμοῦ, ὅπου καὶ τὸ πεζὸν
ἡθοιστο τῶν Πελοποννησίων, ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς
ἀντέλεγεν ὅτε καὶ τὰ μημονευόμενα λεχθήναι
φασὶ. τοῦ γὰρ Ἕρυβιάδου πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰ-
τόντος· "Ὡ Θεμιστοκλείς, ἐν τοῖς ἀγώσι τοὺς
προεξανισταμένους ῥαπίζουσιν," "Ναι," εἶπεν ὁ
Θεμιστοκλῆς, "ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀπολειφθέντας οὐ
στεφανοῦσιν." ἑπαραμένου δὲ τὴν βακτηρίαν ὅς
πατάξοντος, ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐφη: "Πάταξον μὲν,
ἀκουσόν δὲ." βαιμάσαντος δὲ τὴν πρότητα
tοῦ Ἕρυβιάδου καὶ λέγειν κελεύσαντος, ὁ μὲν
Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀνήγεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον. εἰ-
τόνος δὲ τινος, ὡς ἀνήρ ἀπολις οὐκ ὀρθὸς
didάσκει τοῦς ἐχοντας ἐγκαταλιπείν καὶ προέσθαι

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and staggered out on Salamis, only to faint and die straightway. They say that the spot which is pointed out to this day as "Dog's Mound" is his tomb.

XI. These were surely great achievements of Themistocles, but there was a greater still to come. When he saw that the citizens yearned for Aristides, and feared lest out of wrath he might join himself to the Barbarian and so subvert the cause of Hellas,—he had been ostracized before the war in consequence of political defeat at the hands of Themistocles,—he introduced a bill providing that those who had been removed for a time be permitted to return home and devote their best powers to the service of Hellas along with the other citizens.

When Eurybiades, who had the command of the fleet on account of the superior claims of Sparta, but who was faint-hearted in time of danger, wished to hoist sail and make for the Isthmus, where the infantry also of the Peloponnesians had been assembled, it was Themistocles who spoke against it, and it was then, they say, that these memorable sayings of his were uttered. When Eurybiades said to him, "Themistocles, at the games those who start too soon get a caning," "Yes," said Themistocles, "but those who lag behind get no crown." And when Eurybiades lifted up his staff as though to smite him, Themistocles said: "Smite, but hear me." Then Eurybiades was struck with admiration at his calmness, and bade him speak, and Themistocles tried to bring him back to his own position. But on a certain one saying that a man without a city had no business to advise men who still had cities of their own

1 Cf. chap. v. fn.
τὰς πατρίδας, ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπιστρέψας τὸν λόγον ὁ Ἡμείς τοῦ, εἶπεν, ὁ μοχθηρό, τὰς μὲν οἰκίας καὶ τὰ τείχη καταλελοίπαμεν, οὐκ ἄξιοις ἄφυχων ἐνεκα δουλεύειν, πόλεις δ' ἦμιν ἐστὶ μεγίστη τῶν Ἑλληνίδων, αἱ διακοσίαι τριήρεις, αἱ νῦν μὲν ὑμῖν παρεστάσι βοηθοὶ σώζεσθαι δι' αὐτῶν βουλομένοις, εἰ δ' ἀπίτε δεύτερον ἡμᾶς προδόντες, αὐτίκα πεύσειται τίς Ἑλλήνων Ἀθηναίοις καὶ πόλιν ἔλευθέραν καὶ χώραν οὐ χείρονα κεκτημένους ἢς ἀπέβαλον." ταῦτα τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους εἰπόντος ἔννοια καὶ δέος ἔσχε τὸν Εὔρυβιάδην τῶν Ἀθηναίων, μὴ σφᾶς ἀπολείπουσι τις ἐνα, τοῦ δ' Ἑρετρίως πείρωμένου τι λέγειν πρὸς αὐτὸν, "Ἡ γὰρ," ἔφη, "καὶ ὑμῖν περὶ πολέμου τίς ἢν ὁ λόγος, οὐ καθὰ περὶ τευθίδες μάχαιραν μὲν ἔχετε, καρδίαν δὲ οὐκ ἔχετε;

XII. Δέγεται δ' ὑπὸ τινῶν τῶν μὲν Θεμιστοκλέα περὶ τούτων ἀπὸ τοῦ καταστρώματος ἀνοίσθεν τῆς νεώς διαλέγεσθαι, γλαύκα δ' ὀφθηναι διαπετομένη ἀπὸ δεξιὰς τῶν νεῶν καὶ τοῖς καρχησίοις ἐπικαθίζουσαν διὸ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα προσέθεντο τῇ γυώμῃ καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο ναῦ-2 μαχήσοντες. ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ τῶν πολεμίων ὃ τε στόλος τῇ Ἀττικῇ κατὰ τὸ Φαληρικὸν προσφερόμενος τοὺς περὶ ἀπεκρυψαν αἰγιαλοὺς, αὐτὸς τε βασιλεὺς μετὰ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατοῦ καταβᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἄθροις ὥρθη, τῶν δὲ δυνάμεων ὁμοῦ γενομένων, ἐξερύθησαν οἱ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους λόγοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ πάλιν ἐπέπτασιν οἱ Πελοποννησίοι πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμόν,

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to abandon and betray them, Themistocles addressed
his speech with emphasis to him, saying: “It is true,
thou wretch, that we have left behind us our houses
and our city walls, not deeming it meet for the sake
of such lifeless things to be in subjection; but
we still have a city, the greatest in Hellas, our two
hundred triremes, which now are ready to aid you if
you choose to be saved by them; but if you go off
and betray us for the second time, straightway many
a Hellene will learn that the Athenians have won for
themselves a city that is free and a territory that is
far better than the one they cast aside.” When
Themistocles said this, Eurybiades began to reflect,
and was seized with fear lest the Athenians go away
and abandon him. And again, when the Eretrian tried
to argue somewhat against him, “Aha!” said he,
“what argument can ye make about war, who, like
the cuttle-fish, have a long pouch in the place where
your heart ought to be?”

XII. Some tell the story that while Themistocles
was thus speaking from off the deck of his ship, an
owl was seen to fly through the fleet from the right
and alight in his rigging; wherefore his hearers
espoused his opinion most eagerly and prepared to
do battle with their ships. But soon the enemy’s
armament beset the coast of Attica down to the
haven of Phalerum, so as to hide from view the
neighbouring shores; then the King in person with
his infantry came down to the sea, so that he could
be seen with all his hosts; and presently, in view of
this junction of hostile forces, the words of Themis-
tocles ebbed out of the minds of the Hellenes, and
the Peloponnesians again turned their eyes wistfully
towards the Isthmus and were vexed if any one spake
ei tis allo ti legoi xalaptaioinontes, edokei de tis
vaktos apoxheirei kal paraghgellete ploous tois
3 kubervhitas, enba di barews feron o Themi-
stoikelhis, e i tWN ap to toW topou kal toW stenous
proemeno botheian oi "Ellynes dialudhkontai
kata poleis, ebouleveto kal synetidei tyn peri
ton Sikinon prapmatelain.

*Hn de toW mW geni Pferis o Sikinon, aixmawe
loutos, euunos de toW Themistokleiw kal toW tekin
4 autou paiadagwgos. de ekpempe proS toW
Zerzhi krufia, kelenwias ligein, oti Themistokles
o twn 'Athnaiw stratygous airoymenos ta ba-
sileous exeaggelliei prwtos autw tois "Ellynes
apodidraskontas, kal diakalewta me pareinai
phigein authis, all' eni kal tarattontai twn tezi
chories doutes episthesai kal diaftheira tyn nauti-
5 kyn dynamin. tauta de o Zerzhi ws ap' euvoias
leugmewna deziwmewn hsth, kal telos euwv
exeferi proS touS hymównas twn neuV, tas meV
allas plhroV kal' hsynian, diakosias de
anachhantas hth peribalesthai twn piron en
kuklou panta kal dialwsei tas vhsous, opwos
ekphugoi mhdies twn polemwn.

6 TouTw de prattomeneW 'Arristeidhis o Lysi-
makhon prwtos aisthomenos hkevn epide tyn skhyn
tou Themistokleous, ouk evn filos, all' kai di'
ekivnon exwstakismenos, osper eirhetai: proel-
thonti de toW Themistokleiw frawei tyn kuklwsin.
0 de tyn te allhen kaloagathian tou androv
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of any other course; nay, they actually decided to withdraw from their position in the night, and orders for the voyage were issued to the pilots. Such was the crisis when Themistocles, distressed to think that the Hellenes should abandon the advantages to be had from the narrowness of the straits where they lay united, and break up into detachments by cities, planned and concocted the famous affair of Sicinnus.

This Sicinnus was of Persian stock, a prisoner of war, but devoted to Themistocles, and the paedagogue of his children. This man was sent to Xerxes secretly with orders to say: "Themistocles the Athenian general elects the King’s cause, and is the first one to announce to him that the Hellenes are trying to slip away, and urgently bids him not to suffer them to escape, but, while they are in confusion and separated from their infantry, to set upon them and destroy their naval power." Xerxes received this as the message of one who wished him well, and was delighted, and at once issued positive orders to the captains of his ships to man the main body of the fleet at their leisure, but with two hundred ships to put out to sea at once, and encompass the strait round about on every side, including the islands in their line of blockade, that not one of the enemy might escape.

While this was going on, Aristides the son of Lysimachus, who was the first to perceive it, came to the tent of Themistocles, who was no friend of his, nay, through whom he had even been ostracized, as I have said; and when Themistocles came forth from the tent, Aristides told him how the enemy surrounded them. Themistocles, knowing the tried nobility of the man, and filled with admiration for
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εἰδὼς καὶ τῆς τότε παρουσίας ἀγάμενος λέγει τὰ περὶ τῶν Σίκιννον αὐτῷ καὶ παρεκάλει τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνεπιλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ συμπροθυμεῖσθαι πίστιν ἔχοντα μᾶλλον, ὅπως ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς ναυμαχήσωσιν. ο μὲν οὖν Ἀριστείδης ἔπαινεσας τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα τοὺς ἄλλους ἑπτής στρατηγοὺς καὶ τριηράρχους ἑπὶ τὴν μάχην παροξύνων. ἔτι δ' ὁμοιοὶ ἀπιστούντων ἐφάνη Τηνία τριήρης αὐτόμολος, ἥς ἐνανάρχει Παναίτιος, ἀπαγγέλλουσα τὴν κύκλωσιν, ὡστε καὶ θυμὸ τούς Ἐλληνας ὁρμήσαι μετὰ τῆς ἀνάγκης πρὸς τὸν κύδωναν.

XIII. "Ἀμα δ' ἡμέρα Ἑρέξης μὲν ἄνω καθήστο τὸν στόλον ἐπιπτεύων καὶ τὴν παράταξιν, ὡς μὲν Φανόδημος φησίν, ὑπὲρ τὸ Ἡράκλειον, ἦ βραχεὶ πόροι διείργεται τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἡ νῆσος, ὡς δ' Ἀκεστόδωρος, ἐν μεθορίῳ τῆς Μεγαρίδος ὑπὲρ τῶν καλουμένων Κεράτων, χρυσοῦν δίφρον θέμενοι καὶ γραμματεῖς πολλοὺς παραστησάμενος, ὃν ἔργον ἦν ἀπογράφεσθαι τὰ κατὰ τὴν μάχην πραττόμενα.

2 Θεμιστοκλεῖ δὲ παρὰ τὴν ναυαρχίδα τριήρης σφαγιαζομένη πρεῖς προσήχθησαν αἰχμάλωτοι, κύλλοστοι μὲν ἴδεσθαι τὴν ὄψιν, ἔσθησι δὲ καὶ χρυσῷ κεκοσμημένῳ διαπρεπῶς. ἐλέγοντο δὲ Σανδάκης παιδεῖς εἶναι τῆς βασιλείας ἀδελφῆς καὶ Ἀρταύκτου. τούτους ἴδοι Εὐφραντίδης ὁ μάντις, ὡς ἀμα μὲν ἀνέλαμψεν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν μέγα καὶ περιθανὲς πῦρ, ἀμα δὲ πταρμὸς ἐκ
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his coming at that time, told him all about the Sicinnus matter, and besought him to join in this desperate attempt to keep the Hellenes where they were,—admitting that he had the greater credit with them,—in order that they might make their sea-fight in the narrows. Aristides, accordingly, after bestowing praise upon Themistocles for his stratagem, went round to the other generals and trierarchs inciting them on to battle. And while they were still incredulous in spite of all, a Tenian trireme appeared, a deserter from the enemy, in command of Panaetius, and told how the enemy surrounded them, so that with a courage born of necessity the Hellenes set out to confront the danger.

XIII. At break of day, Xerxes was seated on a high place and overlooking the disposition of his armament. This place was, according to Phanodemus, above the Heracleium, where only a narrow passage separates the island from Attica; but according to Acestodorus, it was in the border-land of Megara, above the so-called "Horns." Here a gilded throne had been set for him at his command, and many secretaries stationed near at hand, whose task it was to make due record of all that was done in the battle.

But Themistocles was sacrificing alongside the admiral’s trireme. There three prisoners of war were brought to him, of visage most beautiful to behold, conspicuously adorned with raiment and with gold. They were said to be the sons of Sandaucé, the King’s sister, and Artaýctus. When Euphran-rides the seer caught sight of them, since at one and that same moment a great and glaring flame shot up from the sacrificial victims and a sneeze gave forth

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δεξιῶν εσήμηνε, τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα δεξιωσάμενος ἐκέλευσε τῶν νεανίσκων κατάρξασθαι καὶ καθε-
ρεύσαι πάντας ὅμηστῇ Διονύσῳ προσευχάμενον·
ούτω γὰρ ἀμα σωτηρίαν τε καὶ νίκην ἔσεσθαι
3 τοῖς Ἐλλησιν. ἐκπλαγέντος δὲ τοῦ Θεμιστο-
κλέους ὃς μέγα τὸ μάντευμα καὶ δεινὸν, οἶο
εἰσθεν ἐν μεγάλοις ἀγώσι καὶ πράγμασι ἡσα-
ποῖς, μᾶλλον ἐκ τῶν παραλόγων ἢ τῶν εὐλόγων
τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐλπίζοντες ὦ τοῖς πολλοῖ τὸν θεὸν ἀμα
κοινῇ κατεκαλοῦντο φωνῇ καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους
τῷ βωμῷ προσαγαγόντες ἦνάγκασαν, ὡς ὁ μάντις
ἐκέλευσε, τὴν θυσίαν συντελεσθῆναι. ταῦτα
μὲν οὖν ἀνὴρ φιλόσοφος καὶ γραμμάτων οὐκ
ἀπειρος ἱστορικῶν Φανίας ὁ Λέσβιος εἰρηκε.

ΧΙ. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν βαρβαρικῶν
νεῶν Αἰσχύλος ὁ ποιητὴς ὡς ἄν εἶδὼς καὶ διαβε-
βαιούμενος ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ Πέρσαις λέγει ταῦτα:

Εὔρξη δὲ, καὶ γὰρ οἶδα, χιλίας μὲν ἦν
ὦν ἤγε 1 πλῆθος. αἱ δ' ὑπέρκομποι τάχει
ἐκατόν δὲς ἦσαν ἑπτά θ'. ὡδ' ἔχει λόγος.

τῶν δ' Ἀττικῶν ἐκατόν ὅγιοδικοῦτα τὸ πλῆθος
ὁυσῶν ἐκώστη τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ καταστρώματος
μαχομένους ὀκτωκαίδεκα εἶχεν, ὦν τοξότα τέσ-
σαρες ἦσαν, οἱ λοιποὶ δ' ὄπλιται.

2 Δοκεῖ δ' οὐκ ἤττον εὖ τὸν καιρὸν ὃ Θεμι-
στοκλῆς ἦ τῶν τόπων συνιδὼν καὶ φυλάξας
μὴ πρότερον ἀντιπρῶσος καταστήσαι ταῖς
βαρβαρικαῖς τὰς τριήρεις, ἥ τὴν εἰσθηνίαν

1 ὃν ἦγε Fuhr and Blass with Aeschylus: νεῶν τὸ.
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its good omen on the right, he clasped Themistocles by the hand and bade him consecrate the youths, and sacrifice them all to Dionysus Carnivorous, with prayers of supplication; for on this wise would the Hellenes have a saving victory. Themistocles was terrified, feeling that the word of the seer was monstrous and shocking; but the multitude, who, as is wont to be the case in great struggles and severe crises, looked for safety rather from unreasonable than from reasonable measures, invoked the god with one voice, dragged the prisoners to the altar, and compelled the fulfilment of the sacrifice, as the seer commanded. At any rate, this is what Phanias the Lesbian says, and he was a philosopher, and well acquainted with historical literature.

XIV. As regards the number of the Barbarian ships, Aeschylus the poet, in his tragedy of "The Persians," as though from personal and positive knowledge, says this:—

"But Xerxes, and I surely know, had a thousand ships
In number under him; those of surpassing speed
Were twice five score beside and seven; so stands the count." ¹

The Attic ships were one hundred and eighty in number, and each had eighteen men to fight upon the decks, of whom four were archers and the rest men-at-arms.

Themistocles is thought to have divined the best time for fighting with no less success than the best place, inasmuch as he took care not to send his triremes bow on against the Barbarian vessels until the

¹ Verses 341-343 (Dindorf).
οδαν παραγενόθηαι, το πνεύμα λαμπρὸν ἐκ πελάγους ἄει καὶ κύμα διὰ τῶν στενῶν κατά-
γονσαν· ὁ τάς μὲν Ἑλληνικάς οὐκ ἔβλαστε ναῦσ
ἀλιτενεἰς οὔσας καὶ ταπεινοτέρας, τὰς δὲ βαρβα-
ρικὰς τὰς τε πρύμναις ἀνεστώσας καὶ τοῖς κατα-
στρῶμασιν ὕψορφους καὶ βαρείας ἐπιφερομένας
έσφαλλε προσπίπτον καὶ παρεδίδου πλαγίας
tois Ἑλλησίων ὄξεις προσφερομένοις καὶ τῷ Ὄ
Θεμιστοκλεῖ προσέχουσιν, ός ὄρωντι μάλιστα
3 τὸ συμφέρον, καὶ ὡς κατ᾽ ἐκείνον ὁ Σέρξου
ναόγαρχος Ἀριαμένης ναὸν ἔχων μεγάλην ὀστερ
ἀπὸ τεῖχους ἐτούχεν καὶ ἥκουτιζεν, ἀνήρ ἀγαθὸς
ὁν καὶ τῶν βασιλέως ἀδελφῶν πολὺ κράτιστός
tε καὶ δικαιότατος. τούτου μὲν οὖν Ἀμενίας ὁ
Δεκέλευς καὶ Σωκλῆς ὁ Παιανεύς ὁ ὅμοι πλέοντες,
ὡς αἱ νῆσι ἀντιπρόφεροι προσπέσουσι καὶ συνε-
ρείσασι τοῖς χαλκώμασιν ἐνεχέθησαν, ἐπι-
βαίνοντα τῆς αὐτῶν τριήριοι ὑποστάντες καὶ
τοῖς δόρασι τύπτοντες εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐξέ-
βαλον καὶ τὸ σῶμα μετ᾽ ἀλλῶν διαφερομένων
ναυαγίων Ἀρτεμισία γνωρίσασα πρὸς Σέρξουν
ἀνήλεγεν.

XV. Ἔν δὲ τούτῳ τοῦ ἄγωνος ὄντος φῶς μὲν
ἐκλάμψας μέγα λέγουσιν Ἐλευσινόθεν, ἡχοῦ δὲ
καὶ φωνὴ τὸ Ὀρίσιον κατέχειν πεδίον ἀχρι
θαλάττης, ὡς ἀνθρώπων ὅμοι πολλῶν τῶν μυστι-
κῶν ἐξαγόντων Ἰακχοῦ. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ πλῆθους
τῶν φθεγγόμενων κατὰ μικρῶν ἀπὸ γῆς ἀναφ-
ρόμενον νέφος ἔδοξεν αὐθίς ὑπονοστείν καὶ κατα-
σκήπτειν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις. ἔτεροι δὲ φάσματα

1 Παιανεύς correction of Blass: Πεδεύς,
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hour of the day had come which always brought the breeze fresh from the sea and a swell rolling through the strait. This breeze wrought no harm to the Hellenic ships, since they lay low in the water and were rather small; but for the Barbarian ships, with their towering sterns and lofty decks and sluggish movements in getting under way, it was fatal, since it smote them and slewed them round broadside to the Hellenes, who set upon them sharply, keeping their eyes on Themistocles, because they thought he saw best what was to be done, and because confronting him was the admiral of Xerxes, Ariamenes, with a great ship, and just as if he were on a city-wall he kept shooting arrows and javelins,—brave man that he was, by far the strongest and justest of the King's brothers. It was upon him that Ameinias the Deceleian and Socles the Paeanian bore down,—they being together on one ship,—and as the two ships struck each other bow on, crashed together, and hung fast by their bronze beaks, he tried to board their trireme; but they faced him, smote him with their spears, and hurled him into the sea. His body, as it drifted about with other wreckage, was recognised by Artemisia, who had it carried to Xerxes.

XV. At this stage of the struggle they say that a great light flamed out from Eleusis, and an echoing cry filled the Thriasian plain down to the sea, as of multitudes of men together conducting the mystic lacchus in procession. Then out of the shouting throng a cloud seemed to lift itself slowly from the earth, pass out seawards, and settle down upon the triremes. Others fancied they saw apparitions and
καὶ εἴδωλα καθοραῖν ἔδοξαν ἐνόπλων ἀνδρῶν ἀπ’ Ἀιγύπτων τὰς χειρὰς ἀνεχόντων πρὸ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τριηρῶν. οὔς εἰκαζόν Αἰακίδας εἶναι παρακεκλημένους εὐχαίρει πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἐπὶ τὴν βοήθειαν.

2 Πρῶτος μὲν οὖν λαμβάνει ναὸν Δυκάμῆδος, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος τριηραρχὸς, ἦς τὰ παράσημα περικόψας ἄνέθηκεν Ἀπόλλωνι δαφνηφόρῳ Φλυήσιν. οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐξισούμενοι τὸ πλῆθος ἐν στενῷ κατὰ μέρος προσφερομένους καὶ περιπίπτοντας ἀλλήλους ἔτρεψαντο, μέχρι δείλης ἀντισχόντας, ὡς εἰρήκη Σιμωνίδης, τῇ καλῇ ἐκείνῃ καὶ περιβόητον ἀράμενοι νίκην, ἦς οὖθ’ Ἑλλησιν οὔτε βαρβάροις ἐνάλιοι ἔργων εἰργασται λαμπρότερον, ἀνδρεία μὲν καὶ προθυμία κοινὴ τῶν ναυμαχησάντων, γυνώμη δὲ καὶ δεινότητι τῇ Ὁμήρου.

XVI. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ναυμαχίαν Ἐξέξης μὲν ἐτὶ 120 θυμομαχῶν ὑπὸ τὴν ἀπότευξιν ἐπεχείρει διὰ χωμάτων ἐπάγειν τὸ πεζὸν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν εἰς Σαλαμίνα, ἐμφράξας τὸν διὰ μέσον πόρον Θεμιστοκλῆς δ’ ἀποπειρῶμενος Ἀριστείδου λόγῳ γνώμην ἐποιεῖτο λυεῖν τὸ ξένγμα τοῖς ναυσίν ἐπιπλεύσαντας εἰς Ἐλλησπόντουν, “Οπως,” ἔφη, “τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ λάβωμεν.

2 δυσχεραῖνοντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀριστείδου καὶ λέγοντος ὅτι, “Νῦν μὲν τρυφώντι τῷ βαρβάρῳ πεπολεμήκαμεν, ἄν δὲ κατακλείσωμεν εἰς τὴν Ἐλλάδα καὶ καταστήσωμεν εἰς ἀνάγκην ὑπὸ δεὸς ἄνδρα τηλικοῦτων δυνάμεως κύριον, οὐκέτι καθήμενος

1 δεινότητι τῇ Fuhr and Blass with S: δεινότητι.
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shapes of armed men coming from Aegina with their hands stretched out to protect the Hellenic triremes. These, they conjectured, were the Aeacidae, who had been prayerfully invoked before the battle to come to their aid.¹

Now the first man to capture an enemy's ship was Lycomedes, an Athenian captain, who cut off its figure-head and dedicated it to Apollo the Laurel-bearer at Philya. Then the rest, put on an equality in numbers with their foes, because the Barbarians had to attack them by detachments in the narrow strait and so ran foul of one another, routed them, though they resisted till the evening drew on, and thus "bore away," as Simonides says,² "that fair and notorious victory, than which no more brilliant exploit was ever performed upon the sea, either by Hellenes or Barbarians, through the manly valour and common ardour of all who fought their ships, but through the clever judgment of Themistocles."

XVI. After the sea-fight, Xerxes, still furious at his failure, undertook to carry moles out into the sea on which he could lead his infantry across to Salamis against the Hellenes, damming up the intervening strait. But Themistocles, merely by way of sounding Aristides, proposed, as though he were in earnest, to sail with the fleet to the Hellespont and break the span of boats there, "in order," said he, "that we may capture Asia in Europe." Aristides, however, was displeased with the scheme and said: "Now indeed the Barbarian with whom we have fought consults his ease and pleasure, but should we shut up in Hellas and bring under fearful compulsion a man who is lord of such vast forces, he will

¹ Herod. viii. 64. ² Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graeci, iii. 4 p. 423.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΖΩΤΩΝ

υπό σκιά δέχεται την μάχην ἐφ’ ἰσυχίας, ἀλλὰ πάντα τολμῶν καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς παρών διὰ τοῦ κίνδυνου ἐπανορθώσεται τὰ παρεμένα καὶ βουλεύσεται βέλτιον ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων.

3 οὖν τὴν οὖσαν οὖν, ἐφ’ ἄλλα γέφυραν, ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, ἡμᾶς ἀναίρειν, ἄλλ’ ἐτέραν, εἴπερ οὖν τε, προσκατασκευάσαντας ἐκβάλειν διὰ τάχους τὸν ἀνθρώπον ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος.” “Οὐκοῦν,”

εἴπεν ο Θεμιστοκλῆς, “εἰ δοκεῖ ταῦτα συμφέρειν, ὅρα σκοπεῖν καὶ μηχανᾶσθαι πάντας ἡμᾶς, ὅπως ἀπαλλαγήσεται τὴν ταχύτητον ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος.”

4 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐδοξεῖ, πέμπει τινὰ τῶν βασιλικῶν εὐνούχων ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ἀνευρῶν, Ἄρνακην δύναμα, φράζειν βασιλεῖ κελεύσας, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν “Ἑλλησίῳ δέδοκται τῷ ναυτικῷ κεκρατηκότας ἀναπλεῖν εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπὶ τὸ ξεύγμα καὶ λύειν τὴν γέφυραν, Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ κηδόμενος βασιλέως παραίνει σπεύδειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θάλατταν καὶ περαιοῦσθαι, μέχρις αὐτὸς ἐκμεταλλεῖ ὕπαρξιν ἀλλοπλάστω τοῖς συμμάχοις καὶ

5 μελλήσεις πρὸς τὴν διώξιν. ταῦθ’ ὁ Βάρβαρος ἀκούσας καὶ γενόμενος περίφοβος διὰ τάχους ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἀναχώρησιν. καὶ πείρασι η Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ Ἀριστείδου φρονήσις ἐν Μαρδονίῳ παρέσχεν, εἴγε πολλοστημορίῳ τῆς Ξέρξου δύναμιν διαγωνισάμενοι Πλαταιάσιών εἰς τὸν περὶ τῶν ὅλων κίνδυνον κατέστησαν.

XVII. Πόλεων μὲν οὖν τὴν Αἰγινητῶν ἀριστεύσας φησὶν Ἡρόδοτος, Θεμιστοκλεῖ δὲ, καὶ περ
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no longer sit under a golden parasol to view the spectacle of the battle at his ease, but he will dare all things, and, superintending everything in person, because of his peril, will rectify his previous remissness and take better counsel for the highest issues thus at stake. We must not, then," said he, "tear down the bridge that is already there, Themistocles, nay rather, we must build another alongside it, if that be possible, and cast the fellow out of Europe in a hurry." "Well, then," said Themistocles, "if that is what is thought for the best, it is high time for us all to be studying and inventing a way to get him out of Hellas by the speediest route."

As soon as this policy had been adopted, he sent a certain royal eunuch whom he discovered among the prisoners of war, by name Arnaces, with orders to tell the King that the Hellenes had decided, since their fleet now controlled the sea, to sail up into the Hellespont, where the strait was spanned, and destroy the bridge; but that Themistocles, out of regard for the King, urged him to hasten into home waters and fetch his forces across; he himself, he said, would cause the allies all sorts of delays and postponements in their pursuit. No sooner did the Barbarian hear this than he was seized with exceeding fear and speedily began his retreat. This thoughtful prudence on the part of Themistocles and Aristides was afterwards justified by the campaign with Mardonius, since, although they fought at Plataea with the merest fraction of the armies of Xerxes, they yet staked their all upon the issue.

XVII. Among the cities, now, Herodotus¹ says that Aegina bore away the prize of valour; but

¹ viii. 93.
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άκουτες ὑπὸ φθόνου, τὸ πρωτείου ἀπέδοσαν ἀπαντες. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀναχωρήσαντες εἰς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὴν ψήφον ἔφερον οἱ στρατηγοὶ, πρῶτον μὲν ἐκαστὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀπεφαινεν ἀρετῇ, δεύτερον δὲ μεθ’ ἑαυτῷ Θεμιστοκλέα. Δακέδαιμονι δ’ εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην αὐτὸν καταγαγόντες Εὐρυβιάδη μὲν ἀνδρείας, ἐκείνῳ δὲ σοφίας ἀριστείου ἔδοσαν θαλλοῦ στέφανον, καὶ τὸν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀρμάτων τὸ πρωτείον ἐδωρήσαντο καὶ τριακοσίους τῶν νέων πομποὺς 2 ἄχρι τῶν ὄρων συνεξεπεμψαν. Λέγεται δ’ Ὀλυμπίων τῶν ἐφεξῆς ἀγομένων καὶ παρελθόντος εἰς τὸ στάδιον τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους, ἀμελήσαντας τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν τοὺς παρόντας ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνων θεᾶσθαι καὶ τοῖς ξένοις ἐπιδεικνύειν ἄμα θαυμάζοντας καὶ κροτοῦντας, ὡστε καὶ αὐτὸν ἡσθέντα πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ὁμολογῆσαι τῶν καρπῶν ἀπέχειν τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος αὐτῷ ποιηθέντων.

XVIII. Καὶ γὰρ ἦν τῇ φύσει φιλοτιμότατος, εἰ δὲι τεκμαίρεσθαι διὰ τῶν ἀπομνημονευμένων. αἱρεθεὶς γὰρ ναύαρχος ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως οὔδὲν οὕτε τῶν ἰδίων οὔτε τῶν κοινῶν κατὰ μέρος ἐχρημάτιζεν, ἀλλ’ ἐπανεβάλλετο 1 τὸ προσπῆττον εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην, καθ’ ἄν ἐκπλεῖν ἐμελλεν, ἵν’ ὁμοί πολλαὶ πράττει πράγματα καὶ παντοδαποὶ ἀνθρώποις ὁμιλῶν μέγας εἶναι δοκῇ καὶ πλείστον δύνασθαι.

1 ἀλλ’ ἐπανεβάλλετο Fuhr and Blass with F&s: ἀλλὰ πᾶν ἄνεβάλλετο every duty.
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among individuals, all virtually awarded the first place to Themistocles, though their envy made them unwilling to do this directly. For when the generals withdrew to the Isthmus and solemnly voted on this question, taking their ballots from the very altar of the god there, each one declared for himself as first in valour, but for Themistocles as second after himself. Then the Lacedaemonians brought him down to Sparta, and while they gave Eurybiades the prize for valour, to him they gave one for wisdom,—a crown of olive in each case,—and they presented him with the best chariot there was in the city, and sent three hundred picked youth along with him to serve as his escort to the boundary. And it is said that when the next Olympic festival was celebrated, and Themistocles entered the stadium, the audience neglected the contestants all day long to gaze on him, and pointed him out with admiring applause to visiting strangers, so that he too was delighted, and confessed to his friends that he was now reaping in full measure the harvest of his toils in behalf of Hellas.

XVIII. And indeed he was by nature very fond of honour, if we may judge from his memorable sayings and doings. When, for example, the city had chosen him to be admiral, he would not perform any public or private business at its proper time, but would postpone the immediate duty to the day on which he was to set sail, in order that then, because he did many things all at once and had meetings with all sorts of men, he might be thought to be some great personage and very powerful.
2 Τῶν δὲ νεκρῶν τοὺς ἐκπεσόντας ἐπισκοπῶν παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν, ὡς εἴδε περικειμένους ψέλια χρυσὰ καὶ στρεπτοὺς, αὐτὸς μὲν παρῆλθε, τῷ δ᾽ ἐπομένῳ φίλῳ δείξας εἶπεν· "Ἀνελού σαυτῷ σὺ γὰρ οὐκ εἰ Θεμιστοκλῆς.

πρὸς δὲ τινὰ τῶν καλῶν γεγονότων, Ἀντιφάτην, ὑπερηφάνως αὐτῷ κεχρημέον πρότερον, ὅστερον δὲ θεραπεύοντα διὰ τὴν δόξαν, "Ὡ μεράκιοι," εἶπεν, "ὅψε μὲν, ἀμφότεροι δ᾽ ἀμα νοῦν ἐσχῆ-καμεν." ἔλεγε δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οὐ τιμᾶν αὐτὸν οὐδὲ θαυμάζειν, ἀλλὰ ὡσπέρ πλατάνφ χειμαζο-μένους μὲν ὑποτρέχειν κυνδυνεύοντας, εὐδίας δὲ περὶ αὐτοὺς γενομένης τίλλεων καὶ κολούειν. τοῦ δὲ Σερίφου πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος, ὡς οὐ δι᾽ αὐτὸν ἔσχηκε δόξαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν πόλιν, "Ἀληθὴ λέγεις," εἶπεν, "ἀλλ᾽ οὐτ᾽ ἂν ἐγὼ Σερίφιος ὃν ἐγενόμην ἐνδόξοις, οὐτε σὺ Ἀθηναῖος."

4 Ἐτέρων δὲ τινῶς τῶν στρατηγῶν, ὡς ἔδοξεν τιχρήσιμον διαπεπράξατι τῇ πόλει, θρασυνομένου πρὸς τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα καὶ τὰς ἑαυτοῦ ταῖς ἐκεῖνον πράξεις ἀντιπαραβάλλοντος, ἐφῆ τῇ ἔορτῇ τὴν ὕστεραῖαν ἔρίσαι λέγουσαν, ὡς ἐκείνη μὲν ἀσχολών τε μεστῇ καὶ κοπώδης ἐστίν, ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ πάντες ἀπολαύσατι τῶν παρεσκευα-σμένων σχολάζοντες· τὴν δ᾽ ἐορτῇ πρὸς ταῦτ᾽ εἶπεν· "Ἀληθὴ λέγεις· ἀλλ᾽ ἐμοὶ μὴ γενομένης σὺ οὖκ ἂν ἦσθαί· "καμῷ τούτῳ," ἐφη, "τότε 5 μὴ γενομένου, ποῦ ἂν ἦτε νῦν ὑμεῖς;" τὸν δὲ νῦν

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Surveying once the dead bodies of the Barbarians which had been cast up along the sea, he saw that they were decked with golden bracelets and collars, and yet passed on by them himself, while to a friend who followed he pointed them out and said: "Help thyself, thou art not Themistocles." Again, to one who had once been a beauty, Antiphates, and who had at that time treated him disdainfully, but afterwards courted him because of the reputation he had got, "Young man," said he, "'tis late, 'tis true, but both of us have come to our senses." Also he used to say of the Athenians that they did not really honour and admire him for himself, but treated him for all the world like a plane-tree, running under his branches for shelter when it stormed, but when they had fair weather all about them, plucking and docking him. And when he was told by the Seriphian that it was not due to himself that he had got reputation, but to his city, "True," said he, "but neither should I, had I been a Seriphian, have achieved reputation, nor wouldst thou, hadst thou been an Athenian."

Again, when one of his fellow-generals who thought he had done some vast service to the city, grew bold with Themistocles, and began to compare his own services with his, "With the Festival-day," said he, "the Day After once began a contention, saying: 'Thou art full of occupations and wearisome, but when I come, all enjoy at their leisure what has been richly provided beforehand'; to which the Festival-day replied: 'True, but had I not come first, thou hadst not come at all.' So now," said he, "had I not come at that day of Salamis, where would thou and thy colleagues be now?" Of his son, who
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ἐντρυφώντα τῇ μητρὶ καὶ δὲ ἐκείνην αὐτῷ σκωπτῶν ἔλεγε πλείστον τῶν Ἐλλήνων δύνασθαι τοῖς μὲν γὰρ Ἐλλησιν ἐπιτάττειν Ἀθηναίους, Ἀθηναίοις δ’ αὐτόν, αὐτῷ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου μητέρα, τῇ μητρὶ δὲ ἐκείνου ἵδιος δὲ τις ἐν πᾶσι βουλόμενος εἶναι χορίον μὲν πιτράσκων ἐκέλευεν κηρύττειν, ὅτι καὶ γειτόνα χρηστὸν ἔχει τῶν δὲ μυσμένων αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα τὸν ἑπεική τοῦ πλουσίου προκρίνας ἐφή ξητεῖν ἄνδρα χρημάτων δεόμενον μᾶλλον ἢ χρήματα ἄνδρος. ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἀποφθέγμασι τοιούτῳ τις ἦν.

XIX. Γενόμενοι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων ἐκείνων εὐθὺς ἐπεχείρει τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖν καὶ τειχίζειν, ὡς μὲν ἱστορεῖ Θεόπομπος, χρήμασι πείσας μὴ ἐναντιωθήναι τοὺς ἐφόρους, ὡς δ’ οἱ πλείστοι, παρακροουσάμενος. ἦκε μὲν γὰρ εἰς Σπάρτην ὤνομα πρεσβείας ἐπιγραψάμενος· ἐγκαλούντων δὲ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, ὅτι τειχίζουσι τὸ ἀστυ, καὶ Πολυάρχου κατηγοροῦντος ἐπίτηδες 2 ἐξ Αἰγίνης ἀποσταλέντος, ἤρνειτο καὶ πέμπειν ἐκέλευεν εἰς Ἀθήνας τοὺς κατοψιμένους, ἀμα μὲν ἐμβάλλων τῷ τειχισμῷ χρόνον ἐκ τῆς διατριβῆς, ἀμα δὲ βουλόμενος ἀντὶ αὐτοῦ τοὺς πεπομένους ὑπάρχειν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. δ καὶ συνέβη γινόντες γὰρ οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι τὸ ἀληθὲς οὐκ ἢδίκησαν αὐτὸν, ἀλλ’ ἀδήλως χαλεπαίνουντες ἀπέπεμψαν.

'Εκ δὲ τούτου τὸν Πειραιὰ κατεσκέυαζε, τὴν τῶν ιμένων εὐφυίαν κατανοήσας καὶ τὴν πόλιν 52
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lorded it over his mother, and through her over himself, he said, jestingly, that the boy was the most powerful of all the Hellenes; for the Hellenes were commanded by the Athenians, the Athenians by himself, himself by the boy's mother, and the mother by her boy. Again, with the desire to be somewhat peculiar in all that he did, when he offered a certain estate for sale, he bade proclamation to be made that it had an excellent neighbour into the bargain. Of two suitors for his daughter's hand, he chose the likely man in preference to the rich man, saying that he wanted a man without money rather than money without a man. Such were his striking sayings.

XIX. After the great achievements now described, he straightway undertook to rebuild and fortify the city,—as Theopompus relates, by bribing the Spartan Ephors not to oppose the project; but as the majority say, by hoodwinking them. He came with this object to Sparta, ostensibly on an embassy, and when the Spartans brought up the charge that the Athenians were fortifying their city, and Polyarchus was sent expressly from Aegina with the same accusation, he denied that it was so, and bade them send men to Athens to see for themselves, not only because this delay would secure time for the building of the wall, but also because he wished the Athenians to hold these envoys as hostages for his own person. And this was what actually happened. When the Lacedaemonians found out the truth they did him no harm, but concealed their displeasure and sent him away.

After this he equipped the Piraeus, because he had noticed the favourable shape of its harbours, and
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δὴν ἀρμοττόμενος πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τοίς παλαιοῖς βασιλεύσι τῶν Ἀθη-3 ναίων ἀντιπολιτεύομενος. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ, ὡς λέγεται, πραγματευόμενοι τοὺς πολίτας ἀπο-σπάσαι τῆς θαλάττης καὶ συνεθίσαι ζην ἡμὴ πλέοντας, ἀλλὰ τὴν χώραν φυτεύοντας, τὸν περὶ τῆς Ἀθηναῖς διέδοσαν λόγον, ὡς ἐρίσαντα περὶ τῆς χώρας τὸν Ποσειδῶν δείξασα τῇ μορίαν τοῖς δικασταῖς ἐνίκησε. Θεμιστοκλῆς δ' οὖν, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ κομικὸς λέγει, τῇ πόλει τὸν Πειραιὰ προσέμαξεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐξῆρπε 4 τοῦ Πειραιῶς καὶ τὴν γῆν τῆς θαλάττης· οἶδεν καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐξῆσε κατὰ τῶν ἄριστων καὶ θράσους ἐνέπλησεν, εἰς ναύτας καὶ κελευστάς καὶ κυβερνήτας τῆς δυνάμεως ἀφικομένης. διὸ καὶ τὸ βῆμα τὸ ἐν Πυκκί πεποιημένον ὡστ' ἀποβλέπειν πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν ὥστε τοῖς τριάκοντα πρὸς τὴν χώραν ἀπέστρεψαν, οἵομενοι τὴν μὲν κατὰ θάλατταν ἄρχην γένεσιν εἶναι δημοκρατίας, ὀλυγαρχία δ' ἦττον δυσχεραίνειν τοὺς γεωργοῦντας.

XX. Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὸν τῆς ναυτικῆς διενοχῆθη δυνάμεως. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὃ τῶν 12: Ἐλλήνων στόλος ἀπηλλαγμένου Ἐρέτου καθήκεν εἰς Παγασᾶς καὶ διεχέμαζε, δημηγορῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐφή τινα πράξειν ἔχειν ὡφέλιμον μὲν αὐτοῖς καὶ σωτηρίων, ἀπόρρητου δὲ πρὸς τοὺς 2 πολλοὺς. τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίον Ἀριστοτέδη ψάμα 2 μόνῳ κελευόντων, κἂν ἐκεῖνος δοκιμάσῃ περαι-
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wished to attach the whole city to the sea; thus in a certain manner counteracting the policies of the ancient Athenian kings. For they, as it is said, in their efforts to draw the citizens away from the sea and accustom them to live not by navigation but by agriculture, disseminated the story about Athena, how when Poseidon was contending with her for possession of the country, she displayed the sacred olive-tree of the Acropolis to the judges, and so won the day. But Themistocles did not, as Aristophanes 1 the comic poet says, “knead the Piraeus on to the city,” nay, he fastened the city to the Piraeus, and the land to the sea. And so it was that he increased the privileges of the common people as against the nobles, and filled them with boldness, since the controlling power came now into the hands of skippers and boatswains and pilots. Therefore it was, too, that the bema in Pnyx, which had stood so as to look off toward the sea, was afterwards turned by the thirty tyrants so as to look inland, because they thought that maritime empire was the mother of democracy, and that oligarchy was less distasteful to tillers of the soil.

XX. But Themistocles cherished yet greater designs even for securing the naval supremacy. When the fleet of the Hellenes, after the departure of Xerxes, had put in at Pagasae and was wintering there, he made a harangue before the Athenians, in which he said that he had a certain scheme in mind which would be useful and salutary for them, but which could not be broached in public. So the Athenians bade him impart it to Aristides alone, and if he should approve of it, to put it into execution.

1 Knights, 815.
νευ, ὁ μὲν Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐφρασε τῷ Ἀριστέιδῃ, τὸ νεώριον ἐμπρήσαι διανοεῖσθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων· ὁ δὲ Ἀριστέιδης εἰς τὸν δῆμον παρελθὼν ἐφη τῆς πράξεως, ἵνα διανοεῖται πράττειν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, μηδεμίαν εἶναι μήτε λυσιτελεστέραν μήτ' ἀδικωτέραν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναίοι διὰ ταύτα παύσασθαι τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ προσέταξαν.

3 Ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ἀμφικτυονικοῖς συνεδρίοις τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων εἰσηγούμενον, ὅπως ἀπείρωνται τῆς Ἀμφικτυονίας αἱ μὴ συμμαχήσασαι κατὰ τοῦ Μήδου πόλεις, φοβηθεῖς, μὴ Ἰππαλοῦσι καὶ Ἀργείους, ἔτι δὲ Ἡθαίουσι ἐκβαλοῦν τοῦ συνεδρίου παντελῶς ἐπικρατήσωσι τῶν ψήφων καὶ γένηται τὸ δοκοῦν ἐκείνοις, συνεῖπται ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ μετέθηκε τὰς γνώμας τῶν πυλαγόρων,

4 διδάξας, ὡς τριάκοντα καὶ μία μόναι πόλεις εἶσθε, αἱ μετασχοῦσαι τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ τούτων αἱ πλείους πανταπασί μικραί· δεινῶν οὐν, εἰ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἐκστόπονον γενομένης ἐπὶ ταῖς μεγίσταις δυσίν ἢ τρισὶ πόλεσιν ἔσται τὸ συνεδρίον. ἐκ τούτου μὲν οὖν μάλιστα τοῖς Δακεδαιμονίοις προσέκρουσε· διὸ καὶ τὸν Κίμωνα προῆγγον ταῖς τιμαῖς, ἀντίπαλον ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ καθιστάντες.

XXI. Ἡν δὲ καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις ἐπαρχής περιπλέον τοις υἷσις καὶ χρηματιζόμενος ἀτ' αὐτῶν· οίδα καὶ πρὸς Ἀνδρίους ἀργύριον αἰτοῦντά φησιν αὐτὸν Ἡράδοτος εἰπεῖν τε καὶ ἀκοῦσαι. δύο γὰρ ἦκεν ἐφη θεοὺς κομίζων, Πειθώ καὶ Βίλαν· οἱ δ' ἐφέσαν εἶναι καὶ παρ'
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Themistocles accordingly told Aristides that he purposed to burn the fleet of the Hellenes where it lay; but Aristides addressed the people, and said of the scheme which Themistocles purposed to carry out, that none could be either more advantageous or more iniquitous. The Athenians therefore ordered Themistocles to give it up.

At the Amphictyonic or Holy Alliance conventions, the Lacedaemonians introduced motions that all cities be excluded from the Alliance which had not taken part in fighting against the Mede. So Themistocles, fearing lest, if they should succeed in excluding the Thessalians and the Argives and the Thebans too from the convention, they would control the votes completely and carry through their own wishes, spoke in behalf of the protesting cities, and changed the sentiments of the delegates by showing that only thirty-one cities had taken part in the war, and that the most of these were altogether small; it would be intolerable, then, if the rest of Hellas should be excluded and the convention be at the mercy of the two or three largest cities. It was for this reason particularly that he became obnoxious to the Lacedaemonians, and they therefore tried to advance Cimon in public favour, making him the political rival of Themistocles.

XXI. He made himself hateful to the allies also, by sailing round to the islands and trying to exact money from them. When, for instance, he demanded money of the Andrians, Herodotus says he made a speech to them and got reply as follows: he said he came escorting two gods, Persuasion and Compulsion; and they replied that they already had two great

1 viii. 111.
πολὺ δ' ἀσελγεστέρα καὶ ἀναπηπταμένη μᾶλλον εἰς τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα βλασφημία κέχρηται μετὰ
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gods, Penury and Powerlessness, who hindered them from giving him money.

Timocreon, the lyric poet of Rhodes, assailed Themistocles very bitterly in a song, to the effect that for bribes he had secured the restoration of other exiles, but had abandoned him, though a host and a friend, and all for money. The song runs thus\(^1\):—

"Come, if thou praisest Pausanias, or if Xanthippus,
   Or if Leotychidas, then I shall praise Aristides,
The one best man of all
   Who came from sacred Athens; since Leto loathes Themistocles,

"The liar, cheat, and traitor, who, though Timocreon
   was his host,
By knavish moneys was induced not to bring
   him back
Into his native Ialysus,
   But took three talents of silver and went cruising off,—to perdition,

"Restoring some exiles unjustly, chasing some away, and slaying some,
   Gorged with moneys; yet at the Isthmus he played ridiculous host with the stale meats set before his guests;
Who ate thereof and prayed Heaven 'no happy return of the day for Themistocles!'

Much more wanton and extravagant was the raillery which Timocreon indulged in against Themistocles

\(^1\) No attempt is made in the translations of Timocreon to imitate the metre of the original.
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tην φυγήν αυτοῦ καὶ τὴν καταδίκην ὁ Τιμοκρέων ἀσμα ποιήσας, οὗ ἔστιν ἀρχή.

Μοῦσα τοῦ τοῦ μέλεος κλέος ἀν’ Ἐλλανας τίθει, ὡς ἑωκίδος καὶ δίκαιον.

λέγεται δ’ ὁ Τιμοκρέων ἐπὶ μηδισμῷ φυγεῖν 5 συγκαταψηφισαμένου τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους. ὡς οὖν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς αἴτιαν ἔσχε μηδίζειν, ταύτ’ ἐποίησεν εἰς αὐτὸν·

Οὐκ ἄρα Τιμοκρέων μοῦνος Μῆδοισιν ὀρκιατομεῖ,

ἀλλ’ ἐντὶ κάλλοι δὴ πονηροὶ οὐκ ἐγὼ μόνα κόλουρις·

ἐντὶ καὶ ἄλλα ἀλώπεκες.

XXII. Ἡδὴ δὲ καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν διὰ τὸ φθο- 123 νεῖν ἡδέως τὰς διαβολὰς προσιεμένων ἡγαγκάζετο λυπηρός εἶναι τῶν αὐτοῦ πράξεων πολλάκις ἐν τῷ δήμῳ μημονεύων· καὶ πρὸς τοὺς δυσχεραίνοντας “Τί κοπιάτε,” εἶπεν, “ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν πολλάκις εῦ πάσχοντες;” ἡνίασε δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν εἰσάμενος, ἢ Ἄριστοβούλην μὲν προσηγόρευσεν, ως ἀριστα·

2 τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς Ἐλλησὶ βουλευσάμενοι, πλησίον δὲ τῆς οἰκίας κατεσκεύασεν ἐν Μελίτῃ τὸ ἱερὸν, οὗ νῦν τὰ σώματα τῶν θανατομένων οἱ δήμοι προβάλλουσι καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ τους βρόχους τῶν ἀπαγχομένων καὶ καθαυρεθέντων ἐκφέρουσιν. ἔκειτο δὲ καὶ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους 60
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after the latter's own exile and condemnation. Then he composed the song beginning:—

"O Muse, grant that this song
Be famed throughout all Hellas,
As it is meet and just."

It is said that Timocreon was sent into exile on a charge of Medising, and that Themistocles concurred in the vote of condemnation. Accordingly, when Themistocles also was accused of Medising, Timocreon composed these lines upon him:—

"Not Timocreon alone, then, made compacts with the Medes,
But there are other wretches too; not I alone am brushless,
There are other foxes too."

XXII. And at last, when even his fellow-citizens were led by their jealousy of his greatness to welcome such slanders against him, he was forced to allude to his own achievements when he addressed the Assembly, till he became tiresome thereby, and he once said to the malcontents: "Why are ye vexed that the same men should often benefit you?" He offended the multitude also by building the temple of Artemis, whom he surnamed Aristoboulé, or Best Counsellor, intimating thus that it was he who had given the best counsel to the city and to the Hellenes. This temple he established near his house in Melité, where now the public officers cast out the bodies of those who have been put to death, and carry forth the garments and the nooses of those who have dispatched themselves by hanging. A portrait-statue of Themistocles stood in this
εἰκόνιον ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ἀριστοβούλης ἔτι καθ' ἡμᾶς: καὶ φαίνεται τις ὁ τὴν ψυχήν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ὕψων ἡρωϊκὸς γενόμενος.

3 Τὸν μὲν οὖν ἐξοστρακισμὸν ἐποιήσαντο κατ' αὐτοῦ κολούοντες τὸ ἄξιωμα καὶ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν, ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν ἐπὶ πάντων, οὐδὲν τῇ δυνάμει βαρεῖς καὶ πρὸς ἰσότητα δημοκρατικῆς ἀσυμμέτρους εἶναι. κόλασις γὰρ οὐκ ἦν ὁ ἐξοστρακισμός, ἀλλὰ παραμυθία φθόνον καὶ κοινός ἡδομένου τῷ ταπεινοῖν τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας καὶ τὴν δυσμένειαν εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἀτιμίαν ἀποτελέσατο.

XXIII. Ἐκπεσόντος δὲ τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῦ καὶ διατρίβοντος ἐν Ἀργεῖ τὰ περὶ Παυσανίαν συμπεσόντα κατ' ἐκείνου παρέσχε τοῖς ἔχθροις ἀφορμάς. ὁ δὲ γραψάμενος αὐτὸν προδοσίας Δεοβώτης ἦν ὁ Ἀλκμαῖων ὁ Αγραυληθεν, ἀμα συνεπαιτιωμένων τῶν Ἱπποτικῶν. ὁ γὰρ Παυσανίας πράττων ἐκείνα δὴ τὰ περὶ τὴν προδοσίαν πρότερον μὲν ἀπεκρύπτετο τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, 2 καίπερ ὄντα φίλου ὡς δ' εἶδεν ἐκπεττοκότα τῆς πολιτείας καὶ φέροντα χαλεπῶς ἐθάρρησεν ἐπὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν πραττομένων παρακλείων, γράμματα 1 τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιδεικνύμενος αὐτῷ καὶ παροξύων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ὡς πονηροὺς καὶ ἀχαρίστους. ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν δέσιν ἀπετρίψατο τοῦ Παυσανίου καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν ὅλως ἀπείπατο, πρὸς οὐδένα δὲ τοὺς λόγους ἐξήνεγκεν οὐδὲ κατεμῆνυσε τὴν πράξειν, εἰτε παύσεσθαι προσδοκών

1 γράμματα Fuhr and Blass with FrS: τὰ γράμματα.

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temple of Aristoboulé down to my time, from which he appears to have been a man not only of heroic spirit, but also of heroic presence.
Well then, they visited him with ostracism, curtailing his dignity and pre-eminence, as they were wont to do in the case of all whom they thought to have oppressive power, and to be incommensurate with true democratic equality. For ostracism was not a penalty, but a way of pacifying and alleviating that jealousy which delights to humble the eminent, breathing out its malice into this disfranchisement.

XXIII. After he had been thus banished from the city, and while he was sojourning at Argos, circumstances connected with the death of Pausanias gave his enemies at Athens ground for proceeding against him. The one who actually brought in the indictment against him for treason was Leobotes the son of Alcmeon, of the deme Agraulé, but the Spartans supported him in the accusation. Pausanias, while engaged in his grand scheme of treachery, at first kept it concealed from Themistocles; but when he saw him thus banished from his state and in great bitterness of spirit, he made bold to invite him into partnership in his own undertakings, showing him a letter he had received from the King, and inciting him against the Hellenes as a base and thankless people. Themistocles rejected the solicitation of Pausanias, and utterly refused the proffered partnership; and yet he disclosed the propositions to no one, nor did he even give information of the treacherous scheme, because he expected either that Pausanias would give it up of his own

1 About 472 B.C.
αὐτῶν, εἰτ’ ἄλλως καταφανὴ γενήσεσθαι σὺν οὐδεὶς λογισμῷ πραγμάτων ἀτόπων καὶ παραβόλων ὀρεγόμενον.

3. Οὕτω δὴ τοῦ Παυσανίου θανατωθέντος ἐπιστολαί τινες ἀνευρέθεισαι καὶ γράμματα περὶ τούτων εἰς ὑποψίαν ἐνέβαλον τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα· καὶ κατεβόων μὲν αὐτοῦ Δακεδαίμονι, κατηγόρουν δ’ οἱ φθονοῦντες τῶν πολιτῶν, οὐ παρόντος, ἀλλὰ διὰ γραμμάτων ἀπολογουμένου μάλιστα ταῖς προτέραις κατηγορίαις. διαβαλλόμενος γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἔχθρῶν πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας ἑγραφεν, ὡς ἄρχειν μὲν ἄει ἔτη τῶν, ἄρχεςθαι δὲ μὴ πεφυκὼς μηδὲ βουλόμενος, οὐκ ἂν ποτε βαρβάροις αὐτὸν οὐδὲ πολεμίοις ἀποδόσθαι μετὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ συμπεποίθησι μποτὶ τῶν κατηγοροῦντων ὁ δήμος ἐπεμψεν ἀνδρας, οίς εὐρητο συλλαμβάνειν καὶ ἀνάγειν 2 αὐτὸν κρίθησομένον ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησίων.

XXIV. Προαισθόμενος δ’ ἐκεῖνος εἰς Κέρκυραν διεπέρασεν, οὔσης αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν εὐεργεσίας. Γενόμενος γὰρ αὐτῶν κρίτης πρὸς Κορινθίους ἐχόντων διαφοράν, ἔλυσε τὴν ἔχθραν εἰκοσὶ τάλαντα κρίνας τοὺς Κορινθίους καταβαλεῖν καὶ Δευκάδα κοινὴ νέμειν ἀμφοτέρων ἀποικον. ἐκείθεν δ’ εἰς Ἡπείρου ἐφυγε· καὶ διωκόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν Δακεδαίμονίων ἔρριψεν αὐτὸν εἰς ἐλπίδας χαλέπας καὶ ἀπόρους καταφυγὼν πρὸς Ἀδμητον, δὲ βασιλεὺς μὲν ἤν Μολοττῶν, δεηθεὶς δὲ τι τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ προπηλακισθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ

1 αὐτὸν οὐδὲ πολεμίοις Fuhr and Blass with FaS: καὶ πολεμίοις αὐτῶν.

2 ἀνάγειν Fuhr and Blass with S: ἄγειν.

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accord, or that in some other way he would be found out, since he was so irrationally grasping after such strange and desperate objects.

And so it was that, when Pausanias had been put to death, certain letters and documents regarding these matters were discovered which cast suspicion on Themistocles. The Lacedaemonians cried him down, and his envious fellow-citizens denounced him, though he was not present to plead his cause, but defended himself in writing, making particular use of earlier accusations brought against him. Since he was once slanderously accused by his enemies before his fellow-citizens—so he wrote, as one who ever sought to rule, but had no natural bent nor even the desire to be ruled, he could never have sold himself with Hellas to Barbarians, much less to foemen. The people, however, were overpersuaded by his accusers, and sent men with orders to arrest him and bring him up in custody to stand trial before a Congress of Hellenes.

XXIV. But he heard of this in advance, and crossed over to Corecyra, where he had been recognized as a public benefactor of the city. For he had served as arbiter in a dispute between them and the Corinthians, and settled the quarrel by deciding that the Corinthians should pay an indemnity of twenty talents, and administer Leucas as a common colony of both cities. Thence he fled to Epirus, and being pursued by the Athenians and Lacedaemonians, he threw himself upon grievous and desperate chances of escape by taking refuge with Admetus, who was king of the Molossians, and who, since he had once asked some favour of the Athenians and
Θεμιστοκλέους, ὅτ' ἦκμαξεν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, δι' ὀργῆς εἰχὲν αὐτὸν ἅει καὶ δὴλος ἦν, εἰ λάβοι, 124 τιμωρησόμενος. ἐν δὲ τῇ τότε τύχῃ μᾶλλον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς φοβηθεὶς συγγενῆ καὶ πρόσφατον φθόνον ὀργῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ βασιλικῆς, ταύτη φέρων ὑπέθηκεν ἕαυτόν, ἵκετης τοῦ Ἀδριάτου καταστάς ἰδιόν τινα καὶ παρηλλαγμένον τρόπον.

3 ἔχων γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸν νιὸν ὄντα παῖδα πρὸς τὴν ἑστίαν προσέπεσε, ταύτην μεγάςτην καὶ μόνην σχεδὸν ἀναντίρρητον ἡγομένον ἱκεσίαν τῶν Μολοσσῶν. ἔνοιοι μὲν οὖν Φθίαν τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ βασιλέως λέγουσιν ὑποθέσατε τῷ Θεμιστοκλεὶ τὸ ἱκέτευμα τούτο καὶ τὸν νιὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑστίαν καθίσαι μετ' αὐτοῦ· τινὲς δ' αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀδριάτον, ὡς ἀφοσιώσατο πρὸς τοὺς διώκοντας τὴν ἀνάγκην, δὲ ἦν οὐκ ἑκδίδωσι τὸν ἄνδρα, διαθεῖναι καὶ συντραγῳδήσαι τὴν ἱκεσίαν.

4 Ἐκεῖ δ' αὐτῷ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παίδας ἐκκλέψας ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν Ἔπικράτης ὁ Ἀχαρνέως ἀπέστειλεν· ὥν ἐπὶ τούτῳ Κῖμων ύπερον κρίνας ἑθανάτωσεν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Στησίμβροτος. εἰτ' οὖν ὁδ' ὅπως ἐπιλαθόμενος τούτων ἡ τῶν Θεμιστοκλέα ποιῶν ἐπιλαθόμενον πλεῦσαι φησιν εἰς Σικελίαν καὶ παρ' Ἰέρωνος αἰτεῖν τοῦ τυράννου τὴν θυγατέρα πρὸς γάμον, ὑπισχυομένου· αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἐλλήνας ὑπήκουσον ποιήσειν ἀποτριψαμένου1 δὲ τοῦ Ἰέρωνος, οὕτως εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπάραι.

1 ἀποτριψαμένου Fuhr and Blass with S: ἀποστρεψαμένου.
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had been insultingly refused it by Themistocles, then at the height of his political influence, was angry with him ever after, and made it plain that he would take vengeance on him if he caught him. But in the desperate fortune of that time Themistocles was more afraid of kindred and recent jealousy than of an anger that was of long standing and royal, and promptly cast himself upon the king's mercy, making himself the suppliant of Admetus in a way quite peculiar and extraordinary. That is to say, he took the young son of the king in his arms and threw himself down at the hearth; a form of supplication which the Molossians regarded as most sacred, and as almost the only one that might not be refused. Some, it is true, say that it was Phthia, the wife of the king, who suggested this form of supplication to Themistocles, and that she seated her son on the hearth with him; and certain others that Admetus himself, in order that he might give a religious sanction to the necessity that was upon him of not surrendering the man, arranged beforehand and solemnly rehearsed with him the supplication scene.

Thither his wife and children were privily removed from Athens and sent to him by Epigrates of the deme Acharnae, who, for this deed, was afterwards convicted by Cimon and put to death, as Stesimbrotus relates. Then, somehow or other, Stesimbrotus forgets this, or makes Themistocles forget it, and says he sailed to Sicily and demanded from Hiero the tyrant the hand of his daughter in marriage, promising as an incentive that he would make the Hellenes subject to his sway; but that Hiero repulsed him, and so he set sail for Asia.
XXV. Ταύτα δ' οὐκ εἰκός ἐστιν οὕτω γενέσθαι. Θεόφραστος γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Περὶ βασιλείας ἱστορεί τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα πέμψαντος εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν Ἴρωνος ἱπποὺς ἀγωνιστὰς καὶ σκηνὴν τινα κατεσκευασμένην πολυτελῶς στήσαντος, εἰπεῖν ἐν τοῖς Ἔλλησι λόγον, ὡς χρῆ τὴν σκηνὴν διαρπάσαι τοῦ τυράννου καὶ κωλῦσαι τοὺς ἱπποὺς ἀγωνισάσθαι. Θουκυδίδης δὲ φησί καὶ πλεύσαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑτέραν καταβάντα θάλασσαν ἀπὸ Πύδνης, οὔδενος εἰδῶτος ὅστις εἰη τῶν πλεόντων, μέχρι οὔ πνεύματι τῆς ὀλκάδος εἰς Νάξον καταφερομένης ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων πολιορκουμένην τότε φοβηθεὶς ἀναδείξειν ἑαυτὸν τῷ τε ναυκλήρῳ καὶ τῷ κυβερνήτῃ, καὶ τὰ μὲν δεόμενος, τὰ δ' ἀπειλῶν καὶ λέγων, ὃτι κατηγροῦσι καὶ καταψεύσωσι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὡς οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες, ἀλλὰ χρήμασι πεισθέντες ἡ νοῦς ἀναλάβων αὐτὸν, οὕτως ἄναγκασθε παραπλεύσαι καὶ λαβέσθαι τῆς Ἀσίας. τῶν δὲ χρημάτων αὐτῶ πολλὰ μὲν ὑπεκκλαπέντα διὰ τῶν φίλων εἰς Ἀσίαν ἐπελεία τῶν δὲ φαινομένων καὶ συναχθέντων εἰς τὸ θεώτητος Θεσποτμοὶ μὲν ἐκατὸν τάλαντα, Θεόφραστος δὲ στοιχείκοντα φησὶ γενέσθαι τὸ πλῆθος, οὔδὲ τριῶν άξια ταλάντων κεκτημένου τὸν Θεμιστοκλέους πρὶν ἄπτεσθαι τῆς πολιτείας.

XXVI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέπλευσεν εἰς Κύμην καὶ πολλοὺς ἢσθε ντῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ παραφυλάττοντος αὐτῶν λαβεῖν, μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς περὶ Ἑργοτέλη καὶ Πυθόδωρου (ἂν γὰρ ἡ θῆρα λυσιτελὴς τοῖς τὸ κερδαίνεις ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀγαπῶσι, 68
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XXV. But it is not likely that this was so. For Theophrastus, in his work "On Royalty," tells how, when Hiero sent horses to compete at Olympia, and set up a sort of booth there with very costly decorations, Themistocles made a speech among the assembled Hellenes, urging them to tear down the booth of the tyrant and prevent his horses from competing. And Thucydides\(^1\) says that he made his way across the country to the sea, and set sail from Pydna, no one of the passengers knowing who he was until, when the vessel had been carried by a storm to Naxos, to which the Athenians at that time were laying siege,\(^2\) he was terrified, and disclosed himself to the master and the captain of the ship, and partly by entreaties, partly by threats, actually declaring that he would denounce and vilify them to the Athenians as having taken him on board at the start in no ignorance but under bribes,—in this way compelled them to sail by and make the coast of Asia. Of his property, much was secretly abstracted for him by his friends and sent across the sea to Asia; but the sum total of that which was brought to light and confiscated amounted to one hundred talents, according to Theopompus,—Theophrastus says eighty,—and yet Themistocles did not possess the worth of three talents before he entered political life.

XXVI. After landing at Cyme, and learning that many people on the coast were watching to seize him, and especially Ergoteles and Pythodorus,—for the chase was a lucrative one to such as were fond of getting gain from any and every source, since

\(^1\) i. 137.  \(^2\) About 469 B.C.
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diaκοσίων ἐπικεκηρυγμένων αὐτῷ ταλάντων ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἔφυγεν εἰς Αἰγάς, Αἰολικὸν πολισμάτιον, ὑπὸ πάντων ἁγιοούμενος πλὴν τοῦ ἔξονος Νικογένους, ὃς Αἰολέων πλείστην οὐσίαν ἐκέκτητο καὶ τοῖς ἂνω δυνατοῖς γνώριμοι ὑπήρχε. 2 παρὰ τούτῳ κρυπτόμενοι ἡμέρας ὀλίγας διέτριψεν· εἶτα μετὰ τὸ δεύτερον ἐκ θυσίας τινὸς Ὁλβίος ὁ τῶν τέκνων τοῦ Νικογένους παιδαγωγὸς ἐκφρῶν γενόμενος καὶ θεοφόρητος ἀνεφώνησεν ἐν μέτρῳ 1 ταυτί·

Νυκτὶ φωνῆν, νυκτὶ βουλὴν, νυκτὶ τὴν νίκην δίδου.

Καὶ μετὰ ταύτα κοιμηθεὶς ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὄνορ ἔδοξεν ἰδεῖν δράκοντα κατὰ τῆς γαστρὸς αὐτοῦ περιελπτόμενον καὶ προσανέρποντα τῷ ἐφαρμογῇ. 3 γενόμενον δ’ ἀετόν, ὃς ἦσαν τοὺς προσώπους, περιβαλόντα τάς πτέρυγας ἐξάραὶ καὶ κομῖζον πόλην ὄδον, εἶτα χρυσὸν τίνος κηρυκείου φανέρως, ἐπὶ τούτου στήσαι βεβαιῶς αὐτὸν ἀμηχάνον δεῖματος καὶ ἀπαχώρητα ἀπαλλαγέντα.

Πέμπται δ’ οὖν ὑπὸ τοῦ Νικογένους μηχανημένον τι τοιόντε. 2 τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ γένους τὸ πολὺ καὶ μάλιστα τὸ Περσικὸν εἰς ξηλοτυπίαν τὴν περὶ τὰς γυναικὰς ἄγριον φύσει καὶ χαλεπῶν 4 ἄστιν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὰς γαμετὰς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἀργυρωνήτους καὶ παλλακευμένας ἱσχυρᾶς παραφυλάττουσι, ὃς ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ῥάσσας τῶν ἐκτός, ἀλλ’ οίκοι μὲν διαναζότας κατακεκλεισμένας, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὀδοιπορίαις ὑπὸ σκηνᾶς κύκλῳ

1 ἀνεφώνησεν ἐν μέτρῳ Fuhr and Blass with S: ἀνεφώνησε μέτρω. 2 τοιόντε Fuhr and Blass with FaS: τοιούτον.

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two hundred talents had been publicly set upon his head by the King,—he fled to Aegae, a little Aeolic citadel. Here no one knew him except his host Nicogenes, the wealthiest man in Aeolia, and well acquainted with the magnates of the interior. With him he remained in hiding for a few days. During this time, after the dinner which followed a certain sacrifice, Oblius, the paedagogue of the children of Nicogenes, becoming rapt and inspired, lifted up his voice and uttered the following verse:

"Night shall speak, and night instruct thee, night shall give thee victory."

And in the night that followed, Themistocles, as he lay in bed, thought he saw in a dream that a serpent wound itself along over his body and crept up to his neck, then became an eagle as soon as it touched his face, enveloped him with its wings and lifted him on high and bore him a long distance, when there appeared as it were a golden herald’s wand, on which it set him securely down, freed from helpless terror and distress.

However that may be, he was sent on his way by Nicogenes, who devised the following scheme for his safety. Most barbarous nations, and the Persians in particular, are savage and harsh in their jealous watchfulness over their women. Not only their wedded wives, but also their boughten slaves and concubines are strictly guarded, so that they are seen by no outsiders, but live at home in complete seclusion, and even on their journeys are carried in tents closely hung round about with curtains and set
περιπεφραγμένας ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρμαμάξων ὑχεῖσθαι. 
οιαύτης τῷ Θεμιστοκλεὶ κατασκευασθείσης 
ἀπῆνης καταδὺς ἐκομίζετο, τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀεὶ 
τοῖς ἐνυγχάνουσι καὶ πυνθανομένοις λεγόντων, 
ὅτι γύναιον Ἑλληνικὸν ἀγούσιν ἀπ᾽ Ἰωνίας πρὸς 
tῶν ἔπι θύρας βασιλέως.

XXVII. Θουκυδίδης μὲν οὖν καὶ Χάρων ὁ 
Λαμψάκης ἰστοροῦσι τεθηκότος Ἐφέσου πρὸς 
tῶν νῦν αὐτοῦ τῷ Θεμιστοκλεὶ γενέσθαι τὴν 
ἐνυγχίαν Ὁφορος δὲ καὶ Δείνων καὶ Κλείταρχος 
καὶ Ἰράκλειδῆς, ἔτι δ᾽ ἄλλοι πλείονες, πρὸς 
αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι τῶν Ἐφέσου. τοῖς δὲ χρονικοῖς 
δοκεῖ μᾶλλον ὁ Θουκυδίδης συμφέρεσθαι, καίπερ 
2 οὐδ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἀτέρμα συντατομένοις. ὁ δ᾽ οὖν 
Θεμιστοκλῆς γενόμενος παρ᾽ αὐτὸ τὸ δείνον 
ἐνυγχάνει πρὸς τὸν Ἀρταβάνῳ τῷ χιλιάρχῳ 
λέγων, Ἡλλῆν μὲν εἶναι, βούλεσθαι δ᾽ ἐνυγχία 
βασιλεῖ περὶ μεγίστων πραγμάτων καὶ πρὸς ἄ 
tυγχάνει μάλιστα σπουδάζων ἐκεῖνος. ὁ δὲ 
φησιν ὅσια, νόμοι διαφέρουσιν ἀνθρώπων 
ἀλλὰ δ᾽ ἄλλοις καλάς καλῶν δὲ πάσι τὸ 
3 κοσμεῖν καὶ σώζειν. ὑμᾶς μὲν οὖν ἐλευθερίαν 
μάλιστα θεαμάζειν καὶ ἴσωτητα λόγος; ἦμιν δὲ 
πολλῶν νόμων καὶ καλῶν ἄνων κάλλιστος ὅτὸς 
ἐστι, τιμᾶν βασιλέα, καὶ προσκυνεῖν ὡς εἰκόνα 
θεοῦ τοῦ τὰ πάντα σώζοντος. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐπαινῶν 
tὸ ἡμέτερα προσκυνήσεις, ἔστι σοι καὶ θεάσασθαι 
βασιλέα καὶ προσεπεῖν· εἰ δ᾽ ἄλλο τι φρονεῖς,
upon four-wheeled waggons. Such a vehicle was made ready for Themistocles, and safely ensconced in this he made his journey, while his attendants replied in every case to those who met them with enquiries, that they were conducting a Hellenic woman, fair but frail, to one of the King's courtiers.

XXVII. Now Thucydides¹ and Charon of Lampsacus relate that Xerxes was dead, and that it was his son Artaxerxes with whom Themistocles had his interview; but Ephorus and Dinon and Clitarchus and Heracleides and yet more besides have it that it was Xerxes to whom he came. With the chronological data Thucydides seems to me more in accord, although these are by no means securely established. Be that as it may, Themistocles, thus at the threshold of the dreadful ordeal, had audience first with Artabanus the Chiliarch, or Grand Vizier, and said that he was a Hellene, and that he desired to have an audience with the King on matters which were of the highest importance and for which the monarch entertained the most lively concern. Whereupon the Chiliarch replied: “Ô Stranger, men's customs differ; different people honour different practices; but all honour the exaltation and maintenance of their own peculiar ways. Now you Hellenes are said to admire liberty and equality above all things; but in our eyes, among many fair customs, this is the fairest of all, to honour the King, and to pay obeisance to him as the image of that god who is the preserver of all things. If, then, thou approvest our practice and wilt pay obeisance, it is in thy power to behold and address the King; but if thou art otherwise minded, it will be needful

¹ i. 137.
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άγγέλους ἑτέρους χρήση πρὸς αὐτῶν. βασιλεῖ
γὰρ οὐ πάτριον ἀνδρὸς ἀκροάσθαι μὴ προσκυνή-
σαντός.” ταῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀκούσας λέγει
πρὸς αὐτὸν "‘Αλλ’ ἔγγυς τὴν βασιλέως, ὁ
’Αρτάβανε, φήμην καὶ δύναμιν αὐξήσων ἀφίγμαι,
καὶ αὐτὸς τε πείσομαι τοῖς ἰμέτεροις νόμοις,
ἐπεὶ θεῷ τῷ μεγαλύνοντι Πέρσας οὕτω δόκει,
καὶ δι’ ἐμὲ πλείονες τῶν νῦν βασιλέα προσκυνήσουσιν.
ὡστε τούτο μηδὲν ἐμποδόων ἔστω τοῖς λόγοις, ὅσ
5 βούλομαι πρὸς ἑκεῖνον εἰπεῖν." “Τίνα δ’,” εἶπεν
ὁ ’Αρτάβανος, “‘Ελλήνων ἀφίχθαι σε φῶμεν; οὐ
gὰρ ἴδιότη τὴν γνώμην ἔοικας.” καὶ ὁ Θεμι-
στοκλῆς: “Τοῦτ’ οὐκέτ’ ἂν,” ἔφη, “πῦθοιτό τις,
’Αρτάβανε, πρότερος βασιλέως.”

Οὗτω μὲν ὁ Φανίας φησίν. ὁ δ’ Ἐρατοσθένης
ἐν τοῖς Περὶ πλοῦτου προσιστόρησε, διὰ γυναικὸς
Ἐρετρίκης, ἃν ὁ χιλίαρχος εἶχε, τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ
τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐντευξίων γενέσθαι καὶ σύστασιν.

XXVIII. Ἐπεί δ’ οὖν εἰσήχθη πρὸς βασιλέα
καὶ προσκυνήσας ἔστη σιωπῆ, προστάξαντος
τῷ ἐρμηνεῖ τοῦ βασιλέας ἔρωτησαι, τὰς ἔστι,
καὶ τοῦ ἐρμηνεὺς ἐρωτήσαντος, εἴπεν: “‘Ηκω
σοι, βασίλει, Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐγὼ
φυγὰς ὑφ’ Ἐλλήνων διωχθεὶς, ὃ πολλὰ μὲν
ὀφείλουσι Πέρσαι κακά, πλεῖσθ’ ἐν ἀγαθῇ κωλύ-
σαντι τὴν δίωξιν, ὅτε τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ
γενομένης παρέσχε τὰ οἰκοί σωζόμενα χαρίσασθαι
2 τι καὶ ύμῖν. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν πάντα πρέποντα ταῖς
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for thee to employ messengers to him in thy stead, for it is not a custom of this country that the King give ear to a man who has not paid him obeisance.” When Themistocles heard this, he said to him: “Nay, but I am come, Artabanus, to augment the King’s fame and power, and I will not only myself observe your customs, since such is the pleasure of the god who exalts the Persians, but I will induce more men than do so now to pay obeisance to the King. Therefore let this matter by no means stand in the way of the words I wish to speak to him.” “And what Hellene,” said Artabanus, “shall I say thou art who hast thus come? Verily, thou dost not seem to be a man of ordinary understanding.” And Themistocles said: “This, Artabanus, no one may learn before the King.”

So indeed Pharias says, and Eratosthenes, in his book “On Wealth,” adds the statement that it was through a woman of Eretria, whom the Chiliaarch had to wife, that Themistocles obtained interview and conference with him.

XXVIII. That may or may not be so. But when he was led into the presence of the King and had made him obeisance, and was standing in silence, the King ordered the interpreter to ask him who he was, and, on the interpreter’s asking, he said: “I who thus come to thee, O King, am Themistocles the Athenian, an exile, pursued by the Hellenes; and to me the Persians are indebted for many ills, but for more blessings, since I hindered the pursuit of the Hellenes, at a time when Hellas was brought into safety, and the salvation of my own home gave me an opportunity for showing some favour also to you. Now, therefore, I may look for any sequel to
παρούσας συμφοραίς ἐστί, καὶ παρεσκευασμένος ἀφύγμαι δέξασθαι τε χάριν εὐμενῶς διαλλαττο-μένου καὶ παραίτεσθαι μνησικακοῦντος οργήν-σὺ δὲ τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἔχθρους μάρτυρας θέμενος ὅν εὐεργέτησα Πέρσας, νῦν ἀπόχρησαι ταῖς ἐμαῖς τύχαις πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν ἀρετῆς μᾶλλον ἡ πρὸς ἀποπλήρωσιν ὀργῆς. σώσεις μὲν γὰρ ἱκέτην σὸν, 3 ἀπολεῖς δ᾽ Ἐλλήνων πολέμιον γενόμενον." ταῦτ᾽ 126 εἰπὼν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπεθείασε τῷ λόγῳ προσ- διελθὼν τὴν ὤφιν, ἤν εἶδεν ἐν Νικογένους, καὶ τὸ μάντευμα τοῦ Δωδώναίου Διός, ὡς κελευθεύ- πρὸ τὸν ὀμόνυμον τοῦ θεοῦ βαδίζειν συμ- φρονήσει τρὸς ἐκείνον ἀναπέμπεσθαι· μεγάλους γὰρ ἀμφότεροὺς εἶναι τε καὶ λέγεσθαι βασιλέας.

'Ακούσας δ᾽ ὁ Πέρσης, ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὐδὲν ἀπε- κρίνατο, καὶ πέρ θαυμάσας τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν 4 τόλμαν αὐτοῦ· μακαρίσας δὲ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἐαυτὸν, ὡς ἐπ᾽ εὐτυχία μεγίστη, καὶ κατευθάμενος ἀἐὶ τοὺς πολεμίους τοιαύτας φρένας διδόναι τὸν 'Αριμάνιον, ὅπως ἔλαυνωσι τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐξ εαυ- τῶν, θύσαι τε τοῖς θεοῖς λέγεται καὶ πρὸς πόσῳν εὐθὺς τραπέσθαι καὶ νῦκτωρ ὑπὸ χαρᾶς διὰ μέσων τῶν ύπνων βοήσαι τρὶς: "Εἴχω Θεμιστοκλέα τὸν 'Αθηναίον."

XXIX. "Αμα δ᾽ ἡμέρα συγκαλέσας τοὺς φίλους εἰσῆγεν αὐτὸν οὖδὲν 1 ἐλπίζουτα χρηστὸν ἐξ ὧν ἐώρα τοὺς ἐπὶ θύραις, ὡς ἐπύθοντο τούνομα πα- ρόντος αὐτοῦ, χαλεπῶς διακειμένους καὶ κακῶς

1 οὖδὲν Fuhr and Blass with FaS: μηδὲν.
THEMISTOCLES

my present calamities, and I come prepared to receive the favour of one who benevolently offers reconciliation, or to deprecate the anger of one who cherishes the remembrance of injuries. But do thou take my foes to witness for the good I wrought the Persians, and now use my misfortunes for the display of thy virtue rather than for the satisfaction of thine anger. For it is a suppliant of thine whom thou wilt save, but an enemy of the Hellenes whom thou wilt destroy.” After these words Themistocles spoke of divine portents in his favour, enlarging upon the vision which he saw at the house of Nicogenes, and the oracle of Dodonaean Zeus, how when he was bidden by it to proceed to the namesake of the god, he had concluded that he was thereby sent to him, since both were actually “Great Kings,” and were so addressed.

On hearing this the Persian made no direct reply to him, although struck with admiration at the boldness of his spirit; but in converse with his friends it is said that he congratulated himself over what he called the greatest good fortune, and prayed Ariman- nius ever to give his enemies such minds as to drive their best men away from them; and then sacrificed to the gods, and straightway betook himself to his cups; and in the night, in the midst of his slumbers, for very joy called out thrice: “I have Themistocles the Athenian.”

XXIX. At daybreak he called his friends together and bade Themistocles to be introduced, who expected no favourable outcome, because he saw that the guards at the gates, when they learned the name of him who was going in, were bitterly disposed and
λέγοντας. ἔτι δὲ Ῥωξάνης ὁ χιλιάρχος, ὡς κατ' αὐτὸν ἦν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς προσιών, καθημένον βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σιωπῶντων, ἀτρέμα στενάξας εἶπεν. "Ὀφις Ἔλλην ὁ ποικίλος, ὁ βασιλέως σε δαίμων δεύρο ἡγαγεν." οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' εἰς ὃψιν ἐλθόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ πάλιν προσκυνήσαντος, ἀσπασάμενοι καὶ προσεπτων φιλοφρόνως ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἢδη μὲν ἐφήσεν αὐτῷ διακόσια ταλαντα ὀφείλειν κομίσαντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀποληψεσθαι δικαίως τὸ ἐπικηρυχθὲν τῷ ἀγαγόντι πολλῷ δὲ πλείω τούτων ὑπισχεῖτο καὶ παρεθάρρυνε καὶ λέγειν ἐδίδον περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, ἀ βούλοιτο, παρρησιαζόμενον.

3 Ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀπεκρίνατο, τὸν λόγον ἑοικέναι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοὺς ποικίλους στρώμασιν ὡς γὰρ ἐκείνα καὶ τούτων ἐκτεινόμενον μὲν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τὰ εἰδή, συστελλόμενον δὲ κρύπτει οὐσία ἄθεον αὐτῷ χρόνον δεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ, ἡσθέντος τοῦ βασιλέως τῇ εἰκασίᾳ καὶ λαμβάνειν κελεύσαντος, ἐνιαυτὸν αἰτησάμενος καὶ τὴν Περσίδα γλῶτταν ἀποχρώντως ἐκμαθὼν ἐνετύχανε βασιλεῖ δὲ αὐτοῦ, τοὺς μὲν ἐκτὸς δόξαν παρέσχε περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν πραγμάτων διειλέχθαι, πολλῶν δὲ καινοτομομένων περὶ τὴν αὐλήν καὶ τοὺς φίλους ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ, φθόνου ἐσχε παρὰ τοῖς δυνατοῖς, ὡς καὶ κατ᾽ ἐκείνων παρρησίᾳ χρῆσασθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποτελομηκώς. οὔτε γὰρ ἦσαν αἱ τιμαὶ ταῖς τῶν ἄλλων ἑοικύαι ξένων, ἄλλα καὶ κυνηγεσίων βασιλεῖ μετέσχε καὶ τῶν οἴκων διατριβῶν, ὡστε
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spoke insultingly to him. And besides, Roxanes the Chiliarch, when Themistocles came along opposite him,—the King being seated and the rest hushed in silence,—said in an angry undertone: "Thou subtle serpent of Hellas, the King's good genius hath brought thee hither." However, when he had come into the King's presence, and had once more paid him obeisance, the King welcomed him and spake him kindly, and said he already owed him two hundred talents, for since he had delivered himself up it was only just that he himself should receive the reward proclaimed for his captor. And he promised him much more besides, and bade him take heart, and gave him leave to say whatever he wished concerning the affairs of Hellas, with all frankness of speech.

But Themistocles made answer that the speech of man was like embroidered tapestries, since like them this too had to be extended in order to display its patterns, but when it was rolled up it concealed and distorted them. Wherefore he had need of time. The King at once showed his pleasure at this comparison by bidding him take time, and so Themistocles asked for a year, and in that time he learned the Persian language sufficiently to have interviews with the King by himself without interpreters. Outsiders thought these conferences concerned Hellenic matters merely; but since about that time many innovations were introduced by the King at court and among his favourites, the magnates became jealous of Themistocles, on the ground that he had made bold to use his freedom of speech with the King to their harm. For the honours he enjoyed were far beyond those paid to other foreigners; nay, he actually took part in the King's hunts and in his household diver-
καὶ μητρὶ τῆς βασιλέως εἰς ὅψιν ἔλθεῖν καὶ γενέσθαι συνήθης, διακόψατι δὲ καὶ τῶν μαγικῶν
5 λόγων τοῦ βασιλέως κελεύσαντος. ἔπει δὲ Δημάρατος ὁ Σπαρτιάτης αἰτήσασθαι δωρεὰν κελευθεῖσι ἤτταστο τὴν κάταριν, διὸς τῶν βασιλεῖς, ἐπαράμενοι εἰσελάσατι διὰ Σάρδεων, Μιθροπαύσης
6 τῆς μὲν ἀνεψίδος ὀν βασιλέως εἶπε τοῦ Δημαρᾶτον τῆς πιάρας ἀγάμενος: "Αὕτη μὲν ἡ κάταρις οὐκ ἐχει ἐγκέφαλον, ὅν ἐπικαλύψεις, σὺ δ' οὐκ ἐσῃ Ζεὺς ἀν λάβῃς κεραυνόν." ἀπωσάμενοι δὲ τὸν Δημαρᾶτον ὅργη διὰ τὸ αἰτήμα τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ δοκοῦντος ἀπαραίτητος ἔχειν πρὸς αὐτὸν, οὐ Θεομοστοκλῆς δεηθεῖσι ἐπείσε καὶ διηλαξέ.

Δέγεται δὲ καὶ τοῦς ὕστερον βασιλεῖς, ὑφ' ὧν μᾶλλον αἱ Περσικαὶ πράξεις ταῖς Ἐλληνικαῖς ἀνεκράθησαν, ὡσάκις δεηθεῖν ἄνδρος Ἔλληνος, ἑπαγγέλλεσθαι καὶ γράφειν ἕκαστον, ὡς μείζων
7 ἐσοιτο παρ' αὐτῷ Θεομοστοκλέους. αὐτῶν δὲ τὸν Θεομοστοκλέα φασίν ἡδή μέγαν ὄντα καὶ θεραπευόμενον ὑπὸ πολλῶν λαμπρᾶς ποτε τραπέζης αὐτῷ παρατεθείσας ¹ πρὸς τοὺς παιδὰς εἰπεῖν: "Ὡς παίδες, ἀπωλόμεθα ἂν, εἰ μὴ ἀπωλόμεθα." πόλεις 127 δ' αὐτῷ τρεῖς μὲν οἱ πλεῖστοι δοθήμην λέγουσιν εἰς ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον καὶ ὄψιν, Μαγνησίαν καὶ Δάμφακον καὶ Μυτύνα: δύο δ' ἄλλας προστίθεσιν ὁ Κυζικηνὸς Νεάνθης καὶ Φανίας, Περγότης καὶ Παλαίσκηψιν εἰς στρομῆν καὶ ἀμπεχόνην.

XXX. Καταβαίνοντι δ' αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς Ἐλληνικὰς πράξεις ἔπι θάλατταν Πέρσης ἀνήρ
¹ αὐτῷ παρατεθείσας Bekker, Fuhr with FosS: paratebeis.
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sions, so far that he even had access to the queen-mother and became intimate with her, and at the King’s bidding heard expositions also of the Magian lore. And when Demaratus the Spartan, being bidden to ask a gift, asked that he might ride in state through Sardis, wearing his tiara upright after the manner of the Persian kings, Mithropauses the King’s cousin said, touching the tiara of Demaratus: “This tiara of thine hath no brains to cover; indeed thou wilt not be Zeus merely because thou graspest the thunderbolt.” The King also repulsed Demaratus in anger at his request, and was minded to be inexorable towards him, and yet Themistocles begged and obtained a reconciliation with him.

And it is said that later kings also, in whose reigns Persia and Hellas came into closer relations, as often as they asked for a Hellene to advise them, promised him in writing, every one, that he should be more influential at court than Themistocles. And Themistocles himself, they say, now become great and courted by many, said to his children, when a splendid table was once set for him: “My children, we should now have been undone, had we not been undone before.”¹ Three cities, as most writers say, were given him for bread, wine, and meat, namely: Magnesia, Lampasacus, and Myus; and two others are added by Neanthes of Cyzicus and by Phanius, namely: Percote and Palaesiceps; these for his bedding and raiment.

XXX. Now as he was going down to the sea on his commission to deal with Hellenic affairs, a

¹ Thuc. i. 138.
'Επιξύης ὄνομα, σατραπεὺς τῆς ἀνώ Φρυγίας, ἐπεβουλευσε, πάρεσκευακώς ἐκπαλαι Πισίδας τινὰς ἀποκτενοῦντας, ὅταν ἐν τῇ καλούμενῃ κόμῃ Δεοντοκεφάλῳ γενόμενος καταύλισθη. τῷ δὲ λέγεται καθεύδοντι μεσημβρίας τῆς μητέρας τῶν θεῶν ὅπως φανεῖσαν εἴπειν: "Ὤ Θεμιστόκλεις, ύστερει κεφαλῆς λέοντων, ἵνα μὴ λέοντι περιπέτεις. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτου σε αἰτῶ θεράπαιναν Μνημοσύνης." διαιταραχθεὶς οὖν ὁ Θεμιστόκλης προσευξάμενος τῇ θεῷ τὴν μὲν λεωφόρον ἀφίκειν, ἔτερα δὲ περιελθὼν καὶ παραλλάξας τὸν τόπον ἔκεινον ἤδη νυκτὸς οὔσης κατημλίσατο.

Τῶν δὲ τῆς σκηνῆς κομιζόντων ὑποξυγίων ἐνὸς εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐμπεσόντος, οἱ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους οἰκέται τὰς αὐλαίας διαβρόχους γενομένας ἐκπετάσαντες ἀνέψυχον. οἱ δὲ Πισίδαι τὰ ξίφη λαβόντες ἐν τούτῳ προσεφέροντο, καὶ τὰ ψυχόμενα πρὸς τὴν σελήνην οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἰδόντες φήθησαν εἰναι τὴν σκηνή τὴν Θεμιστοκλέους κάκεινον. 3 ἐνδὸν εὐρήσειν ἀναπαυόμενον. ὡς δὲ ἐγγὺς γενόμενοι τὴν αὐλαίαν ἀνέστελλον, ἐπιπιπτοὺς αὐτοῖς οἱ παραφυλάσσοντες καὶ συλλαμβάνοντες. διαφυγὼν δὲ τὸν κίνδυνον οὗτο καὶ θαυμάσας τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς θεοῦ ναὸν κατεσκεύασεν ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ Δινδυμήνης καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα Μνησιππολέμαν ἱέρειαν ἀπέδειξεν.

XXXI. Ὡς δὲ ἦλθεν εἰς Σάρδεις καὶ σχολὴν

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1 κώμη Fuhr and Blass with FosS: πόλεις city.
THEMISTOCLES

Persian, Epixyes by name, satrap of Upper Phrygia, plotted against his life, having for a long time kept certain Pisidians in readiness to slay him whenever he should reach the village called Lion’s Head, and take up his night’s quarters there. But while Themistocles was asleep at midday before, it is said that the Mother of the Gods 1 appeared to him in a dream and said: “O Themistocles, shun a head of lions, that thou mayest not encounter a lion. And for this service to thee, I demand of thee Mnesiptolema to be my handmaid.” Much disturbed, of course, Themistocles, with a prayer of acknowledgment to the goddess, forsook the highway, made a circuit by another route, and passing by that place, at last, as night came on, took up his quarters.

Now, since one of the beasts of burden which carried the equipage of his tent had fallen into the river, the servants of Themistocles hung up the curtains which had got wet, and were drying them out. The Pisidians, at this juncture, sword in hand, made their approach, and since they could not see distinctly by the light of the moon what it was that was being dried, they thought it was the tent of Themistocles, and that they would find him reposing inside. But when they drew near and lifted up the hanging, they were fallen upon by the guards and apprehended. Thus Themistocles escaped the peril, and because he was amazed at the epiphany of the goddess, he built a temple in Magnesia in honour of Dindymené, and made his daughter Mnesiptolema her priestess.

XXXI. When he had come to Sardis and was

1 Rhea, or Cybele, Magna Mater, called also Dindymené, from Mount Dindymon, in Phrygia.
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

ἀγων ἑθεάτο τῶν ἱερῶν τὴν κατασκευὴν καὶ τῶν ἀνασημάτων τὸ πλῆθος, εἰδε δὲ ἐν μητρὸς ἱερῷ τὴν καλουμένην ὑδροφόρον κόρην χαλκῆν, μέγεθος δῖπτεχυν, ὥν αὐτὸς ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑδάτων ἐπιστάτης ἦν, ἐλὼν τοὺς ὑφαιρομένους τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ παροχετεύοντας, ἀνέθηκεν ἐκ τῆς ζημίας ποιησάμενος, εἰτε δὴ παθὼν τι πρὸς τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν τοῦ ἀνασημάτος εἰτε βουλόμενος ἐνδείξασθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὡς ἂν ἔχει τιμῆν καὶ δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς βασιλεῖς πράγμασι, λόγον τῷ Λυδίᾳς σατράπῃ προσήνθηκεν αἰτούμενος ἀποστείλαι τὴν 2 κόρην εἰς τὰς Ἀθῆνας. χαλεπάνυστος δὲ τοῦ βαρβάρου καὶ βασιλείᾳ γράψεωι φήσαντος ἐπιστολήν, φοβηθεὶς ο Θεομοστοκλῆς εἰς τὴν γυναίκαν κατέφυγε καὶ τὰς παλλακίδας αὐτοῦ θεραπεύσας χρήμασιν ἐκείνον τε κατεπράυνε τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἀλλα παρεῖχεν ἑαυτὸν εὐλαβέστερον, ἣδη καὶ τῶν φθόνον τῶν βαρβάρων δεδοικῶς. οὐ γὰρ πλανώμενος περὶ τὴν Ἄσιαν, ὡς φησι Θεόπομπος, ἀλλ’ ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ μὲν οἰκῶν, καρπούμενος δὲ δωρεὰς μεγάλας καὶ τιμώμενος ὅμοια Περσῶν τοῖς ἀρίστοις, ἐπὶ τολῶν χρόνον ἀδεῶς διήγεν, οὐ πάντως τοῖς Ἕλληνικοῖς πράγμασι βασιλεῖς προσέχοντος ὑπ’ ἀσχολίῶν περὶ τὰς ἀνω πράξεις. 3 Ὁς δ’ Αἰγυπτός τα ἀφισταμένη βοηθοῦντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ τριήρεις Ἕλληνικαὶ μέχρι Κύπρου καὶ Κηλκίας ἀνάπλεουσαι καὶ Κήμου θαλαττοκρατῶν ἐπέστρεψεν αὐτὸν ἀντεπιχειρεῖν τοῖς Ἕλληνι καὶ κωλυνειν αὐξανομένους ἐπ’ αὐτῶν, ἣδη
viewing at his leisure the temples built there and the multitude of their dedicatory offerings, and saw in the temple of the Mother the so-called Water-carrier,—a maid in bronze, two cubits high, which he himself, when he was water commissioner at Athens, had caused to be made and dedicated from the fines he exacted of those whom he convicted of stealing and tapping the public water,—whether it was because he felt some chagrin at the capture of the offering, or because he wished to show the Athenians what honour and power he had in the King's service, he addressed a proposition to the Lydian satrap and asked him to restore the maid to Athens. But the Barbarian was incensed and threatened to write a letter to the King about it; whereat Themistocles was afraid, and so had recourse to the women's chambers, and, by winning the favour of the satrap's concubines with money, succeeded in assuaging his anger. Thereafter he behaved more circumspectly, fearing now even the jealousy of the Barbarians. For he did not wander about over Asia, as Theopompus says, but had a house in Magnesia, and gathered in large gifts, and was honoured like the noblest Persians, and so lived on for a long time without concern, because the King paid no heed at all to Hellenic affairs, owing to his occupation with the state of the interior.

But when Egypt revolted with Athenian aid,¹ and Hellenic triremes sailed up as far as Cyprus and Cilicia, and Cimon's mastery of the sea forced the King to resist the efforts of the Hellenes and to hinder their hostile growth; and when at last forces began to be moved, and generals were

¹ 459 B.C.
δὲ καὶ δυνάμεις ἐκινοῦντο καὶ στρατηγοὶ διεπέμποντο καὶ κατέβαινον ἀγγελλαὶ πρὸς Θεμιστοκλέα, τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐξάπτευσθαι κελεύοντος 4 βασιλέως καὶ βεβαιοῦν τὰς υποσχέσεις, οὕτε δὲ ὤργήν τινα παραξυνθεὶς κατὰ τῶν πολιτῶν οὕτε ἐπάρθεις τιμῆς τοσαῦτη καὶ δυνάμει πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλ' ἵσως μὲν οὐδ' ἐφικτὸν ἤγομένος τὸ ἔργον, ἄλλους τε μεγάλους τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐχούσης στρατηγοὺς τότε καὶ Κίμωνος ὑπερφυὸς εὐημεροῦντος ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς, τὸ δὲ πλείστον αἰδοὶ τῆς τε δόξης τῶν πράξεων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν τροπαίων ἐκείνων, ἀριστα βουλευσάμενος 5 ἐπιθείναι τῷ βίῳ τὴν τελευτήν πρέπουσαν, ἔθυσε τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ τοὺς φίλους συναγαγὼν καὶ δεξιώσάμενος, ως μὲν ὁ πολὺς λόγος, αἴμα ταύρειον πιὰν, ὥς δ' ἐνοι, φάρμακον ἐφήμερον προσενεγκάμενος, ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ κατέστρεψε πέντε πρὸς τοῖς ἐξήκοντα βεβιωκῶς ἐτη καὶ τὰ πλείστα τούτων ἐν πολιτείαις καὶ ἡγεμονίαις. τὴν δ' αἰτίαν τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τὸν τρόπον πυθόμενον βασιλέα λέγουσιν ἐτι μᾶλλον θαυμάσατο τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τοὺς φίλους αὐτοῦ καὶ οἰκείους χρόμενον διατελεῖν φιλανθρώπως.

XXXII. Ἀπέλλατε δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς παῖδας ἕκ μὲν 'Αρχιππῆς τῆς Δυσάνδρου τοῦ Ἀλκατεκήθεν 'Αρχέπτολιν καὶ Πολυνεκτὸν καὶ Κλεόφαντον, οὔ καὶ Πλάτων ὁ φιλόσοφος ως ἐπιπέως ἀρίστου, τάλλα δ' οὐδενὸς ἀξίου γενομένου μνημονεύει.

1 κατέβαινον Fuhr and Blass with F²S: κατέβαινον eis Μαγνησίαν.
2 οὐδ' ἐφικτὸν Fuhr and Blass with F²S: οὐκ ἐφικτὸν.
THEMISTOCLES

despatched hither and thither, and messages came
down to Themistocles saying that the King com-
manded him to make good his promises by applying
himself to the Hellenic problem, then, neither
em bittered by anything like anger against his former
fellow-citizens, nor lifted up by the great honour and
power he was to have in the war, but possibly think-
ing his task not even approachable, both because
Hellas had other great generals at the time, and
especially because Cimon was so marvellously success-
ful in his campaigns; yet most of all out of regard
for the reputation of his own achievements and the
 trophies of those early days; having decided that his
best course was to put a fitting end to his life,
he made a sacrifice to the gods, then called his
friends together, gave them a farewell clasp of his
hand, and, as the current story goes, drank bull’s
blood, or as some say, took a quick poison, and so
died in Magnesia, in the sixty-fifth year of his life,¹
most of which had been spent in political leader-
ship. They say that the King, on learning the cause
and the manner of his death, admired the man yet
more, and continued to treat his friends and kindred
with kindness.

XXXII. Themistocles left three sons by Archippé,
the daughter of Lysander, of the deme Alopecé,
namely: Archeptolis, Polyeuctus and Cleophas,
The last of whom Plato the philosopher mentions
as a capital horseman, but good for nothing else.²

¹ Thuc. i. 138. ² Meno, p. 93.
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

tōn de presevntâtωn Neoklēis μὲν eti paiês ouden υφ’ ἵππου δηχθείς ἀπέθανε, Διοκλέα de Lūsan-
2 dros o πάππος υἱὸν ἐπούσατο. θυγατέρας de pлеíous ἔσχεν, ouden Mηνησπολέμαν μὲν ek tis
eπυγαμηθείσης γενομένην ‘Aρχέπττολισ ο ἀδελφός
οὐκ ὁ ὄμομήτριος ἔγημεν, Ἰταλίαν de Pαινθοίδης
ὁ Xίος, Σύβαριν de Νικομήδης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος.
Νικομάχην de Φρασικλῆς ὁ ἀδελφιδοῦς Θεμιστο-
κλέους, ἡδη τετελευτηκότος ἐκεῖνου, πλεύσας eis
Μαγνησίαν ἔλαβε παρὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, νεωτάτην
de πάντων τῶν τέκνων Ἀσίαν ἔθρεψε.

3 Καὶ τάφων μὲν αὐτοῦ λαμπρὸν ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ
Μάγνητες ἔχουσι: περὶ de tōn λειψάνων οὔτ’
Ἀνδοκίδη προσέχειν ἄξιον ἐν τῷ Πρὸς τοὺς
ἐταίρους λέγοντι, φωράσαντας τὰ λείψανα διαρ-
ρύσαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους (ψεύδεται γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν
δήμων παροξύνων τοὺς ὀλγαρχίκους), ὁ τε Φύ-
λαρχος, ὡσπερ ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ μονονῦ
μηχανὴν ἄρας καὶ προαγαγόν Νεοκλέα τινὰ καὶ
Δημόπολιν, νῖον Θεμιστοκλέους, ἀγώνα βοῦ-
λεται κινεῖν καὶ πάθος, ὁ oúd’ ἄν ὁ τυχῶν ἀγνοή-

4 seieun ὅτι πέτασται. Δεόδωρος δ’ ὁ περιγηγητής
ἐν τοῖς Περὶ μημάτων έιρήκεν ως ὑπονοοῦν μᾶλ-
λον ἡ γινώσκων, ὅτι περὶ τῶν μέγαν λιμένα τοῦ
Πειραιῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ἀλκιμοῦ ἀκρωτη-
ρίον πρόκειται τις οἶνον ἄγκων, καὶ κάμψαντι
τοῦτον ἐντός, ὃ τὸ ὑπεύθου ἡς θαλάττης, κρητῆς
ἐστιν εὐμεγέθης καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτῆν βοώμοειδὲς
THEMISTOCLES

One of his two oldest sons, Neocles, died in boyhood from the bite of a horse, and Diocles was adopted by his grandfather Lysander. He had several daughters, of whom Mnesiptolema, born of his second wife, became the wife of Archeptolcis her half-brother, Italia of Panthoides the Chian, and Sybaris of Nicomedes the Athenian. Nicomaché was given in marriage by her brothers to Phrasicles, the nephew of Themistocles, who sailed to Magnesia after his uncle's death, and who also took charge of Asia, the youngest of all the children.

The Magnesians have a splendid tomb of Themistocles in their market place; and with regard to his remains, Andocides is worthy of no attention when he says, in his Address to his Associates, that the Athenians stole away those remains and scattered them abroad, for he is trying by his lies to incite the oligarchs against the people; and Phylarchus, too, when, as if in a tragedy, he all but erects a theatrical machine for this story, and brings into the action a certain Neocles, forsooth, and Demopolis, sons of Themistocles, wishes merely to stir up tumultuous emotion; his tale even an ordinary person must know is fabricated. Diodorus the Topographer, in his work "On Tombs," says, by conjecture rather than from actual knowledge, that near the large harbour of the Piraeus a sort of elbow juts out from the promontory opposite Alcimus, and that as you round this and come inside where the water of the sea is still, there is a basement of goodly size, and that the altar-like structure upon this is the
5 τάφος τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους. οίσται δὲ καὶ Πλάτωνα τῶν κωμικῶν αὕτω μαρτυρεῖν ἐν τούτοις.

"Ο σῶς δὲ τύμβος ἐν καλῷ κεχωσμένος
τοῖς ἐμπόροις πρὸςρησίς ἔσται πανταχοῦ,
τοῖς τ' ἐκπλέοντας εἰσπλέοντας τ' ὄψεται,
χώπόταν ἄμιλλα τῶν νεῶν θεάσεται.

Τοῖς δ' ἀπὸ γένους τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ
tιμαί τινες ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ φυλαττόμεναι μέχρι
tῶν ἡμετέρων χρόνων ἦσαν, ὡς ἐκερποῦτο Θεμι-
στοκλῆς Ἀθηναίοις, ἠμέτρους συνήθης καὶ φίλος
παρ' Ἀμμωνίῳ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ γενόμενος.

1 τοῖς τ', corrected by Bekker to obs.
2 ἄμιλλα Bekker has ἄμιλλ' ḳ after Porson.
THEMISTOCLES

tomb of Themistocles. And he thinks that the comic poet Plato is a witness in favour of his view when he says:—

"Thy tomb is mounded in a fair and sightly place; The merchantmen shall ever hail it with glad cry; It shall behold those outward, and those inward bound, And all the emulous rivalry of racing ships."

For the lineal descendants of Themistocles there were also certain dignities maintained in Magnesia down to my time, and the revenues of these were enjoyed by a Themistocles of Athens, who was my intimate and friend in the school of Ammonius the philosopher.
CAMILLUS
ΚΑΜΙΛΛΟΣ

1. Περὶ δὲ Φουρίου Καμίλλου πολλῶν καὶ 129 μεγάλων λεγομένων ἵδιον εἶναι δοκεῖ μάλιστα καὶ παράδοξον, ὅτι πλείστα μὲν ἐν ἡγεμονίαις καὶ μέγιστα κατορθώσας, δικτάτωρ δὲ πεντάκις αἱρεθεῖς, θριαμβεύσας δὲ τετράκις, κτίστης δὲ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀναγραφεῖς δεύτερος, οὐδὲ ἀπαξ 2 ὑπάτευσε. τούτου δ’ αἰτιον ἡ τῆς τότε πολιτείας κατάστασις, ἐκ διαφορᾶς τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ὑπάτους μὲν ἔρισαντος μὴ ἀποδείκνυσθαι, χιλιάρχους δὲ χειροτονοῦντος ἑπὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, δὲν, καίπερ ἄπτ’ ἑξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως ὑπατικῆς ἁπαντα πραττόντων, ἂττου ἢν ἐπαχθῆς ἢ ἀρχῆ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος. τὸ γὰρ ἕξ ἀνδρας, ἀλλὰ μὴ δύο, τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐφιστάναι, παρεμπιθεῖτο τοὺς βαρυνομένους τὴν ὀλυγαρχίαν.

3. Κατὰ τούτο δὴ καίροι μάλιστα τῇ δόξῃ καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀκμάσας ὁ Κάμιλλος ὑπατός μὲν οὐκ ἦξιος εἰν ἀκούτι τῷ δήμῳ γενέσθαι, καίπερ ἐν τῷ διὰ μέσου δεξαμένης ὑπατικῆς ἀρχαιοτήτας τῆς πολιτείας πολλάκις, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἡγεμονίαις.
CAMILLUS

I. TURNING now to Furius Camillus, among the many notable things that are told of him, this seems the most singular and strange, namely, that although in other offices of command he won many and great successes, and although he was five times chosen dictator, four times celebrated a triumph, and was styled a Second Founder of Rome, not even once was he consul. The reason for this lay in the political conditions of his time. The common people, being at variance with the Senate, stove against the appointment of consuls, and elected military tribunes to the command instead. These, although they always acted with consular authority and power, were less obnoxious in their sway because of their number. For the fact that six men instead of two stood at the head of affairs, was some comfort to those who were bitterly set against the rule of the few.

Now it was at this period that Camillus came to the height of his achievements and fame, and he would not consent to become consul over a reluctant people, although during his career the city tolerated consular elections many times. But in the many other and varied offices which he held, he so conducted himself that even when the authority rightly
Πολλαίς καὶ παντοδαπαίς γενομέναις τοιούτων αυτῶν παρέσχεν, ὡστε τὴν μὲν ἔξωσιαν καὶ μοναρχοῦντος εἶναι κοινήν, τὴν δὲ δόξαν ἰδίαν καὶ μεθ’ ἑτέρων στρατηγοῦντος· ἀυτοῦ μὲν ἡ μετριότης αὐτῶν ἀνεπιφθόνως ἁρχοῦτος, τοῦ δ’ ἡ φρόνησις, δ’ ἦν ὁμολογούμενως ἐπρότευεν.

Π. Οὕτω δὲ τότε περὶ τῶν τῶν Φουρίων οίκων οὐσίας μεγάλης ἐπιφανείας αὐτῶς ἀφ’ ἐαυτοῦ πρῶτος εἰς δόξαν προῆλθεν ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ μάχῃ πρὸς Αἰκανοῦ καὶ Οὐσολύσκους ὑπὸ δικτάτορι Ποστομίῳ Τουβέρτῳ στρατευόμενος. προϊππεύον γὰρ τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ πληγὴ περιπέθευσι εἰς τὸν μηδὲν οὐκ ἀνήκεν, ἀλλ’ ἐγκείμενον τῷ τραύματι παρέλκων τὸ ἀκόντισμα καὶ συμπλεκόμενος τοῖς 2 ἀριστοῖς τῶν πολεμίων τροπῆς ἐποίησεν. ἕκ δὲ τούτου τῶν τ’ ἄλλων γερῶν ἑτυχε καὶ τιμήτης ἀπεδείχθη, μέγα τῆς ἁρχῆς ἀξίωμα ταὐτής ἐπὶ τῶν τότε χρόνων ἐχωνσί. μυημονεύεται δὲ αυτοῦ τιμητεύοντος καλὸν μὲν ἐργον τὸ τοὺς ἀγάμους λόγου τε πείθοντα καὶ ξημίας ἀπειλοῦντα συγκαταζεύξας ταῖς χρησιοῦσαις γυναιξὶ (πολλαὶ δ’ ἦσαν αὐταὶ διὰ τοὺς πολέμους), ἀναγκαῖον δὲ τὸ καὶ τοὺς ἀρβανίους ὑποτελεῖς πουήσαι 3 πρότερον ἀνεισφόρους ὅντας. αἰτιᾶ δ’ ἦσαν αἱ συνεχεῖς στρατείαι μεγάλων ἀναλωμάτων δεόμεναι, καὶ μᾶλιστα κατήπειγεν ἡ Ὀὐνίων πολιορκία. τούτους ἕνοι Οὐνιενταύον καλοῦσιν.

Ἡν δὲ πρόσχημα τῆς Τυρρηνίας ἡ πόλις, ὅπλων μὲν ἀριθμὸ καὶ πλῆθει τῶν στρατευόμενων οὐκ ἀποδέοντα τῆς Ῥώμης, πλοῦτῳ δὲ καὶ βίον ἀβροτητί καὶ τρυφαῖς καὶ πολυτελείαις ἀγαλλομένη.
belonged to him alone, it was exercised in common with others; while the glory that followed such exercise was his alone, even when he shared the command. In the first case, it was his moderation that kept his rule from exciting envy; in the second, it was his ability that gave him the first place with none to dispute it.

II. At a time when the house of the Furii was not yet very conspicuous, he, by his own efforts, was the first of his clan to achieve fame. This he did in the great battle with the Aequians and Volscians, serving under Postumius Tubertus the dictator. Dashing out on his horse in front of the army, he did not abate his speed when he got a wound in the thigh, but dragging the missile along with him in its wound, he engaged the bravest of the enemy and put them to flight. For this exploit, among other honours bestowed upon him, he was appointed censor, in those days an office of great dignity. //There is on record a noble achievement of his censorship, that of bringing the unmarried men, partly by persuasion and partly by threatening them with fines, to join in wedlock with the women who were living in widowhood, and these were many because of the wars; //likewise a necessary achievement, that of making the orphans, who before this had contributed nothing to the support of the state, subject to taxation. The continuous campaigns, demanding great outlays of money, really required this. Especially burdensome was the siege of Veii (some call the people Veientani).

This city was the barrier and bulwark of Tuscany, in quantity of arms and multitude of soldiery no whit inferior to Rome. Indeed, pluming herself on her wealth, and on the refinement, luxury,
πολλοὺς καὶ καλοὺς ἀγώνας ἐγωνίσατο περὶ δόξης καὶ δυναστείας πολέμουσά Ρωμαίοις. ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε χρόνῳ τῆς μὲν φιλοτιμίας ἀφειστήκει συντριβεῖσα μεγάλαις μάχαις· ἐπαράμενοι δὲ τείχη μεγάλα καὶ καρτερὰ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὅπλων καὶ βελῶν καὶ σίτου καὶ παρασκευῆς ἀπάσης ἐμπλήσαντες, ἀδεῶς ὑπέμενον τὴν πολιορκίαν, μακρὰν μὲν οὖσαν, οὐχ ἦττον δὲ τῶν πολιορκοῦσιν ἔργον καὶ χαλεπὴν γενομένη. εἰδισμένου γὰρ οὐ 130 πολὺν χρόνον ἀμὰ ὃρᾳ θέρους ἔξω στρατεύειν, οἰκοὶ δὲ διαχειμάζειν, τότε πρῶτον ἴσαγάγησαν ὑπὸ τῶν χιλιάρχων φρούρια κατασκευάσαι καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τείχίσαντες ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ χειμῶνα καὶ θέρους συνάπτειν, ἡδη σχέδου ἐτους ἐβδόμον τῷ πολέμῳ τελευτῶντος. ὡστε καὶ τοὺς ἀρχοντας ἐν αἰτίᾳ γενέσθαι καὶ μαλακῶς πολιορκεῖν δοκοῦντας ἀφαιρέθηναι τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐτέρων αἱρεθέντων ἐπὶ τῶν πόλεμον δὴν ἢν καὶ 6 Κάμιλλος τότε χιλιαρχῶν τὸ δεύτερον. ἐπραξε δὲ περὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν οὐδὲν ἐν ἐκεῖνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, λαγὸν Φαλερίοις καὶ Καπηνάταις πολεμεῖν, οἱ δὲ ἁγιοὶ τότε πολλὰ τὴν χώραν καθυβρίσαντες καὶ παρὰ πάντα τὸν Τυρρηνικὸν πόλεμον ἐνοχλήσαντες ἐπισέθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καμίλλου καὶ συνεστάλησαν εἰς τὰ τείχη πολλοὺς ἀποβαλλόντες.

III. Ἐκ τούτου τὸ περὶ τῆν Ἀλβανίδα λίμνην πάθος ἀκμάζουτι τῷ πολέμῳ συνενεχθὲν οὐδὲν ἦττον τῶν ἀπίστων πυθέσθαι θαυμάτων αἰτίας κοινῆς ἀποσία καὶ λόγου φυσικῆς ἐχουτος ἀρχὴν ἐφόβησεν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ὃρᾳ μετοπωρινῆ, καὶ τὸ
and sumptuousness in which her citizens lived she had waged many noble contests for glory and power in her wars with the Romans. At this time, however, she had been crushed in great battles, and had given up her former ambitious pretensions. But her people built their walls high and strong, filled the city full of armour, missiles, grain, and every possible provision, and confidently endured their siege, which, though long, was no less laborious and difficult for the besiegers. These had been accustomed to short campaigns abroad as the summer season opened, and to winters at home; but then for the first time they had been compelled by their tribunes to build forts and fortify their camp and spend both summer and winter in the enemy's country, the seventh year of the war being now nearly at an end. For this their rulers were held to blame, and finally deprived of their rule, because they were thought to conduct the siege without energy. Others were chosen to carry on the war, and one of these was Camillus, now tribune for the second time. But for the present he had nothing to do with the siege, since it fell to his lot to wage war with the Falerians and the Capenates, who, while the Romans had their hands full, had often harried their territory, and during all the Tuscan war had given them annoyance and trouble. These were overwhelmed by Camillus in battle and shut up in their fastnesses with great loss of life.

III. And now, when the war was at its climax, the calamity of the Alban lake added its terrors. It seemed a most incredible prodigy, without familiar cause or natural explanation. For the season was autumn, and the summer just ended had, to all
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

θέρος ἔληγεν οὖτ' ἐπομβρον οὐτε πνεύμασι νοτίοις
2 χαλέπτων ἐπιδήλως γενομένον πολλάς δὲ λίμνας
καὶ ποταμοὺς καὶ νάματα παντοδαπὰ τῆς Ἰτα-
λίας ἔχοντας τὰ μὲν ἐξείπτευσε κομψῆς, τὰ δ' ἀντ-
έσχε γλύσχρως καὶ μόλις, οἱ δὲ ποταμοὶ πάντες
όστερ αἱ κοῖλοι καὶ ταπεινοὶ διὰ θέρους ἐρρύ-
σαν. τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀλβανίδος λίμνης ἀρχὴν ἔχουν
ἐν εαυτῷ καὶ τελευτῶν, ὀρεσιν εὐγείων περιεχό-
μενον, ἀπ' οὐδενὸς αἰτίαν, πλὴν εἰ τι θείον, αὐξό-
μενον ἐπιδήλως διωγκοῦσι καὶ προσώπηται ταῖς
ὑπωρείαις καὶ τῶν ἀνωτάτων λόφων ὦμαλῶς ἐπέ-
ψανεν, ἀνευ σάλου καὶ κλόδωνος ἔξανιστάμενον.

καὶ πρώτον μὲν ἦν ποιμένων θαῦμα καὶ βοτήρων
ἐπεί δὲ, τοῦ διείργοντος ἀπὸ τῆς κάτω χώρας
ολον ἱσθμοῦ την λίμνην ὑπεραγέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ
πλῆθος καὶ βάρους, μέγα ἰδία κατέβας διὰ
tῶν ἀρουμένων καὶ φυτευμένων ἑπὶ τὴν θάλα-
tαν, οὐ μόνον αὐτῶν παρείχε Ῥωμαίοις ἐκπληξί,
ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν ἐδόκει τοῖς τὴν Ἰταλίαν κατοι-
κοῦσι μηδενὸς μικροὶ σημεῖον εἶναι. πλείστος
δ' αὐτοῦ λόγος ἦν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ ποιορ-
κοῦτι τοὺς Ὀὔσιον, ὡστε κάκεινος ἐκπυστὸν
genēθαι τὸ περὶ τὴν λίμνην πάθος.

IV. Οἶα δ' ἐν πολυρρία διὰ χρόνου μῆκος
ἐπιμεῖξαι τε πολλὰς ἐχούσῃ καὶ κοινολογίας
πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίως, ἐγενότει τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις
συνήθεια καὶ παραγγείλα πρὸς ἐνα τῶν πολιτῶν,
ἀνθρώπων ἐμπειρόν τε λογίων παλαιῶν καὶ τι
καὶ πλέον εἰδέναι τῶν ἄλλων ἀπὸ μιαντικῆς
δοκοῦντα. τούτῳ οὖν ὁ Ῥωμαίος, ὡς ἡκουσέ
τὴν ἐπίδοσιν τῆς λίμνης, ὄρων ὑπερηφάνει
τε καὶ καταγελύτων τῆς πολυρρίας, οὐ ταῦτ'
observation, been neither rainy nor vexed by south winds. Of the lakes, rivers, and streams of all sizes with which Italy abounds, some had failed utterly, others barely managed to hold out, and all the rivers ran low, between high banks, as was always the case in summer. But the Alban lake, which had its source and outlet within itself, and was girt about with fertile mountains, for no reason, except it be that heaven willed it, was observed to increase and swell until it reached the skirts of the mountains and gradually touched their highest ridges. All this rise was without surge or billow. At first it was a prodigy for neighbouring shepherds and herdsmen. But when the volume and weight of water broke away the barrier which, like an isthmus, had kept the lake from the country lying below it, and a huge torrent poured down through the fields and vineyards and made its way to the sea, then not only were the Romans themselves dismayed, but all the inhabitants of Italy thought it a sign of no small evil to come. There was much talk about it in the army that was besieging Veii, so that even the besieged themselves heard of the calamity.

IV. As was to be expected in a long siege requiring many meetings for conference with the enemy, it fell out that a certain Roman became intimate and confidential with one of the citizens of Veii, a man versed in ancient oracles, and reputed wiser than the rest from his being a diviner. The Roman saw that this man, on hearing the story of the lake, was overjoyed and made mock of the siege. He therefore told
Εφὴ μόνον ἐνηγοχέναι θαυμαστὰ τὸν παρόντα χρόνον, ἀλλ᾽ ἐτέρα τούτων ἀτοπώτερα σημεία. Ρωμαίοις γεγονέναι, περὶ δὲν ἐθέλειν ἐκεῖνῳ κοινωσάμενος, εἰ τις ἰδών, θέσθαι τῶν ἱδίων ἀμείων ἐν τοῖς καλύοις νοσοῦσιν. ὑπακούσαντος δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου προθύμου καὶ διδόντος ἐαυτὸν εἰς κοινολογίαι, ὡς ἀπορρήτων τινῶν ἀκροατὴν ἐςόμενον, κατὰ μικρὸν οὐτω διαλεγόμενος καὶ ὑπάγων αὐτόν, ὡς πορρωτέρῳ τῶν πυλῶν ἐγεγονείσαν, αὐτεὶ τε μετέωρον εὐρωστότερον δὲν καὶ τινῶν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου προσδραμόντων χειροσάμενος καὶ κρατήσας παρέδωκε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀνάγκης γεγονὼς ὁ ἀνθρώπος καὶ μαθὼν ἀρα τὸ πεπρωμένου ὡς ἄφυκτον εἰς, λόγια προφαίνειν ἀπόρρητα περὶ τῆς ἐπανα, ὡς οὐκ ὄσις ἀλωσίμου πρότερον ἢ τὴν Ἀλβανίδα λίμην ἐκχυθείσαν καὶ φερομένην ὀδοὺς ἐτέρας ὀδοὺς καὶ περιστάσαντες οἱ πολέμιοι καλύμουσι μέγιστῃ τῇ θαλάττῃ. 

4 Ταῦτα τῇ συγκλήτῳ πυθομένη καὶ διαπορούσῃ καλῶς ἔχειν ἔδοξε πεμψάντας ἐις Δελφοὺς ἔρεσθαι τῶν θεῶν. οἱ δὲ πεμφθέντες ἄνδρες ἐνδοξοὶ καὶ μεγάλοι, Κόσσος Δικώνιος καὶ Οὐκαλέριος Ποτίτως καὶ Φάβιος Ἀμβουστος, πλὴρο τε χρησάμενοι καὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τυχόντες ἦκον ἀλλὰς τε μαντεῖας κομίζοντες, αἱ πατρίων τινῶν περὶ τὰς καλομένας Λατίνας ἐορτᾶς ὅληγορίαν ἐφραζόν αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀλβανίδος ὕδωρ ἐκέλευον ἐφροντάς ὡς ἀνυστόν ἐστὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀνωθεῖν εἰς τῶν ἄρχαίων πόρον, ἢ τούτῳ μὴ δυναμένους ὴργυμασί καὶ τάφροις παράγειν εἰς τὸ πεδίον καὶ καταναλίσκειν, 131

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him this was not the only wonder which the passing days had brought, but that other and stranger signs than this had been given to the Romans, of which he was minded to tell him, in order that, if possible, he might better his own private case in the midst of the public distresses. The man gave eager hearing to all this, and consented to a conference, supposing that he was going to hear some deep secrets. But the Roman led him along little by little, conversing as he went, until they were some way beyond the city gate, when he seized him bodily, being a sturdier man than he, and with the help of comrades who came running up from the camp, mastered him completely and handed him over to the generals. Thus constrained, and perceiving that fate's decrees were not to be evaded, the man revealed secret oracles regarding his native city, to the effect that it could not be captured until the Alban lake, after leaving its bed and making new channels for itself, should be driven back by the enemy, deflected from its course, and prevented from mingling with the sea.

The Senate, on hearing this, was at great loss what to do, and thought it well to send an embassy to Delphi to consult the god. The envoys were men of great repute and influence, Cossus Licinius, Valerius Potitus, and Fabius Ambustus, who made their voyage and came back with the responses of the god. One of these told them that certain ancestral rites connected with the so-called Latin festivals had been unduly neglected; another bade them by all means to keep the water of the Alban lake away from the sea and force it back into its ancient bed, or, if they could not effect this, by means of canals and trenches to divert it into the
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ἀπαγγελθέντων δὲ τούτων οἱ μὲν ἱερεῖς τὰ περὶ τὰς θυσίας ἔπραττον, ὅ δὲ δήμος ἑχώρει πρὸς τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὸ ὅδωρ ἐξέτρεπεν.

V. Ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος εἰς τὸ δέκατον ἐτος τοῦ πολέμου καταλύσασα τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς δικτάτορα Κάμιλλον ἀπέδειξεν ὑπαρχον δὲ ἐκεῖνος αὐτῷ προσελόμενος Κορνήλιον Σκηπίωνα, πρῶτον μὲν εὐχάς ἐποίησατο τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ τέλος εὐκλεές λαβόντι τὰς μεγάλας θέας ἄξειν καὶ νεών θεάς, ἣν μητέρα Ματούταν καλοῦσι Ρωμαιοί, καθιερώσεως.

2 Ταῦτην ἄν τις ἀπὸ τῶν δρωμένων ἱερῶν μάλιστα Δευκόθεαν νομίσειτε εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ θεράπαιναν εἰς τὸν σηκὸν εἰσάγουσαι ῥαπίζουσιν, εἰτ' ἐξελάνυσι καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τέκνα πρὸ τῶν ἰδίων ἐναγκαλίζονται καὶ ἤρωσι περὶ τὴν θυσίαν ἢ ταῖς Διονύσου τροφοῖς καὶ τοῖς διὰ τὴν παλλακὴν πάθει τῆς Ἰνοῦς προσέοικε.

Μετὰ δὲ τὰς εὐχὰς ὁ Κάμιλλος εἰς τὴν Φαλήσκων ἐνέβαλε, καὶ μάχῃ μεγάλῃ τούτους τε καὶ Καπηνάτας προσβοηθήσαντας αὐτοῖς 3 ἐνίκησεν. ἔσπευτα πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν τραπόμενος τῶν Οὐητῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκ προσβολῆς ἁγώνα χαλεπῶν καὶ δύσεργον ὁρῶν ὑπονόμους ἔτεμεν, τῶν περὶ τὴν πόλιν χωρίων ἐνδιδόντων τοῖς ὀρύγμασι καὶ καταδεχομένων εἰς βάθος ἅγειν ἄδηλων τοῖς πολεμίως τὰ ἔργα. διὸ καὶ προιούσῃς ὁδὸ τῆς ἐλπίδος αὐτοῦ μὲν ἐξωθεῖν προσέβαλλεν, ἐκκαλοῦμενος ἐπὶ τὰ τείχῃ τοὺς πολεμίους,
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plain and dissipate it. On receipt of these responses the priests performed the neglected sacrifices, and the people sallied out into the fields and diverted the course of the water.

V. In the tenth year of the war, the Senate abolished the other magistracies and appointed Camillus dictator. After choosing Cornelius Scipio as his master of horse, in the first place he made solemn vows to the gods that, in case the war had a glorious ending, he would celebrate the great games in their honour, and dedicate a temple to a goddess whom the Romans call Mater Matuta.

From the sacred rites used in the worship of this goddess, she might be held to be almost identical with Leucothea. The women bring a serving-maid into the sanctuary and beat her with rods, then drive her forth again; they embrace their nephews and nieces in preference to their own children; and their conduct at the sacrifice resembles that of the nurses of Dionysus, or that of Ino under the afflictions put upon her by her husband’s concubine.

After his vows, Camillus invaded the country of the Faliscans and conquered them in a great battle, together with the Capenates who came up to their aid. Then he turned to the siege of Veii, and seeing that direct assault upon the city was a grievous and difficult matter, he went to digging mines, since the region round the city favoured such works, and allowed their being carried to a great depth without the enemy’s knowing about it. So then, when his hopes were well on their way to fulfilment, he himself assaulted the city from the outside, and thus called the enemy

1 396 B.C.
4 Ἐνταῦθα λέγεται τυχεῖν κατ’ ἐκείνῳ καιροῦ τὸν ἤγεμόνα τῶν Τυρρηνῶν ἐφ’ ἱερῷς τῶν δὲ μάντων εἰς τὰ σπλάγχνα κατιδόντα καὶ μέγα φθεγξάμενον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι νίκην ὁ θεὸς δίδωσι τῷ κατακολουθήσαντι τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐκεῖνοις· ταύτης δὲ τῆς φωνῆς τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὑπονόμοις 'Ῥωμαίοις ἐπακούσαντας ταχὺ διασπάσαι τὸ ἔδαφος, καὶ μετὰ βοής καὶ ψόφου τῶν ὀπλῶν ἀναδύνασαν, ἐκπλαγέντων τῶν πολεμίων καὶ φυγόντων, ἀρπάσαντας τὰ σπλάγχνα κομίσαι πρὸς τὸν Κάμιλλον. ἀλλὰ ταύτα μὲν ἵσως ἐσικεῖναί δοξεῖ μυθεύμασιν.

5 Ἀλούσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως κατὰ κράτος καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀγώνων καὶ φερόντων ἄπειρον τινα πλούτον, ἐφορῶν ὁ Κάμιλλος ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκρας τὰ πραττόμενα, πρῶτον μὲν ἔστως ἐδάκρυσεν, εἰτα μακαρισθεὶς υπὸ τῶν παρόντων ἀνέσχε τὰς χεῖρας τοὺς θεοῖς καὶ προσευχόμενος εἰπε: "Ζεῦ μέγιστε καὶ θεοὶ χρηστῶν ἐπίσκοποι καὶ πονηρῶν ἔργων, αὐτοὶ ποι ὑμῖν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, ὡς οὗ παρὰ δίκην, ἄλλα καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην ἀμυνόμενοι μετερχόμεθα δυσμενῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ παρανόμων πόλεων. εἰ δ’ ἄρα τις, ἔφη, "καὶ ἢμῖν ἀντί- στροφος ὀφείλεται τῆς παρούσης νέμεσις εὐπραξίας, εὐχομαι ταύτην ὑπὲρ τε πόλεως καὶ στρατοῦ Ῥωμαίων εἰς ἐμαυτὸν ἐλαχίστω κακῷ"
away to man their walls; while others secretly made their way along the mines and reached unnoticed the interior of the citadel, where the temple of Juno stood, the largest temple in the city, and the one most held in honour.

There, it is said, at this very juncture, the commander of the Tuscans chanced to be sacrificing, and his seer, when he beheld the entrails of the victim, cried out with a loud voice and said that the god awarded victory to him who should fulfill that sacrifice. The Romans in the mines below, hearing this utterance, quickly tore away the pavement of the temple and issued forth with battle cries and clash of arms, whereat the enemy were terrified and fled away. The sacrificial entrails were then seized and carried to Camillus. But possibly this will seem like fable.

At any rate the city was taken by storm, and the Romans were pillaging and plundering its boundless wealth, when Camillus, seeing from the citadel what was going on, at first burst into tears as he stood, and then, on being congratulated by the bystanders, lifted up his hands to the gods and prayed, saying: "O greatest Jupiter, and ye gods who see and judge men's good and evil deeds, ye surely know that it is not unjustly, but of necessity and in self-defence that we Romans have visited its iniquity upon this city of hostile and lawless men. But if, as counterpoise to this our present success, some retribution is due to come upon us, spare, I beseech you, the city and the army of the Romans, and let it fall upon my own head, though with as little harm as may be."
7 τελευτήσαι." τάντ’ εἰπὼν, καθάπερ ἦστι Ὑρμαίος ἐθος ἐπευξαμένους καὶ προσκυνήσασιν ἐπὶ δεξία ἐξελίπτειν, ἐσφάλη περιστρεφόμενος. διαταραχθέντων δὲ τῶν παρόντων πάλιν ἀναλαβῶν ἔαυτὸν ἐκ τοῦ πτώματος εἶπεν, ὡς γέγονεν αὐτῷ κατ’ εὐχήν σφάλμα μικρὸν ἔπει εὐτυχία μεγίστῃ.

VI. Διαπορθήσας δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἔγνω τὸ ἀγαλμα τῆς Ἡρας μεταφέρειν εἰς Ὑρμῆν, ὡσπερ εὐξατο. καὶ συνελθόντων ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῶν τεχνιτῶν, ὃ μὲν ἔθυε καὶ προσεύχητο τῇ θεῷ δέχεσθαι τὴν προθυμίαν αὐτῶν καὶ εὐμενή γενέσθαι σύνοικον τοῖς λαχοῦσι τὴν Ὑρμὴν θεοῦ, τὸ δ’ ἀγαλμά φαίνει ὑποθεγξάμενον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι καὶ βούλεται 2 καὶ συγκαταίνει. Διούς δὲ φησιν εὐχεσθαι μὲν τὸν Κάμιλλον ἀπτόμενον τῆς θεοῦ καὶ παρακαλεῖν, ἀποκρίνασθαι δὲ τινὰς τῶν παρόντων, ὅτι καὶ βούλεται καὶ συγκαταίνει καὶ συνακολούθει προθύμως.

Оὶ δ’ ἰσχυρίζομεν καὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ βοηθοῦντες μεγίστην μὲν ἔχουσι συνήγορον τὴν τύχην τῆς πόλεως, ἣν ἀπὸ μικρὰς καὶ καταφρονομυκῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως προεδρεύουσι δίχα θεοῦ πολλαὶ καὶ μεγάλαις ἐπιφανείαις 3 ἐκάστοτε συμπαρόντος ἀμήχανον· οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ συνάγουσιν ὁμοειδῆ τινα, τούτῳ μὲν ἰδρότας ἀγαλμάτων πολλάκις ἐκχυθέντας, τούτῳ δὲ στεναγμούς ἀκουσθέντας ἀποστροφάς τε δεικνύστε καὶ καταμύσεις ξοάνων, ὡς ἱστορίκασιν οὐκ ὄλγου τῶν πρότερον. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἀκηκοοτες ἀνθρώπων λέγειν ἔχομεν ἄξια θαύματος, ὃν
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With these words, as the Romans' custom is after prayer and adoration, he wheeled himself about to the right, but stumbled and fell as he turned. The bystanders were confounded, but he picked himself up again from his fall and said: "My prayer is granted! a slight fall is my atonement for the greatest good fortune."

VI. After he had utterly sacked the city, he determined to transfer the image of Juno to Rome, in accordance with his vows. The workmen were assembled for the purpose, and Camillus was sacrificing and praying the goddess to accept of their zeal and to be a kindly co-dweller with the gods of Rome, when the image, they say, spoke in low tones and said she was ready and willing. But Livy\(^1\) says that Camillus did indeed lay his hand upon the goddess and pray and beseech her, but that it was certain of the bystanders who gave answer that she was ready and willing and eager to go along with him.

Those who insist upon and defend the marvel have a most powerful advocate for their contention in the fortune of the city, which, from its small and despised beginning, could never have come to such a pinnacle of glory and power had God not dwelt with her and made many great manifestations of himself from time to time. Moreover, they adduce other occurrences of a kindred sort, such as statues often dripping with sweat, images uttering audible groans, turning away their faces, and closing their eyes, as not a few historians in the past have written. And we ourselves might make mention of many astonishing things which we

\(^1\) v. 22.
4 οὐκ ἂν τις εἰκῇ καταφρονήσειεν. ἀλλὰ τοῖς τοιούτοις καὶ τὸ πιστεύειν σφόδρα καὶ τὸ λίαν ἀπιστεῖν ἐπισφαλές ἐστι διὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀσθένειαν ὅρων οὐκ ἤχουσαν οὔδε κρατοῦσαν αὐτῆς, ἀλλ’ ἐκφερομένην ὅπου μὲν εἰς δεισιδαιμονίαν καὶ τύφον, ὅπου δ’ εἰς ὀλγωρίαν τῶν θεῶν καὶ περιφρόνησιν ἡ δ’ εὐλαβεία καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἀγαν ἀριστον.

VII. Ὅ δὲ Κάμιλλος εἶτε μεγέθει τοῦ ἔργου, πόλιν ἀντίπαλον τῆς Ῥώμης ἔτει δεκάτῳ τῆς πολιορκίας καθηρικῶς, εἶτε ὑπὸ τῶν εὐδαιμονιζοντων αὐτῶν εἰς ὅγκον ἐξαρθεὶς καὶ φρόνημα νομίμου καὶ πολιτικῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπαχθέστερον, τά τε ἅλλα σοβαρῶς θριάμβευσε καὶ τεθριππὸν ὑποξευξάμενος λευκόπωλον ἐπέβη καὶ διεξῆλασε τῆς Ῥώμης, οὗδενος τούτο ποιήσαντος ἕγερμόνος πρότερον οὐδ’ ὑστερον. ἵερον γὰρ ἤγονται τὸ τοιοῦτον ὁχήμα τῷ βασιλεί καὶ πατρὶ τῶν θεῶν ἐπιπε-2 φημισμένον. ἐκ τε δὴ τούτου διεβλήθη πρὸς τῶν πολίτων οὐκ εἰθοσμένους ἐντρυφᾶσθαι, καὶ δευτέραν ἐλαβεν αἵτινα ἐνιστάμενος νόμῳ διοικίζοντι τὴν πόλιν. εἰσηγοῦτο γὰρ οἱ δήμαρχοι τὸν τε δήμον καὶ τὴν σύγκλητον ἱερὰ μέρη δύο νεμηθῆναι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτοθεί κατοικεῖν, τοὺς δὲ κλήρῳ λαχόντας εἰς τὴν αἰχμάλωτον μεταστῆναι πόλιν, ὡς εὐπροφτέρων ἐσομένων καὶ δυὸι μεγάλοις καὶ καλοῖς ἀστεσὶ τὴν τε χώραν ὧμοι καὶ τὴν ἄλλην 3 εὐδαιμονίαν φυλαξόντων. ὁ μὲν οὖν δήμος ἦδη πολὺς γεγονὼς καὶ ἀχρήματος ἅσμενος ἐδέξατο,
have heard from men of our own time,—things not lightly to be despised. But in such matters eager credulity and excessive incredulity are alike dangerous, because of the weakness of our human nature, which sets no limits and has no mastery over itself, but is carried away now into vain superstition, and now into contemptuous neglect of the gods. Caution is best, and to go to no extremes.

VII. Whether it was due to the magnitude of his exploit in taking a city which could vie with Rome and endure a siege of ten years, or to the congratulations showered upon him, Camillus was lifted up to vanity, cherished thoughts far from becoming to a civil magistrate subject to the law, and celebrated a triumph with great pomp: he actually had four white horses harnessed to a chariot on which he mounted and drove through Rome, a thing which no commander had ever done before or afterwards did. For they thought such a car sacred and devoted to the king and father of the gods. In this way he incurred the enmity of the citizens, who were not accustomed to wanton extravagance. They had also a second grievance against him in that he opposed himself to a law dividing the city. The tribunes introduced a measure dividing the people and the Senate into two parts, one to remain and dwell there, and the one on which the lot fell to remove into the city they had captured, on the ground that they would thus be more commodiously bestowed, and with two large and fair cities could better protect their territory—as well as their prosperity in general. Accordingly the people, which was now become numerous and poor, welcomed the measure
καὶ συνεχῆς ἦν τοῖς περὶ τὸ βῆμα θορύβοις αἰτῶν τὴν ψῆφον. ἦ δὲ βουλὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ κράτιστοι πολιτῶν οὐ διαίρεσιν, ἀλλ’ ἀναίρεσιν ἤγούμενοι τῆς Ῥώμης πολιτεύεσθαι τοὺς δημάρχους καὶ δυσανασχετοῦντες ἐπὶ τῶν Κάμιλλον ἀκατέφυγον. κάκεινος ὦρρωδῶν τῶν ἀγώνα προφάσεώς ἐνέβαλλε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ἁσχολίας, δι’ ὅν ἀεὶ τὸν νόμον ἔξεκρονεν. ἦν μὲν οὖν διὰ ταῦτα λυπηρός.

Ἡ δὲ φανερωτάτη καὶ μεγίστη τῶν ἀπεχθειῶν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν δήμον ἐκ τῆς δεκάτης τῶν λαφύρων ὑπῆρξεν, οὐκ ἄλογον, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάνυ δικαίαν ἁρχὴν τῶν πολλῶν λαβόντων. εὐξατο μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τοὺς Οὔητους, ὡς ἐοίκε, βαδίζων, εἰ τὴν πόλιν ἔλοι, τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ τῇ δεκάτῃ καθιερώσεωι. ἀλούσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως καὶ διαρπασθείσης, εἰτ’ ὀκνήσας ἐνοχλήσαι τοῖς πολίταις, εἰτε λήθη τις αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν παρὸντων πραγμάτων ἔλαβε τῆς εὐχῆς, περείειδεν ὕφελθέντας. ὑστερον δὲ χρόνῳ τῆς ἁρχῆς ἐκείνης ἦδη πεπαυμένος ἀνήγευκε περὶ τούτων εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον, οὐ τε μάντεις ἤγγελλον ἐπὶ τοῖς ιεροῖς προφαίνεσθαι θεῶν μὴν ἱλασμοῦ καὶ χαριστηρίων δεομένην.

VIII. Ψηφισμαένης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς τὴν μὲν ὀφελειαν (χαλεπόν γὰρ ἦν) ἀνάδαστον μὴ γενέσθαι, τοὺς δὲ λαβόντας αὐτοὺς σὺν ὅρκῳ τὴν δεκάτην παραφέρειν εἰς μέσου, ἐγίνετο πολλὰ

1 eis Bekker and Sintenis, with most MSS.: πρὸς.
with delight, and was for ever thronging tumultuously about the rostra with demands that it be put to vote. But the Senate and the most influential of the other citizens considered that the measure proposed by the tribunes meant not division but destruction for Rome, and in their aversion to it went to Camillus for aid and succour. He, dreading the struggle, always contrived to keep the people busy with other matters, and so staved off the passage of the bill. For this reason, then, they were vexed with him.

But the strongest and most apparent reason why the multitude hated him was based on the matter of the tenth of the spoil of Veii, and herein they had a plausible, though not a very just ground of complaint. He had vowed, as it seems, on setting out against Veii, that if he should take the city, he would consecrate the tenth of its booty to the Delphian god. But after the city had been taken and sacked, he allowed his soldiers full enjoyment of their plunder, either because he shrank from annoying them, or because, in the multitude of his activities, he as good as forgot his vow. At a later time, when he had laid down his command, he referred the matter to the Senate, and the seers announced tokens in their sacrifices that the gods were angry, and must be propitiated with due offerings.

VIII. The Senate voted, not that the booty should be redistributed, for that would have been a difficult matter, but that those who had got it should, in person and under oath, bring the tenth thereof to the public treasury. This subjected the soldiers to
Λυπηρά καὶ βίαια περὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἀνθρώπους πένητας καὶ πολλὰ πεπονηκότας, ἀναγκαζόμενοι δὲν ἐκείνηντο καὶ κατεκέχρυντο μέρος 2 εἰςφέρειν τοσοῦτον. Θορυβουμένη δ’ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τῷ Καμίλλῳ καὶ προφάσεως ἀποροῦντι βελτίωνος εἰς τὸν ἀτοπώτατον τῶν λόγων συνεβαίνε καταφεύγειν, ἀμολογοῦντι ἐπιλαθέσθαι τῆς εὐχῆς. οἱ δ’ ἐχαλέπαινοι, εἰ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων δεκατεύσειν ευξάμενος τότε νῦν δεκατεύει τὰ τῶν πολιτῶν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πάντων ὄσον ἔδει μέρος ἐἰσενεγκόντων ἐδοξεὶ κρατήρα χρυσοῦ κατασκευάσαντας εἰς

3 Δελφοὺς ἀποστείλατε. χρυσίον δ’ ἦν σπάνις ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων οὐδὲν ἄν πορισθεὶσι σκοπούσσων, αἱ γυναίκες αὐταί καθ’ αὐτὰς βουλευόμεναι τὸν ὅτα χρυσόν ἐκαστή περὶ τὸ σῶμα κόσμον ἐπέδωκαν εἰς τὸ ἀνάθημα, σταθμεῖ χρυσίον γενόμενον ὄκτω ταλάντων. καὶ ταύτας μὲν ἡ σύγκλητος ἀποδιδούσα τιμὴν πρέπουσαι ἐψηφίσατο μετὰ θάνατον ὅσπερ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ ταῖς γυναιξί λέγεσθαι τὸν ἄξιον ἐπαινοῦν. οὐ γὰρ ἦν εἴθυσμένου πρότερον ἐγκωμιάζεσθαι γυναικεῖον τηλευτήσασαν ἐλόμενοι δὲ τρεῖς ἀνδραὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων θεωροῦσι καὶ ναῦν μακρὰν εὐανδροῦντι πληρώματι καὶ κόσμῳ πανηγυρικῷ κατασκευάσαντες ἐξέπεμψαν.

4 Ἡν δ’ ἀρα καὶ χειμῶν καὶ γαλήνη θαλάσσης ἀργαλεόν, ὡς ἔκεινος συνετύχει τότε παρ’ σοῦ δὲν ἐλθόντας ἀπολέσθαι διαφυγεῖν αὖθις ἀπροσδοκήτως τὸν κίνδυνον. ἐπέπλευσαν γὰρ αὐτοῖς Διπαρέων τριήρεις περὶ τὰς Αἰδολου νήσους τοὺ ἡμῖν Πορείας θίροντας.
many vexations and constraints. They were poor men, who had toiled hard, and yet were now forced to contribute a large share of what they had gained, yes, and spent already. Beset by their tumultuous complaints, and at loss for a better excuse, Camillus had recourse to the absurdest of all explanations, and admitted that he had forgotten his vow. The soldiers were filled with indignation at the thought that it was the goods of the enemy of which he had once vowed a tithe, but the goods of his fellow citizens from which he was now paying the tithe. However, all of them brought in the necessary portion, and it was decided to make a bowl of massive gold and send it to Delphi. Now there was a scarcity of gold in the city, and the magistrates knew not whence it could be had. So the women, of their own accord, determined to give the gold ornaments which they wore upon their persons for the offering, and these amounted to eight talents weight. The women were fittingly rewarded by the Senate, which voted that thereafter, when women died, a suitable eulogy should be spoken over them, as over men. For it was not customary before that time, when a woman died, that a public encomium should be pronounced. Then they chose three of the noblest citizens as envoys, manned with its full complement of their best sailors a ship of war decked out in festal array, and sent them on their way.

Calm at sea has its perils as well as storm, it would seem, at least so it proved in this case. Envoys and crew came within an ace of destruction, and found escape from their peril when they least expected it. Off the Aeolian isles, as the wind died down, some Liparian galleys put out against them, taking them
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5 πνεύματος ἐκλιπόντως ὡς λησταῖς. δεομένων δὲ καὶ προϊσχομένων χειρας ἐμβολῆς μὲν ἔσχοντο, τὴν δὲ ναὸν ἀναψάμενοι καὶ καταγαγόντες ἀπεκήρυττον, ἁμα καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὰ σῶματα, πειρατικὰ κρίναντες ἐδιανέιμεν ὁμόλος ὁ ἄνδρος ἀρετῆ καὶ δυνάμει Τιμησιδέου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πεισθέντες μεθήκαν. ὁ δὲ καὶ προσκαθελκύσας ἰδίᾳ πλοία παρέπεμψε καὶ συγκαθιζόμενος τὸ ἀνάθημα δὲ ὁ καὶ τιμᾶς ἔσχεν, ἃς εἰκός ἦν, ἐν Ῥώμῃ.

IX. Τῶν δὲ δημάρχων αὐθεὶς ἐπεγειρόντων τὸν περὶ τοῦ δυοκισιμοῦ νόμου, ὁ πρὸς Φαλίσκους πόλεμος ἐν καἱρῷ παραφανείς ἔδωκε τοῖς πρώτοις ἀνδράσιν ἀρχαιοςιάσας κατὰ γνώμην καὶ Κάμιλλον ἀποδείξας μεθ’ ἐτέρων πέντε χιλιάρχουν, ὡς τῶν πραγμάτων ἡγεμόνος δεομένου ἀξίωμα

2 καὶ δόξαν μετ’ ἐμπείρίας ἔχοντος. ψηφισαμένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου λαβὼν δύναμιν ὁ Κάμιλλος εἰς τὴν Φαλίσκων ἐνέβαλε· καὶ πόλιν ἐρυμνὴν κατεσκευασμένην πᾶσιν εἰς πόλεμον καλώς Φαλερίους ἐπολίορκες, τὸ μὲν ἐλεύθερον ὁ μικρὸν ἔργον οὐδὲ χρόνου τοῦ τυχόντος ἡγούμενος, ἀλλὰς δὲ τρίβειν τοὺς πολίτας καὶ περιστὰν βουλόμενος, ὡς δὲ σχολάζοιες οἴκοι καθῆμεν δημαγωγεῖσθαι καὶ στασιάζειν. ἐπιεικῶς γὰρ ἀεὶ φαρμάκως τοῦτῳ χρόνῳ διετέλουν, ὧσπερ ἵπποι, τὰ ταρακτικὰ πάθη τῆς πολιτείας ἐξω τρέποντες.

X. Οὔτως δὲ τῆς πολιορκίας κατεφρόνουν οἱ
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for pirates. The enemy had sufficient regard to their prayers and supplications not to run their vessel down, but they took it in tow, brought it to land, and proclaimed their goods and persons for sale, adjudging them piratical. At last, and with much ado, through the brave intercession of a single man, Timesitheus, their general, the Liparians were persuaded to let the captives go. This man then launched boats of his own, convoyed the suppliants on their way, and assisted them in the dedication of their offering. For this he received suitable honours at Rome.

IX. Once more the tribunes of the people urged the passage of the law for the division of the city, but the war with the Faliscans came on opportunely and gave the leading men occasion to hold such elective assemblies as they wished, and to appoint Camillus military tribune, with five others. The emergency was thought to demand a leader with the dignity and reputation which experience alone could give. After the people had ratified the election, Camillus, at the head of his army, invaded the territory of the Faliscans and laid siege to Falerii, a strong city, and well equipped with all the munitions of war. It was not that he thought its capture would demand slight effort or short time, but he wished to turn the thoughts of the citizens to other matters and keep them busy therein, that they might not be able to stay at home and become the prey of seditious leaders. This was a fitting and sovereign remedy which the Romans used, like good physicians, thereby expelling from the body politic its troublesome distempers.

X. The Falerians, relying on the great strength of
Φαλέριοι τῷ πανταχόθεν ἐξωχυρώσθαι πιστεύοντες, ὥστε πλὴν τῶν τὰ τείχη φυλαττόντων τοὺς ἄλλους ἐν ἰματίοις κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀναστρέφεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ παίδας αὐτῶν εἰς τὰ διδασκαλεῖα φοιτᾶν καὶ παρὰ τὰ τείχη περιπατήσοντας καὶ γυμνασομένους ὕπο τοῦ διδασκάλου καταβιβάζεσθαι. καινῷ γὰρ ἔχρωντο τῷ διδασκάλῳ, ὡσπερ Ἔλληνες, οἱ Φαλέριοι, βουλό- 134 μενοι συντρέφεσθαι καὶ συναγελάζεσθαι μετ' ἂν εἰς ἄρχης τοὺς παίδας. οὕτως οὖν ὁ διδάσκαλος ἐπιβουλεύων τοὺς Φαλερίους διὰ τῶν παίδων ἐξήγη αὐτούς ἰμέρας ἐκώστης ὑπὸ τὸ τείχος ἐγγὺς τὸ πρῶτον, εἰτ' ἀπήγγειλεν αὐτὸς εἰς ὄμην γυμνασαμένους. ἐκ δὲ τούτου κατὰ µικρὸν ὑπάγων εἰδίσεθε ταρρεῖν ὡς πολλῆς οὐσίας ἀδείας, καὶ τέλος ἔχων ἀπαντάς εἰς τοὺς προφυλακὰς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐνέβαλε καὶ παρέδωκεν, 3 ἄγειν κελέσας πρὸς τὸν Κάμιλλον. ἀφθείας δὲ καὶ καταστάσεις εἰς μέσον ἔλεγε παιδευτής μὲν εἶναι καὶ διδασκάλος, τὴν δὲ πρὸς ἐκείνον χάριν ἀντὶ τούτων ἔλομεν τῶν δικαίων, ἤκειν αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν ἐν τοῖς παιδὶ κομίζοντο κ. δεινῷ οὖν ἀκούο- σαντι τὸ ἔργον ἐφάνη Κάμιλλῳ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας εἰπὼν, ὡς χαλεπὸν μὲν ἔστι πόλεμος καὶ διὰ πολλῆς ἀδικίας καὶ βιαιῶν περαινόμενος 4 ἔργων, εἰς δὲ καὶ πολέμων δῆμως τινὲς νόμοι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι, καὶ τὸ νικᾶν οὖν οὐτὸ διω- κεῖν, ὡστε μὴ φεύγειν τὰς ἐκ κακῶν καὶ ἀσεβῶν ἔργων χάρεται (ἀρετῇ γὰρ οἰκείᾳ τῶν μέγαν στρατηγῶν, οὐκ ἀλλοτρίᾳ θαρροῦντα κακία χρήναι στρατεύειν), προσέταξε τοῖς ὑπηρέταις τοῦ μὲν ἀνθρώπου καταρρηγήσει τὰ ἰμάτια καὶ
CAMILLUS

their city at all points, made so light of the siege that, with the exception of the defenders of the walls, the rest went up and down the city in their garb of peace. The boys went to school as usual, and were brought by their teacher along the walls outside to walk about and get their exercise. For the Falerians, like the Greeks, employed one teacher in common, wishing their boys, from the very start, to herd with one another and grow up together. This teacher, then, wishing to betray Falerii by means of its boys, led them out every day beyond the city walls, at first only a little way, and then brought them back inside when they had taken their exercise. Presently he led them, little by little, farther and farther out, accustomed them to feel confident that there was no danger at all, and finally pushed in among the Roman outposts with his whole company, handed them over to the enemy, and demanded to be led to Camillus. So led, and in that presence, he said he was a boys' school-teacher, but chose rather to win the general's favour than to fulfil the duties of his office, and so had come bringing to him the city in the persons of its boys. It seemed to Camillus, on hearing him, that the man had done a monstrous deed, and turning to the bystanders he said: "War is indeed a grievous thing, and is waged with much injustice and violence; but even war has certain laws which good and brave men will respect, and we must not so hotly pursue victory as not to flee the favours of base and impious doers. The great general will wage war relying on his own native valour, not on the baseness of other men." Then he ordered his attendants to tear the man's clothing from him, tie
τὰς χεῖρας ὠπίσω περιάγειν, τοῖς δὲ παισὶ
διαδοῦναι ράβδους καὶ μάστυγας, ὡς κολά-
ζοντες τὸν προδότην ἐλαύνωσιν ἐις τὴν πόλιν.

5 Ἄρτι δὲ τῶν Φαλερίων ἡσθημένων τὴν τοῦ
διδασκάλου προδοσίαν καὶ τὴν μὲν πόλιν, οἶον
εἰκός, ἐπὶ συμφορὰ τηλικάυτη θρήνοις κατέ-
χοντος, ἀνδρῶν δὲ ὦμοι καὶ γυναικῶν ἐπὶ τὰ
τείχη καὶ τὰς πύλας σὺν οὔδενι λογισμῷ φερο-
μένων, προσήγην οἱ παιδεῖ τὸν διδάσκαλον
γυμνὸν καὶ δεδεμένου προπηλακίζοντες, τὸν δὲ
Κάμιλλον σωτῆρα καὶ πατέρα καὶ θεὸν ἀνακα-
λοῦντες, ὃστε μὴ μόνον τοῖς γονεύσι τῶν παιδῶν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πολίταις ταῦθ' ὀρὸισι
θαύμα τε καὶ πόθον ἐμπεσεῖν τῆς τοῦ Καμίλλου
dικαιοσύνης. καὶ συνιδραμόντες εἰς ἐκκλησίαν
πρέσβεις ἐπεμψαν ἐκείνῳ τὰ καθ' ἕαυτος ἐπι-
τρέποντες, οὗς ο Κάμιλλος ἀπέστειλεν εἰς

6 Ῥώμην. ἐν δὲ τῇ βουλῇ καταστάντως εἶπον, ὅτι
Ῥωμαίοι τῆς νίκης τῆς δικαιοσύνης προτιμή-
σαντες ἐδιδάξαν αὐτοὺς τὴν ἄγαπησαι
πρὸ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, οὐ τοσούτοι τῇ ὀνομάζει
λείπεσθαι δοκοῦντας, δος ἢττασθαί τῆς ἀρετῆς
ὁμολογοῦντας. ἀποδούσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς πάλιν
ἐκείνῳ τὸ κρίναν καὶ διαίτησαι ταύτα, χρήματα
λαβὼν παρὰ τῶν Φαλερίων καὶ φίλων πρὸς
ἀπαντας Φαλίσκους θέμενος ἀνεχώρησεν.

XI. Οἱ δὲ στρατιώται διαρπάσειν προσδοκή-
σαντες τοὺς Φαλερίους, ὡς ἐπανήλθοιν εἰς Ῥώμην
κεναῖς χερσί, κατηγόρουν τοῦ Καμίλλου πρὸς
τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας ὡς μοισχόμου καὶ φθονή-
σαντος ὑφεληθήναι τοῖς πένθεσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν
περὶ τοῦ διοικησμοῦ νόμον οἱ δήμαρχοι προθέντες
CAMILLUS

his arms behind his back, and put rods and scourges in the hands of the boys, that they might chastise the traitor and drive him back into the city.

The Falerians had just become aware of the teacher's treachery, and the whole city, as was natural, was filled with lamentation over a calamity so great. Men and women alike rushed distractedly to the walls and gates, when lo! there came the boys, bringing their teacher back stripped, bound, and maltreated, while they called Camillus their saviour, their father, and their god. On this wise not only the parents of the boys, but the rest of the citizens as well, when they beheld the spectacle, were seized with admiration and longing for the righteousness of Camillus. In haste they held an assembly and sent envoys to him, entrusting him with their lives and fortunes. These envoys Camillus sent to Rome. Standing in the Senate, they declared that the Romans, by esteeming righteousness above victory, had taught them to love defeat above freedom; not so much because they thought themselves inferior in strength, as because they confessed themselves vanquished in virtue. On the Senate's remanding to Camillus the decision and disposition of the matter, he took a sum of money from the Falerians, established friendship with all the Faliscans, and withdrew.

XI. But the soldiers thought to have had the sacking of Falerii, and when they came back to Rome empty-handed, they denounced Camillus to the rest of the citizens as a hater of the common people, and as begrudging to the poor the enjoyment of their rightful booty. And when the tribunes once more put forward the law for the division of the city
αὕθις ἐπὶ τὴν ψήφον ἐκάλουν τὸν δήμον, ὁ δὲ Κάμιλλος οὐδεμιᾶς ἀπεχθείας οὐδὲ παρρησίας ἀπεισάμενος ἐφάνη μάλιστα πάντων ἐκβιαζόμενος τοὺς πολλοὺς, τὸν μὲν νόμον ἄκουντες ἀπεψηφίσαντο, τὸν δὲ Κάμιλλον δι᾿ ὀργῆς εἶχον, ὡστε καὶ δυστυχήσαντος αὐτοῦ περὶ τὰ οἰκεία (τῶν γὰρ νῦν ἀπέβαλε τὸν ἔτερον νοσήσαντα) μηδὲν οίκτω τῆς ὀργῆς ὑφέσθαι. καίτοι τὸ πάθος οὐ μετρίως ἤνεγκεν ἀνὴρ ἦμερος φύσει καὶ χρηστός, ἀλλὰ τῆς δίκης προγεγραμμένης αὐτῷ διὰ πένθος οἰκούρει καθειργμένος μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν.

XII. Ὁ μὲν οὖν κατήγορος ἦν Δεύκιος Ἀπολλύσ, ἐγκλῆμα δὲ κλοπῆς περὶ τὰ Τυρηνικά χρήματα. καὶ δὴτα καὶ θύρας τινὲς ἐλέγοντο χαλκᾶι παρ’ αὐτῷ φανήμα τῶν αἰχμαλώτων. ὁ δὲ δήμος ἐξηρεθίστο καὶ δῆλος ἢν ἐκ πάσης προφάσεως κατ’ αὐτοῦ τῇ ψήφῳ χρησόμενος.

2 οὕτως οὖν συναγαγόν τοὺς τε φίλους καὶ τοὺς συστρατευσάμενος οὐκ ὀλίγους τὸ πλήθος ὄντας, ἐδεῖτο μὴ περὶδείν αὐτὸν ἄδικως ἐπ’ αἰτίας 135 πονηρᾶς ὀφλόντα καὶ καταγέλαστον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν γενόμενον. ἐπεὶ δ’ οἱ φίλοι βουλευσάμενοι καὶ διαλεξάτες έαὐτοῦ ἀπεκρίναντο, πρὸς μὲν τὴν κρίσιν αὐτῷ μηδὲν οἰεσθαι βοηθῆσειν, τὴν δὲ ξημίαν ὀφλόντι συνεκτίσειν, οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος ἔγρω μεταστήναι καὶ φυγεῖν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πρὸς 3 ὀργῆν. ἀσπασάμενοι οὖν τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὸν νῦν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας προῆλθε σιωπῇ μέχρι τῆς πύλης: ἐκεῖ δὲ ἐπέστη, καὶ μεταστραφεὶς ὄπισω
and summoned the people to vote upon it, then Camillus, shunning no hatred nor any boldness of utterance, was manifestly the chief one in forcing the multitude away from its desires. Therefore, they did indeed reject the law, much against their will, but they were wroth with Camillus, so that even when he met with domestic affliction and lost one of his two sons by sickness, their wrath was in no wise softened by pity. And yet he set no bounds to his sorrow, being by nature a gentle and kindly man, but even after the indictment against him had been published, he suffered his grief to keep him at home, in close seclusion with the women of his household.

XII. Well, then, his accuser was Lucius Apuleius, and the charge was theft of Tuscan goods. It was said, forsooth, that certain bronze doors belonging to the booty had been seen at his house. But the people were exasperated, and would plainly lay hold of any pretext whatever for condemning him. So then he assembled his friends and comrades in arms, who were many in number, and begged them not to suffer him to be convicted on base charges and to be made a laughing-stock by his foes. When his friends had laid their heads together and discussed the case, they answered that, as regarded his trial, they thought they could be of no help to him; but if he were punished with a fine, they would help him pay it. This he could not endure, and in his wrath determined to depart the city and go into exile. Accordingly, after he had kissed his wife and son good-bye, he went from his house in silence as far as the gate of the city. There he stopped, turned himself about, and stretching his hands out towards
καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας πρὸς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐπεύξατο τοῖς θεοῖς, εἰ μὴ δικαίως, ἀλλ᾿ ὑβρεί δήμου καὶ φθόνῳ προπηλακιζόμενος ἔκπηττε, ταχὺ Ἡρωμαίους μετανοήσαι καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις φανερῶς γενέσθαι δεομένους αὐτοῦ καὶ ποθοῦντας Κάμιλλον.

XIII. Ἔκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν, ὡσπερ ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς, ἀρδὲς θέμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς πολίτας καὶ μεταστὰς ὕφελ τὴν δίκην ἐρήμην, τίμημα μυρίων καὶ πεντακισχιλίων ἁσσαρίων ἐχοῦσαν.

"Ο γάνεται πρὸς ἀργυρίου λόγον χίλιαι δραχμαι καὶ πεντακόσιαι ἁσσαρίων γάρ ἐν τῷ ἀργυρίῳ, καὶ τὸ δεκάγαλκον οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο δηνάριον.

2 Οὔδεις δὲ ἐστὶ Ἡρωμαίοι, δέν ὦ νομίζει τὰς εὐχὰς τοῦ Καμίλλου ταχὺ τὴν Δίκην ὑπολαβεῖν, καὶ γενέσθαι τιμωρίαν αὐτῷ τῆς ἀδικίας οὐκ ἤδειαν, ἀλλ᾿ ἀνιαράν, ὀνομαστὴν δὲ καὶ περιβόητον τοσαύτη περιήλθε τὴν Ἡρώμην νέμεσις, καὶ τοσεῦτον ἄγων φθόρον καὶ κίνδυνον ἁμα μετ᾽ αἰσχύνης ἑφάνη καιρός ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, εἰτε τῆς τύχης οὕτω συνελθοῦσης, εἰτε καὶ θεῶν τινος έργον ἐστὶ μὴ παραμελεῖν ἁρετῆς ἀχαιστουμένης.

XIV. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἔδοξε σημείον γεγονόναι κακοῦ μεγαλοῦ προσιόντος ἡ Ἰουλία τοῦ τιμητοῦ τελευτή: μάλιστα γὰρ δὴ Ἡρωμαίοι σέβονται καὶ νομίζουσιν ἵνα τὴν τῶν τιμητῶν ἀρχήν. δεύτερον δὲ πρὸ τῆς Καμίλλου φυγῆς ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἐπιφανῆς μὲν οὖν ὡσπερ ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς, ἐπιεικῆς δὲ καὶ χρηστῶς εἶναι δοκῶν, Μάρκος Καιδίκιος, ἀνήνεγκε πρὸς τοὺς χιλιάρχους πράγμα φρουτίδος ἀξίου.
CAMILLUS

the Capitol, prayed the gods that, if with no justice, but through the wantonness of the people and the abuse of the envious he was now being driven from his country, the Romans might speedily repent, and show to all men that they needed and longed for Camillus.

XIII. After he had thus, like Achilles, invoked curses upon his fellow citizens, he removed from out the city. His case went by default, and he was fined fifteen thousand asses.

This sum, reduced to our money, is fifteen hundred drachmas. For the as was the current copper coin, and the silver coin worth ten of these pieces was for that reason called the denarius, which is equivalent to the drachma.

Now there is no Roman who does not believe that justice followed hard upon the imprecations of Camillus, and that he received a requital for his wrongs which was not pleasing to him, but painful; certainly it was notable and famous. For a great retribution encompassed Rome, and a season of dire destruction and peril not unmixed with disgrace assailed the city, whether fortune so brought things to pass, or whether it is the mission of some god not to neglect virtue that goes unrequited.

XIV. In the first place, then, it seemed to be a sign of great evil impending when Julius the censor died. For the Romans specially revere and hold sacred the office of censor. In the second place, before Camillus went into exile, a man who was not conspicuous, to be sure, but who was esteemed honest and kindly, Marcus Caedicius, informed the military tribunes of a matter well worth their atten-

1 Iliad i. 407-412.
2 έφη γάρ ἐν τῇ παραχθημένῃ νυκτὶ καθ' ὁδὸν 
βαδίζων, ἦν Καύνην ὄνομάζουσι, κληθεὶς ὑπὸ τινος 
θεογεγαμένου μεταστραφῆναι, καὶ θάσασθαι μὲν 
οὖν ὄνεα, φωνῆς δὲ μείζονος ἢ κατ᾽ ἀνθρωπίνην 
ἀκούσαι τάδε λεγοῦσης: "Ἀγε, Μάρκε Καδίκιε, 
λέγε πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχοντας ἐωθεν ἐλθὼν ὁδόνυ 
χρόνου Γαλάτας προσδέχεσθαι." ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσαν 
σαντες οἱ χιλιάρχοι γέλωτα καὶ παιδιάν ἐποιεύν 
το, καὶ μετ᾽ ὀλίγου συνέβη τὰ περὶ Κάμιλλον. 
XV. Οἱ δὲ Γαλάται τοῦ Κελτικοῦ γένους ὄντες 
ὑπὸ πλῆθους λέγονται τὴν αὐτῶν ἀπολιπόντες, 
οὐκ ὁσπον αὐτάρκη τρέφειν ἀπαντας, ἐπὶ γῆς 
ξήτησιν ἑτέρας ὀρμήσαν μυρίades δὲ πολλαὶ 
γενόμενοι νέων ἀνδρῶν καὶ μαχίμων, ἐν 
πλεῖον παιδῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ἀγοντες, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ 
τὸν βόρειον Ὡκεανοῦ ὑπερβαλόντες τὰ Ῥώπα 
ὀρῆ ῥυναί καὶ τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς Εὐρώπης κατα- 
2 σχεῖν, οἱ δὲ μεταξὺ Πυρρίης ὅρους καὶ τῶν 
Ἀλπων ἵδρυεντες ἑγγὺς Σενώνων καὶ Κελτο- 
ρίων κατοικεῖν χρόνου πολύν ὅψε δ' οἶνον γευσά- 
μενοι τότε πρῶτον ἐξ Ἰταλίας διακομισθέντος 
ὑπότος ἀρα βασιλέας τὸ πόλη καὶ πρὸς τὴν 
καυτότητα τῆς ἕδωρης ἐκφρονεις γενέσθαι πάντες, 
ὡςτε ἄραμενοι τὰ ὀπλα καὶ γενέας ἀναλαβόντες 
ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀλπεις φέρεσθαι καὶ ζητεῖν ἐκεῖνη τὴν 
γῆν, ἦ τοιντον καρπῶν ἀναδίκωσι, τὴν δὲ ἀλλη 
ἀκαρπον ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ ἀνήμερον. 
3 Ὁ δ' εἰςαγαγὼν τὸν οἶνον πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ 
παροξύνας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν μάλιστα καὶ πρῶτος 
Ἀρρων λέγεται γενέσθαι Τυρρηνῶν, ἀνὴρ ἐπιφανῆς 
καὶ φύσει μὲν οὐ πονηρός, συμφορᾶ δὲ τοιαύτη 
χρησάμενος. ἦν ἔπιτροπος παιδὸς ὀρφανοῦ 
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tion. He said that during the night just passed, as he was going along the so-called New Street, he was hailed by someone in clear tones, and turned, and saw no man, but heard a voice louder than man's saying: "Hark thou! Marcus Caedicius, early in the morning go and tell the magistrates that within a little time they must expect the Gauls." At this story the tribunes mocked and jested. And a little while after, Camillus suffered his disgrace.

XV. The Gauls were of the Celtic stock, and their numbers were such, as it is said, that they abandoned their own country, which was not able to sustain them all, and set out in quest of another. They were many myriads of young warriors, and they took along with them a still greater number of women and children. Some of them crossed the Rhipaean mountains, streamed off towards the northern ocean, and occupied the remotest parts of Europe; others settled between the Pyrenees and the Alps, near the Senones and the Celtorians, and dwelt there a long time. But at last they got a taste of wine, which was then for the first time brought to them from Italy. They admired the drink so much, and were all so beside themselves with the novel pleasure which it gave, that they seized their arms, took along their families, and made off to the Alps, in quest of the land which produced such fruit, considering the rest of the world barren and wild.

The man who introduced wine to them, and was first and foremost in sharpening their appetite for Italy, is said to have been Arron, a Tuscan. He was a man of prominence, and by nature not prone to evil, but had met with the following misfortune. He was guardian of an orphan boy who was heir to
πλούτῳ τε πρώτου τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ θαυμαζομένου κατ' είδος, ὄνομα Δουκούμωνος. οὗτος ἐκ νέου παρὰ τῷ Ἀρρωνὶ διαίταιν εἶχε, καὶ μειράκιον ὄν όυκ ἀπέλιπτε τὴν οἰκίαν, ἀλλὰ προσεποιεῖτο 
4 χαίρειν συνών ἐκείνῳ. καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐλάνθανε 
διεφθαρκὼς αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναίκα καὶ διεφθαρμένος ἕπε 
ἐκείνης. ἦδη δὲ πόρρῳ τοῦ πάθους ἀμφότερων 
γεγονότων καὶ μήτ' ἀφεῖναι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν μήτε 
κρύπτειν ἐτί δυναμένων, ὦ μὲν νεανίσκος ἐπεχείρει 
φανερῶς ἀποσπάσας ἔχειν τὴν ἀνθρωπίνον, ὃ δ' 
ἀνήρ ἐπὶ δίκην ἔλθων καὶ κρατοῦμενος πλήθει 
φιλῶν καὶ χρημάτων δαπάναις ὑπὸ τοῦ Δουκούμ 
ωνος ἔξελιπτε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ· καὶ πυθόμενος τὰ τῶν 
Γαλατῶν ἤκειν εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ καθηγήσατο τῆς εἰς 
τὴν Ἰταλίαν στρατείας.
XVI. Οἱ δ' ἐμβαλόντες εὐθὺς ἐκράτων τῆς 
χώρας ὅσην τὸ παλαιὸν οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ κατείχον, 
ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀλπεων ἐπ' ἀμφότερας καθήκουσαν τὰς 
θαλάσσας, ὡς καὶ τοῦνα μαρτυρεῖ τῷ λόγῳ. 
τὴν μὲν γὰρ βόρειον θάλασσαν Ἀδρίαν καλούσιν 
ἀπὸ Τυρρηνικῆς πόλεως Ἀδρίας, τὴν δὲ πρὸς 
νότων κεκλιμένην ἀντικρὺς Τυρρηνικοῦ πέλαγος.
2 πᾶσα δ' ἐστὶ δευνρόφυτος αὐτή καὶ θρέμμασιν 
eὐβοτος καὶ κατάρρυτος ποταμώς. καὶ πόλεις 
eἶχεν ὀκτωκαίδεκα καλὰς καὶ μεγάλας καὶ κατε-
σκευασμένας πρὸς τε χρηματισμὸν ἐργατικῶς καὶ 
πρὸς δίαιταν πανηγυρικῶς, ὅσοι Γαλάται τοὺς 
Τυρρηνοὺς ἐκβαλόντες αὐτοῖς κατέσχον. ἀλλὰ 
ταῦτα μὲν ἐπιράχθη συχνῷ τινὶ χρόνῳ πρῶτερον.
XVII. Οἱ δὲ Γαλάται τότε πρὸς πόλιν Τυρρη-
νίδα Κλούσιον στρατεύσαντες ἐπολιόρκον. οἱ 
δὲ Κλούσινοι καταφυγόντες ἐπὶ τοὺς Ρωμαίους
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the greatest wealth in the city, and of amazing beauty, Lucumo by name. This Lucumo from his youth up had lived with Arron, and when he came to man's estate, did not leave his house, but pretended to take delight in his society. He had, however, corrupted Arron's wife, and been corrupted by her, and for a long time kept the thing a secret. But at last the passions of both culprits increased upon them so that they could neither put away their desires nor longer hide them, wherefore the young man made open attempt to remove the woman and have her to wife. Her husband brought the case to trial, but was defeated by Lucumo, owing to the multitude of his friends and his lavish outlays of money, and forsook the city. Learning about the Gauls, he betook himself to them, and led them on their expedition into Italy.

XVI. The Gauls burst in and straightway mastered all the country which the Tuscans occupied of old, namely, that stretching from the Alps down to both seas, the names of which bear witness to the story. For the northern sea is called Adria, from the Tuscan city of Adria; the southern is called outright the Tuscan Sea. This whole country is studded with trees, has excellent pasturage for flocks and herds, and an abundance of rivers. It had also eighteen cities, large and fair, well equipped for profitable commerce and for sumptuous living. These the Gauls took away from the Tuscans and occupied themselves. But this happened long before the time of which I speak.

XVII. At this time the Gauls had marched against the Tuscan city of Clusium and were laying siege to it. The Clusians applied for assistance to the
ἡτήσαντο πρέσβεις παρ’ αὐτῶν καὶ γράμματα πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους. ἔπέμφθησαν δὲ τοῦ Φαβίων γένους τρεῖς ἀνδρεῖς εὐδόκιμοι καὶ τιμᾶς μεγάλας ἔχοντες ἐν τῇ πόλει. τούτους ἔδεξαντο μὲν οἱ Γαλάται φιλανθρώπως διὰ τὸ τῆς Ῥώμης ὄνομα, καὶ παυσάμενοι τῆς πρὸς τὰ τείχη μάχης εἰς λόγους συνήλθον. πυμαθαιμένων δ’ αὐτῶν, ὅ τι παθόντες ὑπὸ Κλουσίουν ἥκοιν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, γελάσας ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Γαλατῶν Βρέννος, “Ἄδικοι δέν ἡμᾶς,” ἔφη. “Κλουσίουν γῆν καὶ χώραν ὠλίγην μὲν γεωργεῖν δυνάμενοι, πολλὴν δὲ κατέχειν ἄξιοντες καὶ μὴ μεταδιδόντες ἡμῖν ἐδοξοῦσα καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ πένησι. ταῦτα δ’ ἀρα καὶ ὑμᾶς ἡδίκουν, ὁ Ῥωμαῖοι, πρότερον μὲν Ἀλβανοὶ καὶ Φιδηνάται καὶ Ἀρδεάται, νῦν δὲ Οὐνίοι καὶ Καπηνάται καὶ πολλοὶ Φαλίσκων καὶ Οὐολούσκων· ἔφ’ οὖς ὑμεῖς στρατεύοντες, ἐὰν μὴ μεταδίδοσιν ὑμῖν τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἀνδραποδίζοντες καὶ λεησταίτε καὶ κατασκάπτετε τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν, οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ὑμεῖς ὑπὸ δεινὸν οὐδὲ ἀδικοῦν ποιοῦντες, ἀλλὰ τῷ πρεσβυτάρῳ τῶν νόμων ἀκολουθοῦντες, διὸ τῷ κρείττουν τὰ τῶν ἡττῶν δίδωσιν ἀρχόμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τελευτῶν εἰς τὰ θηρία. καὶ γὰρ τούτοις ἔκ φύσεως ἔνεστι τὸ ξητεῖν πλέον ἔχειν τὰ κρείττων τῶν ὑποδεικτέρων. Κλουσίουν δὲ παύσασθε πολιορκοῦντες ὡς μὴ καὶ Γαλάταις διδάξητε χρηστοὺς καὶ φιλοκτέρμονας γενέσθαι τοῖς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀδικομένοις.

Ἔκ τούτων τῶν λόγων ἔγνωσαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῶν Βρέννον ἀσυμβάτως ἔχοντα, καὶ παρελ-
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Romans, and begged them to send ambassadors in their behalf with a letter to the Barbarians. So there were sent three men of the Fabian gens who were of great repute and honour in the city. The Gauls received them courteously, because of the name of Rome, ceased their attacks upon the city walls, and held conference with them. When they were asked what wrong they had suffered at the hands of the Clusians that they had come up against their city, Brennus, the king of the Gauls, burst into a laugh and said: "The Clusians wrong us in that, being able to till only a small parcel of earth, they yet are bent on holding a large one, and will not share it with us, who are strangers, many in number and poor. This is the wrong which ye too suffered, O Romans, formerly at the hands of the Albans, Fidenates, and Ardeates, and now lately at the hands of the Veientes, Capenates, and many of the Faliscans and Volscians. Ye march against these peoples, and if they will not share their goods with you, ye enslave them, despoil them, and raze their cities to the ground; not that in so doing ye are in any wise cruel or unjust, nay, ye are but obeying that most ancient of all laws which gives to the stronger the goods of his weaker neighbours, the world over, beginning with God himself and ending with the beasts that perish. For these too are so endowed by nature that the stronger seeks to have more than the weaker. Cease ye, therefore, to pity the Clusians when we besiege them, that ye may not teach the Gauls to be kind and full of pity towards those who are wronged by the Romans."

From this speech the Roman envoys saw that there was no coming to terms with Brennus, and so they
θόντες εἰς τὸ Κλοῦσιον ἐθάρρυνον καὶ παρώρμων τοὺς ἀνδρας ἐπεξελθεῖν τοῖς βαρβάροις μετ’ αὐτῶν, εἰτε τὴν ἐκείνων ἀλκήν καταμαθεῖν εἰτε τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐπιδείξασθαι θέλοντες. ἐκδρομὴς δὲ τῶν Κλοῦσινων καὶ μάχης παρὰ τὰ τείχη γενομένης εἰς τῶν Φαβίων, Κόιντος Ἀμβουστος, ἥπποιν ἐχοῦν ἐλήλυσαν ἀντίος ἀνήρ μεγάλω καὶ καλὸς Γαλάτη πολὺ προϊππεύοντι τῶν ἄλλων, ἀγνοηθεῖς ἐν ἄρχῃ διὰ τὸ τὴν σύνοδον ὄξειαν γενέσθαι καὶ τὰ ὅπλα περιλάμποντα τὴν ὃς ὁ ἐπικρατήσας τῇ μάχῃ καὶ καταβαλὼν ἐσκύλευε τῶν ἀνθρώπων, γνωρίσας ὁ Βρέννος αὐτῶν ἐπεμαρτύρατο θεοῦ, ὃς παρὰ τὰ κοινὰ καὶ γενομυσεία πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὅσια καὶ δίκαια προσβεντοῦ μὲν ἱκουτος, πολέμια δὲ εἰργασμένου. καταπαύσας δὲ τὴν μάχην αὐτίκα Κλοῦσίνων μὲν εἰα χαίρειν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν Ὁμηρὺν τῶν στρατῶν ἤγεν. οὐ βουλόμενος δὲ δόξαι τὴν ἡδικίαν αὐτοῖς ὃσπερ ἀσμένους γεγονέναι καὶ δεομένους προφάσσεως, ἐπεμψεν ἐξαιτῶν ἐπὶ τιμωρία τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ προῆγεν ἀμα σχολαίως.

ΧVIII. Ἐν δὲ Ὁμηρῷ τῆς Βουλής συνακεδείσῃ ἃλλοι τε πολλοὶ τοῦ Φαβίων κατηγοροῦν, καὶ τῶν ἱερέων οἱ καλούμενοι Φητιαλεῖς ἐνήγουν ἐπιθειαξοῦσε καὶ κελεύοντες τὸ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἄγος τὴν σύγκλητον εἰς ἑνά τῶν αἰτίων τρέψασαν ύπέρ τῶν ἄλλων ἀφοσιώσασθαι.
Τούτους τοὺς Φητιαλεῖς Πολύτιλος Νομᾶς, βασιλέως ἱμερώτατος γενόμενοι καὶ δικαίωτατος, κατέστησε φύλακας μὲν εἰρήνης, ἐπιγρώμονας δὲ καὶ βεβαιωτὰς αἰτίων, αἱ σὺν δίκη πόλεμον συνάπτουσι.
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slipped into Clusium, and emboldened and incited
its citizens to sally out against the Barbarians with
them, either because they wished to discover the
prowess of those warriors or to display their own.
The Clusians made a sally, and in the fight which
raged along the walls one of the Fabii, Quintus
Ambustus, drove his horse straight at a stately and
handsome Gaul who was riding far out in front of the
rest. At first he was not recognized, because the
conflict came swiftly to pass and his dazzling armour
hid his face. But when he had conquered and un-
horsed his foe and was stripping his arms from him,
then Brennus recognized him, and called upon the
gods to witness how, contrary to the general practice
of all mankind, which was deemed just and holy,
he had come as an ambassador, but had wrought as
an enemy. Then, putting a stop to the battle, he
straightway let the Clusians alone, and led his host
against Rome. But not wishing to have it thought
that his people were rejoiced at the outrage, and
only wanted some pretext for war, he sent and
demanded the offender for punishment, and in the
meantime advanced but slowly.

XVIII. When the Senate convened in Rome,
many denounced the Fabii, and especially the priests
called Fetiales were instant in calling upon the
Senate in the name of all the gods to turn the curse
of what had been done upon the one guilty man,
and so to make expiation for the rest.

These Fetiales were instituted by Numa Pompilius,
gentlest and justest of kings, to be the guardians of
peace, as well as judges and determiners of the
grounds on which war could justly be made.
2 Τῆς δὲ βουλῆς ἐπὶ τῶν δήμων ἀνενεγκαμένης τὸ πράγμα καὶ τῶν ἰερέων ὁμοία τοῦ Φαβίου κατηγοροῦντων, οὕτω περιβρισσάν οἱ πολλοὶ τὰ θεῖα καὶ κατεγέλασαν, ὡστε καὶ χιλιάρχουν ἀποδείξαι τὸν Φαβίου μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν. οἱ δὲ Κελτοὶ πυθόμενοι ταῦτα καὶ χαλεπῶς φέροντες οὐδὲν ἐμποδόοντο τῆς σπουδῆς, ἀλλ᾿ ἐχώρουν παντὶ τάχει καὶ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν λαμπρότητα τῆς παρασκευῆς καὶ βιῶν καὶ θυμὸν ἐκπεπληγμένων τῶν διὰ μέσου, καὶ τὴν τε χώραν ἀπολωλέναι πᾶσαν ήδη καὶ τὰς πόλεις εὐθὺς ἀπολεῖσθαι δοκοῦντων, παρ’ ἐλπίδας οὐδὲν ἡδίκουν οὐδ’ ἐλάμβανον ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τὰς πόλεις ἐγγύς παρεξιῶντες ἐβόων ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην πορεύεσθαι καὶ μόνοις πολεμεῖν Ῥωμαίοις, τοὺς δ’ ἄλλους φίλους ἐπίστασθαι.

4 Τοιαύτη δὲ χρωμένων ὁρμή τῶν βαρβάρων ἐξῆγον οἱ χιλιάρχοι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγώνα, πλήθει μὲν οὐκ ἐνδειξὶς (ἐγένοντο γὰρ ὁπλῖται τετρακισμυρίων οὐκ ἐλάσσους), ἀνασκήτους δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ τὸτε πρῶτον ἀπτομένους ὁπλῶν. ἔτι δ’ ἐξημέλησεν τὰ τῶν θεῶν αὐτοῖς οὐτε καλλιεργήσασιν οὔτε μάντεις ἀ πρὸ κινδύνου καὶ μάχης εἰκὸς ἦν ἐρωμένοις.

5 οὐδὲνος δὲ ἦττοι ἐπετάραττεν ἡ πολυναρκία τὰ πραττόμενα. καίτοι πρὸτερὸν γε καὶ πρὸς ἐλάττωνας ἀγώνας εἶλοντο πολλάκις μονάρχους, οὐς Δικτάτορας καλοῦσιν, οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες, ὡς εἰσὶν εἰς ἐπιστασίας καιρὸν ὀφελοῦς μᾶλχο χρωμένος γνώμη πρὸς ἀνυπεύθυνον ἀρχὴν ἐν χερσὶ τὴν

6 δίκην ἔχουσαν εὐτακτεῖν, οὐχ ἤκιστα δὲ καὶ
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The Senate referred the matter to the people, and although the priests with one accord denounced Fabius, the multitude so scorned and mocked at religion as to appoint him military tribune, along with his brothers. The Gauls, on learning this, were wroth, and suffered nothing to impede their haste, but advanced with all speed. What with their numbers, the splendour of their equipment, and their furious violence, they struck terror wherever they came. Men thought the lands about their cities lost already, and their cities sure to follow at once. But contrary to all expectation the enemy did them no harm, nor took aught from their fields, but even as they passed close by their cities shouted out that they were marching on Rome and warred only on the Romans, but held the rest as friends.

Against this onset of the Barbarians the military tribunes led the Romans forth to battle. They were not inferior in numbers, being no fewer than forty thousand men-at-arms, but most of them were untrained, and had never handled weapons before. Besides, they had neglected all religious rites, having neither sacrificed with good omens, nor consulted the prophets as was meet before the perils of battle. But what most of all confounded their undertakings was the number of their commanders. And yet before this, and on the brink of lesser struggles, they had often chosen a single commander, with the title of Dictator, not unaware how great an advantage it is, when confronting a dangerous crisis, to be of one mind in paying obedience to an authority which is absolute, and holds the scales of justice in its own hands. Moreover, their unfair treatment of Camillus
Κάμιλλος ἀγωνομονθεῖς ἐβλαψε τὰ πράγματα, τοῦ μὴ πρὸς χάριν μηδὲ κολακεύοντας ἄρχειν φοβεροῦ γενομένου.

Προελθόντες οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως σταδίους ἐνενήκοντα παρὰ τὸν Ἀλίαν ποταμὸν ἡμίσθησαν, οὐ πόρρῳ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῷ Θύμβριδι συμφερόμενον. ἐνταῦθα δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιφανέντων αἰσχρῶς ἁγωνισάμενοι δι’ ἀταξίαν 7 ἐτράπτοντο. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀριστέρον κέρας εὐθὺς ἐμβαλόντες εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν οἱ Κελτοὶ διέφθειραν τὸ δὲ δεξίῳ ὑπεκκλίναν τὴν ἐπιφορὰν ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου πρὸς τοὺς λόφους ἦττον ἐξεκόπη καὶ διεξέπεσον ἀπὸ τούτων εἰς τὴν πόλιν οἱ πολλοὶ. τοῖς δ’ ἄλλοις, ὁσοὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπειπώτων πρὸς τὸν φόνον ἑσώθησαν, εἰς Οὐνίους αἱ φυγαὶ διὰ νυκτὸς ἦσαν, ὡς τῆς Ῥώμης οἰχομένης καὶ τῶν ἐκεί πάντων ἀπολολότων.

XIX. Ἐγένετο δ’ ἡ μάχη μετὰ τροπᾶς θερινᾶς περὶ τὴν πανσέληνον, ἡ καὶ πρότερον ἡμέρα μέγα πάθος συνέβη τὸ περὶ τοὺς Φαβίους· τριάκόσιοι γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ γένους ἄνδρες ὑπὸ Τυρρηνῶν ἀνηρέθησαν. ἐκράτησε δὲ τὴν ἡμέραν ἀπὸ τῆς δευτέρας ἦττης Ἀλιάδα μέχρι νῦν καλείσθαι διὰ τὸν ποταμὸν.

Περὶ δ’ ἡμερῶν ἀποφράδων, εἶτε χρῆ τίθεσθαι τινας, εἶτε ὅρθως Ἡράκλειτος ἐπέπληξεν Ἡσιόδοφ 138 τὰς μὲν ἀγαθὰς ποιομένων, τὰς δὲ φαύλας, ὡς ἁγνοοῦντι φύσιν ἡμέρας ἀπάσης μιᾶν οὐσαν, 2 εἴτερῳ διηπόρηται. τῇ δ’ ὑποκειμένῃ γραφῇ τὸ μνημονεύσαι παραδειγμάτων ὀλίγων ἴσως ἄν

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was in no slight degree fatal to discipline, since it was now dangerous to hold command without paying regard to the pleasure and caprice of the people.

They advanced from the city about eleven miles, and encamped along the river Allia, not far from its confluence with the Tiber. There the Barbarians came suddenly upon them, and after a disorderly and shameful struggle, they were routed. Their left wing was at once driven into the river by the Gauls and destroyed; their right wing was less cut up, because it withdrew before the enemy's onset from the plain to the hills, from which most of them made their way back to the city. The rest, as many as escaped the enemy's hands, which were weary with slaughter, fled by night to Veii. They thought that Rome was lost and all her people slain.

XIX. The battle\(^1\) took place just after the summer solstice when the moon was near the full, on the very day of a former great disaster, when three hundred men of the Fabian gens had been cut to pieces by the Tuscans. But the second defeat was so much the worse that the day on which it fell is called down to the present time "dies Alliensis," from the river.

Now concerning "dies nefasti," or unlucky days, whether we must regard some as such, or whether Heracleitus was right in rebuking Hesiod for calling some days good and some bad, in his ignorance that the nature of every day is one and the same,—this question has been fully discussed elsewhere. Still, even in what I am now writing, the mention of a few

\(^1\) 390 B.C.
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

άρμόσειε. τοῦτο μὲν τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς Ἰπποδρομίου μηνός, ὡς δ’ Ἀθηναίοι καλούσιν Ἐκατοβαιώνος, ἱσταμένου πέμπτη δύο λαβεῖν συνεβῆ ἐπιφανεστάτας, αἰς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἥλευθεροίς, τὴν τε περὶ Δεύκτρα καὶ τὴν ἑπὶ Κερεσσῶ ταύτης πρὸτερον ἔτεσι πλείονοι ἡ διακοσίοις, ὅτε

3 Λατταμύναν καὶ Θεσαλοὺς ἐνίκησαν. τοῦτο δ’ αὐτὸ πάλιν Πέρσαι μηνός Βοιοδρομίων ἐκτη μὲν ἐν Μαραθών, τρίτη δ’ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς ἁμα καὶ περὶ Μυκάλην ἠττήθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, πέμπτη δὲ φθινοντος ἐν Ἀρβύχλωι. οἱ δ’ Ἀθηναίοι καὶ τὴν περὶ Νάξων ἐνίκων ναυμαχίαν, ἡς Χαβρίας ἐστρατήγης, τοῦ Βοιοδρομίων περὶ τὴν πανσέληνον, ἐν δὲ Σαλαμίν περὶ τὰς εἰκάδας,

4 ὡς ἠμῖν ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἡμέρων ἀποδέδεικται. ἐνίκησον δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἡρωδιάνδρος μὴν τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐπιδήλως ἀτυχίας· καὶ γὰρ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ Γραυκῷ τοὺς βασιλέως στρατηγοὺς Ἡρωδιάνδρος ἐνίκησε, καὶ Χαρχηδόνοι περὶ Σικελίαν ὑπὸ Τιμολέουντος ἠττώντο τῇ ἐβδόμῃ φθινοντος, περὶ ἡν δοκεῖ καὶ τὸ Ἰλιου ἀλώνιον, Θαρηγηλίωνος, ὡς Ἐφος καὶ Καλλισθένης καὶ Δαμάστης καὶ

5 Φύλαρχος ἱστορήκασιν. ἀνάπαυσιν δ’ ὁ Μεταχειτνών, ὁ Βοιωτοὶ Πάνεμον καλούσιν, τοῖς Ἑλλησον ὑπὸ εὑμένης γέγονε. τοῦτο γὰρ τοῦ μηνός ἐβδόμη καὶ τὴν ἐν Κρανώνι μάχην ἠττηθεντες ὑπὸ Ἀντιπάτρου τελέως ἀπώλοντο, καὶ πρότερον ἐν Χαιρωνέας μαχόμενοι πρὸς Φίλιππων ἠτύχησαν. τῆς δ’ αὐτής ἡμέρας ταύτης ἐν τῷ Μεταχειτνώνι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐναυτὸν οἱ μετ’ Ἀρχιδάμου διαβάντες εἰς Ἰταλίαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκεῖ βαρβάρων

1 Θαρηγηλίωνος deleted by Bekker, after Reiske.
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examples may not be amiss. To begin with, then, it was on the fifth day of the month of Hippodromius (which the Athenians call Hecatombaeon) that the Boeotians won two illustrious victories which set the Greeks free: that at Leuctra, and that at Ceressus more than two hundred years earlier, when they conquered Lattamyas and the Thessalians. Again, on the sixth day of the month of Boedromion the Greeks defeated the Persians at Marathon, on the third day at Plataea and Mycale together, and on the twenty-sixth day at Arbela. Moreover, it was about full moon of the same month that the Athenians won their sea-fight off Naxos, under the command of Chabrias, and about the twentieth, that at Salamis, as has been set forth in my treatise “On days.” Further, the month of Thargelion has clearly been a disastrous one for the Barbarians, for in that month the generals of the King were conquered by Alexander at the Granicus, and on the twenty-fourth of the month the Carthaginians were worsted by Timoleon off Sicily. On this day, too, of Thargelion, it appears that Ilium was taken, as Ephorus, Callisthenes, Damastes, and Phylarchus have stated. Contrarily, the month of Metageitnion (which the Boeotians call Panemus) has not been favourable to the Greeks. On the seventh of this month they were worsted by Antipater in the battle of Crannon, and utterly undone; before this they had fought Philip unsuccessfully at Chaeroneia on that day of the month; and in the same year, and on the same day of Metageitnion, Archidamus and his army, who had crossed into Italy, were cut to pieces by the Barbarians there.
6 διεθράρησαν. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ τὴν ἑνάτην φθίνοντος ώς τὰ πλείστα καὶ μεγίστα τῶν ἀτυχημάτων αὐτῶς ἀεὶ φέρονταν παραφυλάττοντες.

Οὐκ ἠγνοῶ δ’ ὅτι περὶ τῶν τῶν μυστηρίων καιρὸν αὐτὸς Ἐηβαί τε κατεσκάφησαν ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα φρουρᾶν Ἀθηναίοι Μακεδόνων ἐδέξαντο περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν εἰκάδα τοῦ Βοηδρομιῶνος, ὥς τὸν μυστικὸν Ἰακχὸν ἐξάγουσιν. ὡμοίως δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς αὐτῆς ἦμερας πρότερον μὲν ὑπὸ Κίμβρων τὸ μετὰ Καπτίνων ἀπέβαλον στρατόπεδον, ὑστερον δὲ Δουκούλλου στρατηγοῦντος Ἀρμενίων καὶ Τιγράνην ἐνίκησαν. Ἀπταλὸς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ Πομπηίδης Μάγνος ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτῶν γενεθλίως ἀπέθανον. καὶ ὄλως ἐστὶ πολλοὺς ἐπὶ ἀμφότερα ταῖς αὐταῖς χρησμαίνους ἀποδείχαι περιόδοις.

7 Ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαίοις αὐτῇ μία τῶν μάλιστα ἀποφράδων ἐστὶ, καὶ δι’ αὐτῆς ἐκάστου μηνὸς ἔτεραι δύο, τῆς πρὸς τὸ συμβαίνειν εὐλαβείας καὶ δεισιδαιμονίας ἐπὶ πλείου, ὡσπερ εἰσεῖ, ρυείσης. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ Περὶ αὐτῶν Ῥωμαίκων ἐπιμελεστερον διήρηται.

XX. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην ἐκείνην εἰ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐπηκολούθησαν οἱ Γαλάται τοῖς φεύγουσιν, οὔτεν ἄν ἐκώλυσε τὴν Ῥώμην ἄρδην ἀναιρεθῆναι καὶ πάντας ἀπολεῖθαι τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ καταλειψθέντας. τοσοῦτον οἱ φεύγοντες ἐνεργὰς ἄνω τοῖς ὑποδεχομένοις, καὶ τοσαύτης πάλιν ἐνεπίμπλαντο ταραχῆς καὶ παραφροσύνης. υπὸ δὲ ἀπιστία τοῦ μεγέθους οἱ βάρβαροι τῆς νίκης καὶ πρὸς εὐπάθεια

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The Carthaginians also regard with fear the twenty-second of this month, because it has ever brought upon them the worst and greatest of their misfortunes.

I am not unaware that, at about the time when the mysteries are celebrated, Thebes was razed to the ground for the second time by Alexander, and that afterwards the Athenians were forced to receive a Macedonian garrison on the twentieth of Boedromion, the very day on which they escort the mystic Iacchus forth in procession. And likewise the Romans, on the self-same day, saw their army under Caepio destroyed by the Cimbri, and later, when Lucullus was their general, conquered Tigranes and the Armenians. Both King Attalus and Pompey the Great died on their own birth-days. In short, one can adduce many cases where the same times and seasons have brought opposite fortunes upon the same men.

But this day of the Allia is regarded by the Romans as one of the unluckiest, and its influence extends over two other days of each month throughout the year, since in the presence of calamity, timidity and superstition often overflow all bounds. However, this subject has been more carefully treated in my "Roman Questions."¹

XX. Now had the Gauls, after this battle, followed hard upon the fugitives, naught would have hindered Rome from being utterly destroyed and all those who remained in her from perishing, such was the terror which the fugitives infused into the occupants of the city, and with such confusion and delirium were they themselves once more filled. But as it was, the Barbarians could not realize the magnitude of their

¹ Morals, pp. 269 f.
αν ἐκ τοῦ περιχαροῦσ ἀμα καὶ νεμήσεις τῶν ἔαλωκότων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ χρημάτων τραπό-
μενοι, τῷ μὲν ἐκπίπτοντι τῆς πόλεως ὁχλον
ράστώνυν φυγής παρέσχον, ἐλπίςα δ' ἔτι καὶ
παρασκευάσασθαι τοῖς ὑπομένεσι. τὴν γὰρ
Ἀλλην πόλιν προέμενοι τῷ Καπιτῶλιον ἐφράξαντο
3 βέλεσι καὶ διατείχίσμασιν. ἐν πρώτοις δὲ τῶν
ἱερῶν ἐκ μὲν εἰς τὸ Καπιτῶλιον ἀνεσκευάσαντο,
τὸ δὲ πῦρ τῆς Ἑστίας αἱ παρθένοι μετὰ τῶν
ἱερῶν ἐβεβηγὸν ἀρπασᾶμεναι.

Καὶ τοὺς τινές οὔδεν εἶναι τὸ φρουροῦμενον ὑπ’
αὐτῶν ἔτερον ἢ πῦρ ἄφθιτον ἴστοροῦσι, Νομὰ
τοῦ βασιλέως καταστήσαντος ὡς ἀρχὴν ἀπάντων
4 σέβεσθαι. κινητικώτατον γὰρ ἐν τῇ φύσει τούτοι-
κίνησις δὲ τις ἡ σὺν τινι κινήσει πάντως ἡ γένε-
σις· τὰ δ’. ἄλλα τῆς θυλῆς μόρια θερμότητος
ἐπιπλοῦσθας ἄργα κείμενα καὶ νεκρῶς ἐνυκότα
ποθεῖ τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς δύναμιν, ὡς ψυχήν, καὶ
προσελθούσης ἄμως γέ πως ἐπὶ τὸ δρᾶν τι καὶ
πάσχειν τρέπεται. τούτ’ οὖν ἄτε δὴ περιττὸν
ἀνδρὰ τὸν Νομᾶν καὶ λόγον ἔχοντα ταῖς Μούσαις
συνεῖναι διὰ σοφίαν ἐξοσιῶσαι καὶ φρουρεῖν
ἀκοίμητον ἐν εἰκόνι τῆς τὰ πάντα κοσμοῦσης
5 ἀιῶν ὑπάρχειν. οἱ δὲ τὸ μὲν πῦρ, ὅσπερ παρ’
“Ελλησι, πρὸ ἱερῶν αἰθεσθαι καθάρσιον, ἄλλα
dὲ τὰ ἔντος ἀθέατα κρύπτεσθαι πᾶσι, πλὴν ταῦ-
tαις ταῖς παρθένοις, ὃς Ἑστιάδας ἐπονομάζουσιν.
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victory, and in the excess of their joy, turned to revelry and the distribution of the good things captured in their enemy's camp. For this reason the throngs who were for abandoning the city had ample time for flight, and those who were for remaining plucked up hope and prepared to defend themselves. Abandoning the rest of the city, they fenced the Capitol with ramparts and stocked it with missiles. But their first care was for their sacred things, most of which they carried away to the Capitol; the fire of Vesta, however, was snatched up and carried off by the vestal virgins in their flight, along with the other sacred things entrusted to their care.

However, some writers state that these virgins have watch and ward over nothing more than the ever-living fire, which Numa the King appointed to be worshipped as the first cause of all things. For fire produces more motion than anything else in nature, and all birth is a mode of motion, or is accompanied by motion. All other portions of matter, in the absence of heat, lie inert and dead, yearning for the force of fire to inform them, like a spirit, and on its accession in any manner soever, they become capable of acting and being acted upon. This principle of fire, then, Numa, who was an extraordinary man, and whose wisdom gave him the repute of holding converse with the Muses, is said to have hallowed and ordered to be kept sleepless, that it might image forth the ever-living force which orders the universe aright. Others say that this fire is kept burning before the sacred things by way of purification, as among the Greeks, and that other objects within the temple are kept hidden from the gaze of all except these virgins, whom they call
καὶ πλείστως μὲν λόγος κατείχε τὸ Τρῳκόν ἐκείνον Παλλάδιον ἀποκείσθαι δὲ Αἰνείου κομισθὲν εἰς Ἰταλίαν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ τὰ Σαμοθράκια μυθολογούντες Δάρδανον μὲν εἰς Τροίαν ἔξενεγκάμενον ὄργασαι καὶ καθιερώσαι κτίσαντα τὴν πόλιν, Αἰνείαν δὲ περὶ τὴν ἄλοσσιν ἐκκλέψαντα διασώσασι μέχρι τῆς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ κατοικήσεως. οἱ δὲ προσποιούμενοι πλέον ἐπιστασθαί τι περὶ τούτων δύο φασίν οὐ μεγάλους ἀποκείσθαι πίθους, ὅν τὸν μὲν ἁνεφορᾶ καὶ κενύν, τὸν δὲ πλήρη καὶ κατασκηνομένου, ἀμφοτέρους δὲ ταῖς παναγέσι μόναις παρθένοις ὅρατος εἶναι. ἄλλοι δὲ τούτους διεφεύσασι νομίζουσι τῷ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἱερῶν τότε τὰς κόρας ἐμβαλούσας εἰς πίθους δύο κρύψαι κατὰ γῆς ὑπὸ τὸν νεῶν τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκείνου ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῶν Πελίσκων φέρεσθαι τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν.

XXI. Τὰ δὲ κυρίωτατα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν ἱερῶν αὐτὰς λαβοῦσαι φυγῇ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐποίησαν τὴν ἀποχώρησιν. ἐνταῦθα Λεύκιος Ἀλβίνιος Ἁπτόμενος ἂνὴρ δημοτικὸς ἐν τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἐξυπηρέτησε τέκνα νήπια καὶ γυναῖκα μετὰ χρημάτων ἀναγκαίων ἐφ' ἀμάξης ὑπεκκομίζων. ὡς δὲ εἶδε τὰς παρθένους ἐν τοῖς κόλποις φεροῦσας τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἱερὰ θεραπείας ἔρημους παραπορευομένας καὶ κακοπαθούσας, ταχὺ τὴν γυναῖκα μετὰ τῶν παιδῶν καὶ τῶν χρημάτων καθέλων ἀπὸ τῆς ἀμάξης ἐκείναις παρέδωκεν ἐπιβήναι καὶ δια-

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Vestals. And a very prevalent story had it that the famous Palladium of Troy was hidden away there, having been brought to Italy by Aeneas. There are some who say that it is the Samothracian images which are hidden there, and they tell the tale of Dardanus bringing these to Troy, after he had founded that city, and consecrating them there with celebration of their rites; and of Aeneas, at the capture of Troy, stealing them away and preserving them until he settled in Italy. Others still, pretending to have larger knowledge in these matters, say that two small jars are stored away there, of which one is open and empty, and the other full and sealed up, and that both are visible only to the holy virgins. But others think that these knowing ones have been led astray by the fact that the virgins, at the time of which I am now speaking, cast the most of their sacred treasures into two jars, and hid them underground in the temple of Quirinus, whence that place, down to the present time, has the name of "Doliola," or "Jars."

XXI. However that may be, these virgins took the choicest and most important of the sacred objects and fled away along the river. There it chanced that Lucius Albinius, a man of the common people, was among the fugitives, carrying off his wife and little children, with the most necessary household goods, upon a waggon. When he saw the virgins with the sacred symbols of the gods in their bosoms, making their way along unattended and in great distress, he speedily took his wife, with the children and the household goods, down from the waggon, and suffered the virgins to mount upon it and make
2 φυγεῖν εἰς τινα τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων. τὴν μὲν οὖν Ἀλκινίου πρὸς τὸ θείον εὐλάβειαν καὶ τιμὴν ἐν τοῖς ἐπισφαλεστάτοις καιροῖς ἐκφανὴ γενομένην οὐκ ἄξιον ἦν ἀμημόνευτον παρελθεῖν.

Οἱ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν ἱερεῖς οἱ τε γηραιοί τῶν ὑπατικῶν καὶ θριαμβικῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐκλυπεῖν οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, ἱερᾶς δὲ καὶ λαμπρὰς ἀναλαβόντες ἐσθήτας, ἐξηγούμενον Φαβίου τοῦ ἄρχερεώς, ἐπευξάμενοι τοῖς θεοῖς, ὡς ἐαυτούς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος τῶν δαίμων καθερόντες, ἐπὶ τῶν ἐλεφαντίνων δίφρων ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἐκάθηντο κεκοσμημένοι, τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν τύχην ὑπομένοντες.

XXII. Τρίτη δ' ἀπὸ τῆς μικρῆς ἡμέρας παρηκόν ὁ Βρέννος ἄγων ἐν τῇ πόλιν τὸ στρατεύμα· καὶ τάς τε πύλας εὐρών ἀνεφγέναι καὶ τὰ τείχη φυλάκων ἐρήμα, πρῶτον μὲν ἔδεισεν ἐνέδραν καὶ δόλου, ἀπιστῶν οὖτω παντάπασιν ἀπειρη-κέναι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. ἐπεὶ δ' ἔγνω τὸ ἄληθὲς, εἰσελάσας διὰ τῆς Κολλύνης πύλης εἴλε τὴν Ῥώμην ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίων ἐτῶν πλείωνα βραχὺ χρόνον ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως ἐχουσαν, εἰ τῷ πιστῶν ἀποσώζεσθαι τινα τῶν χρόνων ἀκρίβειαν, οἷς καὶ περὶ νεωτέρων ἄλλων ἀμφισβήτησιν ἡ

2 σύγχυσις ἐκείνῃ παρέσχε. τού μέντοι πάθους αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀλώσεως ἔοικεν ἀμυδρά τις εὐθύς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα φήμη διελθεῖν. Ἡρακλείδης γὰρ ὁ Ποντικὸς οὐ πολὺ τῶν χρόνων ἐκεῖνων ἀπολε-πόμενος ἐν τῷ Περὶ ψυχῆς συγγράμματι φησιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας λόγου κατασχεῖν, ὡς στρατὸς ἐξ Ὁπερβορεῶν ἐλθὼν ἐξωθεὶν ἠρήκοι πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα Ῥώμην, ἐκεῖ που κατφικημένην περὶ

1 ἐκάθηντο with all MSS. and editors: καθήντο.
their escape to a Greek city. This pious act of Albinius, and the conspicuous honour which he showed the gods in a season of the greatest danger, could not well be passed over in silence.

But the priests of the other gods, and the aged men who had been consuls and celebrated triumphs, could not endure to leave the city. So they put on their robes of state and ceremony, following the lead of Fabius, the pontifex maximus, and vowed the gods that they would devote themselves to death in their country's behalf. Then they sat themselves down, thus arrayed, on their ivory chairs in the forum, and awaited their fate.

XXII. On the third day after the battle, Brennus came up to the city with his army. Finding its gates open and its walls without defenders, at first he feared a treacherous ambush, being unable to believe that the Romans were in such utter despair. But when he realised the truth, he marched in by the Colline gate, and took Rome. This was a little more than three hundred and sixty years from her foundation, if one can believe that any accurate chronology has been preserved in this matter, when that of even later events is disputed, owing to the confusion caused by this very disaster. However, it would seem that some vague tidings of the calamity and capture of the city made their way at once to Greece. For Heracleides Ponticus, who lived not long after that time, in his treatise "On the soul," says that out of the West a story prevailed, how an army of Hyperboreans had come from afar and captured a Greek city called Rome, situated somewhere on the shores.
3 τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν. οὐκ ἄν οὐν θαυμάσαι μιθώδη καὶ πλασματίαν ὄντα τὸν Ἡρακλείδην ἄληθείς λόγῳ τῷ περὶ τῆς ἀλώσεως ἐπικομπάσαι τοὺς Τηρεθορέους καὶ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ὁ φιλόσοφος τὸ μὲν ἀλώαι τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ Κελτῶν ἀκριβῶς δήλος ἔστιν ἀκριβῶς, τὸν δὲ σώσαντα Δεῦκλον εἶναι φήσει· ἦν δὲ Μάρκος, οὐ Δεῦκλος, ὁ Κάμιλλος. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν εἰκασμῷ λέεσται.

4 Κατασχὼν δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην ὁ Βρέννος τῷ μὲν Καπιτωλίῳ φιλούσαν περιέστησεν, αὐτὸς δὲ κατα-βαίνων διὰ ἄγορας ἑθαυμάζει τοὺς προκαθημένους ἀνδρας ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ σιώπῃ θεωμένης, ὡς οὐθ᾽ ὑπεξανέστησαν ἐπίτοντων πολέμων οὐτ᾽ ὅψιν ἡ χρόνιν ἐτρέψαν, ἀλλὰ ῥαθύμως καὶ ἀδεώς ἐγκεκλιμένοι τοῖς σκίπτοις, οὐς ἐφόρουν, καὶ προσ-βλέποντες ἀλλήλους ἕσυχαζον. ἦν δὲν θαῦμα τοῖς Γαλάταις πρὸς τὴν ἀτοπίαν, καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ὁκνοῦντες ἄψασθαι καὶ προσελθεῖν ὡς κρεῖττος διηπόρουν. ἐπεί δὲ τολμήσασι τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐγγὺς παρέστη Παπείριῳ Μάρκῳ καὶ προσαγαγὼν τὴν χεῖρα πρῶς ἧς τοῦ γενεῶν καὶ κατῆγε τὴν ὑπήν τινα βαθείαν ὦσαν, ὁ μὲν Παπείριος τῇ βακτηρίᾳ τὴν κεφαλήν αὐτοῦ πατάξας συνέτριψεν, οὐ δὲ βάρβαρος σπασάμενος

5 βλέποντας ἀλλήλους ἕσυχαζον. ἦν δὲν θαῦμα τοῖς Γαλάταις πρὸς τὴν ἀτοπίαν, καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ὁκνοῦντες ἄψασθαι καὶ προσελθεῖν ὡς κρεῖττος διηπόρουν. ἐπεί δὲ τολμήσασι τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐγγὺς παρέστη Παπείριῳ Μάρκῳ καὶ προσαγαγὼν τὴν χεῖρα πρῶς ἧς τοῦ γενεῶν καὶ κατῆγε τὴν ὑπήν τινα βαθείαν ὦσαν, ὁ μὲν Παπείριος τῇ βακτηρίᾳ τὴν κεφαλήν αὐτοῦ πατάξας συνέτριψεν, οὐ δὲ βάρβαρος σπασάμενος

6 τὴν μάχαιραν ἀπέκτεινεν ἐκεῖνος. ἐκ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀνήρων προσπεσόντες, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὀσοὶ ἐπιτύχοιεν διεχρόνοτο, καὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἐπόρθουν ἐφ᾽ ἡμέρας τολλᾶς ἄγουτες καὶ φέρουτες, ἐντα κατεσκήνωσαν καὶ κατέσκαπτον ὀργιζόμενοι τοῖς ἔχουσι τὸ Καπιτώλιον, ὅτι

1 ἐφόρουν with S: ἐφέρειν.
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of the Great Sea. Now I cannot wonder that so
fabulous and fictitious a writer as Heracleides should
dek out the true story of the capture of Rome with
his "Hyperboreans" and his "Great Sea." But
Aristotle the philosopher clearly had accurate tidings
of the capture of the city by the Gauls, and yet he
says that its saviour was Lucius, although the fore-
name of Camillus was not Lucius, but Marcus. How-
ever, these details were matters of conjecture.

When he had occupied Rome, Brennus surrounded
the Capitol with a guard. He himself went down
through the forum, and was amazed to see the men
sitting there in public state and perfect silence.
They neither rose up to meet their enemies when
they approached, nor did they change countenance
or colour, but sat there quietly, at ease and without
fear, leaning on their staves and gazing into one
another's faces. The Gauls were amazed and per-
plexed at the unwonted sight, and for a long time
hesitated to approach and touch them, regarding
them as superior beings. But at last one of them,
plucking up his courage, drew near Papirius Marcus,
and stretching out his hand, gently grasped his chin
and stroked his long beard, whereupon Papirius,
with his staff, smote him a crushing blow on the
head. Then the Barbarian drew his sword and
killed him. After that, they fell upon the rest and
slew them, made away with every one else they met,
sacked and plundered the houses of the city for many
days together, and finally burned them down and
levelled them with the ground, in their wrath at the
defenders of the Capitol. For these would not
καλούντων αυτῶν οὐχ ὑπήκοουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσ-
βάλλοντο πληγὰς ἔδοσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ διατείχίσμα-
tος ἀμυνόμενοι. διὰ ταύτα μὲν οὖν ἐλυμήναντο
τὴν πόλιν καὶ προσδιέφθειραν τοὺς ἀλισκομένους,
όμοιος μὲν ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας, ομοίως δὲ προσ-
βύτας καὶ παῖδας.

XXIII. Τῆς δὲ πολυρκίας μῆκος λαμβανούσης
ἐπιστιτσοῦ τοῖς Γαλάταις ἔδει, καὶ διελόντες
ἐαυτοὺς οἱ μὲν τῷ βασιλεῖ παραμένοντες ἐφρού-
ρουν τῷ Καπιτώλιον, οἱ δὲ τὴν χώραν περιώντες
ἐλεηλάτουν καὶ τὰς κώμας ἐπόρθουσιν προσπί-
πτοντες, οὐχ ὁμοὶ πάντες, ἀλλοι δὲ ἄλλη καθ’
ἡγεμονίας καὶ συντάγματα, τῷ μέγα φρονεῖν
ὑπὸ τῶν εὐτυχημάτων καὶ δεδεναι μηδὲν ἀπο-
2 σκιδνάμενοι. τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον αὐτῶν καὶ μάλιστα
συντεταγμένον ἔχωρει πρὸς τὴν Ἀρδεατών πόλιν,
ἐν ἣ διέτριβε Κάμιλλος ἄργων ταῖς πράξεις
μετὰ τὴν φυγὴν καὶ ἰδιωτεύων, ἐλπίδας δὲ
λαμβάνων καὶ διαλογισμοῦς οὐχὶ τὸ λαθεῖν καὶ
diaφυγεῖν τοὺς πολέμιους ἀγαπῶντος ἀνδρός,
ἀλλ’ ὅτως, εἰ παραγένοιτο καιρός, ἀμυνεῖται
3 σκοποῦντος. διὸ καὶ τοὺς Ἀρδεατας ὁρῶν πληθεῖ
μὲν ἱκανοῦς ὄντας, ἐνδεικτικὸς δὲ τόλμης ἰδ’ ἀπειριαν
καὶ μαλακίαι τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἐνέβαλε λόγον
εἰς τοὺς νέους πρῶτον, ὡς οὐ χρῆ τὴν 'Ρωμαίων
ἀτυχίαν ἀνδρείαιν Κελτῶν νομίζειν, οὐδ’ αἱ κακῶς
φρονήσασι συνεβη σαθεὶν ἐκεῖνος ἐργὰ τῶν
οὐδέν εἰς τὸ νικῆσαι παρασχόντων, ἀλλὰ τύχης
4 ἐπίδειξιν ἤγειρεν, καλὸν μὲν οὖν εἶναι καὶ
dia κυνικῶν ἀπόσασθαι πόλεμον ἀλλόφυλον
καὶ βαρβαρίκως, ϑ’ τοῦ κρατεῖν πέρας, ὡσπερ τῷ
πυρί, διαφθαρήσαι τὸ νικώμενον οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ
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surrender at their summons, but when they were attacked, actually repulsed their foes from the ramparts with loss. Therefore the Gauls inflicted every outrage upon the city, and put to the sword all whom they captured, men and women, old and young alike.

XXIII. The siege lasted a long time, and the Gauls began to lack provisions. They therefore divided their forces. Some remained with their king and watched the Capitol, others ravaged the country round about, falling upon the villages and sacking them, not all together in one body, but scattered about by commands and companies, some here, some there, moved by their successes to great confidence and the fear of nothing. The largest and best disciplined body of them marched upon the city of Ardea, where Camillus was staying since his exile. He lived in complete retirement and privacy, it is true, but cherished the hopes and plans not of a man who eagerly desired to escape the notice and hands of the enemy, but of one who sought to avenge himself upon them if occasion offered. Wherefore, seeing that the Ardeans were of sufficient numbers, but lacked courage, through the inexperience and effeminacy of their generals, he began to reason with the young men first, to the effect that the mishap of the Romans ought not to be laid to the valour of the Gauls, nor the sufferings of that infatuated people to the prowess of men who did not deserve their victory, but rather to the dictates of fortune. It was a fine thing, he said, even at dangerous risks, to repel the attack of an alien and barbarous folk, whose only end in getting the mastery was, as in the work of fire, the utter destruction of what it conquered. But
καὶ θαρροῦσι καὶ προθυμομενοι αυτοὶς ἀκίνδυνον ἐν καὶ ρῷ τὴν νίκην παρέξειν.
Τούτους τοὺς λόγους τῶν νέων δεξαμένων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀρχοντας ἤμει καὶ τοὺς προβούλους τῶν Ἀρδεάτων ὁ Κάμιλλος. ὡς δὲ κάκεινους συνέπεσεν, ἀπλίσε τοὺς ἐν ἥλικια πάντας καὶ συνεἴχε τοῦ τείχους ἑντὸς, ἀγνοεῖσθαι βουλόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμόν
5 ἐγγὺς ὄντων. ἔπει δὲ τὴν χώραν ἐπιπασάμενοι καὶ βαρεῖς ὄντες ὑπὸ πλῆθους τῶν ἀγωμένων καὶ φερομένων ἀμελῶς καὶ ὀλγορῶς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κατεστρατοπέδευσαν, ἐκ δὲ τούτου νῦξ ἐπῆλθε μεθύσειν αὐτοῖς καὶ σιωπῆ κατέσχε τὸ στρατοπεδόν, πυθόμενος ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν κατασκόπων ὁ Κάμιλλος ἔξηγε τοὺς Ἀρδεάτας καὶ διελθὼν καθ’ ἰσυχίαν τὸν μεταξὺ τόπον περὶ μέσας νύκτας προσέμιζε τῷ χάρακι κραυγῇ τε χρώμενος πολλῇ καὶ ταῖς σάλπυγι πανταχοθεν ἐκταράτων ἀνθρώπους κακῶς ὑπὸ μέθης καὶ μόλις ἐκ τῶν ὑπνῶν ἀναφέροντας πρὸς τὸν θόρυβον.
6 ὅλην μὲν οὖν ἀνανήψαντες ἐν τῷ φόβῳ καὶ διασκευασάμενοι τοὺς περὶ τὸν Κάμιλλον ὑπέστησαν, ὡστ’ ἀμυνόμενοι πεσεῖν τοὺς δὲ πλείοντος ἑτι κρατουμένους ὑπνῷ καὶ οἴνῳ καταλαμβάνοντες ἀνόπλους ἐκτεινοῦν. ὅσιοὶ δὲ νυκτὸς ἀπέδρασαν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος οὐ πολλοὶ, τούτους μεθ’ ἡμέραν σπορᾶς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ διαφερομένους ἐπελαύνοντες ἰπτεΐς διέφθειρον.

XXIV. Ἡ δὲ φήμη ταχὺ διαγγέλλουσα τὴν πράξειν ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις ἔξεκαλείτο πολλοὺς τῶν ἐν ἥλικια συνισταμένους, μάλιστα δὲ Ῥωμαίων ὅσιοι διαφυγόντες ἐκ τῆς ἐπ’ Ἀλία μάχης ἐν Οὐηνίως ἦσαν καὶ ἔδυροντο κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς, 152
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in the present case, if they were bold and zealous, he would find occasion to give them a victory without any danger.

After gaining the support of the young men, Camillus went to the rulers and councillors of Ardea, and when he had won them over also, he armed all who were of age for service and kept them together within the walls, that they might not be perceived by the enemy, who were near. These had scourged the country round about, and encamped in the plain, without care or concern, and heavily encumbered with their abundant booty. When night had fallen upon them, putting an end to their carousals, and silence reigned throughout their camp, Camillus, acquainted with this by his scouts, led forth the Ardeans. Passing quietly over the intervening space, they reached the camp about midnight, and with shouts and trumpet blasts on every hand confounded the men, who were scarcely brought to their senses by the din, heavy as they were with drunkenness and sleep. A few of them were sobered by fear, armed themselves, and made resistance to Camillus and his men, so that they fell fighting; but most were still mastered by sleep and wine when they were fallen upon and slain without their arms. A few only ran from the camp, under cover of darkness, and when day came, were seen straggling about the fields, but horsemen pursued them and cut them to pieces.

XXIV. Rumour quickly carried news of this exploit to the neighbouring cities, and called to arms many of those who were of age for service, particularly the Romans who had made their escape from the battle on the Allia, and were in Veii. These
"Οἶον ἴγειμόνα τῇς Ῥώμης ὁ δαίμων ἀφελόμενος Ἀρδεάτας ἐκόσμησε τοῖς Καμῖλλου κατορθώμασιν, ἡ δὲ γειναμένη καὶ θρέψασα τοιοῦτον ἀνδρα πόλις οὐχεται καὶ ἀπόλωλεν. ἤμεῖς δ' ἀπορία στρατηγῶν ἄλλοτρια τείχη περιβαλλόμενοι καθήμεθα προέμονι τὴν Ἰταλίαν. φέρε, πέμψαντες Ἀρδεάτας ἀπαίτωμεν τῶν ἕαυτῶν στρατηγῶν, ἡ λαβόντες αὐτοὶ τὰ ὅπλα πρὸς ἐκείνον βαδίζωμεν οὐκέτι γάρ ἑστι φυγάς οὐδ' ἤμεῖς πολύτιμος πατρίδος οὐκ οὐσίς, ἀλλὰ κρατουμένης ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων." ταύτ' ἐδοξὲ καὶ πέμψαντες ἐδέστη τοῦ Καμῖλλου δέχεσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐφί πρότερον ἢ τοὺς ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ πολίτας ἐπιψήφισασθαι κατὰ τῶν νόμων. ἐκείνους γὰρ ἤγεισθαι πατρίδα σωζόμενοι, καὶ κελεύουσι μὲν ὑπακούειν προθύμως, ἄκοντων δὲ μηδέν πολυπραγμονήσειν. τῆς μὲν οὖν εὐλαβείας καὶ καλοκαγαθίας τῶν Καμῖλλον ἐθαύμασαν. ἣν δ' ἀπορία τοῦ ταύτα διαγγελούντος εἰς τὸ Καπιτωλίον μᾶλλον δ' ὅλως ἀδύνατον ἐδόκει τῶν πολεμίων ἐχόντων τὴν πόλιν ἀγγελον εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν παρελθεῖν.

XXV. Ἡν δὲ τις ἐν τοῖς νέοις Πόντιος Κομίνοις, τῶν μέσων κατὰ γένος πολιτῶν, δόξης δὲ καὶ τιμῆς ἑραστῆς οὔτος ὑπέστη τῶν ἅθλων ἐκοῦσιος. καὶ γράμματα μὲν οὐκ ἔλαβε πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, μὴ λυφθέντος αὐτοῦ φωράσωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι δὲ αὐτῶν τοῦ Καμῖλλου τὴν διάνοιαν, ἔσθητα δὲ φαύλην ἔχων καὶ φελλοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῇ κομίζων τὴν μὲν ἀλλήν ὦδὸν ἤμερας ἀδεῶς διήλθεν, ἐγγὺς δὲ τῆς πόλεως 154.
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lamented among themselves, saying: "Of what a leader has heaven robbed Rome in Camillus, only to adorn Ardea with his victories! The city which bore and reared such a hero is dead and gone, and we, for lack of generals, sit pent up within alien walls, and see Italy ruined before our very eyes. Come! let us send to Ardea and demand our own general, or take our arms and go ourselves to him! For he is no longer an exile, nor are we citizens, now that our country is no more, but is mastered by the enemy." So said, so done, and they sent and asked Camillus to take the command. But he refused to do so before the citizens on the Capitol had legally elected him. They were preserving the country, as he thought, and if they had commands for him, he would gladly obey, but against their wishes he would meddle with nothing whatsoever. This noble restraint on the part of Camillus was much admired, but it was hard to see how the matter could be referred to the Capitol. Nay rather, it seemed utterly impossible, while the enemy held the city, for a messenger to elude them and reach the acropolis.

XXV. But there was a certain young man, Pontius Cominius by name, who was, in spite of his ordinary birth, a lover of glory and honour. He volunteered to attempt the task. He took no letter with him to the defenders of the Capitol, lest this, in the event of his capture, should help the enemy to discover the purpose of Camillus; but under the coarse garments which he wore, he carried some pieces of cork. The greater part of his journey was made by daylight and without fear; but as night came on he found himself near the city.
γενόμενος ἦδη σκοταίος, ἔπεις κατὰ γέφυραν οὐκ ἦν τῶν ποταμῶν περάσαι τῶν βαρβάρων παρα-
2 φυλαττόντων, τὴν μὲν ἔσθητα τῇ κεφαλῇ περι-
στειράσας οὐ πολλὴν οὐδὲ βαρεῖαν, τοὺς δὲ
φελλοὺς ἐφείς τὸ σῶμα καὶ συνεπικουφίζων τῷ
1 περαιοῦσθαι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐξέβη. καὶ παραλ-
λάττων ἂε τοὺς ἐγγρηγόροτας, τοὺς φέγγεσι καὶ
τῷ θορύβῳ τεκμαίρομενος, ἐβαδίζε πρὸς τὴν
Καρμεντίδα πῦλην, ἥ πλείστην εἶχεν ἡσυχίαν,
καὶ μάλιστα κατ’ αὐτὴν θρίος ὁ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου
λόφος ἀνέστηκε καὶ πέτρα κύκλῳ πολλή καὶ
τραχεία περιπέφυκε, δι’ ἣς ἀνέβη λαθῶν καὶ
προσέμιξε τοῖς φυλάττουσι τὸ διατείχισμα
χαλεπῶς καὶ μόλις κατὰ τὸ λαγαρώτατον.
3 ἀσπάσαμενος δὲ τοὺς ἀνδρας καὶ φράσας ἑαυτὸν
ἐξ ὀνόματος, ἀναληφθεὶς ἐχώρει πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τέλει
tῶν Ῥωμαίων. ταχὺ δὲ συγκλήτου γενομένης
παραλθὼν τὴν τε νίκην ἀπῆγγειλε τοῦ Καμίλλου
πρότερον οὐ πυθομένους, καὶ τὰ δοκοῦντα τοῖς
στρατιώταις διηγείτο· καὶ παρεκάλει τῷ Κα-
μίλλῳ βεβαιώσαι τὴν ἁρχήν, ὡς μόνῳ πεισο-
4 μένων ἐκείνω τῶν ἔξω πολιτῶν. οἱ δὲ ἀκού-
σαντες καὶ βουλευσάμενοι τῶν τε Κάμιλλον ἀπο-
δεικνύουσι δικτάτορα, καὶ τὸν Πόντιον αὐθίς
ἀποπέμπουσι τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ὁμοίως ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ
χρησάμενοι. ἐλαθε γὰρ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τὰ
παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπῆγγειλε τοῖς ἔξω Ῥωμαίοις.

XXVI. Ἔκεινων δὲ δεξαμένων προθύμως ἄφι-
kόμενος ὁ Κάμιλλος ἦδη μὲν ἐν ὄστοις δισμυρίους
κατέλαβε, πλείονας δὲ συνήγαγεν ἀπὸ τῶν συμ-

1 τῷ Bekker supplies ἐν with Bryan.
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He could not cross the river by the bridge, since the Barbarians were guarding it, so he wrapped his light and scanty garments about his head, fastened the corks to his body, and thus supported, swam across, came out on the other side, and went on towards the city. Always giving a wide berth to those of the enemy who were watchful and wakeful, as he judged by their fires and noise, he made his way to the Carmental gate, where there was the most quiet, at which the Capitoline hill was most sheer and steep, and which was girt about by a huge and jagged cliff. Up this he mounted unperceived, and finally reached, with great pains and difficulty, the sentries posted where the wall was lowest. Hailing them, and telling them who he was, he was pulled up over the wall, and taken to the Roman magistrates. The Senate quickly convening, he appeared before it, announced the victory of Camillus, about which they had not heard, and explained to them the will and pleasure of his fellow-soldiers. He exhorted them to confirm Camillus in his command, since he was the only man whom the citizens outside would obey. When the Senate had heard his message and deliberated upon it, they appointed Camillus dictator, and sent Pontius back again by the way he had come, wherein he repeated his former good fortune. For he eluded the enemy's notice and brought the Senate's message to the Romans outside the city.

XXVI. These gave eager welcome to the tidings, so that when Camillus came, he found twenty thousand men already under arms. He collected
μάχων καὶ παρεσκευάζετο πρὸς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν. οὕτω μὲν ἦρεθ ἀπειθῶρ ὁ Κάμιλλος τὸ δεύτερον καὶ πορευθεὶς εἰς Οὐήτους ἔνετυχε τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ συνήγη πλείους ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ὡς ἐπιθησόμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις. 1

'Εν δὲ τῇ Ἐρώτῃ τῶν βαρβάρων τινὲς ἔκειν κατὰ τὰ ὄρη παρεξίοντες, ἦ δὲ νυκτὸς ὁ Πόντιος προσέβη τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, καταμαθόντες πολλαχῆ μὲν ἤρην ποδῶν καὶ χειρῶν, ὡς ἀντελαμβάνετο καὶ περιεδράττετο, πολλαχῆ δὲ τῶν ἐπιπεφυκότων τοῖς κρημνοῖς ἀποτριβᾶς καὶ περιολισθήσεις τῶν 2 γεωδῶν, φράξουσι τῷ βασιλεῖ. κακεῖνος ἐπελθὼν καὶ θεασάμενος τότε μὲν ἢςύχασεν, ἐσπέρας δὲ τοὺς ἐλαφροτάτους τοὺς σώμασι καὶ πεφυκότας ὑρειβατεῖν μάλιστα τῶν Κελτῶν συναγαγὼν, "Τὴν μὲν ὁδὸν," εἶπεν, "ἡμῖν ἐφ' ἐαυτούς ἄγνοοιν· μένοι οἱ πολέμοι δεικνύουσιν ὡς οὕτ' ἄπορεντος οὔτε ἄματος ἀνθρώποις εστὶν, αἰσχύνη δὲ πόλλῃ τὴν ἄρχην ἐχοντας ἐλλείπειν πρὸς τὸ τέλος καὶ προείηθαι τὸν τόπον ὡς ἀνάλωτον, αὐτῶν τῶν πολεμίων ὡς ληπτός ἐστι διδασκόντων. ἦ γὰρ ἐνὶ προσβήσῃμι βάδιον, οὐκ ἐπλοῖος καθ' ἕνα δύσκολον, ἄλλα καὶ ῥόμη καὶ βοήθεια πολλῆ μετ' ἀλλήλων ἐπιχειροῦσι. δωρεαὶ δὲ καὶ τιμαὶ πρέπουσι τῇ ἄνδραγαθίᾳ ἐκάστῳ δοθῆ- σονται."

XXVII. Τοιάστα τοῦ βασιλέως διαλεχθέντος ὑπέστησαν οἱ Γαλάται προθύμως, καὶ περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἐπιβάντες ἄμα πολλοὶ τῆς πέτρας

1 Οὕτω ... πολεμίοις deleted by Bekker, after Reiske.
still more from the allies, and made preparations for his attack. Thus Camillus was chosen dictator for the second time, and proceeding to Veii, he put himself at the head of the soldiers there, and collected more from the allies, with the purpose of attacking the enemy.

But in Rome, some of the Barbarians chanced to pass by the spot where Pontius had made his way by night up to the Capitol, and noticed in many places the marks made by his hands and feet in clambering up, and many places also where the plants that grew upon the rocks had been torn away, and the earth displaced. They advised their king of this, and he too came and made inspection. At the time he said nothing, but when evening came, he assembled the nimblest men and the best mountain-climbers of the Gauls and said to them: "The enemy have shown us that there is a way up to them of which we knew not, and one which men can traverse and tread. It would be a great shame for us, after such a beginning as we have made, to fail at the end, and to give the place up as impregnable, when the enemy themselves show us where it can be taken. For where it is easy for one man to approach it, there it will be no difficult matter for many to go one by one, nay, they will support and aid one another greatly in the undertaking. Gifts and honours befitting his valour shall be given to every man."

XXVII. So spake their king, and the Gauls eagerly undertook to do his will. About midnight a large band of them scaled the cliff and made
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ἔχωρον αὖν μετὰ σιωπῆς, ἐμφυόμενοι τοῖς χωρίοις ἀποτόμοις οὖσι καὶ χαλεποῖς, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ μάλλον ἡ προσεδοκήθη πειρωμένων αὐτῶν

2 προσεμένως καὶ παρείκουσιν, ὥστε τοὺς πρώτους ἄψαμένους τῶν ἀκρων καὶ διασκευασμένους ὅσον οὖν ἦδη τοῦ προτειχίσματος ἀπετέθαι καὶ τοῖς φύλαξιν ἐπιχειρεῖν κοιμωμένοις· ἢσθετο γὰρ οὖτ' ἄνθρωπος οὔτε κύων. ἀλλὰ χήνες ἤσαν ἱεροὶ περὶ τῶν νεών τῆς Ἡρας τρεφόμενοι τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἄφθονος, τότε δὲ τῶν σιτίων ἦδη γλύσχρος καὶ μόλις αὐτῶς διαρκοῦντων ἀμελούμενοι κακῶς ἐπραττον. ἐστὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ φύσει πρὸς αὐσθησιν ὦξι καὶ ψοφοδέες τὸ ζῷον· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ καὶ διὰ λιμῶν ἀγρυπνητικοὶ καὶ θορυβώδεις γεγονότες ταχὺ τὴν ἐφοδον ζήσοντο τῶν Γαλατῶν, καὶ μετὰ δρόμου καὶ κλαγής φερόμενοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπήγειραν ἄπαντας, ἦδη καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων διὰ τὸ μὴ λανθάνειν ἀφειδούντων θαρύθμου καὶ βιαιότερον

3 ἐπιτιθεμένων. ἀρπάσαντες οὖν ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ὅ τις ἐκατόστος ὅπλῳ προσετύχανεν, ἐκ τοῦ παρόντος ἐβοήθουν. πάντων δὲ πρῶτος Μάλλως, ἀνὴρ ὑπατικός, τὸ τε σῶμα ρωμαλέος καὶ φρονήματι ψυχῆς ἐπιφανῆς, ἀπαντήσας δυσὶν ὁμοῖς τῶν πολεμιῶν τοῦ μὲν ἐφθασε διημένου κοπίδα τῷ ξίφει τῆς δεξιάν ἄποκόψας, τὸν δὲ τῷ θυρεῷ πατάξας εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον ἔψωσεν ὅπισώ κατὰ τῆς

4 πέτρας. ἐπιστάτας δὲ τῷ τείχει μετὰ τῶν συνδραμόμοντων καὶ γενομένων περὶ αὐτῶν ἀπέστρεψε τοὺς ἄλλους, οὔτε πολλοὺς ἄνω γενομένους οὔτε πράξαντας τι τῆς τόλμης ἄξιον. οὕτω δὲ τῶν κύδυνων ἐκφυγόντες ἀμ' ἡμέρα τὸν μὲν ἀρχοντα

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their way upward in silence. They climbed on all fours over places which were precipitous and rough, but which yielded to their efforts better than they had expected, until the foremost of them reached the heights, put themselves in array, and had all but seized the outwork and fallen upon the sleeping watch. Neither man nor dog was aware of their approach. But there were some sacred geese near the temple of Juno, which were usually fed without stint, but at that time, since provisions barely sufficed for the garrison alone, they were neglected and in evil plight. The creature is naturally sharp of hearing and afraid of every noise, and these, being specially wakeful and restless by reason of their hunger, perceived the approach of the Gauls, dashed at them with loud cries, and so waked all the garrison. At once the Barbarians, now that they were detected, spared no noise, and came on more impetuously to the attack. The defenders, snatching up in haste whatever weapon came to hand, made the best shift they could. Manlius first of all, a man of consular dignity, mighty in body and exceeding stout of heart, confronting two of the enemy at once, cut off the right hand of one of them with his sword as he was lifting his battle-axe, and dashing his shield into the face of the other, tumbled him backwards down the cliff. Then taking his stand on the wall with those who ran to his aid and formed about him, he repulsed the rest of the enemy, who had reached the top in no great numbers, and showed no prowess to match their daring. So the Romans escaped out of their peril. At break of day, they cast the
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tων φυλάκων ἔρριψαν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους κατὰ τῆς πέτρας, τῷ δὲ Μαλλίῳ τῆς νίκης ἀριστεία πρὸς τιμὴν μεγάλην 1 μάλλον ἡ χρείαν ψηφισάμενοι συνήνεγκαν ὅσον ἡμέρας ἐκαστὸς ἐλάμβανεν εἰς τροφήν, σίτου μὲν ἡμίλιτρον ἐπιχωρίου (οὕτω γὰρ καλοῦσιν αὐτό), οὖν δὲ κοτύλης Ἐλληνικῆς τέταρτον.

XXVIII. Ἐκ τούτου τὰ τῶν Κελτῶν ἢν ἀθυμότερα. καὶ γὰρ ἐπιτηδείων ἐσπάνζου εἵργο-μενοι προνομῆς φόβῳ τοῦ Καμίλλου, καὶ νόσος ὑποκούρησεν αὐτοὺς ἐν νεκρῶν πλῆθει χῦδην καταβεβλημένων σκηνοῦντας ἐν ἔρειπίοις, τὸ τε βάθος τῆς τέφρας ἀέρα ξηρότητι καὶ δρμύτητι φαίλον ὑπὸ πνευμάτων καὶ καυμάτων ἀναθυμιώσεως ἐλυμαίνετο τὰ σώματα διὰ τῆς ἀναπνοῆς.

2 μάλιστα δ’ ἡ μεταβολὴ τῆς συντρόφου διαίτης ἐκ τῶν σκιερῶν καὶ θέρων καταφυγᾶς ἀλύπους ἐχόντων ἐμβαλόντας εἰς χώραν ταπεινήν καὶ κεκραμένην ἀφυδὸ πρὸς τὸ μετόπωρον ἐκλιψαν αὐτοῖς, ἢ τε πρὸς τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ καθέδρα καὶ σχολὴ γενομένη χρόνους. ἐξὸδοιν γὰρ ἐκείνων οἰκούρον μὴνα πολιορκοῦτες. ὡστε φθοράν εἰναι πολλὰν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ μηδὲ θάπτε-θαι διὰ πλῆθος ἐτί τοὺς ἀποθνήσκουσας.

3 Οὐ μὴν παρὰ τούτῳ τὰ πράγματα βελτίω τοῖς πολιορκομένοις ἢν. ἔπετεινε γὰρ ὁ λιμός, ἢ τε τῶν περὶ Κάμιλλον ἀγνοίᾳ παρεῖχε δυσθυμίαν ὀυδές γὰρ ἐφοίτα παρ' αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ φρουρεῖσθαι

1 μεγάλην deleted by Coraës and Bekker.
2 παρὰ MSS. and edd., including Sintenis1: περπ.
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captain of the watch down the cliff among the enemy, but voted to Manlius a meed of victory which did him more honour than service. They collected for him the rations which each man of them received for one day, namely, half a pound of native spelt, Roman weight, and an eighth of a pint of wine, Greek measure.

XXVIII. After this, the case of the Gauls was less hopeful. They lacked provisions, being shut off from foraging through fear of Camillus, and disease lurked among them. They were encamped amid ruins, where a multitude of corpses had been cast at random, and besides, an air made dry and acrid by vast quantities of ashes which wind and heat sent flying abroad, made breathing hurtful. But what most of all affected them was the complete change in their mode of life. They had come all at once from regions of shade, where easy refuge could be had from the heats of summer, into a land which was low lying and had an unnatural climate towards autumn. Then there was their long and idle sitting down before the Capitol,—they were now whiling away the seventh month in its siege. For all these reasons the mortality was great in their camp; so many were the dead that they could no longer be buried.

All this, however, brought no relief to the besieged, for famine increased upon them, and their ignorance of what Camillus was doing made them dejected. No messenger could come from him because the city was now closely watched
4 ἐνυγχανόντων· εἶτα, ὡς ἔδοξε τοῖς κρατίστοις, συνελθόντος εἰς λόγους Βρέννω Σουλπικίου τοῦ χιλιάρχου τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὁμολογήθη τοὺς μὲν χιλιάς λίτρας χρυσίου καταβαλεῖν, τοὺς δὲ λαβόντας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αὐτίκα καὶ τῆς χώρας ἀναχωρεῖν. ἔπει τούτως γενομένων ὄρκων καὶ τοῦ χρυσίου κομισθέντος, τῶν δὲ Κελτῶν περὶ τὸν σταθμὸν ἀγνωμονούντων κρύφα τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτα καὶ φανερῶς ἄφελκόντων καὶ διαστρεφόντων τὴν ῥοπήν, ἡγανάκτον όι τῶν Ῥωμαίων πρὸς αὐτούς. ὁ δὲ Βρέννως οἶχν ἐφυβρίζων καὶ καταγελῶν ἀποδυ-σάμενος τὴν μάχαραν ἅμα καὶ τὸν ζωστήρα προσέθηκε τοῖς σταθμοῖς. πυθανομένου δὲ τοῦ Σουλπικίου, „Τι τούτο;“ „Τι γὰρ ἄλλο,” εἶπεν, „ἡ τοῖς νευκημένοις ὄνυν;“ τούτῳ μὲν οὖν ἦδη παροιμιώδης λόγος γέγονε. τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων οἱ μὲν ἡγανάκτον καὶ τὸ χρυσίον ὄσον δὲν λαβόντας αὐθίς ἀπίεναι καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν ὑπο-μένειν οἱ δὲ συγχωρεῖν ἐκέλευν ἄδικουμενος μέτριαι, καὶ μὴ τὸ πλέον διδόναι προσλογίζεσθαι τὸ αἰσχρὸν, αὐτὸ γε τὸ δούναι διὰ τὸν καιρὸν οὐ καλῶς ἀλλ’ ἀναγκαίως ὑπομένοντας.

XXIX. Οὔσης δὲ περὶ τούτων πρὸς τὸν Κελτόν καὶ πρὸς αὐτούς διάφορας ἄγων τὸν στρατὸν ὁ Κάμιλλος ἐν ταῖς πύλαις ἦν καὶ πυθόμενος τὰ γινόμενα τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκέλευσεν ἐν τάξει καὶ σχέδην ἐπακολουθεῖν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ

1 ἀποδυσάμενοι with S: ἀπολυσάμενοι unfastening.
2 αὐτοὺς Sintenis² with C: αὐτοὺς Bekker and Sintenis¹.
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by the Barbarians. Wherefore, both parties being in such a plight, a compromise was proposed, at first by the outposts as they encountered one another. Then, since those in authority thought it best, Sulpicius, the military tribune of the Romans, held a conference with Brennus, and it was agreed that on the delivery of a thousand pounds of gold by the Romans, the Gauls should straightway depart out of the city and the country. Oaths were sworn to these terms, and the gold was brought to be weighed. But the Gauls tampered with the scales, secretly at first, then they openly pulled the balance back out of its poise. The Romans were incensed at this, but Brennus, with a mocking laugh, stripped off his sword, and added it, belt and all, to the weights. When Sulpicius asked, "What means this?" "What else," said Brennus, "but woe to the vanquished?" and the phrase passed at once into a proverb. Some of the Romans were incensed, and thought they ought to go back again with their gold, and endure the siege. Others urged acquiescence in the mild injustice. Their shame lay, they argued, not in giving more, but in giving at all. This they consented to do because of the emergency; it was not honourable, but it was necessary.

XXIX. While they were thus at odds in the matter, both with the Gauls and with themselves, Camillus led his army up to the gates of the city. On learning what was going on, he ordered the rest of his army to follow in battle array and deliberately,

1 Vae victis!
τῶν ἄριστων ἐπειγόμενοι εὐθὺς ἐπορεύετο πρὸς τοὺς Ὀμαίους. διαιστάντων δὲ πάντων καὶ
dεξαμένων αὐτῶν ὡς αὐτοκράτορα κόσμῳ καὶ
σιωπῇ, τὸ μὲν χρυσόν ἄρας ἀπὸ τοῦ ξυγοῦ τοῖς
ὑπηρέταις ἔδωκε, τὸν δὲ ξυγὸν καὶ τὰ σταθμὰ
τοὺς Κέλτους λαβόντας ἀποχωρεῖν ἐκέλευσεν εἰπὼν, ὡς σιδήρῳ πάτρισίν ἔστι Ὀμαίους, οὗ
χρυσὸ τὴν πατρίδα σώζειν. ἀγανακτοῦντος δὲ
tοῦ Βρέννου καὶ φάσκουντος ἀδικεῖσθαι λυμένης
τῆς ὁμολογίας, ἀντεῖπε μὴ νομίμως γεγονέναι
3 μηδὲ κυρίας εἶναι τὰς συνθήκας. ἤδη γὰρ αὐτοῦ
dικτάτορος ἤρμενου καὶ μηδενὸς ἀρχόντος ἔτερου
νόμῳ πρὸς οὐκ ἔχοντας ἐξουσίαιν ὀμολογηθῆναι.
νυνὶ δὲ χρῆναι λέγειν εἰ τι βούλονται νόμῳ γὰρ
ήκειν κύριος γεγονὼς συγγρώμην τε δεσμένοις
dοῦναι καὶ δίκην, εἰ μὴ μετανοοῦσιν, ἐπιθεῖναι
4 τοὺς αὐτοῖς. πρὸς ταῦτα θωρυβηθεῖσα ὁ Βρέννος
ἔστι μὲν ἀψίμαχος, καὶ προῆλθον ἄχρι ξι-
φουλκίας ἐκάτεροι καὶ διωθισμῶν ἀναμεμιγμένοι
πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὡσπερ εἰκός, ἐν οὐκίαις καὶ
στενώποις ἀναστρεφόμενοι καὶ χωρίοις δεξασθαί
παράταξιν οὐ δυναμένοι. ταχύ δὲ συμφρονήσας
ὁ Βρέννος ἀπέγαγε τοὺς Κέλτους εἰς τὸ στρατό-
πεδον οὐ πολλῶν πεσοῦντων. καὶ νυκτὸς ἀναστή-
σας ἀπαντᾶς ἐξέλιτς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ προελθὼν
ἐξήκουτα σταδίους κατεστρατοπέδευσε παρὰ τὴν
5 Γαβινιάν ὁδόν. ἀμα δὴ ἢμέρα παρῆν ὁ Κάμελλος
ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὑπελειπόμενος λαμπρῶς καὶ τεθαρρηκότας
ἐχὼν τότε τοὺς Ὀμαίους. καὶ γενομένης ἱσχυρᾶς
μάχης ἐπὶ πολλῶν χρώνων αὐτοῦς τε τρεπτεῖν
πολλῷ φόνῳ καὶ λαμβάνει τὸ στρατόπεδον. τῶν
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while he himself, with the flower of his men, pressed on, and presently came to the Romans. These all made way for him, in decorous silence acknowledging him as their dictator. Thereupon he lifted the gold from the scales and gave it to his attendants, and then ordered the Gauls to take their scales and weights and be off, saying that it was the custom with the Romans to deliver their city with iron and not with gold. When Brennus in wrath declared that he was wronged by this breaking of the agreement, Camillus answered that the compact was not legally made nor binding, since he himself had already been chosen dictator and there was no other legal ruler; the agreement of the Gauls had therefore been made with men who had no power in the case. Now, however, they must say what they wanted, for he was come with legal authority to grant pardon to those who asked it, and to inflict punishment on the guilty, unless they showed repentance. At this, Brennus raised a clamour and began a skirmish, in which both sides got no further than drawing their swords and pushing one another confusedly about, since the action took place in the heart of the ruined city, where no battle array was possible. But Brennus soon came to his senses, and led his Gauls off to their camp, with the loss of a few only. During the ensuing night he broke camp and abandoned the city with his whole force, and after a march of about eight miles, encamped along the Gabinian way. At break of day Camillus was upon him, in glittering array, his Romans now full of confidence, and after a long and fierce battle, routed the enemy with great slaughter and took their camp. Of the fugitives, some were at once
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

δὲ φευγόντων οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἀνηρέθησαν καταδιω-χέντες, τοὺς δὲ πλείστους διασπαρέντας ἔπεκ-θέοντες ἐκ τῶν πέριξ κωμῶν καὶ πόλεων ἔκτεινον.

XXX. Οὔτω μὲν ἡ 'Ῥώμη παραλόγως ἦλθαί καὶ παραλογώτερον ἠσώθη, μὴνας ἕπτα τοὺς πάντας ὑπὸ τοὺς βαρβάρους γενομένη. παρελθόντες γὰρ εἰς αὐτὴν ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ὕστερον τῶν Κυκτη-
λίων εἰδῶν περὶ τὰς Φεβρουαρίας εἰδοὺς ἐξέπεσον. ὁ δὲ Κάμιλλος ἑθριάμβευσε μὲν, ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν, τῶν ἀπολωλυσίας σωτῆρα πατρίδος γενόμενον καὶ
κατάγοντα τὴν πόλιν αὐτήν εἰς ἑαυτήν. οὗ τε γὰρ ἤξεσθεν ἀμα παισὶ καὶ γυναιξιν εἰσελαύ-
νοντος αὐτοῦ συγκατήσαν, οὗ τε πολυορκηθέντες ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, μικροὶ δὲ βάσανες ἀπολέσθαι διὰ λιμῶν, ἀπῆτων περιβάλλοντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ δακρύοντες ὑπὸ τῆς παρούσης ἡδονῆς, ἱερεῖς τε καὶ ξάκορου θεῶν, ὅσα φεύγοντες αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀβεβήλων ἐκρυφαν ἢ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐξέκλεψαν,
ἀνασώζομενα2 κομίζοντες ἐπεδείκνυτο ποθού-
μένας ὄψεις τοῖς πολῖταις δεχομένοις μετὰ χαρᾶς,
ὡσπερ αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν αὕτης εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην
3 συγκατερχομένων. θύσαις δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ καθά-
ρας τὴν πόλιν ἐξηγομένων τῶν περὶ ταύτα δεινῶν, τὰ μὲν ὄντα τῶν ἱερῶν κατέστησεν, αὐτῶς
dὲ ἱδρύσατο νεὼν Φῆμις καὶ Κληδόνος, ἀνευρὼ
ἐκεῖνον τὸν τόπον, ἐν φ νῦκταρ ἢ καταγγέλλουσα
τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων στρατιῶν ἐκ θεοῦ τῷ Κα-
dικίῳ Μάρκῳ φωνὴ προσέπεσε.

1 ὑπὸ with S: ἀπόστιλα for distrust of.
2 ἀνασώζομενα καὶ κεκοσμημένα S, and adorned.
pursued and cut down, but most of them scattered abroad, only to be fallen upon and slain by the people of the surrounding villages and cities.

XXX. So strangely was Rome taken, and more strangely still delivered, after the Barbarians had held it seven months in all. They entered it a few days after the Ides of July, and were driven out about the Ides of February. Camillus celebrated a triumph, as it was meet that a man should do who had saved a country that was lost, and who now brought the city back again to itself. For the citizens outside, with their wives and children, accompanied his triumphal chariot as it entered the city, and those who had been besieged on the Capitol, and had narrowly escaped death by starvation, came forth to meet them, all embracing one another, and weeping for the joy that was theirs. The priests and ministrants of the gods, bringing whatever sacred objects they had either buried on the spot or carried off with them when they took to flight, displayed them, thus preserved in safety, to the citizens, who caught the welcome sights with delight, believing in their hearts that the gods themselves were now coming back to Rome with them. After Camillus had made sacrifices to the gods and purified the city, in the manner prescribed by those who were versed in such rites, he restored the existing temples, and erected a new one to Rumour and Voice,¹ having sought out carefully the spot where by night the voice from Heaven, announcing the coming of the Barbarian host, had fallen upon the ears of Marcus Caedicius.

¹ Ara Aii Locutii.
XXXI. Χαλεπώς μὲν οὖν καὶ μόλις αἱ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀνεκαλύπτοντο χώρας φιλοτιμία τοῦ Κα-
μίλλου καὶ πόνῳ πολλῷ τῶν ἱεροφαντῶν ὡς δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖν ἔδει παντάπασι διε-
θαρμένην, ἄθυμία πρὸς τὸ ἔργον ἐνέπιπτε τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ μέλλῃσιν ἣν ἐστερημένοις ἀπάντων καὶ 
tινὸς ἐν τῷ παρόντι ῥαστώνης καὶ ἀναπαύ-
σεως ἐκ κακῶν δεομένοις μᾶλλον ἢ κάμμεν 
kαὶ ἀποτρύχειν έαυτοὺς οὔτε χρήσασιν οὔτε 
2 σώμασιν ἔρρωμένους. οὔτω δὲ ἰσχυρῶς πρὸς τοὺς 
Οὐηνοὺς αὐθίς ἀποστρεφόμενοι, πόλιν ἀπασι 
kατεσκευασμένην καὶ διαμένουσαν, ἀρχὰς δημα-
γωγιῶν ἐνέδωσαν τοῖς πρὸς χάριν εἰθισμένοις 
ὁμεῖν, καὶ λόγων ἡκροῦτον στασιαστικῶν πρὸς 
tῶν Κάμιλλον, ὡς εκείνου φιλοτιμίας ἑνεκα καὶ 
δόξης ἰδιὰς ἀποστεροῦντος αὐτοὺς πόλεως ἑτοίμης 
kαὶ ἱματιζομένου σκηνοῦν ἐρείπια καὶ πυρκαίαν 
τοποθητὴν ἐγείρειν, διὸς μὴ μόνον ἡγεμόν Ῥώμης 
kαὶ στρατηγός, ἀλλὰ καὶ κτίστης λέγεται παρώ-
σας Ῥωμύλον.

3 Ἔκ τούτου φοβηθεῖσα τῶν θόρυβον ἡ βουλὴ 
tῶν μὲν Κάμιλλον οὐκ εἶασε βουλόμενον ἀπο-
θέσαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἑντὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ καὶ περ ἡ 
μῆς οὐδενὸς ὑπερβαλόντος ἐτέρου δικτά-
τορος, αὐτὴ δὲ παρεμπεθεῖτο καὶ κατεπράων 
πείθουσα καὶ δεξιουμένη τὸν δῆμον, ἐπιδεικνυ-
μένη μὲν ἡρία καὶ τάφους πατέρων, ὑπομμη-
σκουσα δὲ χωρίων ἱερῶν καὶ τόπων ἄγιων, οὖς 
Ῥώμυλος ἡ Νομᾶς ἡ τις ἄλλος αὐτοῖς τῶν
CAMILLUS

XXXI. Owing to the zeal of Camillus and the abundant labours of the priesthood, the sites of the temples were at last uncovered, but it proved a grievous undertaking. And since the city had also to be built up again from a state of utter destruction, the multitude were overwhelmed with despair of the task, and shrank from it. They were bereft of all things, and for the present needed some rest and repose after their sufferings, instead of toiling and wearing themselves out on a task for which they had neither means nor strength. And so it was that insensibly their thoughts turned again to Veii, a city which remained intact and was equipped with all things needful. This gave opportunity for mischievous agitations to such as were wont to consult only the people’s will and pleasure, and ready ear was given to seditious speeches against Camillus. He had an eye, it was said, only to his own ambition and fame, when he would deprive them of a city that stood ready to receive them, and force them to pitch their tents among a mass of ruins, while they rebuilt what had become a monstrous funeral pyre. He wished not merely to be a leader and general of Rome, but to thrust Romulus to one side and be styled its founder.

The Senate, therefore, fearful of this clamour, would not suffer Camillus, much as he wished it, to lay down his office within a year, although no other dictator had served more than six months. Meanwhile the Senators, by dint of kindly greetings and persuasive words, tried to soften and convert the people, pointing out the sepulchres and tombs of their fathers, and calling to their remembrance the shrines and holy places which Romulus, or Numa,
4 βασιλέων ἐπιθειάσας παρέδωκεν. ἐν πρώτοις δὲ τῶν θείων τὴν τε νεοσφαγὴ κεφαλὴν προύφερον 145 ἐν τῇ θεμελιώσει τοῦ Καπιτώλίου φανείσαν, ὡς τῷ τόπῳ πεπρωμένου ἐκείνῳ τῆς Ἰταλίας κεφαλὴ γενέσθαι, καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἑστίας πῦρ, ὃ μετὰ τῶν πόλεμον ὑπὸ τῶν παρθένων ἀναπτόμενον αὐθεντικὰ ἀφανίζειν καὶ σβεννύναι τοὺς προλπόντας τὴν πόλιν, ὕπειρος αὐτοῖς ἐσόμενον, ἀν τὸ ὑπὸ ἄλλων οἰκουμένην ὅρῳσιν ἑπηλύδων καὶ ξένων ἄν τ’ ἔρημον οὐσαν καὶ μηλόβωτον.

5 Τοιαύτα καὶ πρὸς ἐκαστον ἴδια καὶ κοινὴ πολλάκις ἐν τῷ δήμῳ σχετικάζοντες ἐπεκλώντο πόλειν ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν τὴν παροúdoν ὀλοφυρομένων ἀμηχανίαν, καὶ δεομένων νῦν σφαῖς ὀστεροῖς ναυαγίων γυμνοῖς καὶ ἀπόρους σωθέντας προσβιάζοντες τὰ λείψανα τῆς διεφθαρμένης συμπυγνών πόλεως, ἐτέρας ἐτοίμης παρούσης.

XXXII. Ἐδοξεν οὖν βουλὴν προθένειν τῷ Καμίλλῳ καὶ πολλὰ μὲν αὐτὸς διεξῆλθε παρακαλῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὄ βουλόμενος· τέλος δὲ τὸν πρῶτον εἰσθήτα λέγειν γνώμην Λεύκιον Λουκρήτιον ἀναστήσας ἐκέλευσεν ἀποφήνασθαι πρῶτον, εἶτα 2 τούς ἄλλους ἐφεξῆς. γενομένης δὲ σωτηρίας καὶ τοῦ Λουκρήτιου μέλλοντος ἐνάρχεσθαι, κατὰ τύχην ἔξωθεν ἐκατοντάρχης ἄγων τάγμα φυλακῆς ἡμερινῆς παρεπορεύετο, καὶ τὸν φέροντα πρῶτον τὸ σημεῖον μεγάλη φωνῇ προσαγορεύσας ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοῦ μένειν καὶ τὸ σημεῖον τίθεσθαι.
or some other king, had consecrated and left to
their care. Among other signs from Heaven, they
laid chief stress on the newly severed head that was
found when the foundations of the Capitol were dug,
showing, as it did, that the place where it was found
was fated to be the head of Italy; also on the sacred
fire of Vesta, which had been kindled anew by her
virgins after the war. If they should quench and
extinguish this again by their abandonment of the
city, it would be a disgrace to them, whether they
saw that city occupied by immigrants and aliens, or
abandoned to flocks and herds.

Thus did the Senators remonstrate with the people,
both individually in private, and often in the public
assemblies. They, in their turn, were moved to com-
passion by the wailing complaints of the multitude,
who lamented the helplessness to which they were
come, and begged, now that they had been saved
alive as it were from a shipwreck, in nakedness and
destitution, that they be not forced to piece together
the fragments of their ruined city, when another
stood all ready to receive them.

XXXII. Accordingly, Camillus decided that the
question should be debated and settled in council.
He himself spoke at great length, in exhortation to
preserve their common country, and every one else
who wished did likewise. Finally, he called upon
Lucius Lucretius, to whom custom gave the first
vote, and bade him declare his opinion first, and
then the other senators in the order due. Silence
fell, and Lucretius was on the point of beginning,
when it chanced that a centurion with a squad of
the day watch passed by outside, and calling with a
loud voice on the man who led with the standard,
κάλλιστα γάρ ἐνταῦθα καθεδείσθαι καὶ μενεῖν. ἀμα δὲ τῷ καιρῷ καὶ τῇ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐννοία καὶ ἀδηλότητι τῆς φωνῆς γενομένης, ὁ τε Δουκρήτιος ἤφη προσκυνήσας τῷ θεῷ προστίθεσθαι τῇ ἐαυτῷ γνώμην καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκαστος ἐπηκολούθησε. θαυμαστὴ δὲ καὶ τὸ πλήθος ἐσχε μεταβολή τῆς ὀρμῆς, ἀλλήλους παρακαλοῦντων καὶ προτρητομένων1 πρὸς τὸ ἔργον, οὐκ ἐκ διανομῆς τινος ἢ τάξεως, ἀλλʼ ὡς ἐκαστὸς ἐτοιμότητος ἢ βουλήσεως εἰχε τῶν χωρίων καταλαμβανομένων. διὸ καὶ τεταραγμένη τοῖς στενωποῖς καὶ συμπεφυρμένη ταῖς οἰκήσεις ἀνήγαγον τὴν πόλιν ὕπο σπουδῆς καὶ τάχους. ἐντὸς γὰρ ἐναυτοῦ λέγεται καὶ τοῖς τεχεσι καὶ καὶ ταῖς ἴδιωτικαῖς οἰκοδομαῖς ἀναστήναι πάλιν.

4 Οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἱεροὺς τόπους ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ ὁρίσαι ταχθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Καμίλλου, συγκεκχυμένων ἀπάντων, ὡς ἕκαστο τῇ καλλιάδᾳ τοῦ Ἀρεώς περιοδεύοντες τὸ Παλάτιον, αὐτὴν μὲν, ὡς τὰ ἀλλὰ, διεφθαρμένη καὶ κατακεκαμψμένη εὑρὸν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, σκευωρούμενοι δὲ καὶ καθαίροντες τὸ χωρίον ἐνυγχάνουσι τῷ μαντικῷ ἔξωρ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου κατὰ τέφρας πολλῆς καὶ βαθείας καταδεδυκότι. τοῦτο δέ ἔστι μὲν ἐπικαμπτές ἐκ βατέρου πέρατος, καλεῖται δὲ λίτυνον ἥρων δ’ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς τῶν πλυνθιῶν ὑπογραφὰς ὡς ἐπ’ ὁρυσὶ διαμαντεύομενοι καθεξήγονται, ὡς κάκεινος ἐχρήτῳ μαντικώτατος ὄν. ἐπειδὴ δ’ ἔχει ἀνθρώπων ἕφανεσθή, παραλαβόντες οἱ ιερεῖς τὸ ἔξυλον ὠσπερ ἀλλ’ τὸν ἱερὸν ἄφαινον ἐφύλαττον.

5 προτρητομένων with S: τρεπομένων.

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bade him halt and plant his standard there, for that was the best place to settle down and stay in. The utterance fell at the crisis of their anxious thought for the uncertain future, and Lucretius said, with a devout obeisance, that he cast his vote with the god. The rest, one by one, followed his example. Then the inclinations of the multitude were marvellously changed. They exhorted and incited one another to the work, and pitched upon their several sites, not by any orderly assignment, but as each man found it convenient and desirable. Therefore the city was rebuilt with confused and narrow streets and a maze of houses, owing to their haste and speed. Within a year's time, it is said, a new city had arisen, with walls to guard it and homes in which to dwell.

Those who had been deputed by Camillus to recover and mark out anew the sacred places, found them all in utter confusion. When they came to the shrine of Mars, in their circuit of the Palatium, they found that it had been demolished and burnt by the Barbarians, like the rest, but as they were clearing away and renovating the place, they came upon the augural staff of Romulus, buried deep in a great heap of ashes. The augural staff is curved at one end, and is called *lituus*. It is used to mark off the different quarters of the heavens, in the ceremonies of divination by the flight of birds, and so Romulus had used this one, for he was a great diviner. But when he vanished from among men, the priests took this staff and kept it inviolate, like
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touto de tite twon alla adpololoton anev-
ronites diapheunyos thyn thoran idious egenonto taiz elpisis uper ths Rwmis, os adioin auti th
thn sotiriav tou smelou bebaioynitos.

XXXIII. Outo de thy pera taualta pepaun-
menous ascolias autous elupijtei polemos,
Aiakon men ama kai Oulouiskon kai Latinon
eis thn choran embaalamien, Turrhnon de poli-
orokonon Soutrin, symmakhida Rwmiaon polin.
epietho de o i thn egeumian enontes xilarchoi
strotapodexumenei perib to Marckion drhos upo
thwn Latinon epoliorokonito kai kivdumeontes
apobalein to stratopeidon eis Rwmis epemfias
2 upodeiknunai to trito Kammilos dikatawr. perib
toytou tou polemon diitio logoi legontai: dieim
de thn muvadi proroteron.

Fasto touz Latinouz, eite profastei xromenous
eite boulemenos ws allhodos anamexasai ta
geni palian eix uparxh, pemjanta aitein paraa
twn Rwmiaion parthenous eleuthearas ynavikas.
aporounon de twon Rwmiaon, th xhri poiei (kai
gar thn polemon orrodon oupio kathetwites ou'd
aneilhforites autous, kai thn aithsia twn ynavai-
kwn upostefoun exomhereunin einai, tov de eupte-
pouz xarwn epignamian kaleisthai), therapantida
3 touvoma Toutoulan, ois de enioi legousi, Filowtida
touz arxoueri paraaivetai pempein sun auth twn
demwion tas en opra maxista kai tais ofesw
eleutherious, kosmiasantai ws ympfas euveineis,
ta loipasa de auti melistein. peishtanta de touz
arxontas epilexasathai twn therapantidwn osas
keinhe pros thn xreian edokimahe, kai kosmiasan
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any other sacred object. Their finding this at that time unscathed, when all the rest had perished, gave them more pleasing hopes for Rome. They thought it a token that assured her of everlasting safety.

XXXIII. They were not yet done with these pressing tasks when a fresh war broke upon them. The Aequians, Volscians, and Latins burst into their territory all at once, and the Tuscans laid siege to Sutrium, a city allied with Rome. The military tribunes in command of the army, having encamped near Mount Marcius, were besieged by the Latins, and were in danger of losing their camp. Wherefore they sent to Rome for aid, and Camillus was appointed dictator for the third time. Two stories are told about this war, and I will give the fabulous one first.

They say that the Latins, either as a pretext for war, or because they really wished to revive the ancient affinity between the two peoples, sent and demanded from the Romans free-born virgins in marriage. The Romans were in doubt what to do, for they dreaded war in their unsettled and unrestored condition, and yet they suspected that this demand for wives was really a call for hostages disguised under the specious name of intermarriage. In their perplexity, a serving-maid named Tutula, or, as some call her, Philotis, advised the magistrates to send her to the enemy with some maid-servants of the comeliest sort and most genteel appearance, all arrayed like free-born brides; she would attend to the rest. The magistrates yielded to her persuasions, chose out as many maid-servants as she thought meet

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τας ἐσθητὶ καὶ χρυσῇ παραδοῦναι τοὺς Λατῖνοις οὗ πάνυ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως στρατοπεδεύοντος. 4 νύκτωρ δὲ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας υφελέσθαι τὰ ἐγχειρίδια τῶν πολεμίων, τὴν δὲ εἴτε Τουτούλαν εἴτε Φιλωτίδα προσβάσαν ἐρινεῦ μεγάλῳ καὶ παρατείνασαν ὅπισώ τὸ ἴματον ἀραὶ πυρσῶν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, ὦσπερ ἣν συγκείμενον αὐτῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας, οὕδενος ἄλλου τῶν πολιτῶν εἰδότος. διὸ καὶ θορυβώδη γενέσθαι τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔξοδον, ὡς κατηπεύγον οἱ ἄρχοντες, ἄλληλοις ἀνακαλούντων καὶ μόλις εἰς τὴν τάξιν καθιστάμενων. ἐπελθόντας δὲ τῷ χάρακι τῶν πολεμίων οὐ προσδεχομένων καὶ καθευδόντων ἔλειν τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ 5 διαφθείραι τοὺς πλείστους. τοῦτο δὲ γενέσθαι ταῖς νῦν Ἰουλίαις, τότε δὲ Κυντίλιας νόναις, καὶ τὴν ἀγομένην ἐορτὴν ὑπόμυημα τῆς πράξεως ἐκείνης εἶναι. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἔξιόντες ἀθρόδι διὰ τῆς πύλης πολλὰ τῶν ἐπιχωριῶν καὶ κοινῶν ὄνομάτων βοὴ φθέγγονται, Γάιον, Μάρκον, Λουκίου καὶ τὰ τοῦτος ὄμοια, μιμούμενοι τὴν τότε γενομένην μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀλλήλων ἀνάκλησιν. 6 ἐπειτα κεκοσμημέναι λαμπρῶς αἱ θεραπαινίδες περιέσα παίζουσαι διὰ σκωμμάτων εἰς τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας. γίνεται δὲ καὶ μάχη τις αὐταῖς πρὸς ἄλληλας, ὡς καὶ τὸτε τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς Λατίνους ἀγώνοις συνεπιλαμβανόμεναις. ἐστιώμεναι δὲ καθέζονται κλάδοις συκῆς σκιαζόμεναι· καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν νόναις Καπρατίνας καλοῦν, ὡς οἶονται διὰ τὸν ἐρινεύν, ἀφ’ οὗ τὴν παιδίσκην τὸν πυρσὸν ἀραι· τὸν γὰρ ἐρινευν καπρίφικον ὄνομαξοσιν. 7 "Ετεροὶ δὲ τούτων τὰ πλείστα δράσθαι καὶ λέγεσθαι φασίν ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου πάθει· 178
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for her purpose, arrayed them in fine raiment and gold, and handed them over to the Latins, who were encamped near the city. In the night, the rest of the maidens stole away the enemy's swords, while Tutula, or Philotis, climbed a wild fig-tree of great height, and after spreading out her cloak behind her, held out a lighted torch towards Rome, this being the signal agreed upon between her and the magistrates, though no other citizen knew of it. Hence it was that the soldiers sallied out of the city tumultuously, as the magistrates urged them on, calling out one another's names, and with much ado getting into rank and file. They stormed the entrenchments of the enemy, who were fast asleep and expecting nothing of the sort, captured their camp, and slew most of them. This happened on the Nones of what was then called Quintilis, now July, and the festival since held on that day is in remembrance of the exploit. For, to begin with, they run out of the city gate in throngs, calling out loudly many local and common names, such as Gaius, Marcus, Lucius, and the like, in imitation of the way the soldiers once called aloud upon each other in their haste. Next, the maid-servants, in gay attire, run about jesting and joking with the men they meet. They have a mock battle, too, with one another, implying that they once took a hand in the struggle with the Latins. And as they feast, they sit in the shade of a fig-tree's branches. The day is called the "Capratine Nones," from the wild fig-tree, as they suppose, from which the maid held forth her torch; this goes by the name of caprificus.

But others say that most of what is said and done at this festival has reference to the fate of Romulus.
κατὰ ταύτην γὰρ ἀφανισθήναι τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτῶν ἔξω πύλης, ζώφου καὶ θυέλλης ἅφω περισχούσης, ώσ ὥς δέ ἐνιοῦ νομίζουσιν, ἐκλείψεως ἥλιου γενομένης, καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἄπο τοῦ τόπου ὑώνας Καπρατίνας κληθήναι, τὴν γὰρ αἰγα κάπραν ὄνομάζουσιν. ὁ δὲ Ὥμυλος ἡφανίσθη δημηγορῶν περὶ τὸ τῆς αἰγὸς ἔλος προσαγορευόμενον, ὃς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γέγραπται.

XXXIV. Τὸν δέ έτερον λόγον οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν συγγραφέων δοκιμάζοντες οὕτω λέγοντιν. ἀπο-
δειχθεὶς δικτάτωρ τὸ τρίτον ὁ Κάμιλλος καὶ πυθόμενος τὸ μετὰ τῶν χιλιάρχων στράτευμα πολιορκούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν Δατίνων καὶ τῶν Οὐολοῦ-
σκῶν, ἡμαγκάσθη καὶ τοὺς οὐκ ἐν ὁρᾷ τῶν πολι-
2 τῶν, ἀλλ' ἢδη παρῆκηκότας καθοπλίσαι. περιέλ-
θον δὲ μακρὰν περίοδον περὶ τὸ Μάρκιον ὄρος καὶ λαθὼν τοὺς πολέμιους ὑδρυσε τὴν στρατιάν κατόπιν αὐτῶν, καὶ πυρὰ πολλὰ καύσας διεσή-
μηνε τὴν ἐαυτοῦ παρουσίαν. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολιορ-
κούμενοι θαρρήσαντες ἐπίέναι διενοῦντο καὶ
3 μάχην συνάπτετειν: οἱ δὲ Δατίνιοι καὶ Οὐολοῦσκοι συστείλαντες εἰσὶ στὸν χάρακος εαυτοῦ ἀπεσταύ-
ρουν ξύλοις πολλοῖς καὶ διεφράγνυτο παιστάγο-
θεν τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἀμφίβολοι γεγονότες ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ περιμένειν ἐγνωκότες ἑτέραν οἰκοθεν δύναμιν, ἀμα δὲ καὶ Τυρρηνῶν προσδεχόμενοι βοήθειαν. τούτο δὲ ἀισθόμενος ὁ Κάμιλλος καὶ
dedóikw̃s pαθēίν ὁ̃per ἐποίησεν αὐτὸς τοὺς πολε-
mίους κυκλωσάμενος ἐσπευδὴ προλαβεῖν τῶν
4 καιρῶν. ὅντος δὲ τοῦ περιφράγματος ξυλίνου καὶ πνεύματος μεγάλου κατιόντος ἀπὸ τῶν ὄρων ἀμα
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For on this same day he vanished from sight, outside the city gates, in sudden darkness and tempest, and, as some think, during an eclipse of the sun. The day, they say, is called the "Capratine Nones" from the spot where he thus vanished. For the she-goat goes by the name of capra, and Romulus vanished from sight while haranguing an assembly of the people at the Goat's Marsh, as has been stated in his Life.¹

XXXIV. But most writers adopt the other account of this war, which runs thus. Camillus, having been appointed dictator for the third time, and learning that the army under the military tribunes was besieged by the Latins and Volscians, was forced to put under arms even those of the citizens who were exempt from military duty by reason of advancing years. Fetching a long circuit around Mount Marcius and thus eluding the enemy's notice, he planted his army securely in their rear, and then by lighting many fires made known his presence there. The besieged Romans at once took heart and purposed to sally out and join battle. But the Latins and Volscians retired within their trenches, fenced themselves in with a great wooden palisade, and barricaded their camp on all sides, for they now had a hostile force in front and rear, and were determined to await reinforcements from home. At the same time they expected aid from the Tuscans also. Camillus, perceiving their design, and fearful of being himself surrounded by the enemy as he had surrounded them, made haste to improve his opportunity. The enemy's barricades were of wood, and a strong wind

¹ Chap. xxvii.
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φάει, πυροβόλα 1 παρασκευασάμενος καὶ περὶ τὸν ὃρθον ἔξαγαγὼν τὴν δύναμιν τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐκέλευσε χρήσθαι βέλεσι καὶ κρανῇ καθ’ ἑτερον μέρος, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς τὸ πῦρ ἀφήσειν μέλλοντας ἔχον ὃθεν εἰσέθη μάλιστα προσπίπτειν ὁ ἄνεμος τῷ χάρακι τῶν πολεμίων ἄνεμενε τὴν ὄραν. ἔπει δὲ συνεστῶσης τῆς μάχης ὁ τε ἡλίος ἀνήκει καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα λαμπρὸν ἐξέπτυτε, σημήνας ἑπιδρομὴν κατέσπειρε τοῦ χάρακος ἀφθονα τῶν πυροβόλων.

5 ταχύ δὲ τῆς φλογὸς ἐν ὑλῇ πυκνῇ καὶ σταυρώ- 

μασί ξυλίνους ἀνατραφέοις καὶ κύκλῳ περινεμο-

μένης, οὔδεν ἂκος οὔδε σβεστήριον ἔχουτες οἱ Δατίνοι παρασκευασμένον, ὡς πλήρες ἦν ἡ ἡδὴ τὸ στρατόπεδον πυρός, ἐπ’ ὁλίγοι συστελλόμενοι τότον ἐξέπτυτον υπ’ ἀνάγκης πρὸς ὕπλωσμένους καὶ παρατεταγμένους πρὸ τοῦ χάρακος τοὺς πολεμίους. καὶ τούτων μὲν ὁλίγοι διεφυγοῦν, τοὺς δὲ καταλειφθέντας ἐν τῷ στρατόπεδῳ πάντας διέφθειε τὸ πῦρ, μέχρι οὐ κατασβέσαντες οἱ ‘Ῥωμαίοι τὰ χρήματα διήρπασαν.

XXXV. Γεγονότων δὲ τούτων ἀπολιπῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατόπεδου τῶν νιὼν Δεύκιον φύλακα τῶν ἠλωκό-

των ἀνθρώπων καὶ χρημάτων αὐτῶς εἰς τὴν τῶν 

πολεμίων ἐνέβαλε. καὶ τὴν Αἰκανῶν πόλιν ἔξελὼν 

καὶ προσαγαγόμενος τοὺς Οὐδολούσκους εὐθὺς ἦγε 

tὴν στράτιαν πρὸς τὸ Σούτριον. οὔπω τὰ συμβε-

βηκότα τοῖς Σουτρίνοις πεπυσμένοι, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἦτι 

κινδυνεύοντες καὶ πολυρροκμένοι ὑπὸ τῶν Τυρ- 

2 ρηνῶν βοήθησαι σπεύδων. οἱ δὲ ἔτυχον ἣδη τὴν 

μὲν πόλιν τοῖς πολεμίοις παραδεδωκότες, αὐτὸι

1 πυροβόλα conjecture of Sintenis2; πυρά πολλὰ MSS., Sintenis3, and edd.
blew down from the mountains at sun-rise. Accordingly, he equipped himself with fiery darts, and leading his forces out towards day-break, ordered part of them to attack with missiles and loud cries at an opposite point, while he himself, with those appointed to hurl fire, took his post where the wind was wont to smite the enemy's trenches with the greatest force, and awaited the propitious moment. When battle had been joined and the sun rose and the wind burst forth with fury, he gave orders for an onset, and scattered no end of fiery darts along the trenches. The flames speedily found food in the crowded timbers of the wooden palisades and spread in all directions. The Latins had nothing at hand with which to ward off or quench them, and when at length their camp was full of fire, they were huddled together into a small space, and at last forced to dash out against an enemy who were drawn up in full battle array in front of the trenches. Few of them made their escape, and those who were left behind in the camp were all a prey to the fire until the Romans put it out and fell upon their booty.

XXXV. This business dispatched, he left his son Lucius in command of the camp to guard the captives and the booty, while he himself invaded the enemy's country. He captured the city of the Aequians, brought the Volscians to terms, and straightway led his army towards Sutrium. He was not yet apprised of the fate of the Sutrians, but thought they were still in peril of siege by the Tuscans, and so hastened to relieve them. But they had already surrendered their city to the enemy, and been sent off in utter
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dè pánwv énndeis én iamatous mónon áfēménou; kai kath' ódòn ónti tò Kaμíllōv metà paidōn kai γυναικών áphtwv ódhrómenoi tás éautōn tûchās. Í δè Káμilllos autóv te pròs tòn ófwn épikla-
sthēs kai tōùs 'Rwmaioùs órōn émfuoμenwv autóis tōn Soutríwv óakrýontas kai dúsanapixeótountas épti toís xegenvμénois, éngos mē poieidai tῆς 3 tímvrías anávathēn, álλ' eúthys ágēn épti tò Soutríon ékeíνhs tῆs ãmēras, logixómenos ánthrō-
pous eudaimôna kai ploussáv pōlin ārti kateilē-
phōtas kai mēdēná tōn pulemímōn úpoloiotōtass ēn autê μηδè prosoxuménous êxowthen, êkleleuμé-
nous pantaπasei kai ápulfáktous elhrēseiμi ὀρθῶs
logisamēnos. Óu gár mónon tēn χwran ëlathē
dielthōn, álλa kai pròs tais πūlais xenōmenos kai
tà teîkh katalabōwv êfylatpe gár oúdeis, álλ' ën oûph kai sunouμénais ësan eskeðassēn kata 4 tās oîkiaς. Ëpeti dè ësthonto toûs pulemímous krateûntas ës, ouτo díkeiınto moχthērōs úpò
plēsmouμh kai mēthēs, òs mēdè pròs fychēn
ormhēsai polllouμ. álλ' ën tais oîkiaς aîxhista
pántwv úpoménontas ápobnhskeiv ë parâdídounai
sfâs autôus toûs pulemímous. Tēn mēn ouν Soutrí-
vnov polîn ëmēra μâ dias álloûsan ouτo συνēbē
kai toûs ëxontas úpobalein, kai toûs aîhrhμé-
nous ἀpolabein diâ Kâμillou.

XXXVI. 'O δ' àpto toûtov òrămβos autô
χårīn ouk ëlattovn kai kôsmov ënneke tōn
prōtov duēn. kai gár toûs pánu baskaiîontas
tōn politōn kai pánta bouloμénoi evthμhē.
CAMILLUS

destitution, with nothing but the clothes on their backs. As Camillus came marching along they met him, with their wives and children, all lamenting their misfortunes. Camillus himself was filled with compassion at the sight, and noticed that his Romans too, with the Sutrians hanging upon their necks in supplication, were moved to tears and anger at their lot. He therefore determined to make no postpone-
ment of his vengeance, but to march straight upon Sutrium that very day. He reasoned that men who had just taken a prosperous and opulent city, leaving none of their enemies in it, and expecting none from without, would be found wholly relaxed in discipline and off their guard; and he reasoned correctly. He not only passed unnoticed through the city's territory, but was actually at its gates and in command of its walls before the enemy knew it. For not a man of them was on guard, but they were all scattered among the houses of the city drinking and feasting. And even when they perceived that their enemies already had the mastery, they were so sluggishly disposed by reason of satiety and drunkenness that many did not so much as try to flee, but awaited there in the houses the most shameful of all deaths, or gave themselves up to their enemies. The city of Sutrium was thus twice captured in a single day, and it came to pass that those who had won it, lost it, and those who had first lost it, won it back, and all by reason of Camillus.

XXXVI. The triumph decreed him for these victories brought him no less favour and renown than his first two had done, and those citizens who had been most envious of him and preferred to ascribe all his successes to an unbounded good fortune rather
τινὶ μᾶλλον ἢ δι’ ἀρετὴν κατωρθώσθαι, τὸτ’ ἡνάγκαζον αἱ πράξεις τῇ δεινότητι καὶ τῷ δράσιν ἐστὶν ἀνδρὸς ἀποδείξων εἴτε τὴν δόξαν. ἦν δὲ τῶν διαμαχομένων αὐτῷ καὶ προσφθονοῦντων ἐπίφανεστατος Μάρκος Μάλλιος, ὁ πρῶτος ὦςάμενος τοὺς Κελτούς ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας ὅτε τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ νυκτὸς ἔπέθεντο καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Καπιτωλίῳ ἐπικληθείς. οὗτος γὰρ ἠξίων πρώτος εἶναι τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος τὸν Κάμιλλον ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου τρόπου τῇ δόξῃ παρελθεῖν, ὑπόθεσιν τυραννίδος ἐποιήσατο κοινὴν καὶ συνῆθη, δημαγωγῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν ὀφειλόντων χρέα τοῖς μὲν ἀμύνω καὶ συνιδίκων ἢτα τοὺς δανειστασίας, τοὺς δὲ ἀφαιρούμενον βίᾳ καὶ καλóων ἀγεσθαι πρὸς τὸν νόμον, ὅπετε πολλοὺς τῶν ἀπόρων ταχὺ περὶ αὐτὸν γενέσθαι καὶ πολὺν φόβον παρασχεῖν τοῖς βελτίστοις τῶν πολιτῶν θρασυμομένους καὶ ταράττοντας τὴν ἀγοράν. ἔπει δὲ κατασταθείς ἐπὶ ταύτα δικτάτωρ Κούντος Καπιτωλίνος εἰς τὴν εἰρκτὴν ἐνέβαλε τὸν Μάλλιον, οὗ δὲ δήμος γενομένου τοῦτον μετέβαλε τὴν ἔσθητα, πράγμα γυνώμενον ἐπὶ συμφοράς μεγάλας καὶ δημοσίαις, δέισασα τὸν θόρυβον ἡ σύγκλητος ἐκέλευσεν ἀφεθῆναι τὸν Μάλλιον. οὗ ὄνδεν ἦν ἀφεθεὶς ἀμείνων, ἀλλὰ σοβαρότερον ἐδημαγωγοῖ καὶ διεστασίας τὴν πόλιν. αἱροῦται δὴ πάλιν χιλιάρχων τὸν Κάμιλλον.

5 Ἐξαγομένου δὲ τῶν κατὰ τοῦ Μάλλιον δικῶν μεγάλα τοὺς κατηγόρους ἐβλαπτεν ἡ ὄψις. ὁ γὰρ τόπος, ἐφ’ οὐδὲν βεβηκὼς ὁ Μάλλιος, κατά τοὺς Μάλλιον. 1 νυκτὸς with S: διὰ νυκτὸς.
CAMILLUS

than to a native valour, were forced by these new exploits to set the man's glory to the credit of his ability and energy. Now of all those who fought him with hatred and envy, the most conspicuous was Marcus Manlius, the man who first thrust the Gauls down the cliff when they made their night attack upon the Capitol, and for this reason had been sur-named Capitolinus. This man aspired to be chief in the city, and since he could not in the fairest way outstrip Camillus in the race for glory, he had recourse to the wonted and usual arts of those that would found a tyranny. He courted, that is, the favour of the multitude, especially of the debtor class, defending some and pleading their causes against their creditors; snatching others from arrest and preventing their trial by process of law. In this way great numbers of indigent folk soon formed a party about him, and their bold and riotous conduct in the forum gave the best citizens much to fear. To quell their disorder, Quintus Capitolinus was made dictator, and he cast Manlius into prison. Thereupon the people put on the garb of mourners, a thing done only in times of great public calamity, and the Senate, cowed by the tumult, ordered that Manlius be released. He, however, when released, did not mend his ways, but grew more defiantly seditious, and filled the whole city with faction. Accordingly, Camillus was again made military tribune.

When Manlius was brought to trial, the view from the place was a great obstacle in the way of his accusers. For the spot where Manlius had stood
ἐνυκτομάχησε πρὸς τοὺς Κελτούς, ὑπερεφαίνετο
tῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου καὶ παρεῖχεν
οίκτον τοῖς ὁρώσιν: αὐτός τε τὰς χεῖρας
ὀρέγων ἐκεῖσε καὶ δακρύων ὑπεμίμησκε τῶν
ἀγώνων, ὡστε τοὺς κρίνοντας ἀπορεῖν καὶ πολ-
lάκις ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὴν δίκην, µήτ’ ἀφεῖναι
βουλομένους ἐπὶ τεκμηρίους φανερῶς τὸ ἄδικημα
μήτε χρήσασθαι τῷ νόμῳ δυναμένους ἐν ὀφθαλ-
6 µοίς τῆς πράξεως οὐσῆς διὰ τὸν τόπον. ὃ δὴ
συμβρονήσας ὁ Κάμιλλος μετήχαγεν ἐξω τύλης
tὸ δικαστήριον εἰς τὸ Πετηλίουν ἀλῶς. θευν οὐκ
ὅντος τοῦ Καπιτωλίου καταφανοῦς ὁ τε διώκων
ἐχρήσατο τῇ κατηγορίᾳ καὶ τοῖς κρίνονσι παρε-
χωρήσεν ὡς µήτη τῶν γεγονότων ἀξίαν ἀναλα-
7 βεῖν ὡς τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀδικήμασιν. ὃ
μὲν οὖν Μάλλιος ἀλοὺς εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον
ἀπῆχθη, καὶ κατὰ τῆς πέτρας ὤσθες τὸν αὐτὸν
τόπον ἔσχε καὶ τῶν εὐτυχεστάτων ἔργων καὶ τῶν
µεγίστων ἀτυχημάτων µηµεῖον. οἴ δὲ Ῥωµαῖοι
τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ κατασκάψαντες ἰερὸν ἱδρύσαντο
θεᾶς, ὡς Μονήταν καλοῦσι, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐψη-
φίσαντο µηδένα τῶν πατρικίων ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκρας
κατοικεῖν.

XXXVII. ὁ δὲ Κάμιλλος ἐπὶ χιλιαρχίαν
ἐκτην καλούµενον παρητεῖτο, γεγονός µὲν ἡλικίας
ήδη πρόσω καὶ πού τῖνα καὶ φθόνον δεδίως καὶ
νέµεσιν ἐπὶ δόξῃ τοσαύτη καὶ κατορθώµασιν:
ἡ δὲ φανερωτάτη τῶν αἰτίων ἡ ἀρρωστία σώµα-
tos. ἐτύγχανε γὰρ νοσῶν περὶ τὰς ἡµέρας ἐκείνας.
2 οὐ µὴν παρῆκεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἁρχὴν ὁ δῆµος, ἀλλὰ
1 ἀναλαβεῖν with S: λαβεῖν.
CAMILLUS

when he fought his night battle with the Gauls, overlooked the forum from the Capitol, and moved the hearts of the spectators to pity. Manlius himself, too, stretched out his hands toward the spot, and wept as he called to men's remembrance his famous struggle there, so that the judges knew not what to do, and once and again postponed the case. They were unwilling to acquit the prisoner of his crime when the proofs of it were so plain; and they were unable to execute the law upon him when, owing to the place of trial, his saving exploit was, so to speak, in every eye. So Camillus, sensible of all this, transferred the court outside the city to the Peteline Grove, whence there is no view of the Capitol. There the prosecutor made his indictment, and the judges were able to forget the man's past services in their righteous anger at his present crimes. So then Manlius was convicted, carried to the Capitol, and thrust down the rock, thus making one and the same spot a monument of his most fortunate actions and of his greatest misfortunes. The Romans, besides, razed his house to the ground, and built there a temple to the goddess they call Moneta. They decreed also that in future no patrician should ever have a house on the Capitoline hill.

XXXVII. Camillus, called now to be military tribune for the sixth time, declined the honour, being already well on in years, and fearful perhaps of the envy of men and the resentment of the gods which often follows upon such glorious successes as his. But the most manifest reason was his bodily weakness, for it chanced that in those days he was sick. The people, however, would not relieve him of the
βοῶν μήτε ἵππευνοντος αὐτοῦ μήτε ὀπλομαχοῦντος ἐν τοῖς ἄγωσι δεῖσθαι, βουλευομένου δὲ μόνου καὶ προστάττοντος, ἡνάγκασεν ὑποστήριείν τὴν στρατηγίαν καὶ μὲθ’ ἐνὸς τῶν συναρχόντων Δευκίου Φουρίου τὸν στράτην ἄγειν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμους. οὕτω δ’ ἦσαν Πραιστινοὶ καὶ Ὄνολοῦσκοι μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως τὴν συμμαχία τῶν Ῥωμαίων πορθοῦντες. ἔξελθον δὲ καὶ παραστρατοπεδεύσας τοὺς πολέμους αὐτобав μὲν ἤξιον τρίβειν τὸν πόλεμον χρόνῳ, κἂν εἰ μάχης δείσει ρώσας τὸ σώμα διαγωνίσασθαι, Δευκίου δὲ τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἐπιθυμία δόξης φερομένου πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον ἀκατασχέτως καὶ συνεξομολογῶς ἀμα ταξιάρχους καὶ λοχαγοὺς, φοβηθεῖς μὴ φθόνῳ δὴ τινὶ δοκῇ κατόρθωμα καὶ φιλοτιμίαν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι νέων ἀνδρῶν συνεχώρησεν ἄκων ἐκείνῳ παρατάξας τὴν δύναμιν, αὐτὸς δὲ διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν ὑπελείφθη μετ’ ὀλύγων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. τοῦ δὲ Δευκίου προπετῶς χρησαμένου τῇ μάχῃ καὶ σφαλέντος, αἰσθόμενος τὴν τροπὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὐ κατέσχεν αὐτόν, ἀλλ’ ἀναθρόφων εἰς τῆς στυβάδος ἀπῆγνοτο μετὰ τῶν ὀπαδῶν επὶ τὰς πύλας τοῦ χάρακος, διὰ τῶν φευγόντων ὅθουμένος εἰς τοὺς διώκοντας, ὡστε τοὺς μὲν εὐθὺς ἀναστρέφειν καὶ συνακολουθεῖν, τοὺς δὲ προσφερομένους ἔξωθεν ἱστάσθαι πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ συνασπίζεσθαι, παρεγγυώτας ἀλλήλοις μὴ ἀπολείπεσθαι τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. τότε μὲν οὕτως ἀπετράπτοντο τῆς διώξεως οἱ πολέμοι. τῇ δ’ ὑπεραίᾳ προαγαγών τὴν δύναμιν ὁ Κάμιλλος.
CAMILLUS

office. He had no need, they cried, to fight in the ranks of the cavalry or the men-at-arms, but only to counsel and ordain; and so they forced him to undertake the command, and with one of his colleagues, Lucius Furius, to lead the army at once against the enemy. These were the Praenestines and Volscians, who, with a large force, were laying waste the lands of the Roman allies. Marching forth, therefore, and encamping near the enemy, he himself thought it best to protract the war, that so, in case a battle should at last be necessary, he might be strong of body for the decisive struggle. But Lucius, his colleague, carried away by his desire for glory, would not be checked in his ardour for battle, and incited the same feelings in the inferior officers of the army. So Camillus, fearing lest it be thought that out of petty jealousy he was trying to rob younger men of the successes to which they eagerly aspired, consented, with reluctance, that Lucius should lead the forces out to battle, while he himself, on account of his sickness, was left behind in the camp with a few followers. Lucius conducted the battle rashly and was discomfited, whereupon Camillus, perceiving the rout of the Romans, could not restrain himself, but sprang up from his couch and ran with his attendants to the gate of the camp. Through the fugitives he pushed his way to their pursuers. Those of his men who had passed him into the camp, wheeled about at once and followed him, and those who came bearing down on him from outside, halted and formed their lines about him, exhorting one another not to abandon their general. In this way, for that day, the enemy were turned back from their pursuit. On the next day, Camillus
καὶ συνάψας μάχην αὐτούς τε νικᾷ κατὰ κράτος καὶ τὸν χάρακα λαμβάνει συνεισπεσῶν τοῖς φεύγουσι καὶ διαφθείρας τοὺς πλείστους. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πυθόμενοι πῦλαν Σατράν ὑπὸ Τυρρηνῶν ἔαλωκέναι καὶ τοὺς ὕκητορας ἀπεσφάχθαι Ὀρμαίοις ἀπαντᾶς ὄντας, τὴν μὲν πολλὴν καὶ βαρείαν τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς Ἡρῴμην ἀπέστειλεν, αὐτός δὲ τοὺς ἀκμάζοντας μάλιστα καὶ προθυμοτάτους ἀναλαβὼν ἐπέβαλε τοὺς τὴν πῦλαν ἔχουσι Τυρρηνοῖς καὶ κρατήσας τοὺς μὲν ἐξῆλασεν αὐτούς, τοὺς δὲ ἀπέκτεινεν.

XXXVIII. Ἐπανελθὼν δὲ μετὰ πολλῶν λαφύρων εἰς Ἡρῴμην ἐπέδειξε προνευμοτάτους ἀπάντων τοὺς μὴ φοβηθέντας ὁσθένειαν καὶ γῆρας ἡγε-μόνως ἐμπειρίαν καὶ τόλμαν ἔχοντος, ἀλλ' ἐλο-μένους ἐκείνου ἀκοντα καὶ νοσώντα μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἐν ἡλικία τοὺς δεόμένους καὶ σπουδάζοντας ἄρχειν. διὸ καὶ Τουσκλανῶν ἀφεστάναι λεγο-μένων ἐκέλευο ἐξέσται τῶν Κάμιλλον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς 2 ἐνα τῶν πεντε συστρατήγων προσελομενον. ὁ δὲ, καίτερ απάντων βουλομένων καὶ δεόμενων, εάσας τοὺς ἄλλους, προσείλετο Δεύκιον Φούριον οὐδενὸς ἀν προσδοκήσαντος. ἐκείνος γὰρ ἦν ὁ παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ Καμίλλον διαγωνίσασθαι προθυμηθεὶς ἐναγχος καὶ δυστυχήσας περὶ τὴν μάχην ἀλλὰ βουλομένος, ὡς ἐοίκεν, ἀποκρύψαι τὴν συμφορὰν καὶ τὴν αἰσχύνην ἀπαλλαξάι τοῦ 3 ἀνδρὸς ἀντὶ πάντων τούτων προῆγεν. οἱ δὲ Τού-σκλανοι τὴν ἀμαρτίαν ἐπανορθούμενοι πανούργως, ἤδη βαδίζοντος ἐπ' αὐτούς τοῦ Καμίλλον τὸ μὲν πεδίον ἀνθρώπων ἡς ἐν εἰρήνῃ γεωργοῦσιν καὶ νεμόντων ἐνέπλησαν, τὰς δὲ πῦλας εἰχον 192
led his forces out, joined battle with the enemy, defeated them utterly, and took their camp, actually bursting into it along with those who fled to it, and slaying most of them. After this, learning that the city of Satricum had been taken by the Tuscans, and its inhabitants, all Romans, put to the sword, he sent back to Rome the main body of his army, comprising the men-at-arms, while he himself, with the youngest and most ardent of his men, fell suddenly upon the Tuscans who held the city and mastered them, expelling some and slaying the rest.

XXXVIII. He returned with much spoil to Rome, having proved that those citizens were the most sensible of all who did not fear the bodily age and weakness of a leader possessed of experience and courage, but chose him out, though he was ill and did not wish it, rather than younger men who craved and solicited the command. They showed the same good sense, when the Tusculans were reported to be on the brink of a revolt, in ordering Camillus to select one of his five colleagues as an aid, and march out against them. Although all the five wished and begged to be taken, Camillus passed the rest by and selected Lucius Furius, to everyone's surprise. For he was the man who had just now been eager to hazard a struggle with the enemy against the judgment of Camillus, and had been worsted in the battle. But Camillus wished, as it would seem, to hide away the misfortune and wipe away the disgrace of the man, and so preferred him above all the rest. But the Tusculans, when once Camillus was on the march against them, set to rectifying their transgression as craftily as they could. Their fields were found full of men tilling the soil and pasturing flocks, as in
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

. ἀνεφαρμένας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐν τοῖς διδασκαλεῖοις μανθάνοντας, τοῦ δὲ δήμου τὸ μὲν βάναυσον ἐπὶ τῶν ἐργαστηρίων ἐωράτο περὶ τὰς τέχνας, τὸ δ' ἀστείον ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐν ἵματίοις. οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες περιήγεσαν σπουδὴ καταλύσεις τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπαγγέλλουσες, ὡς οὐδὲν κακὸν προσδοκῶντες

4 οὐδὲ συνειδότες. τούτων δὲ πραττομένων ἀπεστείν μὲν οὐκ ἐπήει τῷ Καμίλλῳ τὴν προδοσίαν, οἰκτείρας δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ προδοσίᾳ μετάνοιαν αὐτῶν ἐκέλευσε πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἐλθόντας παρατείσθαι τὴν ὀργήν· καὶ παραιτομένοις συνέπραξεν αὐτὸς ἀφεθήναι τῇ τὴν πόλιν αὐτίας ἀπάσης καὶ μεταλαβεῖν ἵσοπολιτείας. αὐτῷ μὲν οὖν ἐγένοντο τῆς ἐκτῆς χιλιαρχίας ἐπιφανεστάται πράξεις.

XXXIX. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα Δικανίου Στόλωνος ἐν τῇ πόλει τὴν μεγάλην στάσιν ἐγείροντος, ἢν ὁ δήμος ἐστασίαζε πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον βιαζόμενος δυεῖν ὑπάτων καθισταμένων τῶν ἐτερον πάντως ἐκ δημοτῶν εἰναι καὶ μὴ συναμφιέτορος πατρικίους, δήμαρχοι μὲν ἡρέθησαν, τὰς δ' ὑπατικὰς ἀρχαρείας ἐπιτελεσθήναι διεκόλυσαν οἱ πολλοί.

2 καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων δὴ ἀναρχίας φερομένων ἐσείξους ταραχὰς ἀποδείκνυται δικτάτωρ ὁ Κάμιλλος ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἅκοντι τῷ δήμῳ τὸ τέταρτον, οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἂν πρόθυμος οὐδὲ βουλόμενος ἐναντίουσαί πρὸς ἀνθρώπους παρρησίαν ἔχοντας ἀπὸ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἀγώνων πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὥς πλείονα μετ' αὐτῶν 1 διαπεταμένους ἐν στρατηγίαις ἢ μετὰ τῶν πατρικίων ἐν πολιτείαις, καὶ

1 μετ' αὐτῶν διαπεταμένους edd., including Sintenis¹, and S; ἐν στρατηγίαις μετ' αὐτῶν with C.

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times of peace; their gates lay wide open; their boys were at school conning their lessons; and of the people, the artizans were to be seen in their workshops plying their trades, the men of leisure sauntered over the forum clad in their usual garb, while the magistrates bustled about assigning quarters for the Romans, as though they expected and were conscious of no evil. Their performances did not bring Camillus into any doubt of their intended treachery, but out of pity for the repentance that followed so close upon their treachery, he ordered them to go to the Senate and beg for a remission of its wrath. He himself also helped to make their prayers effectual, so that their city was absolved from all charges and received the rights of Roman citizenship. Such were the most conspicuous achievements of his sixth tribuneship.

XXXIX. After this, Licinius Stolo stirred up the great dissension in the city which brought the people into collision with the Senate. The people insisted that, when two consuls were appointed, one of them must certainly be a plebeian, and not both patricians. Tribunes of the people were chosen, but the multitude prevented the consular elections from being duly held. Owing to this lack of magistrates, matters were getting more and more confused, and so Camillus was for the fourth time appointed dictator by the Senate, though much against the wishes of the people. He was not eager for the office himself, nor did he wish to oppose men whose many and great struggles gave them the right to say boldly to him: "Your achievements have been in the field with us, rather than in politics with the patricians;
νῦν διὰ φθόνου ἐκείνων ὄρημένοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ὅπως ἡ καταλύσει τὸν δήμον ἤσχύσας ἡ καταλυθεὶς
3 μὴ κρατήσας. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα πειράμενοι ἀμύνειν τοῖς παροῦσι, τὴν ἡμέραν γνοὺς, ἐν ἡ νομοθετεῖν 150
οἱ δήμαρχοι διενούντο, προέγραψε στρατιάς κα-
tάλογον καὶ μετεκάλει τὸν δήμον ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς
eἰς τὸ πεδίον μεγάλας ξημίας ἀπειλῶν κατὰ τὸν
4 μὴ ὑπακούσαντος. τῶν δὲ δημάρχων ἐκείθεν αὖ
πάλιν ἀντανισταμένων ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς καὶ διομυ-
mένων πέντε μυρίασιν ἀργυρίου ξημιώσειν; εἰ μὴ
παύσατο τοῦ δήμου τῶν νόμων ἀφαιρούμενος καὶ
tὴν ψήφον, εἰτε δεῖσας φυγὴν ἔτεραν καὶ κατα-
dίκην, ὡς ἀνδρὶ πρεσβύτη καὶ κατεγραμμένω
μεγάλα μὴ πρέπουσαν, εἰτε τοῦ δήμου τὴν βίαν
ἀμαχον ὀὐσαν καὶ δυσνίκητον ὑπερβαλέσθαι μὴ
dυνάμενος μηδὲ βουλόμενος, τότε μὲν ὑπεχώρησεν
οἰκαδὲ ταῖς δ' ἐξής ἡμέραις σκηνάμενος ἄρ-
ρωστεῖν ἐξωμόσατο τὴν ἄρχην.
5 Ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος ἐτερον δικτάτορα κατέστησεν
κάκεινος ἀποδείξας ὑππαρχον αὐτὸν τὸν ἡγεμόνα
tῆς στάσεως Στόλωνα παρῆκεν ἐπικυρώσας τὸν
νόμον τῶν μάλιστα λυποῦντα τοὺς πατρικίους.
ἐκέλευσε δ' οὕτως μηδένα πλέθρων πεντακοσίων
πλείονα χώραν κεκτήσατο. τότε μὲν οὖν λαμπρὸς
ὁ Στόλων ἐγεγόνει τῇ ψήφῳ κρατήσας· ὅλιγος δ' ὑστερον αὐτὸς ἐάλω κεκτημένος ὅσπον ἔχειν ἐκὼ-
λυνεν ἐτέρους, καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ νόμον δίκην
ἐδωκεν.

XL. Ἡπολειπομένης δὲ τῆς περὶ τῶν ὑπατικῶν
ἀρχαιρεσίων φιλονεκίας, δ' ἡ χαλεπώτατον τῆς
στάσεως ἢν καὶ πρῶτον ἤρξε καὶ πλείστα
it is through hate and envy that they have now made you dictator; they hope that you will crush the people if you prevail, or be crushed yourself if you fail.” However, he tried to ward off the threatening evils. Having learned the day on which the tribunes intended to propose their law, he issued proclamation making it a day of general muster, and summoned the people from the forum into the Campus Martius, with threats of heavy fines upon the disobedient. The tribunes, on the contrary, for their part, opposed his threats with solemn oaths that they would fine him fifty thousand silver drachmas if he did not cease trying to rob the people of its vote and its law. Then, either because he feared a second condemnation to exile, a penalty unbecoming to a man of his years and achievements, or because he was not able, if he wished, to overcome the might of the people which was now become resistless and invincible, he withdrew to his house, and after alleging sickness for several days, resigned his office.

But the Senate appointed another dictator, and he, after making Stolo himself, the very leader of the sedition, his master of horse, suffered the law to be enacted. It was a most vexatious law for the patrician, for it prohibited anyone from owning more than five hundred acres of land. At that time, then, Stolo was a resplendent figure, owing to his victory at the polls; but a little while after, he himself was found to be possessed of what he forbade others to own, and so paid the penalty fixed by his own law.

XL. There remained, however, the strife over the consular elections, which was the main problem in the dissensions, as it was its first cause, and gave
πράγματα τῇ βουλῇ παρέσχε διαφερομένη πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, ἀγγελίαι προσέπεσον σαφεῖς, Κελτοὺς αὖθις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀδριατικῆς ἀραγας θαλάσσης μυριάσι πολλαῖς ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλαύν-2 νεω. ἀρα δὲ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ πολέμου παρῆν παρθομηνής τῆς χώρας καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὡςοι μὴ βάδισαν ἢν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην καταφυγεῖν, ἀνὰ τὰ ὅρη σκεδασμένων. οὐτὸς ὁ φόβος κατέπαιυε τὴν στάσιν, καὶ συνελθόντες εἰς ταὐτὸ τοῖς πολλοῖς οἱ κράτιστοι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ τὸ δημοτικόν εἴλοντο πάντες ἐκ μιᾶς γνώμης δι-3 κτάτορα τῷ πέμπτῳ Κάμιλλον. οὗ δὴ ἦν μὲν σφόδρα γέρων καὶ μικρὸν ἀπέλευθεν ὑγιὸν κοινωνία ἑτη γεγονεῖν: συνορῶν δὲ τὴν ἀνάγκην καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον, οὔτε ὑποτίμησιν εἰπών, ὡς πρότερον, οὔτε προφάσει χρησάμενος, ἀλλ’ αὐτόθεν ὑποστάς τὴν στρατηγίαν κατέλεγε τοὺς μαχησο-μένους.

Εἶδος δὲ τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων ἀλκής τὴν βιαωτάτην ἐν ταῖς μαχαίραις οὐσαν, ὡς βαρβαρικῶς καὶ σὺν οὐδεμᾶ τέχνῃ καταφέροντες ὁμοῦ 4 μάλιστα καὶ κεφαλὰς διέκοπτον, ἐχαλκεύσατό μὲν κράνη τοῖς πλείστοις ὀξοσίδηρα καὶ λεία ταῖς περιφερείαις, ὡς ἀπολυσθαίνεω ἢ κατάγωνθαι τὰς μαχαίρας, τοῖς δὲ θυρεοῖς κύκλῳ περιήμοσε λεπίδα χαλκῆν, τοῦ ἐξολο καθ αὐτοῦ τὰς πληγὰς μὴ στέγοντος: αὐτοῦς δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐδι-δαξε τοῖς ὑσσοῖς μακροῖς διὰ χειρὸς χρησάθαι καὶ τοῖς ἔφεσι τῶν πολεμιῶν ὑποβάλλοντας ἐκδε-χεσθαι τὰς καταφοράς.

XLI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πλησίον ἦσαν οἱ Κελτοὶ, περὶ τῶν Ἀνίωνα ποταμῶν στρατόπεδον βαρύ καὶ 198
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the Senate most concern in its contention with the people. But suddenly clear tidings came that the Gauls had once more set out from the Adriatic Sea, many myriads strong, and were marching on Rome. With the word, the actual deeds of war kept pace. The country was ravaged, and its population, all who could not more easily fly to Rome for refuge, scattered among the mountains. This terror put an end to the dissension in the city, and brought together into conference both the rich and the poor, the Senate and the people. All with one mind chose Camillus dictator for the fifth time. He was now quite old, lacking little of eighty years; but recognizing the peril and the necessity which it laid upon him, he neither made excuse, as before, nor resorted to pretext, but instantly took upon him the command and went to levying his soldiers.

Knowing that the prowess of the Barbarians lay chiefly in their swords, which they plied in true barbaric fashion, and with no skill at all, in mere slashing blows at head and shoulders, he had helmets forged for most of his men which were all iron and smooth of surface, that the enemy’s swords might slip off from them or be shattered by them. He also had the long shields of his men rimmed round with bronze, since their wood could not of itself ward off the enemy’s blows. The soldiers themselves he trained to use their long javelins like spears,—to thrust them under the enemy’s swords and catch the downward strokes upon them.

XLI. When the Gauls were near at hand, being encamped on the Anio and encumbered with untold
μεστὸν ἄφθονον λείας ἔχοντες, ἐξαγαγών τὴν
dύναμιν ἱδρυσε κατὰ νάπτης μαλακῆς καὶ συν-
kλίσεις πολλᾶς ἐχούσης, ὥστε τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον
ἄποκρύπτεσθαι, τὸ δ’ ὀρόμενον δοκεῖν ὑπὸ δέος
εἰς χωρία προσάντητι κατειλείσθαι. ταύτην δὲ
tὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν ὁ Κάμίλλος αὔξειν βουλόμενος
οὐ προσήμυνε τῶν ὑπὸ τὸδας πορθομένων, ἀλλὰ
tὸν χάρακα φραξάμενος ἦρεμει, μέχρι οὗ τοὺς
μὲν ἐν προνομαῖς ἐσκεδασμένους κατειδε, τοὺς δὲ
ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πᾶσαν ὥραν ἐμπιπλαμένους
ἀφειδῶς καὶ μεθύοντας. τότε δὲ νυκτὸς ἔτη τοὺς
ψιλοὺς προεκπέμψας ἑμποδῶν εἶναι τοῖς βαρ-
βάροις εἰς τάξιν καθισταμένοι καὶ διαταράττειν
eὐθὺς ἐπεξίοντας, κατεβίβαζεν ὅρθρον τοὺς ὀπ-
lίτας καὶ παρέταττεν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιπέδοις, πολλοὺς
καὶ προθύμους, οὐχ ὡσπερ οἱ βάρβαροι προσε-
δόκων, ὄλγους καὶ ἀτόλμους φανέντας. πρῶτον
μὲν οὖν τοῦτο τῶν Ἐκλτῶν ἀνέτρεψε τὰ φρονή-
ματα παρ’ ἄξιον ἐπιχειρεῖσθαι δοκοῦντον.
ἔπειτα προσπίπτοντες οἱ ψιλοὶ καὶ πρὶν ἢ τὸν
συνήθη λαβεὶν κόσμον καὶ διακριθῆναι κατὰ
λόχους κινοῦντες αὐτοὺς καὶ βιαζόμενοι πρὸς τὸ
συντυχὼν ἀτάκτους ἡνάγκασαν μᾶχεσθαι. τέλος
δὲ τοῦ Καμίλλου τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἐπάγοντος, οἱ μὲν
ἀνατεινάμενοι τὰς μαχαίρας συνδραμεῖν ἐσ-
pευδοῦν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ὑσσοὺς ἀπαντῶντες καὶ τὰ
σεσιδηρωμένα μέρη ταῖς πληγαῖς ὑποφέροντες
ἀνέστρεφον τὸν ἐκείνων σίδηρον μαλακῶν ὄντα
καὶ λεπτῶς ἐκλημένου, ὥστε κάμπτεσθαι ταχὺ
cαὶ διπλοῦσθαι τὰς μαχαίρας, τοὺς δὲ θυρεοὺς
σοο
plunder, Camillus led his forces out and posted them in a gently sloping glade with many hollows, so that the largest part of them were concealed, and the part that could be seen had the look of shutting themselves up in hilly places out of fear. This opinion of them Camillus wished to strengthen, and therefore made no defence of those who were plundered even at his very feet, but fenced in his trenches and lay quiet, until he saw that some of the enemy were scattered abroad in foraging parties, while those in the camp did nothing but gorge themselves with meat and drink. Then, while it was yet night, he sent his light-armed troops forward to hinder the Barbarians from falling into battle-array and throw them into confusion as they issued from their camp. Just before dawn, he led his men-at-arms down into the plain and drew them up in battle-array, many in number and full of spirit, as the Barbarians now saw, not few and timid, as they had expected. To begin with, it was this which shattered the confidence of the Gauls, who thought it beneath them to be attacked first. Then again, the light-armed folk fell upon them, forced them into action before they had taken their usual order and been arrayed in companies, and so compelled them to fight at random and in utter disorder. Finally, when Camillus led his men-at-arms to the attack, the enemy raised their swords on high and rushed for close quarters. But the Romans thrust their javelins into their faces, received their strokes on the parts that were shielded by iron, and so turned the edge of their metal, which was soft and weakly tempered, so much so that their swords quickly bent up double, while their shields were pierced and
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συμπεσάρθαι καὶ βαρύνεσθαι τῶν ύσσων ἐφελ-5 κομένων. διὸ καὶ μεθιστάμενοι τῶν ἱδίων ὄπλων ἐπειρόντο τοῖς ἐκείνων συντρέφεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ύσσους παραφέρειν ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι ταῖς χεραῖς. οἰ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι γυμνουμένους ὅρωντες ἡδή τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἐχρώντο, καὶ φόνοι μὲν ἦν πολὺς τῶν προτάκτων, φυγὴ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων πανταχόσε τοῦ πεδίου. τοὺς γὰρ λόφους καὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ προκατ-ειλήφει Κάμιλλος, τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον διὰ τὸ βαρεῖν ἀφρακτὸν ἔχοντες ἤδεσαν οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀλοσόμενον.

Ταύτην τὴν μάχην ἔτεσιν ὑστερον τρισκαίδεκα γενέσθαι λέγουσι τῆς Ῥώμης ἀλώσεως, καὶ βέ-6 βαιον ἐξ αὐτῆς φρόνημα κατὰ τῶν Κελτῶν ἐγγε-νέσθαι Ῥωμαίοις σφόδρα δεδομένως τοὺς βαρ-βάρους, ὡς τὸ πρῶτον διὰ νόσους καὶ τύχαις παραλόγους, οὐ κατὰ κράτος, ὡς αὐτῶν νεικη-μένους. οὕτω δ’ οὖν ὁ φόβος ἦν ἵσχυρός, ὥστε θέσθαι νόμον ἀφείσθαι τοὺς ἑρείς στρατεύας χωρίς ἀν μὴ Γαλατικὸς ἢ πόλεμος.

XLII. Τῶν μὲν οὖν στρατιωτικῶν ἀγῶνων οὕτως ἤγωνίσθη τῷ Κάμιλλῳ τελευταίος. τὴν γὰρ Οὐελιτρανῶν τόλμην εἶλεν ἐν παρέργῳ ταύτης τῆς στρατείας ἀμαχεὶ προσχωρήσασαι αὐτῷ.7 τῶν δὲ πολιτικῶν ὁ μέγιστος ὑπελείπετο καὶ χαλεπώτερος 2 πρὸς τὸν δήμον ἱσχυρὸν ἐπανή-κοντα τῇ νίκῃ καὶ βιαζόμενον ἐκ δημοτῶν ὑπατον ἀποδείξας παρὰ τῶν καθεστώτα νόμων, ἀντίτατο-μένης τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῶν Κάμιλλον οὐκ ἐώσης

1 γυμνουμένουs with S: γυμνωσ.
2 καὶ χαλεπώτερος Sintenis1, now supported by S: χαλεπῶ-
teros.
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weighed down by the javelins which stuck in them. Therefore they actually abandoned their own weapons and tried to possess themselves of those of their enemies, and to turn aside the javelins by grasping them in their hands. But the Romans, seeing them thus disarmed, at once took to using their swords, and there was a great slaughter of their foremost ranks, while the rest fled every whither over the plain; the hill tops and high places had been occupied beforehand by Camillus, and they knew that their camp could easily be taken, since, in their overweening confidence, they had neglected to fortify it.

This battle, they say, was fought thirteen years after the capture of Rome, and produced in the Romans a firm feeling of confidence regarding the Gauls. They had mightily feared these Barbarians, who had been conquered by them in the first instance, as they felt, in consequence of sickness and extraordinary misfortunes, rather than of any prowess in their conquerors. At any rate, so great had their terror been that they made a law exempting priests from military service, except in case of a Gallic war.

XLII. This was the last military exploit performed by Camillus, for the capture of Velitrae was a direct sequel of this campaign, and it yielded to him without a struggle. But the greatest of his civil contests yet remained and it was harder to wage it now against a people which had come back flushed with victory, and bent on electing a plebeian consul, contrary to the established law. But the Senate opposed their demands, and would not suffer Camillus to lay aside.
ἀποθέσαι τήν ἀρχήν, ως μετ’ ἰσχυρᾶς καὶ μεγάλης ἐξουσίας τῆς ἐκείνου μαχητημένων ἄν
2 βέλτιον ὑπέρ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας. ἔπει δὲ προκαθημένου τοῦ Κάμιλλου καὶ χρηματίζοντος ἐπὶ τῆς ἄγορᾶς ὑπηρέτης πεμφθεὶς παρὰ τῶν δημάρχων ἐκέλευσεν ἀκόλουθεῖν καὶ τὴν χείρα τῷ σώματι προσήγειν ὡς ἀπάξων, κραυγῇ δὲ καὶ θόρυβος, οἷος οὕτω, κατέσχε τὴν ἄγοράν, τῶν μὲν περὶ τὸν Κάμιλλον ὡθοῦντιν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος τῶν δημόσιων, τῶν δὲ πολλῶν κάτωθεν ἐλκείν ἐπικελευμένων, ἀπορούμενος τίς παροῦσι τῇ μὲν ἁρχῇ οὐ προήκατο, τοὺς δὲ βουλευτῶν ἀναλάβων ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ τὴν σύγκλητον.
3 καὶ πρὶν εἰσελθεῖν μεταστράφεις εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον εὔξατο τοῖς θεοῖς κατευθύναι τὰ παρόντα πρὸς τὸ κάλλιστον τέλος, ὑποσχόμενος μᾶλλον Ὀμονοίας ἱδρύσασθαι τῆς ταραχῆς καταστάσεως.
Μεγάλου δ’ ἄγωνος ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ γενομένου πρὸς τὰς ἔναντίας γνώμας, ὁμοίως ἐνίκησεν ἡ μαλακωτέρα καὶ ὑπείκουσα τῷ δήμῳ καὶ διδοῦσα τῶν ὑπάτων τὸν ἔτερον ἀπὸ τοῦ πλῆθος ἀρχαιοστιᾶσαι. ταῦτα δ’ ὡς τῇ βουλῇ δοκοῦντα τοῦ δικτάτορος ἀνειπώτοτο εὖ τῷ δήμῳ, παραχρῆμα μὲν, οἶκος ἔρημος, ἠδόμενοι τῇ βουλῇ δηλιγιάττοντο καὶ τὸν Κάμιλλον ὁλικεῖ κρότῳ καὶ βοή προεπειπον. τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίᾳ συνελθόντες ἐνεπισάντο τῆς μὲν Ὀμονοίας ἱερῶν, ὡσπερ εὐξάτο κάμιλλος, εἰς τὴν ἄγοράν καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀποτεπνέεν ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἱδρύσασθαι, ταῖς δὲ καλομέναις Λατίναις μίν ἤμεραν προσθέντας ἐορτάζειν τέτταρας, παραβ-152 204
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his office, thinking that, with the aid of his great power and authority, they could make a better fight in defence of their aristocracy. But once when Camillus was seated in state and despatching public business in the forum, an officer, sent by the tribunes of the people, ordered him to follow, actually laying hands upon him as though to hale him away. All at once such cries and tumult as had never been heard before filled the forum, the friends of Camillus thrusting the plebeian officer down from the tribunal, and the multitude below ordering him to drag the dictator away. Camillus, perplexed at the issue, did not renounce his office, but taking the senators with him, marched off to their place of meeting. Before he entered this, turning to the Capitol, he prayed the gods to bring the present tumults to their happiest end, solemnly vowing to build a temple to Concord when the confusion was over.

In the Senate there was a great conflict of opposing views, but nevertheless, the milder course prevailed, concession was made to the people, and permission given them to elect one of the consuls from their own body. When the dictator announced this to the people as the will and pleasure of the Senate, at once, as was to be expected, they were delighted to be reconciled with the Senate, and escorted Camillus to his home with loud applause. On the following day they held an assembly and voted to build a temple of Concord, as Camillus had vowed, and to have it face the forum and place of assembly, to commemorate what had now happened. They voted also to add a day to the so-called Latin festival, and thereafter to celebrate four days, and that all
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ

τίκα δὲ θύειν καὶ στεφανηφορεῖν Ἡρωμαίους ἀπαντας. τῶν δὲ ἀρχαιοσίων βραβευθέντων ὑπὸ Καμίλλου κατεστάθησαν ὑπατοὶ Μάρκος μὲν Αἰμίλιος ἐκ πατρικίων, Λεύκιος δὲ Σέξιος ἐκ δημοτῶν πρῶτος. καὶ τοῦτο πέρας αἱ Καμίλλου πράξεις ἔσχον.

ΧΛΙΠ. Ἐν δὲ τῷ κατόπιν ἐνιαυτῷ λόγῳ νόσος ἐμπεσοῦσα τῇ Ἡρώμη τὸν μὲν ἄλλου ὀχλον οὐ περιληπτὸν ἀριθμῷ διέφθειρε, τῶν δὲ ἀρχόντων τοὺς πλείστους. Ἐτελεύτησε δὲ καὶ Κάμιλλος, ἡμικίας μὲν οὐνεκα καὶ βίου τελεότητος, ὡς εἰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώπων ὥραιοι, ἀνιάσας δὲ Ἡρωμαίους ὡς οὐδὲ σύμπαντες οἱ τῇ νόσῳ κατ’ ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἀποθανόντες.
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Romans at once perform sacrifices with garlands on their heads. At the elections held by Camillus, Marcus Aemilius was chosen consul from the patricians, and Lucius Sextus first consul from the plebeians. This was the last public act of Camillus.

XLIII. In the year following, a pestilential sickness visited Rome, carrying off an incalculable number of the common people, and most of the magistrates. Camillus also died at this time, and he was full ripe for death, if any man ever was, considering his years and the completeness of his life; yet his loss grieved the Romans more than that of all those who perished of the plague at this time.
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ἈΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΗΣ

I. Ἀριστείδης οἱ Δυσιμάχου φυλῆς μὲν ἢν Ἄρτιοχίδος, τῶν δὲ δῆμων Ἀλωπεκήθεν. περὶ δὲ οὔσιας αὐτοῦ λόγοι διάφοροι γεγόνασιν, οἱ μὲν ὡς ἐν πενήν συντόνῳ καταβιώσαντο καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτῆν ἀπολείποντος θυγατέρας δύο πολὺν 2 χρόνων ἀνεκδότους δι’ ἀπορίαν γενομένας· πρὸς δὲ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ὑπὸ πολλῶν εἰρημένον ἀντιτασσόμενος οἱ Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος ἐν τῷ Σωκράτει χωρίον Φαληροὶ φησί γνώσκειν Ἀριστείδον γενόμενον, ἐν δὲ τῇ περί τοῦ οἶκου εὐπορίᾳ ἐν μὲν ἤγειται τὴν ἐπώνυμον ἀρχήν, ἢν ἤρχεν ὁ 1 τῷ κυάμφω λαχῶν ἐκ τῶν γενῶν τῶν τὰ μέγιστα τιμήματα κεκτημένων, οὕς πεντακοσιομεδίμνους προσηγόρευον, ἔτερον δὲ τὸν 3 ἐξοστρακισμὸν· οὐδένι γὰρ τῶν πενήτων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἢ γὰρ τῶν μεγάλων καὶ διὰ γένους ὄγκον ἐπιφθόνων ὀστρακοῦ ἐπιφέρεσθαι τρίτων δὲ καὶ τελευταῖον, ὅτι νίκης ἀναθήματα χορηγικοῦς τρόπον ἐν Διονύσου καταλέλοιπεν, οὐ καὶ καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἐδείκνυτο τοιαύτην ἐπιγραφήν διασώζοντες.

1 ἤρχεν ὁ Blass, adopting Sintenis' conjecture: ἤρξε.
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I. Aristides, the son of Lysimachus, belonged to the tribe Antiochis, and to the deme Alopece. As regards his substance, stories differ, some having it that he passed all the days of his life in severe poverty, and that at his death he left behind him two daughters who for a long time were not sought in marriage because of their indigence. But in contradiction of this story which so many writers give, Demetrius of Phalerum, in his "Socrates," says he knows of an estate in Phalerum which belonged to Aristides—the one in which he lies buried, and regards as proofs of his opulent circumstances, first, his office of Archon Eponymous, which only he could hold who obtained it by lot from among the families carrying the highest property-assessments (these were called Pentacosiomedimni, or Five-hundred-bushellers); second, his banishment in ostracism, for no poor men, but only men from great houses which incurred envy because of their family prestige, were liable to ostracism; third, and last, the fact that he left in the precinct of Dionysus as offerings for victory some choregic tripods, which, even in our day, were pointed out as still bearing the inscription: "The tribe
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"'Ἀντιοχῆς ἐνίκα, 'Αριστείδης ἔχορῆγε, 'Αρχέστρατος ἔδιδασκε."

4 Τούτο μὲν οὖν, καίτερ εἶναι δοκοῦν μέγιστον, ἀσθενέστατόν ἐστι. καὶ γὰρ Ἑπαμεινώνδας, δυν πάντες ἀνθρώποι γυνώσκουσιν ἐν πενίᾳ καὶ τραγέντα πολλῇ καὶ βιώσαντα, καὶ Πλάτων ὁ φιλόσοφος οὐκ ἀφιλοτιμούς ἀνεδέξαντο χορηγίας, ο μὲν αὐληταῖς ἀνδράσιν, ὁ δὲ παισὶ κυκλώς χορηγήσας, τούτῳ μὲν Δίωνος τοῦ Συρακουσίου τὴν δαπάνην παρέχοντος, Ἑπαμεινώνδα δὲ τῶν 5 περὶ Πελοπίδαν. οὖ γὰρ ἔστι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀκήρυκτος καὶ ἀσποῦσθος πρὸς τὰς παρὰ τῶν φίλων δωρεὰς πόλεμος, ἀλλὰ τὰς εἰς ἀπόθεσιν καὶ πλεονεξίαν ἀγεννεῖς ἡγούμενοι καὶ ταπεινάς, 319 ὅσαι φιλοτιμίας τινὸς ἀκερδοὺς ἔχονται καὶ λαμπρότητος οὐκ ἀπωθοῦνται.

Παναιτίος μέντοι περὶ τοῦ τρίποδος ἀποφαίνει 6 τῶν Δημήτριον ὀμονομία διεψευσμένων. ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν Μηδικῶν εἰς τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ Πελοπονησιακοῦ πολέμου δύο μόνους 'Αριστείδας χορηγοὺς ἀναγράφεσθαι νυκῶντας, ὃν οὐδέτερον εἶναι τῇ Ἀυσιμάχῳ τῶν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν Ξενοφίλου πατρός, τὸν δὲ χρόνῳ πολλῷ νεωτέρον, ὡς ἐλέγχει τὰ γράμματα τῆς μετ' Εὐκλείδην ὄντα γραμματικής καὶ προσγεγραμμένος ὁ Ἀρχέστρατος, ὃν ἐν τοῖς Μηδικῶις οὐδέ τις, ἐν δὲ τοῖς Πελοποννησιακοῖς συχνὸν χορὸς διδάσκαλον ἀναγράφοντο 7. Τὸ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Παναιτίου βέλτιον ἐπισκεπτέον

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Antiochis was victorious; Aristides was Choregus; Archestratus was Poet."

Now this last argument, though it seems very strong, is really very weak. For both Epaminondas, who, as all men know, was reared and always lived in great poverty, and Plato the philosopher, took it upon themselves to furnish munificent public performances, the first, of men trained to play the flute, the second, of boys trained to sing and dance; but Plato received the money that he spent thereon from Dion of Syracuse, and Epaminondas from Pelopidas. Good men wage no savage and relentless war against the gifts of friends, but while they look upon gifts taken to be stored away and increase the receiver's wealth as ignoble and mean, they refuse none which promote an unselfish and splendid munificence.

However, as regards the tripods, Panaetius tries to show that Demetrius was deceived by identity of name. From the Persian wars, he says, down to the end of the Peloponnesian war, only two Aristides are recorded as victorious choregoi, and neither of them is identical with the son of Lysimachus. One was the son of Xenophilus, and the other lived long afterwards, as is proved by the inscription itself, which is written in the character used after Euclidean,¹ as well as by the last name, Archestratus, of whom there is no record during the Persian wars, while during the time of the Peloponnesian war his name often appears as that of a choral poet.

This argument of Panaetius should be more closely

¹ In 403-402 B.C., when Euclidean was Archon Eponymous, the Ionian alphabet was officially adopted at Athens.
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... η γένος η λόγον δύναμιν ύπερ τούς πολλούς νομιζόμενος ύπεπιπτεν ὅτι καὶ Δάμων ὁ Περικλέους διδάσκαλος, ὦτι τὸ φρονεῖν ἐδόκει τις 8 εἶναι περιττός, ἐξωστρακίσθη. καὶ μὴν ἄρξαι γε τὸν Ἀριστείδην ὁ Ἰδομενεὺς ὁ κυαμεντόν, ἀλλ' ἐλομένων Ἀθηναίων φησίν. εἰ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Πλαταϊαίς μάχην ἦρξεν, ώς αὐτὸς ὁ Δημήτριος γέγραφε, καὶ πάνυ πιθανόν ἔστιν ἐπὶ δόξῃ τοσαύτη καὶ καταρθώμασι τῆς κοῦτος αξιωθῆναι ἐδώ ἀρετὴν ὑπὸ διὰ πλοῦτον ἔτυγχανον οἱ λαγχά- 9 νοτες. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁ μὲν Δημήτριος ὁ μόνον Ἀριστείδην, ἀλλὰ καὶ Σωκράτην δῆλος ἔστι τῆς πενίας ἐξελέσθαι φιλοτιμουμένος ὡς μεγάλου κακοῦ· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ φησὶν οὐ μόνον τὴν οἰκίαν ὑπάρχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μνᾶς ἐβδομήκοντα τοκιζο- μένας ὑπὸ Κρίτωνος.

II. Ἀριστείδης δὲ Κλεισθένους μὲν τοῦ κατα- στησάμενου τὴν πολιτείαν μετὰ τοὺς τυράννους ἐταίροις γενόμενος, ζηλώσας δὲ καὶ θαυμάσας μάλιστα τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀνδρῶν Δυσυνήγητο τὸν Δακηδαιμόνιον, ἤψιτο μὲν ἀριστοκρατικῆς πολι- τείας, ἐσχέ δ' ἀντιτασσόμενον ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου Θεσμοτοκλέα τῶν Νεοκλέους. ἐνοι μὲν οὖν φασιν παιδας ὑπότας αὐτοὺς καὶ συντρεφομένους ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐν παντὶ καὶ σπουδῆς ἐχομένῳ καὶ παιδίας πράγματι καὶ λόγῳ διαφέρεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, 2 καὶ τὰς φύσεις εὐθὺς ὑπὸ τῆς φιλονεικίας ἐκείνης...
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examined as to its validity; but to banishment in ostracism every one was liable who was superior to the common run of men in reputation, or lineage, or eloquence. And so it was that Damon, the teacher of Pericles, was ostracized because he was thought to be rather extraordinary in his wisdom.\(^1\) Furthermore, Idomeneus says that Aristides obtained the office of archon, not by lot, but by the election of the Athenians.\(^2\) And if he was made archon after the battle of Plataea, as Demetrius himself has written, it is certainly very credible that in view of such a reputation and such successes as he there won, he should be deemed worthy, for his valour, of an office which men who drew lots for it obtained for their wealth. In fact, Demetrius is clearly ambitious to rescue not only Aristides, but also Socrates from what he deems the great evil of poverty, for he says that Socrates owned not only his house, but also seventy minas out at interest with Crito.

II. Aristides was an intimate friend of that Cleisthenes who set the state in order after the expulsion of the tyrants. He also admired and emulated, above all other statesmen, Lycurgus the Lacedaemonian. He therefore favoured an aristocratic form of government, and ever had opposed to him, as champion of the people, Themistocles the son of Neocles. Some say that even as boys and fellow-pupils, from the outset, in every word and deed, whether serious or trivial, they were at variance with one another, and that by

\(^1\) *Pericles*, iv. 2.

\(^2\) From 508 B.C. to 487 B.C. the archons were elected by the Assembly; after 487, they were once more chosen by lot.
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ἀνακαλύπτεσθαι, τὴν μὲν εὐχερῆ καὶ παράβολον καὶ πανούργουν οὖσαν καὶ μετ' ἄξυντητος ἐπὶ πάντα ῥαδίως φερομένην, τὴν δ' ἱδρυμένην ἐν ὡθεὶ βεβαιῶ καὶ πρὸς τὸ δίκαιον ἄτενῆ,1 ψεύδος δὲ καὶ βωμολοχίαν καὶ ἀπάτην οὖδ' ἐν παιδίας τῶν τρόπως προσιεμένην.

'Αρίστων τὸ ὦ Κεῖος εἰς ἔρωτικὴς ἀρχῆς γενεσθαι φησὶ καὶ προελθὲσθαι ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον τὴν ἑκάθραν αὐτῶν. Στησίλεω γὰρ, ὅς ἦν γένει Κεῖος, ἱδέα τε καὶ μορφὴ σώματος πολὺ τῶν ἐν ὃρᾳ λαμπρότατος, ἀμφοτέρους ἑρασθέντας οὐ μετρίως ἐνεγκεῖν τὸ πάθος οὐδ' ἀμα λήγοντι τῷ κάλλει τοῦ παιδὸς ἀποθέσθαι τὴν φιλονεικίαν, ἀλλ' ὡσπερ ἐγγυμνασμένους ἐκεῖνη πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν εὐθὺς ὀρμήσαι διαπόρους οὖνας καὶ διαφόρως ἔχοντας.

4 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Θεμιστοκλῆς εἰς ἕταρείαν ἐμβαλὼν ἐαυτὸν εἰχὲ πρόβλημα καὶ δύναμιν οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητον, ὡστε καὶ πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα καλῶς αὐτὸν ἀρξεῖν 'Ἀθηναίων, ἀντερ ἕσος ἦ καὶ κοινῶς ἀπαισι "Μηδέποτε," εἰπεῖν, "εἰς τοῦτον ἐγὼ καθίσαμι τῶν θρόνων, ἐν φ' πλέον οὐδὲν ἔξουσιν 5 οἱ φίλοι παρ' ἐμοὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων." 'Αριστειδῆς δὲ καθ' ἐαυτὸν ὡσπερ ὅδιν ἰδίαν ἐβάδιξε διὰ τῆς πολιτείας, πρῶτον μὲν οὐ ψυχόμενος συναδικεῖν τοῖς ἐταῖροις ἢ λυπηρὸς εἶναι μὴ χαριζόμενος, ἐπειτα τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν φίλων δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγους ἰδιών ἐπαίρουσαν ἀδικεῖν ἐφιλάττετο, μόνῳ τῷ χρηστὰ

1 ἄτενῆ MSS. and editors; including Sintenis: ἄτενει after Classen.

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this very rivalry their natures were straightway made manifest, the one as dexterous, reckless, and unscrupulous, easily carried with impetuosity into any and every undertaking; the other as established on a firm character, intent on justice, and admitting no falsity or vulgarity or deceit, not even in any sport whatsoever.

But Ariston of Ceos says that this enmity of theirs, which came to be so intense, had its origin in a love affair. They were both enamoured of Stesilaüs, who was of Ceian birth, and in beauty of person the most brilliant of youths; and they cherished their passion so immoderately, that not even after the boy's beauty had faded did they lay aside their rivalry, but, as though they had merely taken preliminary practice and exercise in that, they presently engaged in matters of state also with passionate heat and opposing desires.

Themistocles joined a society of political friends, and so secured no inconsiderable support and power. Hence when some one told him that he would be a good ruler over the Athenians if he would only be fair and impartial to all, he replied: "Never may I sit on a tribunal where my friends are to get no more advantage from me than strangers." But Aristides walked the way of statesmanship by himself, on a private path of his own, as it were, because, in the first place, he was unwilling to join with any comrades in wrong-doing, or to vex them by withholding favours; and, in the second place, he saw that power derived from friends incited many to do wrong, and so was on his guard against it, deeming
καὶ δίκαια πράττειν καὶ λέγειν ἀξιῶν θαρρεῖν τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολῖτην.

III. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ, πολλὰ κινοῦμένου τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους παραβόλως καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαιν αὐτῷ πολιτείαιν ἑνισταμένου καὶ διακόπτοντος, ἡμαγκάζετό που καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ μὲν ἀμυνόμενος, τὰ δὲ κολούν τὴν ἑκείνου δύναμιν χάριτι τῶν πολλῶν αὐξομένην ὑπεναντιοῦσθαι ὅσι ἐπράττετον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, βέλτιον ἡγοῦμενος παρελθείν ἐνὶ τῶν συμφερόντων τῶν δῆμον ἢ τῷ κρατεῖν 2 ἑκείνου ἐν πᾶσιν ἱσχυρὸν γενέσθαι. τέλος δὲ ποτε τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους πράττοντος τι τῶν δεόντων ἀντικρούσας καὶ περιγενόμενος οὐ κατέσχεν, ἀλλ’ εἰπεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπίων, ὡς οὐκ ἐστὶ σωτηρία τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις πράγμασιν, εἰ μὴ καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα καὶ αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ βάραθρον ἐμβάλοιεν. πάλιν δὲ γράφας τινὰ γνώμην εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ἀντιλογίας οὕσης πρὸς αὐτὴν καὶ φιλονεικίας, ἐκράτει: μέλλοντος δὲ τοῦ προέδρου τῶν δήμου ἐπερωτῶν αἰσθόμενος ἐκ τῶν λόγων αὐτῶν τὸ ἀσύμφορον ἀπέστη τοῦ ψηφίσματος. 3 πολλάκις δὲ καὶ δι’ ἐτέρων εἰσέφερε τὰς γνώμας, ὡς μὴ φιλονεικία τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐμπόδιος εἰς τῷ συμφέροντι.

Θαυμαστῇ δὲ τις ἐφαίνετο αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὰς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ μεταβολάς ἡ εὐστάθεια, μήτε ταῖς τιμαῖς ἐπαιρομένου πρὸς τε τὰς δυσημερίας ἀθορύβως καὶ πρῶς ἑχοντος, καὶ ὦμοιως ἡγοῦν.
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it right that the good citizen should base his confidence only on serviceable and just conduct.

III. However, since Themistocles was a reckless agitator, and opposed and thwarted him in every measure of state, Aristides himself also was almost compelled—partly in self-defence, and partly to curtail his adversary's power, which was increasing through the favour of the many—to set himself in opposition to what Themistocles was trying to do, thinking it better that some advantages should escape the people than that his adversary, by prevailing everywhere, should become too strong. Finally there came a time when he opposed and defeated Themistocles in an attempt to carry some really necessary measure. Then he could no longer hold his peace, but declared, as he left the Assembly, that there was no safety for the Athenian state unless they threw both Themistocles and himself into the death-pit. On another occasion he himself introduced a certain measure to the people, and was carrying it through successfully, in spite of the attacks of the opposition upon it, but just as the presiding officer was to put it to the final vote, perceiving, from the very speeches that had been made in opposition to it, the inexpediency of his measure, he withdrew it without a vote. And oftentimes he would introduce his measures through other men, that Themistocles might not be driven by the spirit of rivalry with him to oppose what was expedient for the state.

Altogether admirable was his steadfast constancy amid the revulsions of political feeling. He was not unduly lifted up by his honours, and faced adversity with a calm gentleness, while in all cases alike he
μένου χρήναι τῇ πατρίδι παρέχειν ἑαυτὸν οὐ χρημάτων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δόξης προῖκα καὶ 4 ἀμισθὶ πολιτευόμενον. ὅθεν, ὡς έοικε, τῶν εἰς Ἀμφιάραου ὑπ’ Αἰσχύλου πεποιημένων ἰαμβεῖων ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ λεγομένων

Οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν δίκαιος, ἀλλ’ εἶναι θέλει, βαθείαν ἀλοκα διὰ φρενὸς καρπούμενος, ἂφ’ ἦς τὰ κεδνὰ βλαστάνει βουλεύματα, πάντες ἀπέβλεψαν εἰς Ἀριστείδην, ὡς ἐκείνῳ μάλιστα τῆς ἀρετῆς ταύτης προσηκούσης.

IV. Οὐ μόνον δὲ πρὸς εὐνοιαν καὶ χάριν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ὅργην καὶ πρὸς ἐχθραν ἰσχυρότατος ἦν ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων ἀντιστήναι. λέγεται γαὖν ποτε διώκων ἐχθρόν ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, μετὰ τὴν κατηγορίαν οὐ βουλομένων ἀκούειν τοῦ κινδυνεύοντος τῶν δικαστῶν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ψήφον εὑθὺς αἰτοϊμῶν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν, ἀναπτήσας τῷ κρινομένῳ συνικετεύειν, ὅπως ἀκουσθῇ καὶ τύχῃ τῶν 2 νομίμων πάλιν δε κρίνων, ῥεῖν αἰτίας δυσὶ, τοῦ ἐτέρου λέγοντος, ὡς πολλὰ τυγχάνει τοῖς Ἀριστείδην ὁ ἀντίδικος λειτουρκώς “Λέγ’, ὦ ἐγαθε,” φάναι, “μᾶλλον, εἴ τι σὲ κακὸν πεποίηκε σοι γάρ, οὐκ ἐμαυτῷ, δικάξω.” τῶν δὲ δημοσίων προσόδων αἴρεθεις ἐπιμελητῆς οὐ μόνον τοὺς καθ’ αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ γεγομένους

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considered it his duty to give his services to his country freely and without any reward, either in money, or, what meant far more, in reputation. And so it befell, as the story goes, that when the verses composed by Aeschylus upon Amphiaraüs were recited in the theatre:

"He wishes not to seem, but rather just to be,
And reap a harvest from deep furrows in a mind
From which there spring up honourable counsel-
lings," ¹

all the spectators turned their eyes on Aristides, feeling that he, above all men, was possessed of such excellence.

IV. It was not only against the inclinations of his good-will and personal favour that he was a most strenuous champion of justice, but also against those of his anger and hatred. At any rate a story is told, how he was once prosecuting an enemy in court, and after he had made his accusation the judges were loath to hear the defendant at all, and demanded that their vote be taken against him straightway; but Aristides sprang to his feet and seconded the culprit's plea for a hearing and the usual legal procedure. And again, when he was serving as private arbitrator between two men, on one of them saying that his opponent had done Aristides much injury, "Tell me rather," he said, "whether he has done thee any wrong; it is for thee, not for myself, that I am seeking justice." When he was elected overseer of the public revenues, he proved clearly that large sums had been embezzled, not only by his fellow-officials, but also by

¹ Seven against Thebes, 592 ff. (Dindorf).
Plutarch's Lives

ἀρχοντας ἀπεδέικνυε πολλὰ νεοσφισμένους, καὶ μάλιστα τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα.

Σοφὸς γὰρ ἀνήρ, τῆς δὲ χειρὸς οὐ κρατῶν.

3 Διὸ καὶ συναγαγὼν πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἐν ταῖς εὐθύναις διώκων κλοπῆς καταδίκη περιέβαλεν, ὡς φησιν Ἰδομενεύς. ἀγανακτούντων δὲ τῶν πρῶτων ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ βελτίστων, οὐ μόνον ἀφείθη τῆς ξημίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλιν ἄρχων ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν διοίκησιν ἀπεδείχθη. προσποιούμενος δὲ τῶν προτέρων μεταμέλειας αὐτῶν καὶ μαλακώτερον ἐνδιδοὺς ἑαυτὸν, ἥρεσε τοῖς τὰ κοινὰ κλέπτουσιν οὐκ ἐξελέγχων οὐδ’ ἀκριβολογούμενος, ἀστεὶ καταπτιμπλαμένους τῶν δημοσίων ὑπερεπαινεῖν τὸν Ἀριστείδην καὶ δεξιοῦσθαι τὸν δήμου ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, σπουδάζοντας ἄρχοντα πάλιν αἰρεθήναι. μελλόντων δὲ χειροτοεῖν ἐπετίμησε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις: “Οτε μὲν γὰρ,” ἔφη, “πιστῶς καὶ καλῶς ὑμῖν ἦρξα, προὔπηλακίσθην· ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλὰ τῶν κοινῶν καταπροεῖμαι τοῖς κλέπτοισιν

4 θαυμαστὸς εἶναι δοκῶ πολίτης. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν αἰσχύνομαι τῇ νῦν τιμῇ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ πρώῃ καταδίκῃ, συνάχθομαι δ’ ὑμῖν, παρ’ οίς ἐνδοξοτερὸν ἔστι τοῦ σώξειν τὰ δημόσια τὸ χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς πονηροῖς.” ταῦτα δ’ εἰπὼν καὶ τὰς κλοπὰς 321 ἐξελέγχας τοὺς μὲν τὸτε βοῶντας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ μαρτυροῦντας ἐπεστώμισε, τὸν δ’ ἀληθινὸν καὶ δίκαιον ἀπὸ τῶν βελτίστων ἔπαινον εἶχεν.

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those of former years, and particularly by Themistocles:—

"The man was clever, but of his hand had no control."

For this cause, Themistocles banded many together against Aristides, prosecuted him for theft at the auditing of his accounts, and actually got a verdict against him, according to Idomeneus. But the first and best men of the city were incensed at this, and he was not only exempted from his fine, but even appointed to administer the same charge again. Then he pretended to repent him of his former course, and made himself more pliable, thus giving pleasure to those who were stealing the common funds by not examining them or holding them to strict account, so that they gorged themselves with the public moneys, and then lauded Aristides to the skies, and pleaded with the people in his behalf, eagerly desirous that he be once more elected to his office. But just as they were about to vote, Aristides rebuked the Athenians. "Verily," said he, "when I served you in office with fidelity and honour, I was reviled and persecuted; but now that I am flinging away much of the common fund to thieves, I am thought to be an admirable citizen. For my part, I am more ashamed of my present honour than I was of my former condemnation, and I am sore distressed for you, because it is more honourable in your eyes to please base men than to guard the public moneys." By these words, as well as by exposing their thefts, he did indeed stop the mouths of the men who were then testifying loudly in his favour, but he won genuine and just praise from the best citizens.
V. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Δάτις ὑπὸ Δαρείου πεμφθείς λόγῳ μὲν ἐπιθείναι δίκην Ἀθηναίοις, ὅτι Σάρδεις ἐνέπτησαν, ἔργῳ δὲ καταστρέφασθαι τοὺς Ἐλλήνας, εἰς Μαραθώνα παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ κατέσχε καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθει, τῶν δὲκα καθεστῶτον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον στρατηγῶν μέγιστον μὲν εἰχὲν ἀξίωμα Μιλτιάδης, δόξῃ δὲ καὶ δυνάμει δεύτερος ἦν Ἀριστείδης. καὶ τότε περὶ τῆς μαχῆς γνώμη τῇ Μιλτιάδου προσθέμενος οὗ μικρὰν ἐποίησε ῥοπήν καὶ παρ’ ἡμέραν ἐκάστου στρατηγοῦ τῷ κράτος ἐχόντος, ὡς περιήλθεν εἰς αὐτὸν ἡ ἀρχή, παρέδωκε Μιλτιάδης, διδάσκων τοὺς συνάρχοντας, ὅτι τὸ πείθεσθαι καὶ ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς εὐθύνοντις οὐκ αἰσχρῶν, ἀλλὰ σεμνῶν ἐστὶ καὶ σωτηρίου. οὕτω δὲ πραμανα τῇ φιλονεικίαν καὶ προτρεψάμενος αὐτοῦς ἀγαπᾶν μᾶλλον γνώμη τῇ κρατίστῃ χρωμένους, ἔρρωσε τὸν Μιλτιάδην τῷ ἀπερισπάστῳ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἱσχυρῶν γενόμενον. χαίρειν γὰρ ἐὼν ἐκαστός ἴδι τὸ παρ’ ἡμέραν ἀρχεῖν ἐκείνῳ προσείχερ恶性.

3 'Εν δὲ τῇ μάχῃ μάλιστα τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοῦ μέσου πονήσαντος καὶ πλείστον ἐνταῦθα χρόνον τῶν βαρβάρων ἀντεισάσαντων κατὰ τὴν Λεοντίδα καὶ τὴν Ἀντιοχίδα φυλήν, ἡγοῦσαντος λαμπρῶς τεταγμένοι παρ’ ἄλληλους ὁ τε Θεμιστοκλῆς καὶ ὁ Ἀριστείδης· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Λεοντίδος

4 ἦν, ὁ δὲ Ἀντιοχίδος: ἐπεὶ δὲ τρεψάμενοι τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὰς ναῦς καὶ πλέοντας οὐκ ἐπὶ νῆσων ἔφεσον, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης εἰσόω πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικήν.
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V. Now when Datis, on being sent by Darius ostensibly to punish the Athenians for burning Sardis, but really to subdue all the Hellenes, put in at Marathon with all his armament and went to ravaging the country, then, of the ten generals appointed by the Athenians for the conduct of the war, it was Miltiades who enjoyed the greatest consideration, but in reputation and influence Aristides was second. By adopting at that time the opinion of Miltiades about the battle to be fought, he did much to turn the scale in its favour. And since each general held the chief authority for a single day in turn, when the command came round to him, he handed it over to Miltiades, thereby teaching his fellow-officers that to obey and follow men of wisdom is not disgraceful, but dignified and salutary. By thus appeasing the jealousy of his colleagues and inducing them to be cheerfully contented in the adoption of a single opinion (and that the best), he confirmed Miltiades in the strength which comes from an unrestricted power. For each of the other generals at once relinquished his own right to command for a day in turn, and put himself under the orders of Miltiades.

In the battle, the Athenian centre was the hardest pressed, and it was there that the Barbarians held their ground the longest, over against the tribes Leontis and Antiochis. There, then, Themistocles and Aristides fought brilliantly, ranged side by side; for one was a Leontid, the other an Antiochid. When the Athenians had routed the Barbarians and driven them aboard their ships, and saw that they were sailing away, not toward the islands, but into the gulf toward Attica under compulsion of
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ἀποβίαζομένους, φοβηθέντες μὴ τὴν πόλιν ἔρημον
λάβωσι τῶν ἀμυνομένων, ταῖς μὲν ἐννέα φυλαῖς
ηπείγοντο πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ καὶ κατήνυσαν αὐθημερῶν.

5 ἐν δὲ Μαραθῶνι μετὰ τῆς έαυτοῦ φυλῆς Ἄριστος
τείδης ἀπολειψθεὶς φύλαξ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων καὶ
τῶν λαφύρων οὐκ ἔφευγε τὴν δοξαν, ἀλλὰ
χύνει μὲν ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ παρόντος, ἐσθήτος
δὲ παυτοδαπῆς καὶ χρημάτων ἀλλων ἀμυθήτων ἐν
ταῖς σκηναῖς καὶ τοῖς ἡλωκόσι σκάφεσιν ὑπαρ-
χόντων, οὕτ' αὐτὸς ἐπεθύμησε θυγεῖν οὕτ' ἄλλον
εἰς, πλην εἰ τινες ἐκεῖνος λαθόντες ὥφελθήσαν
ὅν ἦν καὶ Καλλίας ὁ δαδοῦχος.

6 Τούτῳ γὰρ τις, ὥς ἔιικε, τῶν βαρβάρων προσ-
έπεσαν οἰκῆθες βασιλεὰ διὰ τὴν κόμην καὶ τὸ
στροφίον εἶναι: προσκυνήσας δὲ καὶ λαβόμενος
τῆς δεξίας ἐδείξε πολὺ χρυσίον ἐν λάκκῳ τινὶ
kατορωμηγένου. ὁ δὲ Καλλίας ὁμότατος ἀνθρώ-
πων καὶ παρανομώτατος γενόμενος τὸν μὲν χρυ-
σόν ἀνείλετο, τὸν δ' ἀνθρωπον, ὡς μὴ κατείποι
πρὸς ἐτέρους, ἀπεκτείνειν. ἐκ τούτου φασὶ καὶ
λακκοπλούτους ὑπὸ τῶν κωμικῶν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς
οἰκίας λέγεσθαι, σκοπτόντων εἰς τὸν τόπον, ἐν δὲ
τὸ χρυσίον ὁ Καλλίας εὑρείν.

7 Ἀριστείδης δὲ τὴν ἐπώνυμον εὐθύν ἄρχῃ ἦρξε.
καλτοὶ φησίν ο FNamen Δημήτριος ἄρξαι τὸν
ἀνθρα μικρὸν ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ θανάτου μετὰ τὴν
ἐν Πλαταιάις μάχην. ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς
μετὰ μὲν Ξανθιππίδην, ἐφ' οὖ Μαρδόνιος ἦττηθη
Πλαταιᾶσιν, οὗτ' ὁμώνυμου Ἀριστείδην ἐν πάνυ
Aristides

wind and wave, then they were afraid lest the enemy find Athens empty of defenders, and so they hastened homeward with nine tribes, and reached the city that very day. But Aristides was left behind at Marathon with his own tribe, to guard the captives and the booty. Nor did he belie his reputation, but though silver and gold lay about in heaps, and though there were all sorts of raiment and untold wealth besides in the tents and captured utensils, he neither desired to meddle with it himself, nor would he suffer any one else to do so, although certain ones helped themselves without his knowledge. Among these was Callias the Torch-bearer.¹

Some Barbarian, it seems, rushed up to this man, supposing him to be a king from his long hair and the headband that he wore, made obeisance to him, and taking him by the hand in suppliant fashion, showed him a great mass of gold buried up in a sort of pit. Callias, most savage and lawless of men, took up the gold; but the man, to prevent his betraying the matter to others, he slew. From this circumstance, they say, his descendants are called by the comic poets "Laccopluti," or "Pit-wealthies," in sly allusion to the place where Callias found his gold.

Aristides at once received the office of Archon Eponymous. And yet Demetrius of Phalerum says that it was a little while before his death, and after the battle of Plataea, that the man held this office.² But in the official records, after Xanthippides, in whose year of office Mardonius was defeated at Plataea, you cannot find, long as the list is, so much

¹ One of the highest officers at the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries.
² 479-478 B.C.
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πολλοίς λαβεῖν ἔστι, μετὰ δὲ Φαῖνυππον, ἐφ’ οὖ τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχην ἐνίκων, εὐθὺς Ἀριστείδῆς ἄρχων ἀναγέγραται.

VI. Πασών δὲ τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν ἀρετῶν ἡ δικαιοσύνη μάλιστα τοῖς πολλοῖς αἴσθησιν παρεῖχε διὰ τὸ τὴν χρείαν ἐνδελεχεστάτην αὐτῆς καὶ κοινοτάτην ὑπάρχειν. οὖν ἀνὴρ πένης καὶ δημοτικὸς ἐκτῆσατο τὴν βασιλικατάτην καὶ θειότατην προσαγορίαν τὸν Δίκαιον δὲ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τυράννων οὐδεὶς ξῆλωσεν, ἀλλὰ Πολυρκηταὶ καὶ Κεραννοὶ καὶ Νικάτορες, ἐνοι δ’ Ἀετοῖ καὶ Ἱέρακες ἔχαιρον προσαγορεύμενοι, τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς βίας καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως, ός ἔοικε, μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς δόξαν ἀγαπῶντες. καίτοι τὸ θεῖον, δ’ ἑλόθονται συνοικεοῦν καὶ συναφομοιοῦν αὐτοὺς, τρισὶ δοκεὶ διαφέρειν, ἀφθαρσία καὶ δυνάμει καὶ ἀρετῆ, δὲν καὶ σεμνότατον ἡ ἀρετῆ καὶ θειότατόν ἐστιν. ἀφθαρτὸς μὲν γὰρ εἶναι καὶ τῷ κενῷ καὶ τοῖς στοιχείοις συμβέβηκε, δύναμιν δὲ καὶ σεισμὸν καὶ κεραυνὸν καὶ πνευμάτων ὅρμαν καὶ ρεμάτων ἐπιφοραὶ μεγάλην ἔχουσι, δίκης δὲ καὶ θέμιδος οὐδὲν ὦτι μὴ τῷ φρονεῖν καὶ λογίζεσθαι μεταλαγχάνει.

Διὸ καὶ τριῶν ὄντων, ἂν πεπόνθασιν οἱ πολλοὶ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον, ζήλου καὶ φόβου καὶ τιμῆς, ζηλοῦν μὲν αὐτοὺς καὶ μακαρίζειν ἐοίκασι κατὰ τὸ ἀφθαρτὸν καὶ ἀτίθεν, ἐκπλήττεσθαι δὲ καὶ δεδείναι κατὰ τὸ κύριον καὶ δυνατὸν, ἀγαπᾶν δὲ καὶ τιμᾶν

1 Φαῖνυππον Bekker, Hercher, and Blass with FaS: Φά-


2 δὲν καὶ Hercher and Blass with S: δὲν.

3 λογίζεσθαι Blass: λογίζεσθαι τὸ θεῖον reasoning about the deity.

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as the name Aristides; whereas immediately after Phaenippus, in whose year of office the victory at Marathon was won, an Aristides is recorded as archon.¹

VI. Of all his virtues, it was his justice that most impressed the multitude, because of its most continual and most general exercise. Wherefore, though poor and a man of the people, he acquired that most kingly and godlike surname of “The Just.” This no kings or tyrants ever coveted, nay, they rejoiced to be surnamed “Besiegers,” or “Thunderbolts,” or “Conquerors,” and some “Eagles,” or “Hawks,”² cultivating the reputation which is based on violence and power, as it seems, rather than on virtue. And yet divinity, to which such men are eager to adapt and conform themselves, is believed to have three elements of superiority,—incorruption, power, and virtue; and the most reverend, the divinest of these, is virtue. For vacuum and the ultimate elements partake of incorruption; and great power is exhibited by earthquakes and thunderbolts, and rushing tornadoes, and invading floods; but in fundamental justice nothing participates except through the exercise of intelligent reasoning powers.

Therefore, considering the three feelings which are generally entertained towards divinity,—envy, fear, and honourable regard, men seem to envy and felicitate the deities for their incorruption and perpetuity; to dread and fear them for their sovereignty and power; but to love and honour and revere them

¹ 490–489 B.C.
² Demetrius Poliorcetes; Ptolemy Ceraunos; Seleucus Nicator; Pyrrhus Aëtos; Antiochus Hierax.
καὶ σέβεσθαι κατὰ τὴν δικαιοσύνην. ἀλλὰ,
καίτερ σύτω διακείμενοι, τῆς μὲν ἀθανασίας, ἢν ἡ
φύσις ἡμῶν οὐ δέχεται, καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως, ἢς ἐν
τῇ τύχῃ 1 κεῖται τὸ πλείστον, ἐπιθυμοῦσι, τὴν
δ’ ἀρετήν, δ’ μόνον ἐστὶ τῶν θείων ἁγαθῶν ἐφ’
ἡμῖν, ἐν ύστερῳ τίθενται, κακῶς φρονοῦντες, ὡς
τὸν ἐν δυνάμει καὶ τύχῃ μεγάλῃ καὶ ἁρχῇ βίον ἡ
μὲν δικαιοσύνη ποιεῖ θείων, ἢ δ’ ἀδικία θηριώδη.

VII. Τῷ δ’ οὖν Ἀριστείδη συνέβη τὸ πρῶτον
ἀγαπωμένῳ διὰ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ύστερον φθονεί-
σθαι, μάλιστα μὲν τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους λόγον εἰς
tους πολλοὺς διαδίδοντος, 2 ὡς Ἀριστείδης ἀνηρ-
κῶς τὰ δικαστήρια τῷ κρίνειν ἄπαντα καὶ δικά-
ζειν, λέληθη μοναρχίαν ἀδορφόρητον ἐαυτῷ
κατεσκευασμένος. ἦδη δὲ ποινα καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ τῇ
νίκῃ μέγα φρονών καὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἀξίων αὐτῶν
ἡχθετο τοῖς ὄνομα καὶ δόξαν ἕπερ τοὺς πολλοὺς
2 ἔχουσι. καὶ συνελθόντες εἰς ἄστυ πανταχόθεν
ἐξοστρακίζουσι τὸν Ἀριστείδην, ὄνομα τῷ φθόνῳ
τῆς δόξης φόβον τυραννίδος θέμενοι.

Μοχθηρίας γὰρ οὐκ ἦν κόλασις ὁ ἐξοστρακισ-
μός, ἀλλ’ ἐκαλεῖτο μὲν δι’ εὐπρέπειαν ὅγκου καὶ
δυνάμεως βαρυτέρας ταπείνωσις καὶ κόλουσις, ἢν
δὲ φθόνου παραμυθία φιλάνθρωπος, εἰς ἀνήκεστον
οὐδέν, ἀλλ’ εἰς μετάστασιν ἐτῶν δέκα τὴν πρὸς

1 τῇ τύχῃ Reiske, Hercher, and Blass with FaS: τῷχη.
2 διαδιδόντος Hercher and Blass with FaS: ἐκβαλόντος.
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for their justice. And yet, although men are thus disposed, it is immortality, of which our nature is not capable, and power, the chief disposal of which is in the hands of fortune, that they eagerly desire; while as for virtue, the only divine excellence within our reach, they put it at the bottom of the list, unwisely too, since a life passed in power and great fortune and authority needs justice to make it divine; by injustice it is made bestial.

VII. Now, to resume, it befell Aristides to be loved at first because of this surname, but afterwards to be jealously hated, especially when Themistocles set the story going among the multitude that Aristides had done away with the public courts of justice by his determining and judging everything in private, and that, without any one perceiving it, he had established for himself a monarchy, saving only the armed body-guard. And besides, the people too must by this time have become greatly elated over their victory; they thought nothing too good for themselves, and were therefore vexed with those who towered above the multitude in name and reputation. So they assembled in the city from all the country round, and ostracized Aristides, giving to their envious dislike of his reputation the name of fear of tyranny.

Now the sentence of ostracism was not a chastisement of base practices, nay, it was speciously called a humbling and docking of oppressive prestige and power; but it was really a merciful exorcism of the spirit of jealous hate, which thus vented its malignant desire to injure, not in some irreparable evil,
3 τὸ λυποῦν ἀπερειδομένου δυσμένειαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἠρξαντό τινες ἀνθρώπων ἄγεννεῖς καὶ πονηροὺς ὑποβάλλειν τῷ πράγματι, τελευταίων ἀπόντων ὶπερβολον ἐξοστρακίσαντες ἐπαύσαντο. λέγεται δὲ τὸν ὶπερβολον ἐξοστρακισθῆναι διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν. Ἄλκιβιάδης καὶ Νικίας μέγιστον ἐν τῇ πόλει δυνάμενοι διεστρασίαζον. ὡς οὖν ὃ δήμος ἐμελλε φέρειν τὸ ὀστρακὸν καὶ δῆλος ἢ τὸν ἔτερον γράψων, διαλεχθέντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ τὰς στάσεις ἐκατέρας εἰς ταύτῳ συναγάγόντες τὸν ὶπερβολον ἐξοστρακισθῆναι παρεσκεύασαν. ἕκ δὲ τούτων δυσχεράνας ὃ δήμος ὡς καθυβρισμένον τὸ πράγμα καὶ προπεπηλακισμένον ἀφήκε παντελῶς καὶ κατέλυσεν.

4 Ὡς δὲ τοιοῦτον, ὃς τύποι φράσαι, τὸ γινόμενον. ὀστρακῶν λαβὼν ἐκαστὸς καὶ γράψας ὃν ἐβούλετο μεταστῆσαι τῶν πολιτῶν, ἐφερεν εἰς ἔνα τόπον τῆς ἀγορᾶς περιπεφραγμένον ἐν κύκλῳ 5 δρυφάκτοις. οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες πρῶτον μὲν διηρίθμουν τὸ σύμπαν ἐν ταὐτῷ τῶν ὀστράκων πλῆθος· εἰ γὰρ ἔξωκισχιλίων ἔλλοιποις ὃι φέροντες 1 εἰεν, ἀτελῆς ἢν ὁ ἐξοστρακισμός· ἐπειτα τῶν ὄνομάτων ἐκαστον ὕδα θέντες τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν πλείστων γεγραμμένον ἐξεκήρυττον εἰς ἐτη δέκα, καρποῦμεν τὰ αὐτοῦ.

Γραφομένων οὖν τότε τῶν ὀστράκων λέγεται 325 τινα τῶν ἀγαρμάτων καὶ παντελῶς ἀγροίκων ἀναδόντα τῷ Ἀριστείδῃ τῷ ὀστρακῶν ὡς εἰ τῶν τυχόντων παρακαλεῖν, ὅπως Ἀριστείδην ἐγγράψει. τοῦ δὲ θαυμάσαντος καὶ πυθομένου, μὴ τι

1 φέροντες Blass with FaS: γράψαντες.
but in a mere change of residence for ten years. And when ignoble men of the baser sort came to be subjected to this penalty, it ceased to be inflicted at all, and Hyperbolus was the last to be thus ostracized.\footnote{About 417 B.C. Cf. \textit{Nicias}, xi., \textit{Alcibiades}, xiii.} It is said that Hyperbolus was ostracized for the following reason. Alcibiades and Nicias had the greatest power in the state, and were at odds. Accordingly, when the people were about to exercise the ostracism, and were clearly going to vote against one or the other of these two men, they came to terms with one another, united their opposing factions, and effected the ostracism of Hyperbolus. The people were incensed at this for they felt that the institution had been insulted and abused, and so they abandoned it utterly and put an end to it.

The method of procedure—to give a general outline—was as follows. Each voter took an \textit{ostrakon}, or potsherd, wrote on it the name of that citizen whom he wished to remove from the city, and brought it to a place in the agora which was all fenced about with railings. The archons first counted the total number of \textit{ostraka} cast. For if the voters were less than six thousand, the ostracism was void. Then they separated the names, and the man who had received the most votes they proclaimed banished for ten years, with the right to enjoy the income from his property.

Now at the time of which I was speaking, as the voters were inscribing their \textit{ostraka}, it is said that an unlettered and utterly boorish fellow handed his \textit{ostrakon} to Aristides, whom he took to be one of the ordinary crowd, and asked him to write \textit{Aristides} on it. He, astonished, asked the man what possible
κακον αυτου Ἀριστείδης πεποίηκεν, "Οὐδέν," εἶπεν, "οúde γυμνόσκω τῶν ἀνθρωπον, ἄλλ ἐνοχλοῦμαι πανταχοῦ τὸν Δίκαιον ἄκουον." ταῦτα ἂκουσαντα τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἀποκρινάσθαι μὲν οὐδέν, ἐγγράψαι δὲ τούνομα τῷ ὁστράκῳ καὶ ἀποδοῦναι. τῆς δὲ πόλεως ἀπαλλαττόμενος ἦδη, τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν εὐξατο τὴν ἑαυτίαν, ὥς δοικεν, εὐχὴν τῷ Ἀχιλλεί, μηδένα καίρον Ἀθηναίους καταλαβεῖν, ὅς ἀναγκάσει τὸν δήμον Ἀριστείδον μυστηρίᾳ.

VIII. Τρίτῳ δὲ ἦτεν Εὐρέτου διὰ Θεσπάλας καὶ Βοωτίας ἐλαύνοντος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικήν, λύσαντες τὸν νόμον ἐγκήσαντο τοῖς μεθεστῶσα κάθοδον, μάλιστα φοβούμενοι τὸν Ἀριστείδην, μὴ προσθέμενος τὸς πολεμίους διαφθείρῃ καὶ μεταστήσῃ πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον, οὐκ ὀρθῶς στοχαζόμενοι τοῦ ἄνδρος, ὃς γε καὶ πρὸ τοῦ δόγματος τούτον διετέλει προτέρων καὶ παροξύνων τοὺς Ἐλλήνας ἐπὶ τὴν ἔλευθερίαν, καὶ μετὰ τὸ δόγμα τοῦτο, Θεμιστοκλέους στρατηγοῦντος αὐτοκράτορος, πάντα συνέπραττε καὶ συνεβούλευεν, ἐνδοξοτατον ἐπὶ σωτηρία κοινῇ ποιῶν τὸν ἔχθριτον.

2 ὡς γὰρ ἀπολιπεῖν τὴν Σαλαμώνα Βουλευομένων τῶν ἐπὶ Ἐυρυβιάδην αἱ βαρβαρικαὶ τριήρεις νύκτωρ ἀναχθεῖσαι καὶ περιβαλλοῦσαι τὸν τε πόρον ἐν κύκλῳ καὶ τὰς νῆσους κατεῖχον, οὐδενὶς προειδοτος τὴν κύκλωσιν ἤκεν ὁ Ἀριστείδης ἀπ’ Αἰγίνης παραβόλως διὰ τῶν

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wrong Aristides had done him. "None whatever," was the answer, "I don’t even know the fellow, but I am tired of hearing him everywhere called ‘The Just.’" On hearing this, Aristides made no answer, but wrote his name on the ostrakon and handed it back. Finally, as he was departing the city, he lifted up his hands to heaven and prayed—a prayer the opposite, as it seems, of that which Achilles made—that no crisis might overtake the Athenians which should compel the people to remember Aristides.

VIII. But in the third year thereafter, when Xerxes was marching through Thessaly and Boeotia against Attica, they repealed their law of ostracism, and voted that those who had been sent away under it might return. The chief reason for this was their fear of Aristides, lest he attach himself to the enemy's cause, and corrupt and pervert many of his fellow-citizens to the side of the Barbarian. But they much misjudged the man. Even before this decree of theirs, he was ever inciting and urging the Hellenes to win their freedom; and after it was passed, when Themistocles was general with sole powers, he assisted him in every undertaking and counsel, although he thereby, for the sake of the general safety, made his chiefest foe the most famous of men.

Thus when Eurybiades wished to abandon Salamis, but the Barbarian triremes, putting out by night, had encompassed the strait where he lay round about, and had beset the islands therein, and no Hellene knew of this encompassment, Aristides came over to them from Aegina, venturously sailing through the

1 *Iliad* i. 407-412.  
2 480 B.C.
ΠΟΛΕΜΙΩΝ ΒΕΩΝ ΔΙΕΚΠΛΕΥΣΑΣΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΒΝΚΤΩΣ ΕΛΘΩΝ
ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΣΚΗΝΗΝ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛΕΣΑΣ
3 ΑΥΤΩΝ ΞΕΝΟ ΜΟΝΟΝ "ΗΜΕΙΣ," ΕΙΠΕΝ, "Ω ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΟΣ, ΕΙ ΣΩΦΡΟΝΟΥΜΕΝ, ΗΔΗ ΤΗΝ ΚΕΝΗΝ ΚΑΙ
ΜΕΙΡΑΚΙΩΔΗ ΣΤΑΣΙΝ ΑΦΕΝΤΕΣ ΑΡΧΩΜΕΘΑ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΟΥ
ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛΗΣ ΦΙΛΟΝΕΚΙΑΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΆΛΛΗΛΟΥΣ ΑΜΙΛΛΩ-
ΜΕΝΟΙ ΣΩΣΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΛΛΑΔΑ, ΣΟΥ ΜΕΝ ΆΡΧΩΝ ΚΑΙ
ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΩΝ, ΕΓΩ Ω ΥΠΟΥΡΓΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΜΒΟΥΛΕΥΩΝ,
ΕΠΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΝΙΝ ΣΕ ΠΥΝΘΑΝΟΜΑΙ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΑΠΤΕΘΑΙ ΤΩΝ
ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝ ΛΟΓΙΣΜΩΝ, ΚΕΛΕΥΟΝΤΑ ΔΙΑΝΑΥΜΑΧΕΙΝ ΕΝ
ΤΟΙΣ ΣΤΕΝΟΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΤΑΧΙΣΤΗΝ, ΚΑΙ ΣΟΙ ΤΟΝ ΣΥΜ-
ΜΑΧΟΝ ΑΝΤΙΠΡΑΤΤΟΝΤΩΝ ΟΙ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΙ ΣΥΝΕΡΓΕΙΝ
ΕΟΙΚΑΙΣΙ ΤΟ ΓΑΡ ΕΝ ΚΥΚΛΩ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΟΠΙΝ ΗΔΗ
ΠΕΛΑΓΟΣ ΕΜΠΕΠΛΗΣΤΑΙ ΒΕΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΙΩΝ, ΩΣΤΕ ΚΑΙ
ΤΟΥΣ ΜΗ ΘΕΛΟΝΤΑΣ ΑΝΑΓΚΗ ΚΑΤΕΙΛΗΨΕΙΝ ΑΓΑΘΟΥΣ
ΑΝΔΡΑΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΧΕΣΘΑΙ ΦΥΓΉΣ ΓΑΡ ΌΘΟΣ ΟΥ
5 ΛΕΙΕΙΠΤΑΙ." ΠΡΟΣ ΤΑΥΤΑ Ο ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ ΕΙΠΕΝ:
"ΟΥΚ ΑΝ ΕΒΟΥΛΟΜΗΝ, Ω ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΗ, ΣΕ ΚΑΤΑ
ΤΟΤΟ ΜΟΥ ΚΡΕΙΤΤΟΝΑ ΓΕΝΕΣΘΑΙ, ΠΕΡΑΣΟΜΑΙ ΔΕ
ΠΡΟΣ ΚΑΛΗΝ ΆΡΧΗΝ ΑΜΙΛΛΩΜΕΝΟΣ ΥΠΕΡΒΑΛΛΕΣΘΑΙ
ΤΟΙΣ ΕΡΓΟΙΣ." ΑΜΑ Δ' ΑΥΤΗ ΦΡΑΣΑΣ ΤΗΝ άΡ' ΕΑΥΤΟΥ
ΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΥΑΘΕΙΣΑΝ ΑΠΑΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ
ΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΥ, ΠΑΡΕΚΑΛΕΙ ΠΕΙΘΕΙΝ ΤΟΝ ΕΥΡΥΒΙΑΔΗΝ
ΚΑΙ ΔΙΔΑΣΚΕΙΝ, ΩΣ ΑΡΧΗΑΝ ΕΙΣΙ ΣΩΘΗΝΙ ΜΗ
ΝΑΥΜΑΧΗΣΑΝΤΑΣ ΕΙΧΕ ΓΑΡ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΜΑΛΛΩΝ ΠΙΣΤΙΝ.
6 ΘΕΝ ΕΝ ΤΟΥ ΣΥΛΛΟΓΗ ΤΩΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΩΝ ΕΙΠΟΝΤΟΣ
ΚΛΕΩΚΡΟΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟΥ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ,
ΜΗΔ' ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΗΣ ΤΗΝ ΓΝΩΜΗΝ ΑΡΕΣΚΕΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ,
ΠΑΡΟΝΤΑ ΓΑΡ ΣΙΩΠΑΝ, ΑΝΤΕΙΠΕΝ Ω ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΗΣ, ΩΣ
ΟΥΚ ΑΝ ΕΣΙΩΠΑ ΜΗ ΛΕΓΟΝΤΟΣ ΤΑ ΑΡΙΣΤΑ ΤΟΥ
ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ: ΒΕΩΝ Ω ΗΣΥΧΙΑΝ ΑΓΕΙΝ ΟΥ ΔΕ
ΕΥΝΟΙΑΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΝΔΡΟΣ, ΑΛΛΑ ΤΗΝ ΓΝΩΜΗΝ ΕΠΩΝΩΝ.
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enemy's ships. He went at once by night to the tent of Themistocles, and called him forth alone. "O Themistocles," said he, "if we are wise, we shall at last lay aside our vain and puerile contention, and begin a salutary and honourable rivalry with one another in emulous struggles to save Hellas, thou as commanding general, I as assistant counsellor, since at the very outset I learn that thou art the only one who has adopted the best policy, urging as thou dost to fight a decisive sea-fight here in the narrows as soon as may be. And though thine allies oppose thee, thy foes would seem to assist thee; for the sea round about and behind us is already filled with hostile ships, so that even our unwilling ones must now of necessity be brave men and fight. Indeed, no way of escape is left." To this Themistocles replied: "I should not have wished, O Aristides, to find thee superior to me here; but I shall try to emulate thy fair beginning, and to surpass thee in my actions." At the same time he told Aristides of the trick that he had contrived against the Barbarian, and entreated him to show Eurybiades convincingly, inasmuch as he had the greater credit with that commander, that there was no safety except in a sea-fight. So it happened in the council of generals that Cleocritus the Corinthian declared to Themistocles that Aristides also was opposed to his plan, since he, though present, held his peace. Aristides at once replied that he would not have held his peace had not Themistocles counselled for the best; but as it was, he kept quiet, not out of any goodwill to the man, but because he approved of his plan.

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IX. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ναιάρχοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ταύτ᾽ ἔπραττον. Ἀριστείδης δὲ ὅρων τὴν Ψυττάλειαν, ἢ πρὸ τῆς Σαλαμῖνος ἐν τῷ πόρῳ κεῖται νῆσος οὗ μεγάλῃ, πολεμίων ἀνδρῶν μεστὴν οὐσαν, ἐμβιβάσας εἰς ὑπηρετικὰ τοὺς προθυμοτάτους καὶ μαχιμοτάτους τῶν πολιτῶν προσέμιξε τῇ Ψυτταλείᾳ, καὶ μάλῃ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους συνάψας ἀπέκτεινε πάντας, πλὴν ὅσοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ζώντες ἦλθαν. ἐν δὲ τούτοις ἦσαν ἄδελφης βασιλέως ὅνομα Σανδαύκης τρεῖς παιδεῖς, οὓς εὐθὺς ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τὸν Ὁμήρον: 2 καὶ λέγονται κατὰ τι λόγιον, τοῦ μάντεως Εὐφραντίδου κελεύσαντος, ὁμηστῇ Διονύσῳ καθιερωθήναι. τὴν δὲ νησίδα τοὺς ὅπλους πανταχόθεν ὁ Ἀριστείδης περιστέψας ἐφιδρευε τοῖς ἐκφερομένοις πρὸς αὐτήν, ὅσι μήτη τῶν φίλων τινά διαφθαρήναι μήτη τῶν πολεμίων διαφυγεῖν. ὁ γὰρ πλείστος ὀθυμῶς τῶν νεῶν καὶ τῆς μάχης τὸ καρτερότατον ἔσσε ἐρή τῶν τόπων ἐκένων γενέσθαι: διὸ καὶ τρόπαιον ἐστηκεν ἐν τῇ Ψυτταλείᾳ.

3 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην ὁ Ὁμήρος ἀποτελείσθαι ἀποπειρώμενος τοῦ Ἀριστείδου καλὸν μὲν εἶναι καὶ τὸ πεπραγμένον αὐτοῖς ἔργον ἐλεγε, κρείττον δὲ λείπεσθαι τὸ λαβεῖν ἐν τῇ Ἑὐρώπῃ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἀναπελεύσαντας εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον τὴν ταχίστην καὶ τὰ ζεύγματα 1 διακόψαντας. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀριστείδης ἄνακραγὼν τούτων μὲν ἐκέλευε τὸν λόγον καταβαλεῖν, σκοπεῖν δὲ καὶ ξητεῖν, ὅπως τὴν ταχίστην ἐκβάλωσι τοῦ Μὴδον ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 4 μὴ κατακλεισθεῖς ἀπορία φυγῆς μετὰ τοσαύτης

1 τὰ ζεύγματα Hercher and Blass with F&B: τὰ ζεύγμα.
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IX. While the captains of the Hellenes were acting on this plan, Aristides noticed that Psyttaleia, a small island lying in the straits in front of Salamis, was full of the enemy. He therefore embarked in small boats the most ardent and the most warlike of the citizens, made a landing on Psyttaleia, joined battle with the Barbarians, and slew them all, save the few conspicuous men who were taken alive. Among these were three sons of the King’s sister Sandaucé,¹ whom he straightway sent to Themistocles, and it is said that, in obedience to some oracle or other, and at the bidding of Dionysus Carnivorous. Then Aristides lined the islet all round with his hoplites, and lay in wait for any who should be cast up there, that no friend might perish, and no foe escape. For the greatest crowding of the ships, and the most strenuous part of the battle, seems to have been in this region. And for this reason a trophy was erected on Psyttaleia.

After the battle, Themistocles, by way of sounding Aristides, said that the deed they had now performed was a noble one, but a greater still remained, and that was to capture Asia in Europe, by sailing up to the Hellespont as fast as they could and cutting in twain the bridges there. But Aristides cried out with a loud voice and bade him abandon the proposal, and seek rather with all diligence how they might most speedily expel the Mede from Hellas, lest, being shut in and unable to make his escape, from sheer necessity

¹ Cf. Themistocles, xiii. 2.
δυνάμεως τραπῇ πρὸς ἁμαρτῶν ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης, οὕτω πέμπει πάλιν Ἀρνάκην εὐνοοῦχον Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων κρύφα, φράσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ κελεύσας, ὅτι πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς γεφύρας ὁρμημένους τοὺς Ἐλλήνας αὐτῶς ἀποστρέψειε σωζέσθαι βασιλέα βουλόμενος.

Χ. Ἐκ τούτου Ἑρέξης μὲν περίφοβοις γενόμενοι εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον ἤπείρεισσον, Μαρδόνιος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ δοκιμώτατον ἔχον περὶ τριάκοντα μυριάδος ὑπελείπετο, καὶ φοβέρος ἦν ἄπτι ἱσχυρᾶς τῆς περὶ τὸ πεζὸν ἐλπίδας ἀπειλῶν τοὺς Ἐλλήνες καὶ γράφων τοιαύτα:

2 "Νευκήκατε θαλασσίους ἥπαλοις χερσαίους ἄνθρωπους οὐκ ἐπισταμένους κατ’ ἡλικίαν ἀλλὰ νῦν πλατείᾳ μὲν ἡ Θετταλῶν γῆ, καλὼν δὲ τὸ Βοιώτιον πεδίον ἀγαθοῦ ἰππεῦσι καὶ ὀπλῖταις ἐναγωνισάσθαι." πρὸς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις ἐπεμψεν ἴδια γράμματα καὶ λόγους παρὰ βασιλέως, τὴν τε πόλιν αὐτοὺς ἀναστήσεις ἐπαγγελλομένου καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ δῶσει καὶ τῶν Ἐλλήνων κυρίους καταστήσεις ἐκποδῶν τοῦ πολέμου γενόμενους.

3 Οἱ δὲ Δακεδαιμόνιοι πυθόμενοι ταῦτα καὶ δείσαντες ἐπεμψαν Ἀθήναξ πρέσβεις, δεόμενοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὡς παῖδας μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας εἰς Σπάρτην ἀποστείλωσι, τοῖς δὲ πρεσβυτέροις τροφᾶς παρ’ αὐτῶν λαμβάνωσιν ἵππων γὰρ ἴππων περὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀπολογεκότα καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῶν πρέσβεων ἀκούσαντες Ἀριστείδου ψήφισμα

1 δοκιμώτατον Blass with FaS: μαχιμότατον.
2 καὶ τὴν Hercher and Blass with FaS: τὴν.
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he throw this vast force of his upon the defensive. So Themistocles sent once more the eunuch Arnaces, a prisoner of war, bidding him tell the King that the Hellenes had actually set out on a voyage to attack the bridges, but that he, Themistocles, had succeeded in turning them back, wishing to save the King.

X. At this Xerxes grew exceeding fearful, and hurried straight to the Hellespont; but Mardonius, with the flower of the army, to the number of three hundred thousand men, was left behind. He was a formidable adversary, and because his confidence in his infantry was strong, he wrote threateningly to the Hellenes, saying: "Ye have conquered with your maritime timbers landsmen who know not how to ply the oar; but now, broad is the land of Thessaly and fair the plain of Boeotia for brave horsemen and men-at-arms to contend in." But to the Athenians he sent separate letters and proposals from the King, who promised to rebuild their city, give them much money, and make them lords of the Hellenes, if only they would cease fighting against him.

When the Lacedaemonians learned this, they took fright, and sent an embassy to Athens, begging the Athenians to despatch their wives and children to Sparta, and to accept from her a support for their aged and infirm; for great was the distress among the people, since it had so recently lost both land and city. However, after listening to the embassy, on motion of Aristides, they answered

1 Cf. Themistocles, xvi. 2 f.
γράψαντος, ἀπεκρίναντο θαυμαστὴν ἀπόκρισιν, τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις συγγνώμην ἐχειν φάσκοντες, εἰ πάντα πλούτου καὶ χρημάτων ὅνια νομίζοιεν, ὡς κρείττον οὐδὲν ἴσασιν, ὄργιζεσθαι δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτι τὴν πενίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπορίαν τὴν νῦν παροῦσαν Ἀθηναίοις μόνον ὀρώσι, τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς φιλοτιμίας ἀμημονοῦσιν ἐπὶ σιτίως ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀγωνίζεσθαι παρακαλοῦντες.

5 ταύτα γράφας Ἀριστείδης καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παραγαγόν, Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν ἐκέλευσε φράζειν, ὡς οὐκ ἔστι χρυσοῦ τοσοῦτον πλῆθος οὐθ' ὑπὲρ γην οὐθ' ὑπὸ γην, ὡςον Ἀθηναῖοι δεξαυτὸ ἀν πρὸ τῆς τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἐλευθερίας. τοῖς δὲ παρὰ Μαρδονίου τὸν ἠλιον δείξας, "Ἀχιρὶ ἀν αὕτος," ἐφη, "ταύτην πορεύτατι τὴν πορείαν, Ἀθηναίοι πολεμήσουσι Πέρσας ὑπὲρ τῆς δεδημωμένης χώρας καὶ τῶν 6 ἁσβησμένων καὶ κατακεκαμένων ἱερῶν." ἔτι δὲ ἀρας θέσαν τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἐγραψαν, εἰ τις ἐπικηρυκεύσατο Μῆδος ἢ τὴν συμμαχίαν ἀπολύσαν τῶν Ἐλλήνων.

Ἐμβαλόντος δὲ Μαρδονίου τὸ δεύτερον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικήν, αὐθίς εἰς Σαλαμίνα διεσέρασαν. Ἀριστείδης δὲ πεμφθεὶς εἰς Λακεδαιμόνα τῆς μὲν βραδυτῆτος αὐτοῖς ἑνεκάλει καὶ τῆς ὀλυγρίας, προεμένοις αὐθίς τῷ βαρβάρῳ τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἤξιον δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἐτεί σωζόμενα τῆς Ἑλλάδος 7 βοηθεῖν. ταύτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἕφοροι μεθ'
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with an admirable answer, declaring that they could be tolerant with their foes for supposing that everthing was to be bought for wealth and money, since their foes could conceive of nothing higher than these things; but they were indignant at the Lacedaemonians for having an eye only to the penury and indigence that now reigned at Athens, and for being so unmindful of the valour and ambition of the Athenians as to exhort them to contend for Hellas merely to win their rations. When Aristides had made this motion and had introduced the waiting embassies into the Assembly, he bade the Lacedaemonians tell their people that there was not bulk of gold above or below ground so large that the Athenians would take it in payment for the freedom of the Hellenes; and to the messengers of Mardonius he said, pointing to the sun: "As long as yonder sun journeys his appointed journey, so long will the Athenians wage war against the Persians in behalf of the land which has been ravaged by them and of the temples which they have defiled and consumed with fire." Still further, he made a motion that the priests should solemnly curse all who came to a parley with the Medes or forsook the alliance of the Hellenes.

When Mardonius for the second time invaded Attica, again the people crossed over to Salamis. Then Aristides, who had been sent as envoy to Lacedaemon, inveighed against their sluggishness and indifference, in that they had once more abandoned Athens to the Barbarian, and demanded that they go to the aid of what was still left of Hellas. On hearing this, the Ephors, as long as
κακῶν αὐτῶν Ἁριστείδης πεποίηκεν, "Οὔδεν," εἶπεν, "οὐδὲ γυγνόσκω τῶν ἀνθρωπῶν, ἀλλ’ ἐνοχλοῦμαι πανταχοῦ τὸν Δίκαιον ἀκούων." ταῦτα ἀκούσαντα τὸν Ἁριστείδην ἀπόκρινασθαι μὲν οὔδεν, ἐγγράψαι δὲ τοῦνομα τῷ ὀστράκῳ καὶ ἀποδούναι. τῆς δὲ πόλεως ἀπαλλαττόμενος ἢδη, τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν εὐξατο τὴν ἐναιτίαν, ὡς δοκεῖ, εὐχὴν τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ, μηδένα καὶρὸν Ἀθηναίοις καταλαβεῖν, ὃς ἀναγκάσει τὸν δῆμον Ἁριστείδου μνησθῆναι.

VIII. Τρίτῳ δ’ ἐτεί Ξέρξου διὰ Θεταλίας καὶ Βοιωτίας ἔλαυνοντος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικῆν, λύσαντες τὸν νόμον ἐψηφίσαντο τοῖς μεθεστῶσι κάθοδον, μάλιστα φοβούμενοι τὸν Ἁριστείδην, μή προσθέμενος τοῖς πολεμίωις διαφθείρῃ καὶ μεταστήσῃ πόλιοι τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον, οὐκ ὅρθως στοχαζόμενοι τοῦ ἄνδρος, ὃς γε καὶ πρὸ τοῦ δόγματος τούτου διετέλει προτρέπων καὶ παροξύνων τοὺς "Ελλήνας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, καὶ μετὰ τὸ δόγμα τοῦτο, Θεμιστοκλέους στρατηγοῦντος αὐτοκράτορος, πάντα συνέπραττε καὶ συνεβούλευεν, ἐνδοξώτατον ἐπὶ σωτηρία κοινῆ ποιῶν τῶν ἐχθρῶν.

2 Ὡς γὰρ ἀπολίπεσιν τὴν Σαλαμίνα θηρευομένων τῶν περὶ Εὐρυβιάδην αἱ βαρβαροὶ τριήρεις νῦκτωρ ἀναχθεῖσαν καὶ περιβάλλονσι τὸν τε πόρον ἐν κύκλῳ καὶ τὰς νῆσους κατεῖχον, οὐδεμιὸς προειδότος τὴν κύκλωσιν ἦκεν ὁ Ἁριστείδης ἀπ’ Ἀιγίνης παραβόλως διὰ τῶν

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wrong Aristides had done him. "None whatever," was the answer, "I don't even know the fellow, but I am tired of hearing him everywhere called 'The Just.'" On hearing this, Aristides made no answer, but wrote his name on the ostrakon and handed it back. Finally, as he was departing the city, he lifted up his hands to heaven and prayed—a prayer the opposite, as it seems, of that which Achilles made— that no crisis might overtake the Athenians which should compel the people to remember Aristides.

VIII. But in the third year thereafter, when Xerxes was marching through Thessaly and Boeotia against Attica, they repealed their law of ostracism, and voted that those who had been sent away under it might return. The chief reason for this was their fear of Aristides, lest he attach himself to the enemy's cause, and corrupt and pervert many of his fellow-citizens to the side of the Barbarian. But they much misjudged the man. Even before this decree of theirs, he was ever inciting and urging the Hellenes to win their freedom; and after it was passed, when Themistocles was general with sole powers, he assisted him in every undertaking and counsel, although he thereby, for the sake of the general safety, made his chiefest foe the most famous of men.

Thus when Eurybiades wished to abandon Salamis, but the Barbarian triremes, putting out by night, had encompassed the strait where he lay round about, and had beset the islands therein, and no Hellene knew of this encompassment, Aristides came over to them from Aegina, venturously sailing through the

1 Iliad i. 407-412.  
2 480 B.C.
τολμεῖν γενόν ἀπεκπλέεσας· καὶ νυκτὸς ἐλθὼν
ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνήν τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ καλέσας
3 αὐτὸν ἔξω μόνον "Ἡμεῖς," εἶπεν, "ὁ Θεμι-
στόκλεις, εἰ σωφρονοῦμεν, ἢ ἢ τὴν κενήν καὶ
μειρακιώδη στάσιν ἀφέντες ἀρξόμεθα σωτηρίον
καὶ καλῆς φιλονεκίας πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀμιλλώ-
μενοι σώσαι τὴν Ἐλλάδα, σὺ μὲν ἄρχων καὶ
στρατηγῶν, ἐγώ δ' ὑπουργῶν καὶ συμβουλεύων,
ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν σε πνευμάνοιμα μόνον ἀπτεθαί τῶν
ἀρίστων λογισμῶν, κελεύοντα διαναμαχεῖν ἐν
4 τοῖς στενοῖς τὴν ταχύστην, καὶ σοι τῶν συμ-
μάχων ἀντιπραττόντων οἱ πολέμοι συνεργεῖν
ἐοίκασι· τὸ γάρ ἐν κύκλῳ καὶ κατόπιν ἢ ἢ
πέλαγος ἐμπέπλησται νεῶν πολεμίων, ὡστε καὶ
τούς μὴ θέλοντας ἀνάγκη κατελίθησαν ἀγαθούς,
ἀνθρας εἶναι καὶ μάχεσθαι· φυγής γὰρ ὰδὸς οὐ
5 λέλειπται." πρὸς ταύτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς εἶπεν·
"Οὐκ ἂν ἔβουλόμην, ὁ Ἀριστείδης, σὲ κατὰ
τούτο μον κρείττονα γενέσθαι, πειράσομαι δὲ
πρὸς καλὴν ἄρχήν ἀμιλλώμενος ὑπερβάλλεσθαι
τοῖς ήργοις." ἀμα δ' αὐτῷ φράσας τὴν ύφ'
ἐαυτοῦ κατασκευασθεῖσαν ἀπάτην πρὸς τὸν
βάρβαρον, παρεκάλει πείθειν τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην
καὶ διδάσκειν, ὡς ἀμηχανόν ἔστι σοφῆναι μὴ
ναυμαχήσαντας· εἰ δέ γὰρ αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον πίστιν.
6 οἴδεν ἐν τῷ συλλόγῳ τῶν στρατηγῶν εἰπόντος
Κλεοκρίτου τοῦ Κορινθίου πρὸς τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα,
μηδ' Ἀριστείδη τὴν γνώμην ἄρεσκειν αὐτοῦ,
παρόντα γὰρ σιωπᾶν, ἀντείπειν ὁ Ἀριστείδης, ὡς
οὐκ ἂν ἐσιώτα µὴ λέγοντος τὰ ἀρίστα τοῦ
Θεμιστοκλέους· νῦν δ' ἥσυχοιν ἄγεων οὖ δι'
eύνοιαν τοῦ ἄνδρός, ἀλλὰ τὴν γνώμην ἐπαινῶν.
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enemy's ships. He went at once by night to the
tent of Themistocles, and called him forth alone.
"O Themistocles," said he, "if we are wise, we shall
at last lay aside our vain and puerile contention, and
begin a salutary and honourable rivalry with one
another in emulous struggles to save Hellas, thou as
commanding general, I as assistant counsellor, since
at the very outset I learn that thou art the only one
who has adopted the best policy, urging as thou
dost to fight a decisive sea-fight here in the narrows
as soon as may be. And though thine allies oppose
thee, thy foes would seem to assist thee; for the sea
round about and behind us is already filled with
hostile ships, so that even our unwilling ones must
now of necessity be brave men and fight. Indeed,
no way of escape is left." To this Themistocles
replied: "I should not have wished, O Aristides, to
find thee superior to me here; but I shall try to
emulate thy fair beginning, and to surpass thee in
my actions." At the same time he told Aristides of
the trick that he had contrived against the Barbarian,
and entreated him to show Eurybiades convincingly,
inasmuch as he had the greater credit with that
commander, that there was no safety except in a
sea-fight. So it happened in the council of generals
that Cleocritus the Corinthian declared to The-
mistocles that Aristides also was opposed to his plan,
since he, though present, held his peace. Aristides
at once replied that he would not have held his
peace had not Themistocles counselled for the best;
but as it was, he kept quiet, not out of any good-
will to the man, but because he approved of his
plan.

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IX. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ναύαρχοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ταῦτα ἔπραττον. Ἀριστείδης δὲ ὄρων τὴν Ψυττάλειαν, ἢ πρὸ τῆς Σαλαμίνος ἐν τῷ πόρῳ κεῖται νῆσος οὗ μεγάλη, πολεμίων ἀνδρῶν μεστὴν οὖσαν, ἐμβιβάσας εἰς ύπηρετικά τοὺς προθυμοτάτους καὶ μαχιμωτάτους τῶν πολιτῶν προσέμιξε τῇ Ψυττάλειᾳ, καὶ μάχην πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους συνάψας ἀπέκτεινε πάντας, πλὴν ὁσοὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ζῶντες ἦλωσαν. ἐν δὲ τούτοις ἦσαν ἀδελφῆς βασιλέως ὅνομα Σανδαύκης τρεῖς παιδες, ὁδὸς εὔθυς ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα.

2 καὶ λέγονται κατὰ τῇ λόγῳ, τοῦ μάντεως Εὐφραντίδου κελεύσαντος, ὥμηστῃ Διονύσῳ καθιερουθῆναι. τὴν δὲ νησίδα τοῖς ὁπλοῖς πανταχόθεν ὁ Ἀριστείδης περιστέφας ἐφήδρευε τοῖς ἐκφερομένοις πρὸς αὐτήν, ὡς μήτε τῶν φίλων τινὰ διαφθαρῆναι μήτε τῶν πολεμίων διαφυγεῖν. ὁ γὰρ πλείστος ὀθομὸς τῶν νεὼν καὶ τῆς μάχης τῷ καρτερώτατον έοικε περὶ τῶν τόπων ἐκείνων γενέσθαι: διὸ καὶ τρόπαιον ἔστηκεν ἐν τῇ Ψυττάλειᾳ.

3 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀποπειρῶμενος τοῦ Ἀριστείδου καλὸν μὲν εἶναι καὶ τὸ πεπραγμένον αὐτοῖς ἐργὸν ἔλεγε, κρείττον δὲ λείπεσθαι τὸ λαβεῖν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, ἀναπλεύσαντας εἰς Ἑλλήσποντόν τὴν ταχύστην καὶ τὰ ζεύγματα 1 διακόψαντας. ἔπει δ’ Ἀριστείδης ἀνακραγὼν τοῦτον μὲν ἐκέλευε τὸν λόγον καταβαλεῖν, σκοπεῖν δὲ καὶ ξητεῖν, ὅπως τὴν ταχύστην ἐκβάλωσι τὸν Μήδον ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, τὸν κατακλεισθείς ἀπορία φυγῆς μετὰ τοσαύτης

1 τὰ ζεύγματα Hercher and Blass with F*8: τὸ ζεύγμα.
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IX. While the captains of the Hellenes were acting on this plan, Aristides noticed that Psyttaleia, a small island lying in the straits in front of Salamis, was full of the enemy. He therefore embarked in small boats the most ardent and the most warlike of the citizens, made a landing on Psyttaleia, joined battle with the Barbarians, and slew them all, save the few conspicuous men who were taken alive. Among these were three sons of the King’s sister Sandaucé, whom he straightway sent to Themistocles, and it is said that, in obedience to some oracle or other, and at the bidding of Euphrantides the seer, they were sacrificed to Dionysus Carnivorous. Then Aristides lined the islet all round with his hoplites, and lay in wait for any who should be cast up there, that no friend might perish, and no foe escape. For the greatest crowding of the ships, and the most strenuous part of the battle, seems to have been in this region. And for this reason a trophy was erected on Psyttaleia.

After the battle, Themistocles, by way of sounding Aristides, said that the deed they had now performed was a noble one, but a greater still remained, and that was to capture Asia in Europe, by sailing up to the Hellespont as fast as they could and cutting in twain the bridges there. But Aristides cried out with a loud voice and bade him abandon the proposal, and seek rather with all diligence how they might most speedily expel the Mede from Hellas, lest, being shut in and unable to make his escape, from sheer necessity

1 Cf. Themistocles, xiii. 2.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ

dυνάμεως τραπῇ πρὸς ἀμίνου ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, οὕτω
πέμπει πάλιν Ἀρνάκην εὐνοῦχον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς
ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων κρύφα, φράσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ
κελεύσας, ὅτι πλεῖν ἐπὶ τᾶς γεφύρας ἀρματικοὺς
τοὺς Ἐλληνας αὐτὸς ἀποστρέψεις σωζέσθαι
βασιλέα Βουλόμενος.

X. Ἐκ τούτου Ἐξέθησας μὲν περίφοβος γενό-
μενος εὐθύς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐλλήσωντον ἤπειγετο,
Μαρδόνος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ δοκιμώτατον
ἐχων περὶ τριάκοντα μυριάδας ὑπελείπετο, καὶ θο-
βερὸς ἦν ἀπ' ἵσχυρᾶς τῆς περὶ τὸ πεζὸν ἐλπίδος
ἀπελὼν τοὺς Ἐλληνας καὶ γράφῃ τοιαῦτα:

2 "Νεικήκατε θαλασσιώτες εξίοις χερσαίοις ἀν-
θρώποις οὐκ ἐπισταμένους κόπην ἐλαύνειν· ἀλλὰ
νῦν πλατεία μὲν ἡ Θετταλῶν γῆ, καλὸν δὲ τὸ
Βοιώτιον πεδίον ἁγαθοῖς ἱππεύσι καὶ ὁπλίταις
ἐναγωνίσασθαι." πρὸς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις ἐπέμψεν
ἴδια γράμματα καὶ λόγους παρὰ βασιλέως, τὴν
τε πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἀναστήσειν ἐπαγγελλομένου καὶ
χρήματα πολλὰ δώσεις καὶ τῶν Ἐλλήνων
κυρίους καταστήσεις ἐκπολεῖν τοῦ πολέμου γενο-
μένους.

3 Οἱ δὲ Δακεδαλόνιοι πυθόμενοι ταύτα καὶ
δείσαντες ἐπέμψαν Ἀθηναῖες πρόσβεβεις, δεόμενοι
τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὅπως παῖδας μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας
εἰς Σπάρτην ἀποστείλωσι, τοῖς δὲ πρεσβυτέροις
τροφᾶς παρ' αὐτῶν λαμβάνωσιν ἵσχυρὰ γὰρ
ἡν ὑπορία περὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀπολωλεκότα καὶ
4 τὴν ἑωράντων καὶ τὴν πόλιν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῶν
πρόσβεσθαι ἄκοψαντες, Ἀριστείδου ψήφισμα

1 δοκιμώτατον Blass with FaS: μαχαμότατον.
2 καὶ τὴν Herecher and Blass with FaS: τὴν.

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he throw this vast force of his upon the defensive. So Themistocles sent once more the eunuch Arnaces, a prisoner of war, bidding him tell the King that the Hellenes had actually set out on a voyage to attack the bridges, but that he, Themistocles, had succeeded in turning them back, wishing to save the King.

X. At this Xerxes grew exceeding fearful, and hurried straight to the Hellespont; but Mardonius, with the flower of the army, to the number of three hundred thousand men, was left behind. He was a formidable adversary, and because his confidence in his infantry was strong, he wrote threateningly to the Hellenes, saying: "Ye have conquered with your maritime timbers landsmen who know not how to ply the oar; but now, broad is the land of Thessaly and fair the plain of Boeotia for brave horsemen and men-at-arms to contend in." But to the Athenians he sent separate letters and proposals from the King, who promised to rebuild their city, give them much money, and make them lords of the Hellenes, if only they would cease fighting against him.

When the Lacedaemonians learned this, they took fright, and sent an embassy to Athens, begging the Athenians to despatch their wives and children to Sparta, and to accept from her a support for their aged and infirm; for great was the distress among the people, since it had so recently lost both land and city. However, after listening to the embassy, on motion of Aristides, they answered

1 Cf. Themistocles, xvi. 2 f.
γράψαντος, ἀπεκρίναντο θαυμαστὴν ἀπόκρισιν, τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις συγγνώμην ἔχειν φάσκοντες, εἰ πάντα πλούτου καὶ χρημάτων ὄνυα νομίζοιεν, ὃν κρεῖττον οὐδὲν ἱσασιν, ὤργίζεσθαι δὲ Λακεδαι-μονίοις, ὅτι τὴν πενίαν καὶ στὴν ἀπορίαν τὴν ὑπὸ παροῦσαν Ἀθηναίοις μόνον ὀράσι, τῆς δὲ ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς φιλοτιμίας ἀμνηστοῦσιν ἔπὶ συτίοις ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀγωνίζεσθαι παρακαλοῦντες. 5 ταῦτα γράφας Ἀριστείδης καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παραγαγόν, Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν ἐκέλευσε φράξειν, ὡς οὐκ ἔστι χρυσὸν τοσοῦτον πλῆθος οὐθ' ὑπὲρ γῆν οὐθ' ὑπὸ γῆν, ὅσον Ἀθηναῖοι δέξαντο ἀν πρὸ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας. τοῖς δὲ παρὰ Μαρδονίου τὸν ἥλιον δείξας, "Ἀχρι δὲν οὖτος," ἔφη, "ταῦτην πορεύσαται τὴν πορείαν, Ἀθηναίοι πολεμήσουσι Πέρσαις ὑπὲρ τῆς δεδημωμένης χώρας καὶ τῶν 6 ἥσσεβημένων καὶ κατακεκαμένων ἱερῶν." ἔτι δὲ ἀρὰς θέσθαι τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἔγραψεν, εἰ τις ἐπικηρυκεύσατο Μήδιος ἢ τὴν συμμαχίαν ἄπολιποι τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Ἐμβαλόντος δὲ Μαρδονίου τὸ δεύτερον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικήν, αὖθις εἰς Σαλαμίνα διεσπέρασαν. Ἀριστείδης δὲ πεμφθεὶς εἰς Λακεδαιμονία τῆς μὲν βραδυτῆτος αὐτοῖς ἐνεκάλει καὶ τῆς ὀλυγραίας, προεμένοις αὖθις τῷ βαρβάρῳ τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἥξιον δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἐτί σωζόμενα τῆς Ἑλλάδος 7 βοηθεῖν. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἐφοροι μὲθ' Ἑφοροι μὲθ' 3:

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with an admirable answer, declaring that they could be tolerant with their foes for supposing that everything was to be bought for wealth and money, since their foes could conceive of nothing higher than these things; but they were indignant at the Lacedaemonians for having an eye only to the penury and indigence that now reigned at Athens, and for being so unmindful of the valour and ambition of the Athenians as to exhort them to contend for Hellas merely to win their rations. When Aristides had made this motion and had introduced the waiting embassies into the Assembly, he bade the Lacedaemonians tell their people that there was not bulk of gold above or below ground so large that the Athenians would take it in payment for the freedom of the Hellenes; and to the messengers of Mardonius he said, pointing to the sun: "As long as yonder sun journeys his appointed journey, so long will the Athenians wage war against the Persians in behalf of the land which has been ravaged by them and of the temples which they have defiled and consumed with fire." Still further, he made a motion that the priests should solemnly curse all who came to a parley with the Medes or forsook the alliance of the Hellenes.

When Mardonius for the second time invaded Attica, again the people crossed over to Salamis. Then Aristides, who had been sent as envoy to Lacedaemon, inveighed against their sluggishness and indifference, in that they had once more abandoned Athens to the Barbarian, and demanded that they go to the aid of what was still left of Hellas. On hearing this, the Ephors, as long as
ἡμέραν μὲν ἔδοκον παίζειν καὶ ῥαθυμεῖν ἐορτάζοντες. ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς Ὁτακίνθια νυκτὸς δὲ πεντακισχιλίους Σπαρτιατῶν ἐπιλέξαντες, ὃν ἐκαστὸς ἐπτὰ περὶ αὐτὸν εἴλωτας εἶχεν, ἐξεπεμφάνων οὐκ εἰδότων τῶν Ἀθηναίων. ἔτει δὲ πάλιν ἐγκαλῶν ὁ Ἀριστείδης προσήλθε, οἱ δὲ σὺν γέλωτι ληρεῖν αὐτὸν ἐφασκον καὶ καθεύδειν, ἦδη γὰρ ἐν Ὁρεστείῳ τὸν στρατὸν εἶναι πορευόμενον ἔπὶ τοὺς ξένους (ξένους γὰρ ἐκάλουν τοὺς Πέρσας), 8 οὐ κατὰ καιρὸν ἔφη παίζειν αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀριστείδης, ἀντὶ τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς φίλους ἔξαπατῶντας. ταῦθ᾽ οἱ περὶ τῶν Ἰδομενέα λέγουσιν. ἐν δὲ τῷ ψηφίσματι τοῦ Ἀριστείδου προσβευτῆς οὐκ αὐτὸς, ἀλλὰ Κίμων καὶ Ξάνθηππος καὶ Μυρωνίδης φέρονται.

XI. Χειροτονήθεις δὲ στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην, καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὀκτακισχιλίους ὀπλίτας ἀναλαβὼν, ἢκεν εἰς Πλαταιάς. ἐκεῖ δὲ καὶ Παυσανίας οὗ τὸ σύμπαντος ἡγούμενος Ἑλληνικοῦ συνεμεῖσεν ἔχων τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας, καὶ τῶν Ἀλλῶν Ἑλλήνων ἑπέρρεε τὸ πλῆθος. 2 τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων τὸ μὲν ὅλον τῆς στρατοπεδείας παρὰ τῶν Ἀσωτῶν ποταμῶν παρεκτεταμένης οὔδεις ἢν ὄρος διὰ τὸ μέγεθος, περὶ δὲ τὰς ἀποσκεύας καὶ τὰ κυριότατα τεῖχος περιεφράξαντο τετράγωνον, οὐ τῶν πλευρῶν ἐκάστη μῆκος ἢν δέκα σταδίων.

Παυσανία μὲν οὖν καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλησι κοινῇ Τισαμενοῦ ὁ Ἑλείος ἐμαυτεύσατο, καὶ προείπε νίκην ἀμυνομένοις καὶ μὴ προεπιχειροῦσιν.
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it was day, publicly disported themselves in easy-going festival fashion; for it was their festival of the Hyacinthia. But in the night they selected five thousand Spartans, each of whom had seven Helots to attend upon him, and sent them forth without the knowledge of the Athenians. So when Aristides came before them with renewed invectives, they laughed and said he was but a sleepy babbler, for that their army was already in Arcadia on its march against the "strangers" (they called the Persians strangers). But Aristides declared they were jesting out of all season, forasmuch as they were deceiving their friends instead of their enemies. This is the way Idomeneus tell the story. But in the decree which Aristides caused to be passed, he himself is not named as envoy, but Cimon, Xanthippus, and Myronides.

XI. Having been elected general with sole powers in view of the expected battle, he came to Plataea \(^1\) at the head of eight thousand Athenian hoplites. There Pausanias also, the commander in chief of the whole Hellenic army, joined him with his Spartans, and the forces of the rest of the Hellenes kept streaming up. Now, generally speaking, there was no limit to the encampment of the Barbarians as it lay stretched out along the river Asopus, so vast was it; but round their baggage trains and chief headquarters they built a quadrangular wall, whereof each side was ten stadia in length.

To Pausanias and all the Hellenes under him Tisamenus the Eleian made prophecy, and foretold victory for them if they acted on the defensive and

\(^1\) Spring of 479 B.C.
3 'Αριστείδου δὲ πέμψαντος εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀνείλεν ὁ θεὸς 'Αθηναίων καθυπερτέρους ἔσεσθαι τῶν ἐναυτῶν εὐχομένους τῷ Δίῳ καὶ τῇ Ἡρᾷ τῇ Κυθαιρώνῃ καὶ Παντὶ καὶ νῦμφαις Σφραγίτισι, καὶ θύοντας ἤρωσιν 'Ανδροκράτει, Δεύκωνι, Πεισάνδρῳ, Δαμοκράτει, Ὄψιων, Ὅκταίων, Πολυίδῳ, καὶ τὸν κύνδυνον ἐν γὰρ ἰδία ποιουμένους ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τὰς Δάματρος τὰς Ἐλευσίνιας καὶ
4 τὰς Κόρας. οὗτος ὁ χρησμὸς ἀνενεχθεὶς ἀπορίαν τῷ 'Αριστείδῃ παρέίχεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἦρωες, οἷς ἐκέλευε θύειν, ἀρχηγεῖται Πλαταίεων ἦσαν, καὶ τὸ τῶν Σφραγίτιδων νυμφῶν ἄντρων ἐν μιᾷ κορυφῇ τοῦ Κυθαιρώνος ἐστιν, εἰς δυσμᾶς ἠλίου θερινὰς τετραμένους, ἐν ὧν καὶ μαντεῖων ἦν πρότερον, ὡς φασιν, καὶ πολλοὶ κατείχοντο τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, οὓς νυμφολήπτους προσηγόρευον.
5 τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἐλευσίνιας Δήμητρος πεδίον, καὶ τὸ τῆς μάχης ἐν ἰδίᾳ χώρᾳ ποιουμένοις τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις νίκην δίδοσθαι, πάλιν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀνεκαλεῖτο καὶ μεθίσθη τὸν πόλεμον.
'Ενθα τῶν Πλαταίεων ὁ στρατηγὸς 'Αρίμνηστος ἔδοξε κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνοὺς ύπὸ τοῦ Δίος τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐπερωτώμενον αὐτὸν, ὃ τι δὴ πράττειν δέδοκται τοῖς Ἐλλησιν, εἰπεῖν, "Ἀυριον εἰς Ἐλευσίνα τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπάξομεν, δὲ δέσποτα, καὶ διαμαχοῦμεθα τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐκεῖ κατὰ τὸ πυθόχρηστον."
6 τὸν οὖν θεὸν φάναι διαμαρτάνειν αὐτοῦ τοῦ παντός· αὐτὸθι γὰρ εἶναι περὶ τὴν Πλαταίκην τὰ πυθόχρηστα καὶ ξητοῦντας ἀνευρήσειν τούτων ἐναργῶς τῷ 'Αριμνήστῳ φανέντων ἔξεγρο-
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did not advance to the attack. But Aristides sent to Delphi and received from the god response that the Athenians would be superior to their foes if they made vows to Zeus, Cithaeronian Hera, Pan, and the Sphragitic nympha; paid sacrifices to the heroes Androcrates, Leucon, Pisandrus, Damocrates, Hypsion, Actaeon, and Polyidus; and if they sustained the peril of battle on their own soil, in the plain of Eleusinian Demeter and Cora. When this oracle was reported to Aristides, it perplexed him greatly. The heroes to whom he was to sacrifice were, it was true, ancient dignitaries of the Plataeans; and the cave of the Sphragitic nympha was on one of the peaks of Cithaeron, facing the summer sunsets, and in it there was also an oracle in former days, as they say, and many of the natives were possessed of the oracular power, and these were called nympholepti, or "nymph-possessed." But the plain of Eleusinian Demeter, and the promise of victory to the Athenians if they fought the battle in their own territory, called them back, as it were, to Attica, and changed the seat of war.

At this time the general of the Plataeans, Arimnestus, had a dream in which he thought he was accosted by Zeus the Saviour and asked what the Hellenes had decided to do, and replied: "On the morrow, my Lord, we are going to lead our army back to Eleusis, and fight out our issue with the Barbarians there, in accordance with the Pythian oracle." Then the god said they were entirely in error, for the Pythian oracle's places were there in the neighbourhood of Plataea, and if they sought them they would surely find them. All this was made so vivid to Arimnestus that as soon as he awoke
μενος τάχιστα μετεπέμψατο τούς ἐμπειροτάτους καὶ πρεσβυτάτους τῶν πολιτῶν, μεθ’ ὧν διαλέγομενος καὶ συνδιαπορῶν εὕρεν, ὅτι τῶν Ἄσιῶν πλησίον ὑπὸ τῶν Κηθαιρώνοια ναὸς ἐστὶν ἄρχαιος πάνυ. Δῆμητρος Ἑλευσύνιας καὶ Κόρης προσα-γορευόμενος, εὐθὺς οὖν παραλαβὼν τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἤγεν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, εὐφυέστατον ὅντα παρατάξας φάλαγγα πεζικὴν ἱπποκρατοῦμένοις, διὰ τὰς ὑπορείας τοῦ Κηθαιρώνος ἄφισσα ποιοῦσα τὰ καταλήγουσα καὶ συγκυροῦντα τοῦ πεδίου πρὸς τὸ ἵππον. αὐτοῦ δ’ ἦν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀνδροκράτους ἡρῴον ἐγγὺς, ἀλσεὶ πυκνῶν καὶ 8 συσκίων δὲνδρων περιχομένουν. ὅπως δὲ μηδὲν ἐλλιτές ἔχῃ πρὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς νίκης ὁ χρησμός, ἔδοξε τοῖς Πλαταιεῖσι, Ἀριμνήστου γνώμην εἰπόντος, ἀνελείν τὰ πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικήν ὁρια τῆς 326 Πλαταιίδος καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπιδοῦναι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐν οἰκείᾳ κατὰ τὸν χρησμὸν ἐναγωνίσασθαι.

9 Ἐν τῇ μὲν ὅτι τὴν φιλοτιμίαν τῶν Πλαταίων οὕτω συνέβη περιβόητον γενέσθαι, ὡστε καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρον ἢδη βασιλεύοντα τῆς Ἀσίας ύστερον πολλοῖς ἐτεσί τειχίζοντα τῶν Πλαταιῶν ἀνειπείν ὁλυμπιάσαν ὑπὸ κηρυκος, ὅτι ταύτην ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀποδίδους Πλαταιεῦσι τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας καὶ τῆς μεγαλοψυχίας χάριν, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς Ἑλλησι ἐν τῷ Μηδικῷ πολέμῳ τὴν χώραν ἐπέδωκαν καὶ παρέσχον αὐτοὺς προθυμότατος.

Χ. XII. Ἀθηναίοις δὲ Τηγανάται περὶ τύχεως ἔρισαντες ἥξιον, ὡσπερ ἄει, Λακεδαιμονίων τῷ δεξίῳ ἐχόντων κέρας, αὐτὸ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἔχειν,

1 πάνι omitted by Bekker, now found in S.
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he summoned the oldest and most experienced of his fellow-citizens. By conference and investigation with these he discovered that near Hysiae, at the foot of mount Cithaeron, there was a very ancient temple bearing the names of Eleusinian Demeter and Cora. Straightway then he took Aristides and led him to the spot. They found that it was naturally very well suited to the array of infantry against a force that was superior in cavalry, since the spurs of Cithaeron made the edges of the plain adjoining the temple unfit for horsemen. There, too, was the shrine of the hero Androcrates hard by, enveloped in a grove of dense and shady trees. And besides, that the oracle might leave no rift in the hope of victory, the Plataeans voted, on motion of Arimnestus, to remove the boundaries of Plataea on the side toward Attica, and to give this territory to the Athenians, that so they might contend in defence of Hellas on their own soil, in accordance with the oracle.

This munificence of the Plataeans became so celebrated that Alexander, many years afterwards, when he was now King of Asia,¹ built the walls of Plataea, and had proclamation made by herald at the Olympic games that the King bestowed this grace upon the Plataeans in return for their bravery and magnanimity in freely bestowing their territory upon the Hellenes in the Median war, and so showing themselves most zealous of all.

XII. Now with the Athenians the men of Tegea came to strife regarding their position in the line. They claimed that, as had always been the case, since the Lacedaemonians held the right wing, they

¹ 331-330 B.C.
πολλά τοὺς αὐτῶν προγόνους ἐγκωμιάζοντες. ἀγανακτοῦντον δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων παρελθὼν ὁ Ἀριστείδης εἶπεν. “Τεγεάταις μὲν ἀντεπεῖν περὶ εὐγενείας καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ὁ παρὸν καιρὸς οὐ δίδωσι, πρὸς δὲ ύμᾶς, ὦ Σπαρτιάται, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἔλληνας λέγομεν, ὅτι τὴν ἀρετὴν οὐκ ἀφαιρεῖται τόπος οὐδὲ δίδωσιν. ἂν δὲ ἐν ύμεῖς ἡμῖν τάξιν ἀποδῶτε πειρασόμεθα κασμοῦντες καὶ φυλάττοντες μὴ κατασχύνειν τοὺς προσγωνι-2 σμένους ἁγίων. ἦκομεν γὰρ οὐ τοῖς συμμάχοις στασιάσοντες, ἀλλὰ μαχοῦμεν τοῖς πολεμίοις, οὐδὲ ἐπανεσόμενοι τοὺς πατέρας, ἀλλ’ αὐτοὺς ἄνδρας ἁγαθοὺς τῇ Ἑλλάδι παρέξοντες. ὡς οὕτως ὁ ἄγων δείξει καὶ πόλιν καὶ ἄρχωντα καὶ ἰδιώτην ὀπόσου τοῖς Ἐλλησιν ἄξιος ἐστὶ,” ταῦτ’ ἀκού-σαντες οἱ σύνεδροι καὶ ἡγεμόνες ἀπεδέξαντο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ θάτερον αὐτοῖς κέρας ἀπέδοσαν.

Χ.Π. Οὕσης δὲ μετέφερον τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπι-σφαλώς ἔχοντων, ἄνδρες εἰς οἶκων ἐπιφανῶν καὶ χρημάτων μεγάλων πένητες ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου γεγονότες καὶ πᾶσαν ἀμα τῷ πλούτῳ τῆν ἐν τῇ πόλει δύναμιν αὐτῶν καὶ δόξαν οἰχομένην ὀράντες, ἔτερων τιμωμένων καὶ ἐρχόντων, συνήλθον εἰς οἰκίαν τινα τῶν ἐν Πλαταϊᾷς κρύφα καὶ συνομόσαντο καταλύσειν τῶν δήμοι. εἰ δὲ μὴ προχωροῦῃ, λυμανεῖσθαι τὰ πράγματα καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις προδώσειν.

2 Πραττομένων δὲ τούτων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ συχνῶν ἡδη διεφθαρμένων, αἰσθόμενος ὁ Ἀριστείδης καὶ φοβηθεὶς τῶν καιρῶν, ἐγὼ μήτ’ ἐὰν 250
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themselves should hold the left, and in support of their claim they sounded loudly the praises of their ancestors. The Athenians were incensed, and Aristides came forward and made this speech: "To argue with the men of Tegea about noble birth and bravery, there is surely no time now; but we declare to you, O Spartans, and to the rest of the Hellenes, that valour is not taken away from a man, nor is it given him, by his position in the line. Whatsoever post ye shall assign to us, we will endeavour to maintain and adorn it, and so bring no disgrace upon the contests we have made before. We are come, not to quarrel with our allies, but to do battle with our foes; not to heap praises on our fathers, but to show ourselves brave men in the service of Hellas. It is this contest which will show how much any city or captain or, private soldier is worth to Hellas." On hearing this, the councillors and leaders declared for the Athenians, and assigned to them the other wing.

XIII. While Hellas was thus in suspense and Athens especially in danger, certain men of that city who were of prominent families and large wealth, but had been impoverished by the war, saw that with their riches all their influence in the city and their reputation had departed, while other men now had the honours and offices. They therefore met together secretly at a certain house in Plataea, and conspired to overthrow the democracy; or, if their plans did not succeed, to injure the general cause and betray it to the Barbarians.

Such was the agitation in the camp, and many had already been corrupted, when Aristides got wind of the matter, and, fearful of the crisis that favoured the plot, determined not to leave the
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ἀμελούμενον τὸ πρᾶγμα μήθ᾽ ἄπαν ἐκκαλύπτειν, ἀγνοοούμενον εἰς ὅσον ἐκβήσεται πλῆθος ὁ ἔλεγχος τὸν τοῦ δικαίου ξητῶν ὄρον ἀντὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος. 3 οὐκτῶ δὴ τίνας ἐκ πολλῶν συνέλαβε· καὶ τούτῳ δύο μὲν, οἷς πρώτως ἡ κρίσις προεγράφη, οἳ καὶ πλείστην αἵτιαν εἶχον, Αἰσχύνης Λαμπτρέως καὶ Ἀγνήσιας Ἀχαρνεὺς, φῶντο φεύγουσι ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, τοὺς δὲ ἅλλους ἀφήκε, θαρσήσαι διδοὺς καὶ μεταγγώναι τοῖς ἑτὶ λαυθάνειν οἰο- μένους, ὑπειπῶν ὡς μέγα δικαστήριον ἔχουσι τὸν πόλεμον ἀπολύσασθαι τὰς αἵτιας ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως τῇ πατρίδι βουλευόμενοι.

XIV. Μετὰ ταῦτα Μαρδόνιος, ὁ πλείστου ἐδόκει διαφέρειν, τὸν Ἑλλήνων ἀπεπειράτο, τὴν ἱππον ἄθροιαν αὐτοὺς ἐφεσ καθεξομένους ὑπὸ τὸν πρόποδα τοῦ Κιθαιρώνος ἐν χωρίοις χυροίς καὶ πετρώδεσι πλήν Μεγαρέων. οὗτοι δὲ τρισχίλιοι τὸ πλῆθος ὄντες εἰς τοῖς ἐπιπέδους μᾶλλον ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο. διὸ καὶ κακῶς ἔπασχον ὑπὸ τῆς ἱππον ρυείσης ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ προσβολὰς 2 ἐχούσης πανταχόθεν. ἐπεμπον οὐν ἄγγελον κατὰ τάχος πρὸς Παυσανίαν βοηθεῖν κελεύοντες, ὡς οὐ δυνάμενοι καθ᾽ αὐτοὺς ὑποστηναι τὸ τῶν βαρβάρων πλῆθος. ταῦτα Παυσανίας ἀκούων, ἢδη δὲ καὶ καθορῶν ἀποκεκρυμμένον ἀκούσεισιν καὶ τοξευμάτων πλήθει τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Μεγαρέων καὶ συνεσταλμένους αὐτοὺς εἰς ὅλον, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀμήχανος ἦν πρὸς ἵπποτας ἀμύνειν 32' 252
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matter in neglect, nor yet to bring it wholly to the light, since it could not be known how many would be implicated by a test which was based on justice rather than expediency. Accordingly, he arrested some eight or so of the many conspirators. Two of these, against whom the charge was first formally brought, and who were really the most guilty ones, Aeschines of Lamptrae and Agesias of Acharnæ, fled the camp. The rest he released, affording thus an opportunity for encouragement and repentance to those who still thought they had escaped detection, and suggested to them that the war was a great tribunal for their acquittal from the charges made against them, provided they took sincere and righteous counsel in behalf of their country.

XIV. After this, Mardonius made trial of the Hellenes with that arm of his service in which he thought himself most superior. He despatched all his cavalry against them as they lay encamped at the foot of Cithaeron, in positions that were rugged and rocky—all except the Megarians. These, to the number of three thousand, were encamped the rather in open plain. For this reason they suffered severely at the hands of the cavalry, which poured in tides against them, and found access to them on every side. Accordingly, they sent a messenger in haste to Pausanias, bidding him come to their aid, since they were unable of themselves to withstand the host of the Barbarians. Pausanias, on hearing this, and seeing at once that the camp of the Megarians was as good as hidden from view by the multitude of the enemy’s javelins and arrows, and that its defenders were huddled together in narrow quarters, on his own part had no way of rendering
οπλιτικὴ φάλαγγι καὶ βαρεία τῇ Σπαρτιατῶν,
3 τοῖς ἀλλοις στρατηγοῖς καὶ λοχαγοῖς τῶν Ἑλ-
λήνων περὶ αὐτῶν οὐσι προϋθέτο ζήλου ἀρετῆς
καὶ φιλοτιμίας, εἴ δὴ τινες ἐκόντες ἀναδέξαντο
προαγωνίσασθαι καὶ βοηθῆσαι τοῖς Μεγαρεῦσι.
τῶν δ’ ἀλλοιν ὁκνούντων Ἀριστείδης ἀναδεξάμενος
ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ ἔργον ἀποστέλλει τὸν
προθυμότατον τῶν λοχαγῶν Ὀλυμπιόδωρον,
ἐχοντα τοὺς ὑπ’ αὐτὸ τεταγμένους λογάδας
τριακοσίους καὶ τοξότας ἀναμεμογμένους σὺν
αὐτοῖς.
4 Τούτων δὲ ὁ ἐξέως διασκευασμένων καὶ προσ-
φερομένων δρόμῳ, Μασίστιος ὁ τῶν βαρβάρων
ὑππαρχος, ἀνήρ ἀλκῆ τε θαυμαστὸς μεγέθει τε
καὶ κάλλει σώματος περιττός, ὡς κατείδεν,
ἐναντίον ἐπιστρέψας τὸν ἤππον εἰς αὐτοὺς ἤπαινε.
τῶν δ’ ἀνασχομένων καὶ συμβαλόντων ἕν ἁγὸν
καρτερός, ὡς πεῖραν ἐν τούτῳ τοῦ παντὸς λαμ-
βανότων. ἔπει δὲ τοξευθεὶς ὁ ἤππος τὸν
Μα-
σίστιον ἀπέρριψε καὶ πεσὼν ὑπὸ βάρους τῶν
ὀπλῶν αὐτῶς τῇ δυσκήνητος ἢν ἀναφερέω καὶ τοῖς
Ἀθηναίως ἐπικειμένοις καὶ παίονις δυσμεταχείρι-
στος, οὐ μόνον στέρνα καὶ κεφαλή, ἄλλα καὶ τὰ
γυναῖκα χρυσῷ καὶ χαλκῷ καὶ σιδήρῳ καταπεφραγ-
μένος, τούτων μὲν ἦ τὸ κράνος ὑπέφαινε τὸν
ὄφθαλμον ἀκοντίον στύρακι παίων τῆς ἀνείλην, οἱ
δὲ ἄλλοι Πέρσαι προέμενοι τῶν νεκρῶν ἔφευγον.
5 ἐγνώσθη δὲ τοῦ κατορθώματος τὸ μέγεθος τοῖς
Ἐλλησὶν οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν τοῦ πλῆθους,
ὀλίγοι γὰρ οἱ πεσόντες ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ τῷ πένθει τῶν

1 τούτων δὲ Hercher and Blass with FaS : τούτων.
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them aid against horsemen, since his phalanx of Spartans was full-armoured and slow of movement; but to the rest of the generals and captains of the Hellenes who were about him he proposed, in order to stir up their valour and ambition, that some of them should volunteer to make contention for the succour of the Megarians. The rest all hesitated, but Aristides, in behalf of the Athenians, undertook the task, and despatched his most zealous captain, Olympiodorus, with the three hundred picked men of his command, and archers mingled with them.

These quickly arrayed themselves and advanced to the attack on the run. Masistius, the commander of the Barbarian cavalry, a man of wonderful prowess and of surpassing stature and beauty of person, saw them coming, and at once wheeled his horse to face them and charged down upon them. Then there was a mighty struggle between those who withstood and those who made the charge, since both regarded this as a test of the whole issue between them. Presently the horse of Masistius was hit with an arrow, and threw his rider, who lay where he fell, unable to raise himself, so heavy was his armour; and yet he was no easy prey to the Athenians, though they pressed upon him and smote him. For not only his chest and head, but also his limbs were encased in gold and bronze and iron. But at last, with the spike of a javelin, through the eye-hole of his helmet, he was smitten to the death, and the rest of the Persians abandoned his body and fled. The magnitude of their success was known to the Hellenes, not from the multitude of those they slew, for few
βαρβάρων. καὶ γὰρ ἐαυτοὺς ἔκειραν ἐπὶ τῷ Μασιστίῳ καὶ ὑποτοὺς καὶ ἡμιόνους, οἶμονής τε καὶ κλαυθμοῦ τὸ πεδίον ἐνεπίμπλασαν, ὡς ἄνδρα πολὺ πρῶτον ἀρέτῃ καὶ δυνάμει μετά γε Μαρ-δόνιον αὐτὸν ἀποβαλόντες.

XV. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἱππομαχίαν ἀμφότεροι μάχης ἔσχοντο χρόνον πολὺν ἀμυνομένοις γὰρ οἱ μάν-τεις νίκην προύφαινον ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ὁμοίως καὶ τοῖς Πέρσαις καὶ τοῖς Ἐλλησίων, εἰ δ’ ἐπιχειροῦσαν, ἦτταν. ἔστειτα Μαρδόνιος, ὡς αὐτῷ μὲν ἡμερῶν ὁλίγων τὰ ἑπτάδεια περιῆν, οἱ δ’ Ἐλληνες αἰε τινῶν ἐπιρρέοντων πλείονες ἐγίνοντο, ὑσανάσχε-τῶν ἔγνω μηκέτι μένειν, ἀλλὰ διαβᾶς ἁμα ράκε τὸν Ἀσωτὸν ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς Ἐλλησίων ἀπροσδοκή-τως καὶ παράγγελμα τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐσπέρας ἐδοκεί.

2 Μεσούσης δὲ μάλιστα τῆς νυκτὸς ἀνὴρ ὑπον ἔχουν ἀτρέμαι προσείλυγνε τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἐντυχῶν δὲ ταῖς φυλακαῖς ἐκέλευεν αὐτῷ προσελθεῖν Ἀριστείδην τὸν Ἀθηναίον. ὑπακούσαντος δὲ ταχέως ἔφησεν: “Εἰμι μὲν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών, ἦκω δὲ κεινῶν τῶν μέ-γιστον εὐνοία τῇ πρὸς ώμᾶς αἱρόμενος, ὡς μὴ τὸ αἰφνίδιον ἐκπλήξειν ύμᾶς χείρων ἀγωνίσασθαι.

3 μαχεῖται γὰρ ύμῶν Μαρδόνιος αὐριὸν, οὐχ ὑπ’ ἑλπίδος χρηστῆς οὐδὲ θάρσους, ἀλλ’ ἀπορίας τῶν παρόντων, ἐπεὶ καὶ μάντεις ἑκεῖνον ἀπαισίοις ἱεροῖς καὶ λογίοις χρησμῶν εἰργοῦσι μάχης, καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἔχει δυσθυμία πολλῇ καὶ κατάπλη-ξις. ἀλλ’ ἀνάγκη τολμώντα πειρᾶσθαι τῆς τύχης

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had fallen, but from the grief of the Barbarians. For they shorn their own hair in tribute to Masistius, and that of their horses and mules, and filled the plain with their wailing cries. They felt that they had lost a man who, after Mardonius himself, was by far the first in valour and authority.

XV. After this cavalry battle, both sides refrained from further fighting for a long time, since only as they acted on the defensive would victory be theirs—so the soothsayers interpreted the sacrifices alike for Persians and Hellenes,—but if they attacked, defeat. At last Mardonius, since he had supplies remaining for only a few days, and since the Hellenes were ever increasing in number as fresh bodies joined them, impatiently determined to wait no longer, but to cross the Asopus at daybreak and attack the Athenians unexpectedly. During the evening he gave the watchword to his commanders.

But about midnight a solitary horseman quietly approached the camp of the Hellenes, and falling in with the outposts, ordered that Aristides the Athenian come to him. He was speedily obeyed, and then said: "I am Alexander the Macedonian, and I am come at the greatest peril to myself, out of my good-will toward you, that no suddenness of attack may frighten you into inferior fighting. Mardonius will surely give battle on the morrow, not because he has substantial hope or even courage, but because he is destitute of provisions. His soothsayers, indeed, are trying to keep him from battle by unpropitious sacrifices and oracular utterances, while his army is full of dejection and consternation; but he must needs boldly try his fortune, or sit

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ἡ τὴν ἐσχάτην ὑπομένειν ἀπορίαν καθεξόμενον.

4 ταύτα φράσας ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐδείτο τὸν Ἀριστείδην αὐτὸν εἰδέναι καὶ μνημονεύειν, ἐτέρῳ δὲ μὴ κατειπεῖν. ὃ δ’ οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν ἔφη ταύτα Παυσανίαν ἀποκρύψασθαι, ἐκεῖνο γὰρ ἀνακείσθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀρρητα πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἐδόξη 1 ἔσεθθαι, νικώσῃς δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐδένα τὴν Ἀλέξανδρον προβημαν καὶ

5 ἀρετὴν ἀγνοήσειν. λεχθέντων δὲ τούτων ὁ τε βασιλεὺς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀπήλαυνεν ὅπισω πάλιν, ὁ τε Ἀριστείδης ἡφίκομενος ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Παυσανίου διηγεῖτο τοὺς λόγους καὶ μετεπέμποντο τοὺς ἄλλους ἡγεμόνας καὶ παρηγγελλὼν ἐν κόσμῳ τῶν στρατῶν ἔχειν, ὡς μάχης ἐσομένης.

XVI. Ἔν τούτῳ δ’, ὡς Ἡρόδοτος ἱστορεῖ, Παυσανίας Ἀριστείδη προσέφερε λόγον, ἄξιον τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν μετατάξαι καὶ 2 κατὰ τοὺς. Πέρσας ἀντιταχθήναι, βέλτιον γὰρ ἀγωνιεῖσθαι τῆς τε μάχης ἐμπείρους γεγονότας καὶ τῷ προνεικηκέναι χαρροῦτας, αὐτῷ δὲ παραδοῦναι τὸ εὐώνυμον, ὅπου τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ μηδείς οὕτως ἐμμελλον.

2 Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀγνώμονα καὶ φορτίον ἥγουντο τὸν Παυσανίαν, εἰ τὴν ἄλλην ἑων τάξιν ἐν χώρᾳ μόνους ἄνω καὶ κάτω μεταφέρει σφᾶς ὀσπερ ἐἵλωτας, κατὰ τὸ

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1 ἐδόξη bracketed by Bekker, omitted by Blass.
2 μετατάξαι καὶ MSS., Sintenis', Corœs, Bekker: μεταγάγωντα.

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still and endure extremest destitution.” When he had told him this, Alexander begged Aristides to keep the knowledge to himself and bear it well in mind, but to tell it to none other. Aristides replied that it was not honourable to conceal this knowledge from Pausanias, since it was on him that the supreme command devolved, but that it should not be told the other leaders before the battle; though in case Hellas were victorious, no man should remain ignorant of Alexander’s zeal and valour. After this conversation, the king of the Macedonians rode off back again, and Aristides went to the tent of Pausanias and told him all that had been said. Then they summoned the other leaders and gave them orders to keep the army in array, since there was to be a battle.

XVI. At this juncture, as Herodotus relates,1 Pausanias sent word to Aristides, demanding that the Athenians change their position and array themselves on the right wing, over against the Persians, where they would contend better, he said, since they were versed already in the Persian style of fighting, and emboldened by a previous victory over them; the left wing, where the Medising Hellenes were going to attack, should be intrusted to himself and his Spartans.

The rest of the Athenian generals thought it inconsiderate and annoying in Pausanias to leave the rest of his line in the position assigned, while he moved them, and them only, back and forth like Helots, and put them forward where the

1 ix. 46.

s 2

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μαχιμώτατον προβαλλόμενος: ὁ δ' Ἀριστείδης
diαμαρτάνειν αὐτοῦς ἔφασκε τοῦ παντός, εἰ
πρώην μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας ἔχειν
dieφιλοτιμούντο Τεγεάταις καὶ προκρίθεντες ἐστε
3 μνύουντο, νῦν δὲ, Δακεδαμονίων ἐκουσίως αὐτοῖς
exiσταμένων τοῦ δεξιοῦ καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τὴν
ἡγεμονίαν παραδιδόντων, οὔτε τὴν δόξαν ἀγαπώ-
sion οὔτε κέρδος ἤγονται τὸ μὴ πρὸς ὀμοφύλους
καὶ συγγενεῖς, ἀλλὰ βαρβάρους καὶ φύσει πολε-
μίους ἀγωνίσασθαι. ἔκ τούτου πάνω προβύμως
οἱ Ἀθηναίοι διημείβοντο τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις τὴν
4 τάξιν καὶ λόγος ἔχορει δ' αὐτῶν πολὺς ἀλ-
lήλοις παρεγγυώντων, ὡς οὔτε ὅπλα βελτίω
λαβόντες οὔτε ψυχὰς ἀμείνους οἱ πολέμιοι τῶν
ἐν Μαραθῶι προσίασιν, ἀλλὰ ταύτα μὲν ἐκείνοις
tóξα, ταύτα δ' ἐσθίτος ποικίλματα καὶ χρυσός
ἐπὶ σώμασι μαλακοῖς καὶ ψυχαῖς ἰανάδροις· ἦμῖν
δ' ὁμοία μὲν ὅπλα καὶ σώματα, μείξον δὲ ταῖς
νίκαις τὸ θάρσος, ὁ δ' ἀγῶν οὐχ ὑπὲρ χώρας καὶ
πόλεως μόνον, ὡς ἐκείνοις, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν
Μαραθῶι καὶ Σαλαμῖνι τροπαίων, ὡς μηδ' ἐκείνα
Μιλτιάδου δοκῆ καὶ τύχης, ἀλλὰ Ἀθηναίων.
5 Οὕτωι μὲν οὖν σπεύδοντες ἐν ἀμείψει τῶν
tάξεων ἦσαν· αἰσθόμενοι δὲ Θηβαῖοι παρ' αὐτο-
mόλων Μαρδονίῳ φράξουσι. κάκεινος εὐθύς, εἰτὲ
dedius τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, εἰτὲ τοὺς Δακεδαμονίους
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fighting was to be hottest. But Aristides declared that they were utterly wrong; they had contended emulously with the Tegeans, but a little while back, for the occupation of the left wing, and plumed themselves on being preferred before those rivals; but now, when the Lacedaemonians of their own accord vacated the right wing for them, and after a fashion proffered them the leadership among the Hellenes, they neither welcomed the reputation thus to be won, nor counted it gain that their contention would thus be, not with men of the same tribes and kindreds, but rather with Barbarians and natural enemies. Upon this the Athenians very willingly exchanged posts with the Spartans, and the word passed from lip to lip far through their ranks that their enemies would attack them with no better arms and with no braver spirits than at Marathon, nay, with the same kind of archery as then, and with the same variegated vesture and gold adornments to cover soft bodies and unmanly spirits; "while we have not only like arms and bodies with our brethren of that day, but that greater courage which is born of our victories; and our contest is not alone for land and city, as theirs was, but also for the trophies which they set up at Marathon and Salamis, in order that the world may think that not even those were due to Miltiades only, or to fortune, but to the Athenians."

The Spartans and Athenians, then, were busily engaged in exchanging posts; but the Thebans heard of it from deserters and told Mardonius. He, at once, whether through fear of the Athenians or out of ambition to engage with the Lacedaemonians,
συμπεσείν φιλοτιμούμενος, ἀντιπαρεξήγητε τοὺς Πέρσας ἐπὶ τὸ δεξίον, τοὺς δὲ Ἑλληνας ἐκέλευε τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ κατὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἰστασθαι.

6 γενομένης δὲ τῆς μετακοσμήσεως καταφανοῦς ὁ τε Παυσανίας ἀποτραπείς αὐθείς ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κατέστη, καὶ Μαρδόνιος, ὡσπερ εἰχεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἀνέλαβε τὸ εὐώνυμον κατὰ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους γενόμενος, ἢ τε ἡμέρα διεξήλθεν ἀργῇ. καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλησὶ βουλευομένοις ἐδοξε πορρωτέρω μεταστρατοπεδεύσαι καὶ καταλαβεῖν εὐνόμων χωρίων, ἐπεὶ τὰ πλησίον νάματα καθύβριστο καὶ διέφθαρο τῶν βαρβάρων ἱπποκρατοῦν.

XVII. Ἑπελθοῦσας δὲ νυκτὸς καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀγώντων ἐπὶ τὴν ἀποδεδευγμένην στρατοπεδείαν ὁ πάνω πρόθυμον ἦπεσθαι καὶ συμμένειν τὸ πλῆθος, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἀνέστησαν εἰκ τῶν πρώτων ἐρυμάτων ἐφέροντο πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τῶν Πλαταιῶν οἱ πολλοὶ, καὶ θόρυβος ἦν ἑκεί διασκιδιγμένων καὶ κατασκηνοῦντων ἀτάκτως. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ συνέβαινεν ἕκουσι μόνοις ἀπολεῖ-2 πεθαί τῶν ἄλλων. Ἀρμοφάρετος γὰρ, ἀνὴρ θυμοειδῆς καὶ φιλοκίνδυνος, ἐκπαλαι πρὸς τὴν μάχην σπαργῶν καὶ βαρυόμενος τὰς πολλὰς ἀναβολὰς καὶ μελλήσεις, τότε δὴ παντάπασι τὴν μετανάστασιν φυγὴν ἀποκαλῶν καὶ ἀπόδρασιν, οὐκ ἔφη λείψειν τὴν τάξιν, ἀλλ’ αὐτοθε μένων μετὰ τῶν έαυτοῦ λοχιτῶν ύποστήσεσθαι Μαρδό-3 νον. ὡς δὲ Παυσανίας ἐπελθὼν ἔλεγε ταῦτα πράττειν ἐψηφισμένα καὶ δεδογμένα τοῖς Ἑλλησ-σιν, ἀράμενος ταῖν χεροῖν πέτρον μέγαν ὁ

1 συνέβαινεν Blass, adopting the conjecture of Sintenis

συνβή [μὲν].

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counterchanged his Persians to the right wing, and ordered the Hellenes with him to set themselves against the Athenians. When this change in his enemy's order of battle was manifest, Pausanias returned and occupied the right wing again, whereupon Mardonius also resumed his own left wing, just as he stood at the beginning, facing the Lacedaemonians. And thus the day came to an end without action. The Hellenes, on deliberation, decided to change their camp to a position farther on, and to secure a spot where there was plenty of good water, since the neighbouring springs were defiled and ruined by the Barbarians' superior force of cavalry.

XVII. Night came on, and the generals set out to lead their forces to the appointed encampment. The soldiers, however, showed no great eagerness to follow in close order, but when they had once abandoned their first defences, most of them hurried on toward the city of Plataea, and there tumult reigned as they scattered about and encamped in no order whatsoever. But it chanced that the Lacedaemonians were left alone behind the others, and that too against their will. For Amompharetus, a man of a fierce and venturesome spirit, who had long been mad for battle and distressed by the many postponements and delays, now at last lost all control of himself, denounced the change of position as a runaway flight, and declared that he would not abandon his post, but stay there with his company and await the onset of Mardonius. And when Pausanias came up and told him that their action had been formally voted by the Hellenes in council,
'Εν τούτῳ δὲ κατελάμβανεν ἡμέρα, καὶ Μαρδόνιος (οὐ γὰρ ἔλαβον τὴν στρατοπεδείαν ἐκκελεοπτότες οἱ Ἰλληνες) ἔχον συντηρημένην τὴν δύναμιν ἐπεφέρετο τοῖς Δακεδαμονίοις βοὴ πολλὴ καὶ πατάγω τῶν βαρβάρων, ὡς οὐ μάχης ἐσομένης, ἀλλὰ φεύγοντας ἀναρπασομένων τοὺς Ἰλληνας. δὲ μικρὰς ῥοπής ἐδέσθη γενέσθαι.

5 κατιδὼν γὰρ τὸ γενόμενον ὁ Παυσανίας ἐσχέτο μὲν τῆς πορείας καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ μάχη τἀξιῶν ἐκέλευσεν καὶ βασιλεάνειν ἐκαστὸν, ἐλάθε δὲ αὐτὸν, εἰ ὅπο τῆς πρὸς τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον ὁργῆς εἰτε τῷ τάχει θορυβῆθεντα τῶν πολεμίων, σύνθιμα μὴ δοῦναι τοῖς Ἰλληναῖς. ὃθεν οὐτ' εἰδοὺς οὐτ' ἀθρόοι, κατ' ὀλίγον δὲ καὶ σποράδην, ἢ δὲ τῆς μάχης ἐν χερσὶν οὐσὶς, προσεβεβοήθουν.

6 Ἡς δὲ θυμόμενος οὐκ ἐκαλλιέρει, προσέταξε τοῖς Δακεδαμονίοις τὰς ἀσπίδας πρὸ τῶν πολέων θεμένοις ὡτρέμα καθέσθαι καὶ προσέχειν αὐτῷ, μὴ δὲνα τῶν πολεμίων ἀμυνομένους, αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν ἐσφαγμάζετο. καὶ προσεπιπτόν οἱ ἱππεῖς ἦδη δὲ καὶ βέλος ἐξικνεῖτο καὶ τις ἐπέπληκτο τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Καλλικράτης, 264
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Amompharetus picked up a great stone and threw it down at the feet of Pausanias, saying that was his personal ballot for battle, and he cared not a whit for the cowardly counsels and votes of the rest. Pausanias, perplexed at the case, sent to the Athenians, who were already moving off, begging them to wait and make the march in company with him, and then began to lead the rest of his troops toward Plataea, with the idea that he would thus force Amompharetus from his position.

At this point day overtook them, and Mardonius, who did not fail to notice that the Hellenes had abandoned their encampment, with his force in full array, bore down upon the Lacedaemonians, with great shouting and clamour on the part of the Barbarians, who felt that there would be no real battle, but that the Hellenes had only to be snatched off as they fled. And this lacked but little of coming to pass. For Pausanias, on seeing the situation, though he did check his march and order every man to take post for battle, forgot, either in his rage at Amompharetus or his confusion at the speed of the enemy, to give the signal for battle to the confederate Hellenes. For this reason they did not come to his aid at once, nor in a body, but in small detachments and straggling, after the battle was already joined.

When Pausanias got no favourable omens from his sacrifices, he ordered his Lacedaemonians to sit quiet with their shields planted in front of them, and to await his orders, making no attempt to repulse their enemies, while he himself went to sacrificing again. By this time the horsemen were charging upon them; presently their missiles actually reached them, and many a Spartan was smitten. And then it was
δυ ἰδεὰ τι κάλλιστον Ἑλλήνων καὶ σώματι μέγιστον ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ στρατῷ γενέσθαι λέγουσι, τοξευθεῖς καὶ θυήσκων οὐκ ἔφη τὸν θάνατον ὁδύρεσθαι, καὶ γὰρ ἐλθεῖν οὐκ θεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἀποθανούμενος, ἄλλα ὅτι θυήσκει τῇ χειρὶ μὴ χρησάμενος. ἦν οὖν τὸ μὲν πάθος δεινόν, ἡ δὲ ἐγκράτεια θαυμαστὴ τῶν ἀνδρῶν. οὐ γὰρ ἡμύνοντο τοὺς πολέμους ἐπιβαίνοντας, ἄλλα τὸν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καίρον ἀναμένοντες ἥνειχοντο βαλλόμενοι καὶ πίπτοντες ἐν ταῖς τάξεσιν.

8 Ἐν οἷοι δὲ φασὶ τῷ Παυσανίᾳ μικρὸν ἔζω τῆς παρατάξεως θύοντι καὶ κατευχομένῳ τῶν Λυδίων τινας αὖν προσπέσοντας ἄρπάζειν καὶ διαρρή- πτειν τὰ περὶ τὴν θυσίαν, τὸν δὲ Παυσανίαν καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτόν οὐκ ἔχοντας ὡς πάλαις καὶ μάστιξι παίειν. διὸ καὶ νῦν ἐκείνης τῆς ἐπιδρομῆς μιμήματα τὰς περὶ τὸν βωμόν ἐν Σπάρτῃ πληγᾶς τῶν ἐφῆβων καὶ τὴν μετὰ ταύτα τῶν Λυδίων πομηθῇ συντελεῖσθαι.

XVIII. Δυσφορῶν οὖν ὁ Παυσανίας τοῖς παροῦ- σιν, ἄλλα τοῦ μάντεως ἐπ᾽ ἄλλοις ἰερείᾳ κατα- βάλλοντος, τρέπεται πρὸς τὸ Ἡραῖον τῇ ὁψεὶ δεδακρυμένος, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνασχὼν εὔξατο Κιθαιρωνία Ἔρα καὶ θεοῖς ἄλλοις, οἱ Πλαταίδαι γῆν ἔχουσιν, εἰ μὴ πέπρωται τοῖς Ἐλλησι νικᾶν, ἀλλὰ δράσαντας γῆ τι παθεῖν καὶ δεῖξαντας ἔργῳ τοῖς πολέμοις, ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοῦς καὶ μάχε-1 σθαι μεμαθηκότας ἔστρατευσαν. ταῦτα τοῦ Παυσανίου θεοκλυτοῦντος ἀμα ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἐφάνη τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ νίκην ὁ μάντις ἔφραξε. καὶ δοθέντος 266
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that Callicrates said to be the fairest of the Hellenes to look upon, and the tallest man in their whole army, was shot, and, dying, said he did not grieve at death, since he had left his home to die for Hellas, but at dying without striking a single blow. Their experience was indeed a terrible one, but the restraint of the men was wonderful. They did not try to repel the enemy who were attacking them, but awaited from their god and their general the favourable instant, while they endured wounds and death at their posts.

Some say that as Pausanias was sacrificing and praying, a little to one side of his line of battle, some Lydians suddenly fell upon him and rudely hurled away the sacrificial offerings; and that Pausanias and his attendants, being without weapons, smote the intruders with the sacrificial staves and goads; wherefore, to this day, in imitation of this onslaught, the ceremonies of beating the young warriors round the altar at Sparta, and of the procession of the Lydians which follows this, are duly celebrated as rites.

XVIII. Then, in distress at this state of affairs, while the seer slew victim after victim, Pausanias turned his face, all tears, toward the Heraeum, and with hands uplifted prayed Cithaeronian Hera and the other gods of the Platian land that, if it was not the lot of the Hellenes to be victorious, they might at least do great deeds before they fell, and show to a certainty that their enemies had marched out against men who were brave and who knew how to fight. While Pausanias was thus calling on the gods, right in the midst of his prayers, the sacrifices showed themselves propitious and the seer announced
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eis ἀπαντας τοῦ παραγγέλματος καθίστασθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἢ τε φάλαγξ ὅψιν ἔσχεν αἰφνιδίως ἔνως ξόφων θυμοειδοὺς πρὸς ἀλκην τρεπομένου καὶ φρίξαντος, τοῖς τε βαρβάροις τότε παρέστη λογισμός, ὡς πρὸς ἄνδρας ὁ ἀγὼν 3 ἐσοτεῦ μάχουμένοις ἄχρι θανάτου. διὸ καὶ προθέμενοι πολλὰ τῶν γέρρων ἐτόξευν εἰς τοὺς Λακεδαίμονες. οἱ δὲ πηροῦντες ἀμα τὸν συνασπισμὸν ἐπέβαινον, καὶ προσπεσόντες ἐξεώθουν τὰ γέρρα, καὶ τοῖς δόραι τύπτοντες πρόσωπα καὶ στέρνα τῶν Περσῶν πολλοὺς κατέβαλλον, οὐκ ἀπράκτως οὐδὲ ἀθύμως πίπτοντας. καὶ γὰρ ἀντιλαμβάνομενοι τῶν δοράτων ταῖς χεραῖς γυμνάς συνέθραυν τὰ πλεῖστα, καὶ πρὸς τὰς 330 ξιφουλκίας ἐχώρουν οὐκ ἄργως, ἀλλὰ ταῖς τε κοπίσι καὶ τοῖς ἀκινάκαις χρώμενοι καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας παρασπέωντες καὶ συμπλεκόμενοι χρόχων πολὺν ἀντείχον.

4 Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναίοι τέως μὲν ἠτρέμουν ἀναμένοντες τοὺς Λακεδαίμονες, ἐπεὶ δὲ κραυγῇ τε προσεπιπτε πολλῇ μαχομένων καὶ παρὴν, ὡς φασίν, ἀγγελος παρὰ Παυσανίου τὰ γινόμενα φράξεων, ὀρμησαν κατὰ τάχος βοηθεῖν. καὶ προχωροῦσιν αὐτοῖς διὰ τοῦ πεδίου πρὸς τὴν βοήν ἐπεφέ- 5 ρωτο τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ μηδέξιοντες, Ἀριστείδης δὲ πρῶτον μὲν, ὡς εἰδε, πολὺ προελθὼν ἐβόα, μαρτυρομένος Ἑλλήνως θεοὺς, ἀπέχεσθαι μάχης καὶ μὴ σφίσω ἐμποδῶν εἶναι μηδὲ κωλύειν ἐπαμένοντας τοῖς προκινδυνεύονσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἐπεὶ δ' ἐώρα μὴ προσέχοντας αὐτῷ καὶ συντεταγμένους ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην, οὕτω τῆς 1 eis toûs Hercher and Blass with S: τοûs.

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victory. Word was at once passed all along the line to set themselves in motion against the enemy, and the phalanx suddenly had the look of a fierce beast bristling up to defend itself. The Barbarians then got assurance that their contest was to be with men who would fight to the death. Therefore they made a rampart of their wicker targets and shot their arrows into the ranks of the Lacedaemonians. These, however, kept their shields closely locked together as they advanced, fell upon their foemen, tore away their wicker targets, and then, smiting the Persians in face and breast with their long spears, they slew many, who nevertheless did great deeds of courage before they fell. For they grasped the long spears with their naked hands, fractured them for the most part, and then took to short-range fighting with a will, plying their daggers and scimitars, tearing away their enemies' shields, and locking them in close embrace; and so they held out a long time.

The Athenians, meanwhile, were quietly awaiting the Lacedaemonians. But when the shouts of those engaged in battle fell loud upon their ears, and there came, as they say, a messenger from Pausanias telling them what was happening, they set out with speed to aid him. However, as they were advancing through the plain to his aid, the Medising Hellenes bore down upon them. Then Aristides, to begin with, when he saw them, went far forward and shouted to them, invoking the gods of Hellas, that they refrain from battle, and oppose not nor hinder those who were bearing aid to men standing in the van of danger for the sake of Hellas. But as soon as he saw that they paid no heed to him, and were
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ἐκεῖ βοηθείας ἀποτραπόμενος συνέβαλε τούτοις
6 περὶ πεντακίσμυριος οὖσιν. ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν
πλεῖστον εὐθὺς ἐνέδωκε καὶ ἀπεχώρησεν, ἢτε
ἵνα καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπηλλαγμένων, ἢ δὲ
μάχη λέγεται μάλιστα κατὰ Θηβαίους γενόμεθα,
προθυμότατα τῶν πρῶτων καὶ δυνατωτάτων τότε
παρ’ αὐτοῖς μηδιζόντων καὶ τὸ πλῆθος οὐ κατὰ
γνώμην, ἀλλ’ ὀλυγαρχούμενον ἀγάντων.

XIX. Οὕτω δὲ τοῦ ἀγῶνος δίχα συνεστῶτος
πρῶτοι μὲν ἔωσαντο τοὺς Πέρσας οἱ Δακεδαι-
μόνιοι καὶ τὸν Μαρδόνιον ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιάτης
ὁμοίως Ἀρίμνηστος ἀποκτίνυσι, λύθη τῇ κε-
φαλῇ πατάξας, ὅσπερ αὐτῷ προσέήμανε τὸ
ἐν Ἀμφιάρεω μαντεῖοι. ἔπεμψε γὰρ ἄνδρα
Λυδὸν ἐνταῦθα, Κάρα δὲ ἔστερον εἰς Τροφωνίουν
ὁ Μαρδόνιος καὶ τούτοις μὲν ὁ προφήτης Καρίκη
2 γλώσσῃ προσεῖτεν, ὁ δὲ Λυδὸς ἐν τῷ σηκῷ τοῦ
Ἁμφιάρεω κατευνασθεῖς ἔδοξεν ὑπηρέτην τινὰ
τοῦ θεοῦ παραστῆναι καὶ κελεύειν αὐτὸν ἀπιέναι,
μὴ βουλομένου δὲ λίθων εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐμβαλείν
μέγαν, ὅστε δόξαι πληγέντα τεθνάναι τὸν ἄνθρω-
πὸν καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω γενέσθαι λέγεται. τοὺς
δὲ φεύγοντας εἰς τὰ ξύλινα τεῖχη καθεῖρξαν.

Ὁλίγω δ’ ὕστερον Ἀθηναίοι τοὺς Θηβαίους
τρέπονται, τριακοσίους τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους καὶ
3 πρῶτους διαφθείραντες ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ μάχῃ.
γεγενημένης δὲ τῆς τροπῆς ἦκεν αὐτοῖς ἀγγέλος
πολιορκεῖσθαι τὸ βαρβαρικὸν εἰς τὰ τεῖχη κατα-

1 ὁ bracketed in Sintenis; Blass reads εἰς τὸ Πτημὸν ὁ with S, after Hercher, thus agreeing with Herodotus viii. 135.

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arrayed for battle, then he turned aside from rendering aid where he had proposed, and engaged with these, though they were about fifty thousand in number. But the greater part of them at once gave way and withdrew, especially as the Barbarians had also retired, and the battle is said to have been fought chiefly with the Thebans, whose foremost and most influential men were at that time very eagerly Medising, and carried with them the multitude, not of choice, but at the bidding of the few.

XIX. The contest thus begun in two places, the Lacedaemonians were first to repulse the Persians. Mardonius was slain by a man of Sparta named Arimnestus, who crushed his head with a stone, even as was foretold him by the oracle in the shrine of Amphiaraüs. Thither he had sent a Lydian man, and a Carian besides to the oracle of Trophonius. This latter the prophet actually addressed in the Carian tongue; but the Lydian, on lying down in the precinct of Amphiaraüs, dreamed that an attendant of the god stood by his side and bade him be gone, and on his refusal, hurled a great stone upon his head, insomuch that he died from the blow (so ran the man’s dream). These things are so reported. Furthermore, the Lacedaemonians shut the flying Persians up in their wooden stockade.

Shortly after this it was that the Athenians routed the Thebans, after slaying three hundred, their most eminent leaders, in the actual battle. After the rout was effected, and more might have been slain, there came a messenger to the Athenians, telling them that the Barbarian force was shut up and besieged

1 According to Herodotus, viii. 135, Mys the Carian visited the shrine of the Ptoan Apollo, overlooking Lake Copaïs.
κεκλεισμένοι. οὖτω δὴ σώζεσθαι τοὺς Ἐλλήνας ἐάσαντες ἐβοήθουν πρὸς τὰ τεῖχη καὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις παντάπασιν ἀργῶς πρὸς τειχομαχίαν καὶ ἀπείρως ἔχουσιν ἐπιφανεῖν αἴροις τὸ στρατόπεδον φόνος πολλῷ τῶν πολεμών.

4 λέγονται γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα μυριάδων τετρακισμύριοι φυγείν σὺν Ἄρταβάζω, τῶν δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἀγωνισμένων ἐπεσον οἱ πάντες ἐπὶ χελώοις ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριακόσιοι. τούτων Ἀθηναίων μὲν ἦσαν δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα, πάντες ἐκ τῆς Ἀιαντίδος φυλῆς, ὡς φησί Κλείδης,

5 δὴ ὁμοίως, ἀγωνισμένης ἄριστα, διὸ καὶ ταῖς Σφραγίσεσι νύμφαις ἔθουν Ἀιαντίδα τὴν πυθό-χρηστον θυσίαιν ὑπὲρ τῆς νίκης, ἐκ δημοσίου τὸ ἀνάλογα λαμβάνοντες. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἔνι πλείους τῶν ἑνενήκοντα, Τεγεαντὶς δὲ ἐκκαίδεκα.

Θαυμαστὸν οὖν τὸ Ἡροδότου, πῶς μόνους τούτους φησίν εἰς χείρας ἐλθεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Ἐλλήνων μηδένα. καὶ γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πεσόντων μαρτυρεῖ καὶ τὰ μνήματα

6 κοινῶν γενέσθαι τὸ κατόρθωμα. καὶ τῶν βωμῶν οὐκ ἂν ἐπέγραψαν οὕτως, εἰ μόναι τρεῖς πόλεις ἡγούνσαντο, τῶν ἄλλων ἀτρέμα καθεξομένων.

Τόνδε ποθ" Ἐλλήνες νίκας κράτει, ἔργῳ Ἄρης, Ἰπέρσας ἐξελάσαντες ἑλευθέρα Ἐλλάδι κοινῶν ἰδρύσαντο Διὸς βωμὸν ἑλευθερίου.

1 Coraës and Bekker insert after this verse the pentameter: εὐτάλμη ψυχᾶς λήματι πειθόμενοι, following the bold impulse of their spirit, found in the Palatine Anthology, vi. 50.
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in their stockade. So they suffered the Hellenes in front of them to make good their escape, while they themselves marched to the stockade. They brought welcome aid to the Lacedaemonians, who were altogether inexperienced and helpless in storming walled places, and captured the camp with great slaughter of the enemy. Out of three hundred thousand, only forty thousand, it is said, made their escape with Artabazus. Of those who contended in behalf of Hellas, there fell in all one thousand three hundred and sixty. Of these, fifty-two were Athenians, all of the Aeantid tribe, according to Cleidemus, which made the bravest contest (for which reason the Aeantids used to sacrifice regularly to the Sphragitic nymphs the sacrifice ordained by the Pythian oracle for the victory, receiving the expenses therefor from the public funds); ninety-one were Lacedaemonians, and sixteen were men of Tegea.

Astonishing, therefore, is the statement of Herodotus,\(^1\) where he says that these one hundred and fifty-nine represented the only Hellenes who engaged the enemy, and that not one of the rest did so. Surely the total number of those who fell, as well as the monuments erected over them, testifies that the success was a common one. Besides, had the men of three cities only made the contest, while the rest sat idly by, the altar would not have been inscribed as it was:—

"Here did the Hellenes, flushed with a victory granted by Ares
Over the routed Persians, together, for Hellas delivered,
Build them an altar of Zeus, Zeus as Deliverer known."

\(^1\) ix. 85.

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7. Ταύτην τὴν μάχην ἐμαχέσαντο τῇ τετράδί τοῦ Βοηδρομῶνος ἵσταμένου κατ’ Ἀθηναίους, κατὰ δὲ Βοωτῶν τετράδι τοῦ Πανέμου φθίνοντος, καὶ νῦν ἔτι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς άθροϊζεται συνέδριον καὶ θύουσι τῷ ἔλευθερῷ Διὶ Πλαταιεῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς νίκης. τὴν δὲ τῶν ἰμερῶν ἀνωμαλίαν θαυμαστέον, ὅτου καὶ νῦν διηκριβωμένων τῶν ἐν ἀστρολογίᾳ μᾶλλον ἄλλην ἄλλοι μηνὸς ἄρχῃ καὶ τελευτήν ἄγουσιν.

XX. Ἐκ τούτου τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ ἄριστείον οὐ παραδεδότων τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις οὔδὲ τρόπαιον ἵσταναι συγχωροῦντων ἐκείνους, παρ’ οὔδεν ἄν ἤλθεν εὐθὺς ἀπολέσθαι τὰ πράγματα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις διαστάτων, εἰ μὴ πολλὰ παρηγορῶν καὶ διδάσκων τοὺς συστρατήγους ὁ Ἀριστείδης, μάλιστα δὲ Λεωκράτη καὶ Μυρωνίδην, ἔσχε καὶ συνέπεσε τὴν 2 κρίσιν ἐφείναι τοῖς Ἑλλησίων. ἕνταῦθα βουλευομένων τῶν Ἑλλήνων Θεσσαλίας μὲν ὁ Μεγαρεὺς εἶπεν, ὡς ἑτέρα ¹ πόλει δοτέον εἰς τὸ ἄριστείον, εἰ μὴ βούλονται συνταράξαι πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον ἐπὶ τούτῳ δ’ ἀναστάς Κλεόκριτος ὁ Κορίνθιος δόξαν μὲν παρέσχεν ὡς Κορίνθιοι αἰτήσων τὸ ἄριστείον. ἦν γὰρ ἐν ἄξιόματι μεγίστῳ μετὰ τὴν Ἑπάρτην καὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἢ Κόρινθος ἐῖπε δὲ πᾶσιν ἀρέσαντα καὶ θαυμαστὸν λόγον ὑπὲρ Πλαταιῶν, καὶ συνεβούλευσε τὴν φιλονεκίαν ἀνελείν ἐκείνωσι τὸ ἄριστείον ἀποδόντας, οἷς 3 οὐδετέρους τιμωμένους ἀχθεσθαι. ῥηθέντων δὲ τούτων πρῶτος μὲν Ἀριστείδης συνεχώρησεν

¹ ἑτέρα Bekker has obdēτέρα neither city, adopting a conjecture of Muretus.

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This battle was fought on the fourth of the month Boëdromion, as the Athenians reckon time; but according to the Bocotian calendar, on the twenty-seventh of the month Panemus,¹ the day when, down to the present time, the Hellenic council assembles in Plataea, and the Plataeans sacrifice to Zeus the Deliverer for the victory. We must not wonder at the apparent discrepancy between these dates, since, even now that astronomy is a more exact science, different peoples have different beginnings and endings for their months.

XX. After this, the Athenians would not grant the Spartans the highest meed of valour, nor allow them to erect a general trophy, and the cause of the Hellenes had certainly gone at once to destruction from their armed contention, had not Aristides, by abundant exhortation and admonition, checked his fellow-generals, especially Leocrates and Myronides, and persuaded them to submit the case to the Hellenes for decision. Thereupon, in the council of the Hellenes, Theogeiton the Megarian said that the meed of valour must be given to some third city, unless they desired the confusion of a civil war. At this point Cleocritus the Corinthian rose to speak. Every one thought he would demand the meed of valour for the Corinthians, since Corinth was held in greatest estimation after Sparta and Athens. But to the astonishment and delight of all, he made a proposition in behalf of the Plataeans, and counselled to take away contention by giving them the meed of valour, since at their honour neither claimant could take offence. To this proposal Aristides was first to

¹ About August 1, 479 B.C.
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υπὲρ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἔπειτα Παυσανίας ὑπὲρ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. ούτω δὲ διαλλαγέντες ἐξείλον ὄγδούκοντα τάλαντα τοῖς Πλαταιεῦσιν, ἀφ' ὧν τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἄνφιδομησαν1 ιερὸν καὶ τὸ ἔδος ἐστησαν καὶ γραφαίς τῶν νεῶν διεκόσμησαν, αὖ μέχρι νῦν ἀκμάξοναι διαμένουσιν, ἐστησαν δὲ τρόπαιον ἱδία μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, χωρὶς δ' Ἀθηναίοι.

4 Περὶ δὲ θυσίας ἐρωμένους αὐτοῖς ἀνείλεν ὁ Πύθιος Δίδος ἐλευθερίου βωμὸν ἰδρύσασθαι, θύσας δὲ μὴ πρῶτον ἢ τὸ κατὰ τὴν χώραν πῦρ ἀποσβέσαντας ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων μεμισμένον ἑναύσασθαι καθαρὸν ἐκ Δελφῶν ἀπὸ τῆς κοινῆς ἑστίας. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄρχοντες τῶν Ἑλλήνων περιώντες εὐθὺς ἡμάγκαζον ἀποσβεννύοντα τὰ πυρὰ πάντα τοὺς χρωμένους, ἐκ δὲ Πλαταιῶν Εὐχίδας ὑποσχόμενος ὡς εὐδέχεται τάχιστα κρμεῖν

5 τὸ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πῦρ ἦκεν εἰς Δελφοὺς. ἀγνίσας δὲ τὸ σῶμα καὶ περιρρανάμενος ἑστεφανώσατο δάφνῃ καὶ λαβὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὸ πῦρ δρόμῳ πάλιν εἰς τὰς Πλαταίας ἐξώρει καὶ πρὸ ἡλίου δυσμῶν ἐπανήλθε, τῆς—ἀυτῆς ἡμέρας χιλιόν σταδίους κατανύσας. ἀσπασάμενος δὲ τοὺς πολίτας καὶ τὸ πῦρ παραδοῦς εὐθὺς ἐπεσε καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἐξέπνευσεν. ἀγάμενοι δ' αὐτὸν οἱ Πλαταιεῖς ἑθαψαν ἐν τῷ ιερῷ τῆς Εὐκλείας Ἀρτέμιδος, ἐπιγράψαντες τόδε τὸ τετράμετρον·

Εὐχίδας Πυθῶδε θρέξας ἤλθε τάδ' αὐθημερὸν.

1 ἄνφιδομησαν Hercher and Blass, following Stephanus, and favoured by Frs: φιδομησαν built.

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agree on behalf of the Athenians, then Pausanias on behalf of the Lacedaemonians. Thus reconciled, they chose out eighty talents of the booty for the Plataeans, with which they rebuilt the sanctuary of Athena, and set up the shrine, and adorned the temple with frescoes, which continue in perfect condition to the present day; then the Lacedaemonians set up a trophy on their own account, and the Athenians also for themselves.

When they consulted the oracle regarding the sacrifice to be made, the Pythian god made answer that they were to erect an altar of Zeus the Deliverer, but were not to sacrifice upon it until they had extinguished the fire throughout the land, which he said had been polluted by the Barbarians, and kindled it fresh and pure from the public hearth at Delphi. Accordingly the commanders of the Hellenes went about straightway and compelled all who were using fire to extinguish it, while Euchidas, who promised to bring the sacred fire with all conceivable speed, went from Plataea to Delphi. There he purified his person by sprinkling himself with the holy water, and crowned himself with laurel. Then he took from the altar the sacred fire and started to run back to Plataea. He reached the place before the sun had set, accomplishing thus a thousand furlongs in one and the same day. He greeted his countrymen, handed them the sacred fire, and straightway fell down, and after a little expired. In admiration of him the Plataeans gave him burial in the sanctuary of Artemis Eucleia, and inscribed upon his tomb this tetrameter verse:

"Euchidas, to Pytho running, came back here the selfsame day."
6 Τὴν δ' Εὐκλειαν οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ καὶ καλοῦσιν καὶ νομίζουσιν Ἀρτεμίν, ἐνιοί δὲ φασιν Ἰρακλέους μὲν θυγατέρα καὶ Μυρτοὺς γενέσθαι, τῆς Μενοιτίου μὲν θυγατρός, Πατρόκλου δ' ἄδελφις, τελευτήσας δὲ παρθένον ἔχειν παρά τε Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Δοκροὺς τιμᾶς. βομβὸς γὰρ αὕτη καὶ ἀγαλμα κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀγορὰν ἱδρυται, καὶ προθύουσι αἱ τε γαμούμεναι καὶ οἱ γαμοῦντες.

XXI Ἐκ τούτου γενομένης ἐκκλήσιας κοινῆς τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἔγραψεν Ἀριστείδης ψήφισμα συνεναι μὲν εἰς Πλαταιῶς καθ' ἐκαστον ἐνιαυτόν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐλλάδος προβούλους καὶ θεορούς, ἀγεσθαι δὲ πενταετηρικῶν ἀγῶνα τῶν Ἑλευθερίων. εἰναι δὲ σύνταξιν Ἐλληνικὴν μυρίας μὲν ἀσπίδας, χίλιων δὲ ἱπποὺς, ναῦς δ' ἐκατὸν ἐπὶ τὸν πρός βαρβάρους πόλεμον, Πλαταιῶς δ' ἀσύλους καὶ ἱεροὺς ἀφεῖσθαι τῷ θεῷ βύοντας ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἐλλάδος.

2 Κυρωθέντων δὲ τούτων οἱ Πλαταιῶι ὑπεδέξαντο τοὺς πεσοῦσι καὶ κειμένοις αὐτοθεί τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἐναγίζειν καθ' ἐκαστον ἐνιαυτόν. καὶ τούτο μέχρι νῦν δροσί τόνδε τοῦ τρόπου τοῦ Μαυμακτηρίων μηνός, οὐ̣ ἔστι παρὰ Βοιωτῶν Ἀλακκομένοις, τῇ ἑκτῇ ἐπὶ δέκα πέμπτος ποιμήν, ἢς προηγεῖται μὲν ἀμὴ ἡμέρα σαλπιγκτής

3 ἐγκελευόμενος τὸ πολεμικὸν, ἕπονται δ' ἀμάζαι μυρρίνης μεσταὶ καὶ στεφανωμάτων καὶ μέλας ταύρος καὶ χοῦς οἶνον καὶ γάλακτος ἐν ἀμφορεύσιν ἐλαίον τε καὶ μύρον κρωσσοὺς νεανίσκοι κομίζοντες ἐλεύθεροι, δοῦλοι γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἕξεστι τῶν

1 τῶν δὲ Hercher and Blass with FaS: τούτων.
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Now Eucleia is regarded by most as Artemis, and is so addressed; but some say she was a daughter of Heracles and of that Myrto who was daughter of Menoeceus and sister of Patroclus, and that, dying in virginity, she received divine honours among the Boeotians and Locrians. For she has an altar and an image built in every market place, and receives preliminary sacrifices from would-be brides and bridegrooms.

XXI. After this, there was a general assembly of the Hellenes, at which Aristides proposed a decree to the effect that deputies and delegates from all Hellas convene at Plataea every year, and that every fourth year festival games of deliverance be celebrated—the Eleutheria; also that a confederate Hellenic force be levied, consisting of ten thousand shield, one thousand horse, and one hundred ships, to prosecute the war against the Barbarian; also that the Plataeans be set apart as inviolable and consecrate, that they might sacrifice to Zeus the Deliverer in behalf of Hellas.

These propositions were ratified, and the Plataeans undertook to make funeral offerings annually for the Hellenes who had fallen in battle and lay buried there. And this they do yet unto this day, after the following manner. On the sixteenth of the month Maimacterion (which is the Boeotian Alalcomenius), they celebrate a procession. This is led forth at break of day by a trumpeter sounding the signal for battle; waggons follow filled with myrtle-wreaths, then comes a black bull, then free-born youths carrying libations of wine and milk in jars, and pitchers of oil and myrrh (no slave may put hand to
PERI THEN DIAKOINIAN EKEIVN PROSAFASAI DIÀ TÒ 4 TOUS ANDRAS APOTHANEIVN UPÈR ELVENHERIAS:

ÊPl PÀSì DI TÒN PLATAEIWN Ó ARXWV, Ï.TÒN ALLOV CHRONOV OUTE SIDIHROU THYGEIVN EXESTIN OUD' ETÉRAI ÈSOTH̄TA
PLHN LEUKHÈS ANALABEIVN, TÒTE XHTÔNA FOINIKOIVN
ÉVDEDUKOS 'ARÀMENOS TE ÚDRÀN ÛPÒ TOÚ GRAAMATOFULAKIOU XEFHÌHES ÊPl TOUS TÀFOUS PROAGEID DIÀ

5 MÉSHEI TΗS PÔLEWS. ÈIATA LÁBÒN ÙDWÒR ÛPÒ TΗS
KRHÌHS AYÒS ÆPOLONIUEI TE TÀS STHÌLAS KAI MÝRF
XHIHEI, KAI TÒN TAÙRON EIS TΗN PIRÀN SFAÀXAS KAI
KATENXàMENOS. DIK KAI ÊRMBH ÏCHTHONIV PARAKALEI
TOUS AGATHOUS ANDRAS TOUS ÛPÒ TΗS 'EHLÀDOS
APOTHANONTAS ÊPl TO DEÎPNON KAI TΗN AIMOKOURHÀN.
ÈPITEITA KRATÎHRA KERÀSAS OÝNOU KAI XEÀMENOS ÈPIT-
LÉGEI: "PROPTHÎW TOIS ANDRÁS TOIS ÛPÒ TΗS
ELVENHERIAS TÒN 'EHLÌHNW APOTHANOÛS." TAHTA
MÈN OÝN ÈTI KAI NÌN DIAPULÁTTOUSSIN OI PLATAEIVS.

XXII. 'Epel Ï 'ÀNAXWÒRHSHANTAS EIS TÒ ÆSTU
TOUS 'AZHNAAION OI 'ARISTEÍDHS ÉFRA XHTOÛNTAS
TΗN DEMOKRATIAN APOLABEIVN, AMÀ MÈN ÁXIÒN ÍGOU-
MENOS DIÀ TΗN ANDRAGAVHÀN ÈPIMELIEIAS TÒN ÆHMWN,
AMÀ Ï OÝK ÈTI RÁDION ISXÒUONTA TOIS ÆPLOIS KAI
MÈGA FROVNOÛNTA TAÏS NÌKAI EKBÌASHHN, GRÁFHEI
PSÌFSIMA KOINH EINAI TΗN POLITEIAN KAI TOUS
ÀRHONTAS ÊX 'AZHNAAION PÀNTON AIWÈSHAI.

2 THEMISTOKLÉOUS DÈ PRÒS TÒN ÆHMWN EIPTONTOS, ÏS
ÈXEIH TΗ BOÛLEUMA KAI GNÓMHN APORHÔTON, ÏOFÉ-
LHMON DÈ TΗ PÔLEI KAI SÔTHERON, ÈKÈLENUSAN
'ARISTEÍDH MÒNÖN ÀKOUŚAI KAI SYNDOKIMÀSAI.

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any part of that ministration, because the men thus honoured died for freedom); and following all, the chief magistrate of Plataea, who may not at other times touch iron or put on any other raiment than white, at this time is robed in a purple tunic, carries on high a water-jar from the city’s archive chamber, and proceeds, sword in hand, through the midst of the city to the graves; there he takes water from the sacred spring, washes off with his own hands the gravestones, and anoints them with myrrh; then he slaughters the bull at the funeral pyre, and, with prayers to Zeus and Hermes Terrestrial, summons the brave men who died for Hellas to come to the banquet and its copious draughts of blood; next he mixes a mixer of wine, drinks, and then pours a libation from it, saying these words: “I drink to the men who died for the freedom of the Hellenes.” These rites, I say, are observed by the Plataeans down to this very day.

XXII. After the Athenians had returned to their own city, Aristides saw that they desired to receive the more popular form of government. He thought the people worthy of consideration because of its sturdy valour, and he saw also that it was no longer easy to be forced out of its desires, since it was powerful in arms, and greatly elated by its victories. So he introduced a decree that the administration of the city be the privilege of all classes, and that the archons be chosen from all the Athenians.

Themistocles once declared to the people that he had devised a certain measure, which could not be revealed to them, though it would be helpful and salutary for the city, and they ordered that Aristides alone should hear what it was and pass judgment on
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φράσαντος δὲ τῷ Ἀριστείδῃ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους, ὡς διανοεῖται τοῦ γαύσταθμον ἐμπρῆσαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὔτω γὰρ ἑσθεθαὶ μεγίστους καὶ κυρίους ἀπάντων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, παρελθὼν εἰς τὸν δήμον ὁ Ἀριστείδης ἔφη τῆς πράξεως, ἢν Θεμιστοκλῆς πράττειν διανοεῖται, μήτε λυσιτελεστέραν ἀλλην μὴν ἀδικωτέραν εἶναι. ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι παύσασθαι τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα προσέταξαν. οὔτω μὲν ο郤 δήμος ἢν φιλοδίκαιος, οὔτω δὲ τῷ δήμῳ πιστὸς ὁ ἀνήρ καὶ βέβαιος.

XXIII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ στρατηγὸς ἐκπεμφθεὶς μετὰ Κίμωνος ἔπι τὸν πόλεμον ἐώρα τὸν τε Παυσανίαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἄρχοντας τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ἐπαχθεῖς καὶ χαλεποὺς τοὺς συμμάχους ὄντας, αὐτὸς τε πράως καὶ φιλανθρώπως ὄμιλλον καὶ τὸν Κίμωνα παρέχων εὐάρμοστον αὐτοῖς καὶ κοινὸν ἐν ταῖς στρατεύσεις ἔλαθε τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων οὐχ ὅπλοις οὐδὲ ναυσίν οὐδὲ ἵπποις, εὐγενεμοσύνῃ δὲ καὶ πολιτείᾳ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν 2 παρελόμενον. προσφιλεὶς γὰρ ὄντας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τοῖς Ἕλλησι διὰ τὴν Ἀριστείδου δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὴν Κίμωνος ἐπιέκειαν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ Παυσανίου πλεονεξία καὶ βαρύτης ποθεινοῖς ἐποίει. τοῖς τε γὰρ ἄρχοντα τῶν συμμάχων ὡς μὲτ' ὀργῆς ἐνετύχανε καὶ τραχέως, τοὺς τε πολλοὺς ἐκόλαξε πληγαῖς ὡς σιδηρῶν ἀγκυράν ἐπιτιθεῖς ἥναγκαζεν ἑστάναι δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας. 3 στειβάδα δ' οὐκ ἦν λαβεῖν οὐδὲ χόρτον οὐδὲ κρήνη προσελθεῖν ὕδρευόμενον οὐδένα πρὸ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, ἀλλὰ μάστυγας ἔχοντες υπηρέται
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it. So Themistocles told Aristides that his purpose was to burn the naval station of the confederate Hellenes, for that in this way the Athenians would be greatest, and lords of all. Then Aristides came before the people and said of the deed which Themistocles purposed to do, that none other could be more advantageous, and none more unjust. On hearing this, the Athenians ordained that Themistocles cease from his purpose.\(^1\) So fond of justice was the people, and so loyal and true to the people was Aristides.

XXIII. When he was sent out as general along with Cimon to prosecute the war,\(^2\) and saw that Pausanias and the other Spartan commanders were offensive and severe to the allies, he made his own intercourse with them gentle and humane, and induced Cimon to be on easy terms with them and to take an actual part in their campaigns, so that, before the Lacedaemonians were aware, not by means of hoplites or ships or horsemen, but by tact and diplomacy he had stripped them of the leadership. For, well disposed as the Hellenes were toward the Athenians on account of the justice of Aristides and the reasonableness of Cimon, they were made to long for their supremacy still more by the rapacity of Pausanias and his severity. The commanders of the allies ever met with angry harshness at the hands of Pausanias, and the common men he punished with stripes, or by compelling them to stand all day long with an iron anchor on their shoulders. No one could get bedding or fodder or go down to a spring for water before the Spartans, nay, their servants

\(^1\) Cf. Themistocles, xx. 1-2.  \(^2\) 478 B.C.

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τοῦς προσιόντας ἀπήλαυνον. ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ Ἄριστείδου ποτὲ βουληθέντος ἐγκαλέσαι καὶ
didάξαι,1 συναγαγὼν τὸ próσωπon ὁ Παυσανίας
οὐκ ἔφη σχολάζειν οὔδ’ ἤκουσεν.

4 Ἡκ τούτου προσιόντες οἱ ναύαρχοι καὶ στρα-
tηγοὶ τῶν Ἐλλήνων, μάλιστα δὲ Χῖοι καὶ Σάμιοι
καὶ Δέσβιοι, τῶν Ἄριστείδην ἔπειθον ἀναδέξα-
σθαι τὴν ἤγεμονίαν καὶ προσαγαγόσθαι τοὺς
συμμάχους πάλαι δεομένους ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῶν
Σπάρτηστῶν καὶ μετατάξασθαι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθη-
ναίους. ἀποκριναμένου δ’ ἐκείνου τοῖς μὲν λόγοις
αὐτῶν τὸ τε ἀναγκαῖον ἐνορᾶν καὶ τὸ δίκαιον,
ἐργον δὲ δείσθαι τὴν πίστιν, δ’ πραχθὲν οὐκ ἔσει

5 πάλιν μεταβαλέσθαι τοὺς πολλοὺς, οὔτως οἱ
περὶ τὸν Σάμιον Οὐλιάδην καὶ τὸν Χῖον Ἁντα-
γόραν συνομοσάμενοι περὶ Βυζάντιον ἐμβάλ-
λουσιν εἰς τὴν τριήρη τοῦ Παυσανίου, προεκπλέ-
ουσαν ἐν μέσῳ λαβόντες. ὡς δὲ κατιδὼν ἐκείνος
ἐξανέστη καὶ μετ’ ὀργῆς ἦπείλθησεν ὅλῳ ἑρῶ
τοὺς ἀνδρας ἐπιδείξειν οὐκ εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ ναῦν
ἐμβεβληκότας, ἀλλ’ εἰς τὰς ἱδίας πατρίδας,
ἐκέλευν αὐτὸν ἀπείναι καὶ ἀγαπᾶν τὴν συναγω-
νισμένην τῆς ἐν Πλατανίδες. ἐκείνην γὰρ ἔτι
τοὺς Ἐλληνας αἰσχυνομένους μὴ λαμβάνειν
ἀξίαν δίκην παρ’ αὐτοῦ τέλος δ’ ἀποστάντες
φῶντο πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

6 Ἔνθα δὴ καὶ τὸ φρόνημα τῆς Σπάρτης διεφάνη

1 ποτὲ ... didάξαι Hercher and Blass with F²S: ποτ’ ἐγκα-
λέσαι καὶ didάξαι θυγαμένου.
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armed with goads would drive away such as approached. On these grounds Aristides once had it in mind to chide and admonish him, but Pausanias scowled, said he was busy, and would not listen.

Subsequently the captains and generals of the Hellenes, and especially the Chians, Samians, and Lesbians, came to Aristides and tried to persuade him to assume the leadership and bring over to his support the allies, who had long wanted to be rid of the Spartans and to range themselves anew on the side of the Athenians. He replied that he saw the urgency and the justice of what they proposed, but that to establish Athenian confidence in them some overt act was needed, the doing of which would make it impossible for the multitude to change their allegiance back again. So Uliades the Samian and Antagoras the Chian conspired together, and ran down the trireme of Pausanias off Byzantium, closing in on both sides of it as it was putting out before the line. When Pausanias saw what they had done, he sprang up and wrathfully threatened to show the world in a little while that these men had run down not so much his ship as their own native cities; but they bade him be gone, and be grateful to that fortune which fought in his favour at Plataea; it was because the Hellenes still stood in awe of this, they said, that they did not punish him as he deserved. And finally they went off and joined the Athenians.

Then indeed was the lofty wisdom of the
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θαυμαστών. ὡς γὰρ ἦσθοντο τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ἐξουσίας διαφθειρομένους αὐτῶν τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ἀφῆκαν ἐκουσίως τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ πέμποντες ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπαύσαντο στρατηγοῦς, μᾶλλον αἱρούμενοι σωφρονοῦντας ἐχειν καὶ τοὺς ἔθεσιν ἐμένοντας τοὺς πολίτας ἢ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄρχεν ἀπάσης.

XXIV. Οἱ δ’ Ἕλληνες ἐτέλον ἡν τίνα καὶ Δακεδαιμονίων ἡγομένων ἀπόφοραν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, ταχθήναι δὲ βουλόμενοι κατὰ πόλιν ἐκάστοις τὸ μέτριον ἦττάσαντο παρὰ τῶν Ἀθη- ναίων Ἀριστείδην, καὶ προσέταξαν αὐτῷ χῶραν τε καὶ προσόδους ἐπισκεφτάμενον ὁρίσαι τὸ κατ’ ἄξιαν ἐκάστῳ καὶ δύναμιν. ὡς δὲ τηλικάυτης ἐξουσίας κύριος γενόμενος καὶ τρόπον τινά τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπ’ αὐτῷ μόνῳ τὰ πράγματα πάντα θεμένης, πένης μὲν ἐξηλθεν, ἐπανήλθε δὲ πενε- στερος, οὐ μόνον καθαρῶς καὶ δικαίως, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσφίλως πάσι καὶ ἀρμοδίως τὴν ἐπιγραφήν τῶν χρηματῶν ποιησάμενος. ὡς γὰρ οἱ παλαιοὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Κρόνου βίου, οὕτως οἱ σύμμαχοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸν ἐπὶ Ἀριστείδου φόρον εὐποτημίαν τινά τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑσομάξοντες ὑμνοῦν, καὶ μάλιστα μετ’ οὐ πολύν χρόνον διπλασιασθέντος,

3 εἰτ’ αὐθίνες τριπλασιασθέντος. ὡς γὰρ Ἀρι- στείδης ἔταξεν, ὡς εἰς ἐξήκοντα καὶ τετρακοσίων ταλάντων λόγων· τούτῳ δὲ Περικλῆς μὲν ἐπέ- θηκεν ὅλῳν δεῖν τὸ τρίτον μέρος· ἔξακόσια γὰρ τάλαντα Ἐυκυδίδης φησιν ἄρχομενοι τοῦ πολέ- μου προσέναι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων. Περικλέους δὲ ἀποθανόντος ἐπιτείνουτες.
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Spartans made manifest in a wonderful way. When they saw that their commanders were corrupted by the great powers entrusted to them, they voluntarily abandoned the leadership and ceased sending out generals for the war, choosing rather to have their citizens discreet and true to their ancestral customs than to have the sway over all Hellas.

XXIV. The Hellenes used to pay a sort of contribution for the war even while the Lacedaemonians had the leadership, but now they wished to be assessed equably city by city. So they asked the Athenians for Aristides, and commissioned him to inspect their several territories and revenues,\(^1\) and then to fix the assessments according to each member's worth and ability to pay. And yet, though he became master of such power, and though after a fashion Hellas put all her property in his sole hands, poor as he was when he went forth on this mission, he came back from it poorer still, and he made his assessments of money not only with purity and justice, but also to the grateful satisfaction and convenience of all concerned. Indeed, as men of old hymned the praises of the age of Cronus—the golden age, so did the allies of the Athenians praise the tariff of Aristides, calling it a kind of blessed happening for Hellas, especially as, after a short time, it was doubled and then again trebled. For the tax which Aristides laid amounted to four hundred and sixty talents only; but Pericles must have added almost a third to this, since Thucydides\(^2\) says that when the war began the Athenians had a revenue of six hundred talents from their allies. And after

\(^1\) 478-477 B.C. \(^2\) ii. 13.
οἱ δημαγωγοὶ κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς χιλίων καὶ τριακοσίων ταλάντων κεφάλαιον ἀνήγαγον, οὐχ οὖτω τοῦ πολέμου διὰ μήκος καὶ τύχας δαπανηρῶν γενομένου καὶ πολυτελοῦς, ὡς τὸν δῆμον εἰς διανομᾶς καὶ θεωρικά καὶ κατασκευῶς ἀγαλμάτων καὶ ιερῶν προαγαγόντες.

4 Μέγα δ’ οὖν ὅνομα τοῦ Ἀριστείδου καὶ θαυμαστὸν ἔχοντος ἐπὶ τῇ διατάξει τῶν φόρων ὃ Θεομοστοκλῆς λέγεται καταγελάν, ὡς οὔκ ἀνδρὸς ὅντα τὸν ἔπαινον, ἀλλὰ θυλάκων χρυσοφύλακος· ἀνομοίως ἀμυνόμενος τὴν Ἀριστείδου παρρησίαν ἐκείνῳ γὰρ εἰπόντος ποτὲ τοῦ Θεομοστοκλέους ἄρετην ἠγείσθαι μεγίστην στρατηγοῦ τὸ γενώσει καὶ προαισθάνεσθαι τὰ βουλεύματα τῶν πολεμῶν, "Τούτῳ μὲν," εἶπεῖν, "ἀναγκαῖον ἔστιν, ὧ Θεομοστόκλειος, καλὸν δὲ καὶ στρατηγικὸν ἀληθῶς ἡ περὶ τὰς χείρας ἐγκράτεια.

XXV. Ὁ δ’ Ἀριστείδης ὄρκισε μὲν τοὺς Ἐλλήνας καὶ ὠμοσεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, μῦροις ἐμβαλὼν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀραιές εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, ὤστερον δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀρχεῖαν ἐγκρατεστερον, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐκβιαζομένων ἐκέλευς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὴν ἑπιορκίαν τρέψαντας εἰς ἑαυτὸν 2

2 ἦ συμφέρει χρῆσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι. καὶ οὖν δ’ ὁ Θεόφραστός φησι τὸν ἄνδρα τούτον περὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα καὶ τοὺς πολίτας ἀκρως ὅντα δίκαιον ἐν

1 ἐκεῖνος γὰρ Hercher and Blass with F*S: ἐκεῖνος γὰρ.
2 εαυτόν Hercher and Blass with F*S: εαυτόν.
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the death of Pericles the demagogues enlarged it little by little, and at last brought the sum total up to thirteen hundred talents, not so much because the war, by reason of its length and vicissitudes, became extravagantly expensive, as because they themselves led the people off into the distribution of public moneys for spectacular entertainments, and for the erection of images and sanctuaries.

So then Aristides had a great and admirable name for his adjustment of the revenues. But Themistocles is said to have ridiculed him, claiming that the praise he got therefor was not fit for a man, but rather for a mere money-wallet. He came off second best, however, in this retort upon the plain speech of Aristides, who had remarked, when Themistocles once declared to him the opinion that the greatest excellence in a general was the anticipation of the plans of his enemies: “That is indeed needful, Themistocles, but the honourable thing, and that which makes the real general, is his mastery over his fingers.”

XXV. Aristides did, indeed, bind the Hellenes by an oath, and took oath himself for the Athenians, solemnly casting iron ingots from the very altars into the sea; but afterwards, when circumstances, forsooth, compelled a more strenuous sway, he bade the Athenians lay the perjury to his own charge, and turn events to their own advantage. And in general, as Theophrastus tells us, while the man was strictly just in his private relations to his fellow-citizens, in public matters he often
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tois koivois polla præxai prōs tēn ūpōthein tēs patrídous, ὣς συχνῆς kai ἀδικίας δεομένην.1 kai γὰρ τὰ χρήματα φησιν ἐκ Δήλου βουλευομένων Ἀθηναζε κομίσαι παρὰ τᾶς συνθήκας, kai2 Samiōn eisγηγουμένων, eiphein ékeinou, ὡς οὐ 3 ðikainon méν, συμφέρον δὲ τοῦτ ἐστί. kai tēlōs eis τὸ ἄρχειν ἀνθρώπων τοσοῦτων καταστήσας τῆν πόλιν αὐτὸς ἐνέμεινε τῇ πενίᾳ kai τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πένης εἶναι δόξαν οὐδὲν ἦττον ἀγαπῶν τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν τροπαίων διετέλεσε. δῆλον δ᾿ ἐκεῖθεν. Καλλίας ὁ δαδοῦχος ἦν αὐτῷ γένει προσήκων τοῦτον οἱ ἑχθοὶ θεανότου διώκοντες, ἐπεὶ περὶ ὅν ἐγράψαντο μετρίως κατηγόρησαν, εἰπὸν τινα λόγον ἕξωθεν τοιοῦτον πρὸς τοὺς δικαστὰς.4 "Ἀριστείδην," ἐφησαν, "Ἅστε τὸν Λυσιμάχου θαυμαζόμενον εἰν τοῖς Ἑλλησὶν τοῦτο πῶς οἴσεθε τά κατ' οἶκον ἔχειν ὅρωντα αὐτῶν ἐν τρίβων τοιοῦτο προσεχόμενον εἰς τὸ δημόσιον; ἃρ' οὐκ εἰκός ἐστι τὸν ρυγοῦντα φανερῶς καὶ πεινάν οἰκοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδεύον σπανίζειν; τοῦτον μέντοι Καλλίας, ἀνεψιδὸν ὄντα, πλουσιότατος δὲν Ἀθηναίων περιορᾷ μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶς ἐνδεόμενον, πολλά κεχρημένος τῷ ἄνδρι καὶ πολλάκις αὐτοῦ τῆς παρ' ύμίν δυνάμεως ἀπολε-5 λαυκώς." ὡ δὲ Καλλίας ὄρων ἐπὶ τούτῳ μάλιστα

1 kal a̱dikias deomerēn Blass, favoured by FrS: adikias deomerēn.
2 kal bracketed by Sintenis.
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acted in accordance with the policy which his country had adopted, feeling that this required much actual injustice. For instance, he says that when the question of removing the moneys of the confederacy from Delos to Athens,\(^1\) contrary to the compacts, was being debated, and even the Samians proposed it, Aristides declared that it was unjust, but advantageous. And yet, although he at last established his city in its sway over so many men, he himself abode by his poverty, and continued to be no less content with the reputation he got from being a poor man, than with that based on his trophies of victory. This is clear from the following story.

Callias the Torch-bearer was a kinsman of his. This man was prosecuted by his enemies on a capital charge, and after they had brought only moderate accusations against him within the scope of their indictment, they went outside of it and appealed to the judges as follows: "You know Aristides the son of Lysimachus," they said, "how he is admired in Hellas; what do you suppose his domestic circumstances are when you see him entering the public assembly in such a scanty cloak as that? Is it not likely that a man who shivers in public goes hungry at home, and is straitened for the other necessaries of life? Callias, however, who is the richest man of Athens (and his cousin at that), allows him to suffer want with his wife and children, though he has often had service of the man, and many times reaped advantage from his influence with you." But Callias, seeing

\(^1\) 454 B.C.
θορυβούντας τοὺς δικαστὰς καὶ χαλέπις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχοντας ἐκάλει τὸν Ἀριστείδην, ἀξιῶν μαρτυρῆσαι πρὸς τοὺς δικαστὰς, ὅτι πολλάκις αὐτοῦ πολλὰ καὶ διδόντος καὶ δεομένου λαβείν οὐκ ἦθελησεν ἀποκρινόμενος, ὡς μᾶλλον αὐτῷ διὰ πενίαν μέγα φρονεῖν ἢ Κάλλια διὰ πλούτου προσήκει· πλούτῳ μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ πολλοὺς ἰδεῖν εὐ τε καὶ κακῶς χρωμένους, πενίαν δὲ φέροντι γενναίως οὐ βάδιον ἐπικεῖται ἀισχύνεσθαι δὲ πενίαν τοὺς ἀκουσίως πενομένους. ταῦτα δὲ τοῦ Ἀριστείδου τῷ Κάλλιᾳ προσμαρτυρῆσαντος οὐ δεῖ ἂν τῶν ἀκουόντων, δὲ οὐκ ἀπῆχεν πένης μᾶλλον ὡς Ἀριστείδης εἶναι βουλόμενος ἡ πλουτεῖν ὡς Κάλλιας. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν 1 Αἰσχίνης ὁ Σωκρατικὸς ἀναγέγραφε. Πλάτων δὲ τῶν μεγάλων δοκούντων καὶ ὅνομαστῶν Ἀθήνης μόνῳ ἄξιον λόγου τούτου ἀποφαίνει τὸν ἄνδρα. Θεμιστοκλέα μὲν γὰρ καὶ Κίμωνα καὶ Περικλέα στὸν καὶ χρημάτων καὶ φλυαρίας πολλῆς ἐμπλήσαι τὴν πόλιν, Ἀριστείδην δὲ πολιτεύσασθαι πρὸς ἀρετὴν.

7. Μεγάλα δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ πρὸς Θεμιστοκλέα τῆς ἐπιμελείας σημεία. χρησάμενος γὰρ αὐτῷ παρὰ πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ τὴν πολιτείαν ἐγχρῷ καὶ δι' ἑκείων ἐξοστρακισθεῖς, ἔπει τὴν αὐτὴν λαβὴν παρέσχεν ὁ ἀνήρ ἐν αὐτίᾳ γενόμενος πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, οὐκ ἐμνησικάκησεν, ἀλλ' Ἀλκμαιόνος καὶ Κίμωνος καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων ἐλαύνοντών καὶ κατηγοροῦντων μόνος Ἀριστείδης οὖτ' ἐπραξεν οὖτ' εἰπὲ τι φαίλον, οὐδ' ἄπελαυσεν ἐχθροῦ.
that his judges were very turbulent at this charge, and bitterly disposed toward him, summoned Aristides and demanded his testimony before the judges that though often proffered aid from him and importuned to accept it, he had refused it, with the answer that it more became him to be proud of his poverty than Callias of his wealth; for many were to be seen who use wealth well or ill, but it was not easy to find a man who endured poverty with a noble spirit; and those only should be ashamed of poverty who could not be otherwise than poor. When Aristides had borne this witness for Callias, there was no one of his hearers who did not go home preferring to be poor with Aristides rather than to be rich with Callias. This, at any rate, is the story told by Aeschines the Socratic. And Plato\(^1\) maintains that of all those who had great names and reputations at Athens, this man alone was worthy of regard. Themistocles, he says, and Cimon, and Pericles, filled the city with porches and moneys and no end of nonsense; but Aristides squared his politics with virtue.

There are also strong proofs of his reasonableness to be seen in his treatment of Themistocles. This man he had found to be his foe during almost all his public service, and it was through this man that he was ostracized; but when Themistocles was in the same plight, and was under accusation before the city, Aristides remembered no evil; nay, though Alcmeon and Cimon and many others denounced and persecuted the man, Aristides alone did and said no meanness, nor did he take any advantage of

\(^1\) Gorgias, pp. 518 f., 526.
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dυστυχούντος, ώσπερ οὐδ’ εὐημεροῦντι πρότερον ἐφθόνησε.

XXVI. Τελευτᾶσαι δὲ Ἀριστείδην οἱ μὲν ἐν Πόντῳ φασίν ἐκπλεύσαντα πράξεων ἕνεκα δημοσίων, οἱ δ’ Ἀθήνησι γῆρα, τιμώμενοι καὶ θαυμαζομενοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν. Κρατερὸς δ’ ὁ Μακεδῶν τοιαύτα τινα περὶ τῆς τελευτής τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἶρηκε. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν Θεμιστοκλέους φυγὴν φθοιρὶς ὦσπερ ἐξυβρίσαντα τὸν δῆμον ἀναφύσαι πλῆθος συκοφάντων, οἱ τούς ἀρίστους καὶ δυνατωτάτους ἀνδρὰς διώκουτε ὑπὲρβαλλον τῷ φθόνῳ τῶν πολ.-335

2 λῶν ἐπαρισμένων ὑπ’ εὔνυχιας καὶ δυνάμεως. ἐν τούτοις καὶ Ἀριστείδην Ἀλώνης δωροδοκίας, Διοφάντου τοῦ Ἀμφιτροπήθεν καθηγοροῦντος, ὡς, ὅτε τοὺς φόρους ἔτατε, παρὰ τῶν Ἰωνίων χρηματα λαβόντος. ἐκτίσαι δ’ οὐκ ἔχοντα τὴν κατάδικην πεντήκοντα μνῶν ὀυκαν ἐκπλεύσαοι καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἀποθανεῖν. τούτων δὲ οὐδὲν ἔγραφον ὁ Κρατερὸς τεκμήριον παρέσχηκεν, οὔτε δίκην οὔτε ψῆφισμα, καίπερ εἰσωθὼς ἐπιεικῶς γράφεν τὰ τοιαύτα καὶ παρατίθεσθαι τοὺς ἱστοροῦντας.

3 Οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι πάντες, ὡς ἔπος εἶπεῖν, ὅσοι τὰ πλημμεληθέντα τῷ δήμῳ περὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς διεξίαζε, τὴν μὲν Θεμιστοκλέους φυγὴν καὶ τὰ Μιλτιάδος ἐσεμνοὶ καὶ τὴν Περικλέους ζημίαν καὶ τὸν Πάχητος ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ θάνατον, ἀνελόντως αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ὡς ἠλέσκετο, καὶ πολλὰ τοιαύτα συνάγουσι καὶ θρυλοῦσι, Ἀριστείδου δὲ τὸν μὲν ἐξοστρακισμὸν παρατίθενται, καταδίκης δὲ τοιαύτης οὐδαμοῦ μνημονεύουσι.
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his enemy's misfortune, just as formerly he did not grudge him his prosperity.

XXVI. As touching the death of Aristides, some say he died in Pontus, on an expedition in the public service; others at Athens, of old age, honoured and admired by his countrymen. But Craterus the Macedonian tells something like this about the death of the man. After the exile of Themistocles, he says, the people waxed wanton, as it were, and produced a great crop of sycophants, who hounded down the noblest and most influential men, and subjected them to the malice of the multitude, now exalted with its prosperity and power. Among these he says that Aristides also was convicted of bribery, on prosecution of Diophantus of the deme Amphitropé, for having taken money from the Ionians when he was regulating the tributes; and, further, that being unable to pay the judgment, which was fifty minas, he sailed away and died somewhere in Ionia. But Craterus furnishes no documentary proof of this,—no judgment of the court, no degree of indictment,—although he is wont to record such things with all due fulness, and to adduce his authorities.

All the rest, as I may venture to say,—all who rehearse the shortcomings of the people in dealing with their leaders,—compile and descant upon the exile of Themistocles, the imprisonment of Miltiades, the fine of Pericles, the death of Paches in the court room,—he slew himself on the rostrum when he saw that he was convicted,—and many such a case, and they put into the list the ostracism of Aristides, but of such a condemnation as this for bribery they make no mention whatsoever.
Καὶ μέντοι καὶ τάφος ἔστων αὐτοῦ Φαληροῖ δεικνύμενος, δι' αὐτοῦ μηδὲ ἐντάφια καταλιπόντι. καὶ τὰς μὲν θυγατέρας ἱστοροῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ πρωταίον τοὺς νυμφίους ἐκδοθήναι δημοσίᾳ, τῆς πόλεως τὸν γάμον ἐγγυώσης καὶ προῖκα τρισχίλια δραχμὰς ἐκατέρα ψηφισάμενης. Δυσιμάχῳ δὲ τῷ νίφῳ μναὶ μὲν ἐκατόν ἀργυρίου καὶ γῆς τοσαύτα πλέθρα πε- φυτευμένης ἔδωκεν ὁ δήμος, ἄλλας δὲ δραχμὰς τέσσαρας εἰς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἀπέταξεν, Ἀλκι- βιάδου τὸ ψηφίσμα γράψαντος. ἔτι δὲ Δυσι- μάχου θυγατέρα Πολυκρίτην ἀπολεπότος, ὡς Κάλλισθηνος φησί, καὶ ταύτῃ σύνθει ὁδὴν καὶ τοῖς Ὀλυμπιονικαῖς ὁ δήμος ἐψηφίσατο. Δημή- τριος δ' ὁ Φαληρεὺς καὶ Ιερώνυμος ὁ Ῥώδιος καὶ Ἀριστόξενος ὁ μουσικός καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης (εἰ δὴ τὸ γε1 Περὶ εὐγενείας Βιβλίον ἐν τοῖς γυναικίς Ἀριστοτέλους θετέων) ἱστοροῦσι Μυρτῶν θυγα- τριδήν Ἀριστείδου Σωκράτει τῷ σοφῷ συνοικήσαι, γυναῖκα μὲν ἐτέραν ἔχοντες, ταύτην δ' ἀναλαβόντες χρησίμουσαν διὰ πενίαν καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαῖων ἐνδεο- μένην. πρὸς μὲν ὁμώ οὖν τούτους ἰκανὸς ὁ Παναίτιος ἐν τοῖς περὶ Σωκράτους ἀντείρηκεν· ὁ δὲ Φαληρεὺς ἐν τῷ Σωκράτει φησὶ μημονεύειν Ἀριστείδου θυγατριδοῦν εὐ μάλα πέντα τρύσιμων, ὅς ἔαυτον μὲν2 ἐκ πυκνίου τινὸς ὀνειροκριτικοῦ παρὰ τὸ Ἡσυχείου λεγόμενον καθεξόμενος ἔβοσκε. τῇ δὲ μητρὶ καὶ τῇ ταύτῃ ἀδελφῇ ψηφίσμα γράψας ἔπεισε τὸν δήμον τροφὴν διδόναι τριῳδόλον ἐκάστης ἡμέρας. αὐτὸς μὲν τοῖς φησὶν ὁ Δημήτριος

1 τὸ γε Hercher and Blass with F°S: τὸ.
2 ἔαυτον μὲν Hercher and Blass with F°S: ἔαυτόν.
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XXVII. Moreover, his tomb is pointed out at Phalerum, and they say the city constructed it for him, since he did not leave even enough to pay for his funeral. And they tell how his daughters were married from the Prytaneion at the public cost, the city bestowing the dowry for the marriage and voting outright three thousand drachmas to each daughter, while to Lysimachus his son, the people gave one hundred minas in silver, as many acres of vineyard land, and besides this a pension of four drachmas per diem,—all in a bill which was brought in by Alcibiades. And further, Lysimachus left a daughter, Polycrite, according to Callisthenes, and the people voted for her a public maintenance, in the style of their Olympic victors. Again, Demetrius the Phalerean, Hieronymus the Rhodian, Aristoxenus the Musician, and Aristotle (provided the book “On Nobility of Birth” is to be ranked among the genuine works of Aristotle) relate that Myrto, the granddaughter of Aristides, lived in wedlock with Socrates the Sage. He had another woman to wife, but took this one up because her poverty kept her a widow, and she lacked the necessaries of life. To these, however, Panaetius, in his work on Socrates, has made sufficient reply.

And the Phalerean says, in his “Socrates,” that he remembers a grandson of Aristides, Lysimachus, a very poor man, who made his own living by means of a sort of dream-interpreting tablet, his seat being near the so-called Iaccheium. To this man’s mother and to her sister, Demetrius persuaded the people to give, by formal decree, a pension of three obols per
νομοθετῶν ἀντὶ τριωβόλου δραχμῆν ἐκατέρα τάξαι τῶν γυναικῶν.

4. Καὶ οὖν ἐστὶ θαυμαστὸν οὕτω φροντίσαι τῶν ἐν ἄστει τῶν δῆμου, ὅποιον θυγατριδὴν Ἀριστογείτονος ἐν Δήμῳ πυθόμενοι ταπεινὰ πράττειν ἄνδρὸς ἀποροῦσαν διὰ πενίαν κατήγαγον Ἀθήναξ, καὶ συνοικίζοντες ἄνδρὶ τῶν εὐ γεγονότων τὸ Ποταμοὶ χωρίον εἰς φέρνῃ ἐπέδωκαν. ἦς φίλανθρωπίας καὶ χρηστότητος ἐτὶ πολλὰ καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἡ πόλις ἐκφέρουσα δείγματα θαυμάζεται καὶ ξηλοῦται δικαίως.
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diem; though afterwards, in his capacity of sole legislator, he himself, as he says, assigned a drachma instead of three obols to each of the women.
It is not to be wondered at that the people took such thought for families in the city, since on learning that the granddaughter of Aristogeiton was living humbly in Lemnos, unmarried because of her poverty, they brought her back to Athens, consorted her with a well-born man, and gave her the estate in Potamus for her dowry. For such humanity and benevolence, of which the city still gives illustrious examples even in my own day, she is justly admired and lauded.
MARCUS CATO
ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΚΑΤΩΝ

I. Μάρκω δὲ Κάτωνι φασιν ἀπὸ Τοῦσκλου τὸ γένος εἶναι, δίαιταν δὲ καὶ βίον ἔχειν πρὸ τῶν στρατευόντων καὶ τῆς πολιτείας ἐν χωρίως πατρίως περὶ Σαβίνους. τῶν δὲ προγόνων παντάπασιν ἀγνώστων γεγονέναι δοκοῦντων αὐτὸς ὁ Κάτων καὶ τὸν πατέρα Μάρκουν ὡς ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα καὶ στρατιωτικὸν ἑπαυνεῖ, καὶ Κάτωνα τὸν πρόπατον ἀριστεῖων πολλάκις τυχεῖν φησι καὶ πέντε πολεμιστὰς ἱπποὺς ἐν μάχαις ἀποβαλόντα τὴν τιμήν ἀπολαβείν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου δ’ ἄνδρεις ἀγαθίαιν. εἰσθότων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τοὺς ἀπὸ γένους μὲν δόξαν οὐκ ἔχοντας, ἄρχομένους δὲ γνωρίζοντας δὲ αὐτῶν καινὸς προσαγορεύειν ἄνθρωπος, οὕστε καὶ τὸν Κάτωνα προσηγόρευον, αὐτὸς ἔλεγε καινὸς εἶναι πρὸς ἀρχὴν καὶ δόξαν, ἔργοις δὲ προγόνων καὶ ἀρεταῖς παμπάλαιοις. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν ὄνομάτων πρότερον οὐ Κάτων, ἀλλὰ Πρίσκος, ὦστερον δὲ τὸν Κάτωνα τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπάνυμον ἔσχε. Ῥωμαίοι γὰρ τὸν ἐμπειρούν κάτων ὄνομάξουσιν.

3 Ἡν δὲ τὸ μὲν εἴδος ὑπόπυρρος καὶ γλαυκός,

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MARCUS CATO

I. The family of Marcus Cato, it is said, was of Tuscan origin, though he lived, previous to his career as soldier and statesman, on an inherited estate in the country of the Sabines. His ancestors commonly passed for men of no note whatever, but Cato himself extols his father, Marcus, as a brave man and good soldier. He also says that his grandfather, Cato, often won prizes for soldierly valour, and received from the state treasury, because of his bravery, the price of five horses which had been killed under him in battle. The Romans used to call men who had no family distinction, but were coming into public notice through their own achievements, "new men," and such they called Cato. But he himself used to say that as far as office and distinction went, he was indeed new, but having regard to ancestral deeds of valour, he was oldest of the old. His third name was not Cato at first, but Priscus. Afterwards he got the surname of Cato for his great abilities. The Romans call a man who is wise and prudent, *catus*.

As for his outward appearance, he had reddish hair, and keen grey eyes, as the author of the well-
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ὡς ὁ ποιήσας τὸ ἐπιγραμμάτιον οὐκ εὐμενῶς παρεμφαίνει.

Πυρρόν, πανδακέτην, γλαυκόμματον, οὐδὲ θανόντα
Πόρκιον εἰς αἴδην Φερσεφόνη δέχεται.

Τὴν δὲ τοῦ σώματος ἔξων αὐτουργία καὶ διαίτη
σώφρονι καὶ στρατείαις ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς συντρόφου
γεγονότος πάνυ χρηστικὴν εἶχε, καὶ πρὸς ἵσχυν
καὶ πρὸς ύγίειαν ὁμαλῶς συνεστῶσαν. τὸν δὲ
λόγον, ὡσπερ δεύτερον σῶμα καὶ τῶν καλῶν,
οὐ μόνον τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὄργανον ἀνδρὶ μὴ
tαπεινῶς βιωσομένῳ μηδ’ ἀπράκτως, ἐξηρτύτεο
καὶ παρεσκευάζεν εἰς ταῖς περιοικίσι κάμαις καὶ
τοῖς πολιχνίοις ἐκάστοτε συνδικῶν τοῖς δεομένοις
καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀγονιστῆς εἶναι δοκῶν πρόθυμος,
εἰτα καὶ ῥήτωρ ἱκανός. ἐκ δὲ τούτου μᾶλλον
tοῖς χρωμένοις κατεφαίνετο βάρος τι καὶ φρονήμα
περὶ αὐτὸν ἱδίους πραγμάτων μεγάλων καὶ
πολιτείας δεόμενον ἡγεμονικῆς. οὐ γὰρ μόνον,
ὡς ἐοικε, μισθαρνίας καθαρὸν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὰς
δίκας καὶ τοὺς ἀγώνας παρέχεω, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ τὴν
dόξαν ὡς μέγιστον ἀγαπῶν ἐφαίνετο τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν
tοιούτων ἀγώνων, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐν ταῖς μάχαις
tαις πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ταῖς στρατείαις
βουλόμενος εὐδοκίμειν ἔτι μειράκιον ὅν τραυμά-
tων τὸ σῶμα μεστὸν ἐναντίων εἶχε. φησὶ γὰρ
αὐτὸς ἐπτακαίδεκα γεγονὼς ἔτη τὴν πρῶτην
στρατεύσασθαι στρατείαιν περὶ δὲ Ἄννιβας
χρόνον εὐτυχῶν ἐπέφλεγε τὴν Ἰταλίαν.

1 τῶν ἀναγκαίων Hercher and Blass, with Bekker: ἀναγ-
καίων.

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known epigram ill-naturedly gives us to understand:—

Red-haired, snapper and biter, his grey eyes
flashing defiance,
Porcius, come to the shades, back will be
thrust by their Queen.

His bodily habit, since he was addicted from the
very first to labour with his own hands, a temperate
mode of life, and military duties, was very service-
able, and disposed alike to vigour and health. His
discourse,—a second body, as it were, and, for the
use of a man who would live neither obscurely nor
idly, an instrument with which to perform not only
necessary, but also high and noble services,—this
he developed and perfected in the villages and towns
about Rome, where he served as advocate for all who
needed him, and got the reputation of being, first a
zealous pleader, and then a capable orator. Thence-
forth the weight and dignity of his character
revealed themselves more and more to those who
had dealings with him; they saw that he was bound
to be a man of great affairs, and have a leading
place in the state. For he not only gave his services
in legal contests without fee of any sort, as it would
seem, but did not appear to cherish even the repute
won in such contests as his chief ambition. • Nay, he
was far more desirous of high repute in battles and
campaigns against the enemy, and while he was yet
a mere stripling, had his breast covered with honour-
able wounds. He says himself that he made his
first campaign when he was seventeen years old, at
the time when Hannibal was consuming Italy with
the flames of his successes.¹

¹ 217 B.C.
Παρείχε δ' αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις τῇ μὲν χειρὶ πλήκτην, τῷ δὲ ποδὶ μόνιμον καὶ βέβαιον, γαύρον δὲ τῷ προσώπῳ λόγου δ' ἀπειλῆ καὶ τραχύτητι φωνῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἔχρητο, ὡθῶς καὶ διανοούμενος καὶ διδάσκων, ὥστε πολλάκις τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῦ ξίφους μᾶλλον καταπλήττεται τοὺς 7 ἑναντίους. ἐν δὲ ταῖς πορείαις αὐτὸς ἐβάδιζε φέρον τὰ ὀτρα, καὶ θεράπων εἰς ἐπετο τὰ πρὸς δίαιταν αὐτῷ κομίζων, ὦ λέγεται μηδέποτε δυσκολάναι μηδὲ μέμψασθαι παραθέντι ἀριστον ἢ δεῖπνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ συλλαμβάνειν αὐτὸς τὰ πλείοντα καὶ συμπαρασκευάζειν ἀπὸ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν γενόμενος ἔργων. ὡδ' δ' ἐπινευν ἐπὶ στρατείας, πλὴν εἰποτε δυρῆσας περιφλεγός ὃς αὐτήσειν ἡ τῆς ἰσχύος ἐνδιδούσης ἐπιλάβοι 337 μικρὸν οὐνάριον.

II. Ἡν δὲ ἀποικίαν αὐτοῦ τῶν ἄγρῳ ἦ γενόμενη Μανίου Κουρίου τοῦ τρίς θριαμβεύσαντος ἐπαυλίσ. ἐπὶ ταύτην συνεχῶς βαδίζον καὶ θεώμενος τοῦ τε χωρίου τὴν μικρότητα καὶ τῆς οἰκήσεως τὸ λιτὸν, ἐννοιαν ἑλάμβανε τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὅτι Ῥωμαίῶν μέγιστος γενόμενος καὶ τὰ μαχιμώτατα τῶν ἐθνῶν ὑπαγαγόμενος καὶ Πύρρον ἔξελάσας τῆς Ἰταλίας τούτο τὸ χωρίδιον αὐτὸς ἐσκάπτε καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἐπαυλίν ὅκει μετὰ τρεῖς 2 θριάμβους. ἐνταῦθα πρὸς ἐσχάρα καθήμενον αὐτὸν ἔψοντα γογγυλίδας εὐρόντες οἱ Σαυνίτων πρέσβεις ἐδίδοσαν πολὺ χρυσίον. οὗ δ' ἀπεπέμψατο φήσας οὐδὲν χρυσίον δεῖν ὦ δὲ ὑπερικοὶ τοιοῦτοι, αὐτῷ μέντοι τοῦ χρυσίου ἐχεῖν κάλλιον εἶναι τὸ νικὰν τοὺς ἔχοντας. ταῦθ' ὁ Κάτων

1 αἰτήσεις Blass, with Bekker: ἤτησεν.
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In battle, he showed himself effective of hand, sure and steadfast of foot, and of a fierce countenance. With threatening speech and harsh cries he would advance upon the foe, for he rightly thought, and tried to show others, that often-times such action terrifies the enemy more than the sword. On the march, he carried his own armour on foot, while a single attendant followed in charge of his camp utensils. With this man, it is said, he was never wroth, and never scolded him when he served up a meal, nay, he actually took hold himself and assisted in most of such preparations, provided he was free from his military duties. Water was what he drank on his campaigns, except that once in a while, in a raging thirst, he would call for vinegar, or, when his strength was failing, would add a little wine.

II. Near his fields was the cottage which had once belonged to Manius Curius, a hero of three triumphs. To this he would often go, and the sight of the small farm and the mean dwelling led him to think of their former owner, who, though he had become the greatest of the Romans, had subdued the most warlike nations, and driven Pyrrhus out of Italy, nevertheless tilled this little patch of ground with his own hands and occupied this cottage, after three triumphs. Here it was that the ambassadors of the Samnites once found him seated at his hearth cooking turnips, and offered him much gold; but he dismissed them, saying that a man whom such a meal satisfied had no need of gold, and for his part he thought that a more honourable thing than the possession of gold was the conquest of its possessors. Cato would go away with his mind full of these
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ἐνθυμούμενος ἀπῆκε, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν πάλιν ὁκον ἑφορῶν καὶ χωρία καὶ θεράποντας καὶ δίαιταν ἐπέτευεν τὴν αὐτοῦργίαν καὶ περιέκοιτε τὴν πολυτέλειαν.

3 Φασίστος δὲ Μαξίμων τὴν Ταραντίνων πόλιν ἐλόντος ἔτυχε μὲν ὁ Κάτων στρατευόμενος ὕπ' ἀυτῷ κομιδὴ μειράκιον ὅν, Νεάρχω δὲ τινὶ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν ξένῳ χρησάμενος ἐστούδασε τῶν λόγων μεταλαβεῖν. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα διαλεγομένου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, ὦς κέχρηται καὶ Πλάτων, τὴν μὲν ἡδονὴν ἀποκαλῶν μέγιστον κακοῦ δέλεαρ, συμφορᾶν δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ τὸ σῶμα πρότην, λύσεν δὲ καὶ καθαρμὸν οὗς μάλιστα χωρίζει καὶ ἀφίστησιν αὐτὴν τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα παθημάτων λογισμοὺς, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἡγάπησε τὸ λιτὸν καὶ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν.

4 Ἀλλως δὲ παιδείας Ἑλληνικῆς ὁμιμάθης γενέσθαι λέγεται, καὶ πόρρω παντάπασιν ἥλικιας Ἑλλακῶς Ἑλληνικᾶ παραβία λαβὼν εἰς χείρας βραχέα μὲν ἀπὸ Θουκυδίδου, πλείονα δ' ἀπὸ Δημοσθένους εἰς τὸ ῥητορικὸν ὁφεληθῆναι. τὰ μέντοι συγγράμματα καὶ δόγμασιν Ἑλληνικοῖς καὶ ἱστορίαις ἐπιεικῶς διαπεποίηκται καὶ μεθηρμηνευμένα πολλά κατὰ λέξιν ἐν τοῖς ἀποφθέγμασι καὶ τοῖς γνωμολογίαις τέτακται.

III. Ἡν δὲ τις ἀνήρ εὐπατρίδης μὲν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ὑπομαίων καὶ δυνατός, ἀρετὴν δὲ φυσικὴν μὲν ἀισθάνεσθαι δεινός, εὔμενης δὲ καὶ θρέψει καὶ προαγαγεῖν εἰς δόξαν, Ὑπαλλέλιος Φλάκκος. οὗτος εἶχεν ὁμορούντα χωρία τοῖς Κάτωνοις, πυθάμενος δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦργίαν καὶ δίαιταν αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν καὶ θαυμάσας ἐξηγούμενον, ὦτι

1 ἥλικια Ἑλλακῶς Hercher and Blase with S: ἥλικια.

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things, and on viewing again his own house and lands and servants and mode of life, would increase the labours of his hands and lop off his extravagancies.

When Fabius Maximus took the city of Tarentum, it chanced that Cato, who was then a mere stripling, served under him, and being lodged with a certain Nearchus, of the sect of the Pythagoreans, he was eager to know of his doctrines. When he heard this man holding forth as follows, in language which Plato also uses, condemning pleasure as "the greatest incentive to evil," and the body as "the chief detriment to the soul, from which she can release and purify herself only by such reasonings as most do wean and divorce her from bodily sensations," he fell still more in love with simplicity and restraint. Further than this, it is said, he did not learn Greek till late in life, and was quite well on in years when he took to reading Greek books; then he profited in oratory somewhat from Thucydides, but more from Demosthenes. However, his writings are moderately embellished with Greek sentiments and stories, and many literal translations from the Greek have found a place among his maxims and proverbs.

III. There was at Rome a certain man of the highest birth and greatest influence, who had the power to discern excellence in the bud, and the grace to cultivate it and bring it into general esteem. This man was Valerius Flaccus. He had a farm next to that of Cato, and learned from Cato's servants of their master's laborious and frugal way of living. He was amazed to hear them tell how Cato, early in

1 209 B.C.
πρωτ μὲν εἰς ἀγορᾶν βαδίζει καὶ παρίσταται τοῖς
dεομένοις, ἐπανελθὼν δ’ εἰς τὸ χώριον, ἄν μὲν ἡ
χειμών, ἐξωμίδα λαβών, θέρους δὲ γυμνὸς ἐργασά-
μενος μετὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐσθείε τὸν αὐτὸν ἄρτον
ὀμοῦ καθήμενος καὶ πίνει τὸν αὐτὸν οἶνον, ἀλλὰ
τε πολλὴν ἐπειδεικναν αὐτοῦ καὶ μετρίωτα καὶ
τινὰς καὶ λόγους ἀποφθεγματικοὺς διαμνημονεύον.
3 των, ἐκέλευσε κληθῆναι πρὸς τὸ δείπνον. ἐκ δὲ
tούτου χρώμενος καὶ κατανόῶν ἤμερον καὶ
ἀστείους ἰθῶς, ὅσπερ φυτῶν ἄσκήσεως καὶ χώρας
ἐπιφανοῦς δεόμενον, προετρέψατο καὶ συνέπεισεν
ἀγασθαί τῆς ἐν Ρώμῃ πολιτείας. κατελθὼν
οὗν εὐθὺς τοὺς μὲν αὐτὸς ἑκτάτο θαυμαστὰς
καὶ φίλους διὰ τῶν συνηγοριῶν, πολλὴν δὲ
τοῦ Οὐαλλερίου τιμῆ καὶ δύναμιν αὐτῶ προσ-
τιθέντος χιλιαρχίας ἔτυχε πρῶτον, εἰτα ἐταμίευ-
4 σεν. ἐκ τούτου δὲ λαμπρὸς ὑπὸ ἡδῆ καὶ περιφανῆς
αὐτῷ τῷ Οὐαλλερίῳ περὶ τὰς μεγίστας συνεξέ-
δραμεν ἀρχάς, ὑπατός τε μετ’ ἐκείνου καὶ πάλιν
τιμητὴς γενόμενος.
Τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων πολιτῶν Μαξίμου Φαβίω
προσένεμεν ἑαυτὸν, ἐνυδαγοτάτῳ μὲν ὑπὶ καὶ
μεγίστῃν ἔχοντι δύναμιν, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸν τρόπον
αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν βλεν ὡς κάλλιστα παραδείγματα
5 προθέμενος. διὸ καὶ Σκηπτίων τῷ μεγάλῳ, νέῳ 338
μὲν ὑπὶ τότε, πρὸς δὲ τὴν Φαβίου δύναμιν ἀντα-
ροτί καὶ φθονεῖσθαι δοκοῦντι, παρ’ οὐδὲν ἐποιή-
σατο γενέσθαι διάφορος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταμίας αὐτῶ
πρὸς τὸν ἐν Διβύῃ πόλεμον συνεκπεμφθεῖς, ὡς
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the morning, went on foot to the market-place and pleaded the cases of all who wished his aid; then came back to his farm, where, clad in a working blouse if it was winter, and stripped to the waist if it was summer, he wrought with his servants, then sat down with them to eat of the same bread and drink of the same wine. They told Valerius many other instances of Cato's fairness and moderation, quoting also sundry pithy sayings of his, until at last Valerius gave command that Cato be invited to dine with him. After this, discovering by converse with him that his nature was gentle and polite, and needed, like a growing tree, only cultivation and room to expand, Valerius urged and at last persuaded him to engage in public life at Rome. Accordingly, taking up his abode in the city, his own efforts as an advocate at once won him admiring friends, and the favour of Valerius brought him great honour and influence, so that he was made military tribune first, and then quaestor. After this, being now launched on an eminent and brilliant career, he shared the highest honours with Valerius, becoming consul with him, and afterwards censor.

Of the elder statesmen, he attached himself most closely to Fabius Maximus, who was of the highest reputation and had the greatest influence, but this was more by way of setting before himself the character and life of the man as the fairest examples he could follow. In the same spirit he did not hesitate to oppose the great Scipio, a youthful rival of Fabius, and thought to be envious of him. When he was sent out with Scipio as quaestor for the war in Africa,¹ he saw that the man indulged in

¹ 204 B.C.
έωρα τῇ συνήθει πολυτελείᾳ χρωμένον τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ καταχορηγοῦντα τοὺς στρατεύμασιν ἀφειδῶς τῶν χρημάτων, ἔπαρρησιάζετο πρὸς αὐτὸν, οὗ τῇ διαφθείρῃ τὴν πάτριον εὐτέλειαν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐφ’ ἤδωνας καὶ τρυφᾶς τῷ περίτοιτο τῆς χρείας τρεπομένων. εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Σκηπτίωνος, ὡς οὖ- δὲν δέσιτο ταμίου λιαν ἄκριβοις πλησίστους ἐπὶ τῶν πόλεμον φερόμενον, πράξεων γὰρ, οὐ χρημά- των, τῇ πόλει λόγον ὁφείλειν, ἀπῆλθεν ὁ Κάτων ἐκ Σικελίας, καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Φαβίου καταβοῦν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ φθοράν τε χρημάτων ἀμυνὴτων ὑπὸ τοῦ Σκηπτίωνος καὶ διατριβᾶς αὐτοῦ μετακώδεις ἐν παλαιστραῖς καὶ θεάτροις, ὡσπερ οὗ στρατηγοῦν- τος, ἀλλὰ πανηγυρίζων, ἐξεργάσατο πεμφθῆ- ναι θημάρχους ἐπὶ αὐτὸν ἄξονας εἰς Ἱώμην,

8 ἄντε πάλιν ἀλλιθείς αἱ καταγγορίαι φανώσων. οἱ μὲν οὖν Σκηπτίων ἐν τῇ παρασκευῇ τοῦ πολέμου τὴν νίκην ἐπιδεικάμενος, καὶ φανεῖς ἡδύς μὲν ἐπὶ σχολῆς συνεῖναι φίλοις, οὐδαμοῦ δὲ τῷ φιλαν- θρώπῳ τῆς διαίτης εἰς τὰ σπουδαῖα καὶ μεγάλα ῥάθυμοι, ἐξέπλευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον.

IV. Τῷ δὲ Κάτων πολλῇ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου δύναμις ἥξειτο, καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι αὐτὸν οἱ πολλοὶ Δημοσθένην προσηγόρευν, ὁ δὲ βίος γάλλων ὀνομαστός ἦν αὐτοῦ καὶ περισσότερος. ή μὲν γάρ ἐν τῷ λέγειν δεινότητα προούκειτο τοῖς νέοις ἀγά- νισμα κοινὸν ἦδη καὶ περισσοῦδαστον, οὗ δὲ τὴν πάτριον αὐτούργαν ὑπομένων καὶ δείπνου ἀφελές καὶ ἀριστοὶ ἀποροῦν καὶ λυτὴν ἐσθήτα καὶ δημο- τικὴν ἀσπαζόμενος οἴκησιν καὶ τὸ μή δεῖσθαι τῶν

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his wonted extravagance, and lavished money without stint upon his soldiery. He therefore made bold to tell him that the matter of expense was not the greatest evil to be complained of, but the fact that he was corrupting the native simplicity of his soldiers, who resorted to wanton pleasures when their pay exceeded their actual needs. Scipio replied that he had no use for a parsimonious quaestor when the winds were bearing him under full sail to the war; he owed the city an account of his achievements, not of its moneys. Cato therefore left Sicily, and joined Fabius in denouncing before the Senate Scipio's waste of enormous moneys, and his boyish addiction to palæestras and theatres, as though he were not commander of an army, but master of a festival. As a result of these attacks, tribunes were sent to bring Scipio back to Rome, if the charges against him should turn out to be true. Well then, Scipio convinced the tribunes that victory in war depended on the preparations made for it; showed that he could be agreeable in his intercourse with his friends when he had leisure for it, but was never led by his sociability to neglect matters of large and serious import; and sailed off for his war in Africa.

IV. The influence which Cato's oratory won for him waxed great, and men called him a Roman Demosthenes; but his manner of life was even more talked about and noised abroad. For his oratorical ability only set before young men a goal which many already were striving eagerly to attain; but a man who wrought with his own hands, as his fathers did, and was contented with a cold breakfast, a frugal dinner, simple raiment, and a humble dwelling,—one who thought more of not
περιττῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ κεκτήσθαι θαυμάζων
2 σπάνιος ἦν, ἤδη τότε τῆς πολιτείας τὸ καθαρὸν
ὑπὸ μεγέθους οὐ φυλαττούσης, ἀλλὰ τῷ κρατεῖν
πραγμάτων πολλῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων πρὸς πολλὰ
μεγαλεμένης ἔθη καὶ βίων παραδείγματα παντοδα-
τών ὑποδεχομένης. εἰκότως οὖν ἔθαύμαζον τὸν
Κάτωνα, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ὑπὸ τῶν πόρων θραυ-
μένους καὶ μαλασσομένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἡδονῶν
3 ὑποτῆς, ἔκεινον δὲ ὑπ᾽ ἀμφότερον ἀόρτητον, οὐ μόνον
ἐώς ἐτὶ νέος καὶ φιλότιμος ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γέροντα
καὶ πολιόν ἤδη μεθ᾽ ὑπατείαν καὶ ὑπάξιμον, ὥσπερ
ἀνθελτὴν υἱηφόρον, ἐγκαρτεροῦντα τῇ τάξει τῆς
ἀσκήσεως καὶ διωμαλίζοντα μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς.
Ἐσθήτα μὲν γὰρ οὐδέποτε φησι φορέσαι πολυ-
τελεστέραν ἕκατον δραχμῶν, πιεῖν δὲ καὶ στρα-
τηγῶν καὶ ὑπατεύων τὴν αὐτοῦ οἶνον τοῖς ἑργά-
ταις, ὅψιν δὲ παρασκευάζεσθαι πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον
ἐξ ἁγορὰς ἀσσαρίων τριάκοντα, καὶ τοῦτο διὰ
τὴν πόλιν, ὅπως ἵσχυοι σῶμα πρὸς τὰς
4 στρατείας. ἐπίβλημα δὲ τῶν ποικίλων Βαβυ-
λώνων ἐκ κληρονομίας κτησάμενος εὐθὺς ἀπο-
δόοιται, τῶν δὲ ἐπαύλεων αὐτοῦ μηδεμίαν εἶναι
κεκοιμιμένην, οὐδένα δὲ πώποτε πρίασθαι δοῦλον
ὑπὲρ τὰς χιλίας δραχμᾶς καὶ πεντακοσίας, ὡς
ἀν οὐ τρυφερῶν οὐδ’ ὀργαίων, ἀλλ’ ἐργατικῶν καὶ
στερεῶν, οἶνον ἐπικόμων καὶ βοηλατῶν, δεό-
μενος· καὶ τούτους δὲ προσβυτέρους γενομένους
φέτο λείν ἀποδίδοοι καὶ μὴ βόσκειν ἀχρήστους.
ὅλως δὲ μηδὲν εὕσων εἶναι τῶν περιττῶν, ἀλλ’
οὐ τῆς οὐ δείται, κἂν ἀσσαρίου πυρᾶσκηται,

1 ὑπὸ Hercher and Blass with S: καὶ ὑπὸ.
wanting the superfluities of life than of possessing them,—such a man was rare. The commonwealth had now grown too large to keep its primitive integrity; the sway over many realms and peoples had brought a large admixture of customs, and the adoption of examples set in modes of life of every sort. It was natural, therefore, that men should admire Cato, when they saw that, whereas other men were broken down by toils and enervated by pleasures, he was victor over both, and this too, not only while he was still young and ambitious, but even in his hoary age, after consulship and triumph. Then, like some victorious athlete, he persisted in the regimen of his training, and kept his mind unaltered to the last.

He tells us that he never wore clothing worth more than a hundred drachmas; that he drank, even when he was praetor or consul, the same wine as his slaves; that as for fish and meats, he would buy thirty asses’ worth¹ for his dinner from the public stalls, and even this for the city’s sake, that he might not live on bread alone, but strengthen his body for military service; that he once fell heir to an embroidered Babylonian robe, but sold it at once; that not a single one of his cottages had plastered walls; that he never paid more than fifteen hundred drachmas for a slave, since he did not want them to be delicately beautiful, but sturdy workers, such as grooms and herdsmen, and these he thought it his duty to sell when they got oldish, instead of feeding them when they were useless; and that in general, he thought nothing cheap that one could do without, but that what one did not need, even if it cost but a

¹ The as corresponded nearly to the English penny.
πολλοῖν νομίζειν κτάσθαι δὲ τὰ σπειρόμενα καὶ νεμόμενα μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ ραϊνόμενα καὶ σαιρόμενα.

V. Ταῦτα δ' ὦ μὲν εἰς μικρολογίαν ἐτίθεντο τοῖς ἀνδρῶσιν, οἳ δ' ὡς ἔπι διορθώσει καὶ σωφρονισμῷ τῶν ἄλλων ἐυδοτέρω συστέλλοντος ἑαυτὸν ἀπεδέχοντο. πλὴν τὸ τοῖς οἰκέταις ὡς ὑποζυγίως ἀποχρησάμενον ἐπὶ γῆρως ἔλαύνειν καὶ πιτράσκειν ἀτενοὺς ἄγαν ἦθους ἐγγράγη τίθημει, καὶ μηδὲν ἀνθρώπῳ πρὸς ἀνθρώποιν οἰομένου κοινῷ

2 νῆμα τῆς χρείας πλέον ὑπάρχειν. καίτοι τῆς χρηστότητα τῆς δικαιοσύνης πλατύτερον τὸν ὀρῶμεν ἐπιλαμβάνομεν νόμῳ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων μόνον χρῆσθαι πεφύκαμεν, πρὸς εὐρεγεσίας δὲ καὶ χάριτας ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἀλόγων ζῷων ὡσπερ ἐκ πηγής πλουσίας ἀπόρρει τῆς ἡμερότητος. καὶ γὰρ ἕπτων ἀπειρηκτῶν ὑπὸ χρόνου τροφαὶ καὶ κυνῶν οὐ σκυλακεῖαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ γηροκομία τῷ χρηστῷ προσήκουσιν.

3 'Ὁ δὲ τῶν 'Αθηναίων δήμος οἰκοδομῶν τὸν Ἕκατόμπεδον, ὡς κατενόησεν ἡμῖνους μᾶλλοτα τοῖς πόνοις ἐγκαρτεροῦσας, ἀπέλυσεν ἐλευθέρας νέμεσθαι καὶ ἀφέτους, διὸ μίαν φασὶ καταβιάνουσαν ἀφ’ ἑαυτῆς πρὸς τὰ ἔργα τοῖς ἀνάγουσι τὰς ἁμάξας ὑποζυγίως εἰς ἀκρότοιν συμπαρατρέχει καὶ προηγεῖσθαι καθάπερ ἐγκελευσμένην καὶ συνεξομολογῶσαν, ἡν καὶ τρέφεσθαι δημοσίᾳ

4 μέχρι τελευτῆς ἐψηφίσαντο. τῶν δὲ Κίμωνος ἓπτων, αἷς ὅλυμπια τρίς ἐνίκησε, καὶ ταῦτα

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penny, was dear; also that he bought lands where crops were raised and cattle herded, not those where lawns were sprinkled and paths swept.

V. These things were ascribed by some to the man's parsimony; but others condoned them in the belief that he lived in this contracted way only to correct and moderate the extravagance of others. However, for my part, I regard his treatment of his slaves like beasts of burden, using them to the uttermost, and then, when they were old, driving them off and selling them, as the mark of a very mean nature, which recognizes no tie between man and man but that of necessity. And yet we know that kindness has a wider scope than justice. Law and justice we naturally apply to men alone; but when it comes to beneficence and charity, these often flow in streams from the gentle heart, like water from a copious spring, even down to dumb beasts. A kindly man will take good care of his horses even when they are worn out with age, and of his dogs, too, not only in their puppyhood, but when their old age needs nursing.

While the Athenians were building the Parthenon, they turned loose for free and unrestricted pasturage such mules as were seen to be most persistently laborious. One of these, they say, came back to the works of its own accord, trotted along by the side of its fellows under the yoke, which were dragging the waggons up to the Acropolis, and even led the way for them, as though exhorting and inciting them on. The Athenians passed a decree that the animal be maintained at the public cost as long as it lived. Then there were the mares of Cimon, with which he won three victories at Olympia; their graves are
πλησίον εἰσὶ τῶν ἐκείνου μνημάτων. κύνας δὲ συντρόφους γενομένους καὶ συνήθεις ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ Εάνθιππος ὁ παλαιὸς τὸν εἰς Σαλαμῖνα τῇ τριήρῃ παρανηξάμενον, ὅτε τὴν πόλιν ὁ δήμος ἐξέλειπεν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἄκρας ἐκήδευσεν, ἥν Κυνὸς σῆμα μέχρι νῦν καλοῦσιν.

5 Οὐ γὰρ ὁς ὑποδήμασιν ἢ σκεύεσι τοῖς ψυχήν ἔχουσι χρηστέον, κοπέντα καὶ κατατριβέντα ταῖς ὑπηρεσίαις ἀπορριπτοῦντας, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ διὰ μηδὲν ἀλλο, μελέτης ἐνέκα τοῦ φιλανθρώπου προεθεστέον ἐαυτὸν ἐν τούτοις πρῶον εἶναι καὶ μείλεξον. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐδὲ βοῶν ἄν ἐργάτην διὰ γῆρας ἀποδόμην, μὴ τί γε προσβύτερον ἀνθρωπον, ἐκ χώρας συντρόφου καὶ διαίτης συνήθους ὁσπέρ ἐκ πατρίδος μεθυστάμενον ἄντι κερμάτων μικρῶν, ἄχρηστον γε τοῖς ὁνομένοις ὁσπέρ τοῖς πιπρά-

6 σκούσι γενησόμενον. ὃ δὲ Κάτων ὁσπέρ γενιεύόμενος ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ τῶν ἦπεον, ὃ παρὰ τὰς στρατείας ὑπατείων ἔχρητο, φησὶν ἐν Ἰβηρία καταλεπεῖν, ἵνα μὴ τῇ πόλει τὸ ναύλων αὐτοῦ λογίσηται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἰτε μεγαλοψυχίας εἰτε μικρολογίας θετέον, ἐξεστὶ τῷ πεί-βοντι χρῆσθαι λογισμῷ.

V. Τῆς δ' ἄλλης ἐγκρατείας ὑπερφυῶς θαυμα- στὸς ὁ ἄνὴρ οἶν ὅτι στρατηγῶν ἐλάμβανεν ἐαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν οὔ πλέον εἰς τῶν μήνα τυρών ἢ τρεῖς Ἀττικοὺς μεδίμνους, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἡμέραν κριθῶν τοῖς ὑποξυγίοις ἔλαττον 2 τριῶν ἡμιμεδίμνων. ἐπαρχίαν δὲ λαβὼν Σαρδόνα, τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ στρατηγῶν εἰσφόρων χρῆσθαι

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near the tombs of his family. Dogs also that have been close and constant companions of men, have often been buried with honour. Xanthippus, of olden time, gave the dog which swam along by the side of his trireme to Salamis, when the people were abandoning their city, honourable burial on the promontory which is called to this day Cynossema, or Dog's Mound.¹

We should not treat living creatures like shoes or pots and pans, casting them aside when they are bruised and worn out with service, but, if for no other reason, for the sake of practice in kindness to our fellow men, we should accustom ourselves to mildness and gentleness in our dealings with other creatures. I certainly would not sell even an ox that had worked for me, just because he was old, much less an elderly man, removing him from his habitual place and customary life, as it were from his native land, for a paltry price, useless as he is to those who sell him and as he will be to those who buy him. But Cato, exulting as it were in such things, says that he left in Spain even the horse which had carried him through his consular campaign, that he might not tax the city with the cost of its transportation. Whether, now, these things should be set down to greatness of spirit or littleness of mind, is an open question.

VI. But in other matters, his self-restraint was beyond measure admirable. For instance, when he was in command of an army, he took for himself and his retinue not more than three Attic bushels of wheat a month, and for his beasts of burden, less than a bushel and a half of barley a day. He received Sardinia as his province,² and whereas his predecessors

¹ Cf. Themistocles x. 6. ² 198 B.C.
καὶ σκηνώμασι δημοσίως καὶ κλίναις καὶ ἱματίσι, πολλῇ δὲ θεραπείᾳ καὶ φίλων πλήθει καὶ περὶ δεῖπνα δαπάναις καὶ παρασκευαῖς βαρυνότων, ἐκείνος ἄπιστον ἐποίησε τὴν διαφορὰν τῆς εὐτελείας. δαπάνης μὲν γὰρ εἰς οὐδὲν οὐδεμιὰς προσεδέηθη δημοσίας, ἐπεφοίτα δὲ ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐτὸς μὲν ἀνευ ξεύγους πορευόμενος, εἰς δὲ ἤκολούθει δημόσιος ἐσθήτα καὶ σπουδείων

3 αὐτῷ πρὸς ἱερουργίαις κομίζων. ἐν δὲ τούτοις οὕτως εὐκολος καὶ ἀφελής τοῖς ὑπὸ χειρα φαίνομενοι, αὐθις ἀνταπεδίδου τὴν σεμνότητα καὶ τὸ βάρος ἀπαράειπης ἢν ἐν τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας προστάγμασιν ὁρθος καὶ αὑθεκαστος, ὡστε μηδέποτε τὴν 'Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἐκείνοις μήτε φοβερωτέραν μήτε προσφυ- λεστέραν γενέσθαι.

VII. Τοιαύτην δὲ τινα φαίνεται καὶ ὁ λόγος τοῦ ἄνδρός ἰδέαν ἐχειν εὐχαρίς γὰρ ἀμα καὶ δεινὸς ἢν, ἡδύς καὶ καταπληκτικός, φιλοσεκόμμων καὶ αὐστηρός, ἀποθεματικός καὶ ἀγωνιστικός, ὥσπερ ὁ Πλάτων τὸν Σωκράτην φησίν ἔγερθαι ἰδιώτῃ καὶ σατυρικόν καὶ ύβριστήν τοῖς ἐντυγ- χάνουσι φαινόμενον ἐνδοθεν σπουδῆς καὶ πραγ- μάτων μεστὸν εἶναι δάκρυα κινούντων τοῖς

2 ἀκρωμένους καὶ τὴν καρδίαν στρεφόντων. ὅθεν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτι πεπόνθασιν οἱ τῷ Λυσίου λόγος μάλιστα φάμενοι προσεουκείναι τὸν Κάτωνος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ταύτα μὲν οἷς μάλλον ἰδέας λόγων Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἀισθάνεσθαι προσήκει διακρινόντων, ἥμεις δὲ τῶν ἀπομημονευομένων βραχέα γρά- ψομεν, οἱ τῷ λόγῳ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ προσώπῳ.

1 Ῥωμαϊκῶν Blass with S: ῥητορικῶν.
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were wont to charge the public treasury with their pavilions, couches, and apparel, while they oppressed the province with the cost of their large retinues of servants and friends, and of their lavish and elaborate banquets, his simple economy stood out in an incredible contrast. He made no demands whatever upon the public treasury, and made his circuit of the cities on foot, followed by a single public officer, who carried his robe and chalice for sacrifices. And yet, though in such matters he showed himself mild and sparing to those under his authority, in other ways he displayed a dignity and severity which fully corresponded, for in the administration of justice he was inexorable, and in carrying out the edicts of the government was direct and masterful, so that the Roman power never inspired its subjects with greater fear or affection.

VII. Much the same traits are revealed in the man's oratory. It was at once graceful and powerful, pleasant and compelling, facetious and severe, sententious and belligerent. So Plato says of Socrates\footnote{Symposium, p. 215.} that from the outside he impressed his associates as rude, uncouth, and wanton; but within he was full of earnestness, and of matters that moved his hearers to tears and wrung their hearts. Wherefore I know not what they can mean who say that Cato's oratory most resembled that of Lysias. However, such questions must be decided by those who are more capable than I am of discerning the traits of Roman oratory, and I shall now record a few of his famous sayings, believing that men's characters are revealed

\footnote{Symposium, p. 215.}
καθάπερ ἔνοι γομίζουσι, τῶν ἀνθρώπων φαμέν ἐμφαίνεσθαι τὸ ἥθος.


3 τούτῳ μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν ἐκ τῶν Θεμιστοκλέους μετεννηγμένου ἀποφθεγμάτων. ἐκείνος γὰρ ἐπιτάττοντος αὐτῷ πολλὰ τοῦ νιῶ διὰ τῆς μητρὸς ἴμαινε, εἶπεν, "Ἀθηναίοι μὲν ἄρχουσι τῶν Ἰθάκην, ἐγὼ δὲ Ἀθηναίων, ἔμοι δὲ σύ, σοῦ δὲ ὁ νῖος, ὅστε φειδέσθω τῆς ἐξουσίας, διὰ οὖν ἀνόητος ὑπὸ πλείστου Ἰθάκην δύναται."  

4 Τὸν δὲ δῆμον ὁ Κάτω καὶ ἐφή τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὐ μόνον ταῖς πορφύραις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι τὰς τιμὰς ἐπυγράφειν, "Ὡς γὰρ οἱ βαβεῖς," ἐφη, "ταύτην μάλιστα βάπτουσιν, ἥ χαίροντας ὀρῶσιν, οὕτως οἱ νέοι ταύτα μανθάνουσι καὶ ξηλοῦσιν, οἷς ἄν ὁ παρ’ ἡμῶν ἐπαινοῦσ ἐπηται."  

5 παρεκάλει δ’ αὐτούς, εἰμὲν ἅρετῆ καὶ σωφρο-
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much more by their speech than, as some think, by their looks.

VIII. He once wished to dissuade the Roman people from insisting unseasonably upon a distribution of corn, and began his speech with these words: "It is a hard matter, my fellow citizens, to argue with the belly, since it has no ears." Again, inveighing against the prevalent extravagance, he said: "It is a hard matter to save a city in which a fish sells for more than an ox." Again, he said the Romans were like sheep; for as these are not to be persuaded one by one, but all in a body blindly follow their leaders, "so ye," he said, "though as individuals ye would not deign to follow the counsels of certain men, when ye are got together ye suffer yourselves to be led by them." Discouraging on the power of women, he said: "All other men rule their wives; we rule all other men, and our wives rule us." This, however, is a translation from the sayings of Themistocles.¹ He, finding himself much under his son's orders through the lad's mother, said: "Wife, the Athenians rule the Hellenes, I rule the Athenians, thou rulest me, and thy son thee. Therefore let him make sparing use of that authority which makes him, child though he is, the most powerful of the Hellenes."

The Roman people, Cato said, fixed the market value not only of dyes, but also of behaviour. "For," said he, "as dyers most affect that dye which they see pleases you, so your young men learn and practice that which wins your praise." And he exhorted them, in case it was through virtue and temperance that they had become great, to

¹ Themistocles, xviii. 4.
σύνη γεγονασι μεγάλου, μηδὲν \textsuperscript{1} μεταβάλλεσθαι πρὸς τὸ χείρον, εἰ δὲ ἀκρασία καὶ κακία, μεταβάλλεσθαι πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον. ἰκανὸς γὰρ ἦδη μεγάλους ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνων γεγονέναι. τοὺς δὲ πολλάκις ἀρχεῖν σπουδάζοντας ἔφη καθάπερ ἀγνοοῦντας τὴν ὀδὸν ἃεὶ μετὰ ῥαβδοῦχον ἤτειν πορεύεσθαι, 6 μὴ πλανηθῶσιν. ἐπετίμα δὲ τοῖς πολῖταίς τοῖς αὐτοῖς αἱρουμένοις πολλάκις ἀρχοῦντας. "Δόξετε γάρ," ἐφη, "μὴ \textsuperscript{2} πολλοῦ τὸ ἀρχεῖν ἄξιον ἢ μὴ πολλοῦ τοῦ ἀρχεῖν ἄξιον ἤγείσθαι." περὶ δὲ τῶν ἔχθρῶν τινὸς αἰσχρῶν καὶ ἀδόξως βιῶν δοκοῦντος "Ἡ τούτου μήτηρ," ἐφη, "κατάραν, οὐκ εὐχήν, ἥγειται τὸ τοῦτον ὑπὲρ γῆς ἀπὸ-7 λιπεῖν." τὸν δὲ πεπρακότα τοὺς πατρῷους ἄγρους παραλών ὀντας ἐπιδεικνύμενος προσεπιτείθεντο θαυμάζειν ὡς ἰαχύρότερον τῆς θαλάττης: "Α ἡγὰρ ἐκείνη μόλις ἐκλυζεῖν, οὔτος," ἐφη, "ῥαδίως καταπέπωκεν."  

Επεὶ δὲ Εὐμνεῖος τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιδημήσαντος εἰς Ρώμην ἢ τε σύγκλητος ὑπερφυώς ἀπεδέξατο καὶ τῶν πρώτων ἀμιλλα καὶ σπουδὴ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐγίνετο, δῆλος ἢν ὁ Κάτων ὑφορώμενος καὶ 8 φυλαττόμενος αὐτῶν. εἰπόντος δὲ τινὸς "Ἀλλὰ μὴν χρηστός ἐστι καὶ φιλορρόμαιος," "Εστω," εἰπεν, "ἀλλὰ φύσει τούτο τὸ ζῷον ὁ βασιλεὺς σαρκοφάγον ἐστίν," οὐδένα δὲ τῶν εὐδαιμονιζο-μένων ἔφη βασιλέως \textsuperscript{3} ἀξιοὶ εἶναι παραβάλλειν πρὸς Ἐπαμεινόνδαν ἡ Περικλέα ἡ Θεμιστοκλέα ἡ Ἐπικουρίον ἡ Ἀμφικακία, τὸν ἑπικιληθέντα

\textsuperscript{1} μηδὲν Hercher and Blass with FsS: μη.
\textsuperscript{2} μη Blass with FsS: η μη.
\textsuperscript{3} ἔφη βασιλέως Hercher and Blass with FsS: βασιλέως.

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make no change for the worse; but if it was through intemperance and vice, to change for the better; these had already made them great enough. Of those who were eager to hold high office frequently, he said that like men who did not know the road, they sought to be ever attended on their way by lictors, lest they go astray. He censured his fellow citizens for choosing the same men over and over again to high office. "You will be thought," said he, "not to deem your offices worth much, or else not to deem many men worthy of your offices." Of one of his enemies who had the name of leading a disgraceful and disreputable life, he said: "This man's mother holds the wish that he may survive her to be no pious prayer, but a malignant curse." Pointing to a man who had sold his ancestral fields lying near the sea, he pretended to admire him, as stronger than the sea. "This man," said he, "has drunk down with ease what the sea found it hard to wash away."

When King Eumenes paid a visit to Rome, the Senate received him with extravagant honours, and the chief men of the city strove who should be most about him. But Cato clearly looked upon him with suspicion and alarm. "Surely," some one said to him, "he is an excellent man, and a friend of Rome." "Granted," said Cato, "but the animal known as king is by nature carnivorous." He said further that not one of the kings whom men so lauded was worthy of comparison with Epaminondas, or Pericles, or Themistocles, or Manius Curius, or with Hamilcar, surnamed Barcas. His.
Βάρκαν. αὐτῷ δὲ ἔλεγε τοὺς ἑχθροὺς φθονεῖν, ὅτι καθ' ἡμέραν ἐκ νυκτὸς ἀνισταταί καὶ τῶν ἱδίων ἀμελῶν τοῖς δημοσίοις σχολάζει. βούλεσθαι δὲ ἔλεγε μᾶλλον εὐ πράξας ἀποστερηθήναι χάριν ἢ κακῶς μὴ τυχεῖν κολάσεως, καὶ συγγνώμην ἔφη διδόναι πᾶσι τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσι πλὴν αὐτοῦ.

IX. Τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων εἰς Βιθυνίαν τρεῖς ἐλο- μένων πρέσβεις, ὥν ὦ μὲν ποδαγρικὸς ἦν, ὥ δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔξ ἀνατρήσεως καὶ περικοπῆς κοίλην εἶχεν, ὥ δὲ τρίτος ἐδοκεῖ μορὸς εἶναι, καταγελῶν ὁ Κάτων εἰπὲ πρεσβείας ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀποστελ- λεσθαι μὴτε πόδας μὴτε κεφαλῆν μὴτε καρδίαν ἐξούσαν. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν ἐξ Ἀχαιῶν φυγάδων ἐν- τευχθεῖσι διὰ Πολύβιον ὑπὸ Σκητίων, ὡς πολὺς ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ λόγος ἐγίνετο, τῶν μὲν διδότων κάθοδον αὐτοῖς, τῶν δὲ εὐσταμενῶν, ἀναστὰς ὁ Κάτων "Ὁσπέρ οὐκ ἔχοντες," εἶπεν, "ὁ πράτ- τωμεν καθήμεθα τὴν ἡμέραν ὅλην περὶ γεροντίων Γραικῶν ξητοῦντες, πότερον ὑπὸ τῶν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἦν τῶν ἐν Ἀχαιᾷ νεκροφόρων ἐκκομισθῶσι." ψήφι- σθείς δὲ τῆς καθόδου τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἡμέρας ὀλίγας οἱ περὶ τὸν Πολύβιον διαλύσωτες αὐθεὶς ἐπεχείρουν εἰς τὴν συγκλήτον εἰσελθέων, ὅπως δὲ προτέρων εἶχον ἐν Ἀχαιᾷ τιμᾶς οἱ φυγάδες ἀνα- λάβουν, καὶ τοῦ Κάτωνος ἀπεπειροῦτο τῆς γνώ- μης. ὁ δὲ μειδίας ἔφη τὸν Πολύβιον, ὅσπερ τὸν Ὁδυσσέα, βούλεσθαι πάλιν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Κύκλωτος στῆλαιον εἰσελθεῖν, τὸ πιλίον ἐκεῖ καὶ τὴν ζώινην ἐπιλελημένον.

4 Τοὺς δὲ φρούμους ἔλεγε μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀφρόνων ἢ τοὺς ἄφρονας ὑπὸ τῶν φρούμων

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1 ἐκ νυκτὸς Hercher and Blass with GaSD; νυκτὸς.
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enemies hated him, he used to say, because he rose every day before it was light and, neglecting his own private matters, devoted his time to the public interests. He also used to say that he preferred to do right and get no thanks, rather than to do ill and get no punishment; and that he had pardon for everybody's mistakes except his own.

IX. The Romans once chose three ambassadors to Bithynia, of whom one was gouty, another had had his head trepanned, and the third was deemed a fool. Cato made merry over this, and said that the Romans were sending out an embassy which had neither feet, nor head, nor heart. His aid was once solicited by Scipio, at the instance of Polybius, in behalf of the exiles from Achaia, and after a long debate upon the question in the Senate, where some favoured and some opposed their return home, Cato rose and said: "Here we sit all day, as if we had naught else to do, debating whether some poor old Greeks shall be buried here or in Achaia." The Senate voted that the men be allowed to return, and a few days afterwards Polybius tried to get admission to that body again, with a proposal that the exiles be restored to their former honours in Achaia, and asked Cato's opinion on the matter. Cato smiled and said that Polybius, as if he were another Odysseus, wanted to go back into the cave of the Cyclops for a cap and belt which he had left there.

Wise men, he—said, profited more from fools than fools from wise men; for the wise shun the
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mistakes of fools, but fools do not imitate the successes of the wise. He said he liked to see blushing on a young man’s face rather than pallor, and that he had no use for a soldier who plied his hands on the march, and his feet in battle, and whose snore was louder than his war-cry. Railing at the fat knight, he said, “Where can such a body be of service to the state, when everything between its gullet and its groins is devoted to belly?” A certain epicure wished to enjoy his society, but he excused himself, saying that he could not live with a man whose palate was more sensitive than his heart. As for the lover, he said his soul dwelt in the body of another. And as for repentance, he said he had indulged in it himself but thrice in his whole life: once when he entrusted a secret to his wife; once when he paid ship’s fare to a place instead of walking thither; and once when he remained intestate a whole day. To an old man who was steeped in iniquity he said: “Man, old age has disgraces enough of its own; do not add to them the shame of vice.” To a tribune of the people who had been accused of using poison, and who was trying to force the passage of a useless bill, he said: “Young man, I know not which is worse, to drink your mixtures, or to enact your bills.” And when he was reviled by a man who led a life of shameless debauchery, he said: “I fight an unequal battle with you: you listen to abuse calmly, and utter it glibly; while for me it is unpleasant to utter it, and unusual to hear it.”

Such, then, is the nature of his famous sayings.

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Χ. Ἡ πατος δὲ μετὰ Φλάκκου Ὀυαλλερίου τοῦ φίλου καὶ συνήθους ἀποδείχθης ἐλαχε τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν ἦν Ἰστανίαν Ῥωμαίοι καλοῦσιν. ἔνταθα δ’ αὐτῷ τὰ μὲν καταστρε- φομένῳ τῶν ἑθῶν, τὰ δ’ οἰκειομένῳ διὰ λόγων πολλῆ στρατιά τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπέπεσε, καὶ κίνδυνος ἦν αἰσχρῶς ἐκβιαισθῆναι. διὸ τῶν ἑγ- 2 γὺς Κελτιβήρων ἐπεκαλεῖτο συμμαχίαν. αὐτοῦ τῶν δ’ ἐκείνων τῆς βοηθείας διακόσια τάλαντα μισθόν, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες οὐκ ἀνασχετῶν ἐποιούντο Ῥωμαίους βαρβάρους ἐπικουρίας ὁμο- λογῆσαι μισθόν, ὁ δὲ Κάτων οὐδὲν ἐφ’ ἔθνων εἶναι, νικῶντας μὲν γὰρ ἀποδώσει παρὰ 1 τῶν πολεμίων, οὐ παρ’ αὐτῶν, ἠττομένων δὲ μὴτε τοὺς ἀπαίτουμένους ἐσεθαι μήτε τοὺς ἀπαιτοῦν- τας. ταύτην δὲ τὴν μάχην κατὰ κράτος ἐνίκησε, 342 3 καὶ τάλλα προῦχορεὶ λαμπρῶς. Πολύβιος μὲν 4 γέ φησι τῶν ἐντὸς Βαίτιος ποταμοῦ πόλεων ἡμέρα μιὰ τὰ τείχῃ κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ περιαρεθήναι. πάμπολλαι δ’ ἦσαν αὐταὶ καὶ γέμουσαι μαχιμῶν ἀνδρῶν. αὐτὸς δὲ φησιν ὁ Κάτων πλείωνας εἰληφέναι πόλεις δὲν διηγάγει ἡμερῶν ἐν Ἰβηρία· καὶ τούτο κόμπος οὐκ ἐστιν, εἰσπέρ ὑπὸ ἀληθῶς τετρακόσια τὸ πλήθος ἦσαν.

4 Τοῖς μὲν οὖν στρατιώταις πολλὰ παρὰ τὴν στρατείαν ὑφελθεῖσιν ἔτι καὶ λίπαν ἀργύριον καὶ ἀνδρα προσδιένειμεν, εἰπὼν ὦς κρείττον εἰς πολλοὺς Ῥωμαίων ἀργύριον ἡ χρυσίον ὀλύγους ἐχοντας ἐπανελθεῖν. εἰς δ’ αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν ἄλισκο- μένων οὐδὲν ἐλθείν λέγει πλὴν ὡσά πέπωκεν ἡ βέβρωκε. “Καὶ οὐκ αἰτιῶμαι,“ φησί, “τοὺς

1 παρὰ Hercher and Blass with FaS: ἀπὸ.
X. Having been elected consul\(^1\) with Valerius Flaccus, his intimate friend, the province which the Romans call Hither Spain was allotted to his charge. Here, while he was subduing some of the tribes, and winning over others by diplomacy, a great host of Barbarians fell upon him, and threatened to drive him disgracefully out of the province. He therefore begged the neighbouring Celtiberians to become his allies. On their demanding two hundred talents pay for such assistance, all his officers, thought it intolerable that Romans should agree to pay Barbarians for assistance. But Cato said there was nothing terrible in it; should they be victorious, they could pay the price with the spoils taken from the enemy, and not out of their own purse; whereas, should they be vanquished, there would be nobody left either to pay or to ask the price. In this battle he was completely victorious, and the rest of his campaign was a brilliant success. Polybius indeed says that in a single day the walls of all the cities on this side the river Baetis—and they were very many, and full of warlike men—were torn down at his command. And Cato himself says that he took more cities than he spent days in Spain, nor is this a mere boast, since, in fact, there were four hundred of them.

His soldiers got large booty in this campaign, and he gave each one of them a pound of silver besides, saying that it was better to have many Romans go home with silver in their pockets than a few with gold. But in his own case, he says that no part of the booty fell to him, except what he ate and drank. "Not that I find fault," he says, "with those who

\(^1\) 195 B.C.
ωφελείσθαι ζητούντας ἐκ τούτων, ἀλλὰ βούλομαι μᾶλλον περὶ ἁρετῆς τοῖς ἁριστοῖς ἢ περὶ χρημά-
tων τοῖς πλουσιωτάτοις ἀμιλλάσθαι καὶ τοῖς 5 φιλαργυρωτάτοις περὶ φιλαργυρίας." οὐ μόνον δ' αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἐφύλαττε καθαροὺς παντὸς λήμματος. ἦσαν δὲ πέντε θεράποντες ἐπὶ στρατείας σὺν αὐτῷ. τούτων εἰς ὄνομα Πάκκιος ἥγορασε τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τρία παιδάρια· τοῦ δὲ Κάτωνος αἰσθομένου, πρὶν εἰς ὄψιν ἔλθειν, ἀπήγγειλεν. τοὺς δὲ παῖδας ὁ Κάτων ἀποδόμενος εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἀνήγεγκε τὴν τιμήν.

XI. "Ετὶ δ' αὐτοῦ διατρίβοντος ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ Σκηπτίων ὁ μέγας, ἔχθρος ὃν καὶ βουλόμενος ἑνστήναι κατορθοῦντε καὶ τὰς Ἰβηρικὰς πράξεις ὑπολαβεῖν, διεπράξατο τῆς ἑπαρχίας ἑκείνης ἀποδειχθῆναι διάδοχος. σπεύςας δ' ὡς ἐνήν τάχιστα κατέπαυσε τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ Κάτωνος. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν σπείρας ὀπλιτῶν πέντε καὶ πεντακο-
sίους ἱππεῖς προπόμποις κατεστρέψατο μὲν τὸ Δακεταῦνον ἔθνος, ἑξακοσίους δὲ τῶν ἦτομομοληκό-
2 τῶν κομμάσιμοις ἀπέκτεινεν. ἐφ' οίς σχετιλάζοντα τοὺς Σκηπτίωνα κατειρωνεύομενος οὕτως ἐφη τὴν Ἱφήμην ἔστησα μεγίστην, τῶν μὲν ἐνδοξῶν καὶ μεγάλων τὰ τῆς ἁρετῆς πρωτεία μὴ μεθείλητων τοῖς ἁσημοτέροις, τῶν δ' ὡσπερ αὐτὸς ἐστὶ δημοτικῶν ἀμιλλωμένων ἁρετῆ πρὸς τοὺς τῷ γένει καὶ τῇ δόξῃ προήκοντας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῆς συγκλήτου ψυφισαμένης μηδὲν ἀλλάττειν μηδὲ κυνεῖν τῶν δικηκμένων ὑπὸ Κάτωνος, ἢ μὲν ἁρχὴ τῷ Σκηπτίωνι τῆς αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς Κάτωνος ἀφελοῦσα δόξης ἐν ἀπραξία καὶ σχολῇ μάτην

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seek to profit by such a case, but I prefer to strive in bravery with the bravest, rather than in wealth with the richest, and in greed for money with the greediest.” And he strove to keep not only himself, but also his associates, free from all taint of gain. He had five attendants with him in the field. One of these, whose name was Paccus, bought three boys for his own account from among the public prisoners, but finding that Cato was aware of the transaction, or ever he had come into his presence, went and hanged himself. Cato sold the boys, and restored the money to the public treasury.

XI. While Cato still tarried in Spain, Scipio the Great, who was his enemy, and wished to obstruct the current of his successes and take away from him the administration of affairs in Spain, got himself appointed his successor in command of that province. Then he set out with all the speed possible, and brought Cato’s command to an end. But Cato took five cohorts of men-at-arms and five hundred horsemen as escort on his way home, and on the march subdued the tribe of the Lacetanians, and put to death six hundred deserters whom they delivered up to him. Scipio was enraged at this proceeding, but Cato, treating him with mock humility, said that only then would Rome be at her greatest, when her men of high birth refused to yield the palm of virtue to men of lower rank, and when plebeians like himself contended in virtue with their superiors in birth and reputation. However, in spite of Scipio’s displeasure, the Senate voted that no change whatever be made in what Cato had ordered and arranged, and so the administration of Scipio was marked by inactivity and idleness, and detracted from his own,
3 διήλθεν, ὁ δὲ Κάτων θριαμβεύσας οὖχ, δόπερ οἱ πλείστοι τῶν μὴ πρὸς ἀρετῆν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς δόξαν ἀμιλλωμένων, ὅταν εἰς τὰς ἄκρας τιμᾶς ἔξισενται καὶ τύχωσιν ὑπατείας καὶ θριάμβων, ἥδη τὸ λοιπὸν εἰς ἤδων καὶ σχολὴν συνεκαυσάμενοι τὸν βίον ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ἀπίσσιν, οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸς ἔξανηκε καὶ κατέλυσε τὴν ἄρετὴν, ἀλλ' ὅμως τοῖς πρῶτοι ἀποτεμένοις πολιτείας καὶ διψῶσι τιμῆς καὶ δόξης ἀφ' ἐτέρας ἀρχῆς συντείνας ἐαυτοῦ ἐν μέσῳ παρεἰχε καὶ φίλοις χρήσθαι καὶ πολίταις, οὕτω τὰς συνηγορίας οὐτε τὰς στρατείας ἀπεπάμενοι.

XII. Τιθερώ μὲν οὖν Σεμπρωνίῳ τὰ περὶ Ἐφραίμ καὶ Ἰστρον ὑπατεύοντι πρεσβεύων συνκατεργάσατο, Μανίῳ δ' Ἀκιλίῳ χιλιαρχῶν ἐπ' Ἀντίοχον τὸν μέγαν συνεξήλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, φοβησάντα Ῥωμαίους ὡς οὐδένα ἔτερον μετ' Ἀννίβαν. τὴν γὰρ Ἀσίαν, ὅσην ὁ Νικάτωρ Σέλευκος εἷχεν, ὅλων δεῖν ἀπασαν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἀνειληφώς, ἔθνη τε πάμπολλα καὶ μάχιμα βαρβάρων ὑπήκοα πεποιημένοι, ἐπιρροτο συμπεσεῖν Ῥωμαίοις ὡς μόνοις ἐτί πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄμισοχοις 2 οὖσιν. ἐντρεπτὶ δὲ τὸν πολέμου ποιησάμενος αἰτίαν τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἐλευθερούν, οὐδὲν δεομένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐλευθέρους καὶ αὐτονόμους χάριτι τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀπὸ Φιλίππου καὶ Μακεδόνων νεωτέρι 343 γεγονότας, διεβῆ μετὰ δυνάμεως. καὶ σάλον εὐθὺς ἡ Ἑλλάς εἰς καὶ μετέωρος ἦν ἐλπίσει διαθειρο- 3 μένῃ βασιλικαίς ὑπὸ τῶν δημαγωγῶν. ἐπιμεπεν οὖν πρέσβεις ὁ Μάνιος ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις. Καὶ τὰ μὲν πλείστα τῶν νεωτεριζόντων Τίτος Φλαμινίνος

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rather than from Cato's reputation. Cato, on the other hand, celebrated a triumph. Most men who strive more for reputation than for virtue, when once they have attained the highest honours of consulship and triumphs, straightway adjust their future lives to the enjoyment of a pleasurable ease, and give up their public careers. But Cato did not thus remit and dismiss his virtue, nay, rather, like men first taking up the public service and all athirst for honour and reputation, he girt his loins anew, and held himself ever ready to serve his friends and fellow-citizens, either in the forum or in the field.

XII. And so it was that he assisted Tiberius Sempronius the consul in subduing the regions in Thrace and on the Danube, acting as his ambassador; and as legionary tribune under Manius Acilius, he marched into Greece against Antiochus the Great, who gave "the Romans more to fear than any man after Hannibal. For he won back almost all of Seleucus Nicator's former dominions in Asia, reduced to subjection many warlike nations of Barbarians, and was eager to engage the Romans, whom he deemed the only worthy foemen left for him. So he crossed into Greece with an army, making the freeing of the Greeks a specious ground for war. This they did not need at all, since they had recently been made free and independent of Philip and the Macedonians by grace of the Romans. Greece was at once a stormy sea of hopes and fears, being corrupted by her demagogues with expectations of royal bounty. Accordingly, Manius sent envoys to the several cities. Most of those which were unsettled in their allegiance Titus Flamininus restrained

1 194 B.C.
'Εσχεν ἀνευ ταραχῆς καὶ κατεπράώνεν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γέγραπται, Κάτων δὲ Κορινθίους καὶ Πατρεῖς, ἐτὶ δ' Ἀγιείς παρεστήσατο.

4 Πλείστον δὲ χρόνον ἐν Ἀθηναῖς διέτριψε. καὶ λέγεται μὲν τις αὐτοῦ φέρεσθαι λόγος, ὅν Ἑλληνιστὶ πρὸς τὸν δήμον εἶπεν, ὡς ξηλῶν τε τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν παλαιῶν Ἀθηναίων τῆς τε πόλεως διὰ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος ἤδεως γεγονὼς θεατῆς· τὸ δ' οὐκ ἄλθες ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ δὲ ἐρμηνεύως ἐνέτυχε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, δυνηθεὶς δὲν αὐτὸς εἰπεῖν, ἐμμένων δὲ τοῖς πατρίοις καὶ καταγελῶν τῶν τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ τεθαυμακότων. Ποστούμον γοῦν Ἀλβίων ἠστορίαν Ἑλληνιστὶ γράψαντα καὶ συγγράμμαν αὐτοῦ μεν έπέσκωψεν εἰπὼν, δοτέον εἶναι τὴν συγγραμμήν, εἰ τῶν Ἀμφικτύων ψηφίσματων ἀναγκασθεὶς ὑπέμεινε τὸ ἔργον. θαυμάσαι δὲ φησι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὸ τάχος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ὀξύτητα τῆς φράσεως: ἃ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἔξεφερε βραχέως, τὸν ἐρμηνεύα μακρῶς καὶ διὰ πόλλων ἀπαγγέλλειν τὸ δ' ὅλον οἰεσθαι τὰ ῥήματα τοῖς μὲν ᾿Ελλησὶν ἀπὸ χειλέων, τοῖς δὲ ῾Ρωμαίοις ἀπὸ καρδίας φέρεσθαι.

Χ. ΣΤ. Ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀντίοχος ἐμφράξας τὰ περὶ Θερμοπύλας στενὰ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ τοῖς αὐτοφυέσι τῶν τόπων ἐρύμασι προσβάλων χαρακτόρων καὶ διατειχίσματα, καθόστο τὸν πόλεμον ἐκκεκλεικότας νομίζων, τὸ μὲν κατὰ στόμα βιάζεσθαι παντόπασιν ἀπεγινώσκον οἱ ῾Ρωμαῖοι, τὴν δὲ Περσικὴν ἑκείνην περιήλθον καὶ κύκλωσιν ὁ
without ado, and quieted down, as I have written in his Life; but Corinth, Patrae, and Aegium were brought over to Rome by Cato.

He also spent much time at Athens. And we are told that a certain speech of his is extant, which he addressed to the Athenian people in Greek, declaring that he admired the virtues of the ancient Athenians, and was glad to behold a city so beautiful and grand as theirs. But this is not true. On the contrary, he dealt with the Athenians through an interpreter. He could have spoken to them directly, but he always clung to his native ways, and mocked at those who were lost in admiration of anything that was Greek. For instance, he poked fun at Postumius Albinus, who wrote a history in Greek, and asked the indulgence of his readers. Cato said they might have shown him indulgence had he undertaken his task in consequence of a compulsory vote of the Amphiictyonic Assembly. Moreover, he says the Athenians were astonished at the speed and pungency of his discourse. For what he himself set forth with brevity, the interpreter would repeat to them at great length and with many words; and on the whole he thought the words of the Greeks were born on their lips, but those of the Romans in their hearts.

XIII. Now Antiochus had blocked up the narrow pass of Thermopylae with his army, adding trenches and walls to the natural defences of the place, and sat there, thinking that he had locked the war out of Greece. And the Romans did indeed despair utterly of forcing a direct passage. But Cato, calling to mind the famous compass and circuit of the pass

\[1\] Chapters xv–xvii.  \[2\] 191 B.C.
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Κάτων εἰς νοῦν βαλόμενος ἐξώδευσε νύκτωρ,
2 ἀναλαβὼν μέρος τι τῆς στρατιάς. ἔπει δ’ ἄνω
προελθόντων ὁ καθοδηγῶν αἰχμάλωτος ἐξέπεσε
τῆς ὀδοῦ καὶ πλανώμενος ἐν τόποις ἀπόροις καὶ
κρημνώδεις δεινὰ ἄθυμιαν καὶ φόβον ἐνειργάσατο
τοῖς στρατιώταις, ὥρων ὁ Κάτων τὸν κίνδυνον
ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπάντας ἀτρεμεῖν καὶ περι-
3 μένειν, αὐτὸς δὲ Λεύκιον τινα Μάλλιον, ἀνδρά-
δεινον ὀρείβατειν, παραλαβὼν ἑχώρει πολυτόνως
καὶ παραβόλως ἐν ἀσελήνῳ νυκτὶ καὶ βαθείᾳ,
kotίνους1 καὶ πάγοις ἀνατεταμένοις διασπάσματα
πολλὰ τῆς ὄψεως καὶ ἀσάφειαν ἑχούσης, ἔως
ἐμβαλόντες εἰς ἀτραπόν, ἡς φώνα, κάτω περαι-
νοῦσαν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν πολεμίων ἔθεντο
σημεία πρὸς τινας εὐσκόπους κεραίας ὑπὲρ τὸ
4 Καλλίδρομον ἀνεχούσας. οὖτω δὲ πάλιν ἐπαν-
ελθόντες ὁπίσω τὴν στρατιὰν ἀνέλαβον, καὶ
πρὸς τὰ σημεία προάγουτες ἤψαντο μὲν ἐκείνης
τῆς ἀτραποῦ καὶ κατεστήσατο τὴν πορείαν,
μικρὸν δὲ προελθοῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπέλευσε φάραγγος
ὑπολαμβανοῦσης. καὶ πάλιν ἦν ἀπορία καὶ δέος
οὐκ ἐπισταμένων οὐδὲ συνορώντων ὅτι πλησίον
ἐτύγχανον τῶν πολεμίων γεγονότες. ἢδη δὲ διε-
λαμπτεν ἡμέρα, καὶ φθογγῆς τις ἐδοξεῖ ἐπακοῦσαι,
tάχα δὲ καὶ καθορὰν Ἑλληνικὸν χάρακα καὶ
5 προφυλακὴν ὑπὸ τὸ κρημνῶδες. οὐτωσὶν οὖν ἐπι-
στήσας ἐνταῦθα τὴν στρατιὰν ο Κάτων ἐκέλευσεν
αὐτῷ προσελθεῖν ἂνευ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς Φιρμα-
νοὺς, οἷς ἀεὶ πιστοῖς ἔχριτο καὶ προθύμοις.
συνδραμόντων δὲ καὶ περιστάντων αὐτῶν ἀθρόων

1 kotίνουs MSS.; κολώνοιs (hills) Bekker, adopting the
correction of Coraës.

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which the Persians had once made, took a considerable force and set out under cover of darkness. They climbed the heights, but their guide, who was a prisoner of war, lost the way, and wandered about in impracticable and precipitous places until he had filled the soldiers with dreadful dejection and fear. Cato, seeing their peril, bade the rest remain quietly where they were, while he himself, with a certain Lucius Manlius, an expert mountain-climber, made his way along, with great toil and hazard, in the dense darkness of a moonless night, his vision much impeded and obscured by wild olive trees and rocky peaks, until at last they came upon a path. This, they thought, led down to the enemy's camp. So they put marks and signs on some conspicuous cliffs which towered over Mount Callidromus, and then made their way back again to the main body. This too they conducted to the marks and signs, struck into the path indicated by these, and started forward. But when they had gone on a little way, the path failed them, and a ravine yawned to receive them. Once more dejection and fear were rife. They did not know and could not see that they were right upon the enemy whom they sought. But presently gleams of daylight came, here and there a man thought he heard voices, and soon they actually saw a Greek outpost entrenched at the foot of the cliffs. So then Cato halted his forces there, and summoned the men of Firmum to a private conference. These soldiers he had always found trusty and zealous in his service. When they had run up and stood grouped about him,
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εἶπεν: "Ανδρα χρῆξεω λαβεῖν τῶν πολεμίων ζώντα καὶ πυθέσθαι, τίνες οἱ προφυλάττοντες οὗτοι, πόσον πλήθος αὐτῶν, τίς ὁ τῶν ἄλλων διάκοσμος ἢ τάξις καὶ παρασκευὴ, μεθ' ἡς ὑπομένουσαν ἡμᾶς.

6 τὸ δ' ἔργον ἀρπαγμα δεῖ τάχους γενέσθαι καὶ τόλμης, ἢ καὶ λέοντες ἀνοπλοὶ θαρροῦντες ἐπὶ τὰ δειλὰ τῶν θηρίων βαδίζουσι." ταῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ Κάτωνος αὐτοθέν ὀρούσαντες, ὡσπερ εἶχον, οἱ Φιλιμναῖοι κατὰ τῶν ὅρων ἔθεον ἐπὶ τὰς προφυλα-κάς καὶ προσπεσόντες ἀπροσδόκητοι πάντας μὲν διετάραξαν καὶ διεσκέδασαν, ἕνα δ' αὐτῶς ὅπλως 344

7 ἀρπάσαντες ἐνεχείρισαν τῷ Κάτων. παρὰ τούτου μαθὼν, ὡς ἡ μὲν ἄλλη δύναμις ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς κάθηται μετ' αὐτοῦ1 τοῦ βασιλέως, οἱ δὲ φρονοῦντες οὕτως τὰς ὑπερβολὰς Λατωλῶν εἰσὶν ἐξακοσίῳ λογάδες, καταφρονήσας τῆς ὀλυγότητος ἀμα καὶ τῆς ὀλυγωρίας εὐθὺς ἔπηγεν ἁμα σάλ-πιγξι καὶ ἀλαλαγμῷ, πρῶτος σπασάμενος τὴν μάχαιραν. οἱ δ' ὡς εἰδον ἀπὸ τῶν κρημνῶν ἐπι-φερομένους, φεύγουντες εἰς τὸ μέγα στρατόπεδον κατεπίμπλασαν ταραχὴς ἄπαντας.2

XIV. Ἑν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τοῦ Μανικιου κάτωθεν πρὸς τὰ διατείχισμα βιαζομένου καὶ τοῖς στενοῖς προσβάλλοντος ἄδροι τῇ δύναμιν, ὁ μὲν Ἀντίοχος εἰς τὸ στόμα λίθῳ πληγεῖς ἐκτινα-χευτών αὐτοῦ τῶν ὁδόντων ἀπέστρεψε τὸν ὑπο-πο τὸ ὅπλον, περιαλήγης γενόμενος, τοῦ δὲ στρατοῦ 2 μέρος οὐδὲν ὑπέμεινε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ-περ ἀπόρους καὶ ἀμηχάνους τῆς φυγῆς ὀδοὺς καὶ πλάνας ἔχοις, ἐλὼν βαθέων καὶ πετρῶν ἀπο-

1 μετ' αὐτοῦ Blass with S : μετὰ. 2 ἄπαντα Sintenis with C; Bekker reads ἄπαντα, with Sintenis and Coralès.

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he said: "I must take one of the enemy’s men alive, and learn from him who they are that form this advance guard, what their number is, and with what disposition and array their main body awaits us. But the task demands the swift and bold leap of lions fearlessly rushing all unarmed upon the timorous beasts on which they prey." So spake Cato, and the Firmians instantly started, just as they were, rushed down the mountain-side, and ran upon the enemy’s sentinels. Falling upon them unexpectedly, they threw them all into confusion and scattered them in flight; one of them they seized, arms and all, and delivered him over to Cato. From the captive Cato learned that the main force of the enemy was encamped in the pass with the king himself, and that the detachment guarding the pass over the mountains was composed of six hundred picked Aetolians. Despising their small numbers and their carelessness, he led his troops against them at once, with bray of trumpet and battle-cry, being himself first to draw his sword. But when the enemy saw his men pouring down upon them from the cliffs, they fled to the main army, and filled them all with confusion.

XIV. Meanwhile Manius also, down below, threw his whole force forward into the pass and stormed the enemy’s fortifications. Antiochus, being hit in the mouth with a stone which knocked his teeth out, wheeled his horse about for very anguish. Then his army gave way everywhere before the Roman onset. Although flight for them meant impracticable roads and helpless wanderings, while deep marshes and steep cliffs threatened those who
πάντωσαν τὰ πτῶματα καὶ τὰς ὀλισθήσεις ὑποδεχομένων, εἰς τὰῦτα διὰ τῶν στενῶν ὑπερχεόμενοι καὶ συνωστούντες ἀλλήλους φῶλῃ πληγῆς καὶ σιδήρου πολέμιον αὐτῶν διέφθειρον.

Ὡς δὲ Κάτων αἰὲ μὲν την ἤν, ὡς ἔοικε, τῶν ἢδίων ἐγκωμίων ἀφειδῆς καὶ τὴν ἀντικρυσι μεγαλαυχίαν ὡς ἐπακολούθημα τῆς μεγαλουργίας οὐκ ἔφευγε, πλείστον δὲ ταῖς πράξεσι ταῦταις ὁγκον 3 περιτέθεικε, καὶ φησὶ τοῖς ἰδοὺν αὐτῶν τὸτε διώκοντα καὶ πάοντα τοὺς πολεμίους παραστήναι μηδεν ὀφείλειν Κάτωνα τῷ δήμῳ τόσοῦτον, ὡςον Κάτων τὸν δήμον, αὐτὸν τε Μάνιον τὸν ὑπατὸν θερμόν ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης ἔτι θερμὸν περιπλακέντα πολὺν χρόνον ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ βοῶν ὑπὸ χαρᾶς, ὡς οὔτ' ἀν αὐτὸς οὐθ' ὁ σύμπας δήμος ἔξισώσει τὰς ἀμοιβὰς ταῖς Κά-4 τονος εὐεργεσίαις. μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην εὐθὺς εἰς Ἦρωμν ἐπέμπετο τὸν ἡγοισμένων αὐτάγγελον, καὶ διέπλευσε μὲν εἰς Βρευτέσιον εὐτυχῶς, μαὶ δ' ἡμέρα διελάσας ἐκείθεν εἰς Τάραντα καὶ τέσσαρας ἄλλας ὀδεύοσας πεμπταῖος εἰς Ἦρωμν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀφίκετο καὶ πρῶτος ἀπῆγγειλε τὴν νίκην. καὶ τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐνέπλησεν ὑφροσύνης καὶ θυσίων, φρουράματος δὲ τὸν δήμον ὡς πάσης γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης κρατεῖν δυνάμενον.

XV. Τῶν μὲν οὖν πολεμικῶν πράξεων τοῦ Κάτωνος αὐτὰ σχεδὸν εἰσίν ἐλλογιμωτάται τῆς δὲ πολιτείας φαίνεται τὸ περὶ τὰς κατηγορίας καὶ τοὺς ἐλέγχους τῶν πονηρῶν μόριον οὐ μικρὰς ἄξιον σπουδής ἡγησάμενος. αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ἔδιωξε πολλοὺς καὶ διώκομεν ἐτέρους συνηγωνίσατο καὶ παρεσκεύασεν ὅλως διώκοντας,
slipped and fell, still, they poured along through the pass into these, crowding one another on in their fear of the enemy's deadly weapons, and so destroyed themselves.

Cato, who was ever rather generous, it would seem, in his own praises, and did not hesitate to follow up his great achievements with boastings equally great, is very pompous in his account of this exploit. He says that those who saw him at that time pursuing the enemy and hewing them down, felt convinced that Cato owed less to Rome than Rome to Cato; also that the consul Manius himself, flushed with victory, threw his arms about him, still flushed with his own victory, and embraced him a long time, crying out for joy that neither he himself nor the whole Roman people could fittingly requite Cato for his benefactions. Immediately after the battle he was sent to Rome as the messenger of his own triumphs. He had a fair passage to Brundisium, crossed the peninsula from there to Tarentum in a single day, travelled thence four days more, and on the fifth day after landing reached Rome, where he was the first to announce the victory. He filled the city full of joy and sacrifices, and the people with the proud feeling that it was able to master every land and sea.

XV. These are perhaps the most remarkable features of Cato's military career. In political life, he seems to have regarded the impeachment and conviction of malefactors as a department worthy of his most zealous efforts. For he brought many prosecutions himself, assisted others in bringing theirs, and even instigated some to begin prosecutions, as
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2 ὡς ἐτι Σκηπίωνα τοὺς περὶ Πετίλλιου. τοῦτον μὲν ὁνὶ ἄπτ' οἰκου τε μεγάλου και φρονήματος ἀληθινοῦ ποιησάμενον ὑπὸ πόδας τὰς διαβολὰς μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι δυνηθεὶς ἄφηκε. Λεύκιον δὲ τὸν ἄδελφον αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν κατηγόρων συστὰς καταδίκη περιέβαλε χρημάτων πολλῶν πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον, ἢν οὐκ ἔχων ἔκεινος ἀπολύσασθαι καὶ κινδυνεύων δεθῆναι μόλις ἐπικλήσει τῶν δη-μάρχων ἀφείθη.

3 Λέγεται δὲ καὶ νεανίσκω τινὶ τεθνηκότος πατρὸς ἐχθρὸν ἡτιμωκότι καὶ πορευομένῳ δί' ἀγορᾶς μετὰ τὴν δίκην ἀπαντήσας ὁ Κάτων δεξιώσασθαι καὶ εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ταῦτα χρὴ τοῖς γονεύσιν ἐναγίζειν, οὐκ ἄρνος οὐδ' ἔριφος, ἀλλ' ἐχθρόν δάκρυα καὶ καταδίκας. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ πολίτειᾳ περὶν ἄθροι, ἀλλ' ὅπου τινὰ λαβὴν παράσχοι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, κρινόμενοι καὶ 4 κινδυνεύων διετέλει. Λέγεται γὰρ ὅλην ἁπολύ-πούσας τῶν πεντήκοντα φυγεῖν δίκας, μίαν δὲ τὴν τελευταῖαν ἐξ ἐτῇ καὶ ὄγοικοντα γεγονός· ἐν ἣ καὶ τὸ μνημονεύομενον εἰπεῖν, ὡς καλετὼν ἐστὶν ἐν ἄλλοις βεβιωκότα ἀνθρώποις ἐν ἄλλοις 345 ἀπολογείσθαι. καὶ τοῦτο πέρας οὐκ ἐποιήσατο τῶν ἀγώνων, τεσσάρων δ' ἄλλων ἐνιαυτὸν διελ-θόντων Σεροῦνοι Γάλβα κατηγόρησεν ἐνενήκοντα 5 γεγονὼς ἐτῇ. κινδυνεύει γὰρ ὡς ὁ Νεστωρ εἰς 1 τὴν τελευταῖαν Hercher and Blass with FaS : τελευταῖα.

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for instance Petillius against Scipio. That great man, however, trampled the accusations against him under foot, as the splendour of his house and his own inherent loftiness of spirit prompted him to do, and Cato, unable to secure his capital conviction, dropped the case. But he so co-operated with the accusers of Lucius, Scipio's brother, as to have him condemned to pay a large fine to the state. This debt Lucius was unable to meet, and was therefore liable to imprisonment. Indeed, it was only at the intercession of the tribunes that he was at last set free.

We are also told that a certain young man, who had got a verdict of civil outlawry against an enemy of his dead father, was passing through the forum on the conclusion of the case, and met Cato, who greeted him and said: "These are the sacrifices we must bring to the spirits of our parents; not lambs and kids, but the condemnations and tears of their enemies." However, he himself did not go unscathed, but wherever in his political career he gave his enemies the slightest handle, he was all the while suffering prosecutions and running risk of condemnation. It is said that he was defendant in nearly fifty cases, and in the last one when he was eighty-six years of age. It was in the course of this that he uttered the memorable saying: "It is hard for one who has lived among men of one generation, to make his defence before those of another." And even with this case he did not put an end to his forensic contests, but four years later, at the age of ninety, he impeached Servius Galba. Indeed, he may be said, like Nestor,
τριγωνίαν τῷ βίῳ καὶ ταῖς πράξεσι κατελθεῖν. 
Σκηπτίων γάρ, ὡς λέεικτα, τῷ μεγάλῳ πολλά 
διερισάμενος ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ διέτεινεν εἰς Σκη- 
πίωνα τοῦ νέον, ὅσ ἦν ἐκείνου κατὰ ποίησιν 
νίώνος, νίός δὲ Παύλου τοῦ Περσέα καὶ Μακε- 
δόνας καταπολεμήσαντος.

XVI. Τῆς δ’ ὑπατείας κατόπιν ἔτεσι δέκα 
τιμητείαν ὁ Κάτων παρήγγειλε. κορυφή δὲ 
tίς ἦστι τιμής ἀπάσης ἡ ἀρχή καὶ τρόπον τινὰ 
tῆς πολιτείας ἐπιτελείωσις, ἀλλὰν τε πολλὴν 
ἐξουσίαν ἤχουσα καὶ τὴν περὶ τὰ ἡθη καὶ τοὺς 
βίους ἐξέτασιν. οὔτε γὰρ γάμον οὔτε παιδοποιίαν 
tῶν οὔτε δίαιταν οὔτε συμπόσιον φῶντο δεῖν 
ἀκριτον καὶ ἀνεξέταστον, ὡς ἐκαστὸς ἐπιθυμίας 

2 ἔχοι καὶ προαιρέσεως, ἀφείσθαι. πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον 
ev τούτοις νομίζουσε ἡ ταῖς ὑπαίθροις καὶ πολι- 
tικαῖς πράξεσι τρόπον ἀνδρὸς ἐνορᾶθαι, φύλακα 
καὶ σωφρονιστὴν καὶ κολαστὴν τοῦ μηδένα καθ’ 
ἡδονὰς ἐκτρέπεσθαι καὶ παρεκβαίνειν τὸν ἐπι- 
χώριον καὶ συνήθη βίον ἡροῦντο τῶν καλουμένων 
pατρικίων ἕνα καὶ τῶν δημοτικῶν ἕνα. τιμητάς 
de τούτους προσηγορεῖν, ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντας ἀφε- 
λέσθαι μὲν ἢππον, ἐκβαλεῖν δὲ συγκλήτου τῶν 

3 ἀκολούθως βιώνυτα καὶ ἀτάκτως. οὕτω δὲ καὶ 
tὰ τιμήματα τῶν οὐσίων λαμβάνοντες ἐπεσκό- 
pον, καὶ ταῖς ἀπογραφαῖς τὰ γένη καὶ τὰς πο- 
lιτείας διέκρινον. ἄλλας τε μεγάλας ἔχει 
dυνάμεις ἡ ἀρχή.

Διὸ καὶ τῷ Κάτων πρὸς τὴν παραγγελίαν 

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to have been vigorous and active among three generations. For after many political struggles with Scipio the Great, as told above, he lived to be contemporary with Scipio the Younger, who was the Elder's grandson by adoption, and the son of that Paulus Aemilius who subdued Perseus and the Macedonians.¹

XVI. Ten years after his consulship,² Cato stood for the censorship. This office towered, as it were, above every other civic honour, and was, in a way, the culmination of a political career. The variety of its powers was great, including that of examining into the lives and manners of the citizens. Its creators thought that no one should be left to his own devices and desires, without inspection and review, either in his marrying, or in the begetting of his children, or in the ordering of his daily life, or in the entertainment of his friends. Nay, rather, thinking that these things revealed a man's real character more than did his public and political career, they set men in office to watch, admonish, and chastise, that no one should turn aside to wantonness and forsake his native and customary mode of life. They chose to this office one of the so-called patricians, and one of the plebeians. These officers were called censors, and they had authority to degrade a knight, or to expel a senator who led an unbridled and disorderly life. They also revised the assessments of property, and arranged the citizens in lists according to their social and political classes. There were other great powers also connected with the office.

Therefore, when Cato stood for it, nearly all

¹ In the battle of Pydna, 168 B.C. ² 184 B.C.
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απήντησαν ἑυστάμενοι σχεδὸν οἱ γυναικῶται καὶ πρώτοι τῶν συγκλητικῶν. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ εὐπατρίδας ὁ φθόνος ἔλυπε, παντάπασιν οἰομένους προπηλακίζεσθαι τὴν εὐγένειαν ἀνθρώπων ἀπ' ἄρχης ἄδοξον εἰς τὴν ἀκραν τιμήν καὶ δύνα-

4 μν ἀναβιβαισμένου, οί δὲ μοχθηρὰ συνειδότες αὐτοῖς ἐπίτηδεύματα καὶ τῶν πατρίων ἐκδιαίτησιν ἐθῶν ἐφοβοῦντο τὴν αὐστηρίαν τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀπαραίτητον ἐν ἔξουσίᾳ καὶ χαλεπὴν ἐσομένην. διὸ συμφρονήσαντες καὶ παρασκευάσαντες ἐπτὰ κατήγγειλαν ἐπί τὴν παραγγελίαν ἀντιπάλους τῷ Κάτωνι, θεραπεύοντας ἐλπίσι χρησταῖς τὸ πλή-

θος, ὡς δὲ μαλακῶς καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀρχεσθαι 5 δεόμενον. τοῦναντίον δ' ὁ Κάτων οὐδεμίαν ἐνδι-

δοὺς ἐπιείκειαν, ἀλλ' ἀντικρυς ἀπειλῶν τε τοῖς πονηροῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος καὶ κεκραγῶς μεγάλου καθαρμοῦ χρήζειν τὴν πόλιν, ἡξίου τοὺς πολλοὺς, εἰ σωφρονοῦσι, μὴ τὸν ἡδιστον, ἀλλὰ τὸν σφο-

δρότατον αἱρεῖσθαι τῶν ἰατρῶν· τοῦτον δὲ αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ τῶν πατρικίων ἐνα Φλάκκκον Οὐαλ-

λέριου· μετ' ἐκείνου γὰρ οἰσικαὶ μόνον τὴν τρυφὴν καὶ τὴν μαλακίαν ὀσπερ ύδραν τέμνον καὶ ἀπο-

καλῶν προύργου τι ποιήσει, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ὅραν ἐκαστὸν ἀρξαί κακῶς βιαζόμενον, ὅτι τοὺς καλῶς 6 ἀρξοντας δέδοικεν. οὐτω δ' ἄρα μέγας ἢν ὡς ἄληθῶς καὶ μεγάλων ἄξιος δημαγωγῶν ὁ Ῥωμαίων δήμος, ὅστε μὴ φοβηθῆναι τὴν ἀνάτασιν καὶ τὸν ὅγκον τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἢδεις ἐκείνους καὶ πρὸς

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the best known and most influential men of the senatorial party united to oppose him. The men of noble parentage among them were moved by jealousy, thinking that nobility of birth would be trampled in the mire if men of ignoble origin forced their way up to the summits of honour and power; while those who were conscious of base practices and of a departure from ancestral customs, feared the severity of the man, which was sure to be harsh and inexorable in the exercise of power. Therefore, after due consultation and preparation, they put up in opposition to Cato seven candidates for the office, who sought the favour of the multitude with promises of mild conduct in office, supposing, forsooth, that it wanted to be ruled with a lax and indulgent hand. Cato, on the contrary, showed no complaisance whatever, but plainly threatened wrong-doers in his speeches, and loudly cried that the city had need of a great purification. He adjured the people, if they were wise, not to choose the most agreeable physician, but the one who was most in earnest. He himself, he said, was such a physician, and so was Valerius Flaccus, of the patricians. With him as colleague, and him alone, he thought he could cut and sear to some purpose the hydra-like luxury and effeminacy of the time. As for the rest of the candidates, he saw that they were all trying to force their way into the office in order to administer it badly, since they feared those who would administer it well. And so truly great was the Roman people, and so worthy of great leaders, that they did not fear Cato’s rigour and haughty independence, but rejected rather those agreeable candidates who,
χάριν ἀπαντά ποιήσειν δοκοῦντας ἀπορρίψας ἐλέσθαι μετὰ τοῦ Κάτωνος τὸν Φλάκκον, ὡσπερ οὖκ αἰτούντος ἀρχήν, ἀλλ' ἀρχοντος ἦδη καὶ προστάττοντος ἀκροώμενος.

XVII. Προέγραψε μὲν οὖν ὁ Κάτων τὴς συγκλήτου τὸν συνάρχοντα καὶ φίλον Λεύκιον Ὑμαλλέριον Φλάκκον, ἐξέβαλε δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ἀλλοις τε συνεχοὺς καὶ Λεύκιον Κοῦτιον, ὅποιον μὲν ἐπτὰ πρότερον ἐνιαυτοῖς γεγενημένου, δ’ ἦν αὐτῷ πρὸς δόξαν ὑπατείας μεῖζον, ἀδελφὸν Τίτου Φλαμινίου τοῦ καταπολεμήσαντος Φιλίππων.

2 αἰτίαν δὲ τῆς ἐκβολῆς ἔσχε τοιαύτην. μειράκιον 346 ἐκ τῆς παιδικῆς ὀρας ἑταίρων ἀνείληφως ὁ Λεύκιος άεὶ περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχε καὶ συνεπήγετο στρατηγῶν ἐπὶ τιμῆς καὶ δυνάμεως τοσαύτης, ὧσην οὐδεὶς εἰχε τῶν πρώτων παρ’ αὐτῷ φίλων καὶ οἰκείων. ἐτύγχανε μὲν οὖν ἡγούμενος ὑπατικής ἐπαρχίας ἐν δὲ συμποσίῳ τυί το μειράκιον, ὡσπερ εἰώθει, συγκατακείμενον ἄλλην τε κολακείαν ἐκίνει πρὸς ἄνθρωπον1 ἐν οὐφρό ραδίως ἁγόμενον, καὶ φίλειν αὐτὸν οὔτως ἔλεγεν "ὦστ'," ἔφη, "ἡς οὔτης οίκοι μονομάχων οὐ τεθεαμένος πρότερον ἐξώρμησα πρὸς σέ, καίτερ ἐπιθυμῶν ἱδεῖν ἄνθρωπον 3 σφαττόμενον." ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος ἀντιφιλοφρονοῦμενος "Ἀλλὰ τούτον γε χάριν," εἰπε, "μὴ μοι κατάκεισο λυπώμενος, ἐγὼ γὰρ ἱάσομαι." καὶ κελεύσας ἔνα τῶν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ κατακρίτων εἰς το συμπόσιον ἀχθήναι καὶ τὸν ὑπηρέτην ἔχοντα

1 πρὸς ἄνθρωπον Blass with FaSC: πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον.
it was believed, would do every thing to please them, and elected Flaccus to the office along with Cato.\footnote{1} To Cato they gave ear, not as to one soliciting office, but as to one already in office and issuing his decrees.

XVII. As censor, then, Cato made Lucius Valerius Flaccus, his colleague and friend, chief senator. He also expelled many members of the Senate, including Lucius Quintius. This man had been consul seven years before, and, a thing which gave him more reputation than the consulship even, was brother of the Titus Flamininus who conquered King Philip.\footnote{2} The reason for his expulsion was the following: There was a youth who, ever since his boyhood, had been the favourite of Lucius. This youth Lucius kept ever about him, and took with him on his campaigns in greater honour and power than any one of his nearest friends and kinsmen had. He was once administering the affairs of his consular province, and at a certain banquet this youth, as was his wont, reclined at his side, and began to pay his flatteries to a man who, in his cups, was too easily led about. "I love you so much," he said, "that once, when there was a gladiatorial show at home, a thing which I had never seen, I rushed away from it to join you, although my heart was set on seeing a man slaughtered." "Well, for that matter," said Lucius, "don't lie there with any grudge against me, for I will cure it." Thereupon he commanded that one of the men who were lying under sentence of death be brought to the banquet, and that a lictor with an axe stand by his side. Then he

\footnote{1}{184 B.C.} \footnote{2}{At Cynoscephalae, 198 B.C.}
πέλεκυν παραστήναι, πάλιν ἢρώτησε τὸν ἐρώμενον, εἰ βούλεται τυπτόμενον θεάσασθαι. φήσαντος δὲ βούλεσθαι, προσέταξεν ἀποκόψαι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸν τράχηλον.

4 Οἱ μὲν οὖν πλεῖστοι ταῦτα ἱστοροῦσι, καὶ ὁ γε Κικέρων αὐτὸν τὸν Κάτωνα διηγούμενον ἐν τῷ περὶ γῆρως διαλόγῳ πεποίηκεν. ὁ δὲ Δίμιος αὐτόμολον εἶναι φησί Γαλάτην τὸν ἀναιρεθέντα, τὸν δὲ Δεύκιον οὐ δι’ ὑπηρέτου κτεῖνα τὸν ἀνθρώπον, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸν ἴδια χειρὶ, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν λόγῳ 1 γεγράφθαι Κάτωνος.

5 Ἐκβληθέντος οὖν τοῦ Δεύκιου τῆς βουλῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κάτωνος, ὁ ἄδελφος αὐτοῦ βαρέως φέρων ἐπὶ τὸν δήμον κατέφυγε καὶ τὴν αὐτίκαν ἐκέλευεν εἰπεῖν τὸν Κάτωνα τῆς ἐκβολής. εἰπόντος δὲ καὶ διηγησάμενον τὸ συμπόσιον ἐπεχείρει μὲν ὁ Δεύκιος ἀρνεῖσθαι, προκαλομένου δὲ τοῦ Κάτωνος εἰς ὀρισμὸν ἀνεδύνετο. καὶ τότε μὲν ἅξια παθεῖν κατεγινώσθη τὰς θέας δ’ οὕσης ἐν θεάτρῳ τὴν ὑπατικὴν χώραν παρελθὼν καὶ πορρωτάτῳ ποὺ καθεσθεὶς οίκτον ἔσχε παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ βοῶτες ἤναγκασαν αὐτὸν μετελθεῖν, ὡς ἦν δυνατὸν ἐπανορθοῦμενοι καὶ θεραπεύοντες τὸ γεγενημένον.

6 Ἀλλοι δὲ βουλῆς ἔξεβαλεν ὑπατεύσειν ἐπίδοξον ὄντα, Μανιλίτων, ὡς τὴν αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα μεθ’ ἡμέραιν ὄρφισι τῆς θυγατρὸς κατεφίλησεν. αὐτῷ δ’ ἔφη τῇ γυναίκῃ μηδέποτε πλὴν βροντῆς μεγάλης γενομένης περιπλακήναι, καὶ μετὰ παιδιᾶς εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν ὡς μακάριος ἔστι τοῦ Διὸς βροντώντος.

7 Ἐν λόγῳ Hercher and Blasa with FaSC: ἐν τῷ λόγῳ.

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asked his beloved if he wished to see the man smitten. The youth said he did, and Lucius ordered the man's head to be cut off.

This is the version which most writers give of the affair, and so Cicero has represented Cato himself as telling the story in his dialogue "On Old Age." But Livy says the victim was a Gallie deserter, and that Lucius did not have the man slain by a lictor, but smote him with his own hand, and that this is the version of the story in a speech of Cato's.

On the expulsion of Lucius from the Senate by Cato, his brother was greatly indignant, and appealed to the people, urging that Cato state his reasons for the expulsion. Cato did so, narrating the incident of the banquet. Lucius attempted to make denial, but when Cato challenged him to a formal trial of the case with a wager of money upon it, he declined. Then the justice of his punishment was recognized. But once when a spectacle was given in the theatre, he passed along by the senatorial seats, and took his place as far away from them as he could. Then the people took pity upon him and shouted till they had forced him to change his seat, thus rectifying, as far as was possible, and alleviating the situation.

Cato expelled another senator who was thought to have good prospects for the consulship, namely, Manilius, because he embraced his wife in open day before the eyes of his daughter. For his own part, he said, he never embraced his wife unless it thundered loudly; and it was a pleasantry of his to remark that he was a happy man when it thundered.

1 Cato Maior, 12, 42. 2 xxxix, 42.
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XVIII. "Ηνεγκε δὲ τινα τῷ Κάτωνι καὶ Δεύκιος ὁ Σκηπτώνος ἀδελφὸς ἐπίθεονον αἰτίαν, θριαμβικὸς ἀνήρ ἀφαιρεθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν ἱππον. ἐδοξε γὰρ οἶνον ἐφυβρίζων Ἀφρικανῷ Σκηπτῶνι τεθυκότι τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. τοὺς δὲ πλείστους ἦνίσε μάλιστα τῇ περικοπῇ τῆς πολυτελείας, ἢν ἀντικρυς μὲν ἀφελέσθαι, νεοσκότων ἦδη καὶ διεφθαρμένων ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῶν πολλῶν, ἀδυνατον ἦν, κύκλῳ δὲ περιών ἧναγκαζον ἐσθήτος, ὀχήματος, κόσμου γυναικείου, σκευῶν τῶν περὶ δίαιταν, δὲν ἐκάστου τὸ τίμημα δραχμάς χιλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας ύπερβαλλεῖν, ἀποτιμάσθαι τὴν ἀξίαν εἰς τὸ δεκαπλάσιον, βουλόμενος ἀπὸ μειώσων τιμημάτων αὐτοῖς μείζονας καὶ τὰς εἰσφορὰς εἶναι. καὶ προσετίμησε τρεῖς χάλκους πρὸς τοῖς χιλίοις, ὅπως βαρυνόμενοι ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς καὶ τοὺς ἑυσταλείς καὶ λιτοὺς ὀρῶτες ἀπὸ τῶν ἱσων ἑλάττων τελοῦτας εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἀπαγορεύωσιν. ἦσαν οὖν αὐτῷ χαλεποὶ μὲν οἱ τὰς εἰσφορὰς διὰ τὴν τρυφὴν ὑπομένουτες, χαλεποὶ δὲ αὐτό πάλιν οἱ τὴν τρυφὴν ἀποτιμέμενοι διὰ τὰς εἰσφορὰς. πλοῦτου γὰρ ἀφαίρεσιν οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσι τὴν κόλυσιν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐπιδείξεως, ἐπιδείκνυσθαι δὲ τοῖς περιττοῖς, οὐ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις. ὃ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα φασὶ τὸν φιλόσοφον Ἀρίστωνα θαυμάζειν, ὅτι τοὺς τὰ περιττὰ κεκτημένους μᾶλλον ἠγοῦνται μακαρίους ἢ τοὺς τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ χρησίμων εὑποροῦντας. Σκόπησα δὲ ὁ Θεττάλος αἰτουμένου τινὸς τῶν φίλων 354
XVIII. Cato was rather bitterly censured for his treatment of Lucius, the brother of Scipio, whom, though he had achieved the honour of a triumph, he expelled from the equestrian order. He was thought to have done this as an insult to the memory of Scipio Africanus. But he was most obnoxious to the majority of his enemies because he lopped off extravagance in living. This could not be done away with outright, since most of the people were already infected and corrupted by it, and so he took a roundabout way. He had all apparel, equipages, jewellery, furniture and plate, the value of which in any case exceeded fifteen hundred drachmas, assessed at ten times its worth, wishing by means of larger assessments to make the owners' taxes also larger. Then he laid a tax of three on every thousand asses thus assessed, in order that such property holders, burdened by their charges, and seeing that people of equal wealth who led modest and simple lives paid less into the public treasury, might desist from their extravagance. As a result, both classes were incensed against him, both those who endured the taxes for the sake of their luxury, and those no less who put away their luxury because of the taxes. For most men think themselves robbed of their wealth if they are prevented from displaying it, and that display of it is made in the superfluities, not in the necessaries of life. This, we are told, is what most astonished Ariston the philosopher, namely, that those possessed of the superfluities of life should be counted happy, rather than those well provided with life's necessary and useful things. Scopas the Thessalian, when one of his friends asked for something of his which
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παρ’ αυτοῦ τι τουιότουν, ὁ μὲ σφόδρα ἦν χρήσιμον 347
ἐκεῖνω, καὶ λέγοντος, ὡς οὔδεν αἰτεῖ τῶν ἀναγ-
καίων καὶ χρησίμων “Καὶ μὴν ἐγὼ τούτοις,”
eἶπεν, “εὑδαίμων καὶ πλουσίως εἰμί, τοῖς ἀχρή-
στοις καὶ περιττοῖς.” οὕτως ὁ τοῦ πλουτοῦ
ξῆλος οὔδεν πάθει φυσικῷ συνημμένος ἐκ τῆς
ὄχλόδους καὶ θυραίῳ δόξης ἐπεισοδίως ἔστιν.

XIX. Οὐ μὴν ἄλλα τῶν ἐγκαλοῦντων ἐλάχιστα
φροντίζουν ὁ Κάτων ἐτὶ μάλλον ἐπέτεινεν, ἀπο-
κόπτων μὲν ὁχετούς, οἷς τὸ παραρρέον δημόσιον
ὑδορ ὑπολαμβάνοντες ἀπῆγον εἰς οἰκίας ἱδίας
καὶ κήπους, ἀνατρέπον δὲ καὶ καταβάλλων
ὅσα προϋβαινεν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον οἰκοδομήματα,
συστελλὼν δὲ τοὺς μισθοὺς τὰς ἐργαλίας, τὰ
dὲ τέλη ταῖς πράσεσιν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐσχάτας ἐλαιῶν
2 τιμᾶς. ἄφ’ ὅν αὐτῷ πολύ συνήχθη μῦσος. οἱ
δὲ περὶ τὸν Τίτου συστάντες ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ
βουλῇ τὰς γεγενημένας ἐκδόσεις καὶ μισθώσεις
tῶν ἱερῶν καὶ δημοσίων ἔργων ἔλυσαν ὡς γε-
γενημένας ἀλυσιτελῶς, καὶ τῶν δημάρχων τοὺς
θρασυτάτους παρώθυναν ἐν δήμῳ προσκαλέ-
σασθαι τῶν Κάτωνα καὶ ξημιώσαι δυσὶ ταλάν-
τοις. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς βασιλικῆς
κατασκευὴν ἦμαντιώθησαν, ἦν ἐκείνος ἐκ χρημά-
των κοινῶν ὑπὸ τὸ βουλευτήριον τῇ ἄγορᾳ
παρέβαλε καὶ Πόρκια βασιλικῇ προσηγορεύθη.1

3 Φαίνεται δὲ θαυμαστῶς ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτὸῦ
τὴν τιμητείαν ὁ δήμος. ἀνδριάντα γοῦν ἀναθείς
ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Τηγείας ἐπέγραψεν οὖ τὰς

1 Πόρκια βασιλικῇ προσήγορεύθη Sintenis with the better
MSS., and now S. Cf. Livy 39, 44. Πόρκιαν βασιλικὴν
προσήγορευσεν Bekker (and called).

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was of no great service to him, with the remark that he asked for nothing that was necessary and useful, replied: "And yet my wealth and happiness are based on just such useless and superfluous things." Thus the desire for wealth is no natural adjunct of the soul, but is imposed upon it by the false opinions of the outside world.

XIX. However, Cato paid not the slightest heed to his accusers, but grew still more strict. He cut off the pipes by which people conveyed part of the public water supply into their private houses and gardens; he upset and demolished all buildings that enroached on public land; he reduced the cost of public works to the lowest, and forced the rent of public lands to the highest possible figure. All these things brought much odium upon him. Titus Flamininus headed a party against him which induced the Senate to annul as useless the outlays and payments which he had authorised for temples and public works, and incited the boldest of the tribunes to call him to account before the people and fine him two talents. The Senate also strongly opposed the erection of the basilica which he built at the public cost below the council-house in the Forum, and which was called the Basilica Porcia.

Still, it appears that the people approved of his censorship to an amazing extent. At any rate, after erecting a statue to his honour in the temple of Health, they commemorated in the inscription
στρατηγίας ούδε τὸν θρίαμβον τοῦ Κάτωνος, ἀλλ’, ὡς ἂν τις μεταφράσει τὴν ἐπιγραφήν, "Ὅτι τὴν Ρωμαίων πολιτείαν ἐγκεκλιμένην καὶ ῥέτουσαν ἐπὶ τὸ χείρον τιμητὴς γενόμενος χρηστάσθαίς ἄγωγαις καὶ σώφροσιν ἔθισμοι καὶ διδασκαλίαις εἰς ὁρθὸν αὕθης ἀποκατέστησε." 4 καίτων πρῶτον αὐτῶς κατεγέλα τῶν ἀγαπώντων τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ λανθάνειν αὐτοὺς ἔληγεν ἐπὶ χαλκέων καὶ ξωγράφων ἔργοις μέγα φρονοῦντας, αὐτοῦ δὲ καλλίστας εἰκόνας ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς περιφέρειν τοὺς πολίτας: πρὸς δὲ τοὺς θαυμάζοντας, ὅτι πολλῶν ἀδόξων ἀνδριάντας ἐχόντων ἔκεινος οὐκ ἔχει "Μᾶλλον γάρ," ἐφι, "βουλομαι ξητείσθαι, διὰ τί μου ἀνδριάς οὐ κεῖται ἡ διὰ τί κεῖται:" τὸ δ’ ὅλον οὐδ’ ἐπαινοῦμενον ἡξίου τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην ὑπομένειν, εἰ μὴ τούτῳ χρησίμως γίνοιτο τῷ κοινῷ.

Καίτων1 πλείστα πάντων ἐαυτῶν ἐγκεκωμάκεν, ὡς γε καὶ τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντάς τι περὶ τῶν βίων, εἰτ’ ἔληγχομένους λέγειν φησίν, ὡς οὐκ ἄξιον ἐγκαλείν αὐτοῖς: οὐ γὰρ Κάτωνες εἰσὶ καὶ τοὺς ἔνια μιμεῖσθαι τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πραττόμενων οὐκ ἐμμελῶς ἐπιχειροῦντας ἐπαριστήσεροι καλεῖσθαι

6 Κάτωνας: ἀφοῦν δὲ τὴν θυσίαν πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐπισφαλεστάτοις καροῖς ὠσπερ ἐν πλῆκτρο πρὸς κυβερνήτην, καὶ πολλάκις μὴ παρόντος ὑπερτίθεσθαι τὰ πλείστη ἄξια σπουδῆς. ἄριστα τῶν ἀλλῶν αὐτῶ ναρτυρεῖται: μέγα γὰρ ἔσχεν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ διὰ τὸν βίου καὶ διὰ τὸν λόγον καὶ διὰ τὸ γῆρας ἄξιον.

XX. Γέγονε δὲ καὶ πατήρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ περὶ 1 καίτων conjecture of Blass: καὶ.
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upon it, not the military commands nor the triumph of Cato, but, as the inscription may be translated, the fact "that when the Roman state was tottering to its fall, he was made censor, and by helpful guidance, wise restraints, and sound teachings, restored it again." And yet, before this time he used to laugh at those who delighted in such honours, saying that, although they knew it not, their pride was based simply on the work of statuaries and painters, whereas his own images, of the most exquisite workmanship, were borne about in the hearts of his fellow citizens. And to those who expressed their amazement that many men of no fame had statues, while he had none, he used to say: "I would much rather have men ask why I have no statue, than why I have one." In short, he thought a good citizen should not even allow himself to be praised, unless such praise was beneficial to the commonwealth.

And yet of all men he has heaped most praises upon himself. He tells us that men of self-indulgent lives, when rebuked for it, used to say: "We ought not to be blamed; we are no Catos." Also that those who imitated some of his practices and did it clumsily, were called "left-handed Catos." Also that the Senate looked to him in the most dangerous crises as seafarers to their helmsman, and often, if he was not present, postponed its most serious business. These boasts of his are confirmed, it is true, by other witnesses, for he had great authority in the city, alike for his life, his eloquence, and his age.

XX. He was also a good father, a considerate
γυναικα χρηστος άνηρ και χρηματιστής ουκ εύκαταφρόνητος ουδ’ ος τι μικρόν ή φαύλον ἐν παρέργῳ μεταχειρισάμενος τὴν τοιαύτην ἐπιμέλειαν. οδεν οὔομαι δεῖν και περὶ τούτων οσα καλῶς ἦχει διελθεῖν· γυναικα μὲν εὐγενεστέραν ἡ πλουσιοτέραν ἐγγεμεν, ἡγούμενος ὁμοίως μὲν ἀμφοτέρας ἦχειν βάρος και φρόνημα, τὰς δὲ γενουαίας αἰδομένας τὰ αἰσχρα μᾶλλον ὑπηκόους 2 εἶναι πρὸς τὰ καλὰ τοῖς γεγαμηκόσι. τοὺς δὲ τύπτοντα γαμητὴν ἢ παῖδα τοῖς ἁγιωτάτοις ἔλεγεν ἵεροῖς προσφέρειν τὰς χεῖρας. ἐν ἐπαίνῳ δὲ μείζονι τίθεσθαι τὸ γαμήτην ἁγαθὸν ἢ τὸ μέγαν εἶναι συγκλητικῶν· ἐπεὶ καὶ Σωκράτους οὐδὲν ἄλλο θαυμάζειν τοῦ παλαιοῦ πλήν ὑπὶ γυναικα χαλεπῇ καὶ παισίν ἀποπλήκτοις χρῶμεν ἐπιεικῶς καὶ πράξῃς διετέλεσε. γενομένου δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς οὐδὲν ἢν ἐργον οὔτως ἀναγκαίον, εἰ μὴ τι δημόσιον, ὡς μὴ παρεῖναι τῇ γυναικι λογοῦσθαι τὸ 348 3 βρέφος καὶ σπαργανούση. αὐτὴ γὰρ ἔστρεφεν ἰδίῳ γάλακτι· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν δούλων παιδάρια τῷ μαστῷ προσιμένη κατεσκεύαζεν εὐνοιαν ἐκ τῆς συντροφίας πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤξιον συνενίαν, παραλαβὼν αὐτὸς ἐδίδασκε γράμματα, καίτοι χαρίεντα δούλου εἰχε γραμματιστήν οὐν τὰ Χίλωνα, πολλοὺς διδάσκοντα 4 παιδας. οὐκ ήξιον δὲ τὸν υἱὸν, ὅς φησιν αὐτός, ύπὸ δούλου κακῶς ἀκούειν ἢ τοῦ ὀφελείν νεσθαι μανθάνουτα βράδιον, οὐδὲ γε μαθήματος τηλκούτοι τῷ δούλῳ χάριν ὀφειλείν, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς μὲν ἢ γραμματιστής, αὐτὸς δὲ νομοδι-
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husband, and a household manager of no mean talent, nor did he give only a fitful attention to this, as a matter of little or no importance. Therefore I think I ought to give suitable instances of his conduct in these relations. He married a wife who was of gentler birth than she was rich, thinking that, although the rich and the high-born may be alike given to pride, still, women of high birth have such a horror of what is disgraceful that they are more obedient to their husbands in all that is honourable. He used to say that the man who struck his wife or child, laid violent hands on the holiest of holy things. Also that he thought it more praiseworthy to be a good husband than a great senator, nay, there was nothing else to admire in Socrates of old except that he was always kind and gentle in his intercourse with a shrewish wife and stupid sons. After the birth of his son, no business could be so urgent, unless it had a public character, as to prevent him from being present when his wife bathed and swaddled the babe. For the mother nursed it herself, and often gave suck also to the infants of her slaves, that so they might come to cherish a brotherly affection for her son. As soon as the boy showed signs of understanding, his father took him under his own charge and taught him to read, although he had an accomplished slave, Chilo by name, who was a school-teacher, and taught many boys. Still, Cato thought it not right, as he tells us himself, that his son should be scolded by a slave, or have his ears tweaked when he was slow to learn, still less that he should be indebted to his slave for such a priceless thing as education. He was therefore
δικτης, αυτος δε γυμναστης, ου μονον άκουτιξειν
ουδ' όπλομαχειν ουδ' ιππευειν διδασκων των νιων,
αλλα και τη χειρι πνε παειν και καιμα και
ψυχος άνεξεσθαι και τα δινωδη και τραχυνοντα
5 τον ποταμον διανηχόμενον άποβιζεσθαι. και τας
ιστοριας δε συγγραψαι φησιν αυτος ιδια χειρι
και μεγαλος γραμμασιν, δως οικοθεν υπαρχοι
τη παιδι προς έμπειριαν των παλαιων και πατρι-
ων ωφελεισθαι. τα δ' αισχρα των ρηματων ουχ
ηττων ευλαβεισθαι του παιδος παροντος η των
ιερων παρθενων, δε Εστιαδας καλουσι συλλου-
σασθαι δε μηδετοτε. και τουτο κοινον έοικε
'Ρωμαιων έθος ειναι και γαρ πενθεροι γαμβροις
1 εφυληττουτο συλλουσθαι δυσωπουμενοι την
6 αποκατυψιν και γυμνωσιν. ειτα μεντοι παρ'
'Ελληνων το γυμνουσθαι μαθοντες αυτοι παλιν
του και μετα γυναικων τοντο πρασειν αναπεπλη-
kasi toνς "Ελληνας.

Ουτω δε καλον ξρον εις αρετην του Κατουν
πλαττοντι και δημουργοντι των νιων, έπει τα
της προθυμιας ήν άμεμπτα και δε ευφυιαν
υπηκουεν η ψυχη, το δε σωμα μαλακωτερον
εφαινετο του πονειν, υπανικεν αυτο το συντον
7 άγαν και κεκολασμενον της διαιτης. ο δε, καιτερ
ουτως έχων, ανηρ έγαθος ήν εν ταις στρατειαις,
και την προς Περσεα μαχην ηγωνισατο λαμπρως
Παλιου στρατηγουντος. ειτα μεντοι του ξεθω
εκκρουσθεντος υπο πληγης ή δε υγροτητα της

1 πενθεροι γαμβροι Hercher and Blass, adopting the con-
jecture of Sinentis: πενθεροι γαμβροι.

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himself not only the boy's reading-teacher, but his tutor in law, and his athletic trainer, and he taught his son not merely to hurl the javelin and fight in armour and ride the horse, but also to box, to endure heat and cold, and to swim lustily through the eddies and billows of the Tiber. His History of Rome, as he tells us himself, he wrote out with his own hand and in large characters, that his son might have in his own home an aid to acquaintance with his country's ancient traditions. He declares that his son's presence put him on his guard against indecencies of speech as much as that of the so-called Vestal Virgins, and that he never bathed with him. This, indeed, would seem to have been a general custom with the Romans, for even fathers-in-law avoided bathing with their sons-in-law, because they were ashamed to uncover their nakedness. Afterwards, however, when they had learned from the Greeks their freedom in going naked, they in their turn infected the Greeks with the practice even when women were present.

So Cato wrought at the fair task of moulding and fashioning his son to virtue, finding his zeal blameless, and his spirit answering to his good natural parts. But since his body was rather too delicate to endure much hardship, he relaxed somewhat in his favour the excessive rigidity and austerity of his own mode of life. But his son, although thus delicate, made a sturdy soldier, and fought brilliantly under Paulus Aemilius in the battle against Perseus.1 On that occasion his sword either was smitten from his hand or slipped from his

1 Pydna, 168 B.C.
χειρὸς ἔξολοσθόντος ἀχθεσθεὶς τρέπεται πρὸς τινας τῶν συνήθων, καὶ παραλαβὼν ἐκείνους αὖθις εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐνέβαλε. πολλῷ ὁ ἄγων καὶ βίᾳ μεγάλῃ διαφωτίσας τὸν τόπον ἀνεύρε μόγις ἐν πολλοῖς σάγμασιν ὁπλῶν καὶ σώμασι νεκρῶν ὁμοί φίλων τε καὶ πολεμίων 8 κατασεσσωρεμένων. ἐφ' ὧν καὶ Παῦλος ὁ στρατηγὸς ἠγάσθη τὸ μειράκιον, καὶ Κάτωνος αὐτοῦ φέρεται τις ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὸν ύπερφυὼς ἐπαινοῦντος τὴν περὶ τὸ ξίφος φιλοτιμίαι αὐτοῦ καὶ σπουδῆν. ὕστερον δὲ καὶ Παῦλον θυγατέρα Τερτίαν ἐγγενέως ὁ νεανίας, ἀδελφὴν Σκηπίωνος, οὔχ ἦττον ἤδη δ' αὐτὸν ἢ τὸν πατέρα καταμιγνύμενος εἰς γένος τηλικοῦτον. ἡ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν ύπον ἐπιμέλεια τοῦ Κάτωνος ἄξιον ἔσχεν τέλος.

XXI. Οἰκείας δὲ πολλοὺς ἐκτάτῳ, τῶν αἱχμαλώτων ὑνούμενος μάλιστα τοὺς μικρούς καὶ δυναμένους ἔτι τροφὴν καὶ παίδευσιν ὡς σκύλακας ἢ πώλους ἐνεγκείν. τούτων οὐδεὶς εἰςἡλθεν εἰς οἰκίαν ἐτέραν, εἰ μὴ πέμψαντος αὐτοῦ Κάτωνος ἢ τῆς γυναικὸς. ὁ δ' ἐρωτηθεῖς, τῷ πράττοι Κάτων, οὔδὲν ἀπεκρίνετο πλὴν ἁγνοείν.

2 ἔδει δὲ ἢ πράττειν τι τῶν ἄναγκαιων οἰκοι τὸν δούλου ἡ καθεύδειν καὶ σφόδρα τῶν κοιμώμενος ὁ Κάτων ἔχαρι, προσέρχοντες τοῖς ἐγγερχομένων νομίζοντες καὶ πρὸς τοὺς βελτίωσε χρῆσαί τῶν δεσμῶν ύπνου τοὺς ἀπολελαυκότας. οἴομενος δὲ τὰ μέγιστα ῥαδιούργεσιν ἀφροδισιῶν ένεκα τοὺς δούλους ἔταξεν ἀφρομένον νομίσματος ὡμίλειν 349 ταῖς θεραπαινίσιν, ἑτερα δὲ γυναικὶ μηδένα πλησιάζειν.
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moist grasp. Distressed at this mishap, he turned to some of his companions for aid, and supported by them rushed again into the thick of the enemy. After a long and furious struggle, he succeeded in clearing the place, and found the sword at last among the many heaps of arms and dead bodies where friends and foes alike lay piled upon one another. Paulus, his commander, admired the young man's exploit, and there is still extant a letter written by Cato himself to his son, in which he heaps extravagant praise upon him for this honourable zeal in recovering his sword. The young man afterwards married Tertia, a daughter of Paulus and a sister of the younger Scipio, and his admission into such a family was due no less to himself than to his father. Thus Cato's careful attention to the education of his son bore worthy fruit.

XXI. He owned many domestics, and usually bought those prisoners of war who were young and still capable of being reared and trained like whelps or colts. Not one of his slaves ever entered another man's house unless sent thither by Cato or his wife, and when such an one was asked what Cato was doing, he always answered that he did not know. A slave of his was expected either to be busy about the house, or to be asleep, and he was very partial to the sleepy ones. He thought these gentler than the wakeful ones, and that those who had enjoyed the gift of sleep were better for any kind of service than those who lacked it. In the belief that his slaves were led into most mischief by their sexual passions, he stipulated that the males should consort with the females at a fixed price, but should never approach any other woman.
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3 'Εν ύρη μέν οὖν ἐτί πένθης ὃν καὶ στρατευό-
μενος πρὸς οὖδὲν ἐδυσκόλιαιν τῶν περὶ δίαιταν,
ἀλλ' ἀἰσχιστὸν ἀπέφαινε διὰ γαστέρα πρὸς
οἰκέτην ἵγινομάχειν. Ὡστερον δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων
ἐπιδιδόντων ποιούμενος ἑστιάσεις φίλων καὶ
συναρχόντων ἐκόλαξεν εὐθὺς μετὰ τὸ δείπνον
ἰμάντι τοὺς ἀμελέστερον ὑπουργήσαντας ὅτι οὖν ἦ
σκευάσαντας. ἀεὶ δὲ τινα στάσιν ἔχειν τοὺς δοῦ-
λους ἐμηχανᾶτο καὶ διαφορὰν πρὸς ἀλλήλους,
ὑπονοοῦν τὴν ὁμόνοιαν αὐτῶν καὶ διδοκικώς.
τοὺς δ' ἀξίων εἰργάσθαι τι θανάτω δόξαντες ἐδικαίο
κριθέντας ἐν τοῖς οἰκέταις πᾶσιν ἀποθηνήσκειν,
eι καταγωγωθεῖν.

5 Ἀπότομενος δὲ συντονώτερον πορισμοῦ τῇ
μὲν γεωργίαν μᾶλλον ἤγειτο διαγωγὴν ἡ πρόσ-
οδον, εἰς δ' ἀσφαλῆ πράγματα καὶ βέβαια
κατατίθεμενοι τὰς ἀφορμὰς ἐκτάτο λίμνας, ὑδατα
θερμά, τόπους κναφεύσων ἄνεμοντος, ἔργα
πισσια, χῶραν ἔχουσαν αὐτοφυέα νομᾶς καὶ
ὑλας, ἄφ' ὅτι αὐτῷ χρήματα προσήχει πολλὰ μηδ'
ὑπὸ τοῦ Δίος, ὡς φήσων αὐτός, βλαβῆσαι δυνα-
μένον. ἔχριστον δὲ καὶ τῷ διαβεβλημένῳ
μᾶλιστα τῶν δανεισμῶν ἐπὶ ναυτικοῖς τῶν τρόπων
τότου. ἐκέλευε τοὺς δανειζόμενους ἐπὶ κοινωνία
πολλοὺς παρακαλεῖν, γενομένων δὲ πεντήκοντα
καὶ πλοίων τοσοῦτοι αὐτὸς εἰχε μίαν μέριδα διὰ
Κοινιτίωνος ἀπελευθέρου τοὺς δανειζόμενοις συμ-
πραγματευομένου καὶ συμπλέοντος. ἦν δ' οὖν
οὕς εἰς ἅπαν ὁ κίνδυνος, ἀλλ' εἰς μέρος μικρὸν
7 ἐπὶ κέρδεσι μεγάλοις. ἐδίδου δὲ καὶ τῶν σικετῶν

1 ἔργα πισσια, χῶραν Blass with S: ἐργατησιαν χῶραν, pro-
ductive land.
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At the outset, when he was still poor and in military service, he found no fault at all with what was served up to him, declaring that it was shameful for a man to quarrel with a domestic over food and drink. But afterwards, when his circumstances were improved and he used to entertain his friends and colleagues at table, no sooner was the dinner over than he would flog those slaves who had been remiss at all in preparing or serving it. He was always contriving that his slaves should have feuds and dissensions among themselves; harmony among them made him suspicious and fearful of them. He had those who were suspected of some capital offence brought to trial before all their fellow servants, and, if convicted, put to death.

However, as he applied himself more strenuously to money-getting, he came to regard agriculture as more entertaining than profitable, and invested his capital in business that was safe and sure. He bought ponds, hot springs, districts given over to fullers, pitch factories, land with natural pasture and forest, all of which brought him in large profits, and "could not," to use his own phrase, "be ruined by Jupiter." He used to loan money also in the most disreputable of all ways, namely, on ships, and his method was as follows. He required his borrowers to form a large company, and when there were fifty partners and as many ships for his security, he took one share in the company himself, and was represented by Quintio, a freedman of his, who accompanied his clients in all their ventures. In this way his entire security was not imperilled, but only a small part of it, and his profits were large.
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tοὺς βουλομένους ἀργύριον οἱ δ' ἕωσυντο παιδας, εἶτα τούτος ἀσκήσαντες καὶ διδάξαντες ἀναλώμασι τοῖς Κάτωνος μετ' ἔμαιντον ἀπεδίδοντο. πολλοῦς δὲ καὶ κατείχεν ὁ Κάτων, ὅσην ὁ πλείστης διδόσ τε ἐσωτερικοὶ τιμήν ὑπολογίζομενοι.

8 προτρέπων δὲ τὸν ἴδιον ἐπὶ ταύτα φησιν οὐκ ἀνδρός, ἀλλὰ χήρας γυναικὸς εἶναι τὸ μειώσαι τι τῶν υπαρχόντων. ἐκεῖνο δ' ἢδη σφοδρότερον τοῦ Κάτωνος, ὡς θαυμαστὸν ἀνδρα καὶ θείον εἰπεῖν ἐτόλμησε πρὸς δόξαν, ὅς ἀπολείπει πλέον ἐν τοῖς λόγοις δ' προσέθηκεν οὐ παρελαβεν.

XXII. 'Ἡδὴ δὲ αὐτοῦ γέροντος γεγονότος πρέσβεις Ἀθήνηθεν ἔλθον εἰς Ῥώμην οἱ περὶ Καρνεάδην τῶν Ἀκαδημαίκων καὶ Διογένη τῶν Ἐτωίκων φιλόσοφων, καταδίκην τινὰ παρατηρομενον τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὥν ἔρημιν ὀφλὸν Ὀρωπίων μὲν διωξάστων, Σικυωνίων δὲ καταψηφισάμενων, τίμημα ταλάντων πεντα-

2 κοσίων ἔχουσαν. εὕθυς οὖν οἱ φιλολογότατοι τῶν νεανίσκων ἐπὶ τούς ἄνδρας ἔστο, καὶ συνήθεσαν ἀκροφυμονοι καὶ θαυμάζοντες αὐτοὺς. μάλιστα δ' ἦ τοῦ Καρνεάδου χάρις, ἂς δύναμις τε πλείστη καὶ δόξα τῆς δυνάμεως οὐκ ἀποδέουσα, μεγάλων ἐπιλαβομένη καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἀκροτητρίως ὡς πνεῦμα τῆς πόλεων ἡχῶς ἐνέπλησε.

3 καὶ λόγος κατείχεν, ὡς ἀνὴρ Ἑλληνες εἰς ἐκπληξίαν ὑπερφυῆς πάντα κηλῶν καὶ χειρούμενος ἔρωτα
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He used to lend money also to those of his slaves who wished it, and they would buy boys with it, and after training and teaching them for a year, at Cato's expense, would sell them again. Many of these boys Cato would retain for himself, reckoning to the credit of the slave the highest price bid for his boy. He tried to incite his son also to such economies, by saying that it was not the part of a man, but of a widow woman, to lessen his substance. But that surely was too vehement a speech of Cato's, when he went so far as to say that a man was to be admired and glorified like a god if the final inventory of his property showed that he had added to it more than he had inherited.

XXII. When he was now well on in years, there came as ambassadors from Athens to Rome, Carneades the Academic, and Diogenes the Stoic philosopher, to beg the reversal of a certain decision against the Athenian people, which imposed upon them a fine of five hundred talents. The people of Oropus had brought the suit, the Athenians had let the case go by default, and the Sicyonians had pronounced judgment against them. Upon the arrival of these philosophers, the most studious of the city's youth hastened to wait upon them, and became their devoted and admiring listeners. The charm of Carneades especially, which had boundless power, and a fame not inferior to its power, won large and sympathetic audiences, and filled the city, like a rushing mighty wind, with the noise of his praises. Report spread far and wide that a Greek of amazing talent, who disarmed all opposition by the magic of his eloquence, had infused a tremen-

1 155 B.C.
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dεινὸν ἐμβέβληκε τοῖς νέοις, υφ' οὕτω τῶν ἄλλων ἡδονῶν καὶ διατριβῶν ἐκτεσόντες ἐνθουσιώδως περὶ φιλοσοφίαν. ταῦτα τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἢρεσκε Ῥωμαίοις γινόμενα, καὶ τὰ μειράκια παιδείας Ἑλληνικῆς μεταλαμβάνοντα καὶ συνόντα θαυμα-

4 ξομένους ἀνδράσιν ἡδέως ἐώρων· ὁ δὲ Κάτων ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε τοῦ ζήλου τῶν λόγων παραρέεντος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἥχθετο φοβούμενος, μὴ τὸ φιλοτιμὸν ἐνταῦθα τρέφαντες οἱ νέοι τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ λέγειν δόξαν ἀγαπήσωσι μᾶλλον τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων καὶ τῶν στρατευῶν, ἐπεὶ δὲ προύβαινεν ἢ δόξα τῶν φιλοσόφων ἐν, τῇ πόλει καὶ τοὺς πρώτους λόγους αὐτῶν πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἀνήρ ἐπιφανῆς σπουδάσας αὐτὸς καὶ δεηθεὶς ἥμη-

vευσε, Γάιος Ἀκίλλιος, ἐγνω μετ' ἐνυπρεπείας ἀποδισεμπησάσθαι τοὺς φιλοσόφους ἄπαντας

5 ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν σύγκλη-

τον ἐμέμφαντο τοὺς ἄρχουσιν, ὁτι πρεσβεία κάθηται πολλῶν χρόνων ἅπτακτος ἄνδρῶν, οἱ περὶ παντὸς οὐ βούλοντο μαθήματι πεῖθεν δύνανται·

dein οὖν τὴν ταχίστην γνώμην τι καὶ ψηφίσασθαι περὶ τῆς πρεσβείας, ὅπως οὕτωι μεν ἐπὶ τὰς σχολὰς τραπόμενοι διαλέγονται παισίν Ἑλ-

λήνων, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίων νέοι τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων ὡς προτέρων ἀκόψωσι.

XXIII. Ταῦτα δ' οὖν, ως ἐνιοῦ νομίζοντο, Καρνεάδη δυσχεράνας ἐπραξεν, ἀλλ' ὄλως φιλο-

σοφία προσκεκρουκὼς καὶ πᾶσαν Ἑλληνικὴν μοῦσαν καὶ παιδείαν ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας προπηλάκι-

ξων, δὺ γε καὶ Σωκράτη φησί λάλον καὶ θλιμοῦν χειρόμενον ἐπιχειρεῖν, ὃ τρόπῳ δυνατὸς ἦν, τυραν-

νεῖν τῆς πατρίδος, καταλύοντα τὰ ἔθη καὶ πρὸς
dous passion into the youth of the city, in conse-
quence of which they forsook their other pleasures
and pursuits and were "possessed" about philosophy.
The other Romans were pleased at this, and glad to
see their young men lay hold of Greek culture
and consort with such admirable men. But Cato, at
the very outset, when this zeal for discussion came
pouring into the city, was distressed, fearing lest the
young men, by giving this direction to their
ambition, should come to love a reputation based on
mere words more than one achieved by martial
deeds. And when the fame of the visiting philoso-
phers rose yet higher in the city, and their
first speeches before the Senate were interpreted, at
his own instance and request, by so conspicuous a
man as Gaius Acilius, Cato determined, on some
decent pretext or other, to rid and purge the city of
them all. So he rose in the Senate and censured
the magistrates for keeping in such long suspense an
embassy composed of men who could easily secure
anything they wished, so persuasive were they.
"We ought," he said, "to make up our minds one
way or another, and vote on what the embassy
proposes, in order that these men may return
to their schools and lecture to the sons of Greece,
while the youth of Rome give ear to their laws and
magistrates, as heretofore."

XXIII. This he did, not, as some think, out
of personal hostility to Carneades, but because he
was wholly averse to philosophy, and made mock
of all Greek culture and training, out of patriotic
zeal. He says, for instance, that Socrates was a
mighty prattler, who attempted, as best he could,
to be his country's tyrant, by abolishing its customs,
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ἐναντίας τοῖς νόμοις δόξαν ἔλκοντα καὶ μεθυστάντα
2 τοὺς πολῖτας. τὴν δ’ Ἰσοκράτους διατριβήν ἐπισκόπτων γηρᾶν φησὶ παρ’ αὑτῷ τοὺς μαθητὰς ὡς ἐν "Αιδον παρὰ Μίνω χρησμένους ταῖς τέχναις καὶ δίκαις ἔρουσας. τὸν δὲ παῖδα δια-βάλλων πρὸς τὰ Ἐλληνικὰ φωνῆ κέχρηται θραυτέρα τοῦ γῆρως, οἶνον ἀποθεσπίζων καὶ προμαντεύων, ὡς ἀπολούσι Ρωμαίοι τὰ πράγματα
3 γραμμάτων Ἐλληνικῶν ἀναπλησθέντες. ἀλλὰ ταύτην μὲν αὐτοῦ τὴν δυσφημίαν ὁ χρόνος ἀποδείκνυσι κενὴν, ἐν ὃ τοῖς τε πράγμασιν ἡ πόλις ἤρθη μεγίστη καὶ πρὸς Ἐλληνικὰ μαθή-ματα καὶ παιδείαν ἀπασαν ἔσχεν οἰκείως.

’Ὁ δ’ οὖν μόνον ἀπεχθάνετο τοῖς φιλοσοφώσιν Ἐλλήνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἱστρεύοντας ἐν Ρώμῃ δ’ ὑποψίας εἶχε. καὶ τὸν Ἰπποκράτους, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀκηκοὸς λόγου, δὴ εἰπὲ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως καλοῦντος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πολλοῖς τισι ταλάντοις, οὐκ ἄν ποτε βαρβάρους Ἐλλήνων πολεμίοις ἐαυτὸν παρασχεῖν, ἔλεγε κοινὸν ὅρκον
4 εἶναι τούτων ἱστρῶν ἀπάντων, καὶ παρεκηλεύετο φυλάττεσθαι τῷ παιδί πάντας: αὐτῷ δὲ γεγραμμένον ὑπόμνημα εἶναι, καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεραπεύειν καὶ διαιτᾶν τοὺς νοσοῦντας οἶκοι, νήστων μὲν οὐδέποτε διαιτηρῶν οὐδένα, τρέφων δὲ λαχάνωις ἡ σαρκίδιοι νήσοις ἡ φάσοις ἡ λαγώ. καὶ γὰρ τούτο κοιφον εἶναι καὶ πρόσφορον ἀσθενοῦσιν, πλὴν ὅτι πολλὰ συμβαίνει τοῖς φαγοῦσιν ἐνυπνιώ-zeuges: τοιαύτη δὲ θεραπεία καὶ διαιτή χρώ-μενος ὑγιαίνει, μὲν αὐτός, ὑγιαίνουτας δὲ τοὺς ἐαυτοῦ διαφυλάττειν.
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and by enticing his fellow citizens into opinions contrary to the laws. He made fun of the school of Isocrates, declaring that his pupils kept on studying with him till they were old men, as if they were to practise their arts and plead their cases before Minos in Hades. And seeking to prejudice his son against Greek culture, he indulges in an utterance all too rash for his years, declaring, in the tone of a prophet or a seer, that Rome would lose her empire when she had become infected with Greek letters. But time has certainly shown the emptiness of this ill-boding speech of his, for while the city was at the zenith of its empire, she made every form of Greek learning and culture her own.

It was not only Greek philosophers that he hated, but he was also suspicious of Greeks who practised medicine at Rome. He had heard, it would seem, of Hippocrates' reply when the Great King of Persia consulted him, with the promise of a fee of many talents, namely, that he would never put his skill at the service of Barbarians who were enemies of Greece. He said all Greek physicians had taken a similar oath, and urged his son to beware of them all. He himself, he said, had written a book of recipes, which he followed in the treatment and regimen of any who were sick in his family. He never required his patients to fast, but fed them on greens, or bits of duck, pigeon, or hare. Such a diet, he said, was light and good for sick people, except that it often causes dreams. By following such treatment and regimen he said he had good health himself, and kept his family in good health.
XXIV. Καλ περί γε τούτο φαίνεται γεγονός ούκ ἀνεμέσητος· καὶ γὰρ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἀπέβαλεν. αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ σώματι πρὸς ευεξίαν καὶ ῥώμην ἀσφαλῶς πεπηγὼς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀντεῖχεν, ὡστε καὶ γυναῖκι πρεσβύτης διὸ σφόδρα πλησία-ζειν καὶ γῆμαι γάμον οὐ καθ’ ἡλικίᾳ ἐκ τοιαύτης προφάσεως. ἀποβαλὼν τὴν γυναίκα τῷ μὲν υἱῷ Παύλου θυγατέρα, Σκητίωνος δὲ ἀδελφὴν ἠγάγετο πρὸς γάμον, αὐτὸς δὲ χηρεύων ἔχρητο παιδίσκη

2 κρύφα φοιτώσῃ πρὸς αὐτόν. ἦν όν τὸν ἐν οἰκίᾳ μικρῷ νύμφην ἔχουσι τοῦ πράγματος αἰσθησις· καὶ ποτὲ τοῦ γυναίκου θρασύτερον παρασοβῆσαι παρὰ τὸ δωμάτιον δόξαντος ὁ νεανίας εἰπε μὲν οὐδὲν, ἐμβλέψας δὲ πῶς πικρότερον καὶ διατραπεῖς οὐκ ἔλαβε τὸν πρεσβύτην. ὡς οὖν ἔγνω τὸ πράγμα δυσχεραινόμενον ὑπ’ αὐτῶν, οὐδὲν ἐγκαλέσας οὐδὲ μεμψάμενος, ἀλλὰ καταβαίνων, ὁσπερ εἰώθει, μετὰ φίλων εἰς ἀγοράν Σαλώνιον τινα τῶν ὑπογεγραμματευκότων αὐτῷ παρόντα καὶ συμπρο-πέμποντα μεγάλη φωνὴ προσαγορεύσας ἠρώτησεν,

3 εἰ τὸ θυγάτριον συνήρμοκε νυμφίῳ, τοῦ δ’ ἀνθρώπου φήσαντος, ὡς οὐδὲ μέλλει μὴ πρότερον ἐκείνῳ κοινωσάμενος “Καλ μὴν ἔγω σοι,” φησίν, 351 “ἐυρηκα κηδεστὴν ἐπιτήδειον, εἰ μὴ νὴ Δία τὰ τῆς ἡλικίας δυσχεραίνοιτο· τἀλλα γὰρ οὐ μεμ-πτός ἐστι, σφόδρα δὲ πρεσβύτης.” ὡς οὖν ὁ Σαλώνιος ἐκέλευε ταῦτα φροντίζειν καὶ διδόναι τὴν κόρην ὁ προαιρεῖται, πελάτων οὖσαν αὐτοῦ καὶ δεομένην τῆς ἐκείνου κηδεμονίας, οὐδεμίαν ο
XXIV. Such presumption on his part seems not to have gone unpunished, for he lost his wife and his son. He himself was well confirmed in bodily health and vigour, and long withstood the assaults of age. Even when an old man he was prone to indulge his sexual appetite, and at last married a wife when he was long past the marrying age. This was the way it came about. After the death of his wife, he married his son to the daughter of Aemilius Paulus, the sister of Scipio, but he himself, in his widowhood, took solace with a slave girl who secretly visited his bed. Of course, in a small house with a young married woman in it, the matter was discovered, and once, when the girl seemed to flaunt her way rather too boldly to his chamber, the old man could not help noticing that his son, although he said nothing, looked very sour, and turned away. Perceiving that the thing displeased his children, Cato did not upbraid or blame them at all, but as he was going down in his usual way to the forum with his clients, called out with a loud voice to a certain Salonius, who had been one of his under-secretaries, and was now in his train, asking him if he had found a good husband for his young daughter. The man said he had not, and would not do so without first consulting his patron. “Well then,” said Cato, “I have found a suitable son-in-law for you, unless indeed his age should be displeasing; in other ways no fault can be found with him, but he is a very old man.” Salonius at once bade him take the matter in charge and give the maid to the man of his choice, since she was a dependant of his and in need of his kind services. Then Cato, without any more
Κάτων ἀναβολὴν ποιησάμενος αὐτὸς ἔφη τὴν
4 παρθένον αἰτεῖν ἑαυτῷ. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, ὡς
εἰκός, ὁ λόγος ἔξεπληξε τὸν ἄνθρωπον, πόρρω μὲν
γάμον τὸν Κάτωνα, πόρρω δὲ αὐτὸν οἰκίας
ύπατικῆς καὶ θριαμβικῶν κηδεμόματων τιθέμενον·
σπουδὴ δὲ χρώμευν ὅρων ἁσμένος ἐδέξατο, καὶ
kαταβάντες εὐθὺς εἰς ἀγορᾶν ἦποιούντο τὴν
ἐγγύην.
Πραγμένου δὲ τοῦ γάμου παραλαβὼν τοὺς
ἐπιτηθείσους ὁ νῦς τοῦ Κάτωνος ἱρώτησε τὸν
πατέρα, μή τι μεμφόμενος ἤ λελυπημένος ὑπ’
5 αὐτοῦ μητρικῶν ἐπάγεται. ὁ δὲ Κάτων ἀνα-
βοήσας „Ἐυθήμησον,” εἶπε, „ὦ παῖ: πάντα
γὰρ ἀγαστὰ μοι τὰ παρὰ σοῦ καὶ μεμπτὸν οὐδὲν
ἐπιθυμῶ δὲ πλείονας ἐμαυτῷ τε παιδάς καὶ
πολίτας τῇ πατρίδι τοιούτοις ἀπολυπεῖν.” ταῦτην
δὲ τὴν γνώμην πρότερον εἶπεῖν φασὶ Πεισί-
στράτου τῶν Ἀθηναίων τῦραννον ἐπιγῆμαντα
τοῖς ἐνηλίκοις παισὶ τὴν Ἀργολίδα Τιμώνασσαν,
ἐξ ὧς Ἰοφῶντα καὶ Θεσσαλῶν αὐτῷ λέγουσι
6 ἡγεμόναί. ἥμαντι δὲ τῷ Κάτωνι γίνεται παῖς,
ὅς παρωνύμιον ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς ἔθετο Σαλώμωνος.
ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτερος νῦς ἔτελεύτησε στρατηγῶν.
καὶ μέμνηται μὲν αὐτοῦ πολλίκεις ἐν τοῖς βι-
βλίοις ὁ Κάτων ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ γεγονότος,
πρᾶσι δὲ καὶ φιλοσόφως λέγεται τὴν συμφορὰν
ἐνεγκείν καὶ μηδὲν ἀμβλύτερος δὲ αὐτὴν εἰς
7 τὰ πολιτικὰ γενέσθαι. ὦ γὰρ, ὡς Δεύκιος
Λούκουλλος ὑστέρον καὶ Μέτελλος ὁ Πῖος,
ἐξέκαμεν ὑπὸ γῆρως πρὸς τὰ δημόσια, λειτουρ-
γίαν τὴν πολιτείαν ἤγούμενος, οὕτως ὅσ πρότερον
Σκητίων ὁ Ἀφρικανὸς διὰ τὸν ἀντικρούσαντα
376.
MARCUS CATO

ado, said that he asked the damsel to wife for himself. At first, as was natural, the proposal amazed the man, who counted Cato far past marriage, and himself far beneath alliance with a house of consular dignity and triumphal honours; but when he saw that Cato was in earnest, he gladly accepted his proposal, and as soon as they reached the forum the banns were published.

While the marriage was in hand, Cato's son, accompanied by his friends, asked his father if it was because he had any complaint to make against him that he was now foisting a step-mother upon him. "Heaven forbid! my son," cried Cato, "all your conduct towards me has been admirable, and I have no fault to find with you; but I desire to bless myself and my country with more such sons." However, they say that this sentiment was uttered long before by Peisistratus, the tyrant of Athens, who gave his grown up sons a step-mother in the person of Timonassa of Argolis, by whom he is said to have had Iophon and Thessalus. Of this second marriage a son was born to Cato, who was named Salonius, after his mother's father. But his elder son died in the praetorship. Cato often speaks of him in his books as a brave and worthy man, and is said to have borne his loss with all the equanimity of a philosopher, remitting not a whit because of it his ardour in the public service. For he was not, like Lucius Lucullus and Metellus Pius in after times, too enfeebled by old age to serve the people, regarding the service of the state as a burdensome duty; nor did he, like Scipio Africanus before him, because of envious attacks
πρὸς τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ φθόνον ἀποστραφεῖς τὸν
dῆμον ἐκ μεταβολῆς ἔποιήσατο τοῦ λοιποῦ βίου
tέλος ἀπραγμοσύνην, ἀλλ', ὥσπερ Διονύσιον
tις ἐπεισε κάλλιστον ἐντάφιον ὑγείσθαν τὴν
tυραννίδα, κάλλιστον αὐτὸς ἐγγήραμα τὴν
tολιτεῖαν ποιησάμενος ἀναπαύσεσιν ἐχρήτο καὶ
παιδιαῖς, ὅποτε σχολάζοι, τῷ συντάττεσθαι
βιβλία καὶ τῷ γεωργεῖν.

XXV. Συνετάττετο μὲν οὖν λόγους τε παντο-
δαποὺς καὶ ἱστορίας· γεωργία δὲ προσεῖχε νέος
μὲν ὃν ἔτι καὶ διὰ τὴν χρείαν (φησὶ γὰρ δυσὶ
κεχρήσθαι μόνοις πορισμοῖς γεωργία καὶ φειδοῖ),
tότε δὲ διαγωγὴν καὶ θεωρίαν αὐτῷ τὰ γεγονόμενα
καὶ ἀγρόν παρεἶχε. καὶ συντέτακται γε βιβλίον
γεωργικὸν, ἐν ὦ καὶ περὶ πλακούντων σκευασίας
καὶ τηρήσεως ὁπώρας γέγραφεν, ἐν παντὶ φι-

2 λοιμούμενος περιττὸς εἶναι καὶ ἰδιὸς. ἢν δὲ
καὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐν ἀγρῷ δαψιλέστερον ἔκαλει
γάρ ἐκάστοτε τῶν ἀγρογειών καὶ περιχώρων
tοὺς συνήθεις καὶ συνδιήγην ἵλαρος, οὗ τοῖς
καθ' ἥλικιαν μόνοις ἤδεις δὲν συγγενέσθαι καὶ
ποθεῖνα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς νέοις, ἄτε δὴ πολλῶν
μὲν ἐμπειρος πραγμάτων γεγονός, πολλοίς δὲ
γράμμασε καὶ λόγους ἄξιοις ἀκοῆς ἐντευκῆξιῶς.

3 τὴν δὲ τράπεζαν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα φιλοποιοῦν
ἡγεῖτο· καὶ πολλὴ μὲν εὐφημία τῶν καλῶν
καὶ ἀγαθῶν πολιτῶν ἐπεισήγητο, πολλὴ δὲ ἦν
ἀμνηστία τῶν ἀχρῆστων καὶ πονηρῶν, μήτε
ψόγῳ μὴ τ' ἐπαύνῳ πάροδον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τοῦ
Κάτωνος εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον διδόντος.

XXVI. Ἐσχατον δὲ τῶν πολιτευμάτων αὐτοῦ

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upon his reputation, turn his back upon the people and make leisure his end and aim for the rest of his life; but rather, as someone persuaded Dionysius to regard his sovereignty as his fairest winding-sheet, so he held public service to be the fairest privilege of old age. For recreation and amusement, when he had leisure therefor, he resorted to the writing of books and to farming.

XXV. He composed speeches, then, on all sorts of subjects, and histories, and as for farming, he followed it in earnest when he was young and poor,—indeed, he says he then had only two ways of getting money, farming and frugality,—but in later life he was only a theoretical and fancy farmer. He also composed a book on farming,\(^1\) in which he actually gave recipes for making cakes and preserving fruit, so ambitious was he to be superior and peculiar in everything. The dinners, too, which he gave in the country, were quite plentiful. He always asked in congenial country neighbours, and made merry with them, and not only did those of his own age find in him an agreeable and much desired companion, but also the young. For he was a man of large experience, who had read and heard much that was well worth repeating. He held the table to be the very best promoter of friendship, and at his own, the conversation turned much to the praise of honourable and worthy citizens, greatly to the neglect of those who were worthless and base. About such Cato suffered no table-talk, either by way of praise or blame.

XXVI. The last of his public services is supposed

\(^1\) *De re rustica.*
τὴν Καρχηδόνος ἀνάστασιν οἶονται γεγονέναι, τῷ μὲν ἔργῳ τέλος ἐπιθέντος τοῦ νέου Σκηπτώνος, 352 βουλὴ δὲ καὶ γνώμη μάλιστα τῇ Κάτωνος ἀραμένων τὸν πόλεμον ἔξ αἰτίας τοιῶσθε. Κάτων ἐπέμφθη πρὸς Καρχηδονίους καὶ Μασσανάσσουν τὸν Νομάδα πολεμοῦντας ἀλλήλοις, ἐπισκεψόμενος τὰς τῆς διαφορὰς προφάσεις. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἦν τοῦ δήμου φίλος ὑπ’ ἀρχῆς, οἱ δὲ ἐγεγόνεισαν ἐνσπονδοὶ μετὰ τὴν ὑπὸ Σκηπτώνος ἦτταν, ἀφαιρέσει τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ βαρεὶς δασμοῖς χρημάτων 2 κολουθεῖντες. εὐρὼν δὲ τὴν πόλιν οὖν, ὡς φῶντο Ἦρωμαίοι, κεκακωμένην καὶ ταπεινὰ πράττονταν, ἀλλὰ πολλὴ μὲν ἐνανδροῦσαν ἡλικία, μεγάλων δὲ πλούτων γέμουσαν, ὅπλων δὲ παντοδαπῶν καὶ παρασκευῆς πολεμιστηρίου μεστὴν καὶ μικρὸν οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις φρονοῦσαν, οὐ τὰ Νομάδων φέτος καὶ Μασσανάσσου πράγματα Ἦρωμαίους οἳ ἐχειν τίθεσθαι καὶ διαίταις, ἄλλες μὴ καταλήψουνται πόλιν ἀνωθεν ἐχθρᾶν καὶ βαρύθυμους ἡξημένης ἀπίστως, πάλιν ἐν τοῖς ἵσοις 3 κινδύνους ἔσεσθαι. ταχέως οὖν ὑποστρέψας ἔδιδασκε τὴν βουλῆν, ὡς αἱ πρότερον ἦτται καὶ συμφορά Καρχηδονίων ὡς κοσσιών τῆς δυνάμεως ὅσον τῆς ἀνοίας ἀπαρέστασι, κινδυνεύουσιν αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἀσθενεστέροις, ἐμπειροτέρους δὲ πολεμεῖν ἀπεργάσασθαι, ἥδη δὲ καὶ προανακινεῖσθαι τοῖς Νομαδικοῖς τοὺς πρὸς Ἦρωμαίοις ἀγῶνας, εἰρήνην δὲ καὶ σπουδᾶς ὁνομά τοῦ
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to have been the destruction of Carthage. It was Scipio the Younger who actually brought the task to completion, but it was largely in consequence of the advice and counsel of Cato that the Romans undertook the war. It was on this wise. Cato was sent on an embassy to the Carthaginians and Masinissa the Numidian, who were at war with one another, to inquire into the grounds of their quarrel. Masinissa had been a friend of the Roman people from the first, and the Carthaginians had entered into treaty relations with Rome after the defeat which the elder Scipio had given them. The treaty deprived them of their empire, and imposed a grievous money tribute upon them. Cato, however, found the city by no means in a poor and lowly state, as the Romans supposed, but rather teeming with vigorous fighting men, overflowing with enormous wealth, filled with arms of every sort and with military supplies, and not a little puffed up by all this. He therefore thought it no time for the Romans to be ordering and arranging the affairs of Masinissa and the Numidians, but that unless they should repress a city which had always been their malignant foe, now that its power was so incredibly grown, they would be involved again in dangers as great as before. Accordingly, he returned with speed to Rome, and advised the Senate that the former calamitous defeats of the Carthaginians had diminished not so much their power as their foolhardiness, and were likely to render them in the end not weaker, but more expert in war; their present contest with Numidia was but a prelude to a contest with Rome, while peace and treaty were mere names wherewith to

1 146 B.C.  
2 150 B.C.  

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πολέμου τῇ μελλήσει κεῖσθαι καιρὸν περιμένοντος.

XXVII. Πρὸς τούτοις φασὶ τὸν Κάτωνα καὶ σῦκα τῶν Διμυκῶν ἐπίτηδες ἐκβαλεῖν ἐν τῇ βουλή, τὴν τήβεννον ἀναβαλόμενον εἶτα θαυμασάντων τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ κάλλος εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἡ ταῦτα φέρουσα χῶρα τριῶν ἥμερῶν πλοῦν ἀπέχει τῆς Ῥώμης. ἐκεῖνο δ’ ἦδη καὶ βιαίοτερον, τὸ περὶ παντὸς οὐ δῆποτε πράγματος γρώμην ἀποφαινόμενον προσεπιφωνεῖν οὔτως. “Δοκεῖ δὲ μοι καὶ Καρχηδόνα μη εἶναι.” τούναντιον δὲ Πόπλοιος Σκητίων ὁ Νασικᾶς ἐπικαλούμενος ἀεὶ διετέλει λέγων καὶ ἀποφαινόμενος. “Δοκεῖ 2 μοι Καρχηδόνα εἶναι.” πολλά γὰρ, ὡς έοικεν, ὃβρει τὸν δὴμον ὡρᾶν ἢδη πλημμελοῦντα καὶ δὴ εὐτυχίαν καὶ φρόνημα τῇ βουλή δυσκάθεκτον ὄντα καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην ὑπὸ δυνάμεως ὑπὲρ ἐρίστειν ταῖς ὀρμαίς βία συνεφελόμενον, ἐβούλετο τούτων γοῦν τὸν φὸβον ὅσπερ χαλινὸν ἐπικεῖσθαι σωφρονιστῆρα τῇ θρασύτητι τῶν πολλῶν, ἔλαττον μὲν ἡγούμενος ἵσχυεν Καρχηδόνεσι τοῖς περιγενέσθαι Ῥωμαῖοι, μεῖξον δὲ τοῦ καταφρονεῖσθαι.

3 τῷ δὲ Κάτωνι τοῦτ’ αὐτῷ δεινὸν ἐφαίνετο, βασκεύοντι τῷ δήμῳ καὶ σφαλλομένῳ τὰ πολλὰ δὴ ἐξουσιάν πόλιν ἂεὶ μεγάλην, νῦν δὲ καὶ νήφουσαν ὑπὸ συμφορῶν καὶ κεκολασμένην ἐπικρέμασθαι καὶ μὴ παντάπασι τοῖς ἔξωθεν ἀνελεῖν τῆς ἡγεμονίας φόβους, ἀναφορᾶς αὐτοῖς πρὸς τᾶς οὐκοθέν ἀμαρτίας ἀπολιπόντας.

4 Οὕτω μὲν ἐξεργάσασθαι λέγεται τὸν τρίτον καὶ τελευταῖον ὁ Κάτων ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίους πόλε-
cover their postponement of war till a fit occasion offered.

XXVII. In addition to this, it is said that Cato contrived to drop a Libyan fig in the Senate, as he shook out the folds of his toga, and then, as the senators admired its size and beauty, said that the country where it grew was only three days' sail from Rome. And in one thing he was even more savage, namely, in adding to his vote on any question whatsoever these words: "In my opinion, Carthage must be destroyed." Publius Scipio Nasica, on the contrary, when called upon for his vote, always ended his speech with this declaration: "In my opinion, Carthage must be spared." He saw, probably, that the Roman people, in its wantonness, was already guilty of many excesses, and in the pride of its prosperity, spurned the control of the Senate, and forcibly dragged the whole state with it, whithersoever its mad desires inclined it. He wished, therefore, that the fear of Carthage should abide, to curb the boldness of the multitude like a bridle, believing her not strong enough to conquer Rome, nor yet weak enough to be despised. But this was precisely what Cato dreaded, when the Roman people was inebriated and staggering with its power, to have a city which had always been great, and was now but sobered and chastened by its calamities, for ever threatening them. Such external threats to their sovereignty ought to be done away with altogether, he thought, that they might be free to devise a cure for their domestic failings.

In this way Cato is said to have brought to pass the third and last war against Carthage,¹ but it had

¹ 151–146 B.C.
μον, ἀρξαμένων δὲ πολεμεῖν ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀποθεσπίσας περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐπιθήσειν τῷ πολέμῳ τέλος ἀνδρός, δὲ ἦν τότε μὲν νεανίας, χιλιάρχος. δὲ στρατευόμενος ἀπεδείκνυτο καὶ γνώμης ἔργα καὶ τόλμης πρὸς τοὺς ἀγώνας. ἀπαγγέλλομένων δὲ τούτων εἰς Ῥώμην πυθανόμενον τὸν Κάτωνα φασὶν εἰπεῖν.

οἶος πέπνυται, τοῖ δὲ σκιαὶ ἀτσοῦσι.

5 ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἀπόφασιν ταχὺ δὲ ἔργων ἐβεβαίωσεν ὁ Σκηπίων· ὁ δὲ Κάτων ἀπέλυτα
γενεάν ἐνα μὲν υἱὸν ἐκ τῆς ἐπιγαμηθείσης, ὥς παρωνύμουν ἐφαμεν γενέσθαι Σαλώνιον, ἕνα δὲ
υἱῶν ἐκ τοῦ τελευτησαντός υἱοῦ. καὶ Σαλώνιος
μὲν ἐτελεύτησε στρατηγῶν, ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γενόμενος Μάρκος ὑπάτευσεν. ἦν δὲ πάππος οὗτος
τοῦ φιλοσόφου Κάτωνος, ἀνδρὸς ἄρετή καὶ δόξη
tῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἐπιφανεστάτου γενομένου.

[ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΩΝΟΣ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ]

Ι. Γεγραμμένων δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτων τῶν ἀξίων 353
μνήμης, οἶδος ὁ τούτων βίος ὅλῳ τῷ θατέρου
παρατεθεῖς οὐκ εὐθεώρητον ἔχει τὴν διαφορὰν
ἐναφανιζομένην πολλαῖς καὶ μεγάλας ὁμοιότησιν.
ei δὲ δεῖ κατὰ μέρος τῇ συγκρίσει διαλαβεῖν
ὡσπερ ἐπος ἢ γραφήν ἐκάτερον, τὸ μὲν ἐξ οὖν
ὑπαρχοῦσης ἀφορμῆς εἰς πολιτείαν καὶ δόξαν

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no sooner begun than he died,¹ having first prophesied of the man who was destined to end it. This man was then young, but as tribune in the army, he was giving proofs of judgment and daring in his engagements with the enemy. Tidings of this came to Rome, and Cato is said to have cried on hearing them:

"Only he has wits, but the rest are fluttering shadows."²

This utterance of Cato’s, Scipio speedily confirmed by his deeds. Cato left one son by his second wife, whose surname, as we have already remarked, was Salonius; and one grandson by the son who died before him. Salonius died in the praetorship, but the son whom he left, Marcus, came to be consul. This Marcus was the grandfather of Cato the philosopher, who was the best and most illustrious man of his time.

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Now that I have recorded the most noteworthy things in the careers of these men also, if one compare the entire life of the one with that of the other, it will not be easy to mark the difference between them, obscured as it is by many great resemblances. And even if, in our comparison, we analyse each life, as we would a poem or a picture, we shall find that the rise to political power and repute in consequence

¹ 149 B.C. ² Odyssey, x. 495.
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'Αριστείδης μὲν ἐν Μαραθῶν Κάτων δὲ δεύτερος μὲν ὑπάτος ἡρέθη πολλῶν ἀντιμετώπων, δεύτερος δὲ τιμητὴς ἐπὶ ταύτης ἐπιφανείας καὶ πρώτος ἀμφιλοχίας ύπερβαλόμενος καὶ μὴ 'Αριστείδης μὲν ἐν 386
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of innate excellence and strength, rather than of inherited advantages, is common to both. But in the case of Aristides, Athens was not yet great when he rose to eminence, and the leaders and generals with whom he dealt were men of moderate and uniform fortunes. The highest assessment of property in those days was five hundred bushels of grain, the second three hundred, the third and last two hundred. Whereas Cato, coming from a little town and from ways of life deemed rustic, plunged headlong into the boundless sea of Roman politics when they were no longer conducted by such men as Curius, Fabricius, and Atilius, nor welcomed as magistrates and leaders poor men who had mounted the rostrum after working with their own hands at the plough and the mattock, but were wont to have regard rather for great families and their wealth, largesses, and solicitations, while those who sought office, such was now the power and arrogance of the people, were wantonly handled. It was not the same thing to have Themistocles for a rival, who was of no illustrious family and had only moderate possessions (he is said to have been worth three, or, at most, five talents when he entered public life), as it was to compete for pre-eminence with such men as Scipio Africanus, Servius Galba, and Quintius Flamininus, having no other advantage than a tongue which spoke boldly for the right.

II. Besides, at Marathon, and again at Plataea, Aristides was only one of ten generals, while Cato was elected one of two consuls out of many competitors, and one of two censors over the heads of seven of the foremost and most illustrious Romans, who stood for the office with him. Furthermore,
οὐδενὶ τῶν κατορθωμάτων γέγονε πρῶτος, ἀλλὰ Μιλτιάδης ἔχει τοῦ Μαραθῶνος τὸ πρωτείον, Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ τῆς Σαλαμίνος, εὖ δὲ Πλαταίας φήσιν Ἦροδοτος ἀνελέσθαι καλλιστὴν νίκην.

2 Παυσανίας, 'Αριστείδη δὲ καὶ τῶν δευτερεών ἀμφισβητοῦσι Σωφάναι καὶ 'Αμεινία καὶ Καλλι-μαχοι καὶ Κυναίγειροι διαπρεπῶς ἀριστεύσαντες εὖ ἐκεῖνοι τοῖς ἀγῶσι. Κάτων δὲ οὖ μόνον αὐτὸς ὑπατεύων ἑπρώτευσε καὶ χειρὶ καὶ γνώμη κατὰ τὸν Ἰβηρικὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ χιλιαρχῶν περὶ Θεμιστόκλης ὑπατεύουτος ἑτέρων τὴν δόξαν ἔσχε τῆς νίκης, μεγάλας ἐπ᾽ 'Αντίοχον Ἀρμαίοις ἀναπτάσας κλεισίας καὶ πρόσω μόνον ὀρῶντι τῷ βασιλείᾳ περιστήμας κατὰ νότων τὸν πόλεμον.

3 ἐκεῖνη γὰρ ἡ νίκη περιφανῶς ἔργου οὖσα Κάτωνος ἐξήλασε τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ παρέσχεν ἐπιβατὴν αὐθίνος Σκηπτικοῖς.

Πολεμοῦντες μὲν οὖν ἀπττητοὶ γεγόνασιν ἀμφότεροι, περὶ δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν Ἀριστείδης μὲν ἔπταισεν ἑξωστρακισθεῖς καὶ καταστασιασθεῖς ὑπὸ Θεμιστοκλέους, Κάτων δὲ, οὕτπερ ἦσαν ἐν Ἱφική δυνατότατοι καὶ μέγιστοι, πᾶσιν, ὡς ἐποτε ἐπείν, ἀντιπάλους χρώμενος καὶ μέχρι γήρως ὀσπερ ἄθλητῆς ἁγωνιζόμενος ἀπτῶτα διετήρησεν.

4 ἔαυτον, πλείστας δὲ καὶ φυγῶν δημοσίας δίκας καὶ διώξεις πολλὰς μὲν εἴλε, πάσας δὲ ἀπέφυγε, προβλήμα τοῦ βίου καὶ δραστήριον ὄργανον ἔχων τῶν λόγων, ὑ δικαιοτέρον ἄν τις ἢ τύχη καὶ δαίμονι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὸ μηδὲν παθεῖν παρ᾽ ἀξίαν ἀνατιθεῖν. μέγα γὰρ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλει τῷ 354.
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Aristides was not the foremost man in any one of his victories, but Miltiades has the chief honour of Marathon, Themistocles of Salamis, and at Plataea, Herodotus\(^1\) says it was Pausanias who won that fairest of all victories, while even for second honours Aristides has such rivals as Sophanes, Ameinias, Callimachus, and Cynaegaeirus, who displayed the greatest valour in those actions. Cato, on the other hand, was not only chief in the plans and actions of the Spanish war during his own consulate, but also at Thermopylae, when he was but a tribune in the army and another was consul, he got the glory of the victory, opening up great mountain passes for the Romans to rush through upon Antiochus, and swinging the war round into the king's rear, when he had eyes only for what was in front of him. That victory was manifestly the work of Cato, and it not only drove Asia out of Hellas, but made it afterwards accessible to Scipio.

It is true that both were always victorious in war, but in politics Aristides got a fall, being driven into a minority and ostracised by Themistocles. Cato, on the contrary, though he had for his antagonists almost all the greatest and ablest men in Rome, and though he kept on wrestling with them up to his old age, never lost his footing. He was involved in countless civil processes, both as plaintiff and defendant; as plaintiff, he often won his case, as defendant, he never lost it, thanks to that bulwark and efficacious weapon of his life, his eloquence. To this, more justly than to fortune and the guardian genius of the man, we may ascribe the fact that he was never visited with disgrace. That was a great

\(^1\) ix. 64.
ΠΛΤΟΤΖΑΡΧ’Σ ΛΙΒΣ

φιλοσόφοι τούτο προσεμαρτύρησεν Ἀντίπατρος
gράφων περὶ αὐτοῦ μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν, ὅτι πρὸς
tοὺς ἄλλους ὁ ἄνηρ καὶ τὸ πιθανὸν εἶχεν.

III. Ὅτι μὲν δὴ τῆς πολιτικῆς ἀνθρώπως ἀρετῆς
οὐ κτάται τελειοτέραν, ὁμολογούμενον ἡστιν· ταύ-
tης δὲ ποὺ μόριον οἴ πλεῖστοι τὴν οἰκονομικὴν οὐ
μικρὸν τίθενται· καὶ γὰρ ἡ πόλις οἰκων τι
σύστημα καὶ κεφάλαιον οὕσα ρόνυνται πρὸς τὰ
dημόσια τοῖς ἱδίους βίοις τῶν πολιτῶν εὐθενοῦν-
tῶν, ὁποῖον καὶ Δυκούργος ἐξουκίσας μὲν ἄργυρον,
2 ἐξουκίσας δὲ χρυσοῦ τῆς Σπάρτης, νόμισμα δὲ
διεφθαρμένου πυρὶ σιδήρου θέμενος αὐτοῦς οἰκονο-
μίας οὐκ ἀπήλλαξε τοὺς πολίτας, ἀλλὰ τὰ τρι-
φώντα καὶ ὑπούλα καὶ φλεγμαίνοντα τοῦ πλούτου
περιελών, ὅπως εὐπορήσωσι τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ
χρησίμων ἄπαντες, ὡς ἄλλος ούδεὶς νομοθέτης
προονόησε, τὸν ἄπορον καὶ ἀνέστιον καὶ πένητα
σύμοικον ἐπὶ κοινωνία πολιτείας μᾶλλον τοῦ πλού-
3 σίου καὶ ὑπερόγκου φοβηθεῖς. φαίνεται τοῖνυν ὁ
μὲν Κάτων οὐδέν τι φαυλότερος οἰκου προστάτης
ἡ πόλεως γενόμενος· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἤξισε τὸν
αὐτοῦ βίον καὶ κατέστη διδάσκαλος οἰκονομίας
καὶ γεωργίας ἑτέρως, πολλὰ καὶ χρήσιμα περὶ
tούτων συνταξάμενος· Ἀριστείδης δὲ τῇ πενίᾳ
καὶ τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ συνδιέβαλεν ὡς οἰκοφθόρον
καὶ πτωχοποιοῦ καὶ πᾶσι μᾶλλον ἦ τοῖς κεκτη-
4 μένοις ὠφέλιμον. καίτοι πολλὰ μὲν Ἡσίοδος

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tribute which was paid Aristotle the philosopher by Antipater, when he wrote concerning him, after his death, that in addition to all his other gifts, the man had also the gift of persuasion.

III. Man has no higher capacity than that for conducting cities and states, as is generally admitted. But the ability to conduct a household enters in no small degree into this higher political capacity, as most believe. For the city is but an organised sum total of households, and has public vigour only as its citizens prosper in their private lives. When Lycurgus banished both silver and gold from Sparta, and introduced there a coinage of iron that had been ruined by fire, he did not set his fellow citizens free from the duty of domestic economy. He merely removed the swollen and feverish wantonness of wealth, and so provided that all alike might have an abundance of the necessary and useful things of life. He did this because better than any other ancient legislator, he foresaw that the helpless, homeless, and poverty-stricken citizen was a greater menace to the commonwealth than one who was rich and ostentatious. Cato, then, was no whit less efficient in the conduct of his household than in that of the city. He not only increased his own substance, but became a recognized teacher of domestic economy and agriculture for others, and compiled many useful precepts on these subjects. Aristides, on the other hand, was so poor as to bring even his righteousness into disrepute, as ruining a household, reducing a man to beggary, and profiting everybody rather than its possessor. And yet Hesiod¹ has much to say by

¹ Works and Days, 309.
ΠŁUTARCH’S LIVES

πρὸς δικαιοσύνην ἀμα καὶ οἰκονομίαν παρακαλῶν ἡμᾶς εἰρήκε καὶ τὴν ἀργίαν ὡς ἄδικίας ἀρχὴν λειτουργήκεν, εὐ δὲ καὶ Ὄμηρῳ πεποίηται:

ἐργον δὲ μοι οὖ φίλον ἦν
οὐδ’ οἰκωθελίη, ἢ τε τρέφει ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,
ἀλλὰ μοι αἰεὶ νῆες ἐπήρετμοι φίλαι ἦσαν
καὶ πόλεμοι καὶ ἀκοντες εὔξεστοι καὶ οἶστοί.

ὡς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀμελεύντας οἰκίας καὶ ποριζομέν-

5 οὐσ εἰς ἄδικίας. οὖ γάρ, ὡς τούλαιον οἱ ἰατροὶ
φασὶ τοῦ σώματος εἶναι τοὺς μὲν ἐκτὸς ὦφελιμώ-
τατον, τοῖς δ’ ἐντὸς βλαβερῶτατον, οὕτως ὁ
dίκαιος ἐτέρως μὲν ἐστὶ χρήσιμος, αὐτοῦ δὲ καὶ
tῶν ἱδίων ακηδής, ἀλλ’ ἐοικε ταύτῃ πεπηρώθαι
tῷ Ἀριστείδῃ τῷ πολιτικόν, εὐπέρ, όσ οἱ πλεῖστοι
λέγουσιν, οὐδὲ προίκα τοῖς θυγατρίοις οὐδὲ

6 ταφὴν αὐτῷ καταλυπέσθαι προωνήσεν. ὃθεν ὁ
μὲν Κάτωνος οἶκος ἄχρι γένους τετάρτου στρατη-
γοῦ καὶ υπάτους τῇ Ῥώμῃ παρεῖχε· καὶ γὰρ
νῦνοι καὶ τούτων ἐτὶ παῖδες ἢρξαν ἀρχᾶς τᾶς
μεγίστας· τῆς δ’ Ἀριστείδου τοῦ πρωτεύσαντος
Ἐλλήνων γενεάς ἡ πολλή καὶ ἀπορος πενία τοὺς
μὲν εἰς ἀγυρτικοῦς κατέβαλε πίνακας, τοὺς δὲ δη-
μοσίῳ τὰς χειρὰς ἐράνῳ δὲ ἐνδειαν ὑπέχειν ἴμαρ-
κασεν, οὐδενὶ δὲ λαμπρὸν οὐδὲν οὐδ’ ἀξίον ἐκεῖνο
τοῦ ἀνδρὸς φρονήσαι παρέσχεν.

IV. Ἡ τούτῳ πρώτων ἀμφιλογίαν ἔχει; πενία
gὰρ αὐχρόν οὐδαμοῦ μὲν δ’ αὐτήν, ἀλλ’ ὅπου
deίγμα ῥᾳθυμίας ἐστίν, ἀκρασίας, πολυτελείας,
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way of exhorting us to righteousness allied with
domestic economy, and abuses idleness as a source of
injustice; Homer also says well:—

"Labour I never liked,
Nor household thrift, which breeds good children.
But ships equipped with oars were ever my delight,
Battles and polished javelins and arrows," ¹

implying that the men who neglect their households
are the very ones to live by injustice. Oil, as
physicians tell us, is very beneficial when externally
applied, though very injurious when used internally.
But the righteous is not so. He is not helpful
to others, while heedless of himself and his family.
Indeed, the poverty of Aristides would seem to have
been a blemish on his political career, if, as most
writers state, he had not foresight enough to leave
his poor daughters a marriage portion,² or even the
cost of his own burial. And so it fell out that
the family of Cato furnished Rome with praetors and
consuls down to the fourth generation, for his grandsons, and their sons after them, filled the highest
offices of state. Whereas, though Aristides was
foremost of the Greeks, the abject poverty of his
descendants forced some to ply a fortune-teller's
trade,³ and others, for very want, to solicit the public
bounty, while it robbed them all of every ambition
to excel, or even to be worthy of their great
ancestor.

IV. Possibly this point invites discussion. Poverty
is never dishonourable in itself, but only when it
is a mark of sloth, intemperance, extravagance, or

¹ Odyssey, xiv. 222 ff., Palmer's translation.
² Aristides, xxvii. 1.
³ Aristides, xxvii. 3.
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

άλογιστίας, ἀνδρὶ δὲ σώφρονι καὶ φιλοσόφῳ καὶ
dικαίῳ καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ δημοσιεύοντι ταῖς ἀρεταῖς
ἀπάσαις συνούσα μεγαλοψυχίας ἐστὶ καὶ μεγαλο-
2 φροσύνης σημεῖον. οὐ γὰρ ἔστι πράττειν μεγάλα
φροντίζοντα μικρῶν, οὐδὲ πολλοῖς δεόμενοι
βοηθεῖν πολλῶν ἀυτῶν δεόμενον. μέγα δὲ εἰς
πολυτελῶν ἐφόδιον οὐχὶ πλοῦτος, ἀλλ’ αὐτάρκεια,
tῷ μηθενὸς ἴδιᾳ τῶν περιττῶν δεῖθαί πρὸς οὐ-
δεμῶν ἀσχολίαν ἄγονοσ τῶν δημοσίων. ἀπροσ-
δεηὸς μὲν γὰρ ἀπλῶς ὁ θεός, ἀνθρωπίνης δὲ ἀρετῆς,
ἢ συνάγεται πρὸς τὸ ἐλάχιστον ἡ χρεία, τούτο
3 τελειότατον καὶ θείότατον. ὡς γὰρ σώμα τὸ 355
καλῶς πρὸς εὐεξίαν κεκραμένον οὐτ’ ἐσθῆτος οὐτὲ
τροφῆς δεῖται περιττῆς, οὐτὸ καὶ βίος καὶ οίκος
ὑγιαίνων ἀπὸ τῶν τυχόντων διοικεῖται. δεὶ δὲ
τῇ χρείᾳ σύμμετρον ἔχειν τὴν κτήσιν· ὡς δὲ
πολλὰ συνάγων, ὀλγοὺς δὲ χρόμενος οὐκ ἔστιν
αὐτάρκης, ἀλλ’ εἰτε μὴ δεῖται, τῆς παρασκευῆς ἢ
οὐκ ὀρέγεται μάταιος, εἰτ’ ὀρέγεται, μικρολογία
κολούν τὴν ἄπολαυσιν ἀθλίος.

Αὐτοῦ γέ τοι Κάτωνος ἢδέως ἂν πυθοίμην,
4 εἰ μὲν ἀπολαυστῶν ὁ πλοῦτός ἐστι, τί σεμνύνη τῷ
πολλὰ κεκτημένος ἀρκεῖσθαι μετρίοις; εἰ δὲ
λαμπρὸν ἔστιν, ὡσπερ ἔστιν, ἀρτῷ τε χρησθαί
tῷ προστυχώντα καὶ πίνειν οἴνῳ ἐργάται πί-
νουσι καὶ θεράποντες οἴνον καὶ πορφύρας μὴ
dεηθῆναι μηδὲ οἰκίας κεκοιμενῆς, οὐδὲν οὗτ’
Ἀριστείδης οὗτ’ Ἐπαμεινόνδας οὗτε Μάνιος
Κοῦριος οὗτε Γάιος Φαβρίκιος ἐνέλπουν τοῦ προσ-
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thoughtlessness. When, on the other hand, it is the handmaid of a sober, industrious, righteous, and brave man, who devotes all his powers to the service of the people, it is the sign of a lofty spirit that harbours no mean thoughts. It is impossible for a man to do great things when his thoughts are busy with little things; nor can he aid the many who are in need when he himself is in need of many things.

A great equipment for public service consists, not in wealth, but in contented independence, which requires no private superfluities, and so puts no hindrance in the way of serving the commonwealth. God alone is absolutely free from wants; but that is the most perfect and god-like quality in human excellence which reduces man’s wants to their lowest terms. For as a body which is well tempered and vigorous needs no superfluous food or raiment, so a healthy individual or family life can be conducted with the simplest outlays. A man should make his gains tally with his needs. He who heaps up much substance and uses little of it, is not contented and independent. If he does not need it, he is a fool for providing what he does not crave; and if he craves it, he makes himself wretched by parsimoniously curtailing his enjoyment of it.

Indeed, I would fain ask Cato himself this question: “If wealth is a thing to be enjoyed, why do you plume yourself on being satisfied with little when possessed of much?” But if it be a fine thing, as indeed it is, to eat ordinary bread, and to drink such wine as labourers and servants drink, and not to want purple robes nor even plastered houses, then Aristides and Epaminondas and Manius Curius and Gaius Fabricius were perfectly right in turning
Ηκοντος, χαίρειν ἑώσαντες τὴν κτῆσιν ὅν τὴν 5 χρήσιν ἀπεδοκίμαζον. οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀναγκαῖον ἀνθρώπῳ γογγυλίδας ἔδηστον ὄψιν πεποιημένην καὶ διὰ αὐτοῦ ταῦτας ἔφοντι, ματτούσης ἄμα τῆς γυναικὸς ἄλφιτα, τοσαύτα περὶ ἀσσαρίου θρυλεῖν καὶ γράφειν ἄφι λή ἂν τις ἐργασίας τάχιστα πλοῦσιος γένοιτο. μέγα γὰρ τὸ εὐτελὲς καὶ αὐτάρκες, ὅτι τῆς ἑπιθυμίας ἄμα καὶ τῆς φρον- 6 τίδος ἀπαλλάττει τῶν περιττῶν. διό καὶ τοῦτό φασιν ἐν τῇ Καλλίου δίκη τῶν Ἀριστείδην εἰπεῖν, ὡς αἰσχύνεσθαι πενίαν προσήκει τοῖς ἀκουσίως πενυμένοις, τοῖς δ', ὡσπερ αὐτός, ἐκουσίως, ἐγκαλ- λωπίζεσθαι. γελοῦν γὰρ οἷεσθαι ῥαθυμίας εἶναι τὴν Ἀριστείδου πενίαν, ἡ παρῇν αἰσχρὸν εἰργασμένῳ μηδέν, ἀλλ' ἔνα σκυλεύσαντι βάρβαρον ἡ μίαν σκηνὴν καταλάβοντι πλούσιος γενέσθαι.  

ταῦτα μέν ὅπι περὶ τοῦτων.

V. Στρατηγοὶ δὲ αἱ μὲν Κάτωνος οὐδὲν ὡς μεγάλοις πράγμασι μέγα προσέθηκαν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀριστείδου τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ λαμπρότατα καὶ πρῶτα τῶν Ελληνικῶν ἔργων ἔστιν, ὁ Μαραθῶν, ἡ Σαλαμῖς, αἱ Πλαταιαί. καὶ οὐκ ἄξιον δήπο τοπαθαλεῖν τῷ Ἐξέρχου τῶν Ἀντιόχου καὶ τὰ περιμερεῖντα τῶν Ἰβηρικῶν πόλεων τείχη ταῖς τοσαύταις μὲν ἐν γῇ, τοσαύταις δ' ἐν θαλάσσῃ 2 πεσοῦσαι μυρίασιν ἐν οἷς Ἀριστείδης ἔρχετι μὲν οὐδενὸς ἔλειπτο, δόξης δὲ καὶ στεφάνων, ὡσπερ ἀμέλει πλούτου καὶ χρημάτων, ὑφηκατό τοῖς μᾶλλον δεομένοις, ὅτι καὶ πάντων τούτων διέφερεν.
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	heir backs on the gaining of what they scorned to use. Surely it was not worth while for a man who, like Cato, esteemed turnips a delectable dish and cooked them himself, while his wife was kneading bread, to babble so much about a paltry copper, and write on the occupation in which one might soonest get rich. Great is the simple life, and great its independence, but only because it frees a man from the anxious desire of superfluous things. Hence it was that Aristides, as we are told, remarked at the trial of Callias\(^1\) that only those who were poor in spite of themselves should be ashamed of their poverty; those who, like himself, chose poverty, should glory in it. And surely it were ridiculous to suppose that the poverty of Aristides was due to his sloth, when, without doing anything disgraceful, but merely by stripping a single Barbarian, or seizing a single tent, he might have made himself rich. So much on this head.

V. The military campaigns of Cato made no great addition to the Roman empire, which was great already; but those of Aristides include the fairest, most brilliant, and most important actions of the Greeks, namely, Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea. And certainly Antiochus is not worthy to be compared with Xerxes, nor the demolition of the walls of the Spanish cities with the destruction of so many myriads of Barbarians both by land and sea. On these occasions Aristides was inferior to no one in actual service, but he left the glory and the laurels, as he did wealth and substance, to those who wanted them more, because he was superior to all these things also.

\(^1\) Aristides, xxv. 5.
Εγώ δ' ού μέμφομαι μὲν Κάτωνος τὸ μεγαλύνειν ἀεὶ καὶ πρότον ἔαυτὸν ἀπάντων τίθεσθαι· καίτοι φησίν ἐν τινὶ λόγῳ τὸ ἐπαίνειν αὐτὸν ὥσπερ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀτοπον εἶναι· τελειότερος δὲ μοι δοκεῖ πρὸς ἄρετὴν τοῦ πολλάκις ἐαυτὸν ἐγκωμίαζοντος ὁ μηδ' ἐτέρων τοῦτο ποιοῦντον 3 δεόμενος. τὸ γὰρ ἀφιλότιμον οὐ μικρὸν εἰς πραότητα πολιτικὴν ἐφόδιον, καὶ τοῦνατιόν ἡ φιλοτιμία χαλέπον καὶ φθόνον γουμώτατον, ἢς ὁ μὲν ἀπήλλακτο παντάπασιν, ὁ δὲ καὶ πάνυ πολλής μετείχεν. Ἀριστείδης μὲν γε Θεμιστοκλέει τὰ μέγιστα συμπράττων καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν αὐτοῦ δορυφόρῳ ὄρθωσε 4 τάς Ἀθηνᾶς, Κάτων δ' ἀντιπράττων Σκηνίων μικροῖ μὲν ἀνέτρεψε καὶ διελυμένατο τὴν ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίους αὐτοῦ στρατηγίαν, ἐν ἣ τὸν ἀρτιστῆτον Ἀννίβαν καθείλε, τέλος δὲ μηχανόμενος ἀεὶ τινὰς ὑποψίας καὶ διαβολας αὐτοῦ μὲν ἐξῆλασε τῆς πόλεως, τὸν δ' ἀδελφὸν αἰσχύστη κλοπῆς καταδίκη περιέβαλεν.

VI. "Ην τοίνυν πλείστοις ὁ Κάτων κεκόσμηκε καὶ καλλίστοις ἐπαίνοις ἀεὶ σωφροσύνην Ἀριστείδης μὲν ἀβίκτον ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ καθαρὰν ἐτήρησεν, αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ Κάτωνος ὁ παρ' ἀξίαν ἀμα καὶ παρ' ὦραν γάμος οὐ μικρὰν οὔδὲ φαύλην εἰς τοῦτο διαβολὴν κατεσκέδασε. πρεσβύτην 356 γὰρ ἦδη τοσοῦτον ἔνθηλικα παιδί καὶ γυναικὶ νύμφη παιδὸς ἐπηγήμα αίρητον καὶ δημοσιεύοντος ἐπὶ μισθοὶ πατρὸς οὐδαμοῦ καλῶν,
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For my own part, I do not blame Cato for his constant boasting, and for rating himself above everybody else, although he does say, in one of his speeches, that self-praise and self-depreciation are alike absurd. But I regard the man who is often lauding himself as less complete in excellence than one who does not even want others to do so. Freedom from ambition is no slight requisite for the gentleness which should mark a statesman; and, on the contrary, ambition is harsh, and the greatest fomenter of envy. From this spirit Aristides was wholly free, whereas Cato was very full of it. For example, Aristides co-operated with Themistocles in his greatest achievements, and as one might say, stood guard over him while he was in command, and thereby saved Athens; while Cato, by his opposition to Scipio, almost vitiated and ruined that wonderful campaign of his against the Carthaginians, in which he overthrew the invincible Hannibal, and finally, by perpetually inventing all sorts of suspicions and calumnies against him, drove him out of Rome, and brought down on his brother's head a most shameful condemnation for embezzlement.

VI. Once more, that temperance which Cato always decked out with the fairest praises, Aristides maintained and practised in unsullied purity; whereas Cato, by marrying unworthily and unseasonably, fell under no slight or insignificant censure in this regard. It was surely quite indecent that a man of his years should bring home as stepmother to his grown-up son and that son's bride, a girl whose father was his assistant and served the public for hire. Whether he did this merely for

1 At Zama, 202 B.C.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ' Η ΒΙΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ

ἀλλα εἴτε πρὸς ἴδιουν ταὐτ' ἔπραξεν εἰτ' ὀργῇ
dιὰ τὴν ἑταῖραν ἀμυνόμενος τὸν νῦν, αἰσχύνην
2 ἔχει καὶ τὸ ἔρημον καὶ ἡ πρόφασις. ὥς δ' αὐτὸς
ἐξερήσατο λόγῳ κατειρωμένος τὸ μειράκιον,
οὐκ ἦν ἀληθῆς. εἰ γὰρ ἐβούλετο παῖδας ἀγαθοὺς
ὄμοίως τεκνώσαι, γάμον ἔδει λαβεῖν γενναῖον
ἐξ ἀρχής σκεψάμενον, οὐχ ἐκ τὸν ἐλάνθανεν
ἀνεγγυῷ γυναικὶ καὶ κοινῇ συγκοιμώμενος ἀγα-
pᾶν, ἐπεὶ δ' ἐφωράθη ποιήσαθαι πενθερόν,
ὅτι ὑπάτε πείσειν, οὐχ ὧς κάλλιστα κηδεύσειν
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his own pleasure, or in anger, to punish his son for objecting to his mistress, both what he did and what led him to do it were disgraceful. And the sarcastic reason for it which he gave his son was not a true one. For had he wished to beget more sons as good, he should have planned at the outset to marry a woman of family, instead of contenting himself, as long as he could do so secretly, with the society of a low concubine, and when he was discovered, making a man his father-in-law whom he could most easily persuade, rather than one whose alliance would bring him most honour.
CIMON
ΚΙΜΩΝ

1. Περιπόλτας ὁ μάντις ἐκ Θετταλίας εἰς Βοωτίαν Ὁφέλταν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς ὑπ’ αὐτὸ

πολλοὺς καταγαγόν γένος εὐδοκιμήσαν ἐπὶ πολλοὺς

χρόνους κατέληπτεν, οὐ τὸ πλείστον ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ

κατάφησαν, ἂν πρώτην πόλιν ἐσχῶν ἐξελάσαντες

τοὺς βαρβάρους. οἱ μὲν οὖν πλεῖστοι τῶν ἀπὸ

τοῦ γένους φύσει μάρημοι καὶ ἀνδρόδεις γενόμενοι

καταναλώθησαν ἐν ταῖς Μηδικαῖς ἔπιδρομαῖς καὶ

τοῖς Γαλατικοῖς ἀγώνισιν ἀφειδήσαντες ἑαυτῶν.

2 λείπεται δὲ παῖς ὀρφανὸς γονέων, ὅνομα Δάμων,

παρωνύμων δὲ Περιπόλτας, πολὺ δὴ τι καὶ

σῶματος κάλλει καὶ ψυχῆς φρονήματι τοὺς καθ’

αὐτὸν ὑπεραίρων νέους, ἀλλ’ ὅ τ’ ἀπαίδευτος καὶ

σκληρὸς τὸ ἔθος.

Τούτου Ῥωμαίος ἤγεμὼν σπείρας τινὸς ἐν

Χαιρωνείᾳ διαχειμαζούσῃ ἔρασθείς ἄρτι τὴν

παιδικὴν ἡλικίαν παρηλάχος, ὡς οὐκ ἐπειδὴ

πειρὼν καὶ δίδος, δῆλος ὡς οὐκ ἀφεξόμενος βίας, 479

ἀτε ἰδὲ καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἡμῶν τὸτε λυπρὰ πρατ-

τούσης καὶ διὰ μικρότητα καὶ πενίαν παρορμένης.

3 τούτο δὴ δεδιώκει ὁ Δάμων, καὶ τὴν πείραν αὐτὴν

dὲ δργής πεποιημένος, ἐπεβούλευε τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ

συνίστη τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν τινὰς ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ, οὐ

πολλοὺς ἐνεκα τοῦ λαθείν, ἀλλ’ οἱ σύμπαντες

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I. PERIPOLTAS the seer, who conducted King Opheltas with his subjects from Thessaly into Boeotia, left a posterity there which was in high repute for many generations. The greater part of them settled in Chaeroneia, which was the first city they won from the Barbarians. Now the most of this posterity were naturally men of war and courage, and so were consumed away in the Persian invasions and the contests with the Gauls, because they did not spare themselves. There remained, however, an orphan boy, Damon by name, Peripoltas by surname, who far surpassed his fellows in beauty of body and in vigour of spirit, though otherwise he was untrained and of a harsh disposition.

With this Damon, just passed out of boy's estate, the Roman commander of a cohort that was wintering in Chaeroneia fell enamoured, and since he could not win him over by solicitations and presents, he was plainly bent on violence, seeing that our native city was at that time in sorry plight, and neglected because of her smallness and poverty. Violence was just what Damon feared, and since the solicitation itself had enraged him, he plotted against the man, and enlisted against him sundry companions,—a few only, that they might escape notice. There were
ektakideka gevomenoi chriontai men aithalw ta prsowta vuktos, empioutes de akraton am hmera prospipounto tfo 'Romega kat' agoran thounti, kai katibaloutes auton te kai twn per filouton
4 ouk dolous eke tis polews metesthsan. gev-
meneis de taraqheis he twn Xairowneio bouli
suneleoussa thanaton auton katengw. kai touto
hii uper tis polews apolonyima pros tous 'R-
maious. esteperas de twn arxonton, oster erous
esti, kouh deinyponton oi peri twn Damwona
pareispeontes eis t fo arxhein apesfakaion auton
kai palin xouto phugontes eke tis polews.
5 Etxhe de peri tis hmeras ekeinas Deukios
Doukoulos eti tina praxein meta dynameos
parekhoumenos. episthsas de tin poreian kai
twn geugonton provfoin devn evzetasin pro-
samevos euhe tin polein oudevos autian, all
malloion suneidhmenen kai toun stratistous
6 analabdon apthage mev' eaxton. toun de Damwona
lesteias kai katadromais porbounta tin xwran
kai t polei provkeimeno uphagontos presbeias
kai pakhismasi filanvropos oi politaia,
katelouta de gynmasiarcho katesthsan. eiti
aleifomeun en t fo puriatirw diapheran. eti
poul en xronon eidiwlon twn en t fo topo pro-
phaimenon kai steugamwv ekakoumenon, ors oi
pateres hemon leghousi, tas thura anfikodhmen sou
to puriatirion kai mechri vyni tfo topo
geitiwontes oionta tinas dhveis kai founas tar-
7 chodeis fereota. toun de apd tou gevous auton
(ekswzontai gar eno, malista tis Fovikidou

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sixteen of them in all, who smeared their faces with soot one night, heated themselves with wine, and at daybreak fell upon the Roman while he was sacrificing in the market-place, slew him, together with many of his followers, and departed the city. During the commotion which followed, the council of Chaeroneia met and condemned the murderers to death, and this was the defence which the city afterwards made to its Roman rulers. But in the evening, while the magistrates were dining together, as the custom is, Damon and his men burst into the townhall, slew them, and again fled the city.

Now about that time¹ it chanced that Lucius Lucullus passed that way, on some errand, with an army. Halting on his march and investigating matters while they were still fresh in mind, he found that the city was in no wise to blame, but rather had itself also suffered wrong. So he took its garrison of soldiers and led them away with him. Then Damon, who was ravaging the country with predatory forays and threatening the city, was induced by embassies and conciliatory decrees of the citizens to return, and was appointed gymnasiarch. But soon, as he was anointing himself in the vapour-bath, he was slain. And because for a long while thereafter certain phantoms appeared in the place, and groans were heard there, as our Fathers tell us, the door of the vapour-bath was walled up, and to this present time the neighbours think it the source of alarming sights and sounds. Descendants of Damon’s family (and some are still living, especially near Stiris in

¹ 74 B.C. (?)
περὶ Στείριν, αἰολίζοντες) ἀσβολωμένους καλοῦσι διὰ τὸ τῶν Δάμωνα πρὸς τὸν φόνον ἄσβολον χρισάμενου ἐξελθέν.

II. 'Επεὶ δ' ἀστυνεῖτονες ὄντες Ὄρχομενίοι καὶ διάφοροι τοῖς Χαίρωνεύσιν ἐμισθώσαντο Ῥωμαϊκοῦ συκοφάντῃ, δ' ἀσπερ ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου τὸ τῆς πόλεως ὄνομα κατευγκώς ἐδώκει φόνον τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Δάμωνος ἁνηρημένων, ἢ δὲ κρίσις ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῆς Μακεδονίας (οὔπω γὰρ εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ῥωμαίοι στρατηγοῦς διεπέμ-ποντο), οἱ λέγοντες ύπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐπεκαλοῦντο τὴν Δουκούλλων μαρτυρίαν, γράφασιν δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πρὸς Δουκούλλων ἔκεινος ἐμαρτύρησε τάληθη, καὶ τὴν δίκην οὔτως ἀπέφυγεν ἡ πόλις κινδυνεύουσα περὶ τῶν μεγίστων. ἔκεινοι μὲν ὅτι οἱ τότε σωθέντες εἰκόνα τοῦ Δουκούλλου λιθίνην ἐν ἀγορᾷ παρὰ τὸν Δίονυσον ἀνέστησαν, ἢμεῖς δ', εἰ καὶ πολλαῖς ἡλικίαις λειτόμεθα, τὴν μὲν χάριν οἰόμεθα διατείνεις καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς

3 νῦν ὅντας, εἰκόνα δὲ πολὺ καλλίωνα νομίζοντες εἶναι τῆς τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἀπομιμομενής τὴν τὸ ἴθος καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἐμφανίζουσαν, ἀναληψόμεθα τῇ γραφῇ τῶν παραλλήλων βίων τὰς πράξεις τοῦ ἀνδρός, τάληθη διεξόντες. ἀρκεῖ γάρ ἢ τῆς μνήμης χάρις. ἀληθοῦσας δὲ μαρτυρίας οὐδὲ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐκείνος ἤξιὼσε μισθὸν λαβεῖν ψευδὴ καὶ πεπλασμένην υπὲρ αὐτοῦ διήγησιν.

4 "Ὅσπερ γὰρ τοὺς τὰ καλὰ καὶ πολλὰν ἔχοντα χάριν εἰδὴ ξυγραφοῦντας, ἄν προσῆ τι μικρὸν αὐτοῖς δυσχερές, ἀξιοῦμεν μέτα παραλυπεῖν τούτῳ τελέως μέτα ἐξακριβοῦν τὸ μὲν γὰρ αἰσχρόν, τὸ δ' ἀνομοίαν παρέχεται τὴν ὀψιν. οὔτως, ἐπεὶ

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Phocis, Aeolians in speech) are called "Asbolomeni," or "Besooted," because Damon smeared himself with soot before he went forth to do his deed of murder.

II. But the Orchomenians, who were neighbours and rivals of the Chaeroneians, hired a Roman informer to cite the city by name, as though it were an individual person, and prosecute it for the murder of the Roman soldiers who had been slain by Damon. The trial was held before the praetor of Macedonia (the Romans were not yet sending praetors to Greece), and the city's advocates invoked the testimony of Lucullus. Lucullus, when the praetor wrote to him, testified to the truth of the matter, and so the city escaped capital condemnation. Accordingly, the people who at that time were saved by him erected a marble statue of Lucullus in the market-place beside that of Dionysus. And we, though many generations removed from him, think that his favour extends even down to us who are now living; and since we believe that a portrait which reveals character and disposition is far more beautiful than one which merely copies form and feature, we shall incorporate this man's deeds into our parallel lives, and we shall rehearse them truly. The mere mention of them is sufficient favour to show him; and as a return for his truthful testimony he himself surely would not deign to accept a false and garbled narrative of his career.

We demand of those who would paint fair and graceful features that, in case of any slight imperfection therein, they shall neither wholly omit it nor yet emphasise it, because the one course makes the portrait ugly and the other unlike its original. In
χαλεπτόν ἔστι, μᾶλλον δ' ἰσως ἀμήχανον, ἄμεμφη καὶ καθαρὸν ἄνδρος ἐπιδιέξαι βιόν, ἐν τοῖς καλοῖς 480 ἀναπληρωτέον ἄσπερ ὁμοίότητα τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

5 τὰς δ' ἐκ πάθους τινὸς ἡ πολιτικής ἀνάγκης ἐπιτρεχούσας ταῖς πράξεις ἀμαρτίας καὶ κήρας ἐλλείμματα μᾶλλον ἀρετῆς τινος ἡ κακίας πονηρεύματα νομίζοντας οὐ δεῖ πάνυ προθύμως ἐναποσημαίνειν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ καὶ περιττῶς, ἀλλ' ἄσπερ αἰδούμενός ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως, εἰ καλὸν οὐδὲν εἰλικρινὲς οὐδ' ἀναμφισβήτητον εἰς ἀρετῆς ἴδιος γεγονός ἀποδίδωσιν.

III. 'Ο δ' οὖν Λούκουλλος ἐδόκει σκοποῦσιν ἥμιν τῷ Κύμωνι παραβλητέος εἶναι. πολεμικὸι γὰρ ἀμφότεροι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους λαμπροί, πράοι δὲ τὰ πολιτικά καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἐμφυλίων στάσεων ἀναπνοὴν ταῖς πατρίσι παρασχόντες, ἐκαστός δὲ τίς αὐτῶν στήσαντες τρόπαια καὶ

2 νίκας ἀνελόμενοι περιβοήτους. οὐτε γὰρ Ἐλλήνων Κύμωνος οὔτε Ῥωμαίων Λούκουλλον πρό- τερος οὔτε οὔτω μακρὰν πολέμων προήλθεν, εἶξο λόγον τιθεμένων τῶν καθ' Ἡρακλεά καὶ Διώνυσον, εἰ τί τι Περσέως πρὸς Αἰθίωνας ἡ Μήδους καὶ Ἀρμενίους ἡ Ἰάσυνος ἔργον ἀξιόπι- στον ἐκ τῶν τότε χρόνων μνήμη φερόμενον εἰς

3 τοὺς νῦν ἀφίκται. κοινὸν δὲ πῶς αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ἀτελὲς γέγονε τῆς στρατηγίας, ἐκατέρου μὲν συντρίψαντος, οὐδετέρου δὲ καταλύσαντος τῶν ἀνταγωνιστήν. μάλιστα δ' ἡ περὶ τὰς ὑποδοχὰς καὶ τὰς φιλανθρωπίας ταύτας ὑγρότης καὶ δαψί- λεια καὶ τὸ νεαρόν καὶ ἀνεμένον ἐν τῇ διαίτῃ παραπλήσιον ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἰδεῖν ὑπάρχει.
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like manner, since it is difficult, nay rather perhaps impossible, to represent a man's life as stainless and pure, in its fair chapters we must round out the truth into fullest semblance; but those transgressions and follies by which, owing to passion, perhaps, or political compulsion, a man's career is sullied, we must regard rather as shortcomings in some particular excellence than as the vile products of positive baseness, and we must not all too zealously delineate them in our history, and superfluously too, but treat them as though we were tenderly defending human nature for producing no character which is absolutely good and indisputably set towards virtue.

III. On looking about for some one to compare with Lucullus, we decided that it must be Cimon. Both were men of war, and of brilliant exploits against the Barbarians, and yet they were mild and beneficent statesmen, in that they gave their countries unusual respite from civil strifes, though each one of them set up martial trophies and won victories that were famous. No Hellene before Cimon and no Roman before Lucullus carried his wars into such remote lands, if we leave out of our account the exploits of Heracles and Dionysus, and whatever credible deeds of Perseus against the Aethiopians or Medes and Armenians, or of Jason, have been brought down in the memory of man from those early times to our own. Common also in a way to both their careers was the incompleteness of their campaigns. Each crushed, but neither gave the death blow to his antagonist. But more than all else, the lavish ease which marked their entertainments and hospitalities, as well as the ardour and laxity of their way of living, was conspicuous alike in both. Pos-
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παραλείπομεν δ’ ἵσως καὶ ἄλλας τινὰς ὁμοιότητας, ἃς οὐ χαλεπὸν ἐκ τῆς δυνηθεῖσας αὐτῆς συναγαγεῖν.

IV. Κύμων ὁ Μιλτιάδου μητρὸς ἦν Ὑγησὶ-πύλης, γένος Θράττης, θυγατρός Ὄλορον τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς ἐν τοῖς Ἀρχελάον καὶ Μελανθίου ποιήμασιν εἰς αὐτὸν Κύμωνα γεγραμμένοις ἱστορί-κηται. διὸ καὶ Θουκυδίδης ὁ ἱστορικὸς τοῖς περὶ Κύμωνα κατὰ γένος προσήκοιν Ὄλορον τε πατρὸς ἤν, εἰς τὸν πρόγονον ἀναφέροντος τὴν ὀμοιῳμαῖαν, καὶ τὰ χρονεῖα περὶ τὴν Ἐράκην ἐκέκτητο. καὶ τελευτήσαι μὲν ἐν τῇ Σκαπτῇ ὕλῃ (τούτῳ δ’ ἔστι τῆς Ἐράκης χωρίον) λέγεται φονευθεὶς ἐκεῖ, μνήμα δ’ αὐτοῦ τῶν λευψάνων εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν κομισθέντων ἐν τοῖς Κύμωνείσι δεικτοί τὸν Ἐλπινίκης τῆς Κύμωνος ἀδελφῆς τάφον. ἀλλὰ Θουκυδίδης μὲν Ἀλιμούσιος γέγονε τῶν δήμων, οἱ δ’ ἐπὶ τῶν Μιλτιάδην Δακιάδαι.

3 Μιλτιάδης μὲν οὖν πεντήκοντα ταλάντων ὀφλῶν δίκην καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐκτισιν εἰρχθεῖς ἐπελύσθησαν ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ, Κύμων δὲ μειράκιον παντάπασιν ἀπολευθεὶς μετὰ τῆς ἄδελφης ἐτι κόρης υσύς καὶ ἀγάμου τὸν πρῶτον ἡδοξει χρόνον ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ κακῶς ἤκουεν ὡς ἀτακτος καὶ πολυ-πότης καὶ τῷ πάππῳ Κύμωνι προσεικὸς τὴν φύσιν, δὴ δ’ εὐνήθειαν φασὶ Κοάλεμον προσαγο-ρευθήναι. Στησάμβροτος δ’ ὁ Θάσιος περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ὀμοῦ τῷ χρόνῳ τῷ Κύμωνι γεγονός φησιν αὐτὸν οὕτε μοσικὴν οὕτε ἄλλο τι μάθημα τῶν ἕλευθερῶν καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλησίν ἐπιχωριαζοῦσιν ἐκδιδαχθήναι, δεινοτήτος τε καὶ στωμύλησ

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sibly we may omit still other resemblances, but it will not be hard to gather them directly from our story.

IV. Cimon was the son of Miltiades by Hegesipyle, a woman of Thracian stock, daughter of King Olorus, as it is stated in the poems of Archelaüs and Melanthius addressed to Cimon himself. That explains how it was that the father of Thucydides the historian—and Thucydides was connected with the family of Cimon—was also an Olorus, who referred his name back to that of the common ancestor, and also how it was that Thucydides had gold mines in Thrace.¹ And it is said that Thucydides died in Skapte Hylé, a place in Thrace, having been murdered there; but his remains were brought to Attica, and his monument is shown among those of Cimon’s family, hard by the tomb of Elpinicé, Cimon’s sister. However, Thucydides belonged to the deme of Halimus, the family of Miltiades to that of Laciadæ.

Now Miltiades, who had been condemned to pay a fine of fifty talents and confined till payment should be made, died in prison, and Cimon, thus left a mere stripling with his sister who was a young girl and unmarried, was of no account in the city at first. He had the bad name of being dissolute and bibulous, and of taking after his grandfather Cimon, who, they say, because of his simplicity, was dubbed Coalemus, or Booby. And Stesimbratus the Thasian, who was of about Cimon’s time, says that he acquired no literary education, nor any other liberal and distinctively Hellenic accomplishment; that he lacked entirely the Attic cleverness and fluency

¹ Thuc. iv. 105.
'Αττικής δέλως ἀπηλλάχθαι, καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ πολὺ τὸ γενναῖον καὶ ἀληθὲς ἐνυπάρχειν, καὶ μᾶλλον εἶναι Πελοποννήσιον τὸ σχῆμα τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ ἀνδρός,

φαύλοι, ἀκομψοι, τὰ μέγιστ' ἁγαθῶν,
κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδειον Ὡρακλέα· ταῦτα γὰρ ἔστι τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Στησιμβροτοῦ γεγραμμένοις ἐπειπεῖν.

5 Ἔτει δὲ νέος δὲν αἰτίαν ἔσχε πλησιάζειν τῇ ἄδελφῃ. καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἄλλας τὴν 'Ελπινίκην εὐτακτὸν τινα γεγονέναι λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς Πολύγυρτον ἐξαμαρτείν τὸν ξαφνάτον· καὶ διὰ τούτο φασίν ἐν τῇ Πεισιανακτείῳ τότε καλομένην, Ποικίλη δὲ νῦν στοά, γράφοντα τὰς 481 Τριφάδας τὸ τῆς Δασίδης ποίησα πρόσωπον ἔν εἰκόνι τῆς 'Ελπινίκης. δὲ δὲ Πολύγυρτος οὐκ ἦν τῶν βαναύσων οὐδ' ἀπ' ἐργολαβίας ἔγραφε τὴν στοάν, ἀλλὰ προῖκα, φιλοτιμούμενος πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ὡς οὐ τε συγγραφεῖς ἱστοροῦσι καὶ Μελάνθιος ὁ ποιητής λέγει τὸν τρόπον τούτον.

Αὐτοῦ γὰρ δαπάνασι θεὸν ναοὺς ἀγοράν τε Κεκροπίαν κόσμησ' ἡμιθέων ἀρεταῖς.

6 εἰσὶ δ' οἱ τὴν 'Ελπινίκην οὐ κρύφα τῷ Κίμωνι, φανερῶς δὲ γημαμένην συνοικισά λέγουσιν, ἀξίου τῆς εὐγενείας υψηφίου διὰ τὴν πενίαν ἀποροῦσαν ἐπεὶ δὲ Καλλίας τῶν εὐπόρων τῆς 'Αθηναίων ἔρασθες προσήλθε τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρὸς καταδίκην ἐκτίνευν ἔτοιμος δὲν πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον, αὐτὴν τε πεισθῆναι καὶ τὸν Κίμωνα τῷ Καλλία συνοικίσαι τὴν 'Ελπινίκην.

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of speech; that in his outward bearing there was much nobility and truthfulness; that the fashion of the man's spirit was rather Peloponnesian,

"Plain, unadorned, in a great crisis brave and true," as Euripides says of Heracles, a citation which we may add to what Stesimbrrotus wrote.

While he was still a youth he was accused of improper intercourse with his sister. And indeed in other cases too they say that Elpinicé was not very decorous, but that she had improper relations also with Polygnotus the painter, and that it was for this reason that, in the Peisianacteum, as it was then called, but now the Painted Colonnade, when he was painting the Trojan women, he made the features of Laodice a portrait of Elpinicé. Now Polygnotus was not a mere artisan, and did not paint the stoa for a contract price, but gratis, out of zeal for the welfare of the city, as the historians relate, and as Melanthius the poet testifies after this fashion:—

"He at his own lavish outlay the gods' great fanes,
and the market
Named Cecropia, adorned; demigods' valour his theme."

Still, there are some who say that Elpinicé did not live with Cimon in secret intercourse, but openly rather, as his wedded wife, because, on account of her poverty, she could not get a husband worthy of her high lineage; but that when Callias, a wealthy Athenian, fell in love with her, and offered to pay into the state treasury the fine which had been imposed upon her father, she consented herself, and Cimon freely gave Elpinicé to Callias to wife.

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8 Οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ ἄλως φαίνεται τοῖς περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐρωτικοῖς οἱ Κίμων ἔνοχοι γενέσθαι, καὶ γὰρ Ἀστερίας τῷ γένει Σαλαμίνας καὶ πάλιν Μνῆστρας τινὸς ὁ ποιητὴς Μελάνθιος μνημονεύει πρὸς τὸν Κίμωνα παῖζον διὰ ἐλεγείας, ὡς σπουδαζομένων ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ. δήλος δ’ ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸς Ἰσοδίκην τὴν Εὐρυπτολέμου μὲν θυγατέρα τοῦ Μεγακλέους, κατὰ νόμους δ’ αὐτῷ συμβιβάσασαν ὁ Κίμων ἐμπαθέστερον διατεθεῖς καὶ δυσφορήσας ἀποθανούσης, εἰ τι δεῖ τεκμαίρεσθαι ταῖς γεγραμμέναις ἐπὶ παρηγορίᾳ τοῦ πένθους ἐλεγείαις πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅπως Πανάττιος ὁ φιλόσοφος οὔτε ποιητὴν γεγονέναι τὸν φυσικὸν Ἀρχέλαον, οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου τοῖς χρόνοις εἰκάζων.

V. Τὰ δ’ ἄλλα πάντα τοῦ ἠθούς ἁγαστὰ καὶ γενναία τοῦ Κίμωνος. οὔτε γὰρ τόλμη Μιλτιάδου λειτούμενος οὔτε συνέσει Θεμιστοκλέους, δικαιότερος ἀμφότερος ὁμολογεῖται γενέσθαι, καὶ ταῖς πολεμικαῖς οὐδὲ μικρὸν ἀποδέχον ἄρεταῖς ἐκεῖνων ἀμήχανον ὅσον ἐν ταῖς πολιτικαῖς ὑπερβάλλεσθαι 2 νέοι ὅπως ἐτί καὶ πολέμου ἄπειρος. οὔτε γὰρ τὸν δήμον ἐπιώτων Ἡλίδων Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπείδη προέμενον τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐκλιπόντα ἐν τῇ Σαλαμίνος ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ τὰ ὑπ’ αὐτὰ θέσθαι καὶ διαγωνίσασθαι κατὰ θάλατταν, ἐκπεπληγμένων τῶν πολλῶν τὸ τόλμημα πρῶτος Κίμων ὡφθη διὰ τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ φαινόμενον ἀνώνο μιᾷ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν μετὰ τῶν ἑταίρων ὑπ’ αὐτὸ τὴν χαλίνον ἀναθεῖναι τῇ θεῷ, διὰ χειρῶν κομίζων, ὡς οὐδέν ἰσπικής ἀλλᾶ, ἀλλὰ ναυμάχων ἀνδρῶν ἐν τῷ 3 παρόντι τῆς πόλεως δεομένης. ἀναθεῖς δ’ τῶν

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However, it is perfectly apparent that Cimon was given to the love of women. Asteria, of a Salaminian family, and a certain Mnestra are mentioned by the poet Melanthius, in a sportive elegy addressed to Cimon, as wooed and won by him. And it is clear that he was even too passionately attached to his lawful wife, Isodice, the daughter of Euryptolemus and grand-daughter of Megacles, and that he was too sorely afflicted at her death, if we may judge from the elegy addressed to him for the mitigation of his grief. This was composed by the naturalist Archelaus, as Panaetius the philosopher thinks, and his conjecture is chronologically possible.

V. All other traits of Cimon's character were admirable and noble. Neither in daring was he inferior to Miltiades, nor in sagacity to Themistocles, and it is admitted that he was a juster man than either, and that while not one whit behind them in the good qualities of a soldier, he was inconceivably their superior in those of a statesman, even when he was still young and untried in war. When the Medes made their invasion, and Themistocles was trying to persuade the people to give up their city, abandon their country, make a stand with their fleet off Salamis, and fight the issue at sea, most men were terrified at the boldness of the scheme; but lo! Cimon was first to act, and with a gay mien led a procession of his companions through the Cerameicus up to the Acropolis, to dedicate to the goddess there the horse's bridle which he carried in his hands, signifying thus that what the city needed then was not knightly prowess but sea-fighters. After he had dedicated his bridle,
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χαλινών καὶ λαβὼν ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὸν ναὸν κρεμα-
μένων ὑστίδων, καὶ προσευχάμενος τῇ θεῷ, κατέ-
βαινεν ἔπι θάλασσαν, οὐκ ὀλύνοις ἀρχῇ τοῦ
θαρρεὺν γενόμενος.

Ἡν δὲ καὶ τὴν ἰδέαν οὐ μεμπτός, ὡς Ἰων ὁ
ποιητής φησίν, ἀλλὰ μέγας, οὔλη καὶ πολλῆ
τρεχὶ κομὼν τὴν κεφαλήν. φανεῖς δὲ καὶ κατ' 
αυτὸν τὸν ἄγωνα λαμπρός καὶ ἀνδρώδης ταχὺ δό-
ζαν ἐν τῇ πόλει μετ' εὐνοίας ἐσχέν, ἀθροιζομένων
πολλῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ παρακαλοῦντων ἀξία τοῦ
4 Μαραθῶνος ἡδὲ διανοεῖσθαι καὶ πράσσειν. ὁμη-
σαντα δ' αὐτὸν ἔπει τὴν πολιτείαν ἁσμένος ὁ
dήμος ἐδέξατο, καὶ μεστὸς δὲν τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ἀνίηγε 
πρὸς 1 τὰς μεγίστας ἐν τῇ πόλει τιμᾶς καὶ
ἀρχάς, εὐάρμοστον ὑπά καὶ προσφιλῆ τοῖς πολι-
λοίς διὰ πραότητα καὶ ἀφέλειαν. οὐχ ἦκιστα δὲ
αὐτὸν ἡξήκεν Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου, τὴν
εὐφυίαν ἐνορῶν τῷ ἱπτει, καὶ ποιούμενος οἶον ἀντί-
παλον πρὸς τὴν Θεμιστοκλέους δεινότητα καὶ
tόλμαν.

VI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Μήδων φυγόντων ἐκ τῆς Ἐλ-
λάδος ἐπέμφησε στρατηγός, κατὰ θάλατταν οὕτω
τὴν ἄρχῃ Ἀθηναίων ἔχοντων, ἐτὶ δὲ Παυσανία 
tε καὶ Δακεδαιμονίους ἐπομένους, πρῶτον μὲν ἐν
ταῖς στρατείαις ἀεὶ παρέίχε τοὺς πολίτας κόσμῳ 
tε ναυμαστοὺς καὶ προθυμία πολὺ πάντων δια-
2 φέροντας: ἐπείτα Παυσανίου τοῖς μὲν 'βαρ-
ῆς διαλεγομένου περὶ προσομᾶς καὶ βασιλεί
γράφοντος ἐπιστολάς, τοῖς δὲ συμμάχοις τραχέως 
καὶ αὑθαδῶς προσφερομένου καὶ πολλὰ δι'

1 πρὸς supplied by Stephanus, and confirmed by S; Bekker
 supplied els.

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he took one of the shields which were hung up about the temple, addressed his prayers to the goddess, and went down to the sea, whereat many were first made to take heart.

He was also of no mean presence, as Ion the poet says, but tall and stately, with an abundant and curly head of hair. And since he displayed brilliant and heroic qualities in the actual struggle at Salamis, he soon acquired reputation and good will in the city. Many thronged to him and besought him to purpose and perform at once what would be worthy of Marathon. So when he entered politics the people gladly welcomed him, and promoted him, since they were full to surfeit of Themistocles, to the highest honours and offices in the city, for he was engaging and attractive to the common folk by reason of his gentleness and artlessness. But it was Aristides, son of Lysimachus, who more than any one else furthered his career, for he saw the fine features of his character, and made him, as it were, a foil to the cleverness and daring of Themistocles.

VI. After the flight of the Medes from Hellas, Cimon was sent out as a commander, before the Athenians had obtained their empire of the sea, and while they were still under the leadership of Pausanias and the Lacedaemonians. During this campaign, the citizen-soldiers he furnished on expeditions were always admirably disciplined and far more zealous than any others; and again, while Pausanias was holding treasonable conference with the Barbarians, writing letters to the King, treating the allies with harsh arrogance, and displaying much wantonness of

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1 480 B.C.  
2 478–477 B.C.
ёξουσίαν καὶ ὄγκον ἀνόητον ὑβρίζοντος, ὑπολαμβάνων πράως τοὺς ἀδικουμένους καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἐξομλών ἔλαθεν οὐ δὲ ὄπλων τὴν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἒγερμονίαν, ἄλλα λόγῳ καὶ ἱθεὶ παρελόμενοι.

3 Προσετίθεντο γὰρ οἱ πλείστοι τῶν συμμάχων ἐκεῖνῳ τε καὶ Ἀριστείδη τὴν χαλεπότητα καὶ ὑπεροψίαν τοῦ Παυσανίου μὴ φέροντες. οἱ δὲ καὶ τούτους ἀμα προσήγουσκαὶ τοὺς ἐφόροις πέμποντες ἐφραζόν, ὡς ἀδοξούσης τῆς Σπάρτης καὶ ταραττομένης τῆς Ἐλλάδος, ἀνακαλεῖν τὸν Παυσανίαν.

4 Δέγεται δὲ παρθένων τινὰ Βυζαντίαν ἐπιφανῶν γονέων, ὄνομα Κλεονίκην, ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃ τοῦ Παυσανίου μεταπεμπόμενον, τοὺς μὲν γονεῖς ἑπ' ἀνάγκης καὶ φόβου προέσθαι τὴν παῖδα, τὴν δὲ τῶν πρὸ τοῦ δωματίου δεθεισάν ἀνελέσθαι τὸ φῶς, διὰ σκότους καὶ σιωπῆς τῇ κλίνῃ προσιοῦσαν ἥδη τοῦ Παυσανίου καθεύδοντος, ἐμπεσαῖν καὶ ἀνα-

5 τρέψαι τὸ λυχνίον ἀκούσαν· τὸν δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ φόρου ταραχθέντα καὶ σπασάμενον 1 τὸ παρακεῖμενον ἐγχειρίδιον, ὡς τινὸς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐχθροῦ βαδίζοντος, πατάξαι καὶ καταβαλεῖν τὴν παρθένον, ἐκ δὲ τῆς πληγῆς ἀποθανοῦσαν αὐτὴν οὐκ ἔαν τὸν Παυσανίαν ἰσυχάζειν, ἀλλὰ νύκτωρ εἴδωλον αὐτῷ φοι-

τώσαν εἰς τὸν ὑπνον ὀργῆ λέγειν τόδε τὸ ἠρπον·

Στείχε δίκης ἄσσου· μᾶλα τοι κακὸν ἀνδράσιν ὑβρις.

ἐφ' ϕ καὶ μάλιστα χαλεπῶς ἐνεγκόντες οἱ

1 καὶ σπασάμενον with S: σπασάμενον.
power and silly pretension, Cimon received with mildness those who brought their wrongs to him, treated them humanely, and so, before men were aware of it, secured the leadership of Hellas, not by force of arms, but by virtue of his address and character. For most of the allies, because they could not endure the severity and disdain of Pausanias, attached themselves to Cimon and Aristides, who had no sooner won this following than they sent also to the Ephors and told them, since Sparta had lost her prestige and Hellas was in confusion, to recall Pausanias.

It is said that a maiden of Byzantium, of excellent parentage, Cleonicé by name, was summoned by Pausanias for a purpose that would disgrace her. Her parents, influenced by constraint and fear, abandoned their daughter to her fate, and she, after requesting the attendants before his chamber to remove the light, in darkness and silence at length drew near the couch on which Pausanias was asleep, but accidentally stumbled against the lamp-holder and upset it. Pausanias, startled by the noise, drew the dagger which lay at his side, with the idea that some enemy was upon him, and smote and felled the maiden. After her death in consequence of the blow, she gave Pausanias no peace, but kept coming into his sleep by night in phantom form, wrathfully uttering this verse:—

"Draw thou nigh to thy doom; 'tis evil for men to be wanton."

At this outrage the allies were beyond measure
σύμμαχοι μετά τοῦ Κίμωνος ἥξισαν ὑπὸ τῶν Βυζαντίων καὶ τῷ φάσματι τοῖς νεκρομαντεῖοι εἰς Ἡράκλειαν, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνακαλούμενος τῆς Κλεονίκης παρηγεῖτο τῇ ὀργῇ. ἦ δὲ εἰς ὅψιν ἔλθοντας ταχέως εἴη παύσεσθαι τοῖς κακῶν αὐτῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γενόμενοι, αἰνητομενῆ, ὡς ἔστηκε, τὴν μέλλουσαν αὐτῷ τελευτήν ταῦτα μὲν οὐχ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἱστόρηται.

VII. Κίμων δὲ, τῶν συμμάχων ἂδη προσκεκλητεὶ τοῖς αὐτῷ, στρατηγὸς εἰς Ἡράκλειν ἐπέλευσε, πυθαγορευτῶν Περσῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐνδόξους καὶ συγγενεῖς βασιλέως Ἰούνα δόλῳ παρὰ τῷ Στρυμώνι κειμένην ποταμῷ κατέχουσαν ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς περὶ τὸν τόπον ἔκεινον Ἐλλησι. πρῶτον μὲν οὐν αὐτοὺς μάχη τοὺς Πέρσας ἐνίκησε καὶ κατέκλεισεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπειτα τοὺς ὑπὲρ Στρυμώνα Θράκων, ὃθεν αὐτοῖς ἐφοίτα σῖτος, ἀναστάτους ποιῶν καὶ τὴν χώραν παραφυλάττων ἀπασαν εἰς τοσαύτην ἀπορίαν τοὺς πολεορκούμενος κατέστησεν, ὡστε Βούττην τὸν βασιλέως στρατηγὸν ἀπογίνοντα τὰ πράγματα τῇ πόλει πῦρ ἐνείναι καὶ συνεισφέρει μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων.

3 έαυτόν. οὖτω δὲ λαβὼν τὴν πόλιν ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἄξιολογον ὀψίς ὑπεντέστως τῷς ὑποκατακάλλη, τῇ χώρᾳ εὐφυεστάτην ὄψιν καὶ καλλίστην ὄψις τοῖς Ἁθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς.
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incensed, and joined Cimon in forcing Pausanias to give up the city. Driven from Byzantium, and still harassed by the phantom, as the story goes, he had recourse to the ghost-oracle of Heracleia, and summoning up the spirit of Cleonicé, besought her to forgo her wrath. She came into his presence and said that he would soon cease from his troubles on coming to Sparta, thus darkly intimating, as it seems, his impending death. At any rate, this tale is told by many.

VII. But Cimon, now that the allies had attached themselves to him, took command of them and sailed to Thrace,¹ for he heard that men of rank among the Persians and kinsmen of the King held possession of Eion, a city on the banks of the Strymon, and were harassing the Hellenes in that vicinity. First he defeated the Persians themselves in battle and shut them up in the city; then he expelled from their homes above the Strymon the Thracians from whom the Persians had been getting provisions, put the whole country under guard, and brought the besieged to such straits that Butes, the King’s general, gave up the struggle, set fire to the city, and destroyed with it his family, his treasures, and himself. And so it was that though Cimon took the city, he gained no other memorable advantage thereby, since most of its treasures had been burned up with the Barbarians; but the surrounding territory was very fertile and fair, and this he turned over to the Athenians for occupation. Wherefore the people permitted him to

¹ 476–475 B.C.
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αὐτῷ τοὺς λαθίνους ὁ δήμος ἀναθέτειν συνεχώρησεν, ὃν ἐπυγέγραπται τῷ μὲν πρῶτῳ.

4 Ἡν ἄρα κάκεινοι ταλακάρδιοι, οἳ ποτε Μήδων παισίν ἐπ' Ἡιόνι, Στρυμόνος ἀμφὶ ροὰς,

λυμὸν τ' αἰθωνα κρυερόν τ' ἐπάγοντες Ἀρην πρῶτοι δυσμενέων εὐρον ἀμηχανίην.

τῷ δὲ δευτέρῳ

Ἅγεμόνεσσι δὲ μισθὸν Ἀθηναίοι τάδ' ἔδωκαν ἀντ' εὐεργεσίας καὶ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν.

μᾶλλον τις τάδ' ἴδων καὶ ἐπεσομένων ἔθελησε ἀμφὶ περὶ ξυνὸς πράγματι δήριν ἔχειν.

5 τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ.

'Εκ ποτε τήσδε πόλησ ἀμ' Ἀτρείδησι Μενεσθείς

Ηγεῖτο ξάθεου Τρωίκων ἐς πεδίον·

ὅν ποθ' Ὀμηρος ἐφή Δαναῶν πύκα θωρηκτάων

κοσμητῆρα μάχης ἐξοχον ὄντα μολεῖν.

οὕτως οὐδὲν ἄεικες Ἀθηναίους καλεῖσθαι

κοσμηταῖς πολέμου τ' ἀμφὶ καὶ ἠνορές.

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dedicate the stone *Hermae*, on the first of which is the inscription:—

"Valorous-hearted as well were they who at Eion fighting,
Facing the sons of the Medes, Strymon's current beside,
Fiery famine arrayed, and gore-flecked Ares, against them,
Thus first finding for foes that grim exit,—despair;"

and on the second:—

"Unto their leaders reward by Athenians thus hath been given;
Benefits won such return, valorous deeds of the brave.
All the more strong at the sight will the men of the future be eager,
Fighting for commonwealth, war's dread strife to maintain;"

and on the third:—

"With the Atridae of old, from this our city, Menestheus
Led his men to the plain Trojan called and divine.
He, once Homer asserted, among well-armoured Achaeans,
Marshaller was of the fight, best of them all who had come.
Thus there is naught unseemly in giving that name to Athenians;
Marshallers they both of war and of the vigour of men."

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VIII. Ταῦτα καίπερ οὐδαμοῦ τὸ Κίμωνος ὄνομα δηλούντα τιμῆς ὑπερβολὴν ἦχει ἐδόκει τοῖς τότε ἀνθρώποις. οὔτε γὰρ Θεμιστοκλῆς τοιοῦτον τινὸς οὔτε Μιλτιάδης ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ τούτῳ γε θαλλοῦ στέφανον αἰτοῦντι Σωφάνης ὁ Δεκέλευς ἐκ μέσου τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀναστὰς ἀντείπετεν, οὐκ εὐγνώμονα μὲν, ἀρέσασαν δὲ τῷ δήμῳ τότε φωνὴν ἀφεῖς: ""Ὅταν γὰρ," ἔφη, "μόνος ἀγωνισάμενος, ὁ Μιλτιάδης, νικήσῃς τοὺς βαρ-βάρους, τότε καὶ τιμᾶσθαι μόνος ἀξίου." διὰ τὸ τούν τὸ Κίμωνος ὑπερηγάπησαν ἔργον; ἢ ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἄλλων στρατηγοῦντων ὑπέρ τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν ἡμύνοντο τοὺς πολεμίους, τούτου δὲ καὶ ποιῆσαι κακῶς ἡδυνήθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔκεινων αὐτοὶ στρατεύσαντες, καὶ προσεκτήσαντο χώρας αὐτὴν τε τὴν Ἡδώνα καὶ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν οἰκίσαντες;

3 Ὡ χεισαν δὲ καὶ Σκύρων ἐλόντος Κίμωνος ἐξ αὐτίας τοιαύτης. Δόλοπες φίκουν τὴν νῆσον, ἑργάται κακοὶ γῆς· ληψόμενοι δὲ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκ παλαιοῦ, τελευτώτες οὐδὲ τῶν εἰσπλεόντων παρ’ αὐτοὺς καὶ χρωμένων ἀπείχοντο ἔξων, ἀλλὰ Θεσπαλῶν τινὰς ἐμπόρους περὶ τὸ Κτήσιον ὀρμισαμένους συλήσαντες ἐξέβαν. ἔπει δὲ δια-δράντες ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν οἱ ἀνθρώποι δίκην κατε-δικάσαντο τῆς πόλεως Ἀμφικτυονικῆς, οὐ βουλο-μένων τὰ χρήματα τῶν πόλεων συνεκτίνειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἔνοικους καὶ διηπακότας ἀποδοῦναι κελευ-όντως, δείσαντες ἐκεῖνοι πέμπουσι γράμματα πρὸς Κίμωνα, κελεύοντες ἢκειν μετά τῶν νεὼν ληφόμενον τὴν πόλιν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐνδιδομένην.

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VIII. Although these inscriptions nowhere mentioned Cimon by name, his contemporaries held them to be a surpassing honour for him. Neither Themistocles nor Miltiades achieved any such, nay, when the latter asked for a crown of olive merely, Sophanes the Deceleian rose up in the midst of the assembly and protested. His speech was ungracious, but it pleased the people of that day. "When," said he, "thou hast fought out alone a victory over the Barbarians, then demand to be honoured alone." Why, then, were the people so excessively pleased with the achievement of Cimon? Perhaps it was because when the others were their generals they were trying to repel their enemies and so avert disaster; but when he led them they were enabled to ravage the land of their enemies with incursions of their own, and acquired fresh territories for settlement, not only Eion itself, but also Amphipolis.

They settled Scyros too, which Cimon seized for the following reason. Dolopians were living on the island, but they were poor tillers of the soil. So they practised piracy on the high sea from of old, and finally did not withhold their hands even from those who put into their ports and had dealings with them, but robbed some Thessalian merchants who had cast anchor at Ctesium, and threw them into prison. When these men had escaped from bondage and won their suit against the city at the Amphictyonic assembly, the people of Scyros were not willing to make restitution, but called on those who actually held the plunder to give it back. The robbers, in terror, sent a letter to Cimon, urging him to come with his fleet to seize the city, and they would give it up to him.
5 παραλαβὼν δ’ οὕτω τὴν νῆσον ὁ Κίμων τοὺς μὲν Δόλοπας εξῆλασε καὶ τὸν Αιγαίον ἠλευθέρωσε, πυθανόμενος δὲ τὸν παλαιὸν Θησέα τὸν Αιγέως φυγόντα μὲν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν εἰς Σκύρον, αὐτοῦ δ’ ἀποθανόντα δόλῳ διὰ φόβου ὑπὸ Δυκομήδους τοῦ
6 βασιλέως, ἐσπούδασε τὸν τάφον ἀνευρεῖν. καὶ
gὰρ ἦν χρησμὸς Ἀθηναίως τὰ Θησέως λείψανα
cελεύων ἀνακομίζειν εἰς ἄστυ καὶ τιμᾶν ὡς ἤρωα
πρεπόντως, ἀλλ’ ἤγνωσαν ὅπου κεῖται, Σκύριων
οὐχ ὀμολογούντων οὐδ’ ἐώντων ἀναζητεῖν. τότε
dὴ πολλῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ τοῦ σηκοῦ μόνης ἐξευρέθεντος,
ἐνθέμενος ὁ Κίμων εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ τριήρη τὰ ὀστὰ
καὶ τάλλα κοσμήσας μεγαλοπρεπῶς κατήγαγεν
εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ δὲ ἔτων σχεδὸν τετρακοσίων. ἐφ’
ο’ καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἥδεως ὁ δῆμος ἔσχεν.
7 Ἐθεντο δ’ εἰς μνήμην αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τῶν
τραγωδῶν κρίσιν ὅνομαστὴν γενομένην. πρώτην
gὰρ διδασκαλίαν τοῦ Σοφικλέους ἐτί νέου
καθέντος, Ἀφεφίων ὁ ἄρχων, φιλονείκιας οὐσίας
καὶ παρατάξεως τῶν θεατῶν, κριτᾶς μὲν οὐκ
ἐκλήρωσε τοῦ ἀγώνος, ὡς δὲ Κίμων μετὰ τῶν
συστρατηγῶν προελθὼν εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἐποίησατο
tῷ θεῷ τὰς νεομμισμένας σπούδας, οὐκ ἀφῆκεν
αὐτοὺς ἀπελθεῖν, ἀλλ’ ὀρκώσας ἡνύγκασε καθίσαι
καὶ κρίνατε δέκα οὕτας, ἀπὸ φυλῆς μιᾶς ἔκαστον.
8 ὁ μὲν οὖν ἄγων καὶ διὰ τὸ τῶν κριτῶν ἀξίωμα
τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ὑπερέβαλε. νικήσαντος δὲ τοῦ
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In this manner Cimon got possession of the island, drove out the Dolopians, and made the Aegean a free sea.

On learning that the ancient Theseus, son of Aegeus, had fled in exile from Athens to Scyros, but had been treacherously put to death there, through fear, by Lycomedes the king, Cimon eagerly sought to discover his grave. For the Athenians had once received an oracle bidding them bring back the bones of Theseus to the city and honour him as became a hero, but they knew not where he lay buried, since the Scyrians would not admit the truth of the story, nor permit any search to be made. Now, however, Cimon set to work with great ardour, discovered at last the hallowed spot, had the bones bestowed in his own trireme, and with general pomp and show brought them back to the hero's own country after an absence of about four hundred years. This was the chief reason why the people took kindly to him.

But they also cherished in kindly remembrance of him that decision of his in the tragic contests which became so famous. When Sophocles, still a young man, entered the lists with his first plays, Apsephion the Archon, seeing that the spirit of rivalry and partisanship ran high among the spectators, did not appoint the judges of the contest as usual by lot, but when Cimon and his fellow-generals advanced into the theatre and made the customary libation to the god, he would not suffer them to depart, but forced them to take the oath and sit as judges, being ten in all, one from each tribe. So, then, the contest, even because of the unusual dignity of the judges, was more animated than ever before. But
Σοφοκλέους λέγεται τὸν Αἰσχύλον περιπαθῆ γενόμενον καὶ βαρέως ἐνεγκόντα χρόνον οὗ πολὺν Ἀθήνας διαγαγεῖν, εἰτ' ὦχεσθαι δι' ὄργην εἰς Σικελίαν, ὦποι καὶ τελευτήσας περὶ Γέλαιν τέθαπται.

IX. Συνδειπνήσας δὲ τῷ Κίμωνι φησίν ὁ Ἰωάννης 484 παντάπασι μειράκιον ἥκων εἰς Ἀθηναῖς ἐκ Χίου παρὰ Δαμέδοτον ὑπὸ τῶν σπουδῶν γενομένων παρακληθέντος ἄσαι, καὶ ἄσαντος οὐκ ἀνδώς ἐπαινεῖν τοὺς παρόντας ὡς δεξιώτερον Θεμιστοκλέους· ἐκεῖνον γὰρ ἄδειν μὲν οὐ φάναι μαθέιν οὐδὲ κιθαρίζειν, πόλιν δὲ ποιήσαι μεγάλην καὶ 2 πλουνίαν ἐπιστατοῦσαν τοῦντεύθεν, οἷον εἰκὸς ἐν πότε, τοῦ λόγου ῥυέντος ἐπὶ τὰς πράξεις τοῦ Κίμωνος καὶ μνημονευμένων τῶν μεγίστων, αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἐν διελθείν στρατηγημά τῶν ἱδίων ὡς σοφότατον. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐκ Σηστοῦ καὶ Βυ-ζαντίου πολλοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων αἰχμαλώτων λαβόντες οἱ σύμμαχοι τῷ Κίμωνι διανείμαι προσέταξαν, ὦ δὲ χωρίς μὲν αὐτοὺς, χωρίς δὲ τὸν περὶ τοῖς σώμασι κόσμου αὐτῶν ἔθηκεν, ἢτιόντο 3 τὴν διανομὴν ὡς ἀνισον. ὦ δὲ τῶν μερίδων ἐκε- λευσθεὶς αὐτοὺς ἐλέσθαι τὴν ἐτέραν, ἢν δὲ ἀν ἐκεῖνοι καταλήψασιν, ἀγαπήσειν Ἀθηναίους. Ἡροφύτῳ δὲ τοῦ Σαμίου συμβουλεύσαντος αἱ- ρείσθαι τὰ Περσῶν μᾶλλον ἢ Πέρσας, τὸν μὲν κόσμον αὐτὸν ἐλάβον, Ἀθηναίους δὲ τοὺς αἰχμαλώ- τους ἀπέλατον. καὶ τότε μὲν ὁ Κίμων ἄπανε γελοῖος εἶναι δοκῶν διανομεύς, τῶν μὲν συμμάχων

1 παρακληθέντως, ἄσαντος Bekker corrects, after Schäfer, to paraklēthēnta, ἄσαντα.
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Sophocles came off victorious, and it is said that Aeschylus, in great distress and indignation thereat, lingered only a little while at Athens, and then went off in anger to Sicily. There he died also, and is buried near Gela.

IX. Ion says that, coming from Chios to Athens as a mere stripling, he was once a fellow-guest with Cimon at a dinner given by Laomedon, and that over the wine the hero was invited to sing, and did sing very agreeably, and was praised by the guests as a cleverer man than Themistocles. That hero, they said, declared that he had not learned to sing, nor even to play the lyre, but knew how to make a city great and rich.\(^1\) Next, Ion says, as was natural over the cups, the conversation drifted to the exploits of Cimon, and as his greatest deeds were being recounted, the hero himself dwelt at length on one particular stratagem which he thought his shrewdest. Once, he said, when the Athenians and their allies had taken many Barbarian prisoners at Sestos and Byzantium and turned them over to him for distribution, he put into one lot the persons of the captives, and into another the rich adornments of their bodies, and his distribution was blamed as unequal. But he bade the allies choose one of the lots, and the Athenians would be content with whichever one they left. So, on the advice of Herophytus the Samian to choose Persian wealth rather than Persians, the allies took the rich adornments for themselves, and left the prisoners for the Athenians. At the time Cimon came off with the reputation of being a ridiculous distributer, since

\(^1\) Cf. Themistocles, ii. 3.
Ψέλια χρυσά καὶ μανιάκας καὶ στρεπτοὺς καὶ κάνδυας καὶ πορφύραν φερομένων, τῶν δ’ Ἀθηναίων γυμνὰ σώματα κακῶς Ἰσκημένα πρὸς ἔργασίαν παραλαβόντων. μικρὸν δὲ ὑπερούν οἱ τῶν ἕαλωκότων φίλοι καὶ οἰκεῖοι καταβαίνοντες ἐκ Φρυγίας καὶ Λυδίας ἐλυτροῦντο μεγάλων χρημάτων ἐκαστον, ὡστε τῷ Κύμωνι τεσσάρων μυρῶν τροφᾶς εἰς τὰς ναὸς ὑπάρξαι καὶ προσετὶ τῇ πόλει χρυσίον οὐκ ὀλίγον ἐκ τῶν λύτρων περιγενέσθαι.

Χ. "Ηδη δ’ εὐπορῶν ὁ Κύμων ἐφόδια τῆς στρατηγίας ἀ καλῶς ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἐδοξεῖν ὁφελήσθαι κάλλιον ἀνήλισκεν εἰς τοὺς πολίτας. τῶν τε γὰρ ἁγρῶν τοὺς φραγμοὺς ἄφειλεν, ἵνα καὶ τοῖς ξένοις καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τοῖς δεμένοις ἁδεῶς ὑπάρχῃ λαμβάνειν τῆς ὄστρακας, καὶ δεῖπνον οἶκοι παρ’ αὐτῷ λιτὸν μὲν, ἄρκουν δὲ πολλοῖς, ἐποιεῖτο καθ’ ἠμέραν, ἐφ’ ὑ τῶν πενήτων ὁ βουλόμενος εἰςήσει καὶ διατροφὴν εἰς ἐκέχει ἀπράγια μονα, μόνοις τοῖς δημοσίοις σχολάζων. ὡς δ’ Ἀριστοτέλης φησίν, οὐχ ἀπάντων Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλὰ τῶν δημοτῶν αὐτοῦ Δακιαδῶν παρεσκευάζετο τῷ βουλομένῳ τὸ δείπνον. αὐτῷ δὲ νεανίσκοι παρείπουντο συνήθεις ἀμπεχόμενοι καλῶς, ὅν ἐκαστος, εἰ τις συντύχοι τῷ Κύμωνι τῶν ἀστῶν πρεσβύτερος ἡμφιεσμένος ἐνδεώς, διημείβετο πῶς αὐτὸν τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ τὸ γυμνόμενον ἐφαίνετο

3 σεμνόν. οἱ δ’ αὐτοὶ καὶ νόμισμα κομίζοντες ἀφθονον παριστάμενοι τοῖς κομψοῖς τῶν πενήτων ἐν ἄγορᾷ σιωπῇ τῶν κερματίων ἐνέβαλλον εἰς
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the allies had their gold anklets and armlets and collars and jackets and purple robes to display, while the Athenians got only naked bodies ill-trained for labour. But a little while after, the friends and kinsmen of the captives came down from Phrygia and Lydia and ransomed every one of them at a great price, so that Cimon had four months' pay and rations for his fleet, and besides that, much gold from the ransoms was left over for the city.

X. And since he was already wealthy, Cimon lavished the revenues from his campaign, which he was thought to have won with honour from the enemy, to his still greater honour, on his fellow-citizens. He took away the fences from his fields, that strangers and needy citizens might have it in their power to take fearlessly of the fruits of the land; and every day he gave a dinner at his house,—simple, it is true, but sufficient for many, to which any poor man who wished came in, and so received a maintenance which cost him no effort and left him free to devote himself solely to public affairs. But Aristotle says \(^1\) that it was not for all Athenians, but only for his own demesmen, the Laciadae, that he provided a free dinner. He was constantly attended by young comrades in fine attire, each one of whom, whenever an elderly citizen in needy array came up, was ready to exchange raiment with him. The practice made a deep impression. These same followers also carried with them a generous sum of money, and going up to poor men of finer quality in the market-place, they would quietly thrust small change into their hands. To such generosity as this

\(^1\) Const. of Athens, xxvii. 3.
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tās χεῖρας. ὤν δὴ καὶ Κρατίνος ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν Ἀρχιλόχου ἔοικε μεμνήσθαι διὰ τούτων.

4 ᾧ πάντων ἦσθε Μητρόβιος ὁ γραμματεὺς 
οὐν ἄνδρι θείῳ καὶ φιλοξενωτάτῳ 
καὶ πάντες ἀριστοὶ τῶν Πανελλήνων πρὸ τοῦ 
Κίμωνος λυπάρον γῆρας εὐωχούμενος 
αἰῶνα πάντα συνδιατρύπειν. ὦ δὲ 
λπῶν βέβηκε πρότερος.

5 οἴονυν Γοργίας μὲν ὁ Δεοντινός φησὶ τοῦ 
Κίμωνος τὰ χρήματα κτάσθαι μὲν ὡς χρῆτο, 
χρῆσθαι δὲ ὡς τιμῆσθο, Κριτίας δὲ τῶν τριάκοντα 
γενόμενοι ἐν ταῖς ἐλεγείαις εὐχέται:

Πλούτων μὲν Σκοπαδῶν, μεγαλοφροσύνην δὲ 
Κίμωνος, 
νίκας δ’ Ἀρκεσίλα τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου.

Καίτοι Λήχαν γε τῶν Σπαρτιάτην ἀπ’ οὐδενὸς 
ἀλλού γινώσκομεν ἐν τοῖς Ἐλληνος ὁμομαστὸν 
γενόμενοι ἢ ὅτι τοὺς ξένους ἐν ταῖς γυμνοπαιδίαις 485 
ἐδείπνιζεν: ἢ δὲ Κίμωνος ἀφθονία καὶ τὴν 
palaiαν τῶν Ἀθηναίων φιλοξειαν καὶ φιλαν-
6 θρωπίαν ὑπερβάλετο. οἱ μὲν γάρ, ἐφ’ οἷς οὐ 
πόλεις μέγα φρονεί δικαίως, τὸ τε σπέρμα τῆς 
τροφῆς εἰς τοὺς Ἐλληνας ἐξέδωκαν ὑδάτων τε 
πηγαίων . . . . 1 καὶ πυρὸς ἑνανυσίν χρῆσουσι 
ἄνθρωποις ἐδίδαξα, 2 ὦ δὲ τὴν μὲν οἰκίαν τοῖς 
pολίταις πρυτανείοις ἀποδέξας κοινὸν, ἐν δὲ 
τῇ χώρᾳ καρπῶν ἑτοίμων ἀπαρχὰς καὶ ὅσα 
ἀξιαὶ καλὰ φέρουσι χρῆσθαι καὶ λαμβάνειν 
ἀπαντα τοῖς ξένοις παρέχων, τρόπον τινα τὴν ἐπὶ

1 The lacuna can only be conjecturally filled.
2 ἐδίδαξα Bekker corrects, with Schäfer, to ἔδειξαν.

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Cratinus seems to have referred in his Archilochi, with the words:

"Yes, I too hoped, Metrobius, I, the public scribe, along with man divine, the rarest host that lives, in every way the best of all Hellenic men, with Cimon, feasting out in joy a sleek old age, to while away the remnant of my life. But he has gone before and left me."

And again, Georgias the Leontine says that Cimon made money that he might spend it, and spent it that he might be honoured for it. And Critias, one of the thirty tyrants, prays in his elegies that he may have "the wealth of the Scopadae, the great-mindedness of Cimon, and the victories of Arcesilaus of Lacedaemon."

And yet we know that Lichias the Spartan became famous among the Hellenes for no other reason than that he entertained the strangers at the boys' gymnastic festival; but the generosity of Cimon surpassed even the hospitality and philanthropy of the Athenians of olden time. For they—and their city is justly very proud of it—spread abroad among the Hellenes the sowing of grain and the lustral uses of spring waters, and taught mankind who knew it not the art of kindling fire. But he made his home in the city a general public residence for his fellow citizens, and on his estates in the country allowed even the stranger to take and use the choicest of the ripened fruits, with all the fair things which the seasons bring. Thus, in a certain fashion, he
Κρόνου μυθολογουμένη κοινωνίαν εἰς τὸν βίον 7 αὖθις κατηγευ. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα κολακείαν ὥχλου καὶ δημαγωγίαν εἶναι διαβάλλοντες ὑπὸ τῆς ἄλλης ἐξηλέγχοντο τοῦ ἀνδρὸς προαιρέσεως ἀριστοκρατικῆς καὶ Δακωνικῆς οὕσης, ὃς γε καὶ Θεμιστοκλεῖ πέρα τοῦ δεόντος ἐπαιροῦντι τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἀντέβαινε μετ' Ἀριστείδου, καὶ πρὸς Ἐφιάλτην ὕστερον χάριτι τοῦ δήμου καταλύοντα τὴν ἔξ 8 Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆν διηνέχθη, λημμάτων δὲ δημοσίων τοὺς ἄλλους πλὴν Ἀριστείδου καὶ Ἐφιάλτου πάντας ἀναπιμπλαμένους ὅρων, αὐτὸν ἀδεκαστὸν καὶ ἄθικτον ἐκ τῇ πολιτείᾳ δωροδοκίας καὶ πάντα προίκα καὶ καθαρῶς πράττοντα καὶ λέγοντα διὰ τέλους παρέσχε.

Δέγεται γε τοῦ Ροισάκην τινὰ βάρβαρον ἀποστάτην βασιλέως ἔλθειν μετὰ χρημάτων πολλῶν eἰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ σπαραττόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν συνοφρυτῶν καταφυγεῖν πρὸς Κίμωνα, καὶ θείαι παρὰ τὴν αὐχενίαν αὐτοῦ φιάλας δύο, τὴν μὲν ἀργυρίων ἐμπλησάμενον Δαρείκων, τὴν δὲ χρυσῶν’ ἰδόντα δὲ τὸν Κίμωνα καὶ μειδίασαντα 9 πυθέσθαι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, πότερον αἱρεῖται Κίμωνα μισθωτὸν ἢ φίλον ἔχειν ποῦ δὲ φήσαντος φίλον “Οὐκοῦν,” φάναι, “ταῦτ’ ἄπιθι μετὰ σεαυτοῦ κομίζων χρήσομαι γάρ αὐτοῖς ὅταν δέωμαι φίλος γενόμενος. XI. Ἐπεί δ’ οἱ σύμμαχοι τοὺς φόρους μὲν ἐτέλουν, ἀνδρὰς δὲ καὶ ναύς ὡς ἔταχθησαν οὐ παρείχουν, ἀλλ’ ἀπαγορεύοντες ἢ ἕρχος πρὸς τὰς στρατείας, καὶ πολέμου μὲν οὐδὲν δεόμενοι, γεωργεῖν δὲ καὶ ξῆν καθ’ ἱσυχίαν ἐπιθυμοῦντες, ἀπηλλαγμένων τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ μὴ διοχλοῦν- 436
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restored to human life the fabled communism of the age of Cronus,—the golden age. Those who slanderously said that this was flattery of the rabble and demagogic art in him, were refuted by the man's political policy, which was aristocratic and Laconian. He actually opposed Themistocles when he exalted the democracy unduly, as Aristides also did. Later on he took hostile issue with Ephialtes, who, to please the people, tried to dethrone the Council of the Areiopagus; and though he saw all the rest except Aristides and Ephialtes filling their purses with the gains from their public services, he remained unbought and unapproached by bribes, devoting all his powers to the state, without recompense and in all purity, through to the end.

It is told, indeed, that one Rhoesaces, a Barbarian who had deserted from the King, came to Athens with large moneys, and being set upon fiercely by the public informers, fled for refuge to Cimon, and deposited at his door two platters, one filled with silver, the other with golden Darics. Cimon, when he saw them, smiled, and asked the man whether he preferred to have Cimon as his hireling or his friend, and on his replying, "As my friend," "Well then," said Cimon, take this money with thee and go thy way, for I shall have the use of it when I want it if I am thy friend."

XI. The allies continued to pay their assessments, but did not furnish men and ships according to allotment, since they were soon weary of military service, and had no need of war, but a great desire to till their land and live at their ease. The Barbarians were gone and did not harass them, so they neither
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tων, οὕτε τὰς ναϊς ἐπλήρουν οὔτ' ἄνδρας ἀπεστελλον, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων προσηναγκαζον αὐτοὺς ταῦτα ποιεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἐλλειποντας ὑπάγοντες δίκαιοι καὶ κολάζοντες 2 ἑπαχθῆ τὴν ἁρχὴν καὶ λυπηρὰν ἔποιον, Κίμων δὲ τὴν ἐωτίαν ὄδον ἐν τῇ στρατηγίᾳ πορευόμενος βιον μὲν οὐδεὶς τῶν Ἑλλήνων προσήγημεν, χρήματα δὲ λαμβάνων παρὰ τῶν οὐ βουλομένων στρατεύεσθαι καὶ ναῦς κενάς, ἐκεῖνοι εἰς δελεαξομένους τῇ σχολῇ περὶ τὰ οίκεια διατράβειην, γεωργοὺς καὶ χρηματιστάς ἀπολέμουσές ἐκ πολεμικῶν ὑπὸ τρυφῆς καὶ ἄνοιας γινομένους, τῶν δ’ Ἀθηναίων ἀνὰ μέρος πολλοὺς ἐμβιβάζουν καὶ διαποιητές ταῖς στρατεύισι ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ τοῖς παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων μισθοῖς καὶ χρήμασι δεσπό-3 τας αὐτῶν τῶν διδόντων ἐποίησε. πλέοντας γὰρ αὐτοὺς συνεχῶς καὶ διὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντας ἀεὶ τὰ ὀπλα καὶ τρεφομένους καὶ ἀσκοῦντας ἐκ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀστρατείας 1 ἐθισθέντες φοβεῖσθαι καὶ κολακεύειν, ἔλαθον ἀντὶ συμμάχων ὑποτελεῖς καὶ δοῦλοι γεγονότες.

XII. Καὶ μὴν αὐτοῦ γε τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως οὐδεὶς ἐταπείνωσε καὶ συνέστειλε τὸ φρόνημα μᾶλλον ἢ Κίμων. οὐ γὰρ ἄνηκεν εἴ τῆς Ἑλλαδός ἀπηλλαγμένου, ἀλλ’ ὅστερ ἐκ ποδῶν διώκων, πρὶν διαπνεύσαι καὶ στήναι τοὺς βαρβάρους, τὰ μὲν ἐπόρθει καὶ κατεστρέφετο, τὰ δὲ ἄφιστη καὶ προσήγητο τοῖς Ἑλλησσίων, ὡς τὴν ἀπ’ Ἰωνίας Ἀσίαν ἀχρὶ Παμφυλίας παντάπασι

1 ἀστρατείας the correction of Reiske, adopted by Sintenis and Bekker. The MSS., including S, have ἀστρατείας, which must be referred to the Athenians. So Coræs.
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manned their ships nor sent out soldiers. The rest of the Athenian generals tried to force them to do this, and by prosecuting the delinquents and punishing them, rendered their empire burdensome and vexatious. But Cimon took just the opposite course when he was general, and brought no compulsion to bear on a single Hellene, but accepted money from those who did not wish to go out on service, and ships without crews, and so suffered the allies, caught with the bait of their own ease, to stay at home and become tillers of the soil and unwarlike merchants instead of warriors, and all through their foolish love of comfort. On the other hand, he made great numbers of the Athenians man their ships, one crew relieving another, and imposed on them the toil of his expeditions, and so in a little while, by means of the very wages which they got from the allies, made them lords of their own paymasters. For those who did no military service became used to fearing and flattering those who were continually voyaging, and for ever under arms and training, and practising, and so, before they knew it, they were tributary subjects instead of allies.

XII. And surely there was no one who humbled the Great King himself, and reduced his haughty spirit, more than Cimon. For he did not let him go quietly away from Hellas, but followed right at his heels, as it were, and before the Barbarians had come to a halt and taken breath, he sacked and overthrew here, or subverted and annexed to the Hellenes there, until Asia from Ionia to Pamphylia was
2 Περσικῶν ὁπλῶν ἐρημώσαι. πυθόμενος δὲ τοὺς βασιλέως στρατηγούς μεγάλῳ στρατῷ καὶ ναυσὶ τὸν πολλὰις ἐφεδρεύειν περὶ Παμφυλίαν, καὶ βουλομένος αὐτῶς ἄπλουν καὶ ἀνέμβατον ὅλως ὑπὸ φῶς τὴν ἐντὸς Χελιδονίων ποιήσασθαι θάλατταν, ὄρμησεν ἄρας ἀπὸ Κυίδου καὶ Τρισίππου διακοσίαις τριήρεις, πρὸς μὲν τάχος ἀπὸ ἀρχής καὶ περιαγωγὴν ὑπὸ Θεμιστοκλέους ἀριστα κατεσκευασμέναις, ἐκεῖνος δὲ τὸ τε καὶ πλατυτέρας ἐποίησεν αὐτὸς καὶ διάβασεν τοὺς καταστρώμασιν ἔδωκεν, ὡς ἄν ὑπὸ πολλῶν ὀπλιτῶν μαχιμώτεραι

3 προσφέροντο τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἐπιπλεύσας δὲ τῇ πόλει τῶν Φασηλίτων, Ἑλλήνων μὲν ὄντων, οὓς δεχομένων δὲ τὸν στόλον οὐδὲ βουλομένων ἀφιστάσθαι βασιλέως, τὴν τε χώραν κακῶς ἐποίει καὶ προσέβαλλε τοὺς τείχεσιν. οἱ δὲ Χίοι συμπλέοντες αὐτῷ, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Φασηλίτας ἐκ παλαιοῦ φιλικῶς ἔχοντες, ἀμα μὲν τὸν Κίμωνα κατεπράψιν, ἀμα δὲ τοξεύοντες ὑπὲρ τὰ τείχη βιβλίδια προσκείμενα τοῖς οἰστοῖς ἐξήγγελλον

4 τοῖς Φασηλίταις. τέλος δὲ διήλθαξεν1 αὐτοῖς, ὅπως δέκα τάλαντα δόντες ἀκολουθῶσι καὶ συ- στατεύσωσι ἐπί τοὺς βαρβάρους.

Ἔφορος μὲν οὖν Τιθραύστην φησὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν νεῶν ἀρχεῖν καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ Φερενδάτην, Καλλισθένης δὲ Ἄριομάνδην τὸν Γωβρίου κυριό- τατον ὄντα τῆς δυνάμεως παρὰ τὸν Εὐρυμέδοντα ταῖς ναυσὶ παρομεῖν, οὔτε ἄντα μάχεσθαι τοῖς Ἑλλησι πρόθυμον, ἀλλὰ προσδεχόμενον ὅγδοηκοντα ναῦς Φοινίσσας ἀπὸ Κύπρου προσπλε-

1 διήλθαξεν Coraës and Bekker have διήλθαξαν, as does S, referring to the Chians as reconciling the two hostile parties.
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entirely cleared of Persian arms. Learning that the generals of the King were lurking about Pamphylia with a great army and many ships, and wishing to make them afraid to enter at all the sea to the west of the Chelidonian isles, he set sail from Cnidus and Triopium\(^1\) with two hundred triremes. These vessels had been from the beginning very well constructed for speed and manoeuvring by Themistocles; but Cimon now made them broader, and put bridges between their decks, in order that with their numerous hoplites they might be more effective in their onsets. Putting in at Phaselis, which was a Hellenic city, but refused to admit his armament or even to abandon the King’s cause, he ravaged its territory and assaulted its walls. But the Chians, who formed part of his fleet and were of old on friendly terms with the people of Phaselis, laboured to soften Cimon’s hostility, and at the same time, by shooting arrows over the walls with little documents attached, they conveyed messages of their success to the men of Phaselis. So finally Cimon made friends with them on condition that they should pay ten talents and join him in his expedition against the Barbarians.

Now Ephorus says that Tithraustes was commander of the royal fleet, and Pherendates of the infantry; but Callisthenes says that it was Arimandes, the son of Gobryas, who, as commander-in-chief of all the forces, lay at anchor with the fleet off the mouth of the Eurymedon, and that he was not at all eager to fight with the Hellenes, but was waiting for eighty Phoenician ships to sail up from

\(^1\) About 467 B.C.
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5 σύνας. ταύταις φθιναὶ βουλόμενος ὁ Κίμων ἀνήχθη, βιάζεσθαι παρεσκευασμένος, ἀν ἐκόντες μὴ ναυμαχῶσιν. οἱ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν, ὡς μὴ βιασθείν, εἰς τῶν ποταμῶν εἰσωρμίσαντο, προσφερόμενοι δὲ τῶν Ἄθηναίων ἀντεξέπλευσαν, ὡς ἰστορεῖ Φανόδημος, ἔξκασσίαις ναυσίν, ὡς δ’ Ἐφορος, πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίαις. ἔργον δὲ κατὰ γοῦν τὴν θάλασσαν οὐδὲν ὕπ’ αὐτῶν ἐπράξασθι τῆς δυνάμεως ἄξιον, ἀλλ’ εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀποστρέφοντες ἔξεπιπτον οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ κατέφευγον εἰς τὸ πεζὸν ἐγγὺς παρατεταγμένοιν, οἱ δὲ καταλαμβανόμενοι διεθείροντο μετὰ τῶν νεών. ὁ καὶ δῆλον ἔστων, ὅτι πάμπολλα τινες αἱ πεπληρομέναι τοῖς βαρβάροις νῆσες ἦσαν, ὅτε πολλῶν μὲν, ὡς εἰκός, ἐκφυγούσῶν, πολλῶν δὲ συντριβεσῶν, ὁμοὶ αἰχμαλώτους διακοσίας ἔλαβον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι.

XIII. Τῶν δὲ πεζῶν ἐπικαταβάντων πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν μέγα μὲν ἔργον ἐφαίνετο τῷ Κίμωνι τῷ βιάζεσθαι τῇ ἀπόβασιν καὶ κεκμηκότας ἀκμής καὶ πολλαπλασίοις ἐπάγειν τοὺς Ἔλληνας, ὡμοὶ δὲ ῥώμης καὶ φρονήματι τοῦ κρατεῖν ὀρῶν ἐπηρμένους καὶ προθύμους ὀμόσε χωρεῖν τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἀπεβίβαζε τοὺς ὑπόληπτος ὑπὸ τὸ κατὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν ἀγώνες μετὰ 2 κραυγῆς καὶ δρόμου προσφερόμενος. ὑποστάντων δὲ τῶν Περσῶν καὶ δεξαμένων ὡς ἄγεννός κρατερὰ μάχῃ συνέστηκα καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἄνδρες ἄγαθοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀξιώμασι πρῶτοι καὶ διαπρεπεῖς ἔπεσον. πολλῷ δ’ ἄγων τρεψάμενοι.
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Cyprus. Wishing to anticipate their arrival, Cimon put out to sea, prepared to force the fighting if his enemy should decline an engagement. At first the enemy put into the river, that they might not be forced to fight; but when the Athenians bore down on them there, they sailed out to meet them. They had six hundred ships, according to Phanodemos; three hundred and fifty, according to Ephorus. Whatever the number, nothing was achieved by them on the water which was worthy of such a force, but they straightway put about and made for shore, where the foremost of them abandoned their ships and fled for refuge to the infantry which was drawn up near by; those who were overtaken were destroyed with their ships. Whereby also it is plain that the Barbarian ships which went into action were very numerous indeed, since, though many, of course, made their escape and many were destroyed, still two hundred were captured by the Athenians.

XIII. When the enemy's land forces marched threateningly down to the sea, Cimon thought it a vast undertaking to force a landing and lead his weary Hellenes against an unwearied and many times more numerous foe. But he saw that his men were exalted by the impetus and pride of their victory, and eager to come to close quarters with the Barbarians, so he landed his hoplites still hot with the struggle of the sea-fight, and they advanced to the attack with shouts and on the run. The Persians stood firm and received the onset nobly, and a mighty battle ensued, wherein there fell brave men of Athens who were foremost in public office and eminent. But after a long struggle the Athenians
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toûs βαρβάρους ἐκτείνον, εἶτα ἦρουν αὐτοῦς τε καὶ σκηνᾶς παντοδαπῶν χρημάτων γεμοῦσας.
3 Κύμων δ’ ὁσπερ ἀθλητής δεινός ἠμέρα μιᾷ δύο καθηρηκὼς ἀγωνίσματα, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι πεζομαχία, τὸ δ’ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς ναυμαχίᾳ παρεληλυθὼς τρόπαιον, ἐπηγωγότατο ταῖς νίκαις, καὶ τὰς ὁγδοηκούντα Φοινίσσας τριήμερις, αἰ τῆς μάχης ἀπελεύθησαν."Τὸρφ προσβεβληκέναι πυθόμενοι διὰ τάχους ἔπλευσαν, οὐδὲν εἰδότων βέβαιον ὤντω περὶ τῆς μείζονος δυνάμεως τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἀλλὰ δυσπίστως ἔτι καὶ 4 μετεώρως ἑχόντων ἦ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐκπλαγέντες ὑπώλεσαν τὰς ναίς ἀπάσας, καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι συνδιεφθάρθησαν. τοῦτο τὸ ἐργον ὦτως ἐταπείνωσε τὴν γνώμην τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡστε συνθέραται τὴν περιβόττων εἰρήνην ἔκεινην, 487 ἱπποὺ μὲν δρόμον ἐάν τῇς Ἑλληνικῆς ἀπέχειν θαλάσσης, ἐνδοὺ δὲ Κυανέων καὶ Χελιδονίων μακρὰ ὑπὶ καὶ χαλκεμβόλῳ μὴ πλέειν.
5 Καίτοι Καλλισθένης οὐ φησὶ ταῦτα συνθέσατι τῶν βάρβαρον, ἐργοὶ δὲ ποιεῖν διὰ φόβον τῆς ἠττησι ἐκείνης, καὶ μακρὰν ὦτως ἀποστήναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἡστε πεντήκοντα ναυσὶ Πειρικλέα καὶ τριάκοντα μόναις Ἑφιάλτῃ ἐπέκειναι πλεύσαι Χελιδονίων καὶ μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ναυτικὸν ἀπαντήσαι 6 παρὰ τῶν βαρβάρων. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν, ἄ συνήγαγε Κρατερός, ἀντίγραφα συνθηκῶν ὡς γενομένων κατατέτακται. φασὶ δὲ καὶ βωμὸν

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routed the Barbarians with slaughter, and then captured them and their camp, which was full of all sorts of treasure.

But Cimon, though like a powerful athlete he had brought down two contests in one day, and though he had surpassed the victory of Salamis with an infantry battle, and that of Plataea with a naval battle, still went on competing with his own victories. Hearing that the eighty Phoenician triremes which were too late for the battle had put in at Hydrus, he sailed thither with all speed, while their commanders as yet knew nothing definite about the major force, but were still in distrustful suspense. For this reason they were all the more panic-stricken at his attack, and lost all their ships. Most of their crews were destroyed with the ships. This exploit so humbled the purpose of the King that he made the terms of that notorious peace, by which he was to keep away from the Hellenic sea-coast as far as a horse could travel in a day, and was not to sail west of the Cyanean and Chelidonian isles with armoured ships of war.

And yet Callisthenes denies that the Barbarian made any such terms, but says he really acted as he did through the fear which that victory inspired, and kept so far aloof from Hellas that Pericles with fifty, and Ephialtes with only thirty, ships sailed beyond the Chelidonian isles without encountering any navy of the Barbarians. But in the decrees collected by Craterus there is a copy of the treaty in its due place, as though it had actually been made. And they say that the Athenians

1 Hydrus is the name in the Mss., but no such place is known. Syedra is the most probable correction.
εἰρήνης διὰ ταῦτα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἱδρύσασθαι, καὶ Καλλίαν τὸν πρεσβεύσαντα τιμῆσι διαφέρόντως.

Πραθέντων δὲ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων λαφύρων εἰς τὰ ἄλλα χρήματιν ὁ δήμος ἔρρωσθε, καὶ τῇ ἀκροπόλει τὸ νότιον τείχος κατεσκεύασεν ἀπ' ἑκείνης εὐπορίας τῆς στρατείας. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τῶν μακρῶν τείχῶν, ἢ σκέλη καλούσι, συντελεσθῆναι μὲν ὑπερτοῦν τὴν οἰκοδομίαν, τὴν δὲ πρώτην θεμελίωσιν εἰς τόπους ἑλώδεις καὶ διαβρόχους τῶν ἄργων ἐμπεσόντων ἐρεισθῆναι διὰ Κίμωνος ἠσφαλῶς, χάλκικες πολλῆς καὶ λίθως βαρέσι τῶν ἑλών πεσθέντων, ἑκείνου χρήματα πορίζοντος καὶ διδόντος. πρῶτος δὲ ταῖς λεγομέναις ἐλευθερίαις καὶ γλαφυραῖς διατριβαῖς, ἡ μικρὸν ὑπερφυώς ἡγαπήθησαν, ἐκαλλώπισε τὸ ἀστυ, τὴν μὲν ἄγορὰν πλατάνους καταφυτεύσας, τὴν δ' Ἀκαδήμειαν ἐξ ἀνύδρου καὶ αὐχμηρᾶς κατάρρυτον ἀποδέιξας ἄλσος ἱσκημένου ὑπ' ἀυτοῦ ὁδόμοις καθαροῖς καὶ συσκεύοις περιπάτοις.

XIV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Περσῶν τινας οὐκ ἐβούλωτο τὴν Χιλικτηνοῦν ἐκλιπτεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς Θράκας ἀνωθεν ἐπεκαλοῦντο καταφρονοῦντες τοῦ Κίμωνος μετ' ὀλίγων παυτάπασι τριήρων Ἀθηναῖν ἔπετεξεντάς, ὡρμήσας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τέσσαρις μὲν ναυσὶ τρίςκαίδεκα τὰς ἑκείνους ἔλαβεν, ἐξελάσας δὲ τοὺς Πέρσας καὶ κρατήσας τῶν Θρακίων πᾶσαν φιλεώσατο τῇ πόλει τὴν Χιλικτηνοῦν.

2 ἐκ δὲ τούτοις Ἡσίους μὲν ὑποστάντας Ἀθηναίων καταναμαχήσας τρεῖς καὶ τριάκοντα ναῦς ἔλαβε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐξετειλόρκησε καὶ τὰ χρυσεῖα τὰ
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also built the altar of Peace to commemorate this event, and paid distinguished honours to Callias as their ambassador.

By the sale of the captured spoils the people was enabled to meet various financial demands, and especially it constructed the southern wall of the Acropolis with the generous resources obtained from that expedition. And it is said that, though the building of the long walls, called "legs," was completed afterwards, yet their first foundations, where the work was obstructed by swamps and marshes, were stayed up securely by Cimon, who dumped vast quantities of rubble and heavy stones into the swamps, meeting the expenses himself. He was the first to beautify the city with the so-called "liberal" and elegant resorts which were so excessively popular a little later, by planting the market-place with plane trees, and by converting the Academy from a waterless and arid spot into a well watered grove, which he provided with clear running-tracks and shady walks.

XIV. Now there were certain Persians who would not abandon the Chersonese, but called in Thracians from the North to help them, despising Cimon, who had sailed out from Athens with only a few triremes all told. But he sallied out against them with his four ships and captured their thirteen, drove out the Persians, overwhelmed the Thracians, and turned the whole Chersonese over to his city for settlement. And after this, when the Thasians were in revolt from Athens, he defeated them in a sea-fight, captured thirty-three of their ships, besieged and took their city, acquired their gold mines

1 466 B.C.  2 465 B.C.

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πέραν Ἀθηναίοις προσεκτήσατο καὶ χώραν, ἦς ἐπήρχον Θάσιοι, παρέλαβεν.

'Εκείθεν δὲ ῥαδίως ἐπιβήναι Μακεδονίας καὶ πολλήν ἀποτεμέσθαι παρασχόν, ὡς ἔδοκε, μὴ θελήσας αὐτίαν ἐσχα δῶροι ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρου συμπεπείσθαι, καὶ δίκην ἐφυγε τῶν 3 ἕχθρῶν συστάντων ἐπ’ αὐτόν. ἀπολογούμενος δὲ πρὸς τοὺς δικαστὰς ὡς Ἰώνων ἔφη προξενεῖν οὔδε Θεσσαλῶν, πλουσίων ὄντων, ὡσπερ ἐτέρους, ἵνα θεραπεύσωται καὶ λαμβάνωσιν, ἀλλὰ Δακεδαιμονίων, μμοῦμενος καὶ ἀγαπῶν τὴν παρ’ αὐτοῖς εὐτέλειαν καὶ σωφροσύνην, ἡς οὐδένα προτιμᾷ πλούτων, ἀλλὰ πλούτιζων ὑπὸ τῶν πο- 4 λεμῶν τὴν πόλιν ἀγάλλεσθαι. μνησθεῖς δὲ τῆς κρίσεως ἐκείνης ὁ Στησίμβροτος φησὶ τὴν Ἐλπινίκην ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κίμωνος δεομένην ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας τοῦ Περικλέους (οὗτος γὰρ ἦν τῶν κατηγόρων ὁ σφοδρότατος), τὸν δὲ μειδιάσαντα “Γραῦς εἰ,” φανεί, “γραῦς, ὡς Ἐλπινίκη, ὡς τηλικαίτα διαπράττεσθαι πρώγματα,” πλην ἐν γε τῇ δίκῃ πραξώτατον γενέσθαι τῷ Κίμωνι καὶ πρὸς τὴν κατηγορίαν ἀπαξ ἀναστήναι μόνον, ὡσπερ ἀφοσιομενον.

XV. 'Εκείνην μὲν οὖν ἀπέφυγε τὴν δίκην· ἐν δὲ τῇ λοιπῇ πολιτείᾳ παρὼν μὲν ἐκράτει καὶ συνε- στελλὼς τὸν δήμον ἐπιβαίνοντα τοῖς ἀρίστοις καὶ περισσῶντα τὴν πάσαν εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἄρχην καὶ δύνα- μιν· ὡς δὲ πάλιν ἐπὶ στρατεύαν ἐξέπλευε, τελέως ἀνεθέντες οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ συγκέαντες τὸν καθεστῶ- 488 τα τῆς πολιτείας κόσμον τὰ τε πάτρια νόμιμα, οἷς
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on the opposite mainland for Athens, and took possession of the territory which the Thasians controlled there.

From this base he had a good opportunity, as it was thought, to invade Macedonia and cut off a great part of it, and because he would not consent to do it, he was accused of having been bribed to this position by King Alexander, and was actually prosecuted, his enemies forming a coalition against him. In making his defence before his judges he said he was no proxenus of rich Ionians and Thessalians, as others were, to be courted and paid for their services, but rather of Lacedaemonians, whose temperate simplicity he lovingly imitated, counting no wealth above it, but embellishing the city with the wealth which he got from the enemy. In mentioning this famous trial Stesimbrotus says that Elpinice came with a plea for Cimon to the house of Pericles, since he was the most ardent accuser, and that he smiled and said, “Too old, too old, Elpinice, to meddle with such business.” But at the trial he was very gentle with Cimon, and took the floor only once in accusation of him, as though it were a mere formality.

XV. Well then, Cimon was acquitted at this trial. And during the remainder of his political career, when he was at home, he mastered and constrained the people in its onsets upon the nobles, and in its efforts to wrest all office and power to itself; but when he sailed away again on military service, the populace got completely beyond control. They confounded the established political order of things and the ancestral practices which they had formerly

1 463 B.C. 2 462 B.C. See chap. xvii

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2 ἑχρῶντο πρότερον, Ἑφίαλτου προεστῶτος ἀφείλοντο τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλής τὰς κρίσεις πλὴν ὅλων ἀπάσας, καὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων κυρίους έαυτοὺς ποιήσαντες εἰς ἀκρατον δημοκρατίαν ἐνέβαλον τήν πόλιν, ἤδη καὶ Περικλέους δυναμένου καὶ τὰ τῶν πολλῶν φρονούντος. διό καὶ τοῦ Κήμωνος, ὡς ἐπανῆλθεν, ἀγανακτοῦντος ἐπὶ τῷ προπηλακίζεσθαι τὸ ἄξιωμα τοῦ συνεδρίου, καὶ πειρωμένου πάλιν ἄνω τὰς δίκας ἀνακαλεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ Κλεισθένους ἐγείρειν ἀριστοκρατίαν, κατεβόων συνιστάμενοι καὶ τῶν
dήμων ἐξηρέθιζον, ἐκείνα τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἀνανεούμενοι καὶ Λακωνισμὸν ἐπικαλούντες. εἰς ἀ καὶ τὰ Εὐπόλιδος διατεθρύληται περὶ Κήμωνος, ὅτι

Κακὸς μὲν οὖν ἦν, φιλοπότης δὲ κάμελης· κάνιος’ ἀν ἀπεκοιμᾶτ’ ἀν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, καὶ Ἑλπινίκην τήνδε καταλιπὼν μόνην.
eἰ δ’ ἀμελῶν καὶ μεθυσκόμενος τοσαῦτας πόλεως εἰλε καὶ τοσαῦτας νίκας ἐνίκησε, δῆλον ὅτι νήφουτος αὐτοῦ καὶ προσέχοντος οὔδεὶς ἄν οὔτε τῶν πρότερον οὔτε τῶν ὑστερον Ἑλλήνων παρῆλθε τὰς πράξεις.

ΧXVI. Ἡν μὲν οὖν ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς φιλολάκων καὶ τῶν γε παίδων τῶν διδύμων τὸν ἔτερον Λακεδαίμονιν ὁμόμασε, τὸν δ’ ἔτερον Ἡλείων, ἐκ γυναικὸς αὐτῷ Κλειτορίας γενομένους, ὡς Στησίμβροτος ἱστορεῖ· διὸ πολλάκις τῶν Περικλέα τὸ μητρὸν αὐτοῖς γένος ὀνειδίζειν. Διόδωρος δ’ ὁ Περινηπτῆς καὶ τούτους φησὶ καὶ τὸν τρίτον τῶν Κήμωνος 450.
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observed, and under the lead of Ephialtes they robbed the Council of the Areiopagus of all but a few of the cases in its jurisdiction. They made themselves masters of the courts of justice, and plunged the city into unmitigated democracy, Pericles being now a man of power and espousing the cause of the populace. And so when Cimon came back home, and in his indignation at the insults heaped upon the reverend council, tried to recall again its jurisdiction and to revive the aristocracy of the times of Cleisthenes, they banded together to denounce him, and tried to inflame the people against him, renewing the old slanders about his sister and accusing him of being a Spartan sympathiser. It was to these calumnies that the famous and popular verses of Eupolis about Cimon had reference:—

"He was not base, but fond of wine and full of sloth,
And oft he 'ld sleep in Lacedaemon, far from home,
And leave his Elpinicé sleeping all alone."

But if, though full of sloth and given to tippling, he yet took so many cities and won so many victories, it is clear that had he been sober and mindful of his business, no Hellene either before or after him would have surpassed his exploits.

XVI. It is true indeed that he was from the first a philo-Laconian. He actually named one of his twin sons Lacedaemonius, and the other Eleius,—the sons whom a woman of Cleitor bare him, as Stesimbrotus relates, wherefore Pericles often reproached them with their maternal lineage. But Diodorus the Topographer says that these, as well
2 Εὐρυπτολέμου τοῦ Μεγακλέους. ηὐξήθη δ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαίμονιῶν ἦδη τῷ Θεμιστοκλεὶ προσπολεμοῦντων καὶ τούτων ὄντα νέον ἐν Ἀθήναις μᾶλλον ἴσχύει καὶ κρατεῖν βουλομένων. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναίοι τὸ πρῶτον ἤδεως ἔωρον οὐ μικρὰ τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνου εὐνοίας τῶν Σπαρτιάτῶν ἀπολαύοντες. αὐξανομένοις γὰρ αὐτοῖς κατ᾽ ἄρχας καὶ τὰ συμμαχικὰ πολυπραγμονοῦσιν οὐκ ἠχθοντο τιμῆς καὶ χάριτι τοῦ Κίμωνος. τὰ γὰρ πλείστα δι᾽ ἐκείνου τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν διεπράττετο, πρῶς μὲν τοῖς συμμάχοις, κεχαρισμένως δὲ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ὁμιλοῦντος. ἔπευγα δυνατότεροι γενόμενοι καὶ τὸν Κίμωνα τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις οὐκ ἥρεμα προσκείμενοι ὀρῶντες ἠχθοντο. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ παντὶ μεγαλύνων τὴν Δακεδαίμονα πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτε τῶν μεμφόμενος αὐτοῖς ἡ παροβώνων, ὡς φησὶ Στησίμβρωτος, εἰώθει λέγειν "Ἀλλὰ οὐ Δακεδαίμονοι γε τοιοῦτοι." ὅθεν φθόνον έαυτῷ συνήγα καὶ δυσμένειάν τινα παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν.

3 Η δὲ οὖν ἰσχύσασα μάλιστα κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ τῶν διαβολῶν αἰτίαν ἐσχε τοιαύτην. "Αρχιδάμου τοῦ Ζευξίδαμου τέταρτον 1 ἔτος ἐν Ἐπίρτῃ βασιλεύοντος ὑπὸ σεισμοῦ μεγίστου δὴ τῶν μημονευμένων πρότερον ἡ τε χωρά τῶν Δακεδαίμονίων χάσμασιν ἐνώλισθε πολλοῖς καὶ τῶν Ταυρέτων τιναχθέντων κορυφαὶ τινας ἀπερράγησαν, αὐτὴ δὲ ἡ πόλις δὴ πυκνή ἄγρια εἰς ὅλην οἰκίαν πέντε, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἦρεις σεισμός.

4 Τέταρτον Bekker adopted Niebuhr's correction to τέταρτον fourteenth.
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as the third of Cimon's sons, Thessalus, were born of Isodice, the daughter of Euryptolemus, the son of Megacles. And he was looked upon with favour by the Lacedaemonians, who soon were at enmity with Themistocles, and therefore preferred that Cimon, young as he was, should have the more weight and power in Athens. The Athenians were glad to see this at first, since they reaped no slight advantage from the good will which the Spartans showed him. While their empire was first growing, and they were busy making alliances, they were not displeased that honour and favour should be shown to Cimon. He was the foremost Hellenic statesman, dealing gently with the allies and acceptably with the Lacedaemonians. But afterwards, when they became more powerful, and saw that Cimon was strongly attached to the Spartans, they were displeased thereat. For on every occasion he was prone to exalt Lacedaemon to the Athenians, especially when he had occasion to chide or incite them. Then, as Stesimbrotus tells us, he would say, "But the Lacedaemonians are not of such a sort." In this way he awakened the envy and hatred of his fellow-citizens.

At any rate, the strongest charge against him arose as follows. When Archidamus, the son of Zeuxidamus, was in the fourth year of his reign at Sparta,¹ a greater earthquake than any before reported rent the land of the Lacedaemonians into many chasms, shook Taygetus so that sundry peaks were torn away, and demolished the entire city with the exception of five houses. The rest were thrown down by the earthquake.

¹ 464 B.C.
5 Ἐν δὲ μέση τῇ στοάς γυμναζομένων ὀμοῦ τῶν ἑφήβων καὶ τῶν νεανίσκων λέγεται μικρὸν πρὸ τοῦ σεισμοῦ λαγών παραφανήθη, καὶ τοὺς μὲν νεανίσκους, ὀστερὰ ἦσαν ἄληθιμένοι, μετὰ παιδίας ἐκδραμεῖν καὶ διώκειν, τοῖς δὲ ἑφήβοις ὑπολειφθεῖσιν ἐπιτιθεῖν τὸ γυμνάσιον καὶ πάντας ὁμοὺς τελευτήσαι. τού δὲ τἀφον αὐτῶν ἔτι νῦν Σεισματίαν προσαγορεύονσι.

6 Ταχὺ δὴ συνιδών ἀπὸ τοῦ παρόντος τὸν μέλλοντα κίνδυνον ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος, καὶ τοὺς πολίτας 489 ὀρὼν ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων τὰ τιμῶτα τα πειρωμένους σώζειν, ἔκλεψε τῇ σάλπηγι σημαίνειν, ὡς πολεμίων ἐπίστολων, ὅπως ὁ τάχιστα μετὰ τῶν ὁπλων ἀθροίζονται πρὸς αὐτὸν. ὁ δὲ καὶ μόνον ἐν τῷ τότε καρπῷ τὴν Ἐπάρτην δείσωσεν. οἱ γὰρ εἴλωτες ἐκ τῶν ἄγρων συνεδραμοῦν πανταχόθεν ὡς ἀναρτασόμενοι τοὺς σεσωσμένους.

7 τῶν Ἐπάρτιατών. ὡπλισμένους δὲ καὶ συνταγμένους εὑρόντες ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ φανερῶς ἐπολέμουν, τῶν τε περιοικῶν ἀναπείσαντες οὐκ ὀλίγους, καὶ Μεσσηνίων ἀμα τοῖς Ἐπάρτιαταις συνεπιθεμένων.

Πέμποντος οὖν οἱ Δακεδαμώνιοι Περικλείδαν εἰς Ἀθήνας δεόμενοι βοηθεῖν, ὃν φησὶ κομμῳδῶν Ἀριστοφάνης καθεξόμενον ἐπὶ τοῖς βωμοῖς οὕχρον ἐν φοινικίδι στρατιῶν ἐπαιτεῖν. Ἔφιάλτου δὲ κολύντος καὶ διαμαρτυρομένου μὴ βοηθεῖν μηδὲ ἀνιστάναι πόλιν ἀντίπαλον ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἀλλ’ ἐὰν κείσθαι καὶ πατηθῆναι τὸ φρόνημα τῆς Ἐπάρτης, Κιμωνός φησί Δημιανοῦ τῆς πατρίδος αὐξησιν ἐν ὑστέρῳ θέμενον τοῦ Δακεδαμώνιων.
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It is said that while the young men and youths were exercising together in the interior of the colonnade, just a little before the earthquake, a hare made its appearance, and the youths, all anointed as they were, in sport dashed out and gave chase to it, but the young men remained behind, on whom the gymnasium fell, and all perished together. Their tomb, even down to the present day, they call Seismatias.

Archidamus at once comprehended from the danger at hand that which was sure to follow, and as he saw the citizens trying to save the choicest valuables out of their houses, ordered the trumpet to give the signal of an enemy’s attack, in order that they might flock to him at once under arms. This was all that saved Sparta at that crisis. For the Helots hurriedly gathered from all the country round about with intent to despatch the surviving Spartans. But finding them arrayed in arms, they withdrew to their cities and waged open war, persuading many Perioeci also so to do. The Messenians besides joined in this attack upon the Spartans.

Accordingly, the Lacedaemonians sent Pericleidas to Athens with request for aid, and Aristophanes introduces him into a comedy as “sitting at the altars, pale of face, in purple cloak, soliciting an army.”¹ But Ephialtes opposed the project, and besought the Athenians not to succour nor restore a city which was their rival, but to let haughty Sparta lie to be trodden under foot of men. Whereupon, as Critias says, Cimon made his country’s increase of less account than Sparta’s interest, and persuaded the

¹ Lysistrata, 1137 ff.
συμφέροντος ἀναπείσαντα τὸν δήμον ἐξελθεῖν 
βοηθοῦντα μετὰ πολλῶν ὀπλατῶν. ὁ δὲ Ἰων 
ἀπομυμνοεῖει καὶ τὸν λόγον, ὃ μάλιστα τοὺς 
Ἀθηναίους ἐκίνησε, παρακαλῶν μήτε τὴν Ἐλ-
λάδα χωλήν μήτε τὴν πόλιν ἔτερόζυγα περιεδείν 
γεγενημένην.

ΧVII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ βοηθήσας τοῖς Λακεδαίμονιοις ἀπῆγε διὰ Κορίνθου τὴν στρατιὰν ἄγων, ἐνεκάλει 
Λάχαρτος αὐτῷ πρὶν ἐντυχεῖν τοῖς πολίταις 
eἰσαιαγόντι τὸ στράτευμα· καὶ γὰρ θύραν κό-
ψαντας ἀλλοτρίαν ώς εἰςενίαν πρὸτερον ἢ τὸν 
kύριον κελεύσαι. καὶ ὁ Κίμων ᾿Αλλ’ ὅπη γρίφων," 
eἶπεν, "ὡς Λάχαρτε, τάς Κλεωναίων καὶ Μεγαρέων 
pύλας κόψαντες, ἄλλα κατασχίσαντες εἰσεβιά-
σαθε μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἄξιοντες ἀνέφηγεν 
πάντα τοῖς μεῖζον δυναμένοις. "οὔτω μὲν ἔθρα-
συνατό πρὸς τὸν Κορίνθιον ἐν δἐοντι, καὶ 
μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς διεξῆλθεν.

2 Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους αὔξα 
εκάλουν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἰθώμη Μεσσηνίους καὶ 
eἰλώτας, ἐλθόντων δὲ τὴν τόλμαν καὶ τὴν λαμ-
πρότητα δέοντας ἀπεπέμψαντο μόνοις τῶν 
συμμάχων ὡς νεωτεριστὰς. οἱ δὲ πρὸς ὄργην 
απελθόντες ἢδη τοῖς λακωνίζοντο χαμέλη-
πανον, καὶ τὸν Κίμωνα μκρᾶς ἐπιλαβόμενοι 
προφάσεως ἔξωστράκισαν εἰς ἐτη δέκα· τοσοῦτον 
γὰρ ἦν χρόνου τεταγμένον ἀπασὶ τοῖς ἐξοστρακι-
ζομένοις.

3 Ἐν δὲ τοῦτῳ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ὡς ἔπανη-
χοντο δελφοὺς ἀπὸ Φωκέων ἐλευθερώσαντες, ἐν 

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people to go forth to her aid with many hoplites. And Ion actually mentions the phrase by which, more than by anything else, Cimon prevailed upon the Athenians, exhorting them “not to suffer Hellas to be crippled, nor their city to be robbed of its yoke-fellow.”

XVII. After he had given aid to the Lacedaemonians, he was going back home with his forces through the Isthmus of Corinth, when Lachartus upbraided him for having introduced his army before he had conferred with the citizens. “People who knock at doors,” said he, “do not go in before the owner bids them”; to which Cimon replied, “And yet you Corinthians, O Lachartus, did not so much as knock at the gates of Cleonae and Megara, but hewed them down and forced your way in under arms, demanding that everything be opened up to the stronger.” Such was his boldness of speech to the Corinthian in an emergency, and he passed on through with his forces.

Once more the Lacedaemonians summoned the Athenians to come to their aid against the Messenians and Helots in Ithomé, and the Athenians went, but their dashing boldness awakened fear, and they were singled out from all the allies and sent off as dangerous conspirators. They came back home in a rage, and at once took open measures of hostility against the Laconizers, and above all against Cimon. Laying hold of a trifling pretext, they ostracised him for ten years.¹ That was the period decreed in all cases of ostracism.

It was during this period that the Lacedaemonians, after freeing the Delphians from the Phocians,

¹ 461 B.C.
Τανάγρα καταστρατοπεδευσάντων Ἀθηναίοι μὲν ἀπήντων διαμαχούμενοι, Κύμων δὲ μετὰ τῶν ὀπλών ἦκεν εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ φυλὴν τὴν Οἰνήτα, πρὸς βοήθεια τῶν Δακεδαμονίων μετὰ τῶν πολιτῶν. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τῶν πεντακοσίων πυθομένη καὶ φοβηθείσα, τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτοῦ καταβοῦτων ὡς συνταράξαι τὴν φάλαγγα βουλομένου καὶ τῇ πόλει Δακεδαμονίους ἐπαγαγεῖν, ἀπηγόρευσε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς μὴ δέχεσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα. κακείνος μὲν οὖν ἄγετο δεηθεὶς Εὐθύππου τοῦ Ἀναφλυστίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐταίρων, ὅσοι μάλιστα τὴν τοῦ λακωνίζειν αἰτίαν ἔσχον, ἐρρωμένως ἀγωνίσασθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους καὶ διὰ ἔργων ἀπολύσασθαι τὴν αἰτίαν πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας. 4 ὁ δὲ λαβόντες αὐτοῦ τὴν πανοπλίαν εἰς τὸν λόχον ἔθεντο· καὶ μετὰ ἄλληλων συστάντες ἐκθύμως ἐκατόν ὄντες ἐπεσον, πολὺν αὐτῶν πόθου καὶ μεταμελείαν ἐφ' οίς ἤτιάθησαν ἁδίκως ἀπολυτόντες τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. θεν οὖν οὐδὲ τῷ πρὸς Κύμωνα θυμῷ πολὺν χρόνον ἐνέμειναν, τὰ μὲν, ὡς εἰκός, ὧν ἔπαθον εὐ μεμημένοι, τὰ δὲ τοῦ καιροῦ συλλαμβανομένου. 5 νεκρικῆς γὰρ ἐν Τανάγρα 490 μάχῃ μεγάλῃ καὶ προσδοκοῦντες εἰς ὃραν ἔτους στρατιάν Πελοποννησίων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐκάλουν ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς τὸν Κύμωνα· καὶ κατῆλθε τὸ ψήφισμα γράψαντος αὐτῷ Περικλέους. οὔτω τότε πολιτικαὶ μὲν ἦσαν αἱ διαφοραί, μέτριοι δ' οἱ θυμοὶ
CIMON

encamped at Tanagra on their march back home.\(^1\) Here the Athenians confronted them, bent on fighting their issue out, and here Cimon came in arms, to join his own Oeneid tribe, eager to share with his fellow-citizens in repelling the Lacedaemonians. But the Council of the Five Hundred learned of this and was filled with fear, since Cimon's foes accused him of wishing to throw the ranks into confusion, and then lead the Lacedaemonians in an attack upon the city; so they forbade the generals to receive the man. As he went away he besought Euthippus of Anaphlystus and his other comrades, all who were specially charged with laconizing, to fight sturdily against the enemy, and by their deeds of valour to dissipate the charge which their countrymen laid at their door. They took his armour and set it in the midst of their company, supported one another ardently in the fight, and fell, to the number of one hundred, leaving behind them among the Athenians a great and yearning sense of their loss, and sorrow for the unjust charges made against them. For this reason the Athenians did not long abide by their displeasure against Cimon, partly because, as was natural, they remembered his benefits, and partly because the turn of events favoured his cause. For they were defeated at Tanagra in a great battle, and expected that in the following spring-time an armed force of Peloponnesians would come against them, and so they recalled Cimon from his exile. The decree which provided for his return was formally proposed by Pericles. To such a degree in those days were dissensions based on political differences of opinion, while personal feelings were

\(^1\) 457 B.C.
καὶ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν εὐανάκλητοι συμφέρου, ἡ δὲ φιλοτιμία πάντων ἐπικρατοῦσα τῶν παθῶν τοῖς τῆς πατρίδος ὑπεχώρει καιροῖς.

XVIII. Εὐθὺς μὲν οὖν ὁ Κίμων κατελθὼν ἔλυσε τὸν πόλεμον καὶ διήλλαξε τὰς πόλεις· γενομένης δὲ εἰρήνης ὅρων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἰσυχίαν ἁγείων μὴ δυναμένους, ἀλλὰ κινεῖσθαι καὶ αὐξάνεσθαι ταῖς στρατείαις βουλομένους, ὥν μὴ τοῖς Ἐλλησί διοχλώσει μηδὲ περὶ τὰς νῆσους Ἡ Πελοπόννησον ἀναστρέφομενοι ναυσὶ πολλαῖς αἰτίας ἐμφυλίων πολέμων καὶ συμμαχικῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἀρχαὶ ἐπιστάσωνται κατὰ τῆς πόλεως, εἰς τὸν ἕπληρον διακοσίας τριήρεις ὡς ἐπ᾽ Ὁἶγυπτον καὶ Κύπρον αὐθίς ἐκστρατευσόμενος, ἀμα μὲν ἐμ- μελετὰν τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀγώνι βουλόμενος τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἀμα δ’ ὤφελεῖ σθαι δικαίως τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν φύσει πολεμίων εὐπορίας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κομίζοντας.

Ἡδὲ δὲ παρεσκευασμένων ἀπάντων καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ παρα’ ταῖς ναυσὶν ὄντος ὀναρ εἴδεν ο Κίμων. ἔδοκεν κύνα θυμομένην ὕλακτεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ὑκλαῖς μεμνημένον ἀφείσαν ἀνθρώπων φθόγγον εἴπειν.

Στείχες φίλος γὰρ ἐσθ καὶ ἐμοί καὶ ἐμοῖς συκάκεσσιν. οὗτο δὲ δυσκρίτου τῆς ὄψεως υὐσῆς Ἀστύφιλος ὁ Ποσειδωνίατης, μαντικῶς ἀνήρ καὶ συνήθης τῷ Κίμωνι, φράζει θάνατον αὐτῷ προσημαίνειν τὴν ὄψιν, οὗτο διαφόρων κύων ἀνθρώπῳ, πρὸς ἔνυλακτεῖ, πολέμιος· πολέμιῳ δ’ οὐκ ἄν τις μᾶλλον

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moderate, and easily recalled into conformity with the public weal. Even ambition, that master passion, paid deference to the country's welfare.

XVIII. Well then, as soon as Cimon returned from exile he stopped the war and reconciled the rival cities. After peace was made, since he saw that the Athenians were unable to keep quiet, but wished to be on the move and too wax great by means of military expeditions; also because he wished that they should not exasperate the Hellenes generally, nor by hovering around the islands and the Peloponnesus with a large fleet bring down upon the city charges of intestine war, and initial complaints from the allies, he manned two hundred triremes. His design was to make another expedition with them against Egypt and Cyprus. He wished to keep the Athenians in constant training by their struggles with Barbarians, and to give them the legitimate benefits of importing into Hellas the wealth taken from their natural foes.

All things were now ready and the soldiery on the point of embarking, when Cimon had a dream. He thought an angry bitch was baying at him, and that mingled with its baying it uttered a human voice, saying:—

"Go thy way, for a friend shalt thou be both to me and my puppies."

The vision being hard of interpretation, Astyphilus of Posidonia, an inspired man and an intimate of Cimon's, told him that it signified his death. He analysed the vision thus: a dog is a foe of the man at whom it bays; to a foe, one cannot be a friend

\[1\] 450 B.C.

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4 Μῆδων στρατὸς Ἐλλησιν ομοῦ καὶ βαρβάρους μέμικται. μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῦ τῷ Διονύσῳ θύσαντος ο μὲν μάντις ἀπέτεμε τὸ ἱερεῖον, τοῦ δὲ αἴματος τὸ πηγνύμενον ἦδη μύριμης πολλοὶ λαμβάνοντες κατὰ μικρὸν ἔφερον πρὸς τὸν Κύμωνα καὶ τοῦ ποδὸς περὶ τὸν μέγαν δάκτυλον περεύπλαττον, ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον λαμβάνοντες. ἀμα δὲ πῶς ὁ τε Κύμων τῷ γινομένῳ προσέσχε καὶ παρῆν ὁ θύτης ἐπὶ δεικνύμενος αὐτῷ τὸν λοβὸν οὐκ ἔχοντα κεφαλῆς.

'Ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀνάδυσις τῆς στρατείας ἐξεπλευσε, καὶ τῶν νεῶν ἔξηκοντα μὲν ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Αἰγουπτον, ταῖς δ' ἀλλαῖς πάλιν . . . ἔπλευ.

5 χαὶ καταναυμαχήσας Φοινισσῶν νεῶν καὶ Κιλισσῶν βασιλικῶν στόλων ἀνεκτάτο τε τὰς ἐν κύκλῳ πόλεις καὶ τοῖς περὶ Αἰγουπτον ἐφήδρευεν, οὐδὲν μικρόν, ἀλλ' ὅλης ἐπινοῶν τῆς βασιλείας ἡγεμονίας κατάλυσιν, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ἐπινεύθανεν δόξαν εἰναι καὶ δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις μεγάλην, ὑποδεδεγμένον βασιλεῖ κινοῦντι τὸν Ἐλληνικὸν πόλεμον στρατηγήσεις.

6 Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν οὖν οὐχ ἦκιστα λέγεται τὰς Ἐλληνικὰς πράξεις ἀπογούνος, ὡς οὐκ ἄν υπερβαλόμενας τὴν Κύμωνος ἐνυπηκίαν καὶ ἀρετήν, ἐκών τελευτήσαι, Κύμων δὲ μεγάλων ἐπαιρόμενος ἀρχαὶ ἀγώνων καὶ περὶ Κύπρουν συνεχέν τὸ ναυτικὸν ἔπεμψεν εἰς Ἀμμονος ἄνδρας ἀπόρρητον τίνα μαντείαν ποιησομένους παρὰ τῷ θεῷ.

1 πάλιν . . . ἔπλευ either πάλιν is a corruption (περὶ Παμφυλίαν ?), or words have fallen out.
any better than by dying; the mixture of speech indicates that the enemy is the Mede, for the army of the Medes is a mixture of Hellenes and Barbarians. After this vision, when Cimon had sacrificed to Dionysus and the seer was cutting up the victim, swarms of ants took the blood as it congealed, brought it little by little to Cimon, and enveloped his great toe therewith, he being unconscious of their work for some time. Just about at the time when he noticed what they were doing, the ministrant came and showed him the liver of his victim without a head.

But since he could not get out of the expedition, he set sail, and after detailing sixty of his ships to go to Egypt, with the rest he made again for Cyprus. After defeating at sea the royal armament of Phoenician and Cilician ships, he won over the cities round about, and then lay threatening the royal enterprise in Egypt, and not in any trifling fashion,—nay, he had in mind the dissolution of the King's entire supremacy, and all the more because he learned that the reputation and power of Themistocles were great among the Barbarians, who had promised the King that when the Hellenic war was set on foot he would take command of it. At any rate, it is said that it was most of all due to Themistocles' despair of his Hellenic undertakings, since he could not eclipse the good fortune and valour of Cimon, that he took his own life.¹

But Cimon, while he was projecting vast conflicts and holding his naval forces in the vicinity of Cyprus, sent men to the shrine of Ammon to get oracular answer from the god to some secret question.

¹ Cf. Themistocles, xxxi. 4.
7 γινώσκει γὰρ οὐδεὶς ὑπὲρ δὲν ἐπέμφθησαν, οὐδὲ χρησμὸν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς ἐξήνεγκεν, ἀλλὰ ἀμα τῷ προσελθεῖν ἐκέλευσεν ἀπείναι τοὺς θεοπρόπους· αὐτὸν γὰρ ἦδη τὸν Κίμωνα παρ’ ἐαυτῷ τυγχάνειν ὄντα. ταύτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ θεοπρόποι κατέβαινον ἐπὶ θάλασσαν· γενόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὁ τότε περὶ Αὐγούστον ἦν, ἐπύθοντο τεθνάναι τὸν Κίμωνα· καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας πρὸς τὸ μαντεῖον ἀνάγοντες ἔγνωσαν ἁμαρτήματι τὴν τελευτήν τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὡς ἦδη παρὰ θεοῖς ὄντος.

XIX. Ἀπέθανε δὲ πολιορκῶν Κίτιον, ὡς οἱ 491 πλείστοι λέγοντες, νοσήσας· ἔνιοι δὲ φασίν ἐκ τραύματος, ὃ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀγωνίζομενος ἔσχε. τελευτῶν δὲ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν εὐθὺς ἀποπλεῖν ἀποκρυψαμένους τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ· καὶ συνέβη μήτε τῶν πολεμίων μήτε τῶν συμμάχων αἰσθομένων ἁσφαλῶς αὐτοὺς ἀνακομισθήναι στρατηγουμένους ὑπὸ Κίμωνος, ὡς φησὶ Φαιόδημος, τεθυμηκότος ἐφ’ ἡμέρας τριάκοντα.

2 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτήν πρὸς μὲν τοὺς βαρβάρους οὐδὲν ἔτι λαμπρὸν ὑπ’ οὐδενὸς ἐπράξθη στρατηγοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ ἤπειροι τραπέντες ὑπὸ δημαγωγῶν καὶ πολεμοποιῶν ἐπὶ ἀλλήλους, οὐδενὸς τὰς χεῖρας ἐν μέσῳ διασχόντος, συνερράγησαν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, ἀνάπνυ ἐν τοῖς βασιλεῶς πράγμασι γενόμενοι, φθόρον δ’ ἀμύθητον

3 τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς δυνάμεως ἀπεργασάμενοι. οὐχ δ’ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἁγγειλάου εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἔζευγκιμένοι τὰ ὁπλα βραχέος ἤψαντο πολέμου πρὸς

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No one knows what they were sent to ask, nor did the god vouchsafe them any response, but as soon as the enquirers drew nigh, he bade them depart, saying that Cimon himself was already with him. On hearing this, the enquirers went down to the sea-coast, and when they reached the camp of the Hellenes, which was at that time on the confines of Egypt, they learned that Cimon was dead, and on counting the days back to the utterance of the oracle, they found that it was their commander's death which had been darkly intimated, since he was already with the gods.

XIX. He died while besieging Citium, of sickness, as most say.\textsuperscript{1} But some say it was of a wound which he got while fighting the Barbarians. As he was dying he bade those about him to sail away at once and to conceal his death. And so it came to pass that neither the enemy nor the allies understood what had happened, and the force was brought back in safety "under the command of Cimon," as Phanodemus says, "who had been dead for thirty days."

After his death no further brilliant exploit against the Barbarians was performed by any general of the Hellenes, who were swayed by demagogues and partisans of civil war, with none to hold a mediating hand between them, till they actually clashed together in war. This afforded the cause of the King a respite, but brought to pass an indescribable destruction of Hellenic power. It was not until long afterwards? that Agesilaüs carried his arms into Asia and prosecuted a brief war against the King's

\textsuperscript{1} Thuc. i. 112. \textsuperscript{2} 396–394 B.C.
τοὺς ἐπὶ θαλάσση βασιλέως στρατηγούς· καὶ λαμπρὸν οὖδὲν οὔδὲ μέγα δράσαντες, αὖθις δὲ ταῖς Ἐλληνικαῖς στάσεσι καὶ ταραχαῖς ἀφ’ ἐτέρας ἀρχῆς ύπενεχθέντες, φίλου τοὺς Περσῶν φορολόγους ἐν μέσαις ταῖς συμμάχοις καὶ φίλαις πόλεις ἀπολυτόντες, οὐν οὐδὲ γραμματοφόρος κατέβαινεν οὖν ὑπὸ πρὸς θαλάσσῃ τετρακοσίων σταδίων ἐντὸς ὁφθη στρατηγοῦντος Κύμωνος.

4 Ὄτι μὲν οὖν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀπεκομίσθη τὰ λείψανα αὐτοῦ, μαρτυρεῖ τῶν μνημάτων τὰ μέχρι ψάννη Κύμωνεα προσαγορευόμενα· τιμῶσι δὲ καὶ Κυτεῖς τάφον τινὰ Κύμωνος, ὡς Ναυσικράτης ὁ ῥήτωρ φησίν, ἐν λοιμῷ καὶ γῆς ἀφορίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ προστάξαντος αὐτοῖς μὴ ἀμελεῖν Κύμωνος, ἀλλ’ ὡς κραίττονα σέβεσθαι καὶ γεραιρεῖν. τοιούτος μὲν ὁ Ἐλληνικὸς ἡγεμών.
generals along the sea-coast. And even he could perform no great and brilliant deeds, but was over-whelmed in his turn by a flood of Hellenic disorders and seditions and swept away from a second empire. So he withdrew, leaving in the midst of allied and friendly cities the tax-gatherers of the Persians, not one of whose scribes, nay, nor so much as a horse, had been seen within four hundred furlongs of the sea, as long as Cimon was general.

That his remains were brought home to Attica, there is testimony in the funeral monuments to this day called Cimonian. But the people of Citium also pay honours to a certain tomb of Cimon, as Nausicrates the rhetorician says, because in a time of pestilence and famine the god enjoined upon them not to neglect Cimon, but to revere and honour him as a superior being. Such was the Greek leader.
LUCULLUS
ΛΟΥΚΟΥΛΛΟΣ

I. Τώ δὲ Λούκουλλω πάππος μὲν ἦν ὑπατικός, θεῖος δὲ πρὸς μητρὸς Μέτελλος ὁ Νομαδικός ἐπικληθεῖς. τῶν δὲ γονέων ὁ μὲν πατήρ ἐάλω κλοπῆς, Κεκίλια δὲ ἡ μήτηρ ἦδοξης εἰς οὐ βεβιωκυίᾳ σωφρόνως. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Λούκουλλος ἔτι μειράκιον ὡν, πρὶν ἁρχὴν τυια μετελθεῖν καὶ πολιτείας ἄγασθαι, πρῶτον ἔργον ἔποιήσατο τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς κατήγορον κρίνας Σερουύλιον 2 αὐγουρα, λαβὼν ἀδικούντα δημοσία. καὶ τὸ πράγμα λαμπρὸν ἔφανη Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ τὴν δίκην ἐκείνην ὡστερ ἀριστεῖαν διὰ στόματος ἔσχον. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ ἄλλως αὐτοῖς ἀνευ προφά- σεως οὐκ ἄγεννες εἶναι τὸ τῆς κατηγορίας ἐργον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ τοὺς νέους ἐβούλοντο τοῖς ἀδικοῦσιν ἐπιφυμένους ὁμίλω ὡστερ θηρίους εὐγε- νειὰς σκῦλακας. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα μεγάλης περὶ τὴν δίκην ἐκείνην φιλονεἰκίας γενομένης, ἃςτε καὶ τρωθήμα τυίας καὶ πεσεῖν, ἀπέφυγεν ὁ Σερουύ- λιος.

3 Ὁ δὲ Λούκουλλος ἦσκετο καὶ λέγειν ἱκανῶς ἐκατέραν γλώτταν, ὡστε καὶ Σύλλας τὰς αὐτοῦ πράξεις ἀναγράφειν ἐκεῖνος προσεφώνησεν ὡς συν- ταξιμένος καὶ διαθήσοντο τὴν ἱστορίαν ἁμείνου. ἤν γὰρ οὐκ ἐπὶ τὴν χρείαν μόνην ἐμμελῆς αὐτοῦ 470
LUCULLUS

I. In the case of Lucullus, his grandfather was a man of consular rank, and his uncle on his mother's side was Metellus, surnamed Numidicus. But as for his parents, his father was convicted of peculation, and his mother, Caecilia, had the bad name of a dissolute woman. Lucullus himself, while he was still a mere youth, before he had entered public life or stood for any office, made it his first business to impeach his father's accuser, Servilius the Augur, whom he found wronging the commonwealth. The Romans thought this a brilliant stroke, and the case was in everybody's mouth, like a great deed of prowess. Indeed, they thought the business of impeachment, on general principles and without special provocation, no ignoble thing, but were very desirous to see their young men fastening themselves on malefactors like high-bred whelps on wild beasts. However, the case stirred up great animosity, so that sundry persons were actually wounded and slain, and Servilius was acquitted.

Lucullus was trained to speak fluently both Latin and Greek, so that Sulla, in writing his own memoirs, dedicated them to him, as a man who would set in order and duly arrange the history of the times better than himself. For the style of Lucullus was not only businesslike and ready; the same
καὶ πρόχειρος ὁ λόγος, καθάπερ ὁ τῶν ἄλλων τὴν μὲν ἀγορὰν

Θύννος βολαῖος πέλαγος ὡς διεστράβει,

γενόμενος δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐκτὸς αὖθις, ἀμουσίᾳ

4 τεθυκώς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐμμελὴ ταύτην καὶ 492

λεγομένην ἐλευθέριον ἐπὶ τῷ καλῷ προσεποιεῖτο

παιδείαν ἐτὶ καὶ μειράκιον οὖν. γενόμενος δὲ

πρεσβύτερος ἤδη παντάπασιν ὅσπερ ἐκ πολλῶν

ἀγώνων ἀφῆκε τὴν διάνοιαν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ σχολά-

ζειν καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι, τὸ θεωρητικὸν αὐτῆς

ἐγείρας, καταλύσας δὲ ἐν καιρῷ καὶ κολούσας τὸ

5 φιλότιμον ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Πομπήιον διαφοράς. περὶ

μὲν οὖν τῆς φιλολογίας αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις

καὶ ταύτα λέγεται· νέον ὑπὰ πρὸς Ὀρτήσιον τὸν

δικολόγον καὶ Σιζεννὰν τὸν ἱστορικὸν ἐκ παιδιᾶς

τινος εἰς σπουδὴν προελθούσης ὑμολογήσαι, προ-

θεμένων ποίημα καὶ λόγον Ἑλληνικὸν τε καὶ

Ῥωμαίκον, εἰς ὃ τι ἀν λάχη τούτων, τὸν Μαρ-

σικὸν ἐντενεῖν πόλεμον. καὶ πῶς ἔοικεν εἰς λόγον

Ἑλληνικὸν ὃ κλῆρος ἀφικέσθαι· διασώζεται γὰρ

Ἑλληνικὴ τις ἱστορία τοῦ Μαρσικοῦ πολέμου.

6 Τὸς δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Μάρκον εὐνοίας

πολλῶν τεκμηρίων ὅντων μᾶλλον Ῥωμαίοι τοῦ

πρώτου μνημονεύουσι. πρεσβύτερος γὰρ ὃν

αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν ἀρχὴν μόνος οὐκ ἦθελησεν, ἀλλὰ

τὸν ἐκείνου καιρὸν ἀναμείνας οὕτως ἐπηγάγετο

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LUCULLUS

was true of many another man's in the Forum. There,

"Like smitten tunny, through the billowy sea it dashed,"

although outside of the Forum it was

"Withered, inelegant, and dead."

But Lucullus, from his youth up, was devoted to the genial and so-called "liberal" culture then in vogue, wherein the Beautiful was sought. And when he came to be well on in years, he suffered his mind to find complete leisure and repose, as it were after many struggles, in philosophy, encouraging the contemplative side of his nature, and giving timely halt and check, after his difference with Pompey, to the play of his ambition. Now, as to his love of literature, this also is reported, in addition to what has already been said: when he was a young man, proceeding from jest to earnest in a conversation with Hortensius, the orator, and Sisenna, the historian, he agreed, on their suggestion of a poem and a history, both in Greek and Latin, that he would treat the Marsic war in whichever of these forms the lot should prescribe. And it would seem that the lot prescribed a Greek history, for there is extant a Greek history of the Marsic war.

Of his affection for his brother Marcus there are many proofs, but the Romans dwell most upon the first. Although, namely, he was older than his brother, he was unwilling to hold office alone, but waited until his brother was of the proper age, and thus gained the favour of the people
τὸν δῆμον, ὡστε σὺν ἐκείνῳ μὴ παρὼν ἀγορανόμος αἰρεθήναι.

II. Νέος δ' ὄν ἐν τῷ Μαρσικῷ πολέμῳ πολλὰ μὲν τόλμης δείγματα παρέσχε καὶ συνέσεως, μᾶλλον γε μὴν αὐτὸν δι᾽ εὐστάθειαν καὶ πραότητα Σύλλας προσηγάγετο, καὶ χρώμενος ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ τὰ πλείστης ἀξία σπουδῆς διετέλεσεν. ὥν ἦν 2· καὶ ἦ περὶ τὸ νόμισμα πραγματεία. δι᾽ ἐκείνου γὰρ ἐκόπη τὸ πλείστον ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ περὶ τὸν Μιθριδατικὸν πόλεμον, καὶ Δούκουλλεον ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνου προσηγορεύθη, καὶ διετέλεσεν ἐπὶ πλείστον, ὡστὸ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν χρεών ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ λαμβάνων ἀμοιβὴν ταχείαν. ἐκ τούτου τῆς μὲν γῆς ἐπικρατῶν οἱ Σύλλας ἐν ταῖς Ἀθηναῖς, περικοπτόμενος δὲ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης ὑπὸ τῶν πολέμιων ναυκρατοῦντων, ἐξέπεμψεν ἐπ᾽ Ἀιγύπτων καὶ Διβύς τοῦ Δούκουλλου ἀξέντα 3 ναύς ἐκείθεν. ἦν μὲν οὖν ἀκμὴ χειμῶνος, ἐξεπλευσε δὲ τρισὶν Ἑλληνικοὶς μυστάρωσι καὶ δικρότοις ἵσαις Ροδικαίης πρὸς μέγα πέλαγος καὶ ναύς πολεμίας, πανταχόσε τῷ κρατεῖν πολλὰς διαφερομένας, παραβαλλόμενος. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ Κρήτην κατάρας φικείωσατο καὶ Κυρηναίοις καταλαβῶν ἐκ τυραννίδων συνεχῶν καὶ πολέμων ταραττομένους ἀνέλαβε, καὶ κατεστήσατο τὴν πολιτείαν Πλατωνίκης τυνος φωνῆς ἀναμνήσας τὴν πόλιν, ἦν ἐκείνος ἀπεθέσπισε πρὸς αὐτούς. 4 δεσμέων γὰρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὅπως τὸ νόμους γράψῃ καὶ τὸν δῆμον αὐτὸν εἰς τύπον τινὰ καταστήσῃ πολιτείας σώφρονοι, ἐφὶ χαλεπῶν εἶναι Κυρηναίοις.
LUCULLUS
to such an extent that, although in absence from the
city, he was elected aedile along with his brother.

II. Though he was but a young man in the Marsic
war,¹ he gave many proofs of courage and under-
standing. It was, however, more owing to his
constancy and mildness that Sulla attached him to
himself and employed him from first to last on
business of the highest importance. Such, for
instance, was the management of the mint. Most
of the money used in Peloponnesus during the
Mithridatic war was coined by him, and was called
Lucullian after him. It remained current for a long
time, since the wants of the soldiery during the war
gave it rapid circulation. Afterwards, at Athens,
Sulla found himself master on land, but cut off from
supplies by sea, owing to the superior naval force of
the enemy. He therefore despatched Lucullus to
Egypt and Libya,² with orders to fetch ships from
there. Winter was then at its worst, but he sailed
forth with three Greek brigantines and as many
small Rhodian galleys, exposing himself not only to
the high sea, but to numerous hostile ships which
were cruising about everywhere in full mastery of it.
However, he put in at Crete and won it over to his
side. He also made Cyrené, and finding it in con-
fusion in consequence of successive tyrannies and
wars, he restored it to order, and fixed its constitution,
reminding the city of a certain oracular utterance
which the great Plato had once vouchsafed to them.
They asked him, it would seem, to write laws for
them, and to mould their people into some form of
sound government, whereupon he said that it was
hard to be a lawgiver for the Cyrenaeans when they

¹ 90–89 B.C. ² 87–86 B.C.
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οὔτως εὔτυχοὺς νομοθετεῖν. οὔδὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώ-

πον δυσαρεστότερον εὖ πράσσειν δοκοῦστος,

οὐδ' αὖ πάλιν δεκτικότερον ἐπιστησάσας συστα-

λέντος ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης. ὅ καὶ τὸ τε Κυρηναῖοις

νομοθετοῦντι Δουκοῦλλῳ πράσων παρέσχεν.

5 'Εκείδεν δ' ἀναχθεὶς ἐπὶ Αἰγύπτου τὰ πλεῖστα

τῶν σκαφῶν ἀπέβαλε πειρατῶν ἐπιφανέντων,

αὐτὸς δὲ διασωθεὶς κατήγετο λαμπρῶς εἰς Ἀλε-

ξάνδρειαν. ἀπήνησε γὰρ αὐτῷ σύμπας ὁ στόλος,

ὁστερ εἰώθει βασιλεῖ καταπλέοντι, κεκοσμη-

μένος ἐκπρεπῶς· καὶ τὸ μειράκιον ὁ Πτολεμαῖος

ἀλλην τε θαυμασθῇ ἐπεδείκνυτο φιλοφροσύνην

πρὸς αὐτόν, οὐκησίν τε καὶ διαταχὲν ἐν τοῖς βασι-

λείοις ἔδωκεν, οὐδενός πω ἕξουν πρότερον ἡγεμόνος

6 αὐτοῦ καταχθέντος. δαπάνην δὲ καὶ σύνταξιν

οὐχ ὅσην ἐδίδον τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἄλλα τετrapλή

ἐκείνῳ παρεῖχεν, οὐ προσιμένῳ τῶν ἀναγκαῖων

πλέον οὐδὲν οὐδὲ δῶρον λαβόντι, καὶ περ ὅγδο-

κοντα ταλάντων ἄξια πέμψαντος αὐτῷ. λέγεται

493 δὲ μήτ' εἰς Μέμφιν ἀναβήναι μήτ' ἄλλο τῶν

θαυμαζομένων ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ περιβοητῶν ἱστο-

ρῆσαι· σχολάζοντος γὰρ εἶναι ταῦτα θεατοῦ καὶ

τρυφώντος, οὐχ, ὡς αὐτὸς, ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τῶν αὐτο-

κράτωρα σκηνοῦντα παρὰ ταῖς ἐπάλξει τῶν

πολεμίων ἀπολεούντως.

III. 'Επεὶ δ' ἀπέλειπτο τὴν συμμαχίαν ὁ Πτολε-

μαῖος πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἀποδειλᾶσα, ἐκείνῳ δὲ

ναῦς ἀχρὴ Κύπρον ποιμοῦσ' παρέσχε, καὶ περὶ

τῶν ἐκπλουν αὐτοῦ ἀσπαζόμενος καὶ θεραπεύων

ἐδώρειτο χρυσένδετον σμάραγδου τῶν πολυτελῶν,
LUCULLUS

were having such good fortune. In fact, nothing is more ungovernable than a man reputed to be prosperous; and, on the other hand, nothing is more receptive of authority than a man who is humbled by misfortune. This was what made the Cyrenaeans at that time so submissive to Lucullus as their lawgiver.

From thence he set sail for Egypt, but was attacked by pirates, and lost most of his vessels. He himself, however, escaped in safety, and entered the port of Alexandria in splendid style. The entire Egyptian fleet came to meet him, as it was wont to do when a king put into port, in resplendent array, and the youthful Ptolemy, besides showing him other astonishing marks of kindness, gave him lodging and sustenance in the royal palace, whither no foreign commander had ever been brought before. The allowance which the king made for his expenses was not the same as others had received, but four times as much, and yet he accepted nothing beyond what was actually necessary, and took no gift, although he was offered the worth of eighty talents. It is also said that he neither went up to Memphis, nor sought out any other of the famous wonders of Egypt; this he held to be the privilege of a leisurely and luxurious sight-seer, not of one who, like himself, had left his commander-in-chief encamped under the open sky alongside the battlements of the enemy.

III. Ptolemy abandoned his alliance with Rome, out of fear for the outcome of the war, but furnished Lucullus with ships to convey him as far as Cyprus, embraced him graciously at parting, and offered him a costly emerald set in gold. At first Lucullus
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

to 'mew prwton o Dóukoullhlos parhtheitó, deixantos de tìn glußh tin basilewv eisôna òusan idían efoibhth diáposéthai, mh pantapásin ékhrós apopleiv nomosphhais épiboulevthei kata 2 théllatau. épetel de plhðs eiv parátphu neiv èk tòw paraalwv plleovn áthrosas, plhð òsou peiratikwv mèteixhun adikhmatwv, eis tìn Kýpron diepérasév, èntaútha pqthanhmenos touj polémwv naulóchoúntas èpì tais òkrais parafulátteiav autwv, ènewéllkese tà skáfìa pánta, kai tais pòlesin égraphe peri keimadíon kai ágoras, ós 3 autóthi tìn òran ånamewn. eiâa plwv fanéntos èxapíwnh kataståsas tás navís án̄ikhth, kai mev' ñmèran mev' ùfeiménoi plleov tòús ñstíos kai tâtevnoi, ñkptwv ð' èpáropomenoi eis 'Rððon èswðth. 'Rððwvn de navís autw prosparaskhntovw Kòous èpíwse kai Kündious tòn basilekòn òpallagèntas èpì Samión svstratèvnav. èk de Xíon tòus basileikovw autòs èxílasse, Kolofwvniwv ð' èleuvthèrwse sullebov 'Epígonon tòn týpanvnon autwv.

4 'Ètnychane de' kath' èkeínon tòn xronon ñðh Ìðìðiðátis tò Pèrýgamov èklelouptwv kai suve-stalménos eis Pitànhv. èkei dé Fìmbriou kate-chontos autw èk ñhì kai poliorkountos, eis tìn thallatav òforwv svynì kai metepémpeto toûs pantachóthen stólovs proû autwv, ãndri tòlmethì kai neikíkhtw tò Fìmbriá svmplékesaí kai 5 polémeivn àpegnwokès. o dé vàta svnorwv, nàvntiko dé leiptómenos proû Dóukoullhlon èpempev, ñkeiv tò stólof deòmenos kai svneçeléivn éxhìshtovn

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declined to accept it, but when the king showed him that the engraving on it was a likeness of himself, he was afraid to reject it, lest he be thought to have sailed away at utter enmity with the king, and so have some plot laid against him on the voyage. As he sailed along, he collected a multitude of ships from the maritime cities, omitting all those engaged in piracy, and came at last to Cyprus. Learning there that the enemy lay at anchor off the headlands and were watching for his coming, he hauled all his vessels up on land, and wrote letters to the cities requesting winter quarters and provisions, as though he would await the fine season there. Then, when the wind served, he suddenly launched his ships and put out to sea, and by sailing in the day time with his sails reefed and low, but in the night time under full canvas, he came safely to Rhodes. The Rhodians furnished him with more ships, and he induced the people of Cos and Cnidus to forsake the royal cause and join him in an expedition against Samos. Without any aid he also drove the royal forces out of Chios, and set the Colophonians free from their tyrant, Epigonous, whom he arrested.

It happened about this time that Mithridates abandoned Pergamum and shut himself up in Pitané. Since Fimbria held him in close siege there by land, he looked to make his escape by sea, and collected and summoned his fleets from every quarter for this purpose, renouncing all engagements in the field with a man so bold and victorious as Fimbria. This design Fimbria perceived, and being without any fleet of his own, sent to Lucullus, beseeching him to come with his, and assist in capturing the

1 85 B.C.
καὶ πολεμώσατον βασιλέων, ὡς μὴ τὸ μέγα καὶ
diὰ πολλῶν ἀγώνων καὶ πόνων διωκόμενον ἀθλον
ἐκφύγοι Ῥωμαίοις, Μιθριδάτης εἰς λαβᾶς ἥκων
καὶ γεγονός ἐντὸς ἄρκυν, οὐ ληφθέντος οὐδένα
τῆς δόξης οὐσεθαί πλέου ή τὸν ἐμποδὸν τῇ φυγῇ
6 στάντα καὶ διαδιδράσκοντος ἐπιλαβόμενον ὑφ’
ἐαυτοῦ μὲν ἐξεσμένον τῆς γῆς, ὑπ’ ἐκείνου δὲ
tῆς θαλάττης εἰργόμενον ἀμφότερος ἀποδώσειν
tὸ κατόρθωμα, τὰς δὲ Σύλλα πρὸς Ὠρχομενῷ
καὶ περὶ Χαρώνειαν ὑμουμένας ἀριστείας ἐν
οὐδενὶ λόγῳ θησεθαι Ῥωμαίοις καὶ οὐδὲν ἢ
ἀπὸ τρόπου τῶν λεγομένων, ἀλλὰ παντὶ δῆλον,
ὡς, εἰ Φιμβρία τότε πεισθεὶς ὁ Δούκουλλος οὐ
μακρὰν ὄν περιήγαγεν ἐκείσε τᾶς ναύς καὶ συνέ-
φραξε τὸν λιμένα τῷ στόλῳ, πέρας ἄν εἰχεν ὁ
πόλεμος καὶ μυρίων ἀπηλλαγμένοι κακῶν ἀπαντες
7 ἦσαν. ἀλλ’ εἰτε τὰ πρὸς Σύλλαν δίκαια πρεσ-
βεύων πρὸ παντὸς ἰδίου τε καὶ κοινοῦ συμφέ-
ροντος, εἰτε τὸν Φιμβρίαν μιαρὸν ὄντα καὶ φονέα
γεγενημένον ἐναγχος ἀνδρὸς φίλου καὶ στρατηγοῦ
διὰ φίλαρχίαν προβαλλόμενος, εἰτε κατὰ θείαν
δῆ τινα τύχην περιφεισάμενοι αὐτὸς τοῦ 1 Μιθρι-
δάτου καὶ φυλάξας ἀνταγωνιστήν, οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν,
ἀλλὰ Μιθριδάτη μὲν ἐκπλεύσαι παρέσχε καὶ
8 καταγελάσαι τῆς Φιμβρίου δυνάμεως, αὐτὸς δὲ
πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ Δεκτῷ τῆς Τρφάδος βασιλικάς
ναῦς ἐπιφανείας κατεναμάχθησεν, αὐθις δὲ πρὸς
Τενέδῳ ναύλοχούντα μείζονι παρασκευῆ κατιδὼν

1 αὐτὸς τοῦ Reiske, Coræs, Bekker: αὐτοῦ.
most hostile and warlike of kings, that the great prize which they had sought with so many toils and struggles might not escape the Romans, now that Mithridates was in their grip and fast in the meshes of their net. If he should be captured, Fimbria said, no one would get more of the glory than the man who stood in the way of his flight and seized him as he was running off. "Driven from the land by me, and excluded from the sea by you, he will crown us both with success, and the much heralded exploits of Sulla at Orchomenus and Chaeroneia will cease to interest the Romans." And there was nothing absurd in the proposition. It is clear to everyone that if Lucullus, who was close at hand, had then listened to Fimbria, brought his ships thither, and closed up the harbour with his fleet, the war would have been at an end, and the world freed from infinite mischief. But, whether he ranked the honourable treatment of Sulla above every consideration of private or public advantage, or whether he regarded Fimbria as a wretch whose ambition for command had recently led him to murder a man who was his friend and superior officer, or whether it was by some mysterious dispensation of fortune that he chose to spare Mithridates, and so reserved him for his own antagonist,—for whatever reason, he would not listen to the proposal, but suffered Mithridates to sail off and mock at Fimbria’s forces, while he himself, to begin with, defeated the king’s ships which showed themselves off Lectum in the Troad. And again, catching sight of Neoptolemus lying in wait for him at Tenedos with a still larger armament,
Νεοπτόλεμου ἐπέπλει πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων, Ὄδιακῆς πεντήρους ἐπιβεβηκώς, ἦς ἐνανάρχει Δαμαγόρας, ἀνήρ εὖνος τε Ῥωμαίοις καὶ θαλασσίων ἁγῶνον ἐμπειρότατος. ἐπελαύνοντος δὲ ῥοθίῳ τοῦ Νεοπτόλεμου καὶ κελεύσαντος εἰς ἐμβολήν ἁγαγεῖν τὸν κυβερνήτην, δεῖσας ὁ Δαμαγόρας τὸ βάρος τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τὴν τραχύτητα τοῦ χαλκώματος οὐκ ἐτόλμησε συμπεσεῖν ἄντιπρόφος, ἀλλ’ ὀξέως ἐκ περιαγωγῆς ἀποστρέφας ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ πρύμναν ὀσσαθαί καὶ πιεσθείς ἐνταῦθα τῆς νεώς ἐδέξατο τὴν πληγήν ἀβλαβῆ γενομένην, ἀτε δὴ τοὺς θαλαττεύοντι τῆς νεῶς μέρεσι προσπεσοῦσαν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῶν φίλων προσφερομένων, ἐγκελευσάμενος ὁ Δούκουλλος ἐπιστρέφειν καὶ πολλὰ δράσας ἀξία λόγου τρέπεται τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ καταιδώκει τοὺς Νεοπτόλεμους.

IV. Ἐκείθεν δὲ Σύλλα περὶ Χερρώνησον ἦδη μέλλοντι διαβαίνειν συμβαλῶν τὸν τε πόρον ἀσφαλῆ παρείχε καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν συνδιεβίβαζεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνθηκῶν γενομένων Μιθριδάτης μὲν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν Εὐξεινον πόλειν, Σύλλας δὲ τὴν Ἀσίαν δισμυρίους ταλάντοις ἐξημώσε, προσταχθὲν αὐτῷ τὰ τε χρήματα ταῦτα πρᾶξει καὶ νόμισμα κόψας, παραμύθιον τι δοκεῖ τῆς Σύλλα χαλεπότητος γενέσθαι ταῖς πόλεσιν, οὗ μόνον καθαρὸν καὶ δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρῶον εἰς οὕτω βαρὺ καὶ σκυθρωτόν ὑπηρέτημα παρασχέων ἑαυτῶν.

2 Μιτυληναίοις δ’ ἀντικρυ ἀφεστῶτας ἐβούλετο μὲν εὑρωμομονήσας καὶ δίκης τυχεῖν μετρίας ἐφ’ οἷς περὶ Μάριου ἐξήμαρτον, ὡς δ’ ἐώρα κακοδαιμο-

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1 Μάριον with Sintenis and Coraës: Μάριον.
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he sailed out against him in advance of the rest, on board of a Rhodian galley which was commanded by Damagoras, a man well disposed to the Romans, and of the largest experience as a sea-fighter. Neoptolemus dashed out to meet him, and ordered his steersman to ram the enemy. Damagoras, however, fearing the weight of the royal ship and her rugged bronze armour, did not venture to engage head on, but put swiftly about and ordered his men to back water, thus receiving his enemy astern, where his vessel was depressed. The blow was harmless, since it fell upon the submerged parts of the ship. At this point, his friends coming up, Lucullus gave orders to turn the ship about, and, after performing many praiseworthy feats, put the enemy to flight and gave close chase to Neoptolemus.

IV. From thence he joined Sulla at the Chersonesus, where he was about to cross the strait into Asia;¹ he rendered his passage safe, and assisted in transporting his troops. After peace had been made, Mithridates sailed away into the Euxine, and Sulla laid a contribution of twenty thousand talents upon Asia. Lucullus was commissioned to collect this money and re-coin it, and the cities of Asia felt it to be no slight assuagement of Sulla’s severity when Lucullus showed himself not only honest and just, but even mild in the performance of a task so oppressive and disagreeable. The Mityleneans too, who had revolted outright, he wished to be reasonable, and to submit to a moderate penalty for having espoused the cause of Marius. But when he saw that they were possessed by an

¹ 84 B.C.
νοῦτας, ἐπιπλεύσας ἐκράτησε μάχῃ καὶ κατέκλεισεν εἰς τα τείχη, καὶ πολιορκίαιν συστησάμενος ἔξεπλευσε μὲν ἥμερας καὶ φανερῶς εἰς 'Ελαίαν, ὑπέστρεψε δὲ λεληθῶς καὶ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ὑφείς ἐνέδραν ἑς ύχαζεν. ἐπεὶ δ’ ἀτάκτως καὶ μετὰ θράσους ὡς ἐρημοῦ ἀρπασόμενοι τὸ στρατόπεδον οἱ Μιτυληναῖοι προῆλθον, ἐπεισδεσσῶν αὐτοῖς ἔλαβε τε παμπόλλους ξώντας καὶ τῶν ἀμυνομένων πεντακοσίους ἀπέκτεινεν, ἀνδραπόδων δὲ χιλιάδας ἢ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀναρίθμητον ἡλάσατο λείαν.

Τῶν δὲ περὶ τὴν 'Ιταλίαν κακῶν, ἀ τότε Σύλλας καὶ Μάριος ἀφθόνα καὶ παντοδαπὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παρεῖχον, οὐ πάνυ μετέσχε θεία των τύχη περὶ τὰς ἐν Ἄσια πράξεις βραδύνας. οὐ μὴν ἐλαττῶν τι παρὰ Σύλλα τῶν ἄλλων φίλων ἐσχεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τε γραφὴν, ὡς εἰρήται, τῶν ὑπομνημάτων ἐκείνῳ δι’ εὐνοιαν ἀνέθηκε, καὶ τελευτῶν ἐπίτροπον τοῦ παιδὸς ἐγραφεὶν ὑπερβᾶς Πομπήιον. καὶ δοκεῖ τούτῳ πρῶτον αὐτοῖς ὑπάρξαι διαφοράς αἰτίων καὶ ξηλοτυπίας νέοις οὐσὶ καὶ διαπύρους πρὸς δόξαν.

V. Ὄλγῳ δ’ ύστερον ἢ Σύλλαν ἀποθανεῖν ὑπάτευσε μετὰ Μάρκου Κόττα περὶ τὴν ἐκτην καὶ ἐβδομηκοστὴν πρὸς ταῖς ἐκατόν ὀλυμπιάδα. πολλῶν οὖν αὐτῆς ἀνακινοῦντων τῶν Μιθριδατικῶν πόλεμον, ἔφη Μάρκος αὐτῶν οὐ πεπαύσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἀναπεσάσθαι. διὸ καὶ λαχῶν τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν ὁ Δούκουλλος τὴν ἐντὸς Ἀττεων Γαλατίαν ἤχθετο, πράξεων ὑποθέσεις μεγάλων οὐκ ἔχουσαν.

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evil spirit, he sailed against them, conquered them in battle, and shut them up within their walls. After instituting a siege of their city, he sailed away in open day to Elaea, but returned by stealth, and lay quietly in ambush near the city. When the Mitylenaeans sallied forth in disorder and with the confident expectation of plundering his deserted camp, he fell upon them, took a great number of them alive, and slew five hundred of those who offered resistance. He also carried off six thousand slaves, besides countless other booty.

But in the boundless and manifold evils which Sulla and Marius were bringing upon the people of Italy at that time, he had no share whatever, for, as some kindly fortune would have it, he was detained at his business in Asia. 1 However, Sulla accorded no less favour to Lucullus than to his other friends. His memoirs, as I have said, Sulla dedicated to Lucullus in token of affection, and in his will appointed him guardian of his son, thereby passing Pompey by. And this seems to have been the first ground for estrangement and jealousy between these two men; both were young, and burning for distinction.

V. Shortly after the death of Sulla, Lucullus was made consul along with Marcus Cotta, about the hundred and seventy-sixth Olympiad. 2 Many were now trying to stir up anew the Mithridatic war, which Marcus said had not come to an end, but merely to a pause. Therefore when the province of Cisalpine Gaul was allotted to Lucullus, he was displeased, since it offered no opportunity for great exploits. But what most of all embittered him was

1 84–80 B.C.  
2 74 B.C.
2 μάλιστα δ’ αὐτόν εὐδοκιμῶν Πομπήιος ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ παρώξυνεν, ὡς ἄλλος οὖν ἐπίδοξος ὦν, εἰ συμβαίνῃ παύσασθαι τὸν Ἰβηρικὸν πόλεμον, εἰδὼς αἱρεθήσεσθαι στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτην. διὸ καὶ χρήματα αἰτούντος αὐτοῦ καὶ γράφοντος, ὡς, εἰ μὴ πέμποιεν, ἀφεῖς Ἰβηρίαν καὶ Σερτώριον εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἀπάξου τὰς δυνάμεις, συνεπράξεν ὁ Δούκουλλος προθυμότατα πεμφθῆναι τὰ χρήματα καὶ μηδ’ ἀφ’ ἕστινοσον προφάσεως ἐκείνων
3 ἐπανελθεῖν ὑπατεύοντος αὐτοῦ πάντα γὰρ ἄν ἐπ’ ἐκείνῳ γενήσεσθαι τὰ τῆς πόλεως παρόντι μετὰ τοσαύτης στρατιᾶς. καὶ γὰρ ὁ κρατῶν τότε τῆς πολιτείας τῷ πρὸς χάριν ἅπαντα καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν Κέθηγος ἐχθραὶ πρὸς Δού-
κουλλον εἶχε, βδελυγμένον αὐτοῦ τὸν βίον 495 αἰσχρῶν ἔρωτων καὶ ὑβρισσὶ καὶ πλημμελείας
4 μεστὸν ὄντα. τούτων μὲν οὖν ἀντικρς ἐπολέμειν Δεύκιον δὲ Κόιντον, ἄλλον δημαγωγοῦν, ἐπανα-
στάντα τοῖς Σύλλα πολιτεύμασθαι καὶ ταράττειν τὰ πράγματα πειρώμενον ἕκ τού χαστωτός, ἱδίᾳ τε πολλὰ παραμουθουμένοις καὶ δημοσίᾳ
νουθετῶν ἀπέστησε τῆς πείρας καὶ κατεστόρεσε τὴν φιλοτιμίαν, ὡς εὖν μάλιστα πολιτικὸς καὶ
σωτηρίως ἀρχὴν νοσήματος μεγάλου μεταχειρι-
σάμενος.

VI. Ἐν τούτῳ δ’ ὁ τῆς Κιλικίας ἔχων
’Οκταύιος ἡγγελθε τεθυκὼς. σπαργάζοντον δὲ
πολλῶν πρὸς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν καὶ Κέθηγον ὡς
dυνατῶτατον ὄντα διαπράξασθαι θεραπευόντων,
aὐτῆς μὲν ὁ Δούκουλλος Κιλικίας οὐ πολὺν εἶχε
λόγον, οἰόμενος δ’, εἰ λάβῃ ταῦτα, ἐγγὺς οὖσης
Καππαδοκίας, ἄλλον οὖδένα πεμφθήσεσθαι πολε-

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the reputation which Pompey was winning in Spain. If the war in Spain should happen to come to an end, Pompey was more likely than anyone else to be at once chosen general against Mithridates. Therefore when Pompey wrote home requesting money, and declaring that if they did not send it, he would abandon Spain and Sertorius and bring his forces back to Italy, Lucullus moved heaven and earth to have the money sent, and to prevent Pompey from coming back, on any pretext whatsoever, while he was consul. He knew that all Rome would be in Pompey's hands if he were there with so large an army. For the man who at that time controlled the course of political affairs by virtue of doing and saying everything to court the favour of the people, Cethegus, hated Lucullus, who loathed his manner of life, full as it was of disgraceful amours and wanton trespasses. Against this man Lucullus waged open war. But Lucius Quintus, another popular leader, who opposed the institutions of Sulla and sought to confound the established order of things, he turned from his purpose by much private remonstrance and public admonition, and alyayed his ambition, thus treating in as wise and wholesome a manner as was possible the beginnings of a great distemper.

VI. At this time there came tidings of the death of Octavius, the governor of Cilicia. There were many eager applicants for the province, and they paid court to Cethegus as the man best able to further their designs. Of Cilicia itself Lucullus made little account, but in the belief that, if he should get this province, which was near Cappadocia, no one else would be sent to conduct the war against
μῆσουν Μιθριδάτη, πᾶσαν ἐστρεφε μηχανήν
2 ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ προέσθαι τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἐτέρῳ. καὶ
teleutῶν ἔργον οὐ σεμνὸν. οὐδ’ ἔπαινετον, ἀλλὰς
d’ ἀνύσιμον πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἐκ τῆς ἀνάγκης
ὑπέμεινε παρὰ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ φύσιν.

Πραικία τις ήν ὄνομα τῶν ἐφ’ ὄρα καὶ λαμυρία
diaβοητῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κρείττων
οὐδὲν ἀνέδην ἐταιρούσης γυναικός, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ
χρῆσθαι τοὺς ἐντυγχάνουσιν αὐτῇ καὶ διάλεγο-
mένους πρὸς τὰς υπὲρ τῶν φίλων σπουδᾶς καὶ
πολυτείας προσλαβοῦσα τῇ λοιπῇ χάριτι τὸ
dοκεῖν φιλέταιρός τις εἶναι καὶ δραστήριος

3 ἵσχυσε μέγιστον. ὡς δὲ καὶ Κέθηγον ἄνθοῦντα
τῇ δόξῃ τότε καὶ φέροντα τὴν πόλιν ὑπηγάγετο
καὶ συνήν ἔρωτι, παντάπασιν εἰς ἐκεῖνην
περιήλθεν ἢ τῆς πόλεως δύναμις οὐδὲ γὰρ
ἐπράττετο τῇ δημοσίᾳ Κέθηγου μὴ σπουδάζοντος
οὐδὲ Πραικίας μὴ κελευούσης παρὰ Κέθηγος
ταῦτην οὖν ὑπελθῶν δόροις ὁ Δουκούλλος καὶ
κολακείαις (ἡν δὲ πον καὶ τῷ Δουκούλλῳ
συμφιλοτιμομένην ὄρασθαι μέγας γυναικὸς
σο-βαρᾷ καὶ πανηγυρικῇ μυσθὸς), εὐθὺς εἰχε τὸν
Κέθηγον ἐπανέτην καὶ προμνώμενον αὐτῷ

4 Κιλικίαν. ἐπεὶ δ’ ἀπαξ ἐτυχε ταῦτης, οὐδὲν ἔτι
Πραικίαν οὐδὲ Κέθηγον ἐδει παρακαλεῖν, ἀλλὰ
πάντας ὁμαλῶς ἐκεῖνως φέροντες ἐνεχείρισαν τὸν
Μιθριδατικὸν πόλεμον ὡς ὑφ’ ἐτέρου μηδενὸς
ἀμενον διαπολεμηθῆναι δυνάμενον, Πομπηίου μὲν
ἔτι Σερτωρίῳ προσπολεμοῦντος, Μετέλλου δ’
ἀπειρηκότος ἢδη διὰ γῆς, οὖς μόνοις ἄν τις
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Mithridates, he strained every nerve to keep the province from being assigned to another. And finally, contrary to his natural bent, he was driven by the necessities of the case to adopt a course which was neither dignified nor praiseworthy, it is true, but conducive to his end.

There was a certain woman then in Rome, Praecia by name, whose fame for beauty and wit filled the city. In other respects she was no whit better than an ordinary courtesan, but she used her associates and companions to further the political ambitions of her friends, and so added to her other charms the reputation of being a true comrade, and one who could bring things to pass. She thus acquired the greatest influence. And when Cethegus also, then at the zenith of his fame and in control of the city, joined her train and became her lover, political power passed entirely into her hands. No public measure passed unless Cethegus favoured it, and Cethegus did nothing except with Praecia’s approval. This woman, then, Lucullus won over by gifts and flatteries, and it was doubtless a great boon for a woman so forward and ostentatious to be seen sharing the ambitions of Lucullus. Straightway he had Cethegus singing his praises and suing for Cilicia in his behalf. But as soon as he had obtained this province, there was no further need of his soliciting the aid of Praecia, or of Cethegus, for that matter, but all were unanimous and prompt in putting into his hands the Mithridatic war, assured that no one else could better bring it to a triumphant close. Pompey was still engaged in his war with Sertorius, Metellus had now retired from active service by reason of his age, and these were the only
Δούκουλλος δὲ τάμα μὲν αὐτὸθεν ἔχων συντεταγμένον ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ διέβαινεν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐκεί δὲ τὴν ἄλλην παρέλαβε δύναμιν, πάντων μὲν πάλαι τρυφαῖς διεφθορῶν καὶ πλεονεξίας, τῶν δὲ Φιμβριανῶν λεγομένων καὶ διὰ συνήθειαν ἀναρχίας δυσμεταχειρίστων γεγο-νότων. οὐτοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ Φλάκκον τε μετὰ Φιμβρίου τὸν ὑπατόν καὶ στρατηγὸν ἀνηρηκότες αὐτὸν τε τὸν Φιμβρίαν Σύλλα προδεδωκότες, αὐθάδεις μὲν ἀνθρωποὶ καὶ παράνομοι, μάχιμοι δὲ καὶ τλήμονες μετ’ ἐμπειρίας πολέμων. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα βραχεὶ χρόνῳ καὶ τοῦτω τὸ θράσος ὁ Δούκουλλος ἐξέκοψε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπέ-στρεψε, τότε πρῶτον, ὡς ἔοικε, πειραμένους ἄρχοντος ἀληθινοῦ καὶ θηρευόντος ἄλλως δ’ ἐδη-μαγγυγοῦντο πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἐθιζόμενοι στρατεύεσθαι.

3 Τὰ δὲ τῶν πολεμίων οὕτως εἶχε. Μιθριδάτης, 496 ὠσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν σοφιστῶν, κομπώδης ἐν ἄρχῃ καὶ σοβαρὸς ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἀναστᾶς δια-κένω δύναμι, λαμπρὰ δὲ καὶ πανηγυρικῇ τὴν ὁψιν, ἐτ’ ἐκπεσὼν καταγελάστως καὶ νοθετη-θείς, ὅτε τὸ δεύτερον πολεμεῖν ἔμελλεν, εἰς ἀληθινὴν καὶ πραγματικὴν συνέστελλε τὰς δυνά-4 μείς παρασκευὴν. ἀφελῶν γὰρ τὰ παντοδαπὰ πλήθη καὶ τὰς πολυγλώσσους ἀπειλὰς τῶν βαρβάρων, ὡπλῶν τε1 διαχρύσων καὶ διαλίθων

1 τε with S: δὲ.
LUCULLUS

men who could be regarded as rivals of Lucullus in any dispute about this command. Cotta, however, his colleague in the consulship, after fervent entreaties to the Senate, was sent with some ships to guard the Propontis, and to protect Bithynia.

VII. With a legion which he had raised himself in Italy, Lucullus crossed into Asia, and there assumed command of the rest of the Roman forces. All these had long been spoiled by habits of luxury and greed, and the Fimbrians, as they were called, had become unmanageable, through long lack of discipline. These were the men who, in collusion with Fimbrius, had slain Flaccus, their consul and general, and had delivered Fimbrius himself over to Sulla. They were self-willed and lawless, but good fighters, hardy, and experienced in war. However, in a short time Lucullus pruned off their insolent boldness, and reformed the rest. Then for the first time, as it would seem, they made the acquaintance of a genuine commander and leader, whereas before this they had always been cajoled into doing their duty, like crowds at the hustings.

On the enemy's side, matters stood as follows. Mithridates, boastful and pompous at the outset, like most of the Sophists, had first opposed the Romans with forces which were really unsubstantial, though brilliant and ostentatious to look upon. With these he had made a ridiculous fiasco and learned a salutary lesson. When therefore, he thought to go to war the second time, he organized his forces into a genuinely effective armament. He did away with Barbarous hordes from every clime, and all their discordant and threatening cries; he provided no

1 74 B.C. Cf. Cimon, i. 5.
κατασκευάς, ως λάφυρα τῶν κρατούντων, οὐκ ἄλκην τινα τῶν κεκτημένων ὄντα, ξίφη μὲν ἡλαύνετο Ῥωμαϊκὰ καὶ θυρεοῦς ἐμβριθεῖς ἐπηγμνοῦ καὶ γεγυμνασμένους μᾶλλον ἢ κεκοσμημένους ἡθροίζετι ἵππους, πεζῶν δὲ μυριάδας δώδεκα κατεσκευασμένων εἰς φάλαγγα Ῥωμαϊκῆς, ἵππεῖς δὲ πρὸς μυρίους ἔξοικοσχίλους ἀνευ τῶν δρεπανη-5 φόρων τεθρύππων ταῦτα δ' ἦν ἑκατόν· ἔτι δὲ ναύς οὐ χρυσοροφοὶς σκηνίσων οὐδὲ λουτροῖς παλλακίδων καὶ γυναικονύτισι τρυφώσας ἰσκημένας, ἀλλ' ὑπλῶν καὶ βελῶν καὶ χρημάτων γεμούσας παραρτυσάμενος ἐνέβαλεν εἰς Βιθυνίαν, τῶν πόλεων αὕτης ἀσμένως ὑποδεχομένων οὐ μόνον τούτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Ἀσιάν ὅλην ὑποτροπὴ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν νοσημάτων εἴχεν, ἀφόρητα πάχους ὑπὸ Ῥωμαϊκῶν δανειστῶν καὶ τελω-6 νῶν οὕς ὑστερον μὲν ὁστερ Ἀρτυλίας τὴν τροφῆν ἀρπάζοντας αὐτῶν ο Λούκουλλος ἔξηλασε, τότε δὲ μετριωτέρους ἐπειρᾶτο νουθετῶν ποιεῖν, καὶ τὰς ἀποστάσεις κατέπαυε τῶν δήμων, οὐδενός, ὡς ἐπος εἰπεῖν, ἵσυχάξοντος.

VIII. "Ον δὲ περὶ ταύτα Λούκουλλος ῥήχο-λεῖτο χρόνον αὐτοῦ καιρὸν εἶναι νομίζων ὁ Κόττας παρεσκευάζετο μάχεσθαι πρὸς Μιθρι-δάτην, καὶ πολλῶν ἀπαγγελλόντων ἦδη Λού-κουλλου ἐν Φρυγίᾳ στρατοπεδεύειν ἐπιόντα, μόνον οὐκ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχειν τῶν θρίαμβου οἴμενος, ὡς μὴ μεταλάβῃ Λούκουλλος αὐτοῦ, 2 συμβαλεῖν ἐσπενευσε. πληγεῖς δ' ἂμα καὶ κατὰ 492
LUCULLUS

more armour inlaid with gold and set with precious stones, for he saw that these made rich booty for the victors, but gave no strength whatever to their wearers; instead, he had swords forged in the Roman fashion, and heavy shields welded; he collected horses that were well trained rather than richly caparisoned, and a hundred and twenty thousand footmen drilled in the Roman phalanx formation, and sixteen thousand horsemen, not counting the scythe-bearing, four-horse chariots, which were a hundred in number: and further, he put in readiness ships which were not tricked out with gilded canopies, or baths for concubines, and luxurious apartments for women, but which were rather loaded down with armour and missiles and munitions of war. Then he burst into Bithynia, and not only did the cities there receive him again with gladness, but all Asia suffered a relapse into its former distempered condition, afflicted, as it was, past bearing by Roman money-lenders and tax-gatherers. These were afterwards driven off by Lucullus,—harpies that they were, snatching the people’s food; but then he merely tried, by admonishing them, to make them more moderate in their demands, and laboured to stop the uprisings of the towns, hardly one of which was in a quiet state.

VIII. While Lucullus was thus occupied, Cotta, thinking that his own golden opportunity had come, was getting ready to give battle to Mithridates. And when tidings came from many sources that Lucullus was coming up, and was already encamped in Phrygia, thinking that a triumph was all but in his grasp, and desiring that Lucullus have no share in it, he hastened to engage the king. But
γὴν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἔξήκουντα μὲν ἀπώλεσεν αὐτανδρα σκάφη, πεζοὺς δὲ τετρακισχίλιους, αὐτὸς δὲ κατακλεισθεῖς εἰς Χαλκηδόνα καὶ πολιορκούμενος εἰς τὰς Λουκούλλου χεῖρας ἀπεβλεπεν.

3 Ἡσαν μὲν σὺν οἷς τὸν Λουκούλλον ἀμελήσαντα Κόττα πρόσῳ χωρεῖν παρομώντες ὡς ἔρημον αἱρήσοντα τὴν Μιθριδάτου βασιλείαν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὕτος ἦν ὁ λόγος, ἀγανακτοῦντων, εἰ μή μονον αὐτῶν ἀπολεῖ καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ βουλευσάμενος κακῶς ὁ Κόττας, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφίσιν ἐμποδῶν ἔσται νικᾶν ἀμαχεί δυναμένους.

4 μένους. Λουκούλλος δὲ πρὸς μὲν τούτους δημηγορῶν εἰπεν, ὡς ἐνα βούλοιτ' ἀν ἐκ πολεμίων σώσαι Ῥωμαῖον ἡ πάντα λαβείν τὰ τῶν πολεμίων. Ἀρχελάου δὲ τοῦ περὶ Βουσίλαυ Ἔμεριδάτη στρατηγήσαντος, εἰτ' ἀποστάντως καὶ Ῥωμαίοις συστρατεύοντος, διαβεβαιωμένου ὁφθάντα Λουκούλλον ἐν Πόντῳ πάντων ὁμοῦ κρατήσεν, οὐκ ἔφη δειλότερος εἴναι τῶν κυνηγῶν, ὡστε τὰ θηρία παρελθὼν ἐπὶ κενοὺς αὐτῶν τοὺς φωλεοὺς βαδίζειν. καὶ ταύτ' εἰπὼν ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτην προῆγε πεζοὺς μὲν ἔχων τρισμυρίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ δισεκάτους πεντακωσίους. καταστάς δ' εἰς ἐποψιν τῶν πολεμίων καὶ θαυμάσας τὸ πλῆθος ἐβοῦλετο μὲν ἀπέχεσθαι μάχης καὶ τρίβειν τὸν χρόνον, Μαρίου δ', ἐν Σερτώριος ἐξ Ιβηρίας ἄπεστάλκει Μιθριδάτη μετὰ δυνάμεως στρατηγῶν, ἀπαντήσαντος αὐτῷ καὶ προκαλούμενον κατέστη μὲν εἰς τάξιν ὡς διαμαχοῦμενος, ἦδη δὲ ὅσον οὕτω συμφερο- 6 μένων, ἀπ' οὔδεμας ἐπιφανοῦς μεταβολής, ἀλλ'
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he was defeated by sea and land, lost sixty vessels, crews and all, and four thousand foot-soldiers, while he himself was shut up in Chalcedon and besieged there, looking for relief at the hands of Lucullus.

Now there were some who urged Lucullus to ignore Cotta and march on into the kingdom of Mithridates, assured of capturing it in its defenceless condition. This was the reasoning of the soldiers especially, who were indignant that Cotta, by his evil counsels, should not only be the undoing of himself and his army, but also block their own way to a victory which they could have won without a battle. But Lucullus, in a harangue which he made them, said that he would rather save one Roman from the enemy than take all that enemy's possessions. And when Archelaüs, who had held command for Mithridates in Boeotia, and then had abandoned his cause, and was now in the Roman army, stoutly maintained that if Lucullus were once seen in Pontus, he would master everything at once, Lucullus declared that he was at least as courageous as the hunter; he would not give the wild beasts the slip and stalk their empty lairs. With these words, he led his army against Mithridates, having thirty thousand foot-soldiers, and twenty-five hundred horsemen. But when he had come within sight of the enemy and seen with amazement their multitude, he desired to refrain from battle and draw out the time. But Marius, whom Sertorius had sent to Mithridates from Spain with an army, came out to meet him, and challenged him to combat, and so he put his forces in array to fight the issue out. But presently, as they were on the point of joining
έξαίφνης τοῦ ἀέρος ὑπορραγέντος ὁφθη μέγα σῶμα φλογειδῆς εἰς μέσον τῶν στρατοπέδων καταφερόμενον, τὸ μὲν σχῆμα πίθω μάλιστα, τὴν δὲ χρόαν ἀργύρῳ διαπύρῳ προσευκός, ὡστε δεῖσαντας ἀμφιτέρους τὸ φάσμα διακρίθηναι. 497
7 τοῦτο μὲν οὖν φασίν ἐν Φρυγίᾳ περὶ τὰς λεγομένας Ὀτρύας συμβῆναι τὸ πάθος.
Ο δὲ Δούκουλλος οὐδεμιᾶς εἶναι νομίζων ἀνθρωπίνης παρασκευής οὐδὲ πλούτου θρέψαι μυριάδας ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἀντικαθηρένων πολεμιῶν τοσαύτας, ὅσα εἰχε Μιθριδάτης, ἐκέλευσεν ἀχθῆναι τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἑνα· καὶ πρῶτον ἀνέκρινε, μετὰ πόσων διαιτήτω συσκήνων, ἐπειτα
8 πόσου εἰς τῇ σκηνῇ καταλέλυτε σῖτον. ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τάνθρωπον τὸν μὲν ἐκέλευσε μεταστήναι, δεύτερον δὲ καὶ τρίτον ὀμοίως ἀνέκρινεν. εἰτὰ συνθεῖς τὸ τῆς παρεσκευασμένης τροφῆς πλῆθος πρὸς τὸ τῶν τρεφομένων, ἔγνω τριῶν ἢ τεσσάρων ὑμερῶν ἐπιλείψοντα σῖτον τοὺς πολέμους. καὶ πολὺ μάλλον εἴχετο τοῦ χρόνου, καὶ συνήγεν εἰς τὸν χάρακα παμπληθὴ σῖτου, ὃς ἐν ἀφθόνους διάγων αὐτὸς ἐφεδρεύοι ταῖς ἐκείνων ἀπορίαις.
IX. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ἐπεβούλευε Κυζικηνοὶς πεπληγόσιν ἐν τῇ περὶ Χαλκηδόνα μάχῃ τρισχιλῶν ὡρὰ ἀνδρῶν καὶ δέκα νεῶν ἐστέρηντο. Βουλόμενοι οὖν λαθεῖν τὸν Δούκουλλον, εὐθὺς ἀπὸ δεῖπνου νῦκτα δυσφανή καὶ νυσταρὰν ἔχουν ἐκίνει· καὶ φθάνει τῆς πόλεως ἀντίκρυς ἃμὴ ἡμέρα περὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀδραστείας ὄρος
1 ὑπορραγέντος with S: ἀπορραγέντος.
LUCULLUS

battle, with no apparent change of weather, but all on a sudden, the sky burst asunder, and a huge, flame-like body was seen to fall between the two armies. In shape, it was most like a wine-jar, and in colour, like molten silver. Both sides were astonished at the sight, and separated. This marvel, as they say, occurred in Phrygia, at a place called Otryae.

But Lucullus, feeling sure that no human provision or wealth could maintain, for any length of time, and in the face of an enemy, so many thousands of men as Mithridates had, ordered one of the captives to be brought to him, and asked him first, how many men shared his mess, and then, how much food he had left in his tent. When the man had answered these questions, he ordered him to be removed, and questioned a second and a third in like manner. Then, comparing the amount of food provided with the number of men to be fed, he concluded that within three or four days the enemy's provisions would fail them. All the more, therefore, did he trust to time, and collected into his camp a great abundance of provisions, that so, himself in the midst of plenty, he might watch for his enemy's distress.

IX. But in the meantime, Mithridates planned a blow at Cyzicus, which had suffered terribly in the battle near Chalcedon, having lost three thousand men and ten ships. Accordingly, wishing to evade the notice of Lucullus, he set out immediately after the evening meal, taking advantage of a dark and rainy night, and succeeded in planting his forces over against the city, on the slopes of the mountain range
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

2 ἵδρυσας τὴν δύναμιν. Ὅ δὲ Δούκουλλος αἰσθό-
μένος καὶ διώξας ἡγάπησε μὲν οὐκ ἐμπεσόν ἄσυν-
taktos eis toous polemious, kathizei de toν στρατὸν
περὶ τὴν Θρακίαν λεγομένην κόμην εἷς τόπῳ κατὰ
tῶν ὀδῶν ἄριστα περικότι καὶ τῶν χωρίων, ἂφ'
ὅν καὶ δὲ ὄν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τοῖς Μιθριδατικοῖς τὰ
ἐπιτήδεια φοιτᾶν. διὸ καὶ περιλαβὼν τῇ διανοίᾳ
tὸ μέλλον οὐκ ἀπεκρύψατο τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἀλλ' ἀμα τῷ θέσθαι τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν
ἐργῶν γενέσθαι συναγαγόν αὐτοὺς ἐμεγαλη-
γόρησεν, ὡς ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἀναιμωτὶ τὸ νίκημα
παραδώσων αὐτοῖς.

3 Κυζίκηνοις δὲ Μιθριδάτης δέκα μὲν ἐκ γῆς στρα-
topédois περιλαβὼν, ταῖς δὲ ναυσίν ἐκ θαλάσσης
τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἡπείρου διείργοντα τὴν πόλιν εὔριπον
ἐμφράζασ, ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπολιόρκει, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα
diakēmēnous πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον εὐθαρσῶς καὶ πᾶν
ἔνεκα Ῥωμαιῶν ἐγνωκότας ἐκδέχεσθαι δυσχερές,
ἀγνοοῦντας δὲ ὅτι Δούκουλλος εἶη καὶ τῷ μηδὲν
4 περὶ αὐτοῦ πεπύθη ςιμαραττομένους. καitated
καταφανῆς ἦν ἡ στρατοπεδεία καὶ ἀποπτος, ἀλλ’
ὑπὸ τῶν Μιθριδατικῶν ἔξητατων. δεικνύετε
γὰρ αὐτοῖς τοὺς Ῥωμαιῶν ἀνω παρεμβεβηλήκοτας
“Ὅρατε τούτους,” ἔφασαν, “ἳ Ἀρμενίων στρατῶς
ἐστι καὶ Μῆδων, Τιγράνου Μιθριδατῆ καταπέμ-
ψαντος ἐπικουρίαν.” οἱ δ’ ἐξεπλήσσοντο τοσού-
tον πολέμου περικεχυμένον μηδ’, εἰ παραγένοιτο
Δούκουλλος, χώραν ἔτι λειείφθαι βοήθειας ἐλπί-
ζοντες.

5 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πρῶτος αὐτοῖς εἰσπεμφθεὶς ὑπ’ Ἀρχελάου Δημώναξ ἐφρασε τὴν τοῦ Δούκουλλου
498
of Adrasteia, by day-break. Lucullus got wind of his departure and pursued him, but was well satisfied not to fall upon the enemy while his own troops were in disorder from their march, and stationed his army near the village called Thracia, in a spot best suited to command the roads and regions from which, and over which, the army of Mithridates must get its necessary supplies. Seeing clearly, therefore, what the issue must be, he did not conceal it from his soldiers, but as soon as they had completed the labour of fortifying their camp, called them together, and boastfully told them that within a few days he would give them their victory, and that without any bloodshed.

Mithridates was besieging Cyzicus both by land and sea, having encompassed it with ten camps on the land side, and having blockaded with his ships by sea the narrow strait which parts the city from the mainland. Although the citizens viewed their peril with a high courage, and were resolved to sustain every hardship for the sake of the Romans, still, they knew not where Lucullus was, and were disturbed because they heard nothing of him. And yet his camp was in plain sight, only they were deceived by their enemies. These pointed the Romans out to them, lying encamped on the heights, and said: "Do you see those forces? It is an army of Armenians and Medes which Tigranes has sent to assist Mithridates." They were therefore terrified to see such hosts encompassing them, and had no hopes that any way of succour remained, even if Lucullus should come.

However, in the first place, Demonax was sent in to them by Archelaüs, and told them that Lucullus
παρουσίαν. Τούτων δ’ ἀπιστούντων καὶ νομιζόντων αὐτῶν τῶν παρόντων ἐπὶ παρηγορία πεπλασμένα λέγειν, ἢκε παιδάριον αἰχμάλωτον ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ἀποδεδρακός. πυθανομένων δ’ αὐτῶν, ποῦ λέγοι τὸν Δούκουλλον εἶναι, κατεγέλα παῖζειν αὐτοὺς οἰόμενον. ὥς δ’ εὖρα σπουδάζοντας, ἐσήμηνε τῇ χειρὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν Ῥωμαιῶν, οἱ δ’ ἀνεθάρρησαν. τῆς δὲ Δασκυλίτιδος Λίμνης πλεομένης ἀκατίοις ἐπιεικῶς εὐμεγέθεσι, τὸ μέγιστον αὐτῶν ὁ Δούκουλλος ἀνελκύσας καὶ διαγαγὼν ἅμαξη πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν ὅσους ἠχώρει στρατιώταις ἐνεβίβασεν. ἔλαθον δὲ νυκτὸς διαπεράσαντες καὶ παρεισῆλθον εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

X. “Εοικε δὲ καὶ τὸ θείον ἐπιθαρρύναι τοὺς Κυζικηνοὺς, ἀγασθέν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀνδραγάθιν, ἀλλοις τε σημείοις ἐναργεῖσι, καὶ τῆς τῶν Φερεφαττίων ἐορτῆς ἐνεστώσης οἱ μὲν ἥπορον βοῶς μελαίνης πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν καὶ στατίνην πλάσαντες τῷ βωμῷ παρέστησαν, ἡ δ’ ἵερα καὶ τρεφομένη τῇ θεῷ νομὴν μὲν εἰχεν, ὡσπερ τὰλλα βοτὰ τῶν Κυζικηνῶν, ἐν τῇ περαΐᾳ, κατ’ ἐκείνην δὲ τὴν ἡμέραν ἀποκριθεῖσα τῆς ἀγέλης μόνη διενήξατο πρὸς τὴν πόλιν καὶ κατέστησεν ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν αὐτῆς. ὅπως δ’ ἡ θεοὶ Ἄρισταγόρα τῷ τοῦ δήμου γραμματιστῇ παραστάσα, “Καὶ μὴ ἐγγυεῖ,” εἶπεν, “ἡκό τὸν Διβυκῶν αὐλητὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Ποντικὸν σαλπιγκτὴν ἐπάγουσα. φράσον οὖν χαρρεῖν τοῖς πολίταις.” θαυμάζοντων δὲ τῇ φωνῇ τῶν Κυζικηνῶν ἀµ’ ἡμέρα σάλον εἶχεν ἡ πρόσα ἀκρίτου πνεύματος, αἰ τε μηχαναὶ τοῦ βασιλέως παρεστῶσαι τοῖς τείχεσιν, ἔργα θαυμαστὰ Νικωνίδου τοῦ Θεσσαλοῦ, δολίζω 500
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was arrived. They disbelieved him, and thought he had invented his story merely to mitigate their anxieties, but then a boy came to them, who had escaped from his captivity with the enemy. On their asking him where he thought Lucullus was, he laughed at them, supposing them to be jesting. But when he saw that they were in earnest, he pointed out the Roman camp to them, and their courage was revived. Again, Lucullus drew out on shore the largest of the sizable craft which plied the lake Dascylitis, carried it across to the sea on a waggon, and embarked upon it as many soldiers as it would hold, who crossed by night unobserved, and got safely into the city.

X. It would seem also that Heaven, in admiration of their bravery, emboldened the men of Cyzicus by many manifest signs, and especially by the following. The festival of Persephone was at hand, and the people, in lack of a black heifer for the sacrifice, fashioned one of dough, and brought it to the altar. Now the sacred heifer reared for the goddess was pasturing, like the other herds of the Cyzicenes, on the opposite side of the strait, but on that day she left her herd, swam over alone to the city, and presented herself for the sacrifice. And again, the goddess appeared in a dream to Aristagoras, the town-clerk, saying: "Lo, here am I, and I bring the Libyan fifer against the Pontic trumpeter. Bid the citizens therefore be of good cheer." While the Cyzicenes were lost in wonder at the saying, at day-break the sea began to toss under a boisterous wind, and the siege-engines of the king along the walls, the wonderful works of Niconides the Thessalian, by
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3 καὶ πατάγη πρῶτον ἀπεδήλου τὸ μέλλον· εἰτα νότος ἐκραγεῖ λάμπηστος τὸ μέγεθος τὰ τ' ἄλλα συνέτριψε μηχανήματα ὡρας βραχεῖ μορίῳ, καὶ τὸν ἥλιον πτύρων ἐκατὸν πηχῶν ὑψος ὑπάλληλον διασείσας κατέβαλεν. Ἰστορεῖται δὲ τῶν ἐν Ἰλίῳ πολλοῖς καὶ ὑπόνου ὅφθηναι τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἰδρώτει πολλῇ βρεμένη καὶ ὑποφαίνουσάν τι τοῦ πέπλου παρέρρωγος, λέγουσαν, ὡς ἀρτίως ἦκοι βοσθήσασα Κυζικηνοῖς. καὶ στήλῃ τινὰ δόγματα καὶ γράμματα περὶ τῶν ἔχουσαν ἔδεικνυον Ἰλίεις.

XI. Μιθριδάτην δὲ, ἀχρί μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐαυτοῦ στρατηγῶν φενακιζόμενος ἤγνόει τὸν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ λιμόν, ἠμῶν Κυζικηνῶν διαφέυγοντες τὴν πολιορκίαν. ταχὺ δ' ἐξερρύθη τὸ φιλότιμον αὐτοῦ καὶ φιλόνεικον ἐν αἰσθήσει γενομένου τῶν ἀπορίων, αἰς οἱ στρατιῶται συνείχοντο, καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀτε δὴ μὴ θεατρικῶς μηδ' ἐπιδεικτικῶς Λουκουλλὸς πολεμοῦντος, ἀλλὰ, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ λεγόμενον, εἰς τὴν ἀγαθέρα ἐνεργομένου καὶ ὅπως ὑφαίρησει τὴν τροφὴν ἀπαντά πραγματευο-μένου. διὸ καὶ φρούριον τι πολιορκοῦντος αὐτοῦ τῷ καιρῷ χρήσασθαι σπεύδων ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐξέπεμψε εἰς Βιθυνίαν τοὺς μὲν ἱππεῖς σχεδὸν ἀπαντᾶς μετὰ τῶν ὑποξυγίων, τῶν δὲ πεζῶν τοὺς ἀχρήστους. πυθόμενος δ' ὁ Λουκουλλὸς ἔτι νυκτὸς ἦκεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, πρῶτ' δὲ χειμῶνος ὄντος ἀναλαβὼν σπείρας δέκα καὶ τὴν ἱππον ἔδιοικε νυφόμενος καὶ κακοπαθῶν, ἣστε πολλοὺς ὑπὸ κρύους ἐνδιδόντας ἀπολείπεσθαι τῶν στρα-
LUCULLUS

their creaking and cracking showed clearly what was about to happen; then a south wind burst forth with incredible fury, shattered the other engines in a short space of time, and threw down with a great shock the wooden tower a hundred cubits high. It is related, too, that the goddess Athena appeared to many of the inhabitants of Ilium in their sleep, dripping with sweat, showing part of her peplus torn away, and saying that she was just come from assisting the Cyzicenes. And the people of Ilium used to show a stelé which had on it certain decrees and inscriptions relating to this matter.

XI. Mithridates, as long as his generals deceived him into ignorance of the famine in his army, was vexed that the Cyzicenes should successfully withstand his siege. But his eager ambition quickly ebbed away when he perceived the straits in which his soldiers were involved, and their actual cannibalism. For Lucullus was not carrying on the war in any theatrical way, nor for mere display, but, as the saying is, was "kicking in the belly," and devising every means for cutting off food. Accordingly, while Lucullus was laying siege to some outpost or other, Mithridates eagerly took advantage of the opportunity, and sent away into Bithynia almost all his horsemen, together with the beasts of burden, and those of his foot-soldiers who were disabled. On learning of this, Lucullus returned to his camp while it was still night, and early in the morning, in spite of a storm, took ten cohorts of infantry and his calvary, and started in pursuit, although snow was falling and his hardships were extreme. Many of his soldiers were overcome with the cold and had to be left behind, but with the rest he overtook the
πωτῶν, τοὺς δ’ ἄλλους περὶ τὸν 'Ρυνδακόν ποταμὸν
3 καταλαβῶν τοὺς πολεμίους τοσαύτην τροπὴν ἐπούσαν, ὡστε τὰς γυναῖκας ἐκ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίας προερχομένας ἀφαρτάζειν τὰ φορτία καὶ σκυ- λεύειν τοὺς φονευμένους. πολλῶν δ’, ὡς εἰκός, ἀποθανόντων ἐάλωσαν ἵπποι μὲν ἐξακισχίλειοι καὶ πλῆθος ἀναρίθμητον ὑποζυγίων, ἀνδρεῖς δὲ μύριοι πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ τούτους ἄγων πάντας παρέξει παρὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν πολεμίων.
4 Σαλονιστίου δὲ θαυμάζω τότε πρῶτον ὁφθαι 'Ῥωμαίους καμήλους λέγοντας, εἰ μήτε πρότερον τοὺς μετὰ Σκηνίων νικήσαντας Ἀντίοχον φεστο μήτε τοὺς ἑναγχος πρὸς Ὀρχομενῷ καὶ περὶ Χαίρόνεαν Ἀρχελάφι μεμαχημένους ἐγνωκέναι κάμηλον.
5 Ἀλλὰ τῷ γε Μιθριδάτη φεύγειν μὲν ἔγνωστο τὴν ταχύστην, ἀνθολκᾶς δὲ Δούκουλλῳ καὶ δια- θρεῖται ὃπισώ μηχανώμενος ἐστελλε τὸν ναύαρχον Ἀριστόνικου ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ὅσον οὕτω μέλλοντος ἐκπλεῖν ἐκ προδοσίας ὁ Δούκουλλος ἐκυρίευσε μετὰ χρυσῶν μυρίων, ὡς ἐκομίζε διαφθερῶν τὶ τοῦ Ῥωμαίοις στρατευ- μάτος. ἐκ τούτου Μιθριδάτης μὲν ἐφυγεν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ πεζοὶ τὸν στρατὸν
6 ἀπήγαγον. ἐπιπεζόντως δὲ Δούκουλλος αὐτῶς περὶ τὸν Γρανικον ποταμὸν εἰλὲς τα παμπόλλους καὶ δισμυρίους ἀπέκτεινε. λέγονται δ’ ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς ἀκολούθουν τε καὶ μαχίμων ὅχλοι μυρι- ἀδεῖς οὐ πολὺ δὴ τῶν τριάκοντα λείπουσαι 499 διαφθαρήναι.
XII. Δούκουλλος δὲ πρῶτον εἰς Κύζικον παρελθὼν ἅπελαυσεν ἡδονής καὶ φιλοφροσύνης
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enemy at the river Rhyndacus and inflicted such a defeat upon them that the very women came forth from Apollonia and carried off their baggage and stripped their slain. Many fell in the battle, as it is natural to suppose. Six thousand horses and fifteen thousand men were captured, besides an untold number of beasts of burden. All these followed in the train of Lucullus as he marched back past the camp of the enemy. Sallust says, to my amazement, that camels were then seen by the Romans for the first time. He must have thought that the soldiers of Scipio who conquered Antiochus before this, and those who had lately fought Archelaüs at Orchomenus and Chaeroneia, were unacquainted with the camel.

Mithridates was now resolved upon the speediest possible flight, but with a view to drawing Lucullus away, and holding him back from pursuit, he dispatched his admiral, Aristonicus, to the Grecian sea. Aristonicus was just on the point of sailing when he was betrayed into the hands of Lucullus, together with ten thousand pieces of gold which he was carrying for the corruption of some portion of the Roman army. Upon this, Mithridates fled to the sea, and his generals of infantry began to lead the army away. But Lucullus fell upon them at the river Granicus, captured a vast number of them, and slew twenty thousand. It is said that out of the whole horde of camp-followers and fighting men, not much less than three hundred thousand perished in the campaign.

XII. Lucullus, in the first place, entered Cyzicus in triumph, and enjoyed the pleasant welcome which
πρεπούσης· ἔπειτα ναυτικῶν ἐξηρτύετο τὸν Ἐλ-
λήσποντον ἐπιπορεύμενος. εἰς δὲ Τρωάδα κατα-
χθείς ἐσκήνωσε μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης,
κατακοιμηθείς δὲ νύκτωρ ἐδόκει τὴν θεᾶν ὄραν
ἐφεστῶσαν αὐτῷ καὶ λέγουσαν·

Τῇ κνώσσεις, μεγάθυμε λέον; νεβροὶ δὲ
tοι ἐγγύς.

2 ἔξαναστὰς δὲ καὶ τοὺς φίλους καλέσας διηγεῖτο
tὴν ὁψιν ἔτι νυκτός οὐσῆς. καὶ παρῆσαν ἐξ
Ἰλίου τινὲς ἀπαγγέλλοντες ὁφθαί περὶ τῶν
'Αχαιῶν λιμένα τρισκαλέκει πεντῆρεις τῶν βασι-
λικῶν ἐπὶ Δήμου πλεούσας. εὐθὺς οὖν ἀναχθεὶς
tούτως μὲν εἴλε καὶ τὸν στρατηγὴν αὐτῶν
Ισίδωρον ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπέλει
3 προφέρας. οἱ δὲ ἐτυχὼν ὁρμοῦντες, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα
πάντα πρὸς τὴν γῆν συνέλκοντες ἀπὸ τῶν
καταστρομάτων διεμάχοντο καὶ πληγᾶς ἐδίδοσαν
τοῖς περὶ τὸν Δούκουλλου, οὔτε περιπλέονσι
τοῦ χωρίου διδόντος οὔτε βιάσασθαι ναυσὶ
μετεώρως τὰς τῶν πολεμίων προσερημείης
4 τῇ γῆ καὶ βεβηκυῖας ἀσφαλῶς. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα
μόλις ἢ προσβολὴν τινα ἢ νῆσος εἶχεν ἀποβι-
βάζει τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους, οὐ κατόπιν
ἐπιτεσοῦντες τοῖς πολεμίοις τοὺς μὲν διέφθειρον
αὐτῶν, τοὺς δὲ ἡμάγκαζον ἀποκόπτοντας τὰ
προμυνήσια τῶν νεῶν καὶ φεύγοντας ἐκ τῆς γῆς
ἀλλήλοις τε συγκρούειν τὰ πλοῖα καὶ ταῖς ἐμβο-
λαῖς ταῖς περὶ τὸν Δούκουλλου ὑποπλέειν.
5 πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν διεθάρρησαν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀλοῦσιν
ἀνήχθη καὶ Μάριος ὁ παρὰ Σερτωρίου στρατηγός.
LUCULLUS

was his due; then he proceeded to the Hellespont, and began to equip a fleet. On visiting the Troad, he pitched his tent in the sacred precinct of Aphrodite, and in the night, after he had fallen asleep, he thought he saw the goddess standing over him and saying:

"Why dost thou sleep, great lion? the fawns are near for thy taking."

Rising up from sleep and calling his friends, he narrated to them his vision, while it was yet night. And lo, there came certain men from Ilium, with tidings that thirteen of the king's galleys had been seen off the harbour of the Achaeans, making for Lemnos. Accordingly, Lucullus put to sea at once, captured these, slew their commander, Isodorus, and then sailed in pursuit of the other captains, whom these were seeking to join. They chanced to be lying at anchor close to shore, and drawing their vessels all up on land, they fought from their decks, and sorely galled the crews of Lucullus. These had no chance to sail round their enemies, nor to make onset upon them, since their own ships were afloat, while those of their enemies were planted upon the land and securely fixed. However, Lucullus at last succeeded in disembarking the best of his soldiers where the island afforded some sort of access. These fell upon the enemy from the rear, slew some of them, and forced the rest to cut their stern cables and fly from the shore, their vessels thus falling foul of one another, and receiving the impact of the ships of Lucullus. Many of the enemy perished, of course, and among the captives there was brought in Marius, the general sent from
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ἡν γὰρ ἐτερόθθαλμος, καὶ παρῆγγελτο τοῖς στρατιώταις εὐθὺς ἐπιπλέουσιν ὑπὸ Δουκούλλου μηδένα κτείνειν ἐτερόθθαλμον, ὅπως ἔξονειδισθεὶς καὶ καθυβρισθεὶς ἀποθάνω.

XIII. Γενόμενος δ’ ἀπὸ τούτων ἠπεύγετο πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ Μιθριδάτου δίωξιν. Ἡλπίζε γὰρ ἐτι περὶ Βιθυνίαν εὐρήσειν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Βοκώνιου φρουροῦμενον, δι’ αὐτὸς ἐνστησόμενον τῇ φυγῇ 2 μετὰ νεῶν ἀπεστάλκει πρὸς Νικομήδειαν. ἀλλὰ Βοκώνιος μὲν ἐν Σαμοθράκη μνούμενος καὶ πανηγυρίζων καθυστέρησε. Μιθριδάτην δὲ ἀναχέντα μετὰ τοῦ στόλου, σπεύδουτα πρὸν ἐπιστρέφειν Δούκουλλον εἰς τὸν Πόντον εἰσπλέοσαι, καταλαμβάνει χειμῶν πολὺς, ὡς οὕ τὰ μὲν ἀφηρπάγη, τὰ δ’ ἐβυθίσθη τῶν σκαφῶν, πᾶσα δ’ ἡ παραλία τῶν ναυαγίων ἐκφερομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ κλίδωνος ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἦ ἥμερας ἦν περίπλεως.

3 αὐτὸς δὲ, τῆς ὅλκάδος, ἐφ’ ἂς ἔπλει, μήτε πρὸς τὴν γῆν εἰπαρακομίστου διὰ μέγεθος ἐν σάλῳ μεγάλῳ καὶ κύματι τυφλῷ παριστάμενης τοῖς κυβερνήταις, πρὸς τιν θάλασσαν ἦδη βαρείας καὶ ὑπεράντου γενομένης, μετεμβάς εἰς λῃστρικοὺς μνοπάρωνα καὶ τὸ σῶμα πειραταῖς ἐγχειρί- σας ἀνεπτύστως καὶ παραβόλως εἰς τὴν Ποντικὴν

4 Ἡράκλειαν ἐξεσώθη. Δουκούλλῳ δ’ ἀνεμέσθης ἢ πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἀπέβη φιλοτιμία. Ψη- φιζομένης γὰρ αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἀπὸ τρισχελίων ταλάντων ἐξαρτύεσθαι ναυτικῶν, ἐκώλυσε πέμψαι γράμματα καὶ μεγαληγορήσας, 508
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Sertorius. He had but one eye, and the soldiers had received strict orders from Lucullus, as soon as they set sail, to kill no one-eyed man. Lucullus wished Marius to die under the most shameful insults.

XIII. These things done, Lucullus hastened in pursuit of Mithridates himself. For he expected to find him still in Bithynia under the watch and ward of Voconius, whom he had dispatched with a fleet to Nicomedea that he might intercept the king's flight. But Voconius was behindhand, owing to his initiation into, and celebration of, the mysteries in Samothrace, and Mithridates put to sea with his armament, eager to reach Pontus before Lucullus turned and set upon him. He was overtaken, however, by a great storm, which destroyed some of his vessels and disabled others. The whole coast for many days was covered with the wrecks dashed upon it by the billows. As for the king himself, the merchantman on which he was sailing was too large to be readily beached when the sea ran so high and the waves were so baffling, nor would it answer to its helm, and it was now too heavy and full of water to gain an offing; accordingly, he abandoned it for a light brigantine belonging to some pirates, and, entrusting his person to their hands, contrary to expectation and after great hazard, got safely to Heracleia in Pontus. And so it happened that the boastful speech of Lucullus to the Senate brought no divine retribution down upon him. When, namely, that body was ready to vote three thousand talents to provide a fleet for this war, Lucullus blocked the measure by writing a letter, in which he made the haughty boast that
ός ἂνευ δαπάνης καὶ τοσαύτης παρασκευής ταῖς τῶν συμμάχων ναυσὶ Μιθριδάτην ἐκβαλεὶ τῆς θαλάττης, καὶ τούτο ὑπήρξεν αὐτῷ τοῦ θεοῦ συναγωνισμένου. λέγεται γὰρ Ἀρτέμιδος χόλῳ Πριαπίνης ὁ χειμῶν ἐμπεσεὶν τοῖς Ποντικοῖς συλλήσασιν αὐτῆς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ ξόανον ἀνασπάσασι.

ΧIV. Πολλῶν δὲ Δούκουλλωρ παραινούντων ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον, οὐ φροντίσας ἐνέβαλε διὰ Βιθυνίας καὶ Γαλατίας εἰς τὴν βασιλικήν, ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν ἐνδεχὴς τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ὡστε Γαλάτας ἑπεσθαί τρισμυρίους ἐκαστὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμών κομίζοντα σίτου μέδιμνον, προϊόν δὲ καὶ κρατῶν ἀπάντων εἰς τοσαύτην ἤλθεν εὐπορίαν, 500 ὡστε τὸν μὲν βοῦν ἐν στρατοπέδῳ δραχμῆς, τὸ δὲ ἀνδράποδον τεττάρων ἄηνον εἶναι, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην λείαν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τοὺς μὲν ἀπολείπειν, τοὺς δὲ ἀναλίσσειν. διάθεσις γὰρ ἢν οὐδενὸς πρὸς οὐδένα πάντων εὐποροῦντων.

2 Ἄλλως φθείρας καὶ κακῶσαι τὴν χώραν ἴππαις μενοι καὶ καταδραμόντες ἄχρι Θεμισκύρας καὶ τῶν τερί Θερμόδοντα πεδίων, ἤτιώντο τὸν Δούκουλλον, ὅτι πάσας προσάγεται τὰς πόλεις, κατὰ κράτος δὲ οὐδεμίαν ἤρθηκεν οὐδὲ παρέσχηκεν αὐτοῖς ωφεληθῆται διαρπάσασιν.

3 ᾽Αλλὰ καὶ νῦν, ἐφασαν, ᾽Αμισόν, πολίν εὐδαιμονα καὶ πλουσίαν, οὐ μέγα ἃν ἔργον, εἰ τις ἐντείνῃ τὴν πολιορκίαν, κατασχεῖν, ἀπολιπόντας ἡμᾶς ἄγει περὶ τὴν Τιβαρηνῶν καὶ Χαλδαιῶν

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without any such costly array, but only with the ships of the allies, he would drive Mithridates from the sea. And this success he gained with the assistance of Heaven. For it is said that it was owing to the wrath of Artemis of Priapus that the tempest fell upon the men of Pontus, who had plundered her shrine and pulled down her image.

XIV. Though many now advised Lucullus to suspend the war, he paid no heed to them, but threw his army into the king's country by way of Bithynia and Galatia. At first he lacked the necessary supplies, so that thirty thousand Galatians followed in his train, each carrying a bushel of grain upon his shoulders; but as he advanced and mastered everything, he found himself in the midst of such plenty that an ox sold in his camp for a drachma, and a man-slave for four, while other booty had no value at all. Some abandoned it, and some destroyed it. There was no sale for anything to anybody when all had such abundance.

But when Lucullus merely wasted and ravaged the country with cavalry incursions, which penetrated to Themiscyra and the plains of the river Thermodon, his soldiers found fault with him because he brought all the cities over to him by peaceable measures; he had not taken a single one by storm, they said, nor given them a chance to enrich themselves by plunder. "Nay," they said, "at this very moment we are leaving Amisus, a rich and prosperous city, which it would be no great matter to take, if its siege were pressed, and are following our general into the desert of the Tibareni and the Chaldaeans

1 73 B.C.
ἐρημίαν Μιθριδάτη πολεμήσοντας." ἄλλα ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ ἄν ὁ Δούκουλλος ἑπτίσας εἰς τοσοῦτον ἀπονοίας τοὺς στρατιῶτας παραγαγεῖν, ὅσον ἅπερεν ἔξεφηναν, ὑπερέφρα καὶ οὐκ 4 ἐφροντίζειν, ἐκείνοις δὲ ἀπελογεῖτο μᾶλλον, οἱ βραδυτῆτα καθηγόρουν αὐτοῦ διατρίβοντος ἐν- ταῦθα περὶ κόμας καὶ πόλεις οὐ πολλοῦ τινος ἀξίας πολὺν χρόνου, ἔστωτος δὲ αὔξεσθαι Μιθριδά- την. "Αὐτὸ γὰρ," ἐφη, "τούτο καὶ βούλομαι καὶ κάθημαι τεχνάζων, μέγαν αὕτη γενέσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ συναγαγεῖν αὐτὸν ἀξιόμαχον δύναμιν, ἵνα μείνῃ καὶ μὴ φύγῃ προσιόντας ἦμᾶς. ἡ οὖχ ὁρᾶτε πόλην μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπεκμαρτον ἐρημίαν ὅπισω παροῦσαν; ἐγγὺς δὲ ὁ Καύκασος καὶ ὑπερὶ πολλὰ καὶ βαθέα καὶ μυρίοις βασιλείας φυγομα- χούντας ἀρκοῦντα κατακρύψαι καὶ περισχεῖν ὅλῳν δὴ ἡμερῶν ὁδὸς εἰς Ἀρμενίαν ἐκ Καβεῖρων, καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἀρμενίας καθηται Τιγράνης, βασιλεὺς βασιλέων, ἔχων δύναμιν, ἦ Πάρθου τε περι- κόπτει τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ πόλεις Ἐλληνίδας εἰς Μηδίαν ἀνακομίζει καὶ Συρίας κρατεῖ καὶ Παλαι- στίνης καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Σελεύκου βασιλείας ἀποκτιν- νύει, θυγατέρας δὲ αὐτῶν ἄγει καὶ γνωάκας 6 ἀνασπάστους. οὔτος οἰκεῖος ἔστι Μιθριδάτου καὶ γαμβρός. οὐ περιόφεται δὲ αὐτῶν ἱκέτην ὑποδεξάμενος, ἄλλα πολεμήσει πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ σπεύδουτες ἐκβάλλειν Μιθριδάτην κινδυνεύοντομ ἐπισπάσασθαι Τιγράνην, πάλαι μὲν αἰτίας δεδ- μενον ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς, εὐπρεπεστέραν δὲ οὐκ ἄν λαβόντα τῆς ὑπὲρ ἄνδρος οἰκείον καὶ βασιλέως ἀναγκα- σθέντα ὑπουργεῖν αὐτῷ. τί ὅπις δὲ τοῦ θ’ ἡμᾶς 512
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to fight with Mithridates.” But these grievances, not dreaming that they would bring the soldiers to such acts of madness as they afterwards performed, Lucullus overlooked and ignored. He was, however, more ready to defend himself against those who denounced his slowness in lingering there a long while, subduing worthless little villages and cities, and allowing Mithridates to recruit himself. “That,” he said, “is the very thing I want, and I am sitting here to get it. I want the man to become powerful again, and to get together a force with which it is worth our while to fight, in order that he may stand his ground, and not fly when we approach. Do you not see that he has a vast and trackless desert behind him? The Caucasus, too, is near, with its many hills and dells, which are sufficient to hide away in safety ten thousand kings who decline to fight. And it is only a few days’ journey from Cabira into Armenia and over Armenia there sits enthroned Tigranes, King of Kings, with forces which enable him to cut the Parthians off from Asia, transplant Greek cities into Media, sway Syria and Palestine, put to death the successors of Seleucus, and carry off their wives and daughters into captivity. This king is a kinsman of Mithridates, his son-in-law. He will not be content to receive him as a suppliant, but will make war against us. If we strive, therefore, to eject Mithridates from his kingdom, we shall run the risk of drawing Tigranes down upon us. He has long wanted an excuse for coming against us, and could not get a better one than that of being compelled to aid a man who is his kinsman and a king. Why, then, should we bring this to pass,
εξεργασασθαι καὶ διδάξαι Μιθριδάτην ἄγνουντα, μεθ' ὅν ἐστιν αὐτῷ πρὸς ἡμᾶς πολεμητέον, καὶ μὴ βουλόμενον, ἀλλ' ἀδοξοῦντα συνελάυνειν εἰς τὰς Τυγράνου χειρὰς, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ δόντας αὐτῷ χρόνον ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων παρασκευάσασθαι καὶ ἀναθαρρύναι, Κόλχως καὶ Τιβαρνοῖς καὶ Καπτᾶδοξιν, ὃν πολλάκις κεκρατήκαμεν, μάχεσθαι μᾶλλον ἡ Μῆδοις καὶ Ἀρμενίοις;

XV. Ἑπὶ τοιούτων λογισμῶν γενόμενος ὁ Λούκουλλος περὶ τὴν 'Αμισὸν διέτριψε, μαλακῶς τῇ πολυρκίᾳ χρώμενος, καὶ μετὰ χειμῶνα Μουρῆναν ἀπολιπὼν ἐπὶ τῆς πολυρκίας ἔβαδιξεν ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτην καθήμενον ἐν Καβείροις καὶ διανοούμενον ύψιστάσθαι τοὺς Ὁρμαιόν, ἡθροισμένης αὐτῷ δυνάμεως εἰς τετρακισμυρίους πέζοις, ὑπεῖ δὲ τετρακισχίλιους, οἷς ἔθαρρει 2 μάλιστα. καὶ διαβὰς τὸν Δύκον ποταμὸν εἰς τὸ πεδίον προὐκαλεῖτο τοὺς Ὁρμαιόν. γενομένης δ᾽ ἱππομαχίας ἔφυγον οἱ Ὁρμαιοὶ. Πομπάνιος δ᾽ ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἄδοξος ἐάλω τετρωμένος καὶ πρὸς τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἀνήχθη κακῶς ὕπο τραυμάτων διακείμενος. πυθομένου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως, εἰ σωθεὶς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ γενησεται φίλος, "Ἀν γε δή," ἐφη, "Ῥωμαίοις διαλλαγῆς; εἰ δὲ μὴ, πολέμους." τούτων μὲν θαυμάσας ὁ Μιθριδάτης οὐκ ἡδίκησε.

3 Τοῦ δὲ Λουκούλλου τὰ μὲν πεδία τῶν πολεμῶν ἰπποκρατοῦντων δεδίοτος, τὴν δ᾽ ὅρειν ὁκνοῦντος προϊέναι, μακρὰν καὶ ὑλώδῃ καὶ δύσβατον οὐσαν, ἀλίσκονται τινες κατὰ τύχην Ἑλληνες εἰς τι
and teach Mithridates, when he does not know it, with what allies he must carry on war against us? Why help to drive him, against his wish and as a last resource, into the arms of Tigranes, instead of giving him time to equip himself from his own resources and get fresh courage? Then we shall fight with Colchians and Tibareni and Cappadocians, whom we have often overcome, rather than with Medes and Armenians."

XV. Influenced by such considerations as these, Lucullus lingered about Amisus, without pushing the siege vigorously. When winter was over, he left Murena in charge of the siege, and marched against Mithridates, who had taken his stand at Cabira, and intended to await the Roman onset there. A force of forty thousand footmen had been collected by him, and four thousand horsemen; on the latter he placed his chief reliance. Crossing the river Lycus and advancing into the plain, he offered the Romans battle. A cavalry fight ensued, and the Romans took to flight. Pomponius, a man of some note, having been wounded, was taken prisoner and led into the presence of Mithridates, suffering greatly from his wounds. When the king asked him if he would become his friend provided he spared his life, Pomponius answered: "Yes, indeed, if you come to terms with the Romans; otherwise I must remain your enemy." Mithridates was struck with admiration for him, and did him no harm.

Lucullus was now afraid of the plains, since the enemy was superior in cavalry, and yet hesitated to go forward into the hill country, which was remote, woody, and impassable. But it chanced that certain

1 72 B.C.
σπήλαιον καταφυγόντες, δὲν ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἀρτεμίδωρος ὑπέσχετο τὸν Δούκουλλον ἄξειν καὶ καταστᾶσει ἐπὶ τόπῳ ἁσφαλεῖ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ φρούριον ἔχοντι τοῖς Καβείροις ἑπικρεμάμενον.  

4 πιστεύσας δ’ ὁ Δούκουλλος ἀμα τῇ νυκτὶ πυρὰ καύσας ἐκίνει· καὶ ταῦτα παρελθὼν ἁσφαλῶς τὸ χωρίον ἐίχε, καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν ὑπερεφάνετο τῶν πολέμων ἱδρύων τὸν στρατὸν ἐν τόποις, οἵ μάχεσθαι βουλομένῳ προσαγωγήν ἐδίδοσαν καὶ τὸ μῆ χιλιατίμων παρείχον ἡσυχάζοντι.  

5 Γυώμην μὲν οὖν οὐδέτερος εἶχεν ἑν γε τῷ παρόντι διακαυνυνεύειν· ἔλαφον δὲ λέγεται τῶν βασιλικῶν διωκόντων ὑποτεμονομένους ἀπαντήσαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, ἐκ δὲ τούτου συμπεσόντας ἁγωνίζονται πλείονοι ἐκατέρως ἀεὶ προσαγαμένους. τέλος δ’ ἐνίκων οἱ βασιλικοὶ· καὶ τὴν φυγήν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος οἱ Ῥωμαίοι καθορώντες ἠχόσαλλον καὶ συνέτρεχον πρὸς τὸν Δούκουλλον, ἄγειν σφᾶς δεόμενοι καὶ σύνθημα πρὸς τὴν μάχην αἰτούντες.  

6 ὁ δὲ βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς μαθεῖν, ἠλίκον ἐστὶν ἐν ἁγώνι πολέμου καὶ κινδύνῳ παρουσία καὶ ὁ θεός ἡγεμόνος ἐμφάνισος, ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἡσυχίαν ἀγειν ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ κατέβαινεν εἰς τὸ πεδίον καὶ τοῖς πρῶτοις ἀπαντήσας τῶν φευγόντων ἱστασθαι  

7 προσέταξε καὶ ἀναστρέφειν μετ’ αὐτοῦ. πεισθέντων δὲ τούτων καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ μεταβαλόμενοι καὶ συντάντες ὅλῳ πόνῳ τρέπουνται τοὺς πολεμὸς καὶ καταδώκουσιν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἐπανελθὼν δὲ Δούκουλλος ἀπείμαν τινὰ τοῖς φεύγουσι νεομισμένην προσέβαλε, κελεύσας ἐν χιτώσιν

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Greeks, who had taken refuge in a sort of cave, were captured, and the elder of them, Artemidorus, promised to serve Lucullus as a guide, and set him in a place which was safe for his camp, and which had a fortress overlooking Cabira. Lucullus put confidence in this promise, and as soon as it was night, lit his camp fires and set out. He passed safely through the narrow defiles and took possession of the desired place, and at daybreak was seen above the enemy, stationing his men in positions which gave him access to the enemy if he wished to fight, and safety from their assaults if he wished to keep quiet.

Now neither commander had any intention of hazarding an engagement at once. But we are told that while some of the king's men were chasing a stag, the Romans cut them off and confronted them, whereupon a skirmish followed, with fresh accessions continually to either side. At last, the king's men were victorious. Then the Romans in their camp, beholding the flight of their comrades, were in distress, and ran in throngs to Lucullus, begging him to lead them, and demanding the signal for battle. But he, wishing them to learn how important, in a dangerous struggle with the enemy, the visible presence of a prudent general is, bade them keep quiet. Then he went down into the plain by himself, and confronting the foremost of the fugitives, bade them stop, and turn back with him. They obeyed, and the rest also wheeled about and formed in battle array, and in a short time routed the enemy and drove them to their camp. When he came back, however, Lucullus inflicted the customary disgrace upon the fugitives. He bade them dig a twelve-
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

άξιώτας ὁρύξαι δώδεκα ποδῶν τάφροιν, ἐφεστώτων καὶ θεωμένων τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν.

ΧΧΙ. Ὑπὸ τὸς Ἡν τὸν Μεθριδάτου στρατοπέδῳ Δαυδάρων δυνάστης Ὄλθακος (γένος δὲ εἰσὶν ὁι Δαυδάρων βαρβάροι τῶν περὶ τὴν Μαιώτην οἰκούντων), ἀνήρ ὁ σακαραάρος ἐρακα καὶ τόλμης ἐν πολέμῳ διαπρεπής ἀπαντα, καὶ γνώμῃν ἰκανός ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις, ἔτι δ’ ἐμμελής ὀμολόγησαι καὶ θεραπευτικός. οὗτος ἔχων ἀεὶ πρὸς τινὰ τῶν ὀμοφύλων δυναστῶν ἀμιλλαν ὑπὲρ πρωτείων καὶ ξηλοτυπίαν ὑπέσχετο τῷ Μεθριδάτῃ μέγα

2 ἔργον, ἀποκτενεῖν Δοῦκοβλαν. ἔπαινεσιντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τινᾶς αὐτῷ προσβαλόντος ἐπίτηδες ἀτιμάσαι εἰς προσποίησιν ἀργῆς ἀνιππάσατο πρὸς Δοῦκοβλαν ὁ δ’ ἄσμενος ἐδέξατο λόγος γὰρ ἢν αὐτοῦ πολύς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ ταχὺ πειρόμενος ἡσπάζετο τὴν τε ἀγχύσαιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ λιπαρές, ὡστε τραπέζης καὶ συνεδρίου ποτὲ ποιεῖσθαι κοινωνίαν.

3 'Επει δ’ ἐδοκεί καιρὸν ἐχειν τὸν Δαυδάρων, τὸν μὲν ἒποιν ἐξο τοῦ χάρακος ἐκέλευσε προαγαγεὶν τοὺς παῖδας, αὐτὸς δὲ μεσημβρίας οὔσῃς καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἑυδιαζόντων καὶ ἀναπαυμένων ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγικὴν σκηνήν, ὡς οὔδενός κωλύσοντος εἰσελθεῖν ἀνδρὰ συνήθη καὶ λόγως τινὰς ἄξιος σπουδῆς τῷ στρατηγῷ κομίζειν

4 φάσκοντα. καὶ εἰσῆλθεν ἅδεως, εἰ μὴ ἦν πολλοὺς ἀνηρηκώς στρατηγοὺς ὑπὸς Δοῦκοβλαν ἔσωσεν. ἐρνήχθεν γὰρ καθεῦδῳ καὶ Μενέδημος, εἰς τῶν κατευνατῶν, παρὰ ταῖς θύραις ἐστῶς ὁὐκ ἔφη κατὰ καιρὸν ἤκειν τὸν Ὅλθακὸν, ἀρτὶ Δοῦκοβλαν πρὸς ἄναπαυσιν ἐκ μακρᾶς ἀγρυπνίας καὶ πόνων 518
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foot ditch, working in ungirt blouses, while the rest of the soldiers stood by and watched them.

XVI. In the camp of Mithridates there was a Dandarian prince named Olthacus (the Dandarians are a tribe of barbarians dwelling about Lake Maeotis), a man conspicuous as a soldier for qualities of strength and boldness, of a most excellent judgment, and withal affable in address and of insinuating manners. This man was always in emulous rivalry for the precedence with a fellow prince of his tribe, and so was led to undertake a great exploit for Mithridates, namely, the murder of Lucullus. The king approved of his design, and purposely inflicted upon him sundry marks of disgrace, whereupon, pretending to be enraged, he galloped off to Lucullus, who gladly welcomed him, since there was much talk of him in the camp. After a short probation, Lucullus was so pleased with his shrewdness and zeal, that he made him a table companion, and at last a member of his council.

Now when the Dandarian thought his opportunity had come, he ordered his slaves to lead his horse outside the camp, while he himself, at mid-day, when the soldiers were lying around enjoying their rest, went to the general's tent. He thought no one would deny entrance to a man who was an intimate of the general, and said he brought him certain messages of great importance. And he would have entered without let or hindrance, had not sleep, the destroyer of many generals, saved Lucullus. For it chanced that he was asleep, and Menedemus, one of his chamberlains, who stood at the tent-door, told Olthacus that he had come at an inopportune time, since Lucullus had just betaken himself to rest after

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5 τοσούτων δεδωκότος ἑαυτόν. ἐπεὶ δ’ οὐκ ἀπήει κελεύοντος, ἀλλ’ ἐφ’ καὶ κωλύοντος εἰσελεύ- 
σεθαί περὶ πράγματος ἀναγκαίως καὶ μεγάλου 
dιαλεγήματι βουλόμενος, ἦδη πρὸς ὀργήν ὁ 
Μενέδημος εἰπὼν μηδὲν ἀναγκαίοτέρον τοῦ σώ- 
ζεθαί Δοῦκουλλον ἀπεώσατο τοῦ ἀνθρωπον
6 ἀμφοτέρας ταῖς χερσίν. ὁ δὲ δείσας ὑπεξῆλθε 
tοῦ χάρακος, καὶ λαβὼν τὸν ὅππον ἀπήλασεν 
eis τὸ Μιθριδάτου στρατόπεδον ἀπρακτός. οὕτως 
ἄρα καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ὁ καίρος ὡσπερ τοῖς 
φαρμάκοις καὶ τὴν σώζουσαν καὶ τὴν ἀναιροῦσαν 
ῥοπὴν προστίθησιν.

XVII. Ἐκ τούτου Σωφράτιος μὲν ἐπὶ σίτου 
κομίδην ἐπέμφθη μετὰ δέκα σπειρῶν καὶ κατα- 
dιωχθεῖσι υπὸ Μενάνδρου, τῶν Μιθριδάτου στρα- 
tηγῶν ἐνός, ἀντέστη καὶ συμβαλῶν φόνῳ ἔποιησε 
πολύν καὶ τροπὴν τῶν πολέμων. αὐθεὶς δὲ πεμφ-
θέντος Ἀδριανοῦ μετὰ δυνάμεως, ὅπως ἐκ περιου-
σίας ἔχωσιν οἱ στρατιῶται σίτου, οὐ περιεύθε 
Μιθριδάτης, ἀλλ’ ἀπέστειλε Μενέμαχον καὶ Μύρωνα 
πολλῶν μὲν ἱππέων, πολλῶν δὲ πεζῶν ἡγομένους.

2 οὕτω πάντες, ὡς λέγεται, πλῆν δευεῖν κατεκόπη-
sαν υπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων. καὶ Μιθριδάτης μὲν 
ἐκρυπτεῖ τὴν συμφορὰν ὡς οὐ τοσαύτην οὔσαν, 
ἀλλὰ μικράν, προσκεκρουκότων ἀπειρία τῶν 
στρατηγῶν, Ἀδριανὸς δὲ λαμπρὸς παρημείβη 
tὸ στρατόπεδον πολλὰς κατάγων ἀμάξας σίτου 
καὶ λαφύρων γεμούσας, ὡστε δυσθυμίαν μὲν 
αὐτῷ, ταραχὴ δὲ καὶ φόβον ἀμέληχον ἐμπεσεῖν
3 τοῖς στρατιώταις. ἐδέδωκτο μὲν οὖν μηκέτι 
μένειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ προεξέπεμπον οἱ βασιλικοὶ τὰ 
σφέτερα χρήματα καθ’ ἡσυχίαν, τοὺς δ’ ἄλλους
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his long watching and many hardships. Olthacus did not retire at the bidding of Menedemus, but declared that even in spite of him he would go in, since he wished to confer with the general on urgent business of great importance. Then Menedemus got angry, declared that nothing was more urgent than the preservation of Lucullus, and pushed the man away with both hands. Then Olthacus, in fear, left the camp, took horse, and rode off to the camp of Mithridates, without effecting his purpose. So true is it that in active life, as well as in sickness, it is the critical moment which gives the scales their saving or their fatal inclination.

XVII. After this, Sornatius was sent with ten cohorts to get supplies of grain. Being pursued by Menander, one of the generals of Mithridates, he faced about, joined battle, and routed the enemy with great slaughter. And again, when Adrian was sent out with a force to procure an abundance of grain for the soldiers, Mithridates did not look on idly, but dispatched Menemachus and Myron, at the head of a large body of cavalry and footmen. All these, it is said, except two, were cut to pieces by the Romans. Mithridates tried to conceal the extent of the disaster, pretending that it was a slight matter, and due to the inexperience of his generals. But when Adrian marched pompously past his camp, convoying many waggons laden with grain and booty, a great despair fell upon the king, and confusion and helpless fear upon his soldiers. They decided, therefore, to remain where they were no longer. But when the king's servants tried to send away their own baggage first, and to hinder the rest from going, the soldiers at once got angry, pushed and forced
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

ἐκώλυνον, ἃδη καὶ πρὸς ὅργην ἐπὶ τὰς ἔξοδους ὁθούμενοι καὶ βιαζόμενοι τὰ μὲν χρήματα ἰρπαζοῦν, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἀπέσφαττον. ὅποι καὶ Δορύλαος ὁ στρατηγὸς οὐδὲν ἔτερον ἔχων ἢ τὴν πορφύραν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀπώλετο διὰ ταῦτην, Ἐρμαῖος δὲ ὁ θύτης κατεπατήθη περὶ τὰς πύλας.

4 Αὐτὸς δ’ ὁ Μιθριδάτης, ουτε ὅπασον τινος οὐτε ἵπποκόμοι παραμείναντος αὐτῷ, συνεξεπεσεν ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀναμεμγμένοις, οὐδὲ ἵππον τῶν βασιλικῶν εὐπορήσας, ἀλλ’ ὅψε ποιο τατιδὼν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ χρεματί τῆς τροπῆς ἐκείνης διαφερόμενον Πτολεμαῖος ὁ εὐνοῦχος ἵππον ἔχων αὐτός ἀπεπήδησε καὶ

5 παρέσχεν. ἦδη γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ Ῥωμαίοι κατείχοι ἐπικείμενοι καὶ τάχει μὲν οὐκ ἀπελίποντο τοῦ λαβεῖν αὐτόν, ἀλλ’ ἠλθον ἐγγυστά τοῦτον, φιλοπλούτια δὲ καὶ μικρολογία στρατιωτική τὸ πολλοῖς ἅγιοι καὶ μεγάλοις καινόνιος διωκόμενον ἐκ μακρὰν θῆραμα Ῥωμαίοις ἀφείλετο καὶ Δούκουλλον ἀπεστάρησε νικῶντα τῶν ἐπάθλων.

6 ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἐφικτῷ τῆς διώξεως ὁ ὑπεκφέρων τὸν ἄνδρα ἵππος, ἥμισυνο δὲ τῶν τὸ χρυσίον κομιζόντων μεταξὺ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰτ’ ἀπὸ ταύτομᾶτον παρεισπεσόντος, εἰτ’ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπίτηδες ἐμβαλόντος αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς διώκοντας, ἀρπάξαντες καὶ συλλέγοντες τὸ χρυσίον καὶ

7 διαμαχόμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους καθυστέρησαν. καὶ οὐ τοῦτο μόνον αὐτῶν ἀπέλαυσε τῆς πλεονεξίας Δούκουλλος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων τοῦ βασιλέως ἄντα Καλλίστρατον ὁ μὲν ἅγιοι ἐκέλευσεν, οἱ δ’ ἄγοντες αἰσθόμενοι πεντακοσίους
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their way to the exits of the camp, and there plundered the baggage and slew the men in charge of it. There it was that Dorylaüs, the general, with nothing else about him but his purple robe, lost his life for that, and Hermaeus, the priest, was trampled to death at the gates.

Mithridates himself, with no attendant or groom to assist him, fled away from the camp in the midst of the throng, not even provided with one of the royal horses; but at last the eunuch Ptolemæus, who was mounted, spied him as he was borne along in the torrent of the rout, leaped down from his horse, and gave it to the king. Presently the Romans, who were forcing the pursuit, were hard upon him, and it was for no lack of speed that they did not take him. Indeed, they were very near doing so, but greed, and petty soldier's avarice, snatched from them the quarry which they had so long pursued in many struggles and great dangers, and robbed Lucullus of the victor's prize. For the horse which carried the king was just within reach of his pursuers, when one of the mules which carried the royal gold came between him and them, either of his own accord, or because the king purposely sent him into the path of pursuit. The soldiers fell to plundering and collecting the gold, fought with one another over it, and so were left behind in the chase. Nor was this the only fruit of their greed which Lucullus reaped. He had given orders that Callistratus, who was in charge of the king's private papers, should be brought alive to him, but his conductors, finding that he had five hundred pieces of gold in his girdle, slew him.
Χρυσοῦς ὑπεξωσμένου ἀπέκτειναν. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα
tούτως μὲν ἐπέτρεψε τὸν χάρακα πορθῆσαι.

XVIII. Τὰ δὲ Κάβειρα λαβῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
φρουρίων τὰ πλείστα θησαυροῦσ τε μεγάλους εὑρε
καὶ δεσμωτήρια, πολλῶν μὲν Ἐλλήνων, πολλῶν
dὲ συγγενῶν τοῦ βασιλέως καθεργομένων, οἷς
πάλαι τεθνάναι δοκοῦσιν οὐ σωτηρίαν, ἄλλῃ
ἀναβίωσιν καὶ δευτέραν τινὰ γέννησιν ἢ Δουκούλ-
λου χάρις παρέσχεν. ἐάλω δὲ καὶ ἄδελφῃ τοῦ
Μιθριδάτου Νύσσα σωτήριον ἄλωσιν οἵ δὲ ἀπω-
tάτω τοῦ κινδύνου καὶ καθ’ ἤσυχιαν ἀποκεῖσθαι
dοκοῦσιν περὶ Φαρνάκειαν ἄδελφαι καὶ γυναῖκες
οἰκτρῶς ἀπώλουτο, Μιθριδάτου πέμψαντος ἐπ’ 503
αὐτᾶς ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς Βακχίδην εὐνοῦχον. ἦσαν
δὲ μετὰ πολλῶν ἄδελφαί τε δύο τοῦ βασιλέως,
Ῥωξάνη καὶ Ἀπατέωρα, περὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἑτή
παρθενόμορμαι, καὶ γαμηταὶ δύο, γένος Ἰωνίδες,
Βερενίκη μὲν ἐκ Χίου, Μοῦμη δὲ Μιλήσια.

3 ταύτης ὁ πλείστος ἦν λόγος ἐν τοῖς Ἐλλησίων, ὅτι
tοῦ βασιλέως πειρώντος αὐτήν καὶ μυρίους πεν-
tακισχίλιονς χρυσοῦς προσπέμψαντος ἀντέσχε,
μέχρι οὗ γάμων ἕγενοτο συνθῆκαι καὶ διάδημα
πέμψας αὐτῇ βασιλεύσαν ἄνηγόρεσεν. αὑτῇ καὶ
παρὰ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἀνάρῳ ἐληκαὶ ἀπε-
θρήνει τὴν τοῦ σώματος εὐμορφίαν, ὡς δεσπότην
μὲν ἀντ’ ἄνδρος αὐτῆς, φρουραί δὲ βαρβάρων ἄντι
γάμου καὶ οἴκου προξενήσασαν, πόρρω δὲ ποινὴ
tῆς Ἐλλάδος ἀπφοκισμένη τοῖς ἐλπισθείσιν ἀγα-
θοῖς ὑπαργοὶ σύνεστι, τῶν δ’ ἄληθινῶν ἐκείνων
ἀπεστήρηται.

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However, Lucullus allowed such soldiers as these to plunder the enemy's camp.

XVIII. In capturing Cabira and most of the other strongholds, he found great treasures, and many prisons, in which many Greeks and many kinsfolk of the king were confined. As they had long been given up for dead, it was not so much a rescue as it was a resurrection and a sort of second birth, for which they were indebted to the favour of Lucullus. Nyssa, a sister of Mithridates, was also captured; and her capture was her salvation. But the sisters and wives of the king who were thought to be at farthest remove from danger and quietly hidden away in Pharasia, perished pitifully, since Mithridates paused long enough in his flight to send Bacchides, a eunuch, to compass their death. Among many other women, there were two sisters of the king, Roxana and Statira, about forty years old and unmarried; and two of his wives, of Ionian families, Berenice from Chios, and Monime, a Milesian. The latter was most talked of among the Greeks, to the effect that though the king tempted her virtue and sent her fifteen thousand pieces of gold, she resisted his advances, until he entered into a marriage contract with her, sent her a diadem, and greeted her with the title of Queen. But her marriage had been an unhappy one, and she bewailed that beauty which had procured her a master instead of a husband, and a guard of Barbarians instead of home and family, dwelling as she did far, far away from Greece, where the blessings for which she had hoped existed only in her dreams, while she was bereft of the real blessings to which she had been wonted.
Καὶ δὴ τοῦ Βακχίδου παραγενομένου καὶ προστάξαντος αὐταῖς ἀποθνήσκειν, ὡς ἐκάστη δοκοῖ θᾶρσον εἶναι καὶ ἀλυπότατον, περισσότερα τῆς κεφαλῆς τὸ διάδημα τῷ τραχύλῳ περιῆγε καὶ ἀνήρτησεν έαυτήν. ταχὺ δ’ ἀπορραγέντος ἩΩ κατηραμένου,” ἔφη, “ῥάκος, οὐδὲ πρὸς τούτῳ μοι χρήσιμον ἔση;” κάκεινο μὲν ἀπέρριψε προσπύτασα, τῷ δὲ Βακχίδῃ τὴν 6 σφαγὴν παρέσχεν. ἦ δὲ Βερενίκη κύλικα φαρμάκου λαβοῦσα, τής μητρός αὐτῆς παροῦσης καὶ δεομένης, μετέδωκε. καὶ συνεξέπιον μὲν ἀμφότεραι, ἤρκεσε δὲ ἦ τοῦ φαρμάκου δύναμις εἰς τὸ ἀσθενέστερον σῶμα, τὴν δὲ Βερενίκην οὐχ ὅσον ἐδει πιοῦσαν οὐκ ἀπῆλλαξεν, ἀλλὰ δυσθανατοῦσα 8 τοῦ Βακχίδου σπείροντος ἀπετύγχη. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀγάμων ἀδελφῶν ἑκείνων τὴν μὲν ἐπαρωμένην πολλὰ καὶ λοιδοροῦσαν ἐκπεινόν φάρμακον, τὴν δὲ Στάτειραν οὕτω δύσφημόν τι φθειγμένην οὔτ’ ἁγεννές, ἀλλ’ ἐπαινοῦσαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν, ὅτι περὶ τοῦ σώματος κυιδυνεύων οὐκ ἠμέλησεν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ προούσας ἐλευθέρας καὶ ἀνυβρίστους ἀποθανεῖν. ταῦτά μὲν οὖν φύσις χρηστὸν οὖντα καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἤνια τῶν Δούκουλλων.

XIX. Ἐλάσσα δ’ ἄχρι Ταλαύρων, ἐνθεὶ ἡμέρᾳ τετάρτῃ πρότερον ἐφθάσει Μιθριδάτης εἰς Ἀρμενίαν πρὸς Τιγράνην πεφευγός, ἀποτρέπεται. καταστρέψαμενος δὲ Χαλδαίος καὶ Τιβαρηνοὺς καὶ τὴν μικρὰν Ἀρμενίαν παραλαβῶν καὶ φρούρια καὶ πόλεις παραστησάμενος, Ἀσπίον μὲν ἔσπεμψε πρὸς Τιγράνην ἐξαιτῶν Μιθριδάτην, αὐτὸς δὲ ἦκε πρὸς Ἀμισόν ἔτι πολυρκομένην. αἰτίος 526
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And now Bacchides came and ordered them all to die, in whatever manner each might deem easiest and most painless. Monime snatched the diadem from her head, fastened it round her neck, and hanged herself. But her halter quickly broke in two. "O cursed bauble," she cried, "couldst thou not serve me even in this office?" Then she spat upon it, hurled it from her, and offered her throat to Bacchides. But Berenicé, taking a cup of poison, shared it with her mother, who stood at her side and begged for some. Together they drank it off, and the force of the poison sufficed for the weaker body, but it did not carry off Berenicé, who had not drunk enough. As she was long in dying, and Bacchides was in a hurry, she was strangled. It is said also that of the unmarried sisters, one drank off her poison with many abusive imprecations on her brother; but that Statira did so without uttering a single reproachful or ungenerous word. She rather commended her brother because, when his own life was at hazard, he had not neglected them, but had taken measures to have them die in freedom and under no insults. Of course these things gave pain to Lucullus, who was naturally of a gentle and humane disposition.

XIX. Lucullus pushed on in pursuit as far as Talaura, whence, four days before, Mithridates had succeeded in escaping to Tigranes, in Armenia; then he turned aside. After subduing the Chaldaeans and the Tibareni, he occupied Lesser Armenia, reducing its fortresses and cities, and then sent Appius to Tigranes with a demand for Mithridates. He himself, however, came to Amisus, which was still holding out against the siege. Its success in
δ' ἦν Καλλίμαχος ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐμπειρία μηχανικὴς παρασκευῆς καὶ δεινότητι πανουργίας, ὅσην πολιορκία δέχεται, πλείστα λυπήσας Ῥωμαίους· δύο ύστερον ἐδωκε δίκην. τότε δ' ὑπὸ Δουκούλλου καταστρατηγηθείς, ὑφ' ἦν ἔθος ἐξεχεν ὡραν τῆς ἡμέρας ἀπάγειν καὶ ἀναπάυειν τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἐν ἐκείνῃ προσβαλόντος αἰφνιδίως καὶ κατασχόντος οὐ πολὺ μέρος τοῦ τείχους, αὐτὸς ἐκλιπὼν τὴν πόλιν ὑφῆγεν, εἰτε φθονῶν ὁφεληθήναι Ῥωμαίοις, εἰτε ῥαστώνην φυγής ἕαυτῷ μηχανῶς.

3 μενος. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐφρόντιζε τῶν ἐκπλεόντων, ἀλλὰ ὡς ἢ φλοξ ἀναδραμοῦσα πολλὴ τὰ τείχη περιέσχεν, οἱ μὲν στρατιῶται παρασκευάζοντο πρὸς ἀρπαγήν, ὁ δὲ Δουκούλλος οἰκτείρων ἀπολλυμένην τὴν πόλιν ἔξωθεν ἐβοήθει πρὸς τὸ πῦρ καὶ σβεννύναι παρεκάλει, μηδενὸς αὐτῷ προσέχοντο, ἀλλ' ἐξαιτουμένων τὰ χρήματα καὶ μετὰ βοῆς ὅταν κρούοντων, ἐως ἐκβιασθεὶς ἐπέτρεψεν, ὡς αὐτὴν γε τὴν πόλιν ἔξαιρησόμενος τοῦ πυρὸς.

4 οἱ δὲ τούναντίον ἔπραξαν. πάντα γὰρ ἐξερευνώντες ὑπὸ λαμπάδων καὶ πανταχοῦ φῶς ἐπιφέροντες αὐτὸν τὰ πλείστα τῶν οἰκημάτων καθεῖλον, ὡστε τὸν Δουκούλλον εἰσελθόντα μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ δακρύσαντα πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰπεῖν, ὡς 504 πολλάκις ἡδή Σύλλαν μακαρίσας μάλιστα τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ τὴν τάνδρος εὐτυχῶς θαυμάσεις, 5 ὅτι σώσαι βουληθεῖς ἐδυνήθη τὰς Ἀθήνας. "Εμὲ 528
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this was due to Callimachus, its commander, who, by his acquaintance with mechanical contrivances and his power to employ every resource which the siege of a city demands, had given the Romans the greatest annoyance. For this he afterwards paid the penalty. But at this time, he was simply out-generalled by Lucullus, who made a sudden attack at just that time of day when Callimachus was accustomed to draw his soldiers off from the ramparts and give them a rest. When the Romans had got possession of a small part of the wall, Callimachus abandoned the city, first setting fire to it with his own hands, either because he begrudged the visitors their booty, or because his own escape was thus facilitated. For no one paid any attention to those who were sailing away, but when the flames increased mightily and enveloped the walls, the soldiers made ready to plunder the houses. Lucullus, out of pity for the perishing city, tried to bring aid from outside against the fire, and gave orders to extinguish the flames, but no one paid any heed to his commands. The soldiers all clamoured for the booty, and shouted, and clashed their shields and spears together, until he was forced to let them have their way, hoping that he could at least save the city itself from the flames. But the soldiers did just the opposite. Ransacking everything by torch-light and carrying lights about everywhere, they destroyed most of the houses themselves. When Lucullus entered the city at daybreak, he burst into tears, and said to his friends that he had often already deemed Sulla happy, and on that day more than ever he admired the man’s good fortune, in that when he wished to save Athens, he had the power to do so. “But upon
δ’,” ἔφη, “τούτου ζηλωτὴν γενόμενον εἰς τὴν Μοιμίου δόξαν ὁ δαίμονος περιέπτησεν.”

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἀναλαμβάνειν ἐπειράτο τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πῦρ ὄμβροι κατέσβεσαν ἐκ τινος θείας τύχης περὶ τὴν ἀλώσιν αὐτὴν συμπεσόντες, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα τῶν ἀπολογ-λότων αὐτὸς ἐτι παρῶν ἀγριοδόμησε, καὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας Ἀμισηνῶν ἐδέξατο, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἐλλήνων κατόκυσε τοὺς βουλομένους, εἰκοσὶ καὶ 6 ἕκατὸν σταδίων χώραν προσορίσας. ἦν δ’ ἡ πόλις Ἀθηναίων ἄποικος, ἐν ἐκείνοις ἁρὰ τοῖς καιροῖς, ἐν οἷς ἦκμαξεν ἡ δύναμις αὐτῶν καὶ κατείχε τὴν θύλασαν, οἰκισθείσα. καὶ διὰ τούτο πολλοὶ τῶν τῆς Ἀριστίωνος τυραννῶν βουλομένων φεύγειν εἰσπλέοντας αὐτὸς κατόκυσαν καὶ μετείχον τῆς πολιτείας, οἷς συνέβη τὰ οἰκεία κακὰ φεύγοντες ἀπολαύσαι τῶν ἄλλων ἀλλοτρίων. ἄλλα τοὺς γε σωθέν-τας αὐτῶν ὁ δούκουλλος ἀμφιέσας καλῶς καὶ διακοσιάς ἐκάστῳ δραχμαὶς ἐπιδοῦς ἀπέστειλε.

7 τὸτε καὶ Ἰππανίων ὁ γραμματικὸς ἐάλω. Μου-ρήνας δ’ αὐτῶν εὐχῆσατο καὶ λαβὼν ἀπηλευθέ-ρωσεν, ἀνελευθέρωσον τῇ δωρεᾷ χρησάμενος. οὐ γὰρ ἦξιον Δοῦκουλλος ἀνδρα διὰ παιδείαν ἐσπου-δασμένον δοῦλον γενέσθαι πρότερον, εἰτ’ ἀπελεύ-θερον. ἀφαίρεσις γὰρ ἦν τῆς ὑπαρχόντος ἡ τῆς δοκούσης ἐλευθερίας δόσις. ἄλλα Μουρήνας μὲν οὐκ ἐνταῦθα μένον ὄφθη πολὺ τῆς τοῦ στρατη-γοῦ καλοκαγαθίας ἀποδέων.
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me," he said, "who have been so eager to imitate his example, Heaven has devolved the reputation of Mummius."

However, as far as circumstances allowed, he endeavoured to restore the city. The fire, indeed, had been quenched by showers which fell providentially just as the city was captured, and most of what the soldiers had destroyed he rebuilt himself before his departure. He also received into the city those of the Amisenes who had fled, and settled there any other Greeks who so desired, and added to the city's domain a tract of a hundred and twenty stadia. The city was a colony of Athens, founded in that period when her power was at its height and she controlled the sea. And this was the reason why many who wished to escape the tyranny of Aristion at Athens sailed to Amisus, settled there, and became citizens. In flying from evils at home, they got the benefit of greater evils abroad. But those of them who survived were well clothed by Lucullus, and sent back home, with a present of two hundred drachmas apiece. Tyrannio the grammarian was also taken prisoner at this time. Murena asked to have him as his own prize, and on getting him, formally gave him his liberty, therein making an illiberal use of the gift which he had received. For Lucullus did not think it meet that a man so esteemed for his learning should first become a slave, and then be set at liberty. To give him a nominal liberty was to rob him of the liberty to which he was born. But this was not the only case in which Murena was found to be far inferior to his commander in nobility of conduct.

1 Tyrant of Athens when the city was besieged by Sulla, 87 B.C.
XX. Δούκουλλος δὲ τρέπεται πρὸς τὰς ἐν Ἄσιᾳ πόλεις, ὅπως, τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔργων σχολάζοντος αὐτοῦ, καὶ δίκης τυφός μετάσχη καὶ θεσμῶν, ὅν ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνου ἔνδει τὴν ἐπαρχίαν οὕσαν ἄρρητοι καὶ ἀπίστοι δυστυχῶς κατείχον, ὅπο τῶν τελωνῶν καὶ τῶν δανειστῶν πορθουμένην καὶ ἀνδραποδιζομένην, πιπράσκειν ἵδια μὲν νιόνες εὐπρεπεῖς θυγατέρας τε παρθένους, δημοσίᾳ δὲ ἀναθήματα, γραφάς, ἱεροὺς ἀνδριάντας ἀναγκα-ζομένων. αὐτοῖς δὲ τέλος μὲν ἢν προσθέτοις γεγομένους δουλεύειν, τὰ δὲ πρὸ τοῦτο χαλεπώτερα, σχοινίσμα καὶ κυκλίδες καὶ ἵπποι καὶ στάσεις ὑπαίθριοι, καύματος μὲν ἐν ἡλιόφ, ψύχους δὲ εἰς πηλοῦ εμβιβαζομένων ἢ πάγου, ὡστε τὴν δουλείαν σεισάχθειαν δοκεῖν εἶναι καὶ εἰρήνην.

3 τοιαύτα μὲν κακὰ Δούκουλλος εὐρών ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὁλίγῳ χρόνῳ πάντων ἀπῆλλαξε τοὺς ἀδικομένους.

Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐκατοστὴν ἐκέλευσε καὶ μὴ πλέον εἰς τοὺς τόκους λογίζεσθαι· δεύτερον δὲ τοὺς μακροτέρους τοῦ ἄρχαίου τόκους ἀπέκοψε· τὸ δὲ τρίτον καὶ μέγιστον, ἔταξε τῶν τοῦ χρεωφείλετον προσόδων τὴν τετάρτην μερίδα καρποῦσαι τοῖς δανειστὴν· ὁ δὲ τόκον κεφαλαίῳ 4 συνάψας ἐστέρητο τοῦ παντός· ὥστε ἐν ἐλάττων χρόνῳ τετραετίας διαλυθῆναι τὰ χρέα πάντα καὶ τὰς κτήσεις ἔλευθερας ἀποδοθῆναι τοῖς δεσπόταις. ἦν δὲ τοῦτο κοινῷ δανείῳ ἐκ τῶν δισμυρίων ταλάντων, ὥσπερ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐξημέωσεν ὁ Σύλλας· καὶ διπλοῦν ἀπεδόθη τοῖς δανείσασιν, ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνων 532
XX. Lucullus now turned his attention to the cities in Asia, in order that, while he was at leisure from military enterprises, he might do something for the furtherance of justice and law. Through long lack of these, unspeakable and incredible misfortunes were rife in the province. Its people were plundered and reduced to slavery by the tax-gatherers and money-lenders. Families were forced to sell their comely sons and virgin daughters, and cities their votive offerings, pictures, and sacred statues. At last men had to surrender to their creditors and serve them as slaves, but what preceded this was far worse,—tortures of rope, barrier, and horse; standing under the open sky in the blazing sun of summer, and in winter, being thrust into mud or ice. Slavery seemed, by comparison, to be disburdenment and peace. Such were the evils which Lucullus found in the cities, and in a short time he freed the oppressed from all of them.

In the first place, he ordered that the monthly rate of interest should be reckoned at one per cent., and no more; in the second place, he cut off all interest that exceeded the principal; third, and most important of all, he ordained that the lender should receive not more than the fourth part of his debtor's income, and any lender who added interest to principal was deprived of the whole. Thus, in less than four years' time, the debts were all paid, and the properties restored to their owners unencumbered. This public debt had its origin in the twenty thousand talents which Sulla had laid upon Asia as a contribution, and twice this amount had been paid back to the money-lenders. Yet now, by

1 71–70 B.C.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ἀνημένον ἦδη τοῖς τόκοις εἰς δώδεκα μυριάδας 5 ταλάντων. ἐκείνοι μὲν οὖν ὡς δεινὰ πεπονθότες ἐν Ῥόμη τοῦ Δούκουλλου κατεβόσων, καὶ χρημασιῶν ἀνύστασαν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἐνίοις τῶν δημαγωγῶν, μέγα δυνάμενοι καὶ πολλοὶς ύπόχρεος πεποιημένοι τῶν πολιτευμένων. ὁ δὲ Δούκουλλος οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ τῶν εὐ πεπονθότων ἡγασάτο δῆμων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρχίαις ποθεῖνος ἦν, εὐδαιμονίζοισας τούς ἡγεμόνοις τοιοῦτον τυχόντας.

XXI. Ἀππιος δὲ Κλώδιος, ὁ πεμφθεῖς πρὸς Τιγράνην (ἡν δὲ ὁ Κλώδιος ἁδελφός τῆς τότε 505 Δούκουλλος συνοικούσης) πρῶτον μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλικῶν ὁδηγῶν κύκλου τινὰ καὶ περιβόλην ἔχουσαν οὐκ ἀναγκαίᾳν καὶ πολυήμερον ὅδον διὰ τῆς ἀνω χώρας ἀγόμενος, μηνύσαντος αὐτῷ τὴν εὑθεῖαν ὅδον ἀπελευθέρου Σύρου τὸ γένος, ἐκτρέπεται τῆς μακρᾶς ἐκείνης καὶ σοφιστικῆς, ἔρρωσθαι φράσας πολλὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀγωγοῖς, καὶ δι’ ἥμερῶν ὁλύγων τὸν Ἕφρατην περάσας 2 εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἤκε τὴν ἐπὶ Δάφνης. ἔπειτα Τιγράνην αὐτὸν κελευσθεῖς περιμένειν (ἀπὸν γὰρ ἐνίας ἔτι τῶν ἐν Φοινίκῃ πόλεων καταστρεφόμενος), πολλοὺς μὲν ὀκειώσατο τῶν ὑπούλως ἀκρωμένων τοῦ Ἀρμενίων δυναστῶν, ὃν εἰς ἦν καὶ Ζαρβινῦν ὁ τῆς Γορδύης βασιλεὺς, πολλαῖς δὲ κρύφα τῶν δεδουλωμένων πόλεων διαπεριπομέναις πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπέσχετο τὴν Δούκουλλον βοηθεῖαν, ἐν τῷ παρούτι κελεύσας ἰσυνάξειν.

3 ἦν γὰρ οὐκ ἀνασχέτος ἡ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἁρχὴ
LUCULLUS

reckoning usurious interest, they had brought the total debt up to a hundred and twenty thousand talents. These men, accordingly, considered themselves outraged, and raised a clamour against Lucullus at Rome. They also bribed some of the tribunes to proceed against him, being men of great influence, who had got many of the active politicians into their debt. Lucullus, however, was not only beloved by the peoples whom he had benefited, nay, other provinces also longed to have him set over them, and felicitated those whose good fortune it was to have such a governor.

XXI. Appius Clodius, who had been sent to Tigranes (Clodius was a brother of her who was then the wife of Lucullus), was at first conducted by the royal guides through the upper country by a route needlessly circuitous and long. But when a freedman of his, who was a Syrian, told him of the direct route, he left the long one which was being trickily imposed upon him, bade his Barbarian guides a long farewell, and within a few days crossed the Euphrates and came to Antioch by Daphne. Then, being ordered to await Tigranes there (the king was still engaged in subduing some cities of Phoenicia), he gained over many of the princes who paid but a hollow obedience to the Armenian. One of these was Zarbienus, king of Gordyene. He also promised many of the enslaved cities, when they sent to confer with him secretly, the assistance of Lucullus, although for the present he bade them keep quiet.

Now the sway of the Armenians was intolerably

1 The great Antioch on the river Orontes. Daphne was the name of a grove near the city consecrated to Apollo.
τοις Ἑλλησίων, ἀλλὰ χαλεπὴ καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτοῦ τὸ φρόνημα τραγικὸν καὶ ὑπέροχον εν ταῖς μεγάλαις εὐτυχίαις ἔγεγονε, πάντων, ὡσ ἦλθοσιν οἰ πολλοί καὶ θαυμάζουσιν, οὐ μόνον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δὴ αὐτῶν γεγονέναι δοκοῦντων. ἀρξάμενος γὰρ ἀπὸ μικρὰς καὶ καταφρονομένης ἐλπίδος ἔθνη πολλὰ κατεστρέφωτο, καὶ τὴν Πάρθων, ὡς ἄλλος οὐδεὶς, δύναμιν ἐταπείνωσεν, Ἔλληνων δὲ τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν ἐνέπλησε, πολλοὺς μὲν ἐκ Κυκλίας, πολλοὺς δὲ ἐκ Καππαδοκίας ἀνασπάστοις κατοικίζων. ἐκινήσε δὲ ἡθῶν καὶ Ἀραβίας τοὺς Σκηνίτας μεταγαγὼν καὶ πλησίον ἱδρύσας, ὅπως χρότο δὴ ἐκεῖνων ταῖς ἐμπορίαις. βασιλεῖς δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν ἦσαν οἱ θεραπεύοντες αὐτῶν, τέσσαρες δὲ, οὕς ἀεὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐχεῖν ὁστέρο πάπαν ὣς δορυφόρους, ἱππότη μὲν ἐλαύνοντι πεζῶν παραθέοντας ἐν χιτωνίσκοις, καθημένῳ δὲ καὶ χρηματίζοντι περιστώτας ἐπηλλαγμέναις δὴ ἀλλήλων ταῖς χερσίν, ὅπερ ἔδοξει μάλιστα τῶν σχημάτων ἐξομολογησις εἶναι δουλείας, οἷον ἀποδομένων τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὸ σῶμα τῷ κυρίῳ παρεχόντων παθεῖν ἑτοιμότερον ἢ ποιησάται.

6 Ταύτην μέντοι τὴν τραγῳδίαν οὐχ ὑποτρέπασιν οὔδὲ ἐκπλαγείς ὁ Ἀππίος, ὡς ἔτυχε λόγου πρῶτον, ἀντικρυ ἢκεῖν ἔφη Μιθριδάτην ἀπάξων ὀφειλόμενον τοῖς Λουκούλλῳ θριάμβῳ ἡ καταγγελών Τιγράνη τόλμου, ὡςτε τὸν Τιγράνην, καίπερ ἐν διαχύσει τοῦ προσώπου καὶ μειδίματι πεπλασμένῳ πειρώμενον ἀκούειν τῶν λόγων, μὴ λαθεῖν τοὺς παρόντας ἠλλοιωμένου τῇ παρασκεία τοῦ νεανίσκου, φωνῆς σχεδὸν ἐλευθέρας ἀκούοντα 536
LUCULLUS.

grievous to the Greeks. Above all else, the spirit of the king himself had become pompous and haughty in the midst of his great prosperity. All the things which most men covet and admire, he not only had in his possession, but actually thought that they existed for his sake. For though he had started on his career with small and insignificant expectations, he had subdued many nations, humbled the Parthian power as no man before him had done, and filled Mesopotamia with Greeks whom he removed in great numbers from Cilicia and from Cappadocia, and settled anew. He also removed from their wonted haunts the nomadic Arabians, and brought them to an adjacent settlement, that he might employ them in trade and commerce. Many were the kings who waited upon him, and four, whom he always had about him like attendants or body-guards, would run on foot by their master's side when he rode out, clad in short blouses, and when he sat transacting business, would stand by with their arms crossed. This attitude was thought to be the plainest confession of servitude, as if they had sold their freedom and offered their persons to their master disposed for suffering rather than for service.

Appius, however, was not frightened or astonished at all this pomp and show, but as soon as he obtained an audience, told the king plainly that he was come to take back Mithridates, as an ornament due to the triumph of Lucullus, or else to declare war against Tigranes. Although Tigranes made every effort to listen to this speech with a cheerful countenance and a forced smile, he could not hide from the bystanders his discomfiture at the bold words of the young man. It must have been five and twenty
διὰ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν τοσάυτα γὰρ ἐβασί-
7 λευσε, μᾶλλον δὲ ὤβρισεν. ἀπεκρίνατο μὲν οὖν
tῷ Ἄππιῳ μὴ προήσεσθαι Μιθριδάτην, καὶ
Ῥωμαίους πολέμου ἄρχοντας ἀμυνεῖται. Λου-
κούλληρ δ’ ὀργιζόμενος, ὅτι βασιλέα μόνον αὐτόν,
oὐ βασιλέων ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ προσηγόρευσεν,
oὐδ’ αὐτὸς ἀντιγράφων αὐτοκράτωρα προσεῖτεν.
ἐπεμψε δὲ δῶρα τῷ Ἄππιῳ λαμπρά, καὶ μῆ λαβόν-
τος ἄλλα πλείω προσέθηκεν. ἐκ τούτων ὁ Ἅππιος
οὐκ ἔθελον δοκεῖν ἔχθρα τινὶ διωθεῖσθαι φιάλην
dεξάμενος μίαν ἀπετεμψε τὰ λυτά, καὶ διὰ
tαχέων ἀπῆλαυνε πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα.

XXII. Τιγράνης δὲ Μιθριδάτην πρότερον μὲν
οὐδὲ ἴδειν ἥξισεν οὐδὲ προσεπεῖν οἴκειον ἄνδρα
βασιλείας ἐκπεπτωκότα τηλικάυης, ἀλλ’ ἀτίμως
καὶ ὑπερηφάνος ἀπωτάτω περείδεν αὐτὸν τρό-
πον τινὰ φρουρούμενον ἐν χωρίοις ἐλώδεσε καὶ
νοσεροὶς τότε δὲ σὺν τιμῇ καὶ φιλοφροσύνῃ
2 μετεπέμψατο αὐτὸν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια. καὶ δὴ
λόγων γενομένων ἄπορρήτων τὰς πρὸς ἄλλης 506
ἔθεράπευον ὑποψίας ἐπὶ κακῷ τῶν φιλῶν, εἰς
ἐκεῖνος τὰς αἰτίας τρέποντες. ὃν ἦν καὶ
Μητρόδωρος ὁ Σκῆψιος, ἀνὴρ εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἄγδης
καὶ πολυμαθῆς, ἀκμὴ δὲ φίλιας τοσάτῳ χρησά-
μενος, ὡστε πατήρ προσαγορεῦσθαι τοῦ βασι-
3 λέως. τούτων, ός ἐοικεν, ὁ Τιγράνης πεμφθέντα
πρεσβευτὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου πρὸς αὐτὸν
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years since he had listened to a free speech. That was the length of his reign, or rather, of his wanton tyranny. However, he replied to Appius that he would not surrender Mithridates, and that if the Romans began war, he would defend himself. He was vexed with Lucullus for addressing him in his letter with the title of King only, and not King of Kings, and accordingly, in his reply, would not address Lucullus as Imperator. But he sent splendid gifts to Appius, and when he would not take them, added more besides. Appius finally accepted a single bowl from among them, not wishing his rejection of the king's offers to seem prompted by any personal enmity, but sent back the rest, and marched off with all speed to join the Imperator.

XXII. Up to this time Tigranes had not deigned to see Mithridates, nor speak to him, though the man was allied to him by marriage, and had been expelled from such a great kingdom. Instead, he had kept him at the farthest remove possible, in disgrace and contumely, and had suffered him to be held a sort of prisoner in marshy and sickly regions. Now, however, he summoned him to his palace with marks of esteem and friendship. There, in secret conference, they strove to allay their mutual suspicions at the expense of their friends, by laying the blame upon them. One of these was Metrodorus of Scepsis, a man of agreeable speech and wide learning, who enjoyed the friendship of Mithridates in such a high degree that he was called the king's father. This man, as it seems, had once been sent as an ambassador from Mithridates to Tigranes, with a request for aid against the Romans. On this
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ ΕΙΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΥ ΧΡΟΝΟΥ “Σὺ δ’ αὐτός, ὁ Μητρόδωρε, τί μοι περὶ τούτων παρα-νείς;” κάκεινος εἶτε πρὸς τὸ Τιγράναυον συμφέρον εἶτε Μιθριδάτην σώζεσθαι μὴ βουλόμενος, ὡς μὲν πρεσβευτὴς ἔφη κελεύειν, ὡς δὲ σύμβουλος ἀπαγορεύειν. ταύτ’ εξήνεγκεν ὁ Τιγράνης τῷ Μι-θριδάτῃ καὶ κατείπεν ὡς οὐδὲν ἐργασμένος τὸν Μητρόδωρον ἀνήκεστον. ὁ δ’ εὐθὺς ἀνήρητο καὶ μετάνοια τὸν Τιγράνην εἶχεν, οὐ παντελῶς ὅντα τῷ Μητρόδωρῳ τῆς συμφορᾶς αἴτιον, ἀλλὰ ὅπῃν τινα τῷ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχθει τοῦ Μιθριδάτου προσ-θέντα. πάλαι γὰρ ὑπούλως εἰχε πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ τούτ’ ἐφωράθη τῶν ἀπορρήτων αὐτοῦ γραμ-μάτων ἀλόντων, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ Μητρόδωρον ἀπολέσθαι διατεταγμένον. ἔθαψεν οὖν ὁ Τι-γράνης λαμπρῶς τὸ σῶμα, μηδεμίας πολυτελείας φεισάμενος εἰς νεκρὸν ὃν ἔται προῦδωκέν. 5 Ἑτελεύτησε δὲ παρὰ τῷ Τιγράνη καὶ Ἀμφικράτης ὁ βῆτωρ, εἰ δεῖ καὶ τούτῳ μνήμην τινὰ γενέσθαι διὰ τὰς Ἀθήνας. λέγεται γὰρ φυγεῖν μὲν αὐτὸν εἰς Σελεύκειαν τὴν ἐπὶ Τίγριδι, δεομέ- νων δ’ αὐτόθι σοφιστεύειν ὑπεριδείν καταλαξο-νευσάμενον, ὡς οὐδὲ λεκάνη δελφίνα χαροί, μεταστάντα δὲ πρὸς Κλεοπάτραν τὴν Μιθριδάτου θυγατέρα, Τιγράνη δὲ συνοικοῦσαν ἐν διαβολῇ γενέσθαι ταχύ, καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἐπιμελείας εἰργόμενον ἀποκαρτερήσαν ταφῆναι δὲ καὶ τούτων ἐντίμως ὑπὸ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας καὶ 540
occasion Tigranes asked him: "But what is your own advice to me, Metrodorus, in this matter?" Whereupon Metrodorus, either with an eye to the interests of Tigranes, or because he did not wish Mithridates to be saved, said that as an ambassador he urged consent, but as an adviser he forbade it. Tigranes disclosed this to Mithridates, not supposing, when he told him, that he would punish Metrodorus past all healing. But Metrodorus was at once put out of the way. Then Tigranes repented of what he had done, although he was not entirely to blame for the death of Metrodorus. He merely gave an impulse, as it were, to the hatred which Mithridates already had for the man. For he had long been secretly hostile to him, as was seen from his private papers when they were captured, in which there were directions that Metrodorus, as well as others, be put to death. Accordingly, Tigranes gave the body of Metrodorus a splendid burial, sparing no expense upon the man when dead, although he had betrayed him when alive.

Amphicrates, the rhetorician, also lost his life at the court of Tigranes, if, for the sake of Athens, we may make some mention of him too. It is said that when he was exiled from his native city, he went to Seleucia on the Tigris, and that when the citizens asked him to give lectures there, he treated their invitation with contempt, arrogantly remarking that a stewpan could not hold a dolphin. Removing thence, he attached himself to Cleopatra, the daughter of Mithridates and wife of Tigranes, but speedily fell into disfavour, and, being excluded from intercourse with Greeks, starved himself to death. He also received honourable burial at the hands of
κείσθαι περὶ Σαφᾶν, ἐκεῖ τι χωρίον οὗτω καλοῦ-
μενον.

XXIII. Δούκουλλος δὲ τὴν Ἀσίαν πολλῆς μὲν
eὐνομίας, πολλῆς δ’ εἰρήνης ἐμπεπληκῶς οὐδὲ τῶν
πρὸς ἡδονήν καὶ χάριν ἤμελησεν, άλλα πομπαῖς
καὶ πανηγύρεσιν ἐξπινκίως καὶ ἀγώσιν ἀθλητῶν
καὶ μονομάχων ἐν ’Εφέσῳ καθήμενος ἐθημαγώγη
tὰς πόλεις, αἱ δ’ ἀμειβόμεναι Δουκούλλεια τε
ἤγον ἐπὶ τιμὴ τοῦ ἄνδρος, καὶ τῆς τιμῆς ἡδίουν
2 τὴν ἀληθινὴν εὐνοιαν αὐτῷ παρεῖχον. ἐπεὶ δ’
’Αππιός τε ἦκε καὶ πολεμητέον πρὸς Τυγράνην
ἐφαίνετο, παρήλθεν αὐθίς εἰς Πόντον, καὶ τοὺς
στρατιώτας ἀναλαβὼν ἐπολιόρκει Σινώπην, μᾶλ-
λον δὲ τοὺς κατέχοντας αὐτὴν βασιλικοὺς Κῆλι-
κας, οἱ πολλοὶ μὲν ἀνελῶντες τῶν Σινωπτέων, τὴν
3 δὲ πόλιν ἐμπρήσαντες διὰ νυκτὸς ἐφηγοῦν. αἰσθό-
μενος δ’ ὁ Δούκουλλος καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν
ὁκτακισχιλίους αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐγκαταλειφθέντας
ἀπέκτεινε, τοῖς δ’ ἄλλοις ἀπέδωκε τὰ ὀίκεια καὶ
τῆς πόλεως ἑπεμελήθη μᾶλλον διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην
ὄψιν. ἐδόκει τινὰ κατὰ τοὺς ὑπόνους εἰπεῖν παρα-
στάντα: “Πρόελθε, Δούκουλλε, μικρὸν ἦκε γὰρ
4 Αὐτόλυκος ἐντυχεῖν σοι βουλόμενος.” ἐξαναστά
tὰ δὲ τὴν μὲν ὄψιν οὐκ εἶχε συμβαλεῖν εἰς ὅ τι φέροι,
tὴν δὲ πόλιν εἶλε κατ’ ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν, καὶ
tοὺς ἐκπλέοντας τῶν Κῆλικων διώκων ὅρα παρὰ
τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἄνδριάντα κεῖμενον, ὃν ἐκκομίζοντες
οἱ Κῆλικες οὐκ ἐφθησαν ἐμβαλέσθαι· τὸ δ’ ἐργον
ἤν Σθενίδος τῶν καλῶν. φράζει οὖν τις, ὡς Αὐ-
tολύκου τοῦ κτίσαντος τὴν Σινώπην ὁ ἄνδριᾶς
eἰη.
LUCULLUS

Cleopatra, and his body lies at Sapha, as a place in those parts is called.

XXIII. Lucullus, after filling Asia full of law and order, and full of peace, did not neglect the things which minister to pleasure and win favour, but during his stay at Ephesus gratified the cities with processions and triumphal festivals and contests of athletes and gladiators. And the cities, in response, celebrated festivals which they called Lucullean, to do honour to the man, and bestowed upon him what is sweeter than honour, their genuine good-will. But when Appius came, and it was plain that war must be waged against Tigranes, he went back into Pontus, put himself at the head of his soldiers, and laid siege to Sinopé, or rather, to the Cilicians who were occupying that city for the king. These slew many of the Sinopians, fired the city, and set out to fly by night. But Lucullus saw what was going on, made his way into the city, and slew eight thousand of the Cilicians who were still there. Then he restored to the citizens their private property, and ministered to the needs of the city, more especially on account of the following vision. He thought in his sleep that a form stood by his side and said: "Go forward a little, Lucullus; for Autolycus is come, and wishes to meet you." On rising from sleep, he was unable to conjecture what the vision meant; but he took the city on that day, and as he pursued the Cilicians who were sailing away, he saw a statue lying on the beach, which the Cilicians had not succeeded in getting on board with them. It was the work of Sthenis, and one of his masterpieces. Well then, some one told Lucullus that it was the statue of Autolycus, the founder of Sinopé.

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5 Δέγεται δ’ ὁ Αὐτόλυκος γενέσθαι τῶν ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀμαξόνας ἐκ Θεσσαλίας Ἡρακλεῖ συστρατευσάντων, Δημιάχου παῖς· ἐκείθεν δ’ ἀποπλέων ἄμα Δημολέουτι καὶ Φλογίω τὴν μὲν ναῦν ἀπολέσαι περιπεσοῦσαν τῆς Χερσονήσου κατὰ τὸ καλούμενον Πηδάλιον, αὐτὸς δὲ σωθεὶς μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν 507 καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων πρὸς τὴν Σινώπην ἄφελεσθαι

6 τοὺς Σύρους τὴν πόλιν. Σύρους γὰρ αὐτὴν κατείχου ἀπὸ Σύρου γεγονότες τοῦ Απόλλωνος, ὡς λέγεται, καὶ Σινώπης τῆς Ἀσσωπίδος.

Ταῦτ’ ἀκοῦσών ὁ Δοῦκοιλλος ἀνεμμυνήσκετο τῆς Σύλλα παραγνέσεως· παρέμει δὲ διὰ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων ἐκεῖνος μηδὲν οὕτως ἀξιόπιστον ἥγεσθαι καὶ βέβαιον, ὡς ὁ τι ἄν ἀποσημανθῇ διὰ τῶν ἐνυπνών.

7 Πυθανόμενος δὲ Μιθριδάτην τε καὶ Τιγράνην εἰς Ἀνκανίαν καὶ Κιλίκιαν ὅσον οὕτω διαβιβάζειν δύναμιν ὡς προτέρους ἐμβαλόντας εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἑθάμαζε τὸν Ἀρμένιον, εἰ γνώμην ἔχων ἐπιθέσθαι Ἡρωίδοις, ἀκμάζοντι μὲν οὐκ ἔχρητο Μιθριδάτη πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, οὐδ’ ἐρωμένοις τοῖς ἐκεῖνοι τὰ παρ’ αὐτοῦ συνήπτεν, ἀπολέσθαι δ’ ἐάσας καὶ συντριβήσαι νῦν ἐπὶ ψυχράς ἔλπισιν ἀρχεῖσθαι πολέμου τοῖς ἀναστήσαι μὴ δυναμένοις συγκαταβάλλων ἑαυτῶν.

XXIV. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ Μαχάρης ὁ Μιθριδάτου παῖς ἔχων τὸν Βόσπορον ἐπεμψεν αὐτῷ στέφανον ἀπὸ χρυσῶν χιλιῶν, δεόμενος Ἡρωίδον ἀναγραφῆναι φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος, ἣδη οἴομενος τὰ τοῦ προτέρου πολέμου πέρας ἔχειν Ρωμαίοις

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LUCULLUS

Now Autolycus is said to have been one of those who made an expedition with Heracles from Thessaly against the Amazons, a son of Deïmachus. On his voyage of return, in company with Demoleon and Phlogius, he lost his ship, which was wrecked at the place called Pedalium, in the Chersonesus; but he himself escaped, with his arms and his companions, and coming to Sinopé, took the city away from the Syrians. These Syrians who were in possession of the city were descended, as it is said, from Syrus, the son of Apollo, and Sinopé, the daughter of Asopis.

On hearing this, Lucullus called to mind the advice of Sulla, in his Memoirs, which was to think nothing so trustworthy and sure as that which is signified by dreams.

Being informed now that Mithridates and Tigranes were on the point of entering Lycaonia and Cilicia, with the purpose of invading Asia before war was actually declared, he was amazed that the Armenian, if he cherished the design of attacking the Romans, had not made use of Mithridates for this war when he was at the zenith of his power, nor joined forces with him when he was strong, but had allowed him to be crushed and ruined, and now began a war which offered only faint hopes of success, prostrating himself to the level of those who were unable to stand erect.

XXIV. But when Machares also, the son of Mithridates, who held the Bosporus, sent Lucullus a crown valued at a thousand pieces of gold, begging to be included in the list of Rome’s friends and allies, Lucullus decided at once that the first war was finished. He therefore left Sornatius there

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μὲν αὐτοῦ φύλακα τῶν Ποντικῶν ἀπέλυσε μετὰ

2 στρατιωτῶν ἐξακισχιλών, αὐτὸς δὲ μυρίους μὲν

ἀγων καὶ δισχίλιους πεζούς, ἱππεῖς δὲ τρισχίλιων

ἐλάττους, ἐπὶ τὸν δεύτερον ἔχωρει πόλεμον, ὅμιθ

tων δοκῶν παραβόλῳ καὶ σωτήριον οὐκ ἔχονσι

λογίσμον ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς ἑθνικά μάχιμα καὶ

μυρίάδας ἱππῶν πολλὰς καὶ ἀχανή χώραν,

βαθέστε μὲν ποταμοῖς, ἀεὶ δὲ κατανυφομένους ὑπὲρ

3 περιεχόμενην, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας οὐδ’

ἀλλως ὑντας εὐτάκτους ἄκοντας ἐπεσθαὶ καὶ

ζυγομαχοῦντας, ἐν δὲ Ἡρωμή καταβοῶν καὶ δια-

μαρτύρεσθαι τοὺς δημαγωγοὺς, ὡς πόλεμον ἐκ

πολέμου διόκει Λούκουλλο οὖδὲν τῆς πόλεως
deσμένης, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ τοῦ στρατηγῶν μηδὲποτὲ

cataδέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα μηδὲ παύεσθαι χρηματιζό-

4 μενος ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν κινδύνων. οὕτως μὲν ὁὶ

ἐξειργάσαντο χρόνῳ τὴν αὐτῶν ὑπόθεσιν. Λού-

κουλλος δὲ συντόνως ὁδεύσας ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην,

καὶ κατιόντα πολὺν καὶ ἱθολόγον ὑπὸ χειμῶνος

εὐρῶν, ἡσχαλλεῖν, ὡς διατριβὴς αὐτῷ καὶ πραγ-

ματεῖαι ἐσομένης συνάγοντι πορθμεῖαι καὶ πηγ-

νυμένῳ σχέδια. ἀρξάμενον δ’ ἀφ’ ἐστεράς

ὑποχωρεῖν τὸ ῥεῖμα καὶ μειοῦμενον διὰ τῆς ὕκτος

ἀμ’ ἡμέρᾳ κοιλὸν παρέσχεν οὐθῆναι τὸν ποταμὸν.

5 οἱ δ’ ἐπιχώριοι νησίδας ἐν τῷ πόρῳ μικρᾶς διαφα-

νείας θεασάμενοι καὶ τεναγίζοντα τὸν ρόην ἐπ’

αὐταῖς, προσκυνοῦν τὸν Δούκουλλον, ὡς ὁλίγακις

tουτοῦ συμβεβηκότος πρότερον, ἐκείνω δ’ ἐκου-

σίως χειρόθεη καὶ πρᾶφον αὐτῶν ἐνδιδόντος τοῦ

ποταμοῦ καὶ παρέχοντος ἀπράγμονα καὶ ταχείαν

tὴν διάβασιν.
LUCULLUS

as guardian of Pontus, with six thousand soldiers, while he himself, with twelve thousand footmen and less than three thousand horse, set out for the second war.¹ He seemed to be making a reckless attack, and one which admitted of no saving calculation, upon warlike nations, countless thousands of horse-men, and a boundless region surrounded by deep rivers and mountains covered with perpetual snow. His soldiers, therefore, who were none too well disciplined in any case, followed him reluctantly and rebelliously, while the popular tribunes at Rome raised an outcry against him, and accused him of seeking one war after another, although the city had no need of them, that he might be in perpetual command and never lay down his arms or cease enriching himself from the public dangers. And, in time, these men accomplished their purpose. But Lucullus advanced by forced marches to the Euphrates. Here he found the stream swollen and turbid from the winter storms, and was vexed to think of the delay and trouble which it would cost him to collect boats and build rafts. But at evening the stream began to subside, went on diminishing through the night, and at day-break the river was running between lofty banks. The natives, observing that sundry small islands in the channel had become visible, and that the current near them was quiet, made obeisance to Lucullus, saying that this had seldom happened before, and that the river had voluntarily made itself tame and gentle for Lucullus, and offered him an easy and speedy passage.

¹ 69 B.C.
6 Χρησάμενος οὖν τῷ καιρῷ διεβίβαζε τὴν στρατιάν· καὶ γίνεται σημείον αὐτῷ χρηστῶν ἁμα τῇ διαβάσει. Βόες ἱερὰ νέμονται Περσίας Ἀρτέμιδος, ἴνα μάλιστα θεῶν οἱ πέραν Ἕλεφριτον βάρβαροι τιμῶσι· χρώνται δὲ ταῖς βουσί πρὸς θυσίαν μόνον, ἀλλὰ δὲ πλάξονται κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἄφετοι, χαράγματα φέρουσι τῆς θεοῦ λαμπάδα, καὶ λαβεῖν εἴς αὐτῶν, ὅταν δεηθῶσι, οὐ πάνυ ράδιον ἔστιν οὐδὲ μικρὰς πραγματείας.

7 τούτων μία, τοῦ στρατοῦ διαβάντος τὸν Ἕλεφριτον, ἔλθοντα πρὸς τινα πέτραν ἱερὰν τῆς θεοῦ νομίζομένην ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἔστη, καὶ καταβαλοῦσα τὴν κεφαλήν, ὅπερ αἱ δεσμοὶ κατατεινόμεναι, θύσαι τῷ Δοῦκοῦλλῳ παρέσχεν αὐτήν. ἔθυσε δὲ καὶ

8 τῷ Ἕλεφριτῷ ταύρον διαβατήρα. κάκεινη μὲν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν ηὐλίσατο, τῇ δ' ὀστεάραι καὶ 508 ταῖς ἐφέξις προῆγε διὰ τῆς Ἐσφηνής, οὐδὲν ἀδικών τοὺς ἀνθρώπους προσχωροῦντας αὐτῷ καὶ δεχομένους τὴν στρατιᾶν ἀσμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν φρούριών τι δοκοῦν ἔχειν χρήματα πολλὰ βουλομένων λαβεῖν "Ἐκείνο," ἔφη, "μᾶλλον τὸ φρούριον ἡμῖν ἐκκόπτειν ἔστι," δείξας τὸν Ταύρον ἀπόδειξε δύνατα, "ταῦτα δ' ἀπόκειται τοῖς μικροῖς." συνείνας δὲ τὴν πορείαν καὶ τὸν Τίγριν διαβᾶς ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν.

XXV. Τιγράνη δ', ὡς ὁ πρῶτος ἀγγέλας ἦκουτα Δουκούλλον οὐκ ἔχαίρησεν, ἀλλ' ἀπετέλεσεν τὴν κεφαλήν, οὐδεὶς ἄλλος ἐφραζεν, ἀλλ' ἀγνοῶν καθήστο περικαλόμενος ἢδη τῷ πολεμῷ.
LUCULLUS

Accordingly, he took advantage of his opportunity and put his troops across, and a favourable sign accompanied his crossing. Heifers pasture there which are sacred to Persia Artemis, a goddess whom the Barbarians on the further side of the Euphrates hold in the highest honour. These heifers are used only for sacrifice, and at other times are left to roam about the country at large, with brands upon them in the shape of the torch of the goddess. Nor is it a slight or easy matter to catch any of them when they are wanted. One of these heifers, after the army had crossed the Euphrates, came to a certain rock which is deemed sacred to the goddess, and stood upon it, and lowering its head without any compulsion from the usual rope, offered itself to Lucullus for sacrifice. He also sacrificed a bull to the Euphrates, in acknowledgment of his safe passage. Then, after encamping there during that day, on the next and the succeeding days he advanced through Sophene. He wrought no harm to the inhabitants, who came to meet him and received his army gladly. Nay, when his soldiers wanted to take a certain fortress which was thought to contain much wealth, “Yonder lies the fortress which we must rather bring low,” said he, pointing to the Taurus in the distance; “these nearer things are reserved for the victors.” Then he went on by forced marches, crossed the Tigris, and entered Armenia.

XXV. Since the first messenger who told Tigranes that Lucullus was coming had his head cut off for his pains, no one else would tell him anything, and so he sat in ignorance while the fires of war were already blazing around him, giving ear only to those
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πυρὶ, λόγους ἀκούων πρὸς χάριν, ὡς μέγαν ὁντα Ἀρκουλοῦν στρατηγὸν, εἶ πρὸς Ἐφεσῳ Τιγράτην ὑποσταὶ καὶ μὴ φεύγων εὑρὸς ἔξ Ἀσίας οἴχοιτο τὰς τοσαῦτας μυριάδας ἵδων. οὕτως οὕτε σώματος παντὸς ἐστὶ πολὺν ἀκρατοῦ ἐνεγκεῖν οὕτε διανοίας τῆς τυχούσης εὖ εὐτυχήμασι μεγάλοις μὴ ἐκστήναι τῶν λογισμῶν. πρώτος δ' αὐτῷ τῶν φίλων ἐτόλμησε Μιθροβαρζάνης φράσαι τὸ ἄλλης. οὐδ' οὕτως δὲ χρήστον ἡνέγκατο γέρας τῆς παρρησίας. ἐπέμφθη γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Δούκουλλον σὺν ὕππευσι τρισχιλίωις, πεζοῖς δὲ παμπόλλωις, κελευσθές τὸν μὲν στρατηγὸν ἅγειν ζώντα, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους καταπατήσαι.

3 Δούκουλλῳ δὲ τῆς στρατιάς ἡ μὲν ἥδη κατεξεύγυνεν, ἢ δὲ ἔτι προσῆη. τῶν δὲ σκοπῶν αὐτῷ φρασάντων ἐπελαύνοντα τῶν βάρβαροι, ἐδείσε μὴ χωρίς οὕτας καὶ οὐκ ἐν τάξει προσπεσῶν ταράξῃ. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν καθίστατο τῆς στρατοπεδείας, Σεζτίλιον δὲ πρεσβευτὴν ἐπεμήνεν ἐπτείς ἐχοντα χιλίους ἐξακοσίους, ὀπλίται δὲ καὶ ψιλοὺς οὐ πολλῷ πλείονας, κελεύσας ἐγγὺς προσελθόντα τοὺς πολεμίους μένειν, ἦς ἐν πῦθηται τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ κατεστρατοπεδεύσας. ἐβούλετο μὲν οὖν ὁ Σεζτίλιος ταῦτα ποιεῖν, ἐβιάσθη δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Μιθροβαρζάνου θρασέως ἐπελαύνοντος εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν. καὶ γενομένης μάχης ὁ μὲν Μιθροβαρζάνης ἐπεσεὶν ἀγωνιζόμενος, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι φεύγοντες ἀπώλουτο πλὴν ὀλίγων ἀπαντες.

4 'Εκ τούτου Τιγράνης μὲν ἐκλιπὼν Τιγρανώκερτα, μεγάλην πόλιν ἐκτισμένην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, 559
LUCULLUS

who flattered him and said that Lucullus would be a great general if he ventured to withstand Tigranes at Ephesus, and did not fly incontinently from Asia at the mere sight of so many myriads of men. Which only proves that it is not every man who can bear much unmixed wine, nor is it any ordinary understanding that does not lose its reckoning in the midst of great prosperity. The first of his friends who ventured to tell him the truth was Mithrobarzanes, and he, too, got no very excellent reward for his boldness of speech. He was sent at once against Lucullus with three thousand horsemen and a large force of infantry, under orders to bring the general alive, but to trample his men under foot.

Now, part of the army of Lucullus was already preparing to go into camp, and the rest was still coming up, when his scouts told him that the Barbarian was advancing to the attack. Fearing lest the enemy attack his men when they were separated and in disorder, and so throw them into confusion, he himself fell to arranging the encampment, and Sextilius, the legate, was sent at the head of sixteen hundred horsemen and about as many light and heavy infantry, with orders to get near the enemy and wait there until he learned that the main body was safely encamped. Well then, this was what Sextilius wished to do, but he was forced into an engagement by Mithrobarzanes, who boldly charged upon him. A battle ensued, in which Mithrobarzanes fell fighting, and the rest of his forces took to flight and were cut to pieces, all except a few.

Upon this, Tigranes abandoned Tigranocerta, that great city which he had built, withdrew to the
Πορείς τὸν Ταῦρον ἀνεχόρησε καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις πανταχόθεν ἐνταῦθα συνήγη, Δούκουλλος δὲ τῇ παρασκευῇ χρόνον οὐ διδοὺς Μουρήναν μὲν ἐξεπεμψεν ἐνοχλήσοντα καὶ περικόψοντα τοὺς ἀθροιζομένους πρὸς τὸν Τιγράνην, Σεξτίλιον δὲ πάλιν Ἀράβων χεῖρα μεγάλην ἀνείρξοντα βασιλεῖ 6 προσιοῦσαν. ὡμοὶ δὲ Σεξτίλιος μὲν ἐπιπεσὼν στρατόπεδον ποιομένοις τοῖς Ἀράβι τοὺς πλείστοις διέθειρε, Μουρήνας δὲ ἔπομενος Τιγράνη τραχῶν αὐλῶνα καὶ στενόπορον στρατῷ μακρῷ διεκβάλλοντι καὶ ρωπός παρασχόντος ἐπιτίθεται. καὶ φεύγει μὲν αὐτὸς Τιγράνης προέμενος τὰς ἀποσκευὰς ἀπαγαγεῖ, ἀποβυθίσκοντι δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ πλείονες ἀλίσκονται τῶν Ἀρμενίων.

XXVI. Οὕτω δὲ τούτων προσωροῦντων ἁράς ὁ Δούκουλλος ἐπορεύετο πρὸς Τιγρανόκερτα, καὶ περιστρατοπεδέυσας ἐπολιόρκησε τὴν πόλιν. ἦσαν δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ πολλοὶ μὲν "Ελληνες τῶν ἀναστάτων ἐκ Κιλικίας, πολλοὶ δὲ βάρβαροι τοῖς "Ελλησιν ὄμοι πεπονθότες, Ἀδιαβηνοὶ καὶ Ασσύριοι καὶ Γορδυνοὶ καὶ Καππάδοκες, ὃν κατασκάψας τὰς πατρίδας, αὐτοὺς δὲ κομίσας ἐκεὶ κατοικεῖ 2 ἡνώγασεν. ἦν δὲ καὶ χρημάτων ἡ πόλις μεστῇ καὶ ἀναθημάτων, παντὸς ἰδιώτου καὶ δυνάστου τῷ βασιλεῖ συμφιλοτιμομένου πρὸς αὐξήσιν καὶ κατασκευήν τῆς πόλεως. διὸ καὶ συντόνως ἐπολιόρκησε ὁ Δούκουλλος αὐτήν, οὐκ ἀνέξεσθαι τὸν Τιγράνην οἵομενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ γνώμῃ ὑπὸ ὀργῆς καταβήσεθαι διαμαχομένου, ὥρθος οἵο- 3 μενος. πολλά δὲ Μιθριδάτης ἀπεγόρευσεν ἀγγέλους πέμπτων καὶ γράμματα μὴ συνάπτειν μάχῃ, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἢπείδη περικόπτειν τὴν ἀγοράν.
LUCULUS

Taurus, and there began collecting his forces from every quarter. Lucullus, however, gave him no time for preparation, but sent out Murena to harass and cut off the forces gathering to join Tigranes, and Sextilius again to hold in check a large body of Arabs which was drawing near the king. At one and the same time Sextilius fell upon the Arabs as they were going into camp, and slew most of them; and Murena, following hard upon Tigranes, seized his opportunity and attacked the king as he was passing through a rough and narrow defile with his army in long column. Tigranes himself fled, abandoning all his baggage, many of the Armenians were slain, and more were captured.

XXVI. Thus successful in his campaign, Lucullus struck camp and proceeded to Tigranocerta, which city he invested and began to besiege. There were in the city many Greeks who had been transplanted, like others, from Cilicia, and many Barbarians who had suffered the same fate as the Greeks,—Adiabeni, Assyrians, Gordyeni, and Cappadocians, whose native cities Tigranes had demolished, and brought their inhabitants to dwell there under compulsion. The city was also full of wealth and votive offerings, since every private person and every prince vied with the king in contributing to its increase and adornment. Therefore Lucullus pressed the siege of the city with vigour, in the belief that Tigranes would not endure it, but contrary to his better judgment and in anger would descend into the plains to offer battle; and his belief was justified. Mithridates, indeed, both by messengers and letters, strongly urged the king not to join battle, but to cut off the enemy's supplies
πολλά δὲ Ταξίλης ἢκων παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ συστρατεύων ἐδείτο τοῦ βασιλέως φυλάττεσθαι καὶ
φεύγειν ὡς ἀμαχον πράγμα τὰ Ῥωμαίων ὄπλα.
4 καὶ τὰ γε πρῶτα πρῶς ἦκουε τοὺτων. ἔπει δὲ πανστρατιά μὲν αὐτῷ συνήλθουν Ἀρμένοι καὶ
Γορδυνοί, πανστρατιά δὲ Μῆδοι καὶ ᾿Αδιαβη-
νοῦς ἄγοντες οἱ βασιλεῖς παρῆσαν, ἦκον δὲ πολλοὶ
mὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἠβαυλῶνι θαλάσσης ᾿Αραβεῖς,
pολλοὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Κασπίας ᾿Αλβανοὶ καὶ ᾿Ιβηρεῖς
terra
᾿Αλβανοῖς προσοικοῦντες, οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ τῶν περὶ
tῶν Ἁράξην νεμομένων ᾿αβασίλευτοι χάριτι καὶ
dόρους πεισθέντες ἀπήντησαν, ἐλπίδων δὲ καὶ
θράσους καὶ βαρβαρικῶν ἀπειλῶν μεστὰ μὲν ἦν
τὰ συμπόσια τοῦ βασιλέως, μεστὰ δὲ τὰ συμ-
βούλια, παρεκκλίνευσε μὲν ὁ Ταξίλης ἀποθανεῖν
ὑπεναντιούμενος τῇ γνώμῃ τῆς μάχης, εἰδότε καὶ
καὶ Μιθριδάτης φθονῶν ἀποτρέπειν μεγάλου
5 κατορθώματος. ὁ δὲ οὐδ' ἀνέμεινεν αὐτὸν ὁ
Τυγράνης, μὴ μετάσχοι τῆς δόξης, ἀλλ' ἐκώρει
παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ σφόδρα δυσφόρων, ὡς λέγεται,
πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, ὅτι πρὸς Δοῦκουλλον αὐτῷ μό-
νον, οὐ πρὸς ἀπαντᾷς ὁ ἄγων ἐσοιτο τοὺς Ῥω-
μαίων στρατηγοὺς ἐν ταύτῳ γενομένους.
Καὶ οὐ παντάπασιν ἢν τὸ βράσος αὐτοῦ μανιῶδες
οὐδ' ἄλογον, ἔθνη τοσαύτα καὶ βασιλεῖς ἐπομένους καὶ
φαλαγγας ὀπλιτῶν καὶ μυριάδας ἑπτέων ἀπο-
6 βλέποντος. τοξότας μὲν γὰρ καὶ σφενδονήτας διο-
μυρίους ἦγεν, ἑπτεῖς δὲ πεντακισμυρίους καὶ πεν-
τακισχίλιους, ὣν ἑπτακισχίλιου καὶ μύριω τατά-
φρακτοί ἦσαν, ὡς Δοῦκουλλος ἔγραψε πρὸς τὴν
σύγκλητον, ὀπλιτῶν δὲ, τῶν μὲν εἰς σπειρας, τῶν
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with his cavalry; Taxiles also, who came from Mithridates and joined the forces of Tigranes, earnestly begged the king to remain on the defensive and avoid the invincible arms of the Romans. And at first Tigranes gave considerate hearing to this advice. But when the Armenians and Gordyeni joined him with all their hosts, and the kings of the Medes and Adiabeni came up with all their hosts, and many Arabs arrived from the sea of Babylonia, and many Albanians from the Caspian sea, together with Iberians who were neighbours to the Albanians; and when not a few of the peoples about the river Araxes, who are not subject to kings, had been induced by favours and gifts to come and join him; and when the banquets of the king, and his councils as well, were full of hopes and boldness and barbaric threats,—then Taxiles ran the risk of being put to death when he opposed the plan of fighting, and Mithridates was thought to be diverting the king from a great success out of mere envy. Wherefore Tigranes would not even wait for him, lest he share in the glory, but advanced with all his army, bitterly lamenting to his friends, as it is said, that he was going to contend with Lucullus alone, and not with all the Roman generals put together.

And his boldness was not altogether that of a mad man, nor without good reason, when he saw so many nations and kings in his following, with phalanxes of heavy infantry and myriads of horsemen. For he was in command of twenty thousand bowmen and slingers, and fifty-five thousand horsemen, of whom seventeen thousand were clad in mail, as Lucullus said in his letter to the Senate; also of one hundred and fifty thousand heavy infantry,
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δ’ εἰς φάλαγγας συντεταγμένων, πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδας, ὁδοποιοὺς δὲ καὶ γεφυρωτάς καὶ καθαρτὰς ποταμῶν καὶ ὕπολομους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χρειῶν ὑπηρέτας τρισμυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους, ὦ τοῖς μαχομένοις ἐπιτεταγμένοι κατόπιν ὄψιν ἁμα καὶ ρώμην παρεῖχον.

XXVII. Ὅς δ’ ὑπερβαλὼν τὸν Ταύρον άθροις κατεφανὴ καὶ κατείδε πρὸς τοὺς Τιγρανοκέρτους ἐπικαθήμενον τὸ στράτευμα τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὁ μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει βάρβαρος ὀμίλος ὀλολυγή καὶ κρότω τὴν ὄψιν ἐδέξατο, καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἀπειλοῦντες ἔδεικνυσαν τοὺς

2 Ἀρμενίους. Δουκούλλῳ δὲ σκοπούντι περὶ τῆς μάχης οἱ μὲν ἄγειν ἐπὶ Τιγράνην ἐάσαντα τὴν πολιορκίαν συνεβούλευον, οἱ δὲ μὴ καταλιπεῖν ὁπίσω πολεμίους τοσοῦτος μὴ ἀνείναι τὴν πολιορκίαν. ὁ δ’ εἰπὼν ἐκατέρως μὲν οὐκ ὅρθως, ἀμφοτέρους δὲ καλῶς παραπεῖν διείλε τὴν στρατικὰν. καὶ Μουρήμαν μὲν ἐξακισχιλίους ἐχοντα πεζοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς πολιορκίας ἀπέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τέσσαρας καὶ εἰκοσι στείρας ἀναλαβών, ἐν αἷσ ὦ πλείονς ἦσαν μυρίων ὀπλιτῶν, καὶ τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἀπαντάς καὶ σφενδονήτας καὶ τοξότας περὶ χιλίους ἐχώρει.

3 Καὶ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐν πεδίῳ μεγάλῳ καταστρατοπεδεύσας παντάπασι μικρὸς ἐφάνῃ Τιγράνη, καὶ τοῖς κολακεύουσιν αὐτὸν διατριβὴν παρείχεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔσκοπτον, οἱ δ’ ὑπὲρ τῶν λαφύρων ἐν παιδιὰ διεβάλλοντο κλήρου τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν καὶ βασιλέων ἐκαστὸς ἤτειτο προσιῶν αὐτοῦ μόνον γενέσθαι τὸ ἔργον, ἐκείνον 556
some of whom were drawn up in cohorts, and some in phalanxes; also of road-makers, bridge-builders, clearers of rivers, foresters, and ministers to the other needs of an army, to the number of thirty-five thousand. These latter, being drawn up in array behind the fighting men, increased the apparent strength of the army.

XXVII. When Tigranes had crossed the Taurus, deployed with all his forces, and looked down upon the Roman army investing Tigranocerta, the throng of Barbarians in the city greeted his appearance with shouts and din, and standing on the walls, threateningly pointed out the Armenians to the Romans. When Lucullus held a council of war, some of his officers advised him to give up the siege and lead his army against Tigranes; others urged him not to leave so many enemies in his rear, and not to remit the siege. Whereupon, remarking that each counsel by itself was bad, but both together were good, he divided his army. Murena, with six thousand footmen, he left behind in charge of the siege; while he himself, with twenty-four cohorts, comprising no more than ten thousand heavy infantry, and all the horsemen, slingers, and archers, to the number of about a thousand, set out against the enemy.

When he had encamped along the river in a great plain, he appeared utterly insignificant to Tigranes, and supplied the king's flatterers with ground for amusement. Some mocked at the Romans, and others, in pleasantry, cast lots for their spoil, while each of the generals and kings came forward and begged that the task of conquering them might be entrusted to himself alone, and that the
4 δὲ καθέξεσθαι θεατήν, βουλόμενος δὲ τι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Τυγράνης χαρίεις εἶναι καὶ σκωπτικὸς εἶπε τὸ θρυλούμενον "Εἰ μὲν ὡς πρεσβευταί, πολλοὶ πάρεισιν εἶ δ' ὡς στρατεύοντο, ὅλιγοι." καὶ τότε μὲν οὕτως εἰρωνευόμενοι καὶ παίζοντες διετέλεσαν. ἀμα δ' ἡμέρα Δούκουλλος ὁπλισμένη τὴν δύναμιν ἐξῆγε. καὶ πρὸς ἑώ μὲν ἣν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ βαρβαρικὸν στράτευμα τοῦ δὲ ρεύματος ἀποστροφήν λαμβάνοντος ἐπὶ τὰς δύσεις, ἡ μάλιστα περάσιμον ἢ, ἀντιπαρεξάγων τὴν δύναμιν καὶ σπεύδων ἐδοξεῖν ἀποχωρεῖν τῷ Τυγράνῃ, καὶ καλέσας τὸν Ταξίλην ἀμα γέλωτι "Τοὺς ἀμάχους," ἐφη, "Ῥωμαίοις ὄπλιτις οὐχ ὅρας φεύγοντας;" καὶ ὁ Ταξίλης "Βουλοίμην ἂν," εἶπεν, "ὁ βασιλεὺς, γενέσθαι τι τῷ σφ δαιμον τῶν παραλόγων, ἀλλ' οὕτ' ἐσθήτα λαμπράν οἱ ἀνδρές λαμβάνοντες ὄντος ἀρμόνοις ὑπερεῖς ἐκκεκαθαρμένοις χρῶνται καὶ κράνεις γυμνοῖς, ὡσπερ νὰ τὰ σκύτων τῶν ὅπλων σκεπώσματα περισσάσαντες, ἀλλὰ μαχουμένων ἐστὶν ἢ λαμπρότητα αὕτη καὶ βαδιζόμενων ἡδή 5 πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους." ταῦτα λέγοντος ἐτὶ τοῦ Ταξίλου καταφανῆς ἡ πρῶτος ἀετὸς ἐπιστρέ- φοντος τοῦ Δούκουλλου καὶ τάξιν αἱ σπεῖραι κατὰ λόχους λαμβάνονται πρὸς τὴν διάβασιν καὶ μόλις ὡσπερ ἐκ μέθος τινὸς ἀναφέρων ὁ Τυγράνης διὸ ἢ τρὶς ἐξέκραζεν "Εφ' ἡμᾶς οἱ ἀνδρὲς," ὡστε θορύβῳ πολλῷ τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τάξιν καθίστασθαι, βασιλέως μὲν αὐτοῦ τὸ μέσον ἔχοντος, τῶν δὲ κεράτων τὸ μὲν ἀριστερὸν τῷ Ἀδιαβηνῷ, τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν τῷ Μήδῳ παραδόντος, 6 πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους." ταῦτα λέγοντος ἐτὶ τοῦ Ταξίλου καταφανῆς ἡ πρῶτος ἀετὸς ἐπιστρέ- φοντος τοῦ Δούκουλλου καὶ τάξιν αἱ σπεῖραι κατὰ λόχους λαμβάνονται πρὸς τὴν διάβασιν καὶ μόλις ὡσπερ ἐκ μέθος τινὸς ἀναφέρων ὁ Τυγράνης διὸ ἢ τρὶς ἐξέκραζεν "Εφ' ἡμᾶς οἱ ἀνδρὲς," ὡστε θορύβῳ πολλῷ τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τάξιν καθίστασθαι, βασιλέως μὲν αὐτοῦ τὸ μέσον ἔχοντος, τῶν δὲ κεράτων τὸ μὲν ἀριστερὸν τῷ Ἀδιαβηνῷ, τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν τῷ Μήδῳ παραδόντος,
LUCULLUS

king would sit by as a spectator. Then Tigranes, not wishing to be left behind entirely in this play of wit and scoffing, uttered that famous saying: "If they are come as ambassadors, they are too many; if as soldiers, too few." And so for the while they continued their sarcasms and jests. But at daybreak Lucullus led out his forces under arms. Now, the Barbarian army lay to the east of the river. But as the stream takes a turn to the west at the point where it was easiest to ford, and as Lucullus led his troops to the attack in that direction first, and with speed, he seemed to Tigranes to be retreating. So he called Taxiles and said, with a laugh, "Don't you see that the invincible Roman hoplites are taking to flight?" "O King," said Taxiles, "I could wish that some marvellous thing might fall to your good fortune; but when these men are merely on a march, they do not put on shining raiment, nor have they their shields polished and their helmets uncovered, as now that they have stripped the leathern coverings from their armour. Nay, this splendour means that they are going to fight, and are now advancing upon their enemies." While Taxiles was yet speaking, the first eagle came in sight, as Lucullus wheeled towards the river, and the cohorts were seen forming in maniples with a view to crossing. Then at last, as though coming out of a drunken stupor, Tigranes cried out two or three times, "Are the men coming against us?" And so, with much tumult and confusion, his multitude formed in battle array, the king himself occupying the centre, and assigning the left wing to the king of the Adiabeni, the right to the king of the Medes. In front of this wing also
εφ' ου καὶ τῶν καταφράκτων ἐν προτάγματι τὸ πλεῖστον ἦν.

7 Δουκούλλῳ δὲ μέλλοντι διαβαίνειν τῶν ποταμῶν ἐνοικίων παρῆνον φυλάττεσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν μιᾶν οὔσιν τῶν ἀποφράδων, ἅς μελαίνας καλούσιν ἐν ἐκείνῃ γὰρ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἡ μετὰ Καισίωνος ἀπώλετο στρατιά συμβαλοῦσα Κίμβροις. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο τὴν μημονευμένῃν φωνήν "Ἐγὼ γὰρ," ἐφη, "καὶ ταύτην εὐτυχὴ ποιήσω Ρωμαίοις τὴν ἡμέραν." ἦν δὲ πρὸ μᾶς νυκτὸς Ὄκτωβρίων.

XXVIII. Ταύτα δ' εἴπων καὶ θαρρεῖν κελεύσας τὸν τε ποταμὸν διέβαινε καὶ πρῶτος ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἠγείτο, θώρακα μὲν ἔχων σιδηροῖς φολιδωτὸν ἀποστίλβοντα, κροσσωτὴν δὲ ἐφεστρίδα, τὸ δ' ξίφος αὐτόθεν ὑποφαινὼν γυμνῶν, ὡς εὔθυς εἰς χεῖρας λέσθαι δέον 1 ἐκηβόλους ἀνδράσι καὶ συναιρεῖν 2 τὴν διατοξεύσιμον χώραν τῷ 2 τάχει τῆς ἐπαγωγῆς. ἔπει δὲ τὴν κατάφρακτον ὑππον, ὡς πλεῖστος ἦν λόγος, κατεῖδε κατατεταγμένην ὑπὸ λόφῳ τοῦ τῆς ἀνω χώραν ἐπίπεδον καὶ πλατείαν ἔχοντι, προσβασίν δὲ τεττάρων σταδίων οὐ παντάπασι χαλεπτὴν οὐδ' ἀποκεκομμένην, Θράκες μὲν ἑπτεῖσι καὶ Γαλάτας, οὗς ἔλειχα, ἐκεῖνοι καὶ Πλαγίον προσφερομένους παρακρούσαν

3 σθεῖ ταῖς μαχαίραις τοὺς κοντοὺς. μία γὰρ ἄλκη τῶν καταφράκτων κοντός· ἄλλο δ' οὖθεν οὐθ' ἐαυτοὶς οὔτε τοῖς πολεμίοις χρῆσθαι δύνανται διὰ

1 δέον Coraës, Sintenis and Bekker, after Reiske; δέοι MSS., including S.
2 συναιρεῖν Coraës and Bekker, after Reiske; συναιρήσει (S) and συναιρήσει MSS.: συναιρῆσων, a suggestion of Reiske's.

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the greater part of the mail-clad horsemen were drawn up.

As Lucullus was about to cross the river, some of his officers advised him to beware of the day, which was one of the unlucky days—the Romans call them “black days.” For on that day Caepio and his army perished in a battle with the Cimbri. But Lucullus answered with the memorable words: “Verily, I will make this day, too, a lucky one for the Romans.” Now the day was the sixth of October.

XXVIII. Saying this, and bidding his men be of good courage, he crossed the river, and led the way in person against the enemy. He wore a steel breastplate of glittering scales, and a tasselled cloak, and at once let his sword flash forth from its scabbard, indicating that they must forthwith come to close quarters with men who fought with long range missiles, and eliminate, by the rapidity of their onset, the space in which archery would be effective. But when he saw that the mail-clad horsemen, on whom the greatest reliance was placed, were stationed at the foot of a considerable hill which was crowned by a broad and level space, and that the approach to this was a matter of only four stadia, and neither rough nor steep, he ordered his Thracian and Gallic horsemen to attack the enemy in the flank, and to parry their long spears with their own short swords. (Now the sole resource of the mail-clad horsemen is their long spear, and they


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βάρος καὶ σκληρότητα τῆς σκευῆς, ἀλλ' ἐγκατφ-
kodōmēmenous ἐοίκασιν. αὐτὸς δὲ δύο σπείρας
ἀναλαβὼν ἰμιλλάτο πρὸς τὸν λόφον, ἐρρωμένως
ἐπομένων τῶν στρατιωτῶν διὰ τὸ κάκεινον ἐν τοῖς
ὀπλοῖσ ὅρἀν πρῶτον κακοπαθοῦντα πεζῶν καὶ
προσβίαξόμενον. γενόμενοσ δ’ ἄνω καὶ στὰς ἐν
τῷ περιφανεῖ τοῦ χωρίου μέγα βοήσας “Νευκή-
καμεν,” ἔφη, "νευκήκαμεν, ὦ συστρατιώται.”

καὶ τούτῳ εἰπὼν ἔπηγε τοῖς καταφράκτοις,
κελεύσας μηδὲν ἔτι χρῆσθαι τοῖς ὑσσοῖς, ἀλλ’ ἐκ
χειρὸς ἐκαστὸν διαλαβόντα παίειν τῶν πολεμίων
κυνῆς τε καὶ μηροῦς, ἀ μόνα γυμνὰ τῶν κατα-
φράκτων ἐστίν. οὐ μὴν ἐδέησέ τι ταύτης τῆς
μάχης. οὐ γὰρ ἐδέξαντο τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, ἀλλ’
ἀλαλάξαντες καὶ φεύγοντες αἰσχιστα πάνως
ἐνέωσαν ἑαυτούς τε καὶ τοὺς ἐπίπους βαρεῖς ὅντας
eἰς τὰ τῶν πεζῶν ὅπλα πρὶν ἄρξασθαι τινὸς
ἐκείνους μάχης, ὧστε μήτε τραύματος γενομένου
μὴθ’ αἱματος ὄθεντος ἤττᾶσθαι τὰς τοσαῦτας

μυριάδας. ὁ δὲ πολυός φῶνος ἦδη φευγόντων
ἐγένετο, μᾶλλον δὲ βουλομένων φεύγειν. οὐ γὰρ
ἐδύναντο πυκνότητι καὶ βάθει τῶν τάξεων ύφ’
αὐτῶν ἔμποδοξίμενοι. Τιγράνης δ’ ἕξελάσας ἐν
ἀρχῇ μετ’ ὀλίγων ἐξευγης καὶ τὸν ύιὸν ὄρθων
κοινωνοῦντά τῆς αὐτῆς τύχης περιεπάζατο τὸ
διάδημα τῆς κεφαλής κάκεινο δακρύσας παρέδωκε,
σώζειν ἑαυτόν, ὅπως δύναται, καθʼ ἐτέρας ὅδους
κελεύσας. ὁ δὲ νεανίας ἀναδήσασθαι μὲν οὐκ
ἐτόλμησε, τῶν δὲ παιδῶν τῷ πιστοτάτῳ φυλάτ-

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have none other whatsoever, either in defending themselves or attacking their enemies, owing to the weight and rigidity of their armour; in this they are, as it were, immured.) Then he himself, with two cohorts, hastened eagerly towards the hill, his soldiers following with all their might, because they saw him ahead of them in armour, enduring all the fatigue of a foot-soldier, and pressing his way along. Arrived at the top, and standing in the most conspicuous spot, he cried with a loud voice, "The day is ours, the day is ours, my fellow soldiers!" With these words, he led his men against the mail-clad horsemen, ordering them not to hurl their javelins yet, but taking each his own man, to smite the enemy's legs and thighs, which are the only parts of these mail-clad horsemen left exposed. However, there was no need of this mode of fighting, for the enemy did not await the Romans, but, with loud cries and in most disgraceful flight, they hurled themselves and their horses, with all their weight, upon the ranks of their own infantry, before it had so much as begun to fight, and so all those tens of thousands were defeated without the infliction of a wound or the sight of blood. But the great slaughter began at once when they fled, or rather tried to fly, for they were prevented from really doing so by the closeness and depth of their own ranks. Tigranes rode away at the very outset with a few attendants, and took to flight. Seeing his son also in the same plight, he took off the diadem from his head and, in tears, gave it to him, bidding him save himself as best he could by another route. The young man, however, did not venture to assume the diadem, but gave it to his most trusted slave for safe keeping.
τειν ἐδωκεν. οὗτος ἀλοὺς κατὰ τύχην ἀνήχθη πρὸς Δούκουλλου, ὡστε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων αἰχμά-
λωτον καὶ τὸ διαίδημα γενέσθαι τοῦ Τιγράνου.
λέγεται δὲ τῶν μὲν πεζῶν ὑπὲρ δέκα μυριάδας
dιαφθαρήναι, τῶν δ' ἱππέων ὀλγοὺς παντάπαισι
dιαφυγεῖν. Ἐρωμαίων δὲ ἐκατὸν ἐτρώθησαν, ἐπεσον
dὲ πέντε.

7 Ταύτης τῆς μάχης Ἀντίοχος ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐν τῇ
Περὶ θεῶν γραφῆ μνησθεῖς οὐ φησιν ἄλλην
ἐφεωρακέναι τοιαύτην τὸν ἥλιον. Στράβων δ',
ἐτερος φιλόσοφος, ἐν τοῖς ἵστορικοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν
ἀυτοὺς λέγει τοὺς Ἐρωμαίοις αἰσχύνεσθαι καὶ
καταγελάν ἐαυτῶν ἐπ' ἀνδράστοδα τοιαύτα δεη-
θέντας ὀπλων. Διούσι δ' εἴρηκεν, ὡς οὐδέποτε
Ἐρωμαίοι πολέμους ἀποδέοντες τοσοῦτο πλήθει
παρετάξαντο σχεδὸν γὰρ οὐδ' εἰκοστόν, ἀλλ' ἐλαττον ἐγένοντο μέρος οἱ νικώντες τῶν ἡσση-

8 μένων. Ἐρωμαίων δ' οἱ δεινότατοι στρατηγοί καὶ
πλείστα πολέμους ὁμιληκότες ἐπήνυον μάλιστα
τοῦ Δούκουλλου τὸ δύο βασιλείας τοὺς ἐπίφανε-
tάτους καὶ μεγίστους δυσὶ τοῖς ἐναντιωτάτοις,
tάχει καὶ βραδυττῆι, καταστρατηγήσαι. Μιθρ-
ριδάτην μὲν γὰρ ἀκμάζοντα χρόνῳ καὶ τριβῆ
κατανάλωσε, Τιγράνην δὲ τῷ σπεύσαι συνέτριψεν,
ἐν ὀλγοὶς τῶν πῶποτε ἡγεμόνων τῇ μελλήσει
μὲν ἔργῳ, τῇ τόλμῃ δ' ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας χρη-
σάμενος.

XXIX. Διὸ καὶ Μιθριδάτης οὐ συνέτειν ἐπὶ
tῆς μάχης, τῇ συνῆθει τῶν Δούκουλλον εὐλαβεία
καὶ παραγωγῆ πολεμήσειν οἴμενος, ἀλλὰ καθ'
ἡσυχίαν ἐπορεύετο πρὸς τὸν Τιγράνην. καὶ
πρώτον μὲν ὀλίγοις τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἐντυχὼν καθ'
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This slave happened to be captured, and was brought to Lucullus, and thus even the diadem of Tigranes became a part of the booty. It is said that more than a hundred thousand of the enemy's infantry perished, while of the cavalry only a few, all told, made their escape. Of the Romans, on the other hand, only a hundred were wounded, and only five killed.

Antiochus the philosopher makes mention of this battle in his treatise "Concerning Gods," and says that the sun never looked down on such another. And Strabo, another philosopher, in his "Historical Commentaries," says that the Romans themselves were ashamed, and laughed one another to scorn for requiring arms against such slaves. Livy also has remarked that the Romans were never in such inferior numbers when they faced an enemy; for the victors were hardly even a twentieth part of the vanquished, but less than this. The Roman generals who were most capable and most experienced in war, praised Lucullus especially for this, that he outgeneralled two kings who were most distinguished and powerful by two most opposite tactics, speed and slowness. For he used up Mithridates, at the height of his power, by long delays; but crushed Tigranes by the speed of his operations, being one of the few generals of all time to use delay for greater achievement, and boldness for greater safety.

XXIX. This was the reason why Mithridates made no haste to be at the battle. He thought Lucullus would carry on the war with his wonted caution and indirectness, and so marched slowly to join Tigranes. At first he met a few Armenians hurrying back over the road in panic fear, and conjectured what had
δόδου ἑπταειμένους καὶ περιφόβους ἀπιούσιν ἔκαστο τὸ πάθος, εἰτ’ ἦδη πλειώνων γυμνῶν καὶ τετρωμένων ἀπαντῶν των πυθόμενος τὴν ἤτταν ἐξῆτε 2 τὸν Τιγράνην. εὐρών δὲ πάντων ἔρημον καὶ ταπεινῶν οὐκ ἀνθύβρισεν, ἀλλὰ καταβὰς καὶ συνδακρύσας τὰ κοινὰ πάθη θεραπείαν τε τὴν ἐπομένην αὐτῶ βασιλικὴν ἔδωκε καὶ κατεθάρμυνε πρὸς τὸν μέλλον. οὕτωι μὲν οὐν αὖθις ἔτερας δυνάμεις συνήγγον.

Ἐν δὲ τῇ πόλει τοῖς Τιγρανοκέρτοις τῶν Ἐλλήνων πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους στασιασάντων καὶ τῷ Δοῦκούλλῳ τὴν πόλιν ἐνδεδότων προσβα- 3 λὼν ἔλει. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει θησαυροὺς παρελάμβανε, τὴν δὲ πόλιν διαρράσαι παρέδωκε τοῖς στρατιῶταις, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων χρημάτων ὀκτακισχίλια τάλαντα νομίσματος ἔχουσαν. χω- ρίς δὲ τούτων ὀκτακοσίων δραχμῶν κατ’ ἄνδρα 4 διένειμεν ἀπὸ τῶν λαβύρων. πυθανόμενος δὲ πολλοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει κατεκλήθαι τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν, οὓς ὁ Τιγράνης πανταχόθεν ἥθροίκει μέλλων ἀποδεικνύει τὸ κατεσκευασμέ- νου ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ θέατρου, ἔχοιησατο τούτων πρὸς τούς ἀγώνας καὶ τὰς θέας τῶν ἑπινικίων. τοὺς δ’ Ἐλλήνας εἰς τὰς αὐτῶν πατρίδας ἐπέμψε προσ- θεῖς ἐφόδια, καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ὀμοίως τοὺς ἡμιγακασμένους κατοικεῖν, ὥστε συνέβη μιᾶς πόλεως διαλυθεῖσθαι πολλὰς ἀνοικίζονται πᾶλιν κομιζόμενα τοὺς αὐτῶν οἰκήτορας, ὡς ὑ’ ὅν ως εὐεργ. τῆς οὐκούλλου καὶ κτίστης ἡγαπάτο.

5 Προύχωρεῖ δὲ καὶ τάλλα κατ’ ἄξιον τὰνδρὶ 512 τῶν ἀπὸ δικαιοσύνης καὶ φιλανθρωπίας ἔπαινων 566
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happened; then presently, when he had learned of the defeat from more unarmed and wounded fugitives whom he met, he sought to find Tigranes. And though he found him destitute of all things and humiliated, he did not return his insolent behaviour, but got down from his horse and wept with him over their common sufferings. Then he gave him his own royal equipage, and tried to fill him with courage for the future. And so these kings began again to assemble fresh forces.

But in the city of Tigranocerta, the Greeks had risen up against the Barbarians and were ready to hand the city over to Lucullus; so he assaulted and took it. The royal treasures in the city he took into his own charge, but the city itself he turned over to his soldiers for plunder, and it contained eight thousand talents in money, together with the usual valuables. Besides this, he gave to each man eight hundred drachmas from the general spoils. On learning that many dramatic artists had been captured in the city, whom Tigranes had collected there from all quarters for the formal dedication of the theatre which he had built, Lucullus employed them for the contests and spectacles with which he celebrated his victories. The Greeks he sent to their native cities, giving them also the means wherewith to make the journey, and likewise the Barbarians who had been compelled to settle there. Thus it came to pass that the dissolution of one city was the restoration of many others, by reason of their recovering their own inhabitants, and they all loved Lucullus as their benefactor and founder.

And whatever else he did also prospered, in a way worthy of the man, who was ambitious of the
ορεγομένῳ μᾶλλον ἡ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς κατορθώμασιν. ἐκείνων μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ὠλίγον ἡ στρατιὰ καὶ πλείστον ἡ τύχη μετείχε, ταῦτα δὲ ἢν ἡμέρου ψυχῆς καὶ πεπαιδευμένης ἐπίδειξις, οἷς ὁ Δούκουλλος τότε χωρὶς ὅπλων ἔχειροῦτο τοὺς βαρβάρους. καὶ γὰρ Ἀράβων βασιλεῖς ἦκον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγχειρίζοντες τὰ σφέτερα, καὶ τὸ

6 Σωφηνῶν ἔθνος προσεχόρει τὸ δὲ Γορδυνών οὕτω διέθηκεν, ὡστε βούλεσθαι τὰς πόλεις ἐκλεπτόντας ἀκολουθεῖν ἐκείνη μετὰ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν ἐθελοῦντας ἐξ αἰτίας τοιάσθε. Ζαρβιηνὸς γὰρ ὁ τῶν Γορδυνῶν βασιλεὺς, ὥστε εἰρηται, δι' Ἀπτίου κρύφα Δουκούλλῳ διείλεκτο περὶ συμμαχίας τὴν Τιγράνου τυραννίδα βαρβάρωμενος· μηνυθεῖς δ' ἀπεσφάγη, καὶ παίδες αὐτοῦ καὶ γυνὴ συναπώλοντο πρὸς ἩΡωμαῖον εἰς Ἡρμενίαν

7 ἐμβαλεῖν. τούτων οὖν ἡμιμονήσειν ὁ Δούκουλλος, ἀλλὰ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν Γορδυνών ταφὰς προὔθετο τοῦ Ζαρβιηνοῦ, καὶ πυρὰν ἐσθήτι καὶ χρυσῷ βασιλικῷ καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ Τιγράνου κοσμήσας λαφύροις αὐτὸς παρὸν υφήγε, καὶ χοὸς ἐπήγεγκε μετὰ φίλων τοῦ ἄνδρος, ἐταῖρον ἦκου καὶ ἩΡωμαιῶν σύμμαχον ἀνακαλούμενος.

8 ἐκέλευσε δὲ καὶ μημεῖον ἀπὸ χρημάτων συχνῶν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι: πάμπολλα γὰρ εὐρέθη, καὶ χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Ζαρβιηνοῦ βασιλείοις, σίτου δ' ἀπέκειντο μυριάδες τρικάσιαι μεδίμνων, ὡστε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ὠφελεῖσθαι καὶ τὸν Δούκουλλον θαυμάζεσθαι, ὅτι δραχμῆν ῥων ἐκ
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praise that is consequent upon righteousness and humanity, rather than of that which follows military successes. For the latter, the army also was in no slight degree, and fortune in the highest degree, responsible; but the former were the manifestations of a gentle and disciplined spirit, and in the exercise of these qualities Lucullus now, without appeal to arms, subdued the Barbarians. The kings of the Arabs came to him, with proffers of their possessions, and the Sopheni joined his cause. The Gordyeni were so affected by his kindness that they were ready to abandon their cities and follow him with their wives and children, in voluntary service. The reason for this was as follows: Zrbienus, the king of the Gordyeni, as has been said,\(^1\) secretly stipulated with Lucullus, through Appius, for an alliance, being oppressed by the tyranny of Tigranes. He was informed against, however, and put to death, and his wife and children perished with him, before the Romans entered Armenia. Lucullus was not unmindful of all this, but on entering the country of the Gordyeni, appointed funeral rites in honour of Zrbienus, and after adorning a pyre with royal raiment and gold and with the spoils taken from Tigranes, set fire to it with his own hand, and joined the friends and kindred of the man in pouring ilbations upon it, calling him a comrade of his and an ally of the Romans. He also ordered that a monument be erected to his memory at great cost; for many treasures were found in the palace of Zrbienus, including gold and silver, and three million bushels of grain were stored up there, so that the soldiers were plentifully supplied, and Lucullus was admired

\(^1\) xxi. 2.

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τοῦ δημοσίου ταμείου μὴ λαβῶν αὐτὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ διώκει τὸν πόλεμον.

XXX. Ἐνταῦθα καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Πάρθων βασιλέως ἤκε πρεσβεία παρ’ αὐτὸν εἰς φιλίαν προ-
kalouménou καὶ συμμαχίαν. ἦν δ’ ἀσμένῳ ταῦτα τῷ Δούκουλλῳ καὶ πάλιν ἀντέπεμψε παρ’ ἕαυ-
tοῦ πρεσβείαν πρὸς τὸν Πάρθον, οἱ κατεφώρασαν αὐτὸν ἐπαμφοτερίζοντα τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ μισθὸν
αἰτοῦντα κρύφα τοῦ συμμαχῆσαι τῷ Τιγράνῃ

2 τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν. ὡς οὖν ταῦθ’ ὁ Δούκουλλος ἦσθετο, Τιγράνην μὲν ἔγνω καὶ Μιθριδάτην
παρεδόθην ὡσπερ ἀνταγωνιστὰς ἀπειρηκότας, ἀποπειρᾶθαι δὲ τῆς Πάρθων δυνάμεως καὶ
στρατευέων ἐπ’ αὐτοῦς, καλὸν ἡγούμενον μὲν ῥύμῃ πολέμου τρεῖς ἐφεξῆς ὡσπερ ἄθλητής
βασιλεῖς καταπαλαίσαι καὶ διὰ τριῶν τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ἦλιον μεγίστων ἡγεμόνων ἀήττητος καὶ
νικῶν διεξέλθειν.

3 Ἐπεμφεν οὖν εἰς Πόντον τοῖς περὶ Σωρνάτιον
ηγεμόσιν ἐπιστείλας ἄγειν τὴν ἐκεῖ στρατιάν
πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὡς ἐκ τῆς Γορδυνῆς ἀναβησόμενος.
οἱ δὲ καὶ πρότερον χαλεποῖς χρώμενοι καὶ
dυσπεθέσι τοῖς στρατιώταις τότε παντελῶς
ἀπεκάλυψαν αὐτὸν τὴν ἥκολασίαν, οὐδὲν τρόπῳ
πειθοῦς οὐδ’ ἀνάγκης εὐρόμενοι προσαγαγέσθαι
μαρτυρομένους καὶ βοώντας, ὡς οὖθ’ αὐτόθι
μενοῦσιν, ἀλλ’ οἰχῆσονται τὸν Πόντον ἔρημον

4 ἀπολυπόντες. ταῦτα πρὸς Δούκουλλον ἀπαγ-
γελθέντα καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ προσδιέφθειρε στρατιώ-
tας, ἦδη μὲν ὑπὸ πλούτου καὶ τρυφῆς βαρεῖς
γεγονότας πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν καὶ σχολῆς δεο-
mένους, ὡς δὲ τὴν ἐκείνων ἐπύθοντο παρρησίαν,

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for not taking a single drachma from the public treasury, but making the war pay for itself.

XXX. Here he received an embassy from the king of the Parthians also, inviting him into friendly alliance. This was agreeable to Lucullus, and in his turn he sent ambassadors to the Parthian, but they discovered that he was playing a double game, and secretly asking for Mesopotamia as reward for an alliance with Tigranes. Accordingly, when Lucullus was apprised of this, he determined to ignore Tigranes and Mithridates as exhausted antagonists, and to make trial of the Parthian power by marching against them, thinking it a glorious thing, in a single impetuous onset of war, to throw, like an athlete, three kings in succession, and to make his way, unvanquished and victorious, through three of the greatest empires under the sun.

Accordingly he sent orders to Sornatius and his fellow commanders in Pontus to bring the army there to him, as he intended to proceed eastward from Gordyene. These officers had already found their soldiers unmanageable and disobedient, but now they discovered that they were utterly beyond control, being unable to move them by any manner of persuasion or compulsion. Nay, they roundly swore that they would not even stay where they were, but would go off and leave Pontus undefended. When news of this was brought to Lucullus, it demoralised his soldiers there also. Their wealth and luxurious life had already made them averse to military service and desirous of leisure, and when they heard of the bold words of their comrades in Pontus, they called them brave men, and said
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ἀνδράς αὐτούς ἀπεκάλουν καὶ μμητέον αὐτοὺς ἔφασαν εἶναι: πολλὰ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἰξία σωτηρίας καὶ ἀναπαύσεως κατεργάσθαι.

XXXI. Τοιούτων δὲ καὶ πονηροτέρων ἔτι λόγων αἰσθόμενος ὁ Δούκουλλος τὴν ἐπὶ Πάρθους στρατεύαν ἀφῆκεν, αὐθίς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Τιγράνην ἐβάδιζε θέρους ἀκμάζοντος. καὶ τὸν Ταύρον ὑπερβαλὼν ἡθύμησε χλωρῶν τῶν πεδίων ἐκφανέντων· τοσοῦτον αἱ ὀρεί διὰ τὴν ψυχρότητα τοῦ ἀέρος 2 ύστερίζουσιν. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καταβᾶς καὶ δις 513 ἡ τρίς ἀνατολισθαντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν τοὺς Ἄρμενίους τρεφόμενοι ἄδεως ἐπόρθει τὰς κώμας, καὶ τὸν παρεσκευασμένον τῷ Τιγράνῃ σίτου εξαιρών ἦν αὐτὸς ἐφοβείτο τοῖς πολέμοις περιέστησεν ἀπορίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ προκαλούμενοι εἰς μάχην αὐτοὺς περιταφρεύων τὸν χάρακα καὶ πορθῶν ἐν ὅψει τὴν χώραν οὐκ ἐκίνη ἐπεπληγότας πολλάκις, ἀναστὰς ἐβάδιζεν ἐπ' Ἀρτάξατα τῷ Τιγράνου βασίλειον, ὅπου καὶ παῖδες αὐτῷ νήπιοι καὶ γαμεταὶ γυναῖκες ἦσαν, οὐκ ἂν οἰόμενος ἀμαχεὶ ταῦτα προῆσεσθαι τῷ Τιγράνῃ.

3 Δέγεται δ' Ἀννίβαν τὸν Καρχηδόνιον, Ἀντίόχου καταπολεμηθέντος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, μεταβάντα πρὸς Ἀρτάξαν τὸν Ἀρμενίου ἄλλων τε πολλῶν εἰςγητήν καὶ διδάσκαλον αὐτῷ γενέσθαι χρησίμων, καὶ τὴς χώρας καταμαθόντα τὸπον εὐφυεστατον καὶ ἤδιστον ἄργοντα καὶ παρορώμενον σχῆμα πόλεως ἐν αὐτῷ προὔπογράψασθαι, καὶ
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their example must be followed in Gordyene, for their many achievements entitled them to respite from toil and freedom from danger.

XXXI. Such speeches, and even worse than these, coming to the ears of Lucullus, he gave up his expedition against the Parthians, and marched once more against Tigranes,¹ it being now the height of summer. And yet, after crossing the Taurus, he was discouraged to find the plains still covered with unripe grain, so much later are the seasons there, owing to the coolness of the atmosphere. However, he descended from the mountains, routed the Armenians who twice or thrice ventured to attack him, and then plundered their villages without fear, and, by taking away the grain which had been stored up for Tigranes, reduced his enemy to the straits which he had been fearing for himself. Then he challenged them to battle by encompassing their camp with a moat, and by ravaging their territory before their eyes; but this did not move them, so often had they been defeated. He therefore broke camp and marched against Artaxata, the royal residence of Tigranes, where were his wives and young children, thinking that Tigranes would not give these up without fighting.

It is said that Hannibal the Carthaginian, after Antiochus had been conquered by the Romans, left him and went to Artaxas the Armenian, to whom he gave many excellent suggestions and instructions. For instance, observing that a section of the country which had the greatest natural advantages and attractions was lying idle and neglected, he drew up a plan for a city there, and then brought Artaxas

¹ 68 B.C.

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τὸν Ἀρτάξαν ἐπαγαγόντα δεῖξαι καὶ παρομῆσαι 4 ἐπὶ τὸν οἰκίσμων. ἦσθεντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ δεηθέντος, ὅπως αὐτὸς ἐπιστατήσῃ τοῦ ἔργου, μέγα τι καὶ πάγκαλον χρῆμα πόλεως ἄναστήναι, καὶ γενομένην ἐπώνυμον τοῦ βασιλέως μητρόπολιν ἀποδειχθῆναι τῆς Ἀρμενίας.

Ἐπὶ ταύτην τοῦ Λουκούλλου βαδίζοντος οὐκ ἦν σχετον Τιγράνης, ἀλλὰ τὴν δύναμιν ἀναλαβὼν ἡμέρα τετάρτη παρεστρατοπέδευσε τοῖς Ῥωμαῖοις, ἐν μέσῳ λαβὼν τὸν Ἀρσανίαν ποταμόν, δυν ἐξ ἀνάγκης διαβατέον ἢ τοῖς Ῥωμαῖοις τὴν ἔπ

5 Ἀρταξάτων πορευομένων. θύσαι δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς Λουκούλλος, ὡς ἐν χερσὶν οὐσίας τῆς νίκης, διεβίβαζε τὸν στρατὸν ἐν δώδεκα σπείραις προτεταγμέναις, ταῖς δ’ ἄλλαις ἐπιτεταγμέναις πρὸς τὰς κυκλώσεις τῶν πολεμῶν. πολλοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἰππεῖς καὶ λογάδες ἀντιπαρατεταγμένοι, πρὸ δ’ αὐτῶν ἰπποτοξόται Μάρδοι καὶ λογχοφόροι Ἰβηρεῖς, οίς μᾶλλον τῶν ξένων ὁ Τιγράνης

6 ἐπίστευεν ὡς μαχιμοτάτοις. οὐ μὴν ἔπραξῃ τι λαμπρὸν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν, μικρὰ δὲ τοῖς ἰππεῦσι τῶν Ῥωμαίων διαπληκτισάμενοι τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐπίοντας οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλ’ ἐκατέρωσε τῆς φυγῆς σχισθέντες ἐπεσπάσαντο τοῖς ἰππεῖς πρὸς τὴν δίωξιν. ἀμα δὲ τῷ τούτου διασπαρῆναι τῶν περὶ τὸν Τιγράνην ἐξιππασαμένων ἱδών τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὁ Λουκούλλος ἔδεισε.

7 καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἰππεῖς ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως ἀνεκαλεῖτο, πρῶτος δ’ αὐτὸς ἀντέτη τοῖς Ἀτροπατηνοῖς κατ’ αὐτὸν οὐσὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων, καὶ πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν φοβήσας ἐτρέψατο. τριῶν δ’ ὁμού παρα- 574
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to the place and showed him its possibilities, and urged him to undertake the building. The king was delighted, and begged Hannibal to superintend the work himself, whereupon a very great and beautiful city arose there, which was named after the king, and proclaimed the capital of Armenia.

When Lucullus marched against this city, Tigranes could not suffer it quietly, but put himself at the head of his forces, and on the fourth day encamped over against the Romans, keeping the river Arsania between himself and them, which they must of necessity cross on their way to Artaxata. Thereupon Lucullus sacrificed to the gods, in full assurance that the victory was already his, and then crossed the river with twelve cohorts in the van, and the rest disposed so as to prevent the enemy from closing in upon his flanks. For large bodies of horsemen and picked soldiers confronted him, and these were covered by Mardian mounted archers and Iberian lancers, on whom Tigranes relied beyond any other mercenaries, deeming them the most warlike. However, they did not shine in action, but after a slight skirmish with the Roman cavalry, gave way before the advancing infantry, scattered to right and left in flight, and drew after them the cavalry in pursuit. On the dispersion of these troops, Tigranes rode out at the head of his cavalry, and when Lucullus saw their splendour and their numbers he was afraid. He therefore recalled his cavalry from their pursuit of the flying enemy, and taking the lead of his troops in person, set upon the Atropateni, who were stationed opposite him with the magnates of the king's following, and before coming to close quarters, sent them off in panic flight. Of three
παγμένων βασιλέων αἰσχιστα ὁπεὶ φυγεῖν ὁ
Ποντικὸς Μιθριδάτης, οὗ τὴν κραυγὴν τῶν Ῥω-8
μαίων ἀνασχόμενος. γενομένης δὲ τῆς διώξεως
μακρᾶς καὶ δι᾽ ὅλης νυκτὸς, οὐ μόνον κτείνοντες
αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔφησαν καὶ χρήματα καὶ
λείαν ἤγοντες καὶ φέροντες ἀπείπον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι.
φησὶ δὲ οἱ Διούνοις ἐν μὲν τῇ προτέρᾳ μάχῃ
πλείονας, ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ γνωριμωτέρους πεσεῖν καὶ
ληφθῆναι τῶν πολεμιῶν.

XXXII. Ἐκ τοῦτον Δούκουλλος μὲν ἐπηρμένως
καὶ τεθαρρηκῶς ἀνω προάγειν διενείτο καὶ κατα-
στρέφεσθαι τὴν βάρβαρον ὧρα δ᾽ ἰσημερίας
φθινοπωρίνης οὐκ ἄν εἴποιτοι χειμώνες ἐπέ-
πεσον βαρεῖς, τὰ μὲν πλείστα κατανίφοντες,
ἐν δὲ ταῖς αἰθρίαις πάχυνη ἐπιφέροντες καὶ
πάγον, ὥστε οὐχ ἀκατάληπτοι καὶ ἰσαβάσεως ἐκρηγυμένου
τοῦ κρυστάλλου καὶ διακόσμητος τὰ νεῦρα τῶν

1 ἐπιθυμήσαι τῇ τραχύτητι. τῆς δὲ χώρας ἡ πολλῇ
συνηρέθης οὐσα καὶ στενόπορος καὶ ἐλώθης ἅπει
καθύγραιναν αὐτούς, χίόνος ἀναπηρισμένους ἐν
ταῖς ὀδοιπορίαις καὶ κακῶς ἐν τόποις νυσταρίσ
νυκτερεύωντας, οὐ πολλὰς οὐν ἡμέρας ἀκολου-
θήσαντες τῷ Δούκουλλῳ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἡμώ-
τιοντο, πρῶτον δεόμενοι καὶ τοὺς χιλιάρχους
προσπέμποντες, ἐπεῖτα θορυβώδεστερον συνιστά-
μενοι καὶ κατὰ σκηνὰς νυκτὸς ἀλαλάζουντες,
ὅπερ εἶναι δοκεῖ σύμβολον ἀποστατικὸς ἐχούσης

2 στρατιάς. καίτοι πολλὰ προσελπάρει Δούκουλ-
λος ἀξιῶν αὐτοὺς μακροθυμίαν ἐμβαλέσθαι ταῖς

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kings who together confronted the Romans, Mithridates of Pontus seems to have fled most disgracefully, for he could not endure even their shouting. The pursuit was long and lasted through the whole night, and the Romans were worn out, not only with killing their enemies, but also with taking prisoners and getting all sorts of booty. Livy says that in the former battle a greater number of the enemy, but in this more men of high station were slain and taken prisoners.

XXXII. Elated and emboldened by this victory, Lucullus purposed to advance further into the interior and subdue the Barbarian realm utterly. But, contrary to what might have been expected at the time of the autumnal equinox, severe winter weather was encountered, which generally covered the ground with snow, and even when the sky was clear produced hoar frost and ice, owing to which the horses could not well drink of the rivers, so excessive was the cold, nor could they easily cross them, since the ice broke, and cut the horses' sinews with its jagged edges. Most of the country was thickly shaded, full of narrow defiles, and marshy, so that it kept the soldiers continually wet; they were covered with snow while they marched, and spent the nights uncomfortably in damp places. Accordingly, they had not followed Lucullus for many days after the battle when they began to object. At first they sent their tribunes to him with entreaties to desist, then they held more tumultuous assemblies, and shouted in their tents at night, which seems to have been characteristic of a mutinous army. And yet Lucullus plied them with entreaties, calling upon them to possess their souls in patience until they had
ψυχαῖς, ἀχρὶ οὗ τὴν ἐν Ἀρμενίωις Καρχηδόνα λαβόντες ἀνδρὸς ἐχθίστου, τὸν Ἀννίβαν λέγων, ἔργον ἀνατρέψωσιν. ὡς δ' οὖκ ἔπειθεν, ἀπήγγειν αὐτοῦς ὅπις καὶ κατ' ἄλλας ὑπερβολὰς διελθὼν τὸν Ταύρον εἰς τὴν λεγομένην Μυγδονικὴν κατέβανε, χώραν πάμφορον μαι ἁλειφνῇ καὶ πόλιν ἐν αὐτῇ μεγάλῃ καὶ πολυάνθρωπον ἔχουσαν, ἂν οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι Νήσιβιν, οἱ δ' Ἔλληνες.

4 Ἀντιόχειαν Μυγδονικὴν προσηγόρευον. ταύτην εἴχεν ἀξιώματι μὲν ἄδελφος Τιγράνου Γούρας, ἐμπειρίᾳ δὲ καὶ δεινότητι μηχανικῆς Καλλίμαχος ὥς καὶ περὶ Ἀμισόν πλείστα πράγματα Λουκούλλῳ παρασχόν. βαλόμενος δὲ στρατόπεδον καὶ πᾶσαν ἱδεῖαν πολυρκίας ἐπαγαγών ὅλιγῳ.

5 χρόνῳ κατὰ κράτος λαμβάνει τὴν πόλιν. καὶ Γούρα μὲν ἐαυτὸν ἐγχειρίσαντι φίλανθρωπος ἐχρήσατο, Καλλιμάχῳ δ' ὑπισχυμένῳ θήκας ἀπορρήτους μεγάλων χρημάτων ἀνακαλύψειν οὐ προσέχον, ἀλλὰ ἐκέλευσεν ἐν πέδαις κομίζεσθαι δίκην υφέξοντα τοῦ πυρός, δ' τὴν Ἀμισηνῶν διαλυμηνάμενοι πόλιν ἀφεῖλετο φιλοτιμών αὐτοῦ καὶ χρηστότητος ἐπίδειξιν πρὸς τοὺς Ἔλληνας.

XXXIII. Μέχρι τούδε φαίη τις τὰν Λουκούλλῳ τὴν τύχην ἐπομένην συντατηγεῖν. ἐντεύθεν δ' ὁσπερ πνεύματος ἐπιλιπότος προσβιαζόμενος πάντα καὶ παντάπασιν ἀντικρούσιν ἀρετὴν μὲν ἐπεδείκνυσι καὶ μακροθυμίαν ἡγεμόνος ἀγαθοῦ, δόξαν δὲ καὶ χάριν οὐδεμίαν αἱ πράξεις ἔσχον, ἄλλα καὶ τὴν προοπτάρχουσαν ἐγγὺς ἦλθε δυσπραγῶν καὶ διαφερόμενος μάτην ἀποβαλεῖν.

2 τῶν δ' αἰτίων αὐτὸς οὐχὶ τὴν ἐλαχίστην εἰς τοῦτο παρέσχεν, οὐκ ὁν θεραπευτικὸς πλήθους

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taken and destroyed the Armenian Carthage, the work of their most hated foe, meaning Hannibal. But since he could not persuade them, he led them back, and crossing the Taurus by another pass, descended into the country called Mygdonia, which is fertile and open to the sun, and contains a large and populous city, called Nisibis by the Barbarians, Antioch in Mygdonia by the Greeks. The nominal defender of this city, by virtue of his rank, was Gouras, a brother of Tigranes; but its actual defender, by virtue of his experience and skill as an engineer, was Callimachus, the man who gave Lucullus most trouble at Amisus also. But Lucullus established his camp before it, laid siege to it in every way, and in a short time took the city by storm. To Gouras, who surrendered himself into his hands, he gave kind treatment; but to Callimachus, who promised to reveal secret stores of great treasure, he would not hearken. Instead, he ordered him to be brought in chains, that he might be punished for destroying Amisus by fire, and thereby robbing Lucullus of the object of his ambition, which was to show kindness to the Greeks.

XXXIII. Up to this point, one might say that fortune had followed Lucullus and fought on his side; but from now on, as though a favouring breeze had failed him, he had to force every issue, and met with obstacles everywhere. He still displayed the bravery and patience of a good leader, but his undertakings brought him no new fame or favour; indeed, so ill-starred and devious was his course, that he came near losing that which he had already won. And he himself was not least to blame for this. He was not disposed to court the favour of the common
πάν τὸ πρὸς ἦδονήν τοῦ ἀρχομένου γινόμενον ἀρχῆς ἀτιμίαν καὶ κατάλυσιν ἡγούμενος. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, οὐδὲ τοὺς δυνατοῖς καὶ ἱσοτιμοῖς εὐάρμοστος εἶναι πεφυκός, ἀλλὰ πάντων καταφρονών καὶ μηδενὸς ἄξιον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡγούμενος. ταῦτα γὰρ ὑπάρξαι Λουκούλλῳ κακὰ λέγουσιν ἐν πάσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς καὶ γὰρ μέγας καὶ καλὸς καὶ δεινὸς εἰσεῖν καὶ βρόνιμος ὀμαλὸς ἐν ἀγορᾷ καὶ στρατοπέδῳ δοκεῖ γενέσθαι.

Σαλούστιος μὲν οὖν φησὶ καλεπώς διατεθήναι τοὺς στρατιώτας πρὸς αὐτὸν εὔθυς ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ πολέμου πρὸς Κυζίκῳ καὶ πάλιν πρὸς Ἀμυδῷ, δύο χειμῶνας ἔζησεν ἐν χάραι διαγαγεῖν ἀναγκαῖα σθένας. ἦνών δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ χειμῶνες. ἦ γὰρ ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ διεχείμαξαν ἡ παρὰ τοῖς συμμάχοις ὑπαίθροι σκηνοῦντες, εἰς δὲ πόλιν 'Ελληνιδα καὶ φίλην οὐδ' ἄπαξ εἰσῆλθε μετὰ στρατοπέδου Λουκούλλος. οὐτω δὲ διακειμένους αὐτοῖς τὰς μεγίστας ἐνέδωκαν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης οἱ δημαγωγοὶ προφάσεις, φθόνος τοῦ Λουκούλλου κατηγοροῦντες ὡς ὑπὸ φιλαρχίας καὶ φιλοπολιτικῶν ἐλκυόντος τὸν πόλεμον καὶ μονονοῦ κατεχόντος ἐν ταύτῳ Κιλικίαν, Ἁσιαν, Βιθυνίαν, Παφλαγονίαν, Γαλατίαν, Πόντου, Ἀρμενίαν, τὰ μέχρι Φάσιδος, νυνὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ Τιγράνου βασιλεία πεπορθηκότος, ὡσπερ ἐκδύσαι τοὺς βασιλεῖς, οὐκ ἔκαστο πειρατεῖας. τοῦτο γὰρ εἰπεῖν φασιν ἐνα τῶν στρατηγῶν Δεύκιων Κόιντον, ὕφ' οὐ μάλιστα πεισθέντες ἐψηφίσαντο πέμπτων διαδόχων τῷ Λουκούλλῳ τῆς ἑπαρχίας. ἐπικαθησάντω δὲ καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῶ ς ἑπαρχομένων πολ. 515 λους ἀφείσθαι στρατείας.

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soldier, and thought that everything that was done to please one's command only dishonoured and undermined one's authority. Worst of all, not even with men of power and of equal rank with himself could he readily co-operate; he despised them all, and thought them of no account as compared with himself. These bad qualities Lucullus is said to have had, but no more than these. He was tall and handsome, a powerful speaker, and equally able in the forum and the field.

Well, then, Sallust says that his soldiers were ill-disposed towards him at the very beginning of the war, before Cyzicus, and again before Amisus, because they were compelled to spend two successive winters in camp. The winters that followed also vexed them. They spent them either in the enemy's country, or among the allies, encamped under the open sky. Not once did Lucullus take his army into a city that was Greek and friendly. In their disaffection, they received the greatest support from the popular tribunes at Rome. These envied Lucullus and denounced him for protracting the war through love of power and love of wealth. They said he all but had in his own sole power Cilicia, Asia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Galatia, Pontus, Armenia, and the regions extending to the Phasis, and that now he had actually plundered the palaces of Tigranes, as if he had been sent, not to subdue the kings, but to strip them. These were the words, they say, of Lucius Quintus, one of the praetors, to whom most of all the people listened when they passed a vote to send men who should succeed Lucullus in the command of his province. They voted also that many of the soldiers under him should be released from military service.
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XXXIV. Τούτοις δὲ τηλικούτως οὖσι προσγίνεται τὸ μάλιστα Λουκούλλῳ διειργασμένον τὰς πράξεις, Πόσπλιος Κλώδιος, ἀνήρ ύβριστὴς καὶ μεστὸς ὀλγοφρίας ἀπάσης καὶ θρασύτητος. ἦν δὲ τῆς Λουκούλλου γυναικὸς ἄδελφος, ἦν καὶ διαφθείρειν ἔσχεν αἰτίαν ἀκολαστοτάτην οὖσαν. 2 τότε δὲ τῷ Λουκούλλῳ συστρατεύων οὐχ ὅσης αὐτὸν ἤξιον τιμῆς ἑτύγχανεν ἤξιον δὲ πρωτὸς εἶναι, καὶ πολλῶν ἀπολειπόμενος διὰ τὸν τρόπον ὑποικοῦρει τὴν Φιμβριανὴν στρατιὰν καὶ παρώξυς κατὰ τοῦ Λουκούλλου, λόγους χρηστοὺς εἰς οὐκ ἀκούσας οὐδ' ἀξίως τοῦ δημαγωγεῖσθαι διαδίδοις. οὖτοι γὰρ ἤσαν, οὐς καὶ πρότερον ἀνέπεισε Φιμβριας ἀποκτείναντας τὸν ὕπατον.

3 Φλάκκον αὐτὸν ἐλέσθαι στρατηγῶν. διὸ καὶ τὸν Κλώδιον ἤδεις ἕδέχοντο καὶ φιλοστρατιῶτην προσγιόρευν, ἀγανακτεῖν προσποιούμενον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, εἰ πέρας οὐδὲν ἔσται πολέμων τοσούτων καὶ πόνων, ἀλλὰ παντὶ μὲν ἔθενε μαχόμενοι, πᾶσαν δὲ γῆν πλανῶμενοι κατατρίψουσι τὸν βίον οὐδὲν ἄξιον ἐκ τηλικαύτης φερόμενοι στρατεύσας, ἀλλὰ τὰς Λουκούλλου παραπέμποντες ἀμάξας καὶ καμήλους ἐκπομάτων χρυσῶν καὶ διαλίθων γεμοῦσας, οἱ δὲ Πομπηίου στρατιῶται δήμος ὄντες ἢδη που μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων καθημένης γῆν εὐδαίμονα καὶ πόλεις ἑχοντες, οὐ Μεθριδάτην καὶ Τιγράνην εἰς τὰς ἀοικήτους ἐμβαλόντες ἐρημίας, οὐδὲ τῆς Ἀσίας τὰ βασίλεια καταρρίψαντες, ἀλλὰ φυγάσων ἀνθρώποις ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ δραπέ.
XXXIV. To these factors in the case, so unfavourable in themselves, there was added another, which most of all vitiated the undertakings of Lucullus. This was Publius Clodius, a man of wanton violence, and full of all arrogance and boldness. He was a brother of the wife of Lucullus, a woman of the most dissolute ways, whom he was actually accused of debauching. At this time he was in service with Lucullus, and did not get all the honour which he thought his due. He thought a foremost place his due, and when many were preferred before him because of his evil character, he worked secretly upon the soldiers who had been commanded by Fimbria, and tried to incite them against Lucullus, disseminating among them speeches well adapted to men who were neither unwilling nor unaccustomed to have their favour courted. These were the men whom Fimbria had once persuaded to kill the consul Flaccus, and choose himself for their general. They therefore gladly listened to Clodius also, and called him the soldier's friend. For he pretended to be incensed in their behalf, if there was to be no end of their countless wars and toils, but they were rather to wear out their lives in fighting with every nation and wandering over every land, receiving no suitable reward for such service, but convoying the waggon and camels of Lucullus laden with golden beakers set with precious stones, while the soldiers of Pompey, citizens now, were snugly ensconced with wives and children in the possession of fertile lands and prosperous cities,—not for having driven Mithridates and Tigranes into uninhabitable deserts, nor for having demolished the royal palaces of Asia, but for having fought with wretched exiles in Spain and

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ταῖς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πολεμήσαντες. "Τί οὖν, εἰ δεῖ μηδέποτε παύσασθαι στρατευόμενοι, οὐχὶ τοιούτῳ στρατηγῷ καὶ σώματα τὰ λοιπὰ καὶ ψυχὰς φυλάσσομεν, ὃ κάλλιστος εἶναι δοκεῖ κόσμος ὁ τῶν στρατευόμενων πλοῦτος;"

5 Ὑπαίτιας αἰτίας τὸ Δουκούλλου στράτευμα διαφθαρὲν οὔτ᾽ ἐπὶ Τιγράνην ἡκολούθησεν οὔτ᾽ ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτην αὕθες ἐξ Ἀρμενίας εἰς Πόντον ἐμβαλόντα καὶ τὴν ἁρχὴν ἀναλαμβάνοντα, πρόφασιν δὲ τὸν χειμώνα ποιούμενοι περὶ τὴν Γορδηνῆν διέτριβον, ὅσον οὕτω Πομπηίου ἢ τὸν ἄλλον τῶν ἡγεμόνων Δουκούλλῳ διάδοχον ἀφίξεσθαι προσδοκῶντες.

XXXV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ἤγγελτο Φάβιον νευκηκὼς ἐπὶ Σωρνάτιον καὶ Τριάριον βαδίζειν, αἰσχυνθέντες εὕροντο τῷ Δουκούλλῳ. Τριάριος δ᾽ ὡς ἔτοιμον ἀρπάζαι τὸ νίκημα, πρὶν ἐπελθεῖν Δούκουλλον ἑγγὺς ὅντα, φιλοτιμοῦμενος ἡττᾶται μάχῃ μεγάλῃ. λέγονται γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἐπτακισχιλίων Ῥωμαίων ἀποθανεῖν, ἐν ὑπὸ ἐκατονταρχοῖς μὲν ἐκατὸν πεντήκοντα, χιλιάρχοι δ᾽ ἐκοσὶ καὶ τέσσαρες τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον εἶλε Μιθριδάτης.

2 ἐπελθών δὲ Δούκουλλος ὀλίγας ὑστερον ἡμέραις Τριάριον μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ξητούμενον πρὸς ὄργην ἐξέκλεψε, Μιθριδάτου δὲ μὴ θέλοντος μάχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ Τιγράνην περιμένοντος ὡς καταβαίνοντα μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως, ἐγνώ πρὶν ἀμφοτέρους συνελθεῖν πάλιν ἀπαντήσαι καὶ δια-

3 γωνίσασθαι πρὸς τὸν Τιγράνην. πορευομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ καθ' ὅδον οἱ Φιμβριανοὶ στασιάσαντες ἀπέλιπον τὰς τάξεις, ὡς ἀφειμένοι δόγματι τῆς

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runaway slaves in Italy. "Why, then," he would cry, "if our campaigns are never to come to an end, do we not reserve what is left of our bodies, and our lives, for a general in whose eyes the wealth of his soldiers is his fairest honour?"

For such reasons as these the army of Lucullus was demoralised, and refused to follow him—either against Tigranes, or against Mithridates, who had come back into Pontus from Armenia, and was trying to restore his power there. They made the winter their excuse for lingering in Gordyene, expecting every moment that Pompey, or some other commander, would be sent out to succeed Lucullus.

XXXV. But when tidings came that Mithridates had defeated Fabius,¹ and was on the march against Sornatius and Triarius, they were struck with shame and followed Lucullus. But Triarius, who was ambitious to snatch the victory, which he thought assured, before Lucullus, who was near, should come up, was defeated in a great battle. It is said that over seven thousand Romans fell, among whom were a hundred and fifty centurions, and twenty-four tribunes; and their camp was captured by Mithridates. But Lucullus, coming up a few days afterward, hid Triarius from the search of his infuriated soldiers. Then, since Mithridates was unwilling to give fight, but lay waiting for Tigranes, who was coming down with a large force, he determined to anticipate the junction of their armies, and march back to meet Tigranes in battle. But while he was on the way thither, the Fimbrian soldiers mutinied and left their ranks, declaring that they were discharged from

¹ 67 B.C.

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στρατεύας καὶ μηκέτι τῷ Δούκοουλλῷ προσήκουν ἀρχεῖν, ἐτέροις ἀποδεδειγμένων τῶν ἐπαρχίων. οὐδὲν ὦν ἐστιν ὁ τι τῶν παρ’ ἄξιαν ὁ Δούκοουλλὸς οὐχ ὕπεμειν, ἀντιβολῶν καθ’ ἕνα καὶ κατὰ σκηνᾶς περιῶν ταπεινὸς καὶ δεδακρυμένος, ἐστι

4 δ’ ὁν καὶ χειρὸς ἀπτόμενος. οἱ δ’ ἀπετρίβουσι τὰς δεξιώσεις καὶ κενὰ προσερρήπτουν βαλάντια, καὶ μόνον μάχεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐκέλευν, ἀφ’ ὁν μόνον ἦπίστατο πλούτειν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῶν ἅλλων στρατιωτῶν δεομένων ἐκβιασθέντες οἱ Φιμβριανοὶ συνέθεντο παραμεῖναι τὸ θέρος. 516 ἐὰν δὲ μηδεὶς ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ κατίη πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀγωνιούμενος, ἀπηλλάχθαι. ταῦτ’ ἔδει στέργειν ἐξ ἀνάγκης τῶν Δούκουλλου, ἢ προέσθαι 5 τοῖς βαρβάροις τὴν χώραν ἀπολειφθέντα. συνεῖχεν οὐν αὐτοὺς ὅκετι προσβιαζόμενοι οὐδὲ προάγων πρὸς μάχην, ἀλλ’ εἰ παραμένουσιν ἀγαπῶν, καὶ περιορῶν πορθομένην ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιγράνου τὴν Καππαδοκίαν καὶ πάλιν ὑβρίζοντα Μιθριδάτην, διν αὐτός ἐπεστάλκει τῇ συγκλήτῳ γράφων καταπεπολεμήθαι καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις παρῆσαν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν διάθεσιν τῶν ἐν Πόντῳ 6 πραγμάτων, ὡς δὴ βεβαιῶσι ἐχομένων. καὶ δὴ παρόντες ἑώρων οὐδ’ αὐτοῦ κύριον, ἀλλὰ παροιμούμενον καὶ προπηλακιζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὡς γε τοσοῦτο περιῆν τῆς εἰς τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀσελγείας, ὡστε τοῦ θέρους λήγουσιν ἐνδύνατες

1 καὶ χειρὸς S: χειρὸς.
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service by decree of the people, and that Lucullus no longer had the right to command them, since the provinces had been assigned to others. Accordingly, there was no expedient, however much beneath his dignity, to which Lucullus did not force himself to resort,—entreating the soldiers man by man, going about from tent to tent in humility and tears, and actually taking some of the men by the hand in supplication. But they rejected his advances, and threw their empty purses down before him, bidding him fight the enemy alone, since he alone knew how to get rich from them. However, at the request of the other soldiers, the Fimbrians were constrained to agree to remain during the summer; but if, in the meantime, no enemy should come down to fight them, they were to be dismissed. Lucullus was obliged to content himself with these terms, or else to be deserted and give up the country to the Barbarians. He therefore simply held his soldiers together, without forcing them any more, or leading them out to battle. Their remaining with him was all he could expect, and he looked on helplessly while Tigranes ravaged Cappadocia and Mithridates resumed his insolent ways,—a monarch whom he had reported by letter to the Senate as completely subdued. Besides, the commissioners were now with him, who had been sent out to regulate the affairs of Pontus, on the supposition that it was a secure Roman possession. And lo, when they came, they saw that Lucullus was not even his own master, but was mocked and insulted by his soldiers. These went so far in their outrageous treatment of their general, that, at the close of the summer, they donned their
7 Τοὺς δ’ ἄλλους ἐκάλει διὰ γραμμάτων Πομπήιος, ἣδη γὰρ ἀποδέδεικτο τοῦ πρὸς Μηθρείδατην καὶ Τιγράνην πολέμου στρατηγὸς χάριτι τοῦ δήμου καὶ κολακεία τῶν δημαγωγῶν, ἔτελ τῇ γε βουλῇ καὶ τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἀδυκὰ πάσχειν ἐδόκει Λούκουλλος οὐ πολέμου διαδόχους, ἀλλὰ θριάμβου λαμβάνων, οὐδὲ τῆς στρατηγίας ἀναγκαζόμενος, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐπάθων τῆς στρατηγίας ἐξίστασθαι καὶ παραχωρεῖν ἑτέροις.

XXXVI. Ἐτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐφάνη τὸ γινόμενον τοῖς ἑκεῖ παροῦσι νεμεσητῶν. οὐτε γὰρ τιμῆς ὁ Λούκουλλος οὔτε τιμωρίας τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ κύριος ὑπῆρξε, οὔδ’ εἰς τὶνα Πομπήιος βαδίζειν πρὸς αὐτὸν οὔδε προσέχειν οὗτος ἐγραφεὶ καὶ διένεμε μετὰ τῶν δέκα προσβεθεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐκῶλυεν ἔκτιθεις διαγράμματα καὶ φοβέρος παρῶν ἀπὸ 2 μείζονος δυνάμεως. ὁμως δὲ ἔδοξε τοῖς φίλοις συναγαγεῖν αὐτούς καὶ συνήλθον ἐν κώμῃ τῶν Γαλατίας καὶ προσεῖπον ἄλληλοις φιλοφρόνως καὶ συνήσθησαν ἐπὶ τοῖς κατωρθωμένοις ἑκατέροις πρεσβύτεροι μὲν ὄν ὁ Λούκουλλος, ἀξίωμα δ’ ἦν τὸ Πομπηίου μείζον ἀπὸ πλειόνων στρατηγιῶν καὶ δυνεῖν θριάμβων. ῥάβδοι δ’
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armour, drew their swords, and challenged to battle an enemy who was nowhere near, but had already withdrawn. Then they shouted their war cries, brandished their weapons in the air, and departed from the camp, calling men to witness that the time had expired during which they had agreed to remain with Lucullus.

The rest of the soldiers Pompey summoned by letter, for he had already been appointed to conduct the war against Mithridates and Tigranes,¹ because he won the favour of the people and flattered their leaders. But the Senate and the nobility considered Lucullus a wronged man. He had been superseded, they said, not in a war, but in a triumph, and had been forced to relinquish and turn over to others, not his campaign, but the prizes of victory in his campaign.

XXXVI. But to those who were on the spot, what happened there seemed still greater matter for wrath and indignation. For Lucullus was not allowed to bestow rewards or punishments for what had been done in the war, nor would Pompey even suffer any one to visit him, or to pay any heed to the edicts and regulations which he made in concert with the ten commissioners, but prevented it by issuing counter-edicts, and by the terror which his presence with a larger force inspired. Nevertheless, their friends decided to bring the two men together, and so they met in a certain village of Galatia. They greeted one another amicably, and each congratulated the other on his victories. Lucullus was the elder man, but Pompey’s prestige was the greater, because he had conducted more campaigns, and celebrated

¹ 66 B.C.
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ἀμφοτέρων προφητεύτω δαφνηφόροι διὰ τὰς νίκας.
3 καὶ τοῦ γε Πομπηίου μακρὰν ὀδὸν διὰ τῶν άνυδρῶν καὶ αὐχμηρῶν ὀδέους δάφνας ξηρὰς περικείμενας ταῖς ράβδωσίς ἓδοντες οἱ τοῦ Δουκύλλου ραβδοφόροι φιλοφρονούμενοι τοῖς ἑκέινου μετέδωκαν ἐκ τῶν ἵδιων, προσφάτους καὶ θαλερᾶς ἔχουντες. καὶ τὸ γινόμενον εἰς οἰωνοῦ ἐτίθεντο χρηστῶν οἱ Πομπηίου φίλοι τῷ γὰρ ὄντι τὴν ἑκέινου στρατηγίαν αἰ τούτου πράξεις ἐκόσμησαν. ἐκ δὲ τῶν λόγων πρὸς οὐδὲν ἔπιεκες συνεβήσαν, ἀλλ’ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἄλλοτριωθέντες πρὸς ἄλληλοις ἀπῆλθον καὶ τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ Δουκύλλου γενομένας διατάξεις ἤκυρωσεν ὁ Πομπηίος, στρατιώτας δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαγαγόν μόνους αὐτῷ χιλίους ἐξακοσίους ἄπελπωσε συνθριαμβεύσοντας, οὐδὲ τούτους μάλα προθύμως ἔπομένους. οὕτω τις ἡ ἄφυσ ή δυστυχὴς ὁ Δουκύλλος πρὸς τὸ πάντων ἐν ἡγεμονίᾳ πρῶτον καὶ μέγιστον· ὡς, εἰ τούτο μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπήρξεν αὐτῷ, τηλικούτων ὄντων καὶ τοσούτων, μετ’ ἀνδρείας, ἐπιμελείας, συνεσέως, δικαιοσύνης, οὐκ ἂν εἴχεν ἡ Ρωμαίων ἡγεμονία τῶν Ἐυφράτην τῆς Ἀσίας ορὸν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἔσχατα καὶ τὴν Ἴρκανίαν θάλασσαν, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἑθνῶν Τιγράνη προφτημένων, τῆς δὲ Πάρθων δυνάμεως οὐχ ὡσὶ κατὰ Κράσσου ἔξεφάνη τοσαύτης καὶ κατὰ Δουκύλλου οὕσης οὐδ’ ὀμοίως συνεστώσης, ἀλλ’ ὡπ ἐμφυλίων καὶ προσοίκων πολέμων οὐδ’ Ἀρμενίους υβριζόντας ἐρρωμενής ἀμύνεσθαι.

Νῦν δὲ μοι δοκεῖ Δουκύλλος ὃν ὠφελήσῃ δι’ αυτοῦ τὴν πατρίδα βλάψαι μείζονα δι’ ἐτέρων.
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two triumphs. Fasces wreathed with laurel were
carried before both commanders in token of their
victories, and since Pompey had made a long march
through waterless, and arid regions, the laurel which
wreathed his fasces was withered. When the lictors
of Lucullus noticed this, they considerately gave
Pompey’s lictors some of their own laurel, which was
fresh and green." This circumstance was interpreted
as a good omen by the friends of Pompey; for, in
fact, the exploits of Lucullus did adorn the command
of Pompey. However, their conference resulted in
no equitable agreement, but they left it still more
estranged from one another. Pompey also annulled
the ordinances of Lucullus, and took away all but
sixteen hundred of his soldiers. These he left to
share his triumph, but even these did not follow him
very cheerfully. To such a marvellous degree was
Lucullus either unqualified or unfortunate as regards
the first and highest of all requisites in a leader.
Had this power of gaining the affection of his soldiers
been added to his other gifts, which were so many
and so great,—courage, diligence, wisdom, and justice,—the Roman empire would not have been bounded
by the Euphrates, but by the outer confines of Asia,
and the Hyrcanian sea; for all the other nations had
already been subdued by Tigranes, and in the time
of Lucullus the Parthian power was not so great as
it proved to be in the time of Crassus, nor was it so
well united, nay rather, owing to intestine and
neighbouring wars, it had not even strength enough
to repel the wanton attacks of the Armenians.

Now my own opinion is that the harm Lucullus did
his country through his influence upon others, was
greater than the good he did her himself. For his

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7·τὰ γὰρ ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ τρόπαια Πάρθων πλησίον ἑστῶτα καὶ Τιγρανόκερτα καὶ Νίσιβις καὶ πλούτος ἐκ τοῦτον πολύς εἰς Ρώμην κομισθεῖς καὶ τὸ Τιγράνου διάδημα πομπευθέν αἰχμάλωτον ἔπηρε Κράσσου ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὡς λάφυρα καὶ λείαν τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἀλλο δ᾽ οὐδὲν ὄντας. ταχὺ μέντοι τοῖς Πάρθων τοξεύμασιν ἐνυχών ἀπέδειξε τὸν Δούκουλλον οὔκ ἀφροσύνῃ καὶ μαλακίᾳ τῶν πολεμίων, αὐτοῦ δὲ τόλμη καὶ δεινότητι περιγενόμενον. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὑστερον.

XXXVII. Ὁ δὲ Δούκουλλος ἀναβᾶς εἰς Ρώμην πρῶτον μὲν κατέλαβε τὸν ἄδελφὸν Μάρκον υπὸ Γαίου Μεμίου κατηγορούμενον ἐφ᾽ οίς ἐπραξε ταμειοὺς. Ὁ Σύλλαπ προστάζαντος. ἐκεῖνον δ᾽ ἀποφυγόντος ἐπὶ τούτον αὐτὸν ὁ Μέμιος μεταβαλόμενος παρώξυυ τὸν δήμον, καὶ ὡς πολλὰ νενοσφυσμένος καὶ μηκύνατι τὸν πόλεμον ἐπεισεν αὐτῷ μὴ δοῦναι θρίαμβον. ἔλθοντος δ᾽ εἰς ἀγώνα τοῦ Δοικούλλου μέγαν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ δυνατότατοι καταμίξαντες ἑαυτοὺς ταῖς φύλαις πολλῆς δεήσει καὶ σπουδὴ μόλις ἐπείμας τὸν δήμον ἐπιτρέψαι θριαμβεύσαι, οὐχ, ὡσπερ ἐνοῦ, μῆκει τε πομπῆς καὶ πλήθει τῶν κομισθεῖται ἐκπληκτικῶν καὶ ὀχλώδης θρίαμβον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ὅπλοις τῶν πολεμίων οὖσι παμπόλλοις καὶ τοῖς βασιλικοῖς μηχανήμασι τὸν Φλαμύνειον ἀπόραδον διεκόσμησε· καὶ θέα τις τῆς αὐτῆς καθ᾽ ἐαυτὴν οὔκ εὐκαταφρόνητος· ἐν δὲ
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trophies in Armenia, standing on the borders of Parthia, and Tigranocerta, and Nisibis, and the vast wealth brought to Rome from these cities, and the display in his triumph of the captured diadem of Tigranes, incited Crassus to his attack upon Asia; he thought that the Barbarians were spoil and booty, and nothing else. It was not long, however, before he encountered the Parthian arrows, and proved that Lucullus had won his victories, not through the folly and cowardice of his enemies, but through his own daring and ability. This, however, is later history.

XXXVII. Now when Lucullus had returned to Rome, he found, in the first place, that his brother Marcus was under prosecution by Gaius Memmius for his acts as quaestor under the administration of Sulla. Marcus, indeed, was acquitted, but Memmius then turned his attack upon Lucullus, and strove to excite the people against him. He charged him with diverting much property to his own uses, and with needlessly protracting the war, and finally persuaded the people not to grant him a triumph. Lucullus strove mightily against this decision, and the foremost and most influential men mingled with the tribes, and by much entreaty and exertion at last persuaded the people to allow him to celebrate a triumph;¹ not, however, like some, a triumph which was startling and tumultuous from the length of the procession and the multitude of objects displayed. Instead, he decorated the circus of Flaminius with the arms of the enemy, which were very numerous, and with the royal engines of war; and this was a great spectacle in itself, and far from contemptible.

¹ 68 B.C.
Τῇ πομπῇ τῶν τε καταφράκτων ἵππεῶν ὀλύγοι καὶ τῶν δρεπανηφόρων ἀρμάτων δέκα παρῆλθον, ἐξήκοντα δὲ φίλοι καὶ στρατηγοὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν, μακρά δὲ χαλκέμβολοι νῆς ἐκατὸν καὶ δέκα ἁμα παρεκκομόθησαν, αὐτοῦ τε Μιθριδάτου χρύσεως ἐξάπους κολοσσός, καὶ θυρεός τες διάλίθος, καὶ φορήματα ἐκοσὶ μὲν ἄργυρων σκευῶν, χρυσῶν δὲ ἐκπομάτων καὶ ὀπλῶν καὶ νομίσματος δύο καὶ τριάκοντα. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἄνδρες παρεκόμιζον· ἡμῖνοι δὲ ὁκτὼ κλίνας χρυσᾶς ἐφεροῦν, ἐξ δὲ καὶ πεντήκοντα κεχωνευμένου ἄργυρου, ἀλλοι δὲ ἐκατὸν ἐπτὰ νομίσματος ἄργυρον, μικρῷ των δευτέρων ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ διακοσίας μυριάδας. ἐν δὲ δέλτοις ἀναγραφαὶ τῶν ἡδὶ διδομένων χρημάτων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Πομπηίᾳ πρὸς τὸν πειρατικὸν πόλεμον καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ δημοσίου ταμείου, καὶ χωρὶς ὅτι στρατιώτης ἐκαστὸς ἐνακοσίας καὶ πεντήκοντα δραχμῶν ἐλαβεν. ἐπὶ τούτοις τὴν τε πόλιν εἰστίασε λαμπρῶς καὶ τὰς περιοικίδια κόμας, διὸ οὖκοις καλοῦσι.

XXXVIII. Τῆς δὲ Κλωδίας ἀπηλλαγμένος, οὐσὶς ἀσελγοῦσι καὶ πονηρᾶς, Σερουύλιαν ἐγήμεν, ἀδελφὴν Κάτωνος, οὐδὲ τούτον εὐποροῦν γάμον. ἔν γὰρ οὐ προσῆν αὐτῷ τῶν Κλωδίας κακῶν μονόν, ἢ τῶν ἀδελφῶν διαβολῆς τάλλα δὲ βδελυγμάτων ὁμοίως οὕσαν καὶ ἀκόλαστον ἡμαγκάζετο φέρειν αἰδούμενος Κάτωνα, τελοῦσθε δὲ ἀπείπεν.

2 Ἐλπίδας δὲ θαυμάστατα τῇ βουλῇ παρασχὼν, ὥς ἑκουσίᾳ τῶν ἅγια τούτον ἁυτόταγμα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου τυραννίδα καὶ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ἐπικίνδυνος.
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But in the procession, a few of the mail-clad horsemen and ten of the scythe-bearing chariots moved along, together with sixty of the king's friends and generals. A hundred and ten bronze-beaked ships of war were also carried along, a golden statue of Mithridates himself, six feet in height, a wonderful shield adorned with precious stones, twenty litters of silver vessels, and thirty-two litters of gold beakers, armour, and money. All this was carried by men. Then there were eight mules which bore golden couches, fifty-six bearing ingots of silver, and a hundred and seven more bearing something less than two million seven hundred thousand pieces of silver coin. There were also tablets with records of the sums of money already paid by Lucullus to Pompey for the war against the pirates, and to the keepers of the public treasury, as well as of the fact that each of his soldiers had received nine hundred and fifty drachmas. To crown all, Lucullus gave a magnificent feast to the city, and to the surrounding villages called Vici.

XXXVIII. After his divorce from Clodia, who was a licentious and base woman, he married Servilia, a sister of Cato, but this, too, was an unfortunate marriage. For it lacked none of the evils which Clodia had brought in her train except one, namely, the scandal about her brothers. In all other respects Servilia was equally vile and abandoned, and yet Lucullus forced himself to tolerate her, out of regard for Cato. At last, however, he put her away.

The Senate had conceived wondrous hopes that in him it would find an opposer of the tyranny of Pompey and a champion of the aristocracy, with all
πρόμαχον ἀπὸ δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως ὀρμώμενον
μεγάλης, ἐγκατέλιπτε καὶ προήκατο τὴν πολιτείαν,
eἴτε δυσκάθεκτον ἤδη καὶ νοσοῦσαν ὅρων εἴθ', ὡς
φασίν ἐνιοῖ, μεστὸς ἃν δόξης καὶ πρὸς τὸ ρᾶστον
ἀναπίπτον τοῦ βίου καὶ μαλακώτατον ἐκ πολλῶν
ἀγώνων καὶ πόνων οὐκ εὐτυχέστατον τέλος
3 λαβόντων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπαινοῦσιν αὐτοῦ τήν
τοσαύτην μεταβολήν, τὸ Μαρίων πάθος μὴ
παθόντος, δε ἐπὶ ταῖς Κιμβρικαῖς νίκαις καὶ τοῖς
καλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις ἐκεῖνοις κατορθώμασιν οὐκ
ἡθὲλησαν αὐτὸν ἀνείναι τιμή τοσαύτη ζηλωτὸν,
ἀλλ' ἀπληστία δόξης καὶ ἀρχῆς νεώς ἀνδράσι
γέρων ἀντιπολιτευόμενος εἰς ἐργα δεινὰ καὶ πάθη
δεινότερα τῶν ἔργων ἐξοκειλεῖ· βέλτιον δ' ἂν καὶ
Κικέρωνα γηρᾶσαι μετὰ Κατιλίναν ύποστειλά-
μενον καὶ Σκηπτὼνα Καρχηδόν προσθέντα
4 Νομάντιαν, εἰτὰ παυσάμενον εἶναι γὰρ τινὰ καὶ
πολιτικὴς περιόδου κατάλυσιν τῶν γὰρ ἀθλη-
tικῶν ἀγώνων τοὺς πολιτικοὺς οὐδὲν ἤττον ἄκμης
καὶ ὀρας ἐπιλυτούσης ἐλέγχθειαν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τῶν
Κράσσου καὶ Πομπήιον ἐχλεύαζον τῶν Δούκουλ-
lον εἰς ἥδουην ἀφεικότα καὶ πολυτέλειαν αὐτοῦ,
ὡσπερ οὐ τοῦ τρυφῶν μᾶλλον τοῖς τηλικοῦτος
παρ’ ἡλικίαν ὄντος ἢ τοῦ πολυτέλεως καὶ
στρατηγεῖν.

XXXIX. Ἐστὶ δ' οὖν τοῦ Δούκουλλου βίου,
καθάπερ ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας, ἰναγωνίᾳ τὰ μὲν
πρώτα πολιτείας καὶ στρατηγίας, τὰ δ' ύστερα
πότους καὶ δείσπα καὶ μονονοχή κόμους καὶ
2 λαμπάδας καὶ παιδιάν ἀπασαν. εἰς παιδιάν γὰρ
ἐγγυεῖ τίθεμαι καὶ οἰκοδομᾶς πολυτελεῖς καὶ
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the advantage of great glory and influence; but he quitted and abandoned public affairs, either because he saw that they were already beyond proper control and diseased, or, as some say, because he had his fill of glory, and felt that the unfortunate issue of his many struggles and toils entitled him to fall back upon a life of ease and luxury. Some commend him for making such a change, and thereby escaping the unhappy lot of Marius, who, after his Cimbrian victories and the large and fair successes which were so famous, was unwilling to relax his efforts and enjoy the honours won, but with an insatiate desire for glory and power, old man that he was, fought with young men in the conduct of the state, and so drove headlong into terrible deeds, and sufferings more terrible still. Cicero, say these, would have had a better old age if he had taken in sail after the affair of Catiline, and Scipio, too, if he had given himself pause after adding Numantia to Carthage; for a political cycle, too, has a sort of natural termination, and political no less than athletic contests are absurd, after the full vigor of life has departed. Crassus and Pompey, on the other hand, ridiculed Lucullus for giving himself up to pleasure and extravagance, as if a luxurious life were not even more unsuitable to men of his years than political and military activities.

XXXIX. And it is true that in the life of Lucullus, as in an ancient comedy, one reads in the first part of political measures and military commands, and in the latter part of drinking bouts, and banquets, and what might pass for revel-routs, and torch-races, and all manner of frivolity. For I must count as frivolity his costly edifices, his ambulatories
κατασκευασὶς περιπτάτων καὶ λουτρῶν καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον γραφᾶς καὶ ἀνδριάντας καὶ τὴν περὶ
tαύτας τὰς τέχνας σπουδὴν, ἃς ἔκεινος συνήγε
μεγάλοις ἀναλύμασιν, εἰς ταύτα τῷ πλούτῳ
ρύθην καταχρόμενος, διὸ ἠθροίκει πολὺν καὶ
λαμμρὸν ἀπὸ τῶν στρατεύων, ὅπου καὶ νῦν, ἐπὶ-
δοσιν τοιαύτην τῆς τρυφῆς ἐχούσης, οἱ Λουκουλ-
λιανοὶ κῆποι τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐν τοῖς πολυτελεστά-
τοις ἀριθμοῦνται. τὰ δ’ ἐν τοῖς παραλίοις καὶ
περὶ Νέαν πόλιν ἔργα, λόφους ἀνακρεμανυνύτος
ἀυτοῦ μεγάλοις ῥύμασιν καὶ τροχοὺς θαλάσσης καὶ
diaδρομὰς ἱχθυοτρόφους τοῖς οἰκητηρίοις
περιελίσσουτος καὶ διαίτας ἐναλίους κτίζοντος, οἱ
Στωϊκὸς Τουβέρων θεασάμενος Εἴρηξιν αὐτὸν ἐκ
4 τηβέννου προσηγόρευσεν. ήσαν δ’ αὐτῷ περὶ
Τούσκλον ἤγχωροι διαίται καὶ κατασκοπὰι
περιόπτων καὶ κατασκευαὶ ἀναπεπταμένων
ἀνδρῶν καὶ περιπτάτων, ἐν ἀλλ’ ὁ Πομπήιος
gενόμενος ἐμέμφηγε τὸν Λουκουλλοῦν, ὅτι πρὸς
θέρους ἄριστα διαθέσει τὴν ἑπαυλίν ἀοίκητον ἐν
χειμῶν πεποίηκε. γελάσας οὖν ἐκείνος “Εἴτα,”
ἐφι, “σοὶ δοκῆ ἐλάττονα τῶν γεράνων νοῦν ἐχεῖν
καὶ τῶν πελαργῶν, ὥστε ταῖς ὀραίας μὴ συμμετα-
5 βάλλειν τὰς διαίτας;” στρατηγοῦ ἐκτὸς ἰδίων
φιλοτιμομένου περὶ θέας καὶ χρώμας τῶν κόσμων
αὐτουμένου πορφυρᾶς χλαμύδας ἀπεκρίνατο
σκεψάμενος, ἀν ἔχῃ, δώσειν, εἴτ’ μὲθ’ ἡμέραν
ήρωτησεν αὐτὸν, ὅποσων δὲν. τοῦ δὲ ἐκατόν
ἀρκέσειν φόροντος ἐκέλευσε λαβεῖν διὸς τοιαύτας’
eἰς τὸ καὶ Φλάκκος ὁ ποιητὴς ἐπιπεφώνηκεν, ὡς
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and baths, and still more his paintings and statues (not to speak of his devotion to these arts), which he collected at enormous outlays, pouring out into such channels the vast and splendid wealth which he accumulated from his campaigns. Even now, when luxury has increased so much, the gardens of Lucullus are counted among the most costly of the imperial gardens. As for his works on the seashore and in the vicinity of Neapolis, where he suspended hills over vast tunnels, girdled his residences with zones of sea and with streams for the breeding of fish, and built dwellings in the sea,—when Tubero the Stoic saw them, he called him Xerxes in a toga. He had also country establishments near Tusculum, with observatories, and extensive open banqueting halls and cloisters. Pompey once visited these, and chided Lucullus because he had arranged his country seat in the best possible way for summer, but had made it uninhabitable in winter. Whereupon Lucullus burst out laughing and said: “Do you suppose, then, that I have less sense than cranes and storks, and do not change residences according to the seasons?” A praetor was once making ambitious plans for a public spectacle, and asked of him some purple cloaks for the adornment of a chorus. Lucullus replied that he would investigate, and if he had any, would give them to him. The next day he asked the praetor how many he wanted, and on his replying that a hundred would suffice, bade him take twice that number. The poet Flaccus\(^1\) alluded to this when

\(^1\) Epist. i. 6, 45 f.

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οὐ νομίζει πλούτον, οὐ μή τὰ παρορώμενα καὶ λανθάνοντα πλείονα τῶν φαινομένων ἔστι.

XL. Νεόπλουτα δ’ ἦν τοῦ Λούκουλλου τὰ δείπνα τὰ καθ’ ἡμέραν, οὐ μόνον στραμμαίας ἀλουργέσι καὶ διαλίθους ἐκπώμασι καὶ χοροῖς καὶ ἀκρόαμασι ἐπεισοδίους, ἀλλ’ ὄψων τε παντοδαπῶν καὶ πεμμάτων περιττῶς διαπεποιημένων παρασκευαῖς ξηλωτῶν ἀνελευθέρως ποιοῦντος

2 έαυτόν. ο γοῦν Πομπήιος εὐδοκίμησε νοσῶν τοῦ γὰρ ἱατροῦ κίχλην αὐτῶν λαβεῖν κελεύσαντος, τὸν δ’ οἰκετῶν οὐκ ἄν εὑρεῖν ἀλλαχῶς φαμένων θέρους ὥρα κίχλην ἢ παρὰ Λούκουλλω σιτευομένην, οὐκ εἰσαςε λαβεῖν ἐκεῖθεν, ἀλλ’ εἰπὼν πρὸς τὸν ἱατρὸν “Οὐκοῦν, εἰ μὴ Λούκουλλος ἐτρύφα, Πομπήιος οὐκ ἄν ἔχησεν;” ἀλλο τι παρασκευάσαι

3 τῶν εὐπορίστων ἐκέλευσε. Κάτων δ’ ἦν αὐτῶν φίλως καὶ οἰκείος, οὕτω δὲ τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν δίαιταν ἐδυσχέραινεν, ὡστε, νέου τινὸς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ λόγων ἐπαχθῇ καὶ μακρῶν ἀκαίρως ὕπερ εὐτελείας καὶ σωφροσύνης διελθόντος, ἐπαναστάσις ὁ Κάτων “Οὐ παύσῃ,” ἔφη, “οὐ πλουτῶν μὲν ὡς Κράσσος, ξῶν δ’ ὡς Λούκουλλος, λέγων δὲ ὡς Κάτων;” ἐνιοὶ δὲ τούτῳ ῥηθήναι μὲν οὕτως, ὕπο Κάτωνος δὲ οὐ λέγουσιν.

XLI. Ὅ μὲντοι Λούκουλλος οὐχ ἡδόμενος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ σεμνυνόμενος τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ δήλος ἦν ἐκ τῶν ἀπομυθημονευμένων. λέγεται γὰρ “Ἐλλήνας ἀνθρώπους ἀναβάντας εἰς Ῥώμην ἐστὶν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας, τοὺς δ’ ὄντος Ἐλληνικὸν τι παθόντας, αἰσχύνεσθαι καὶ διωθεῖσθαι

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he said that he did not regard a house as wealthy in which the treasures that were overlooked and unobserved were not more than those which met the eye.

XL. The daily repasts of Lucullus were such as the newly rich affect. Not only with his dyed coverlets, and beakers set with precious stones, and choruses and dramatic recitations, but also with his arrays of all sorts of meats and daintily prepared dishes, did he make himself the envy of the vulgar. A saying of Pompey's, when he was ill, was certainly very popular. His physicians had prescribed a thrush for him to eat, and his servants said that a thrush could not be found anywhere in the summer season except where Lucullus kept them fattening. Pompey, however, would not suffer them to get one from there, but bade them prepare something else that was easily to be had, remarking as he did so to his physician, "What! must a Pompey have died if a Lucullus were not luxurious?" And Cato, who was a friend of his, and a relation by marriage, was nevertheless much offended by his life and habits. Once when a youthful senator had delivered a tedious and lengthy discourse, all out of season, on frugality and temperance, Cato rose and said; "Stop there! you get wealth like Crassus, you live like Lucullus, but you talk like Cato." Some, however, while they say that these words were actually uttered, do not say that they were spoken by Cato.

XLI. Moreover, that Lucullus took not only pleasure but pride in this way of living, is clear from the anecdotes recorded of him. It is said, for instance, that he entertained for many successive days some Greeks who had come up to Rome, and that they, with genuinely Greek scruples, were at last ashamed to accept his invitation, on the ground
τὴν κλήσιν, ὡς δὲ αὐτοὺς καθ' ἡμέραν τοσούτων
2 ἀναλισκομένων· τὸν οὖν Δοῦκουλλον εἶπεῖν μει-
δίασαντα πρὸς αὐτοὺς· "Γίνεται μὲν τι τούτων
καὶ δὲ ύμᾶς, ὥς ἄνδρες Ἐλληνες· τὰ μέντοι
πλείστα γίνεται διὰ Δοῦκουλλον." ἐπεὶ δὲ μόνον
dειπνοῦντος αὐτοῦ μία τράπεζα καὶ μέτριον παρε-
σκευάσθη δεῖπνον, ἡγανάκτει καλέσας τὸν ἐπὶ
tούτῳ τεταγμένον οἰκήτην. τοῦ δὲ φήσαντος, ὡς
οὐκ ἔτεκε μηδενὸς κεκλημένου πολυτελοῦς τινος
αὐτοῦ δεήσεσθαι "Τι λέγεις;" ἐπεν, "οὐκ ἔδεις,
ὅτι σήμερον παρὰ Δοῦκουλλῳ δειπνεῖ Δοῦκουλ-
λος;" ὅντος δὲ περὶ τούτου, ὡς εἰκός, ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ
λόγου πολλοῦ, προσῆλθον αὐτῷ κατ' ἄγοραν
σχολὴν ἄγοντι Κικέρων καὶ Πομπήιος, ὁ μὲν ἐν
τοῖς μάλιστα φίλος ὁν καὶ συνήθης, Πομπήῖῳ δὲ
ἡν μὲν ἐκ τῆς στρατηγίας διαφορὰ πρὸς αὐτοῦ,
εἰώθεισαν δὲ χρῆσθαι καὶ διαλέγεσθαι πολλάκις
4 ἐπιεικῶς ἄλληλοις. ἀσπασάμενοι οὖν ὁ Κικέρων
αὐτοῦ ἡρῴτησεν, ὅπως ἔχει πρὸς ἐντευξίν· τοῦ δὲ
φήσαντος, ὡς ἄριστα, καὶ παρακαλοῦντος ἐντυγ-
χάνειν "Ἡμεῖς," ἐφη, "βουλόμεθα δειπνῆσαι
παρὰ σοί τήμερον οὔτως, ὅπως ἐστὶ σοί παρε-
σκευασμένα." θρυμματεύκει δὲ τοῦ Δοῦκουλλου
καὶ μεταλαβεῖν ἡμέραν ἁξιοῦντος οὐκ ἔφασαν
ἐπιτρέψειν, οὐδὲ εἰσὶν διαλέγεσθαι τοῖς οἰκεῖοις,
ἵνα μὴ τι πλέον κελεύσῃ γενέσθαι τῶν αὐτῷ
5 γινομένων, πλὴν τοσοῦτο μόνον αἰτουμένῳ συνε-
χώρησαν εἰπεῖν πρὸς ἔνα τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐναντίον
ἐκεῖνων, ὅτι τήμερον ἐν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι δειπνήσοι·
tούτο γάρ τις εἰχε τῶν πολυτελῶν οἰκῶν δύναμα.
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that he was incurring so much expense every day on their account; whereupon Lucullus said to them with a smile, "Some of this expense, my Grecian friends, is indeed on your account; most of it, however, is on account of Lucullus." And once, when he was dining alone, and a modest repast of one course had been prepared for him, he was angry, and summoned the servant who had the matter in charge. The servant said that he did not suppose, since there were no guests, that he wanted anything very costly. "What sayest thou?" said the master, "dost thou not know that to-day Lucullus dines with Lucullus?" While this matter was much talked of in the city, as was natural, Cicero and Pompey came up to him as he was idling in the forum. Cicero was one of his most intimate friends, and although the matter of the command of the army had led to some coolness between him and Pompey, still they were accustomed to frequent and friendly intercourse and conversation with one another. Accordingly, Cicero saluted him, and asked how he was disposed towards receiving a petition. "Most excellently well," said Lucullus, and invited them to make their petition. "We desire," said Cicero, "to dine with you to-day just as you would have dined by yourself." Lucullus demurred to this, and begged the privilege of selecting a later day, but they refused to allow it, nor would they suffer him to confer with his servants, that he might not order anything more provided than what was provided for himself. Thus much, however, and no more, they did allow him at his request, namely, to tell one of his servants in their presence that he would dine that day in the Apollo. Now this was the name of one of his costly apartments,

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καὶ τοῦτο σεσοφισμένος ἔλελήθει τοὺς ἀνδράς. ἐκάστῳ γὰρ, ώς ἔοικε, δειπνητηρίῳ τεταγμένον ἢν τίμημα δείπνου, καὶ χορηγίαν ἰδίαν καὶ παρασκευὴν ἐκαστὸν εἶχεν, ὡστε τοὺς δούλους ἀκούσαντας, ὅπως βούλεται δείπνειν, εἰδέναι, πόσον δαπάνημα καὶ ποίον τι κόσμῳ καὶ διαθέσει γενέσθαι δεῖ τὸ δείπνον εἰώθει δὲ δείπνειν ἐν τῷ Ἄπολλωνι πέντε μυριάδων καὶ τότε τοσοῦτον τελεσθέντος ἐξέπληξε τοὺς περὶ τὸν Πομπήιον ἐν τῷ μεγέθει τῆς δαπάνης τὸ τάχος τῆς παρασκευῆς εἰς ταῦτα μὲν οὐν ὑβριστικῶς ἔχρητο τῷ πλούτῳ καθάπερ ἄντως αἷμαλώτῳ καὶ βαρβάρῳ.

XLII. Σπουδῆς δ’ ἄξια καὶ λόγου τὰ περὶ τὴν τῶν βιβλίων κατασκευήν. καὶ γὰρ πολλὰ καὶ γεγραμμένα καλῶς συνήγεν, ἢ τε χρήσις ἢν φιλοτιμοτέρα τῆς κτήσεως, ἀνειμένων πᾶσι τῶν βιβλιοθηκῶν, καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτάς περιπάτων καὶ σχολαστηρίως ἀκωλύτως ὑποδεχομένων τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ὀστερ εἰς Μουσῶν τι καταγώγιον ἔκεισε φοιτῶντας καὶ συνδιημερεύοντας ἄλληλοις, ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων χρεών ἀσμένως ἀποτρέχοντας. 2 πολλάκις δὲ καὶ συνεσχολάζεν αὐτὸς ἐμβάλλων εἰς τοὺς περιπάτους τοῖς φιλολόγοις καὶ τοῖς πολιτικοῖς συνεπράττειν ὅτου δέοιτο· καὶ ὅλως ἐστί καὶ πρυτανεῖον Ἑλληνικὸν ὁ οἶκος ἦν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις εἰς Ῥώμην. φιλοσοφίαν δὲ πάσαν μὲν ἡσπάζετο καὶ πρὸς πάσαν εὐμενῆς ἦν καὶ οἰκεῖος, ἰδιον δὲ τῆς Ἀκαδημείας ἐξ ἀρχῆς.
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and he thus outwitted the men without their knowing it. For each of his dining-rooms, as it seems, had a fixed allowance for the dinner served there, as well as its own special apparatus and equipment, so that his slaves, on hearing where he wished to dine, knew just how much the dinner was to cost, and what were to be its decorations and arrangements. Now the usual cost of a dinner in the Apollo was fifty thousand drachmas, and that was the sum laid out on the present occasion. Pompey was amazed at the speed with which the banquet was prepared, notwithstanding it had cost so much. In these ways, then, Lucullus used his wealth wantonly, as though it were in very truth a Barbarian prisoner-of-war.

XLII. But what he did in the establishment of a library deserves warm praise. He got together many books, and they were well written, and his use of them was more honourable to him than his acquisition of them. His libraries were thrown open to all, and the cloisters surrounding them, and the study-rooms, were accessible without restriction to the Greeks, who constantly repaired thither as to an hostelry of the Muses, and spent the day with one another, in glad escape from their other occupations. Lucullus himself also often spent his leisure hours there with them, walking about in the cloisters with their scholars, and he would assist their statesmen in whatever they desired. And in general his house was a home and prytaneium for the Greeks who came to Rome. He was fond of all philosophy, and well-disposed and friendly towards every school, but from the first he cherished a particular and zealous love for the Academy, not
3 ἔρωτα καὶ ζήλου ἔσχεν, οὐ τῆς νέας λεγομένης, κατερ νάθούσης τότε τοῖς Καρνεάδου λόγοις διὰ Φίλωνος, ἀλλὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς, πιθανοῦ ἀνδρα 520 καὶ δεινοῦ εἰπεῖν τότε προστάτην ἐξοῦσις τῶν Ἀσκαλωνίτην Ἀντίσχον, δυνάσθη ποιησάμενος φίλον ὁ Δούκουλλος καὶ συμβιωτῆν ἀντέτατε τοῖς Φίλωνος ἀκροατὰς, ὡν καὶ
4 Κικέρων ἦν. καὶ σύγγραμμά γε πάγκαλον ἐποίησεν εἰς τὴν αἴρεσιν, ἐν ὃ τὸν ὑπέρ τῆς καταλήψεως λόγον Δουκούλλῳ περιτέθεικεν, αὐτῷ δὲ τὸν ἐναντίον. Δούκουλλος δὲ ἀναγέγραπται τῷ βιβλίον.

'Ἡσαν δ’, ὡσπερ εἰρηταί, φίλοι σφόδρα καὶ κοινωνοὶ τῆς ἐν πολιτείᾳ προαίρεσιν, οὔδε γὰρ αὐτά πάμπαν ἀπηλλάξει τῆς πολιτείας ἕαυτὸν ὁ 5 Δούκουλλος, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέγιστος εἶναι καὶ πλεῖστον δύνασθαι φιλοτιμίαν καὶ ἀμιλλαν, ὡς καὶ ἀκίνδυνον οὕτ᾽ ἀνύβριστον οὐσαν, εὐθὺς ἀφῆκεν Κράσσῳ καὶ Κάτωνι τούτοις γάρ οἱ τὴν Πομπηίου δύναμιν ὑφορόμενοι προεβάλλοντο τῆς βουλῆς, ἀπολεγομένου τοῦ Δουκούλλου τὰ πρωτεῖα: κατέβαινε δ᾽ εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν διὰ τοῦτον τὸν φίλους, εἰς δὲ τὴν σύγκλητον, εἰ Πομπήιου 6 τινὰ δέου σποουδὴν ἡ φιλοτιμίαν ἐπηρεάσαι. καὶ τὰς τε διατάξεις, ἃς ἑκείνος ἐποίησε τῶν βασιλεῶν κρατῆσαι, ἐξέκρουσε, καὶ νέμησιν τινὰ τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτοῦ γράφοντος ἐκόλυσε δοθῆναι συμπράττοντος Κάτωνος, ὡστε Πομπήιου εἰς τὴν 606
LUCULLUS

the New Academy, so-called, although that school at the time had a vigorous representative of the doctrines of Carneades in Philo, but the Old Academy, which at that time was headed by a persuasive man and powerful speaker in the person of Antiochus of Ascalon. This man Lucullus, hastened to make his friend and companion, and arrayed him against the disciples of Philo, of whom Cicero also was one. Indeed, Cicero wrote a noble treatise on the doctrines of this sect, in which he has put the argument in support of "apprehension" into the mouth of Lucullus, and carried the opposing argument himself. The book is entitled "Lucullus."¹

Lucullus and Cicero were, as I have said, ardent friends, and members of the same political party, for Lucullus had not withdrawn himself entirely from political life, although he lost no time in leaving to Crassus and Cato the ambitious struggle for the chief place and the greatest power, since he saw that it involved both peril and ignominy. For those who looked with suspicion upon the power of Pompey, made Crassus and Cato the champions of the senatorial party when Lucullus declined the leadership. But Lucullus would still go to the forum in support of his friends, and also to the Senate, whenever there was need of combating some ambitious scheme of Pompey's. Thus, the dispositions which Pompey made after his conquest of the kings, Lucullus made null and void, and his proposal for a generous distribution of lands to his soldiers, Lucullus, with the co-operation of Cato, prevented from being granted. Pompey therefore

¹ Academicorum Priorum, Liber Secundus, qui inscribitur Lucullus.
Κράσσου καὶ Καίσαρος φιλίαν, μᾶλλον δὲ συνωμοσίαν, καταφυγείν καὶ πληρώσαντα τὴν πόλιν ὅπλων καὶ στρατιωτῶν βία κυρώσαι τὰ δόγματα, τοὺς περὶ τὸν Κάτωνα καὶ Δοῦκουλλου ἐκβαλόντα τῆς ἀγορᾶς.

7 Ἀγανακτούντων δὲ τῶν βελτίστων ἐπὶ τοῖς γινομένοις προῆγον οἱ Πομπηίανοι Βέσττιον τινα, συνειληφέναι λέγοντες ἐπιβουλεύοντα Πομπηῖο. κάκεινος ἀνακριμόμενος ἐν μὲν τῇ συγκλήτῳ κατηγόρησεν ἑτέρων τινῶν, ἐν δὲ τῷ δίμῳ Δοῦκουλλου ἀνόμασεν, ὡς ὑπ’ ἐκείνου παρεσκευα- 

8 σμένος ἀποκτεῖναι Πομπηῖον. οὐδεὶς δὲ τῷ λόγῳ προσέσχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρατίκα δήλος ἢν ὁ ἀνθρώπος ἐπὶ συκοφαντία καὶ διαβολῆ προηγμένος ὑπ’ αὐτῶν, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐφωράθη τὸ πράγμα μετ’ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ῥιφθέντος ἐκ τῆς εἰρκῆς νεκροῦ, λεγομένου μὲν αὐτομάτως τεθνάναι, σημεῖα δ’ ἀγχόνης καὶ πληγῶν ἔχοντος· ἔδοκεν γὰρ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἀνηρίθσθαι τῶν παρεσκευακότων.

XLIII. Ταῦτα δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ἀπήγαγε τῆς πολιτείας τῶν Δοῦκουλλων. ἐπεὶ δὲ Κικέρων ἐξέπεσε τῆς πόλεως καὶ Κάτων εἰς Κύπρον ἀπεστάλη, παντάπασιν ἐξελύθη· καὶ πρὸ γε τῆς τελευτῆς λέγεται νοσῆσαι τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῷ κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπομαρανομένην. Νέπωσι δὲ Κορνίλλους οὐχ ὑπὸ γῆρως φησίν οὐδὲ νόσου παραλάβαι τὸν Δοῦκουλλον, ἀλλὰ φαρμάκοις ὑπὸ τινὸς τῶν ἀπελευ- 

2 θέρων Καλλισθένους διαφθαρέντα· τὰ δὲ φάρμακα δοθήναι μὲν, ὡς ἀγαπᾶτο μᾶλλον ὁ Καλλισθένης ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, τοιαύτην ἔχειν δικοῦτα τὴν δύναμιν, ἐκστήσας δὲ καὶ κατακλύσαι τὸν λογισμόν, ὡστ’
LUCULLUS

took refuge in an alliance, or rather a conspiracy, with Crassus and Caesar, and by filling the city with his armed soldiery and expelling from the forum the partisans of Cato and Lucullus, got his measures ratified.

As these proceedings were resented by the nobles, the partisans of Pompey produced a certain Vettius, whom, as they declared, they had caught plotting against the life of Pompey. So the man was examined in the Senate, where he accused sundry other persons, but before the people he named Lucullus as the man who had engaged him to kill Pompey. However, no one believed his story, nay, it was at once clear that the fellow had been put forward by the partisans of Pompey to make false and malicious charges, and the fraud was made all the plainer when, a few days afterwards, his dead body was cast out of the prison. It was said, indeed, that he had died a natural death, but he bore the marks of throttling and violence, and the opinion was that he had been taken off by the very men who had engaged his services.

XLIII. Of course this induced Lucullus to withdraw even more from public life. And when Cicero was banished from the city, and Cato was sent out to Cyprus, he retired altogether. Even before his death, it is said that his understanding was affected and gradually faded away. But Cornelius Nepos says that Lucullus lost his mind not from old age, nor yet from disease, but that he was disabled by drugs administered to him by one of his freedmen, Callisthenes; that the drugs were given him by Callisthenes in order to win more of his love, in the belief that they had such a power, but they drove him from his senses and overwhelmed his reason.
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καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς συνεχείᾳ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἀντικείτα, ὥσις ἀπέθανεν, καθάπερ ἄν ἐν ἀκμῇ
tῆς στρατηγίας καὶ τῆς πολιτείας αὐτοῦ τελευτή-
sαντος, οὗ δήμος ἤχθεσθη καὶ συνέδραμε, καὶ τὸ
σῶμα κομίσθην εἰς ἁγορὰν ὑπὸ τῶν εὐγενεστάτων
νεανίσκων ἐβιάζετο θάπτειν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τοῦ
3 Ἀρεως, ὅπου καὶ Σύλλαν ἔθαψεν. οὐδενὸς δὲ
tούτῳ προσδικῆσαντος, οὔτε ὁ ἡσύχας οὕσης τῆς
παρασκευῆς, ὢν ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ἀδώμενος καὶ παρα-
τομὸνέν έπεισεν ἐπιτρέψαι τὴν παρασκευασμένην
ἐν τῷ περὶ Τούσκλον ἄγρῳ τοῦ νεκροῦ κηδείαν
γενόμεναι. πολὺν δ' οὔτ' αὐτός προσεβίω χρόνον,
ἀλλ' ὃς ἠλικία καὶ δόξῃ μικρὰν ἀπελεύθη, καὶ
tῷ χρόνῳ τῆς τελευτῆς, φιλαδελφότατος γενό-
μενος.

ΚΙΜΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΟΥΚΟΥΛΛΟΥ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

1 Μάλιστα δ' ἂν τις εὐδαιμονίσει τοῦ τέλους 521
Δούκουλλον, ὅτι πρὸ τῆς μεταβολῆς, ἡν ἡδη
cατὰ τῆς πολιτείας ἐτεκταίνετο τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις
πολέμους τὸ πεπρωμένον, ἐφθη προαποθανόν καὶ
καταλῦσας ἐν νοσούση μέν, ἔτει δ' ἐλευθέρα τῇ
πατρίδι τοῖς βίον. καὶ τούτῳ γε πάντων αὐτῷ
2 πρὸς Κίμωνα κοινότατον ἔστι.. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος
οὗτος υπ' εὐνοεταραγμένων τῶν Ἐλληνικῶν, ἀλλ'
ἀκμὴν ἐχόντων ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου
μέντοι καὶ στρατηγῶν, οὐκ ἀπειρήκώς οὗτ' ἀλώνων,
οὔδε τῶν ὀπλων καὶ τῶν στρατηγιῶν καὶ τῶν

1 &v supplied by Reiske.

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so that even while he was still alive, his brother managed his property. However, when he died, the people grieved just as much as if his death had come at the culmination of his military and political services, and flocked together, and tried to compel the young nobles who had carried the body into the forum to bury it in the Campus Martius, where Sulla also had been buried. But no one had expected this, and preparations for it were not easy, and so his brother, by prayers and supplications, succeeded in persuading them to suffer the burial to take place on the estate at Tusculum, where preparations for it had been made. Nor did he himself long survive Lucullus, but, as in age and reputation he came a little behind him, so did he also in the time of his death, having been a most affectionate brother.

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COMPARISON OF LUCULLUS AND CIMON

I. One might deem Lucullus especially happy in his end, from the fact that he died before that constitutional change had come, which fate was already contriving by means of the civil wars. His country was in a distempered state when he laid down his life, but still she was free. And in this respect, more than any other, he is like Cimon. For Cimon also died before Greece was confounded, and while she was at the acme of her power. He died, however, in the field, and at the head of an army, not exhausted or of a wandering mind, nor yet

1 About 57 B.C.
τροπαίων ὑπαθλοῦν ποιούμενος εὐωχίας καὶ πότους, ἀσπερ Πλάτων ἐπισκόπτει τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ὀρφέα, τοῖς εύ βεβιωκόσι φάσκοντας ἀποκείσθαι γέρας 3 ἐν ἄδου μέθην αἰώνιον. σχολὴ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἡσυχία καὶ διατριβή περὶ λόγους ἡδονήν τινα καὶ θεωρίαν ἐχοντας εὐπρεπέστατον ἀνδρὶ πρεσβύτη καὶ πεπαυμένῳ πολέμων καὶ πολιτείας παρα-
μύθιοι· τὸ δ’ ἐφ’ ἡδονήν, ὡς τέλος, καταστρέφαντα τὰς καλὰς πράξεις ἡδη λοιπὸν Ἀφροδίσια τῶν πολέμων καὶ στρατηγιῶν ἄγοντα παῖζειν καὶ τρυφᾶν οὐκ ἄξια τῆς καλῆς Ἀκαδημείας, οὐδὲ τὸν Ἐμνοκράτη ξηλοῦντος, ἀλλ’ ἐγκεκλικότος 4 πρὸς τὸν Ἐπίκουρον. δ’ καὶ θαυμαστὸν ἔστιν ἔπεναντίως γὰρ ἡ νεότης τοῦ μὲν ἐπίψοφος καὶ ἀκόλαστος γεγονέναι δοκεῖ, τοῦ δὲ πεπαυμένῃ καὶ σώφρων. βελτίων οὖν ὃ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον ἢ μεταβολή: χρηστοτέρα γὰρ ἡ φύσις, ἐν ἡ γηραὶ μὲν τὸ χεῖρον, ἐπακμάξει δὲ τὸ ἁμεινόν.

Καὶ μὴν ὅμοιως γε πλουτήσαντες οὐχ ὅμοιως 5 διέθεντο τὸν πλοῦτον. οὐ γὰρ ἄξιον ὅμοιωσαι τῷ νοτίῳ τείχει τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, δ’ οὐ, ἐπὶ Κίμωνος κομισθείσων ἐτελέσθη χρήματι, τοὺς ἐν Νέα πόλει θαλάμους καὶ τὰς περικλύστους ἀπόψεις, ἄς Λούκουλλος ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβαρικῶν ἐξωκοδόμει λαφύρων· οὐδὲ γε τῇ Κίμωνος τραπέζη τῇ Λου-
κουλλο παραβαλεῖν, τῇ δημοκρατικῇ καὶ φιλαν-
6 θρώπῳ τὴν πολυτελῆ καὶ σατραπικῆν. ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ μικρὰς δαπάνης πολλοὺς καθ’ ἴμεραι ἔτρεφεν, ἡ δ’ εἰς ὀλίγους τρυφῶντας ἀπὸ πολλῶν
COMPARISON OF LUCULLUS AND CIMON

making feastings and revellings the crowning prize for arms and campaigns and trophies. Plato\(^1\) ban- ters the followers of Orpheus for declaring that for those who have lived rightly, there is laid up in Hades a treasure of everlasting intoxication. Leisure, no doubt, and quiet, and the pursuit of pleasantly speculative learning, furnish a most fitting solace for a man of years who has retired from wars and politics. But to divert fair achievements to pleasure as their final end, and then to sport and wanton at the head of Aphrodite's train, as a sequel to wars and fightings, was not worthy of the noble Academy, nor yet of one who would follow Xenocrates, but rather of one who leaned towards Epicurus. And this is the more astonishing, because, contrariwise, Cimon seems to have been of ill repute and unrestrained in his youth, while Lucullus was disciplined and sober. Better, surely, is the man in whom the change is for the better; for it argues a more wholesome nature when its evil withers and its good ripens.

And further, though both alike were wealthy, they did not make a like use of their wealth. There is no comparing the south wall of the Acropolis, which was completed with the moneys brought home by Cimon, with the palaces and sea-washed Belvideres at Neapolis, which Lucullus built out of the spoils of the Barbarians. Nor can the table of Cimon be likened to that of Lucullus; the one was democratic and charitable, the other sumptuous and oriental. The one, at slight outlay, gave daily sus- tenance to many; the other, at large cost, was prepared for a few luxurious livers. It may be said,

\(^1\) Republic, ii. p. 363.
παρεσκευάζετο χρημάτων. εἰ μὴ νη Δία τῶν πραγμάτων ἐποίει διαφοράν ὁ χρόνος· ἀδηλον γάρ, εἰ καὶ Κίμων ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων καὶ στρατηγιῶν εἰς ἀπόλεμον καὶ ἀπολίτευτον γήρας ἁφεῖς αὐτὸν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀν ἐχρήσατο σοβαρὰ καὶ πρὸς ἴδουν ἀνεμένη διαίτη· καὶ γάρ φιλοσόφης καὶ πανηγυρικὸς καὶ τὰ πρὸς γυναῖκας, ὃς προεὶ-17 ρηταῖ, διαβεβλημένος. αἰ δὲ περὶ τὰς πράξεις καὶ τοὺς ἁγώνας κατορθώσεις ἴδονάς ἑτέρας ἔχουσαι τῶν χειρόνων ἐπιθυμιῶν ἀσχολών ποι-οῦσι καὶ λήθην ταῖς πολιτικαῖς καὶ φιλοτήμοις φύσειν. εἰ γοῦν καὶ Δουκούλλος ἐτελεύτησεν ἁγωνιζόμενος καὶ στρατηγῷν, οὐδ’ ἀν ὁ φογερό-τατος καὶ φιλομεμφότατος εὑρεῖν μοι δοκεῖ δια-βολὴν ἐπ’ αὐτόν. καὶ ταύτα μὲν περὶ τῆς διαίτης.

Π. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ὅτι μὲν ἀμφότεροι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἁγαθοὶ γεγό-νασιν ἁγωνιστὰς δήλου ὡσπερ δὲ τῶν ἄθλητῶν τοὺς ἡμέρας μιὰ πάλη καὶ παγκρατίῳ στεφανο-μέγους ἔθει τινὶ παραδοξονίκας καλοῦσιν, οὐτῶ Κίμων ἐν ἡμέρα μιᾶ πεζομαχίας καὶ ναυμαχίας ἁμα τροπαίῳ στεφανώσας τὴν Ἑλλάδα δίκαιος ἐστιν ἔχειν τινὰ προεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς.

2 καὶ μὴν Δουκούλλῳ μὲν ἡ πατρίς, Κίμων δὲ τῇ πατρίδι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν περείθηκε. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀρχοῦσῃ τῶν συμμάχων προσεκτήσατο τὰ τῶν πολεμῶν, ὁ δ’ ἄλλοις ἐπομένην παραλαβῶν ἁμα καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἀρχεῖν καὶ τῶν πολεμῶν κρατεῖν ἐποίησε. Πέρσας μὲν ἀναγκάσας ἡττή-522 θέντας ἐκβήναι τῆς θαλάσσης, Δακεδαιμονίους δὲ
COMPARISON OF LUCULLUS AND CIMON

indeed, that the difference in state was due to the difference in time. For it is at least possible that Cimon also, if he had retired after his active campaigns to an old age which knew neither war nor politics, might have led an even more ostentatious and pleasure-loving life. He was fond of wine and given to display, and his relations with women, as I have said before,¹ were scandalous. But success in strenuous achievement, affording as it does a higher pleasure, gives public-spirited and ambitious natures no time to indulge the baser appetites, which are forgotten. At any rate, if Lucullus also had ended his days in active military command, not even the most carping and censorious spirit, I think, could have brought accusation against him. Thus much concerning their manner of life.

II. In war, it is plain that both were good fighters, both on land and sea. But just as those athletes who win crowns in wrestling and the pancratium on a single day are called, by custom, "Victors-extraordinary," so Cimon, who in a single day crowned Greece with the trophies of a land and sea victory, may justly have a certain pre-eminence among generals. And further, it was his country which conferred imperial power upon Lucullus, whereas Cimon conferred it upon his. The one added his foreign conquests to a country which already ruled her allies; the other found his country obeying others, and gave her command over her allies and victory over her foreign foes, by defeating the Persians and driving them from the sea, and by persuading the Lacedaemonians voluntarily to

¹ See Cimon, iv. 8.
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

3 πείσας ἐκόντας ἐκστήναι. εἰ τοῖς μέγιστον ἔργον ἡγεμόνος εὐπεπθείαν ἐργάσασθαι δι’ εὐνοιας, Ἀλκουλλος μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατεφρονηθη. Κύμων δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἔθαυμασθη παρ’ οὗ μὲν γὰρ ἀπέστησαν, πρὸς δὲν δὲ μετέστησαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν δὲν ἄρχων ἔξηλθεν, ὑπὸ τούτων ἀπολειφθεὶς ἐπανήλθεν, ὁ δὲ μεθ’ ὃν ἐτέρως ποιήσων τὸ προστατόμενον ἐξετέμφθη, τούτως αὐτὸς διδοὺς τὸ παράγγελμα κατέπλευσε, τρία τὰ πάντων δυσκολώτατα διαπεπραγμένος ὁμοῦ τῇ πόλει, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς πολέμους εἰρήνην, παρὰ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων ἡγεμονίαν, πρὸς δὲ Δακεδαμονίους ὁμόνοιαν.

4 Μεγάλας τοῖνοι ἐπιχειρήσαντες ἀμφότεροι καταλύειν ἡγεμονίας καὶ καταστρέφεσθαι τὴν Ἀσίαν πᾶσαν ἀτελεῖς ἐγένοντο τῶν πράξεων, ὃ μὲν καθάπαξ διὰ τὴν τύχην ἐτελεύησε γὰρ στρατηγῶν καὶ εὐημερῶν τὸν δ’ οὗ παντελῶς ἂν τις ἐξέλοιτο τῇ παρ’ αὐτὸν αἰτίας, εἰτ’ ἡγνόσεν εἰτ’ οὐκ ἐθεράπευσε τὰς ἐν τῷ στρατιωτικῷ διαφοράς καὶ μέμψεις, ἀφ’ ὧν εἰς τὴν καύστας ἀπειθείας προῆλθεν. ἦ τούτο γε καὶ πρὸς Κύμωνα κοινὸν ἔστι· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον ὑπήγαγον τε εἰς δίκας οἱ πολίται καὶ τελευτῶντες ἐξωστράκισαν, ἵν’ αὐτοῦ δέκα ἐτῶν, ὡς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, τῆς φωνῆς μὴ ἀκούσωσιν. αἱ γὰρ ἀριστοκρατικαὶ φύσεις ὅλιγα τοῖς πολλοῖς συνάδουσι καὶ πρὸς ἤδουν ἔχουσι, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ προσβιαζόμεναι τῷ κατευθύνειν διαστρεφομένους ἀνιῶσιν, ὡσπερ οἱ τῶν ἰατρῶν δεσμοῖ, καὕτε εἰς τὰ κατὰ φύσιν

5 εὐνοιας with S: εὔνοιαν.

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relinquish the command. Granted that it is the most important task of a leader to secure prompt obedience through good will, Lucullus was despised by his own soldiers, while Cimon was admired by the allies. His soldiers deserted the one; the allies came over to the other. The one came back home abandoned by those whom he commanded when he set out; the other was sent out with allies to do the commands of others, but before he sailed home he himself gave commands to those allies, having successfully secured for his city three of the most difficult objects at once, namely, peace with the enemy, leadership of the allies, and concord with the Lacedaemonians.

Again, both attempted to subvert great empires and to subdue all Asia, and both left their work unfinished: Cimon through ill fortune pure and simple, for he died at the head of his army and at the height of his success; but Lucullus one cannot altogether acquit of blame, whether he was ignorant of, or would not attend to the grievances and complaints among his soldiery, in consequence of which he became so bitterly hated. Or perhaps this has its counterpart in the life of Cimon, for he was brought to trial by his fellow citizens and finally ostracised, in order that for ten years, as Plato says, they might not hear his voice. For aristocratic natures are little in accord with the multitude, and seldom please it, but by so often using force to rectify its aberrations, they vex and annoy it, just as physicians' bandages vex and annoy, although they bring the dislocated members into their natural

1 Gorgias, p. 516.
άγοντες τὰς παραθρήσεις. ταύτης μὲν οὖν ἴσως
ἀπαλλακτέον τῆς αἰτίας ἐκάτερον.

III. Πολὺ δ’ ὁ Δούκουλλος προῆλθε τῷ πολέ-
μῳ τὸν τε Ταύρον ὑπερβαλὼν στρατοπέδῳ
Ῥωμαίων πρῶτος, καὶ τὸν Τίγριν διαβάς καὶ τὰ
βασιλεία τῆς Ἀσίας ἐν ὅψει τῶν βασιλέων,
Τυγράνοκερτα καὶ Κάβειρα καὶ Σινώπην καὶ

2 Νίσιβιν, ἐλὼν καὶ καταφλέξας, καὶ τὰ μὲν βόρεια
μέχρι Φάσιδος, τὰ δ’ ἔσσα μέχρι Μηδίας, τὰ δὲ
πρὸς νότον καὶ τὴν ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν οἰκειωσά-
μενος διὰ τῶν Ἀραβικῶν βασιλέων, συντρίψας
dὲ τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν βασιλέων, ἀπολειφθεῖς δὲ
μόνου τοῦ τὰ σώματα λαβεῖν, ὀσπερ θηρίων εἰς
ἐρμίας καὶ ὑλὰς ἀστιβεῖς καὶ ἅβατος ἀποδί-

3 δρασκόντων. τεκμήριον δὲ μέγα. Πέρσαι μὲν γὰρ
ὡς οὐδὲν μέγα πεποιθότες υπὸ Κίμωνος εὕθυς
ἀντετάττοντο τοῖς Ἑλλησί, καὶ τὴν γε πολλὴν
dύναμιν αὐτῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ κρατήσαντες διέφθει-
ραν, Τυγράνου δὲ καὶ Μιθριδάτου μετὰ Δούκουλ-
λον οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔργον ἐγένετο, ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν ἄσθενῆς
ἡδη καὶ συγκεκομμένος υπὸ τῶν πρῶτων ἁγώνων
οὐδ’ ἀπαξ ἐτύλιμπης δεῖξαι Πομπήιος τὴν
dύναμιν ἐξω τοῦ χάρακος, ἀλλὰ φυγὼν εἰς Βόσπορον

4 κατέβη κάκει κατέστρεψε, Τυγράνης δ’ αὐτὸς ἐαυ-
τὸν γυμνὸν καὶ ἀναπλοὺν φέρων ἑπερρίψε Πομ-
πηίῳ, καὶ τὸ διάδημα τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀφελόμενος
ἐθηκε πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν, οὐ τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ κολακεύων
Πομπηίων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς υπὸ Δουκουλλου τεθριαμ-
βευμένοις. ἡγάπησε γοῦν ἀπολαμβάνων τὰ σύμ-
βολα τῆς βασιλείας ὡς ἀφηρημένος πρότερον.

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position. Perhaps, then, both come off about alike on this count.

III. But Lucullus was much the greater in war. He was the first Roman to cross the Taurus with an army; he passed the Tigris and captured and burned the royal cities of Asia,—Tigranocerta, Cabira, Sinopé, and Nisibis, before the eyes of their kings; he made his own the regions to the north as far as the Phasis, to the east as far as Media, and to the south as far as the Red Sea, through the assistance of the Arabian kings; he annihilated the forces of the hostile kings, and failed only in the capture of their persons, since like wild beasts they fled away into deserts and trackless and impenetrable forests. Strong proof of his superiority is seen in this, that the Persians, since they had suffered no great harm at the hands of Cimon, straightway arrayed themselves against the Greeks, and overwhelmed and destroyed that large force of theirs in Egypt; whereas, after Lucullus, Tigranes and Mithridates availed nothing: the latter, already weak and disabled by his first struggles, did not once dare to show Pompey his forces outside their camp, but fled away to the Bosporus, and there put an end to his life; as for Tigranes, he hastened to throw himself, while unrobed and unarmed, at the feet of Pompey, and taking the diadem from off his head, laid it there upon the ground, flattering Pompey thus not with his own exploits, but with those for which Lucullus had celebrated a triumph. At any rate, he was as much delighted to get back the insignia of his royalty as though he had been robbed of them before. Greater therefore is the general, as is the

1 454 B.C. See Thucydides, i. 109 f.
μείζων οὖν στρατηγός, ὡστερ ἀθλητής, ὃ τῷ μεθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν ἀσθενέστερον παραδοὺς τὸν ἀντίπαλον.

"Ετι τούων Κύμων μὲν συντετριμμένη τὴν βασιλέως δύσμων καὶ τὸ Περσῶν φρόνημα συνεσταλμένον ἦττας μεγάλας καὶ ἀπαύστοις φυγαίς ὑπὸ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ Παυσανίου καὶ Δεοτυχίδου καταλαβῶν ἐπενέβη καὶ ὑποπεπτω-κότων καὶ προητημένων ταῖς ψυχαῖς τὰ σώματα ῥαδίως ἐνίκησε, Δοῦκούλλῳ δὲ Τεγράνης ἀήττητος ἐκ πολλῶν ἀγώνων καὶ μέγα φρονῶν συνέπεσε.

πλήθει δ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἄξιοι παραβαλεῖν τοῖς ἐπὶ Δοῦ-κουλλοὺς συνελθοῦσι τούς ὑπὸ Κύμωνος κρατηθέν-τας. ὡστε πάντη μεταλαμβάνοντι δυσδιάιτητον εἶναι τὴν κρίσιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἄμφοτέροις ἐοίκεν εὐμενεῖς γενέσθαι, τῷ μὲν ἄ χρή κατορθοῦν, τῷ δ᾽ ἄ φυλαττεσθαι χρῆ προμηνύουν, ὡστε καὶ τὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ψῆφον αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχειν ὡς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ θείοις τὴν φύσιν ἄμφοτέροις.
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athlete, who hands over his antagonist to his successor in a weaker plight.

Moreover, and still further, Cimon made his onsets when the power of the king had been broken, and the pride of the Persians humbled by great defeats and incessant routs at the hands of Themistocles, Pausanias, and Leotychides, and easily conquered the bodies of men whose spirits had been defeated beforehand and lay prone. But when Tigranes encountered Lucullus, he had known no defeat in many battles, and was in exultant mood. In point of numbers also, those who were overpowered by Cimon are not worthy of comparison with those who united against Lucullus. Therefore, one who takes everything into consideration finds it hard to reach a decision. Heaven seems to have been kindly disposed to both, directing the one as to what he must perform, and the other as to what he must avoid. Both, therefore, may be said to have received the vote of the gods as noble and god-like natures.
A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

A

Acestodorus, possibly the Acestodorus of Megalopolis, of unknown date, author of a work "On Cities."

Achaia, a province in the north of Peloponnesus, seat of the Achaean League (280–146 B.C.). In 167 B.C., the Romans deported 1000 Achaeans to Italy, where they were held for seventeen years. Among them was the historian Polybius. The name Achaia was afterwards given to the whole of southern Greece as a Roman province.

Acharnae, the largest deme, or township, of Attica, some eight miles to the north of Athens.

Adiabené, the western province of Assyria, lying along the Tigris river.

Aeolian Isles, a group of islands lying between Sicily and Italy (Lycania).

Aeschines the Socratic, a disciple of Socrates, and author of Socratic dialogues.

Agestilus, king of Sparta 398–361 B.C.

Albania, a country lying between Armenia, the Caspian Sea, and the Caucasus mountains, to the east of Iberia.

Allia, an insigificant stream, joining the Tiber about eleven miles above Rome, from the east.

Amisos, a city of Pontus (or Paphlagonia), on the southern shore of the Euxine Sea, some one hundred miles east of Sinope.

Ammon, a Libyan divinity, identified with Zeus and Jupiter. His most famous oracle was in an oasis of the Libyan desert.

Amphiaraüs, a mythical seer and prophet, king of Argos, who perished in the expedition of the Seven against Thebes.

Anaxagoras, of Clazomenae, an Ionian Asia Minor, influential at Athens as an advanced thinker from about 460 to 432 B.C., when the enemies of Pericles secured his banishment.

Andocides, an Athenian orator, prominent 415–390 B.C. He betrayed the oligarchical party, incurring its hatred, and vainly tried to win the favour of the democratic party.

Andros, the most northerly island of the Cyclades group, S.E. of Euboea.

Anio, a large river of Latium, rising in the Apennines, and joining the Tiber about three miles above Rome, from the east.

Antiochus the Great, king of Syria 223–187 B.C.

Antiochus the philosopher, of Ascalon, pupil of Philo in the school of the Academy, a friend of Lucullus, and a teacher of Cicero. He died in 68 B.C.

Antipater, regent of Macedonia after the death of Alexander (322 B.C.), victor over the confederate Greeks at Crannon, in Thessaly, 322. He died in 319.
DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

Araxes, a large river rising in Armenia, and flowing east into the Caspian Sea.

Arbela, an Assyrian town near which (at the village of Gauagmela) Darius suffered final defeat at the hands of Alexander, in 331 B.C.

Archelaüs, of Miletus, the natural philosopher, said to have been a pupil of Anaxagoras, and a teacher of Socrates.

Archidamus, king of Sparta from 361 to 338 B.C., when he went to the aid of the Tarentines in Italy, and was killed in battle.

Archon Eponymous, the first of the board of nine archons at Athens, so called, after the Roman conquest, because the year was registered in his name.

Aristogeiton, slayer, with Harmodius, of Hipparchus, the brother of the Athenian tyrant Hippias, in 514 B.C. The two "tyrannicides" were afterwards honoured as patriots and martyrs.

Ariston of Ceos, head of the Peripatetic school of philosophy at Athens about 225 B.C. (pp. 9, 217).

Ariston the philosopher (p. 355), of Chios, a Stoic, pupil of Zeno. In his later life he taught doctrines of the Cynic school. He flourished about 260 B.C., and is often confounded with Ariston of Ceos.

Aristoxenus the musician, a pupil of Aristotle, and a philosopher of the Peripatetic school.

Armenia, a country lying north of Mesopotamia and Assyria, between the upper Euphrates and Media.

Artaxata, the ancient capital of Armenia, on the river Araxes. See Tigranocerta.

Artemisia, queen of Halicarnassus, vassal of Xerxes, who distinguished herself in the battle of Salamis.

Asopis, a mythical personage, mother of Mentor by Heracles.

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Atilius, M. Atilius Regulus, consul for the second time in 256 B.C., when he was defeated and taken prisoner by the Carthaginians.

Atropatené, a province of Media, to the east of Armenia.

Attalus, the name of three kings of Pergamum, in Asia Minor.

B

Bithynia, a country of N.W. Asia Minor, lying east of the Propontis, and along the coast of the Euxine Sea.

Boëdromion, the third month in the Attic calendar, corresponding nearly to our September.

Brundisium, an important city on the eastern coast of Italy (Calabria), with a fine harbour. It was the natural point of departure from Italy to the East, and was the chief naval station of the Romans in the Adriatic Sea.

C

Cabeira (or Cabira), a city of Pontus, in the northern part of Asia Minor.

Caepio, Q. Servilius, consul in 106 B.C., receiving the province of Gallia Narbonensis, where, in the following year, on the 6th of October, his army was utterly annihilated by the Cimbri.

Callisthenes, of Olynthus, a relative and pupil of Aristotle, author of a Hellenica, or History of Greece, from 387 to 337 B.C. He accompanied Alexander the Great as historian of the expedition, the end of which he did not live to see.

Cappadocia, a district in eastern Asia Minor, south of Pontus, and north of Cilicia.

Carneades, of Cyrené, head of the Academy at Athens in 156 B.C. (when he was one of an embassy of philosophers to Rome) and until his death in 129 B.C. He was famous for the persuasive force of his eloquence.
DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

Chareoneia, a town commanding the entrance from Phocis into Boeotia, celebrated for the battles fought in its neighbourhood. Here Philip of Macedon defeated the allied Greeks in 338 B.C.

Chalcedon, a city of Bithynia, at the entrance of the Euxine Sea, opposite Byzantium.

Chaldaeans, a general name for the inhabitants of Babylonia.

Charon of Lampacus, a "logographer," a predecessor of Herodotus, who wrote a history of Persia in annalistic form.

Chelidonian Isles, a group of islands off the coast of Pamphylia, in southern Asia Minor.

Chersonese (i.e. peninsula), here (p. 447) of the Thracian Chersonese, extending in a S.W. direction into the Aegean Sea west of the Hellespont.

Cilicia, a country in southern Asia Minor, extending along the Mediterranean between Pamphylia and Syria.

Cimbri, a northern tribe which, joining with the Teutones, invaded southern Europe. They were at last annihilated by Marius in 101 B.C.

Cithium, a town on the southern coast of Cyprus.

Cleidemus, the oldest annalist of Athens, who flourished during the closing years of the fifth and the first half of the fourth century B.C.

Cleisthenes, the Athenian aristocrat who introduced the democratic reforms which followed the expulsion of the tyrants in 510 B.C.

Cleitarchus (Clitarchus), a historian who accompanied Alexander on his expedition to the East, and wrote a rhetorical history of it. He was the son of Deinon.

Cleonae, a city nearly midway between Argos and Corinth in Peloponnesus. The Nemean games were celebrated in its territory.

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Cnidian, a Dorian city in the S.W. of Asia Minor.

Colchis, a district at the eastern extremity of the Euxine Sea, north of Armenia.

Colophon, one of the cities of Caria in the Ionian Sea, opposite Epeirus, the modern Corfu.

Cos, an island off the S.W. coast of Caria, opposite Cnidian.

Crannon, a town in central Thessaly, the seat of the wealth family of the Scopadæ.

Craterus the Macedonian, a half-brother of Antigonus Gonatas, the king of Macedonia (c. 239 B.C.), who compiled historical documents, such as decrees and other published inscriptions, bearing on the history of Athens.

Critias, one of the "thirty tyrants" (404-403 B.C.), like Alcibiades a follower of Socrates, author of tragedies, and elegiac poems on political subjects.

Cronus, the father of Zeus, identified with the Roman Saturnus.

Curius, Manius Curius Dentatus, consul in 290 B.C., in which year he brought the long war with the Samnites to a close and reduced the revolted Sabines. In 275 B.C., he defeated Pyrrhus at Beneventum. He celebrated two triumphs in 290, and one in 275.

Cyanean Isles, two islands at mouth of the Bosporos, entrance into the Euxine, the clashing isles of myth.

Cyrene, an Aeoian city on the northern coast of Afric, commercial relations with Egypt.

Cyrene, a Greek city on the southern coast of Asia Minor, S.E. of Letoon.

Cyzicus, a city on the south shore of the Propontis, in Mysia, strongly situated on the neck of a peninsula.
D

Damastes, of Sigeium in the Troad, a historian contemporary with Herodotus, and author, besides many other works, of a genealogy of the Greeks who fought at Troy.

Deceleia, a mountain citadel of Attica, about fourteen miles from Athens towards Boeotia.

Deidon (Dinon), of Colophon, author of a History of Persia, father of Cleitarchus the historian of Alexander's expedition.

Demetrius of Phalerum, regent at Athens for Cassander 317–307 B.C., a voluminous writer on history, politics, poetry, and philosophy.

Diodorus the Topographer (Periegetes), of Athens (probably), a contemporary of Alexander the Great, wrote on the deines and monuments of Attica.

Dion, of Syracuse, an ardent disciple of Plato, master of Syracuse after the expulsion of Dionysius II, assassinated in 353 B.C.

Dodona, a town in Epeirus, seat of the most ancient oracle of Zeus.

E

Elaea, an Aeolic city of Asia Minor, the port for Pergamum.

Epaminondas, Theban general and statesman, friend of Pelopidas, fell in the battle of Mantinea, 362 B.C.

Ephesus, one of the twelve Ionian cities, in Lydia, Asia Minor, at the mouth of the river Cayster.

Ephors, five chief magistrates at Sparta elected annually. The first Ephor gave his name to the year, like the Athenian Archon 'Eponymous.

Euphorus, of Cymé, pupil of Iso- gustus, author of a highly rhetorical history of Greece from the Sel Dorian Invasion" down to 340 B.C., in which year he died.

Epicurus, founder of the philo-

sophical school named from him, born in Samos, 342 B.C., died at Athens, 270 B.C.

Eratosthenes, of Cyrene, librarian at Alexandria, most distinguished as geographer and chronologist, a writer also on philosophy and ethics, 275–194 B.C.

Eumenes, king of Pergamum in Asia Minor from 197 to 159 B.C., and like his father (Attalus I), a persistent friend of Rome.

Eurymedon, a river flowing through Pamphylia, in southern Asia Minor, into the Mediterranean.

F

Fabricius, C. Fabricius Luscinus, like Curius and Attilus a representative of the sterling virtues of the more ancient times, ambassador to Pyrrhus at Tarentum after the disastrous battle of Heracleia, 280 B.C., consul in 278 B.C., censor in 275, with the severity of a Cato.

G

Gabinian way, Via Gabina (earlier called Via Tiburtina), leading eastwards from Rome to Tibur (Tivoli).

Galatia, a district in central Asia Minor.

Gordyné, a district of southern Armenia, lying east of the river Tigris.

Gorgias, of Leontini in Sicily, famous for his eloquence, came on an embassy to Athens in 427 B.C., when sixty years of age, and spent the rest of his life in that and neighbouring cities, amassing great wealth as a paid teacher of rhetoric.

Granicus, a river of Troas, flowing north into the Propontis.

H

Hamilcar, surnamed Barcas, implacable enemy of the Romans,
father of Hannibal, and founder of the Carthaginian empire in Spain, died in 229 B.C.

Hecatombæon, the first month of the Attic calendar, corresponding nearly to our July.

Helots, a name given to the original inhabitants of Laconia who had lost both land and freedom. They were state slaves. See Perioeci.

Heraclea (p. 423), called Pontica, to distinguish it from the many other cities of the same name, a city of Bithynia (or Phrygia Minor) on the southern shore of the Euxine Sea.

Heracleides, called Ponticus from his birth in Heraclea Pontica, a pupil of Plato and Aristotle, and a learned and voluminous writer on almost all possible subjects. Cicero thought him superstitious and uncritical.

Hieronymus the Rhodian, a disciple of Aristotle. flourishing about 300 B.C. Little is known about him, though he is often quoted by Cicero.

Hippocrates, the second of that name, and the most famous physician of ancient times, 460–357 B.C.

Hyrcanian Sea, another name for the Caspian Sea, from the province of Hyrcania to the S.E. of it.

I

Iberia, a country east of Colchis, between the Euxine and Caspian Seas.

Ides, the fifteenth day of the Roman month in March, May, July, and October; the thirteenth in the other months.

Idomeneus, of Lampacus, a pupil and friend of Epicurus (342–270 B.C.), author of biographical works on "The Socrates," and "The Demagogues."

Ino, daughter of Cadmus, and wife of Athamas, the king of Orchomenus in Boeotia. After her death she was worshipped as Leucothea, a sea goddess. According to one of the many myths connected with her name, she became mad with jealousy of a female slave, and slew her own son. See Plutarch, Roman Questions, 16.

Ion, of Chios, 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 his time.

Isocrates, the celebrated Attic orator and rhetorician, 436–338 B.C.

J

Jason, the great hero of the Argonautic expedition, husband of Medea.

L

Lampræa, name of two demes, or townships, in S.E. Attica.

Lemnos, a large island in the northern part of the Aegean Sea.

Leucothea. See Ino.

Lycaonia, a district in central Asia Minor, between Galatia and Cilicia.

Lycurgus, the semi-historical law-giver of Sparta, where he was honoured as a god.

Lyssias, the Attic orator, 458–378 B.C.

M

Maëotis, Lake, the modern Sea of Azov, N.E. of the Euxine Sea.

Malmacterion, the fifth month of the Attic year, corresponding nearly to our November.

Mardians, a tribe on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea.

Marsi, an ancient people of central Italy, akin to the Sabines. After their defeat in 89 B.C., they were admitted to the Roman citizenship, with the other Italians.
Melanthius, an author of tragedies and elegiac poems, contemporary with Climon at Athens.

Melissus, of Samos, a famous natural philosopher, a disciple of Parmenides, who led the Samians successfully against Pericles.

Mesopotamia, the region between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers above Babylonia.

Metegettienon, the second month of the Attic calendar, corresponding nearly to our August.

Metellus Pius, Q. Caecilius, obtained the surname of Pius for persuading the people to recall his father, Metellus Numidicus, from banishment. He was a successful general under Sulla, and consul with him in 80 B.C. He died about 63 B.C.

Mithridates, the sixth king of Pontus bearing this name, commonly known as Mithridates the Great, 120–63 B.C., the most formidable enemy of the Romans in the East.

Mitylene, the largest city of Lesbos, off the N.W. coast of Asia Minor.

Mygdonia, a district in the N.E. of Mesopotamia.

N

Naucrates (or Naucrates), the rhetorician, a pupil of Isocrates. He composed models of funeral orations for men of note.

Neanthes, of Cyzicus, a voluminous writer of history, who flourished about 240 B.C. He belonged to the school of Isocrates.

Nepos, Cornelius, Roman biographer and historian, a contemporary and friend of Cicero.

Nicomedea, capital of Bithynia, at the N.E. corner of the Pontus.

Nisibis, the chief city of Mygdonia (q.v.).

Nones, the ninth day before the Ides of the Roman month, falling therefore on the seventh day of the month in March, May, July, and October, and on the fifth day of the other months.

Numantia, a city in the northern part of Spain, taken after a memorable siege by Scipio Africanus, in 134 B.C.

O

Oropus, a town and district on the northern and eastern borders (respectively) of Attica and Boeotia, much in dispute between Athenians and Thebans.

Orpheus, the mythical singer of Thrace, and one of the Argonauts.

P

Pegasae, a city in S.E. Thessaly, at the head of a gulf of the same name, famed in story as the port from which Jason set sail with the Argonauts.

Palaestra, the Palatine hill of Rome.

Pamphylia, a country on the south coast of Asia Minor, between Lycia and Cilicia.

Panatius, of Rhodes, the Stoic philosopher, chief founder of the Stoic school at Rome, flourishing between 150 and 110 B.C.

Parthia, in the time of Lucullus, a vast realm to the east of Armenia, Assyria, and Mesopotamia.

Pelasgus, Theban general and statesman, bosom friend of Epaminondas, killed in battle 364 B.C.

Pergamus (or Pergamum), an ancient city of Mysia, in Asia Minor, on the river Calius. After 283 B.C., it was the seat of the Attalid dynasty.

Periogai, the name of those inhabitants of Sparta who kept their lands and personal liberty, unlike the Helots, but who did not exercise the rights of citizenship.
PERSEUS (p. 347, 363), the last king of Macedonia, son of Philip V. He graced the triumph of Aemilius Paulus in 167 B.C., and died at Rome several years later.

Perseus (p. 411), the famous Argive hero, son of Zeus and Danaë, slayer of the Gorgon Medusa.

Phalerum, the ancient harbour of Athens, before Themistocles fortified the Pelaeus.

Phainias, the Lesbian of Eresos, the most distinguished pupil of Aristotle after Theophrastus, a prolific writer on philosophy and history—a historical romantc.

Phanodemos, a writer of Attic annals, after the manner of Cleidemus (q.v.).

Pharnacia, a city of Pontus, on the southern shore of the Euxine, N.E. of Cabeira.

Phasis, a river of Colchis, flowing into the Euxine at its eastern end.

Philip (p. 139), of Macedon, father of Alexander the Great, secured the leadership of Greece in the battle at Chaeroneia, 338 B.C.

Philip (p. 335), Philip V of Macedon, father of Perseus, from 216 B.C. till his death in 179 a formidable enemy of Rome.

Philo (p. 607), the Academic, of Larissa, removed from Athens to Rome about 88 B.C., where he was teacher of Cicero, and where he died about 80 B.C.

Phylae, a deme, or township, somewhere in the N.E. of Attica.

Phrygia, a large province in western and north-western Asia Minor.

Phylarchus, of Naucratis and Athens, a Greek historian who flourished about 220 B.C., to whom Plutarch is much indebted in his Apies and Cleomenes.

Pitan, an ancient Aeolian city on the N.W. coast of Asia Minor.

Polybius, the Greek historian of the Punic Wars, of Megalopolis, in Arcadia, born about 204 B.C., one of the Achaean exiles (see Aetia) in 187. In Rome, he resided in the house of Aemilius Paulus, and became the intimate friend of the younger Scipio, with whom he was present at the destruction of Carthage in 146 B.C.

Pontus, a large district in N.E. Asia Minor, stretching along the southern shore of the Euxine.

Potamus, the name of a deme, or township, in eastern Attica.

Propontis, the intermediate sea between the Aegean and the Euxine, connected with the former by the Hellespont, with the latter by the Thracian Bosporus.

Pydna, a town on the Thermaic gulf, S.E. of Macedonia.

Pyrrhus, king of Epeirus from 295 till his death in 272 B.C. From 280 till 274 he was campaigning in Italy and Sicily.

S

Sabines, a people occupying the western slopes of the central Apennines, in Italy. They were finally subdued by Curius Dentatus in 290 B.C., and in 263 became Roman citizens.

Sallust, C. Sallustius Crispus, 86–34 B.C. He was a partisan of Caesar, who made him governor of Numidia, where he amassed great wealth. He afterwards wrote histories of the conspiracy of Catiline and of the Jugurthine war.

Samnites, inhabitants of Samnium, the mountainous district of central Italy lying between Latium and Apulia. In 290 B.C. Curius Dentatus won the honour of putting an end to the Samnite wars after they had lasted fifty years.

Samos Thrace, an island in the northern part of the Aegean Sea.

Scepsis, an ancient town east of the Troed, which in later times became subject to Pergamum, and a seat of learning.
DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

Scopas, the Thessalian. See Cronnon.
Seleucus, surnamed Nicator, founder of the Syrian monarchy, 353-280 B.C.
Seriphus, one of the Cyclades islands, S.E. of Attica, proverbial for poverty and insignificance.
Sertorius, one of the greatest soldiers bred by the Roman civil wars, who successfully opposed the best generals of the aristocratic party in Spain from 82 B.C. till his assassination in 72.
Sicyon, an important city in N.E. Peloponnesus, about two miles south of the Corinthian gulf.
Simonides of Ceos, one of the greatest lyric poets of Greece, 556-467 B.C.
Sinope, an important Greek city on the southern shore of the Euxine Sea, in N.E. Paphlagonia.
Sophene, a district of S.W. Armenia.
Sophists, a general name for paid teachers of rhetoric and philosophy, like Gorgias.
Stesimbrotus, of Thasos, a sophist and rhapsodist of note in Athens during the times of Cimon and Pericles.
Sthenes, of Olynthus, a famous statuary at Athens, who flourished about 350 B.C.
Strabo, the geographer (philosopher, p. 565), lived during the times of Augustus.

T
Talaura, a stronghold in Pontus.
Tanagra, a town and district in S.E. Boeotia.
Tarentum, a Greek city in S.E. Italy. It surrendered to the Romans in 272 B.C., was betrayed into the hands of Hannibal in 212, and recovered by Fabius in 209.
Taurus, a general name for the lofty range of mountains extending from Lycia in Asia Minor through Cilicia and south of Armenia into Media.
Tegea, an ancient city in S.E. Arcadia, of Peloponnesus.
Tempé, a famous valley in N.E. Thessaly.
Tenedos, an island about five miles west of the Troad, in the N.E. Aegean.
Tenos, one of the Cyclades islands, S.E. of Attica.
Thargelion, the eleventh month of the Attic calendar, corresponding nearly to our May.
Themiscyra, a plain and city in Pontus, near the mouth of the river Thermodon.
Theophrastus, the most famous pupil of Aristotle, and his successor as head of the Peripatetic school at Athens. He was born at Erechtheus in Lesbos, and died at Athens in 287 B.C., at the age of eighty-five.
Theopompos, of Chios, a fellow-pupil of Isocrates with Ephorus, historian of Greece from 411 to 394 B.C., and of Philip of Macedon (360-336 B.C.).
Tibareni, a tribe on the northern coast of Pontus.
Tigranocerta, the city of Tigranes, later capital of Armenia, in Myandonia, west of Nisibis, just south of the Taurus.
Tigris, the great river rising in Armenia and flowing between Mesopotamia and Assyria.
Timocreon, of Rhodes, a lyric poet, now known chiefly for his hatred of Themistocles and Simonides of Ceos.
Timoleon, of Corinth, rescued Syracuse from its tyrant (Dionysius II) and the Carthaginians in 343 B.C., and became virtual master of Sicily, though without office. He died in Syracuse, 337 B.C.
Troeeen, a city in S.E. Argolis, of Peloponnesus.
Trophonius, received worship and had an oracle in a cave near Lebadea in Boeotia.

630
Tubero the Stoic p. 599), Q. Aelius, a pupil of Panaetius, flourished in the century before Lucullus, and could not have seen him playing Xerxes. The jest may have come from Lucius Tubero, the relative and intimate friend of Cicero, who cultivated literature and philosophy.

Tusculum, an ancient city of Latium, fifteen miles S.E. of Rome, in the Alban mountains. It became a favourite resort of wealthy Romans.

Tyrannio the Grammarian, of Amisus in Pontus. He was taken to Rome by Lucullus, where he became a teacher, was patronised and praised by Cicero, and amassed wealth.

Vesta, an ancient Roman divinity, identical with the Greek Hestia as goddess of the hearth and fireside. The Vestals were her virgin priestesses.

Xenocrates, of Chalcedon, 396-314 B.C., a pupil and disciple of Plato, became head of the Academy in 339 B.C.
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