PLUTARCH (Plutarchus, c. A.D. 45-120, was born at Chaeronea in Boeotia in central Greece, studied philosophy at Athens, and, after coming to Rome as a teacher in philosophy, was given consular rank by the emperor Trajan and a procuratorship in Greece by Hadrian. Married and father of one daughter and four sons, he appears as a man of kindly character and independent thought. Studious and learned, he wrote on many subjects. Most popular have always been the 46 Parallel Lives, biographies planned to be ethical examples in pairs (in each pair one Greek person and one similar Roman), though the last four lives are single. All are invaluable sources of our knowledge of the lives and characters of Greek and Roman statesmen or soldiers or orators. Plutarch’s many other varied extant works, about 60 in number, are known as ‘Moral Essays’ or ‘Moral Works’. They are of high literary value, besides being of great use to people interested in philosophy, ethics and religion.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES
WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY BERNADETTE PERRIN
IN ELEVEN VOLUMES
VII
DEMOSTHENES AND CICERO
ALEXANDER AND CAESAR

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON
WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD
MCMLXVII
## CONTENTS

| PREFATORY NOTE                        | vi          |
| ORDER OF THE PARALLEL LIVES IN THIS EDITION | viii        |
| TRADITIONAL ORDER OF THE PARALLEL LIVES  | ix          |
| DEMOSTHENES                            | 1           |
| CICERO                                  | 81          |
| COMPARISON OF DEMOSTHENES AND CICERO    | 211         |
| ALEXANDER                               | 223         |
| CAESAR                                  | 441         |
| DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES              | 611         |
PREFATORY NOTE

As in the preceding volumes of this series, agreement between the Sintenis (Teubner, 1873–1875) and Bekker (Tauchnitz, 1855–1857) editions of the Parallel Lives has been taken as the basis for the text. Any preference of one to the other, and any important departure from both, have been indicated. An abridged account of the manuscripts of Plutarch may be found in the Introduction to the first volume. None of the Lives presented in this volume are contained in the two oldest and most authoritative manuscripts—the Codex Sangermanensis (Ss) and the Codex Seitenstettensis (S), or in the excellent Paris manuscript No. 1676 (F*). Their text therefore rests principally on the Paris manuscripts Nos. 1671, 1673, and 1674 (ACD), although in a few instances weight has been given to readings from the Codex Matritensis (M*), on the authority of the collations of Charles Graux and his editions of the Demosthenes and Cicero. No attempt has been made, naturally, to furnish either a diplomatic text or a vi
full critical apparatus. For these, the reader must be referred to the major edition of Sintenis (Leipzig, 1839–1846, 4 voll., 8vo), or to the rather inaccessible text of the Lives by Lindskog and Ziegler, in the Teubner Library of Greek and Latin texts (Vol. III., Fasc. I. was published in 1915). In the present edition, the reading which follows the colon in the brief critical notes is that of the Teubner Sintenis, and also, unless otherwise stated in the note, of the Tauchnitz Bekker.

All the standard translations of the Lives have been carefully compared and utilized, including those of the Cicero and Caesar by Professor Long. And more or less use has been made of the following works: Graux, Vie de Démosthène, and Vie de Cicéron, Paris, 1883 and 1882; Holden, Plutarch's Demosthenes, Cambridge, Pitt Press Series, 1893; Gudeman, Sources of Plutarch's Cicero, Philadelphia, 1902; Sihler, Cicero of Arpinum, New Haven, 1914, and Annals of Caesar, New York, 1911.

B. PERRIN.

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, U.S.A.
November, 1918.
ORDER OF THE PARALLEL LIVES IN THIS EDITION IN THE CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF THE GREEK LIVES.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Volume I</th>
<th>Volume VI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) Theseus and Romulus. Comparison.</td>
<td>(22) Dion and Brutus. Comparison.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Lycurgus and Numa. Comparison.</td>
<td>(7) Timoleon and Aemilius Paulus. Comparison.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) Solon and Publicola. Comparison.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Volume II.

| (4) Themistocles and Camillus. |                  |
| (9) Aristides and Cato the Elder. Comparison. |
| (13) Cimon and Lucullus. Comparison. |

Volume III.

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

Volume IV.

| (6) Alcibiades and Coriolanus. Comparison. |
| (12) Lysander and Sulla. Comparison. |

Volume V.

| (8) Pelopidas and Marcellus. Comparison. |

Volume VI.

| (22) Dion and Brutus. Comparison. |
| (7) Timoleon and Aemilius Paulus. Comparison. |

Volume VII.

| (20) Demosthenes and Cicero. Comparison. |
| (17) Alexander and Julius Caesar. |

Volume VIII.

| (15) Sertorius and Eumenes. Comparison. |
| (18) Phocion and Cato the Younger. |

Volume IX.

| (21) Demetrius and Antony. Comparison. |
| (11) Pyrrhus and Caius Marius. |

Volume X.

| (10) Philopoemen and Flaminius. Comparison. |

Volume XI.

| (24) Aratus. |
| (23) Artaxerxes. |
| (25) Galba. |
| (26) Otho. |
THE TRADITIONAL ORDER OF THE PARALLEL LIVES.

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

I. 'Ο μὲν γράψας τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τῆς 'Ολυμπίας ἵπποδρομίας εἰς Ἁλκιβιάδην ἐγκώμιον, εἰτ' Ἐυριπίδης, ὡς ὁ πολὺς κρατεῖ λόγος, εἰθ' ἑτέρος τις ἤν, Σόσσιε, φησί χρῆναι τῷ εὐδαίμονι πρῶτον ὑπάρξαι "τὰν¹ πόλιν εὐδόκιμον." ἔγὼ δὲ τῷ μὲν εὐδαιμονικῷς μέλλοντι τῇ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ, ἦς ἐν ἡθεὶ καὶ διαθέσει τὸ πλείστον ἐστίν, οὐδὲν διαφέρειν ἡγούμαι ἢδόξου καὶ ταπεινότητος πατρίδος ἢ μητρός ἄμορφου καὶ μικρᾶς γε- 

² νέσθαι. γελοῦν γὰρ εἴ τις οὐκοτο τῷ Ἰουλίδα, μέρος μικρὸν οὕςαν οὐ μεγάλης νῆσον τῆς Κέω, καὶ τῆν Ἀἴγιναν, ἤν τῶν Ἀττικῶν τις ἐκέλευεν ὡς λήμνην ἄφαιρεῖν τοῦ Πειραιῶς, ὑποκριτὰς μὲν ἄγαθους τρέφειν καὶ ποιητὰς, ἀνδρὰ δὲ οὐκ ἂν ποτε δύνασθαι, δίκαιον καὶ αὐτάρκη καὶ νοῦν ἐκχοντα καὶ μεγαλόψυχον προενεγκεῖν. τὰς γὰρ ἄλλας τέχνας εἰκός ἐστὶ πρὸς ἐργασίαν ἢ δόξαν συνισταμένας ἐν ταῖς ἄδοξοις καὶ ταπεινοῖς πόλεσιν ἀπομαραίνεσθαι, τὴν δὲ ἄρετὴν, ὡστερ ἰσχυρὸν καὶ διαρκές φυτόν, ἐν ἀπαντὶ ριζοῦσθαι τόπω, φύσεως τε χρηστῆς καὶ φιλοτονοῦ ψυχῆς ἐπιλαμβανομένην. ὃθεν οὐδὲ ἥμεις, εἰ τι τοῦ

¹ τὰν Sinentis¹, and Graux with Ma: τὴν.
DEMOSTHENES

I. The author of the encomium upon Alcibiades for his victory in the chariot-race at Olympia,\(^1\) whether he was Euripides, as the prevailing report has it, or some other, says, Sosius,\(^2\) that the first requisite to a man's happiness is birth in "a famous city"; but in my opinion, for a man who would enjoy true happiness, which depends for the most part on character and disposition, it is no disadvantage to belong to an obscure and mean city, any more than it is to be born of a mother who is of little stature and without beauty. For it were laughable to suppose that Iulis, which is a little part of the small island of Ceos, and Aegina, which a certain Athenian was urgent to have removed as an eye-sore of the Piraeus,\(^3\) should breed good actors and poets,\(^4\) but should never be able to produce a man who is just, independent, wise, and magnanimous. The arts, indeed, since their object is to bring business or fame, naturally pine away in obscure and mean cities; but virtue, like a strong and hardy plant, takes root in any place, if she finds there a generous nature and a spirit that shuns no labour. Wherefore we also, if we fail to live

---

\(^1\) See the Alcibiades, chapter xi.

\(^2\) One of Plutarch's Roman friends. See the note on the Theseus, i. 1.

\(^3\) See the Pericles, viii. 5.

\(^4\) The great poet Simonides was of Ceos, and the great actor Polus of Aegina.
frovent ós deì kai bióyv ëllleípomev, touto tì ñmikrótìtì tìs patríados, alla autòis dikaiòs ãnadhèsonem.

Π. Tò mèntoi súntazìn ùpotheblìmènov kai ístorìan èx ou pròxeiróv ou'd' oíkeiìw, ãllà ëxènov te tòw polllòw kai dièsparrìmènov èn ètrèrèous suynòùsan ãnaguyosmatòw, tò òntì ãhrì pròtrìov ùpárchìw kai màlìsta tìn pólin eu-dòkìmou kai filòkalov kai polnuàthrowpon, òws ëviblìw te pàntodapòw ùphthonièn èxìn, kai òsa toûs gràfìoston dìaðeûgontà swtèria mnìmìs èptíavnèstèran èìlhèfe ðìstìn ùpolamvàwv àkòh kai diaspùnàvòmenos, ùì pòllòw ûìô' ãnagkalòn

2 ènèdeìs àpopodidòì òtò èrgìon. ìmeìs ðè mikráv oìkoùntès póliw, kai ìna ùì mikrotéra gènìtai filòchòròntes, èn ðè 'Ròmy h kai tais ðèrì tìn Ítaliàn diatìbainìs ou' xholhìs ou'shìs ãnymò- ëxèsthai ðèrì tìn 'Rwmàikìn diàlektòn ùpò ðrèìwv politìkòn kai tòw ðìa filòsofìan plèsiari-zòntow, òfè pòte kai pòrrow tìs ërlikias ërì- meða 'Rwmàikoìs gràmmasìn èntunghèanew. kai pràgma ðàðumastòv ìnèn, ìllì ìlhèshìs èpàshìmen. ou' ðar ðùtow ðè tòw ðìnomàtow tà pràgmata sùnnènai kai ñoufrìzein sùnèbavìnei ìmìnìn, ðò ðè tòw pràgmatów âmòs ðè páwv èìxìmen èmpèirìan èpàkòlουtheìn ðì' autà1 kai toûs ðìnomàsi. kàllíwos ðè 'Rwmàikìs àpagnèglìas kai tâxhòs ài'stànèsthaì kai metaforàs ðìnomàtov kai ãrmònìas kai tòw ìllwv ìsì ðì lògòs àgàllìetaì, ãhrìev ìnèn ìgòu-

1 èmpèirìan ... ðì' autà with Ma and Graux: èmpèirìas ... ðìa tòûta (Bekker, ðìn ... èmpèirìas).
and think as we ought, will justly attribute this, not to the smallness of our native city, but to ourselves.

II. However, when one has undertaken to compose a history based upon readings which are not readily accessible or even found at home, but in foreign countries, for the most part, and scattered about among different owners, for him it is really necessary, first and above all things, that he should live in a city which is famous, friendly to the liberal arts, and populous, in order that he may have all sorts of books in plenty, and may by hearsay and enquiry come into possession of all those details which elude writers and are preserved with more conspicuous fidelity in the memories of men. He will thus be prevented from publishing a work which is deficient in many, and even in essential things. But as for me, I live in a small city, and I prefer to dwell there that it may not become smaller still; and during the time when I was in Rome and various parts of Italy I had no leisure to practise myself in the Roman language, owing to my public duties and the number of my pupils in philosophy. It was therefore late and when I was well on in years that I began to study Roman literature. And here my experience was an astonishing thing, but true. For it was not so much that by means of words I came to a complete understanding of things, as that from things I somehow had an experience which enabled me to follow the meaning of words. But to appreciate the beauty and quickness of the Roman style, the figures of speech, the rhythm, and the other embellishments of the language, while I think it
meta kai ouk aterpées. he de pro toûto meléthe kai áskhesis ouk evxeríhs, állo ois tis pléiwon te skholi kai ta tis órass eit pro toûs tás toiaútas épitoxerei filotimias.

III. Dio kai gráfountes en to bíblíouro toûtw, 847 toûn paraallhlwów béw ónnti pémttw, peri Dhmousthénous kai Kikérownos, ápó toûn práxeon kai toûn politewôn tás fúseis autôn kai tás dia

thèseis prós allhlías épiskexoámeba, to de toûs lógous antexetázein kai apofaiuneotai pòteros 2 hdiw h démiéteros eitein, éwsemen. "Kakj gar," ós fhsin o "Iow, "h delphiwos en xéros biz,"1 hýn o periptos en ápasi Keuklhos úngyhsas éne

anevusato sykriwvn toû Dhmousthénous kai Kikérownos exevegekein. allla gar íswos, ei pantos hyn to "Gvwdhi sautôn" exein próxeiron, ouk an edókei prósstaigma theión einai.

Dhmousthénw gar kai Kikérowna toûn autôn éouke plátton up' arxhès o daîmow polllas ìen embalnein eis tîn fúswi autôn toûn ìmoiotítwn, óster to filójtmw kai filéleuthero en tîn
politeía, proû de kivdiónous kai polêmous atol

3 mou, pollá ò anaýmexai kai toûn tuchirów. dúo

gar étérous ouk an euřethnai doçw rítorasa ek

mên adôxw kai mikrów íschrwos kai megálous

gennémwos, proskroúswntas de bási lexhî kai
turánwos, thugatéras ò apobalóntas, ekpesóntas
de tîs patrídos, katelebóntas de metâ tîmíhs,
a graceful accomplishment and one not without its pleasures, still, the careful practice necessary for attaining this is not easy for one like me, but appropriate for those who have more leisure and whose remaining years still suffice for such pursuits.

III. Therefore, in this fifth book\(^1\) of my Parallel Lives, where I write about Demosthenes and Cicero, I shall examine their actions and their political careers to see how their natures and dispositions compare with one another, but I shall make no critical comparison of their speeches, nor try to show which was the more agreeable or the more powerful orator. "For useless," as Ion says, "is a dolphin's might upon dry ground," a maxim which Caecilius, who goes to excess in everything, forgot when he boldly ventured to put forth a comparison of Demosthenes and Cicero. But really it is possible that, if the "Know thyself" of the oracle\(^2\) were an easy thing for every man, it would not be held to be a divine injunction.

In the case of Demosthenes and Cicero, then, it would seem that the Deity originally fashioned them on the same plan, implanting in their natures many similarities, such as their love of distinction, their love of freedom in their political activities, and their lack of courage for wars and dangers, and uniting in them also many similarities of fortune. For in my opinion two other orators could not be found who, from small and obscure beginnings, became great and powerful; who came into conflict with kings and tyrants; who lost each a daughter; who were banished from their native cities and returned with honour; and who, after

\(^1\) See the note on the \textit{Dion}, ii. 4. \(^2\) At Delphi.
ἀποδράντας δ’ αὐθις καὶ ληφθέντας ύπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ἀμα δὲ πανσαμένη τῇ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐλευθερία τῶν βίων συγκαταστρέψαντας· ὡστε, εἰ γένοιτο τῇ φύσει καὶ τῇ τύχῃ καθάπερ τεχνιτας ἁμιλλα, χαλεπώς ἂν διακριθήναι πότερον αὕτη τοὶς τρόποις ἢ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐκείνη τοὺς ἄνδρας ὀμοιότερους ἀπείργασται. λεκτέον δὲ περὶ τού πρεσβυτέρου πρότερον.

IV. Δημοσθένης ὁ πατὴρ Δημοσθένους ἦν μὲν τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἄνδρῶν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Θεόπομπος, ἐπεκαλεῖτο δὲ μαχαιροποιὸς ἐργαστήριον ἔχων μέγα καὶ δούλους τεχνιτας τοὺς τούτο πράττοντας. ἄ δ’ Αἰσχύνης ὁ ῥήτωρ εἰρήκε περὶ τῆς μητρός, ὡς ἐκ Γύλωνος τινος ἐπ’ αὐτία προδοσίας φεύγοντος ἐξ ἀστεός γεγόνοι καὶ βαρβάρου γυναικός, οὐκ ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν εἴτ’ ἀληθῶς εἰρήκεν εἴτε βλασφημῶν καὶ καταψευδόμενος.

2 ἀπολειφθεὶς δ’ ὁ Δημοσθένης ύπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπταέτης ἐν εὐπορίᾳ (μικρὸν γὰρ ἀπέλιπεν ἡ σύμπασα τίμησις αὐτοῦ τῆς οὐσίας πεντεκαίδεκα ταλάντων) υπὸ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων ἡδικηθῇ, τὰ μὲν νοσφισαμένων, τὰ δ’ ἀμελησάντων, ὡστε καὶ τῶν 3 διδασκάλων αὐτοῦ τὸν μισθὸν ἀποστερήσαι. διά τε δὴ τοῦτο τῶν ἐμμελῶν καὶ προσηκόντων ἐλευθέρῳ παῖδι μαθημάτων ἀπαίδευτος δοκεῖ γενόσθαι καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἄσθενειαν καὶ θρύψιν, οὐ προϊμένης τοῖς πόνοις τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲ προσβιαζομένων τῶν παιδαγωγῶν. ἤν γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς κάτισχος καὶ νοσώδης, καὶ τὴν λοιδορου-
taking to flight again and being captured by their enemies, ended their lives as soon as their countrymen ceased to be free. So that, if there should be a competition between nature and fortune, as between artists, it would be difficult to decide whether the one made the men more alike in their characters, or the other in the circumstances of their lives. But I must speak of the more ancient first.

IV. Demosthenes, the father of Demosthenes, belonged to the better class of citizens, as Theopompus tells us, and was surnamed Cutler, because he had a large factory and slaves who were skilled workmen in this business. But as for what Aeschines the orator says of the mother of Demosthenes, namely, that she was a daughter of one Gylon, who was banished from the city on a charge of treason, and of a barbarian woman, I cannot say whether he speaks truly, or is uttering slander and lies. However, at the age of seven, Demosthenes was left by his father in affluence, since the total value of his estate fell little short of fifteen talents; but he was wronged by his guardians, who appropriated some of his property to their own uses and neglected the rest, so that even his teachers were deprived of their pay. It was for this reason, as it seems, that he did not pursue the studies which were suitable and proper for a well-born boy, and also because of his bodily weakness and fragility, since his mother would not permit him to work hard in the palaestra, and his tutors would not force him to do so. For from the first he was lean and sickly, and his

2 A talent was equivalent to about £235, or $1,200, with five or six times the purchasing power of modern money.
μένην ἐπωνυμίαν, τὸν Βάταλον, εἰς τὸ σῶμα λέγεται σκωπτόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων λαβεῖν.

4 ἦν δὲ ὁ Βάταλος, ὡς μὲν ἔνιοί φασιν, αὐλητής τῶν κατεαγότων, καὶ δραμάτιον εἰς τοῦτο κωμῳδών αὐτὸν Ἀντιφάνης πεποίηκεν. ἔνιοι δὲ τινες ὡς ποιητοῦ τρυφερά καὶ παροίνια γράφοντος τοῦ Βατάλου μέμνημαι. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τῶν οὐκ εὑρετῶν τι λεχθήμερο τοῦ σώματος μορίων παρὰ 5 τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς τότε καλεῖσθαι βάταλον. ὁ δ’ Ἀργας (καὶ τοῦτο γάρ φασι τῷ Δημοσθένει γενέσθαι παρώνυμον) ἢ πρὸς τόν τρόπον, ὡς θηριώδη καὶ πικρὸν ἐτέθη τὸ γάρ ὅφιν ἔνιοι τῶν ποιητῶν ἄργαν ὀνομάζομεν· ἢ πρὸς τὸν λόγον, ὡς ἀνιῶντά τοὺς ἀκροσμένους· καὶ γὰρ Ἀργας τοῦνομα ποιητῆς ἦν νόμων ποιηρῶν καὶ ἄργαλέων. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ταῦτῃ.

V. Τῆς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους ὄρμης ἄρχῃν αὐτῷ φασὶ τοιαύτην γενέσθαι. Καλλιστράτου τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀγωνίζεσθαι τὴν περὶ Ὀρωποῦ κρίσιν ἐν 848 τῷ δικαστήρῳ μέλλοντος ἢν προσδοκία τῆς δίκης μεγάλη διά τε τὴν τοῦ ῥήτορος δύναμιν, ἀνθοῦντος τότε μάλιστα τῇ δόξῃ, καὶ διὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν οὕσαν 2 περιβόητον. ἀκούσας οὖν ὁ Δημοσθένης τῶν διδασκάλων καὶ τῶν παιδαγωγῶν συντιθεμένων τῇ δίκῃ παρατυχεῖν, ἐπεισε τῶν Εαυτοῦ παιδαγωγῶν δεόμενος καὶ προθυμούμενος ὅπως αὐτὸν

1 After these words Bekker retains the κατὰ Πλάτωνα which Coraës, Sintenis, and Graux, after Wytenbach, reject as a gloss. Cf. Plato, Symposium, p. 220, c.
DEMOSTHENES, iv. 3--v. 2

opprobrious surname of Batalus is said to have been given him by the boys in mockery of his physique. Now Batalus, as some say, was an effeminate fluteplayer, and Antiphanes wrote a farce in which he held him up to ridicule for this. But some speak of Batalus as a poet who wrote voluptuous verses and drinking songs. And it appears that one of the parts of the body which it is not decent to name was at that time called Batalus by the Athenians. But the name of Argas (for they tell us that Demosthenes had this nickname also) was given him either with reference to his manners, which were harsh and savage, the snake being called "argas" by some of the poets; or with reference to his way of speaking, which was distressing to his hearers, Argas being the name of a composer of vile and disagreeable songs. So much on this head.

V. The origin of his eager desire to be an orator, they tell us, was as follows. Callistratus the orator was going to make a plea in court on the question of Oropus,¹ and the trial was eagerly awaited, not only because of the ability of the orator, who was then at the very height of his reputation, but also because of the circumstances of the case, which was notorious. Accordingly, when Demosthenes heard the teachers and tutors agreeing among themselves to be present at the trial, with great importunity he persuaded his own tutor to

¹ In 366 B.C. Oropus, a town on the confines of Attica and Boeotia, was wrested from Athens by the Thebans. Subsequently there was a trial for treason at Athens, in which Callistratus the orator and Chabrias the general figured, but the details of the trial are obscure.
ἀγάγου πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόασιν. ὁ δ' ἔχων πρὸς τοὺς ἀνοίγοντας τὰ δικαστήρια δημοσίους συνήθειαν, εὐπόρησε χώρας ἐν ἥ καθήμενος ὁ παῖς ἀδῆλως ἀκούσεται τῶν λεγομένων. εὐημερήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Καλλιστράτου καὶ θαυμασθέντος ὑπερφυσὶ, ἐκείνου μὲν ἐξήλωσε τὴν δόξαν, ὅρων προπεμπόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ μακαριζόμενον, τοῦ δὲ λόγου μᾶλλον ἑθαύμασε καὶ κατενόησε τὴν ἵσχυν ὡς πάντα¹ χειροῦσθαι καὶ τιθασεύειν πεφυκότος. οὔτε ἐώσας τὰ λοιπὰ μαθήματα καὶ τὰς παιδικὰς διατριβὰς, αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ἠσκεῖ καὶ διετόνει ταῖς μελέταις, ὡς ἄν τῶν λεγόντων ἐσόμενος καὶ αὐτὸς. ἔχρησατο δὲ Ἰσαίω πρὸς τὸν λόγον υφηγητῇ, καίπερ Ἰσοκράτους τότε σχολάζοντος, εἴτε, ὡς τινες λέγουσι, τὸν ὄρωσμένον μισθὸν Ἰσοκράτει τελέσαι μὴ δυνάμενος, τὰς δέκα μνᾶς, διὰ τὴν ὀρφανίαν, εἴτε μᾶλλον τοῦ Ἰσαίου τὸν λόγον ὡς δραστήριον καὶ πανούργον ἐπὶ τὴν χρείαν ἀποδεχόμενος. Ἐρμιππὸς δὲ φησίν ἀδεσπότοις ύπομνήμασιν ἐντυχείν ἐν οἷς ἐγέγραπτο τὸν Δημοσθένην συνεσχολακέναι Πλάτωνι καὶ πλέιστον εἰς τοὺς λόγους ὁφελήσθαι, Κτησιβίον δὲ μέμνησαι λέγοντος παρὰ Καλλίον τοῦ Συρακοσίου καὶ τινὸς ἄλλων τὰς Ἰσοκράτους τέχνας καὶ τὰς Ἀλκιδάμαντος κρύφα λαβόντα τὸν Δημοσθένην καταμαθεῖν.

VI. Ὡς γοῦν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γενόμενος τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις ἦρξαι δικάζεσθαι καὶ λογογραφεῖν ἐπ’ ἡμικυρία γενόμενος τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις ἦρξαι δικάζεσθαι καὶ λογογραφεῖν ἐπ’

¹ ὡς πάντα Graux with M*: πάντα.
take him to the hearing. This tutor, having an acquaintance with the public officials who opened the courts, succeeded in procuring a place where the boy could sit unseen and listen to what was said. Callistratus won his case and was extravagantly admired, and Demosthenes conceived a desire to emulate his fame, seeing him escorted on his way by the multitude and congratulated by all; but he had a more wondering appreciation of the power of his oratory, which was naturally adapted to subdue and master all opposition. Wherefore, bidding farewell to his other studies and to the usual pursuits of boyhood, he practised himself laboriously in declamation, with the idea that he too was to be an orator. He also employed Isaeus as his guide to the art of speaking, although Isocrates was lecturing at the time; either, as some say, because he was an orphan and unable to pay Isocrates his stipulated fee of ten minas,\(^1\) or because he preferred the style of Isaeus for its effectiveness and adaptability in actual use. But Hermippus says that he once came upon some anonymous memoirs in which it was recorded that Demosthenes was a pupil of Plato and got most help from him in his rhetorical studies. He also quotes Ctesibius as saying that from Callias the Syracusan and certain others Demosthenes secretly obtained the rhetorical systems of Isocrates and Alcidamas and mastered them. VI. However this may be, when Demosthenes came of age he began to bring suits against his guardians and to write speeches attacking them.

\(^1\) Equivalent to about £40, or $200, with five or six times the purchasing power of modern money.
αὐτοῦς πολλὰς διαδύσεις καὶ παλινδικίας εὐρισκοντας, ἐγγυμνασάμενος, κατὰ τὸν Θουκυδίδην, ταῖς μελέταις οὐκ ἀκινδύνως οὐδ' ἀργῶς, κατευ-νυνόμενοι δολιχοδρόμων, ὑπερθερμάτων, πρὸς τὸ λέγειν καὶ συνήθειαν ἱκανὴν λαβῶν καὶ γευσάμενος τῆς περὶ τοὺς ἀγώνας φιλοτιμίας καὶ δυνάμεως ἐπεχείρησεν εἰς μέσον παρίεναι καὶ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν. καὶ καθάπερ Λαομέδοντα τὸν Ὀρχομένιον λέγουσι καχεξίαν τινὰ σπληνὸς ἀμυνόμενον δρόμοις μακροῖς χρήσθαι τῶν ἰατρῶν κελευσάντων, εἰ δ' οὕτως διαπονήσαντα τὴν ἐξίν ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς στεφανίταις ἄγωσι καὶ τῶν ἀκρῶν γενέσθαι δολιχοδρόμων, οὕτως τῷ Δημοσθένει συνέβη τὸ πρώτον ἐπανορθώσεως ἕνεκα τῶν ἱδίων ἀποδύνητι πρὸς τὸ λέγειν, ἐκ τούτου κτησαμένῳ δεινότητα καὶ δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἢδη καθάπερ στεφανίταις ἄγωσι πρωτεύειν τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ βή-ματος ἀγωνιζομένων πολιτῶν.

3 Καίτοι τό γε πρώτον ἐνυγχάνων τῷ δήμῳ ἑορτοῖς περιέπιπτε καὶ κατεγελᾶτο δι' ἀήθειαν, τοῦ λόγου συγκεχύσθαι ταῖς περιόδοις καὶ θε-βασανίσθαι τοῖς ἐνυμήμασι πικρῶς ἄγαν καὶ κατακόρως δοκοῦντος. ἢν δὲ τις, ὡς ἔσκε, καὶ φωνῆς ἀσθένεια καὶ γλώττης ἀσάφεια καὶ πνεύματος κολοβότης ἐπιταράττουσα τὸν νοῦν τῶν λεγομένων τῷ διασπάσθαι τὰς περιόδους. τέλος δ' ἦποστάντα τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἐμβόμβοιν εὐν Πει-
They devised many evasions and new trials, but Demosthenes, after practising himself in these exercises, as Thucydides says, not without toil and danger, won his cause, although he was able to recover not even a small fraction of his patrimony. However, he acquired sufficient practice and confidence in speaking, and got a taste of the distinction and power that go with forensic contests, and therefore essayed to come forward and engage in public matters. And just as Laomedon the Orchomenian—so we are told—practised long-distance running by the advice of his physicians, to ward off some disease of the spleen, and then, after restoring his health in this way, entered the great games and became one of the best runners of the long course, so Demosthenes, after applying himself to oratory in the first place for the sake of recovering his private property, by this means acquired ability and power in speaking, and at last in public business, as it were in the great games, won the first place among the citizens who strove with one another on the bema.

And yet when he first addressed the people he was interrupted by their clamours and laughed at for his inexperience, since his discourse seemed to them confused by long periods and too harshly and immoderately tortured by formal arguments. He had also, as it would appear, a certain weakness of voice and indistinctness of speech and shortness of breath which disturbed the sense of what he said by disjoining his sentences. And finally, when he had forsaken the assembly and was wandering about

1 Καὶ ἐμπειρότεροι ἐγένετο μετὰ κινδύνων τὰς μελέτας ποιούμενοι (i. 18, 3 of the Athenians and Lacedaemonians).
raie dein 

7. While this is true, it is important to note that Plutarch believed in the power of the gods and the influence of fate on human affairs. In his works, he often discusses the role of fate in the lives of the great men he studied. He believed that the gods had a hand in the affairs of men, and that they were the ultimate arbiters of fate.

1 syncerumeno Graux with Ma; syncerememou (with muffled head).
DEMOSTHENES, vi. 4—vii. 3

decjectedly in the Piraeus, Eunomus the Thriasian, who was already a very old man, caught sight of him and upbraided him because, although he had a style of speaking which was most like that of Pericles, he was throwing himself away out of weakness and lack of courage, neither facing the multitude with boldness, nor preparing his body for these forensic contests, but suffering it to wither away in slothful neglect.

VII. At another time, too, they say, when he had been rebuffed by the people and was going off homewards disconcerted and in great distress, Satyrus the actor, who was a familiar acquaintance of his, followed after and went indoors with him. Demosthenes lamented to him that although he was the most laborious of all the orators and had almost used up the vigour of his body in this calling, he had no favour with the people, but debauchees, sailors, and illiterate fellows were listened to and held the bema, while he himself was ignored. "You are right, Demosthenes," said Satyrus, "but I will quickly remedy the cause of all this, if you will consent to recite off-hand for me some narrative speech from Euripides or Sophocles." Demosthenes did so, whereupon Satyrus, taking up the same speech after him, gave it such a form and recited it with such appropriate sentiment and disposition that it appeared to Demosthenes to be quite another. Persuaded, now, how much of ornament and grace action lends to oratory, he considered it of little or no use for a man to practise declaiming if he neglected the delivery and disposition of his words. After this, we are told, he built a subterranean
μελετητήριον, ὃ δὴ διεσώζετο καὶ καθ’ ἡμᾶς, ἑνταῦθα δὲ πάντως μὲν ἐκάστης ἡμέρας κατιόντα πλάττειν τὴν ὑπόκρισιν καὶ διαποιεῖν τὴν φωνήν, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ μὴνας ἔξης δύο καὶ τρεῖς συνάπτειν, ἐβρούμενον τῆς κεφαλῆς θάτερον μέρος ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲ βουλομένου πάνυ προελθεῖν εὐδέχεσθαι δὴ σισχύνην.

VIII. Οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ τὰς πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτὸς ἐντεύξεις καὶ λόγους καὶ ἀσχολίας ὑποθέσεις ἐποιεῖτο καὶ ἀφορμὰς τοῦ φιλοποιεῖν. ἀπαλλαγεῖς γὰρ αὐτῶν τάχιστα κατέβαινεν εἰς τὸ μελετητήριον, καὶ διεξῆ χά τας τε πράξεις ἐφεξῆς καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀπολογισμοὺς. ἔτι δὲ τοὺς λόγους οἷς παρέτυχε λεγομένους, ἀναλαμβάνων εἰς ἑαυτὸν εἰς γνώμας ἀνήγε καὶ περιόδους, ἐπανορθώσεις τε παντοδαπᾶς καὶ μεταφράσεις ἐκαίνωτομεί τῶν εἰρημένων υφ’ ἑτέρου πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἢ υφ’ αὐτοῦ πάλιν πρὸς ἄλλου. ἐκ τούτου δόξαν εἰχεν ὡς οὐκ εὐφυῆς ὅν, ἀλλ’ ἐκ πόνον συγκει-3 μένῃ δεινότητι καὶ δυνάμει χρώμενος. ἐδόκει τε τούτου σημείου εἶναι μέγα τὸ μὴ ῥαδίως ἀκούσαι τινα Δημοσθένους ἐπὶ καιρὸν λέγοντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθήμενον εἰς ἐκκλησία πολλάκις τοῦ δήμου καλοῦντος ὀνομαστὶ μὴ παρελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ τύχων πεφροντικῶς καὶ παρεσκευασμένος. εἰς τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ τῶν δημαγωγῶν ἐχλεύαζον αὐτῶν, καὶ Πυθέας ἐπισκόπτων ἐλλυχυνών ἐφη-
DEMOSTHENES, VII. 3–VIII. 3

study, which, in fact, was preserved in our time,¹ and into this he would descend every day without exception in order to form his action and cultivate his voice, and he would often remain there even for two or three months together, shaving one side of his head in order that shame might keep him from going abroad even though he greatly wished to do so.

VIII. Nor was this all, but he would make his interviews, conversations, and business with those outside, the foundation and starting point for eager toil. For as soon as he parted from his associates, he would go down into his study, and there would go over his transactions with them in due order, and the arguments used in defence of each course. And still further, whatever speeches he chanced to hear delivered he would take up by himself and reduce to propositions and periods, and he would introduce all sorts of corrections and changes of expression into the speeches made by others against himself, or, contrariwise, by himself against others. Consequently it was thought that he was not a man of good natural parts, but that his ability and power were the product of toil. And there would seem to be strong proof of this in the fact that Demosthenes was rarely heard to speak on the spur of the moment, but though the people often called upon him by name as he sat in the assembly, he would not come forward unless he had given thought to the question and was prepared to speak upon it. For this, many of the popular leaders used to rail at him, and Pytheas, in particular, once told him scoffingly that his arguments smelt of lamp-

¹ An erroneous tradition identifies this with the choragic monument of Lysicrates (the "Lantern of Demosthenes").
4 σεν οξειν αυτου τα ευθυμηματα. τουτον μεν ουν
ημειψατο πικρος ο Δημοσθενης. "Ου ταυτα
γαρ," ειπεν, "εμοι και σοι, ο Πυθεα, ο λυχνος
συνοιδε." προς δε τους άλλους ου πανταπασιν
ην έξαρνος, άλλο ουτε γραψας ουτ' áγραφα
κομιδη λέγειν ωμολόγει. και μεντοι δημοτικον
απεφαινεν άνδρα τον λέγειν μελετώντα. θερα-
πειας γαρ ειναι τουτο δημον παρασκευην, το δ'
οπως έξοψιν οι πολλοι προς τον λογον άφρον-
τιστειν ολυγαρχικον και βια μαλλον η πειθοι
5 προσέχοντος. της δε προς καιρον άτολμιας αυτου
και τουτο ποιονται σημειον, οτι Δημαδης μεν
εκεινο θορυβηθεντι πολλακις αναστας εκ προ-
χειρου συνετπεν, εκεινος δ' ουδεποτε Δημαδη.

IX. Ποθεν ουν, φαιν τις αν, ο Αισχυνης προς
την εν τοις λόγοις τόλμαν θαυμασιωτατον άπε-
καλε τον άνδρα; πως δε Πυθων τω Βυξαντιω
θρασυνομενοι και ρεοντι πολλοι κατα των 'Αθη-
ναιων αναστας μονος αντειπεν, η Λαμαχο του
Μυριαυον γεγραφοτο εγκωμιον 'Αλεξανδρου και
Φιλιππου των βασιλεων, εν οποιοι Θηβαιους
2 και 'Ολυμπιοις ειρηκει κακως, και ιαναγινωσκον-
tos 'Ολυμπιασι, παραστας και διεξελθων μεθ'
ιστοριας και αποδειξεως ουσα Θηβαιους και Χαλ-
kideυσιν υπαρκει καλα προς την 'Ελλαδα, και

1 See Aeschines, On the Crown, § 152.
wicks. To him, then, Demosthenes made a sharp answer. "Indeed," said he, "thy lamp and mine, O Pytheas, are not privy to the same pursuits." To the rest, however, he made no denial at all, but confessed that his speeches were neither altogether unwritten, nor yet fully written out. Moreover, he used to declare that he who rehearsed his speeches was a true man of the people: for such preparation was a mark of deference to the people, whereas heedlessness of what the multitude will think of his speech marks a man of oligarchical spirit, and one who relies on force rather than on persuasion. Another circumstance, too, is made a proof of his lack of courage for an emergency, namely, that when he was interrupted by the clamours of the people, Demades often rose and spoke off-hand in his support, but he never rendered such a service to Demades.

IX. How, then, some one might say, could Aeschines call him a man of the most astonishing boldness in his speeches? And how was it that, when Python of Byzantium was inveighing with much boldness and a great torrent of words against the Athenians, Demosthenes alone rose up and spoke against him? Or how did it happen that, when Lamachus the Myrinaean had written an encomium on Kings Philip and Alexander, in which many injurious things were said of Thebes and Olynthus, and while he was reading it aloud at Olympia, Demosthenes came forward and rehearsed with historical proofs all the benefits which the peoples of Thebes and Chalcedice had conferred upon Greece, and, on the other

2 An envoy of Philip to the Athenian assembly, in 343 B.C. See Demosthenes, On the Crown, § 136. 3 In 324 B.C.
πάλιν ὅσων αὐτοὶ γεγόνασι κακῶν οἱ κολακεύοντες Μακεδόνας, οὕτως ἐπέστρεψε τοὺς παρόντας ὡστε δείσαντα τῷ θορύβῳ τὸν σοφιστὴν ὑπεκδύνα τῆς πανηγύρεως;

3 Ἀλλ᾽ ἐστιν ὁ ἄνήρ τοῦ Περικλέους τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μὴ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡγήσασθαι, τὸ δὲ πλάσμα καὶ τὸν σχηματισμὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ μὴ ταχέως μηδὲ περὶ παντὸς ἐκ τοῦ παρισταμένου λέγειν, ὡσπερ ἐκ τούτων μεγάλου γεγονότος, ἥξιλὼν καὶ μμοῦμενος, οὗ πάνω προσέσθαι τὴν ἐν τῷ καίρῳ δόξαι, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τύχῃ πολλάκις ἐκών εἶναι ποιεῖσθαι τὴν δύναμιν. ἔπει τόλμαν γε καὶ θάρσος οἱ λεχθέντες ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ λόγοι τῶν γραφέντων μᾶλλον εἶχον, εἰ τι δεῖ πιστεύειν Ἐρατοσθένει καὶ Δημητρίῳ τῷ Φαληρεῖ καὶ τοῖς κωμικοῖς. ὥν Ἐρατοσθένης μὲν φησιν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις πολλαχοῦ γεγονέναι παράβακχον, ὃ δὲ Φαληρεὺς τὸν ἐμμετρὸν ἐκεῖνον ὀρκοῦ ὁμόσαι ποτὲ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὡσπερ ἐνθουσιώστα."}

μὰ γῆν, μὰ κρήνας, μὰ ποταμοὺς, μὰ νάματα.

5 τῶν δὲ κωμικῶν ὁ μὲν τις αὐτῶν ἀποκαλεῖ ῥωπο-περπερήθραν, ὃ δὲ παρασκώπτων ὡς χρώμενον τῷ ἀντιθέτῳ φησίν οὕτως:

A. ἀπέλαβεν ὡσπερ ἔλαβεν.
B. ἡγάπησεν ἄν τὸ ῥῆμα τούτῳ παραλαβὼν Δημοσθένης.

1 Kock, Com. Att. Frag. ii. p. 128. From Plutarch’s Morals, p. 845 b, it is to be inferred rather that this was a verse of Antiphanes ridiculing the perfervid manner of Demosthenes. 2 Kock, op. cit., iii. p. 461.
hand, all the evils of which the flatterers of the Macedonians had been the cause, and thereby so turned the minds of the audience that the sophist was terrified at the outcry against him and slunk away from the festival assemblage?

But although Demosthenes, as it would appear, did not regard the other characteristics of Pericles as suitable for himself, he admired and sought to imitate the formality of his speech and bearing, as well as his refusal to speak suddenly or on every subject that might present itself, as if his greatness was due to these things; but he by no means sought the reputation which is won in a sudden emergency, nor did he often of his own free will stake his influence upon chance. However, those orations which were spoken off-hand by him had more courage and boldness than those which he wrote out, if we are to put any confidence in Eratosthenes, Demetrius the Phalerian, and the comic poets. Of these, Eratosthenes says that often in his speeches Demosthenes was like one frenzied, and the Phalerean says that once, as if under inspiration, he swore the famous metrical oath to the people:—

"By earth, by springs, by rivers, and by streams." ¹

Of the comic poets, one calls him a "rhopoperpere-thras," or trumpery-braggart, and another, ridiculing his use of the antithesis, says this:—

(First slave) "My master, as he took, retook."
(Second slave (?)) "Demosthenes would have been delighted to take over this phrase." ³

³ Kock, op. cit., ii. p. 80. A verse precedes which may be translated: "My master, on receiving all his patrimony," and the point apparently is that the heir took what was a gift as his rightful due.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ

Εκτός εἰ μὴ νὴ Δία πρὸς τὸν ὑπὲρ Ἀλοννήσου λόγον ὁ Ἀντιφάνης καὶ τοὐτὶ πέπαιχεν, ἤν Ἀθηναιῶς Δημοσθένης συνεβούλευε μὴ λαμβάνειν, ἀλλ' ἀπολαμβάνειν παρὰ Φιλίππου.

X. Πλὴν τὸν γε Δημάδην πάντες ὡμολόγουν τῇ φύσει χρώμενον ἀνίκητον εἶναι, καὶ παραφέρειν αὐτὸς χεδίζοντα τὰς τοῦ Δημοσθένους σκέψεις καὶ παρασκευάζει. Ἀρίστων δ' ὁ Χίος καὶ Θεοφράστος τινὰ δόξαν ἱστορίηκε περὶ τῶν ῥητόρων, ἐρωτηθέντα γὰρ ὁποίος τις αὐτῷ φαίνεται ῥήτωρ ὁ Δημοσθένης, εἶπειν "Ἀξιός τῆς πόλεως.

2 ὁποῖος δὲ Δημάδη, "Τπὲρ τὴν πόλιν." ὁ δ' αὐτὸς φιλόσοφος Πολύενκτον ἱστορεῖ τὸν Σφήττον, ἕνα τῶν τότε πολιτευομένων Ἀθήνησιν, ἀποφαίνεσθαι μέγιστον μὲν εἶναι ῥήτορα Δημοσθένης, δυνατώτατον δὲ εἶπειν Φωκίωνα· πλείστον γὰρ ἐν βραχυπάτη λέξει νοῦν ἐκφέρειν. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην φασίν αὐτόν, ὁσάκις ἀν ἀντερῶν αὐτῷ Φωκίων ἀναβαινοῦν, λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις· "Ἡ τῶν ἐμὸν λόγων κοπῆς ἀνίσταται." τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἄδηλον εἶτε πρὸς τὸν λόγον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὁ Δημοσθένης εἶτε πρὸς τὸν βίον καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἐπεπόνθει, πολλῶν πάνυ καὶ μακρῶν περιόδων ἐν ῥήμα καὶ νεῦμα πίστιν ἐχοντος ἀνθρώπου κυριότερου ἡγούμενος.

XI. Τοῖς δὲ σωματικοῖς ἐλαττώμασι τοιαύτην ἐπήγειν ἁσκησιν, ὡς ὁ Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος ἱστο-

1 ἀν omitted by Bekker, after Coraës and Schaefer; also by Graux with Μα.
Unless, indeed, this, too, was a jest of Antiphanes upon the speech of Demosthenes concerning Halonnesus,¹ in which the orator counselled the Athenians not to take the island from Philip, but to re-take it.

X. Still, all men used to agree that Demades, in the exercise of his natural gifts, was invincible, and that when he spoke on the spur of the moment he surpassed the studied preparations of Demosthenes. And Ariston the Chian records an opinion which Theophrastus also passed upon the two orators. When he was asked, namely, what sort of an orator he thought Demosthenes was, he replied: “Worthy of the city”; and what Demades, “Too good for the city.” And the same philosopher tells us that Polyeuctus the Sphettian, one of the political leaders of that time at Athens, declared that Demosthenes was the greatest orator, but Phocion the most influential speaker; since he expressed most sense in fewest words. Indeed, we are told that even Demosthenes himself, whenever Phocion mounted the bema to reply to him, would say to his intimates: “Here comes the chopper of my speeches.” Now, it is not clear whether Demosthenes had this feeling towards Phocion because of his oratory, or because of his life and reputation, believing that a single word or nod from a man who is trusted has more power than very many long periods.

XI. For his bodily deficiencies he adopted the exercises which I shall describe, as Demetrius the Phalerian tells us, who says he heard about them from

¹ Or. vii., wrongly attributed to Demosthenes. There is in § 5 a phrase similar to the one under comment.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

πεί, λέγων αὐτοῦ Δημοσθένους ἀκούειν πρεσβύτου γεγονότος, τὴν μὲν ὑσάφειαν καὶ τραυλότητα τῆς γλώττης ἐκβιάζεσθαι καὶ διαρθροῦν εἰς τὸ στόμα ψήφους λαμβάνοντα καὶ ρήσεις ἀμα λέ- 
2 γοντα, τὴν δὲ φωνὴν ἐν τοῖς δρόμοις γυμνάζεσθαι καὶ ταῖς πρὸς τὰ σιμὰ προσβάσει διάλεγόμενον καὶ λόγους τινὰς ἢ στίχους ἀμα τῷ πνεύματι πυκνομένῳ προφερόμενον. εἶναι δ' αὐτῷ μέγα κάτοπτρον οἶκοι, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο τὰς μελέτας ἐξ ἐναντίας ἰστάμενον περαινεῖν.

Δέγεται δὲ, ἀνθρώπου προσελθόντος δεομένου συνηγορίας καὶ διεξόντος ὑπὸ τοῦ λάβοι πληγάς, "Ἀλλὰ σὺ γε," φάναι τὸν Δημοσθένην, 3 "τούτων ὡν λέγεις οὐδὲν πέπονθας." ἐπιτείναν- 
τος δὲ τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ βοῶτος "Ἐγὼ, Δημόσθενε, οὐδὲν πέπονθα:" "Νὴ Δῖa," 
φάναι, "μὴν ἀκούω φωνὴν ἄδικομένου καὶ πε- 
pouθότος." οὕτως ἤτεο μέγα πρὸς πίστιν εἶναι 
τὸν τόνον καὶ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν τῶν λεγόντων. τοῖς 
μὲν οὖν πολλοῖς ὑποκρινόμενοι ἤρεσκε θαυμαστῶς, 851 
oi δὲ χαρίεντες ταπεινῶν ἤγοντο καὶ ἅγεννες 
autoi to pláisma kai malakón, ón kai Δημήτριos 
4 ó Phalhreús éstiv. Ἀισίωνα δὲ φησιν Ἑρμιππος, 
ἐρωτηθέντα περὶ τῶν πάλαι ῥητόρων καὶ τῶν 
καθ' αὐτῶν, εἰπεῖν ὡς ἀκούων μὲν ἄν τις ἑθαύ- 
μασεν ἐκείνους εὐκόσμος καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς τῷ 
δήμῳ διαλεγόμενος, ἀναγινωσκόμενοι δ' οἱ Δημο- 
σθένους λόγοι πολὺ τῇ κατασκευῇ καὶ δυνάμει 
diaφέρουσιν. οἱ μὲν οὖν γεγραμμένοι τῶν λόγων

26
Demosthenes himself, now grown old. The indistinctness and lisping\(^1\) in his speech he used to correct and drive away by taking pebbles in his mouth and then reciting speeches. His voice he used to exercise by discoursing while running or going up steep places, and by reciting speeches or verses at a single breath. Moreover, he had in his house a large looking-glass, and in front of this he used to stand and go through his exercises in declamation.

A story is told of a man coming to him and begging his services as advocate, and telling at great length how he had been assaulted and beaten by some one. "But certainly," said Demosthenes, "you got none of the hurts which you describe." Then the man raised his voice and shouted: "I, Demosthenes, no hurts?" "Now, indeed," said Demosthenes, "I hear the voice of one who is wronged and hurt." So important in winning credence did he consider the tone and action of the speaker. Accordingly, his own action in speaking was astonishingly pleasing to most men, but men of refinement, like Demetrius the Phalerian, thought his manner low, ignoble, and weak. And Hermippus tells us that Aesion,\(^2\) when asked his opinion of the ancient orators as compared with those of his own time, said that one would have listened with admiration when the older orators discoursed to the people decorously and in the grand manner, but that the speeches of Demosthenes, when read aloud, were far superior in point of arrangement and power. Now, it is needless to remark that

\(^{1}\) Strictly, an inability to pronounce the letter "r," giving instead the sound of "l." See the Alcibiades, i. 4.

\(^{2}\) A contemporary of Demosthenes.
On the Crown, § 18.

About 350 B.C. The speech “Against Meidias” (Or. xxii.) was never delivered. See § 154.
DEMOSTHENES, XI. 4–XII. 2

his written speeches have much in them that is harsh and bitter; but in his extempore rejoinders he was also humorous. For instance, when Demades said: “Demosthenes teach me! As well might the sow teach Athena.” “It was this Athena,” said Demosthenes, “that was lately found playing the harlot in Collytus.” And to the thief nick-named Brazen, who attempted to make fun of him for his late hours and his writing at night, “I know,” he said, “that I annoy you with my lighted lamp. But you, men of Athens, must not wonder at the thefts that are committed, when we have thieves of brass, but house-walls of clay.” However, though I have still more to say on this head, I shall stop here; the other traits of his character, and his disposition, should be surveyed in connection with his achievements as a statesman.

XII. Well, then, he set out to engage in public matters after the Phocian war had broken out, as he himself says, and as it is possible to gather from his Philippic harangues. For some of these were made after the Phocian war was already ended, and the earliest of them touch upon affairs which were closely connected with it. And it is clear that when he prepared himself to speak in the prosecution of Meidias he was thirty-two years old, but had as yet no power or reputation in the conduct of the city’s affairs. And his fears on this score were the chief reason, in my opinion, why he compromised his case against the man he hated for a sum of money:

“For he was not at all a sweet-tempered man or of gentle mood,”

4 Iliad, xx. 467, of Achilles.

29
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

άλλ' ἐντόνος καὶ βίαιος περὶ τὰς ἀμύνας. ὅρων
δὲ οὐ φαύλου ὅψε τῆς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως ἔργων
ἀνδρα καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ φιλοις εὑ πε-
φραγμένον καθελείν, τὸν Μεδίαν, ἐνέδωκε τοῖς
υπὲρ αὐτοῦ δεομένοις. αἰ δὲ τρισχίλαι καθ'
εαυτᾶς οὐκ ἂν μοι δοκοῦσι τὴν Δημοσθένους
ἀμβλύναι πικρίαν, ἐλπίζοντος καὶ δυνάμενον
περιγενέσθαι.

Δαβὼν δὲ τῆς πολιτείας καλὴν ὑπόθεσιν τὴν
πρὸς Φίλιππον ὑπὲρ τὸν 'Ελλήνων δικαιολογίαν,
καὶ πρὸς ταύτην ἀγωνιζόμενος ἄξιως, ταχὺ δόξαν
ἔσχε καὶ περὶβλεπτός ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων ἱρθη καὶ
tῆς παρρησίας, ὡστε θαυμάξεσθαι μὲν ἐν τῇ 'Ελ-
λάδι, θεραπεύσεσθαι δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως,
πλείστον δ' αὐτοῦ λόγον εἶναι παρὰ τῷ Φίλιππῳ
tῶν δημαγωγούντων, ὁμολογεῖν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπε-
χανομένους ὅτι πρὸς ἐνδοξὸν αὐτοῖς ἀνθρωπον
ὁ ἀγών ἔστι. καὶ γὰρ Αἰσχύνης καὶ 'Ὑπερείδης
τοιαῦτα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κατηγοροῦντες εἰρήκασιν.

ΧΙΙΙ. 'Οθεν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως παρέστη Θεοπόμπω
λέγειν αὐτὸν ἀβέβαιον τῷ τρόπῳ γεγονότεροι καὶ
μὴτε πράγμασι μὴτ ἀνθρώπως πολὺν χρόνον
tοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιμένειν δυνάμενοι. φαίνεται γὰρ,
εἰς ἦν ἂν ἀρχής τῶν πραγμάτων μερίδα καὶ
tάξιν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ κατέστησε, ταύτην
ἀχρι τέλους διαφυλάξας, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ βίῳ
μὴ μεταβαλόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν βίον ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ
 metavαλέσθαι προέμενος. οὐ γὰρ, ὥς Δημάδης
ἀπολογοούμενος διὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ μεταβολήν
ἐλεγεν, αὐτῷ μὲν αὐτὸν τάναντία πολλάκις εἰρη-
κέναι, τῇ δὲ πόλει μηδέποτε, καὶ Μελάνωτος
30
DEMOSTHENES, xii. 2–xiii. 2

but vehement and violent in his requitals. However, seeing that it was no mean task and one beyond his power to overthrow a man like Meidias, who was well hedged about with wealth, oratory and friends, he yielded to those who interceded in his behalf. For it does not seem to me that the three thousand drachmas of themselves could have dulled the bitter feelings of Demosthenes if he had expected or felt able to triumph over his adversary.

But when he had once taken as a noble basis for his political activity the defence of the Greeks against Philip, and was contending worthily here, he quickly won a reputation and was lifted into a conspicuous place by the boldness of his speeches, so that he was admired in Greece, and treated with deference by the Great King; Philip, too, made more account of him than of any other popular leader at Athens, and it was admitted even by those who hated him that they had to contend with a man of mark. For both Aeschines and Hypereides say thus much for him while denouncing him.

XIII. Wherefore I do not know how it occurred to Theopompos to say that Demosthenes was unstable in his character and unable to remain true for any length of time to the same policies or the same men. For it is apparent that after he had at the outset adopted a party and a line of policy in the conduct of the city’s affairs, he maintained this to the end, and not only did not change his position while he lived, but actually gave up his life that he might not change it. For he was not like Demades, who apologised for his change of policy by saying that he often spoke at variance with himself, but never at variance with the interests of the
ἀντιπολιτευόμενος Καλλιστράτῳ καὶ πολλάκις 852 ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ χρήμασι μετατιθέμενος εἰώθει λέγειν πρὸς τὸν δήμον. “Ὁ μὲν ἄνθρωπος, τὸ δὲ 3 τῆς πόλεως νικάτω συμφέρον,” Νικόδημος δ’ ὁ Μεσσήνιος Κασάνδρῳ προστιθέμενος πρότερον, εἰτ’ αὐθις ὑπὲρ Δημητρίου πολιτευόμενος οὐκ ἔφη τάναντια λέγειν, ἀλὰ γὰρ εἶναι συμφέρον ἀκροάσθαι τῶν κρατοῦντων, οὕτω καὶ περὶ Δημοσθένους ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν οἶνον ἐκτρεπομένου καὶ πλαγιάζοντος ἡ φωνὴν ἡ πράξειν, ἀλλ’ ὡςπερ ἀφ’ ἔνοι καὶ ἀμεταβλήτου διαγράμματος τῆς πολιτείας ἔνα τόνον ἔχων ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀλὲ 4 διετέλεσε. Παναίτιος δ’ ὁ φιλόσοφος καὶ τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ φησιν οὕτω γεγράφθαι τοὺς πλείστους ὡς μόνον τοῦ καλοῦ δι’ αὐτὸ αἵρετον ὄντος, τῶν περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου, τῶν κατὰ Ἀριστοκράτους, τῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀτελείων, τοὺς Φιλιππικοὺς· ἐν οἷς πᾶσιν οὐ πρὸς τὸ ἡδίστον ὡς ἡ αἰστηλεστάτου ἀγεί τοὺς πολίτας, ἀλλὰ πολλαχοῦ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν οἶεται δεῖν ἐν δευτέρα τάξει τοῦ καλοῦ ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τοῦ πρέπουν, ὡς, εἰγε τῇ περὶ τὰς ὑποθέσεις αὐτοῦ φιλοτιμία καὶ τῇ τῶν λόγων εὔγενεία παρῆν ἀνδρεία τε πολεμιστήριος καὶ τὸ καθαρὸς ἐκαστα πράπτειν, οὐκ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μοιροκλέα καὶ Πολύευκτον καὶ Ὁπερείδην ἀριθμὸ τῶν ῥητόρων, ἀλλ’ ἂν ὁ μετὰ Κίμωνος καὶ Θουκυδίδου καὶ Περικλέους ἄξιος ἦν τίσεσθαι.
city; nor like Melanopus, who, though opposed politically to Callistratus, was often bought over by him, and then would say to the people: "The man is my enemy, it is true, but the interests of the city shall prevail"; nor like Nicodemus the Messenian, who first attached himself to Cassander, and then again advocated the interests of Demetrius, but said that he was not contradicting himself, for it was always advantageous to listen to one's masters. We cannot say such things of Demosthenes also, as of one who is turned from his course and veers to and fro either in word or deed—nay, he followed one unchangeable scale, as it were, and ever held to one key in politics. And Panaetius the philosopher says that most of his speeches also are written in the conviction that the good alone is to be chosen for its own sake, as, for instance, the speech "On the Crown," 1 the one "Against Aristocrates," 2 that "For the Immunities," 3 and the Philippics; 4 for in all these he does not try to lead his countrymen to do what is pleasantest or easiest or most profitable, but in many places thinks they ought to make their safety and preservation secondary to what is honourable and fitting, so that, if the loftiness of his principles and the nobility of his speeches had been accompanied by such bravery as becomes a warrior and by incorruptibility in all his dealings, he would have been worthy to be numbered, not with such orators as Moerocles, Polyeuctus, Hypereides, and their contemporaries, but high up with Cimon, Thucydides, and Pericles.

1 Or. xviii. 2 Or. xxiii. 3 Or. xx. (Against Leptines). 4 Ors. iv., vi., ix.
XIV. Τῶν γοῦν κατ’ αὐτὸν ὁ Φωκίων οὐκ ἐπαινομένης προϊστάμενος πολιτείας, ἀλλὰ ἐκόνων μακεδονίζειν, ὃμως δι' ἀνδρείαν καὶ δικαίοσύνην οὐδὲν οὐδαμὴ χείρων ἐδοξεῖν Ἐφιάλτου καὶ Ἀρι-2 στείδου καὶ Κίμωνος ἀνήρ γενέσθαι. Δημοσθένης δ' οὖν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὁπλοὶ ἀξιόπιστος, ὃς φησιν ὁ Δημήτριος, οὔδε πρὸς τὸ λαμβάνειν παντάπασιν ἀπωχυρωμένος, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν παρὰ Φιλίππου καὶ Μακεδονίας ἀνάλωτος οὖν, τῷ δ' ἀνώθεν ἐκ Σούσων καὶ Ἐκβατάνων ἐπιβατὸς χρυσίῳ γεγονὼς καὶ κατακεκλυσμένος, ἐπαινέσαι μὲν ἰκανώτατος ἢν τὰ τῶν προγόνων καλά, μιμήσασθαι δὲ οὐχ ὀμοίος. ἐπεὶ τοὺς γε καθ' αὐτὸν ρήτορας (ἐξο δὲ λόγου τίθεμαι Φωκίωνα) καὶ τῷ βίῳ παρῆλθε.  

3 φαίνεται δὲ καὶ μετὰ παρρησίας μάλιστα τῷ δήμῳ διαλεγόμενος καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῶν πολλῶν ἀντιτείμων καὶ τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασιν αὐτῶν ἐπιφυόμενος, ὡς ἐκ τῶν λόγων λαβεὶν ἐστίν. ἰστορεῖ δὲ καὶ Θεόπομπος ὅτι, τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ τινα προβαλλομένων αὐτὸν κατηγορίαν, ὡς δ' οὐχ ὑπήκουε, θορυβοῦτων, ἀναστάς ἐιπὲν "Τμεῖς ἐμοί, δ' ἀνδρεῖς Ἀθηναῖοι, συμβούλῳ μὲν, κἂν μὴ θέλετε, χρήσεσθε: συκοφάντη δὲ οὐδὲ ἂν θέλητε."  

4 σφόδρα δ' ἀριστοκρατίκων αὐτοῦ πολιτευμα καὶ τὸ περὶ Ἀντιφῶντος· ὃν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀφεθέντα συλλαβῶν ἐπὶ τήν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου

---

1 Theopompus almost always displays hostility to Athens and her popular leaders.
XIV. At any rate, Phocion, among his contemporaries, though he took the lead in a policy which is not to be commended, and though he had the reputation of favouring Macedonia, nevertheless, by reason of his bravery and integrity, was held to be in no wise inferior to Ephialtes and Aristides and Cimon. Demosthenes, however, was not worthy of confidence when he bore arms, as Demetrius says, nor was he altogether inaccessible to bribes, but though he did not succumb to the gold which came from Philip and Macedonia, that which came down in streams from Susa and Ecbatana reached and overwhelmed him, and therefore while he was most capable of praising the virtues of earlier generations, he was not so good at imitating them. For certainly the orators of his own day (though I leave Phocion out of the account) were surpassed by him even in his life and conversation. And it is manifest that beyond them all he reasoned boldly with the people, opposed himself to the desires of the multitude, and persistently attacked their faults, as may be gathered from his speeches. And even Theopompus 1 tells us that, when the Athenians nominated him to conduct a certain impeachment, and, on his refusal, raised a tumult against him, he rose and said: "Men of Athens, I will serve you as a counsellor, even though you do not wish it; but not as a false accuser, even though you wish it." Moreover, the measures which he took in the case of Antiphon 2 were exceedingly aristocratic in their spirit. Antiphon had been acquitted by the assembly, but Demosthenes arrested him and brought him before the council of the Areio-

---

βουλὴν ἀνηγαγε, καὶ παρ' οὐδὲν τὸ προσκρούσαι τῷ δήμῳ θέμενος ἢλεγξεν ὑπεσχημένον Φιλίππῳ τὰ νεώρια ἐμπρήσειν καὶ παραδοθεὶς ὁ ἀνθρώπος ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπέθανε. κατηγόρησε δὲ καὶ τῆς ἱερείας Θεωρίδος ὡς ἄλλα τε ῥαδιουργούσης πολλὰ καὶ τοὺς δούλους ἐξαπατῶν διδασκούσης· καὶ θανάτου τιμησάμενος ἀπέκτεινε.

XV. Δέγεται δὲ καὶ τὸν κατὰ Τιμοθέου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ λόγον, ὃ χρησάμενος Ἀπολλόδωρος εἴλε τὸν ἀνδρά τοῦ ὀφλήματος, Δημοσθένης γράψαι τῷ Ἀπολλόδωρῳ, καθάπερ καὶ τοὺς πρὸς Φορμίωνα καὶ Στέφανου, ἐφ' ὃις εἰκότως ἤδοξησε. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Φορμίων ἠγωνίζετο λόγῳ Δημοσθένους πρὸς τὸν Ἀπολλόδωρον, ἀτεχνῶς καθάπερ ἐξ ἐνὸς μαχαιροπολίου τὰ κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐγχειρίδια 2 πωλούντος αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀντιδικοῖς. τῶν δὲ δημοσίων ὁ μὲν κατ' Ἀνδροτίωνος καὶ Τιμοκράτους καὶ Ἀριστοκράτους ἐτέρους ἐγράφησαν, σύμω τῇ πολιτείᾳ προσεληλυθότος· δοκεῖ γὰρ δυῶν ἢ 853 τριῶν δέοντα ἐτή τριάκοντα γεγονὼς ἐξενεγκεῖν τοὺς λόγους ἐκείνους· τὸν δὲ κατὰ Ἀριστογείτονος αὐτοῦ ἠγωνίσατο, καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν ἀτελείων, διὰ τὸν Χαβρίου παϊδα Κτήσιππον, ὡς φησιν αὐτὸς, ὡς ὃ ἐνιοὶ λέγουσι, τὴν μητέρα τοῦ νεανίσκου 3 μνώμενος. οὐ μὴν ἔγνημε ταύτην, ἀλλὰ Σαμία.
DEMOSTHENES, xiv. 4–xv. 3

pagus, and making no account of the offence thus given to the people, convicted him of having promised Philip to set fire to the dockyards; and Antiphon was given up to justice by the council and suffered death. He also accused the priestess Theoris of many misdemeanours, and particularly of teaching the slaves to practise deceit; and by fixing the penalty at death he brought about her execution.

XV. It is said, too, that the speech which Apollodorus used in order to secure the conviction of Timotheus the general in an action for debt was written for him by Demosthenes, and likewise the speeches which Apollodorus used against Phormio and Stephanus, in which cases Demosthenes properly won discredit. For Phormio contended against Apollodorus with a speech which Demosthenes had written for him, the orator thus simply selling to the disputants, as it were from one and the same cutlery-shop, the knives with which to wound each other. Moreover, of his public orations, those against Androtion and Timocrates and Aristocrates were written for others to pronounce, before he had as yet entered public life; for it appears that these speeches were produced when he was twenty-seven or twenty-eight years of age. But he himself delivered the speech against Aristogeiton, as well as the one “On the Immunities,” at the instance, as he himself says, of Ctesippus the son of Chabrias, but as some say, because he was wooing the mother of this young man. However, he did not marry this woman, but had a certain woman of Samos

1 Or. xxxvi.  2 See chapter iv. 1.  3 Or. xxii.
4 Or. xxiv.  5 Or. xxiii.  6 Or. xxv.  7 Or. xx.
τινὶ συνφήκησεν, ὡς ἰστορεῖ Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης ἐν τοῖς περὶ συνωνύμων. ὦ δὲ κατ’ Αισχύνου τῆς παραπρεσβείας ἅδηλον εἰ λέλεκται, καίτοι φησίν Ἰδομενεὺς παρὰ τριάκοντα μόνας τὸν Αισχύνην ἀποφυγεῖν. ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔσικεν οὕτως ἔχειν τάληθές, εἰ δεῖ τοῖς περὶ στεφάνου γεγραμμένους ἑκατέρων λόγοις τεκμαίρεσθαι. μέμινται γὰρ οὐδέτερος αὐτῶν ἐναργῶς οὐδὲ πρανῶς ἔκεινον τοῦ ἀγώνος ὡς ἀχρὶ δίκης προελθόντος. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐτεροὶ διακρινοῦσι μᾶλλον.

XVI. Ἡ δὲ τοῦ Δημοσθένους πολιτεία φανερὰ μὲν ἢν ἔτι καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ὑπαρχοῦσης, οὐδὲν ἔσιντος ἀνεπιτίμητον τῶν πραττομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Μακεδόνος, ἀλλ’ ἐφ’ ἐκάστῳ ταράττοντος τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ διακαίνοντος ἐπὶ τὸν ἀνθρώπον. διὸ καὶ παρὰ Φιλίππῳ πλείστος ἢν λόγος αὐτοῦ· καὶ ὅτε πρεσβεύων δέκατος ἦκεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, ἥκουσε μὲν πάντων Φιλίππου, ἀντεῖπε δὲ μετὰ 2 πλείστης ἐπιμελείας πρὸς τὸν ἔκεινον λόγον. οὐ μὴν ἔν γε ταῖς ἅλλαις τιμαῖς καὶ φιλοφροσύναις ὁμοίως αὐτὸν τῷ Δημοσθένει παρεῖχεν, ἀλλὰ προσήγετο τοὺς περὶ Αἰσχύνην καὶ Φιλοκράτην μᾶλλον. ὅθεν ἐπαινοῦντων ἐκείνων τὸν Φιλίππου ὡς καὶ λέγειν δυνατῶτατον καὶ κάλλιστον ὀφθήναι καὶ νὴ Δία συμπτείν ἰκανῶτατον, ἡναγκάζετο βασικάνων ἐπισκόπτειν ὡς τὸ μὲν σοφιστοῖ, τὸ δὲ γυναικὸς, τὸ δὲ σπογγιάς εἰς, βασιλεῖς δ’ οὐδὲν ἐγκόμιον.

38
to wife, as Demetrius the Magnesian tells us in his work "On Persons of the Same Name." Whether the speech denouncing the treacherous embassage of Aeschines\(^1\) was delivered or not, is uncertain; and yet Idomeneus says that Aeschines got off by only thirty votes. But this would seem to be untrue, if we are to judge by the written speeches of both orators "On the Crown."\(^2\) For neither of them speaks clearly and distinctly of that contention as one which came to trial. This question, however, will have to be decided by others.

XVI. The political attitude of Demosthenes was manifest even while peace still lasted, for he would let no act of the Macedonian pass uncensured, but on every occasion kept rousing and inflaming the Athenians against him. Therefore Philip also made most account of him; and when Demosthenes came to Macedonia in an embassy of ten,\(^3\) Philip listened indeed to them all, but took most pains to answer his speech. As regards all other marks of honour and kindly attention, however, Philip did not treat Demosthenes as well as the others, but courted rather the party of Aeschines and Philocrates. And so when these lauded Philip as most powerful in speaking, most fair to look upon, and, indeed, as a most capable fellow-drinker, Demosthenes had to say in bitter raillery that the first encomium was appropriate for a sophist, the second for a woman, and the third for a sponge, but none of them for a king.

\(^1\) Or. xix.
\(^2\) See the second note on xxiv. 1 f.
\(^3\) In 346 B.C. they obtained the so-called Peace of Philocrates.
XVII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὸ πολεμεῖν ἔρρεπε τὰ πράγματα, τοῦ μὲν Φιλίππου μὴ δυναμένου τὴν ἱσυχίαν ἀγεῖν, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἐγειρομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Δημοσθένους, πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Εὐβοιαν ἐξώρισε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καταδεδομενήν ὑπὸ τῶν τυράννων Φιλίππων καὶ διαβάντες, ἐκεῖνον τὸ ψήφισμα γράψαντος, ἐξῆλασαν τοὺς Μακε- 2 δόνας. δεύτερον δὲ Βυζαντίως ἐβοήθησε καὶ Περινθίως ὑπὸ τοῦ Μακεδόνος πολεμουμένους, πείσας τὸν δῆμον ἀφέντα τὴν ἐχθραν καὶ τὸ μεμνησθαί τῶν περὶ τὸν συμμαχικὸν ἡμαρτημένων ἐκατέροις πόλεμον ἀποστείλαι δύναμιν αὐτοῖς, 3 ὑφ’ ἣς ἐσωθησαν. ἐπείτα πρεσβεύων καὶ δια- λεγόμενος τοῖς Ἑλλησ καὶ παροξύνων συνεστησε πλὴν ὀλίγων ἀπαντας ἐπὶ τὸν Φιλίππον, ὅστε σύνταξιν γενέσθαι πεζῶν μὲν μυρίων καὶ πεντα- κισχιλίων, ἱππέων δὲ δισχιλίων, ἀνευ τῶν πολι- τικῶν δυνάμεων, χρήματα δὲ καὶ μισθοὺς τοῖς ἔνοις εἰσφέρεσθαι προθύμως. ὅτε καὶ φησὶ Θεόφραστος, ἀξιούντων τῶν συμμάχων ὀρισθῆ- ναι τὰς εἰσφορὰς, ἐπείν Κροβύλου τὸν δημα- γογοῦν ὡς οὐ τεταγμένα σιτεῖται πόλεμος.

4 Ἐπηρμένης δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πρὸς τὸ μέλλον καὶ συνισταμένων κατ’ ἐθνὶ καὶ πόλεις Εὐβοεών, Ἀχαιῶν, Κορινθίων, Μεγαρέων, Λευκάδιων, Κερ- κυραίων, ὁ μέγιστος ὑπελείπετο τῷ Δημοσθένει τῶν ἁγώνων, Ἐθβαίους προσαγαγόθεσθαι τῇ συμ-
XVII. And when matters were inclining at last to war, since Philip was unable to keep quiet and the Athenians were being stirred up by Demosthenes, in the first place, he urged the Athenians to invade Euboea, which had been brought into subjection to Philip by its tyrants; and it was on his motion that they crossed over to the island and drove out the Macedonians. In the second place, he came to the aid of the citizens of Byzantium and Perinthus when the Macedonian was making war upon them, by persuading the Athenian people to remit their hatred and forget the wrongs committed by each of these cities in the Social War, and to send them a force,—the force which saved them. Next, he went on an embassy to the Greek states, and by arguing with them and pricking them on brought almost all of them into a league against Philip, so that they raised a mercenary force of fifteen thousand foot and two thousand horse, apart from the citizen soldiery, and readily contributed money to pay them. It was at this time, as Theophrastus says, when the allies were demanding that their contributions be fixed within limits, that Crobylus the popular leader said: "War has no fixed rations."  

Greece was now in suspense as it thought of the future, and its peoples and cities were leaguing themselves together, Euboeans, Achaeans, Corinthians, Megarians, Leucadians, and Corecyraeans. But the most important struggle still remained for Demosthenes in bringing the Thebans to join

1 At the outbreak of the Social War (357-355 B.C.) Byzantium and other allies of Athens had revolted from her.
2 See the note on the Crassus, ii. 8.
In 339 B.C., Philip was deputed by the Amphictyonic Council to punish the city of Amphissa, near Delphi, for sacrilege. Cf. Demosthenes, On the Crown, §§ 143 ff.
the alliance, for they had a territory bounding that of Attica and a force ready to take the field, and at that time were accounted the best soldiers in Greece. But it was no easy matter, in view of the recent benefits with which Philip had cultivated their favour during the Phocian war, to make the Thebans change sides, and especially because in the petty quarrels brought on by their proximity to Athens the differences which made for war between the two cities were all the while stirred up anew.

XVIII. Philip, however, elated by his good-fortune in the matter of Amphissa,\(^1\) surprised Elateia and occupied Phocis. This step drove the Athenians out of their senses: no one ventured to ascend the bema and no one knew what ought to be said, but perplexity and silence reigned in the assembly. Then it was that Demosthenes, and he alone, came forward and advised the people to cling to Thebes; and after giving them courage in other ways and buoying them up with hopes, as he was wont to do, he was sent with others as ambassador to Thebes. Philip also, as Marsyas tells us, sent Amyntas and Clearchus of Macedonia, Daochus of Thessaly, and Thrasydaeus, to speak in opposition to the Athenians.

Well, then, the Thebans, in their calculations, were not blind to their own interests, but each of them had before his eyes the terrors of war, since their losses in the Phocian war\(^2\) were still fresh; however, the power of the orator, as Theopompus says, fanned up their courage and inflamed

\(^2\) The second so-called Sacred War (357–346 B.C.), in which Athens aided the Phocians, and Philip the Thebans.
τὸν θυμὸν αὐτῶν καὶ διακαίουσα τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ἐπεσκόπησε τοῖς ἅλλοις ἀπασίω, ὡστε καὶ φόβον καὶ λόγισμὸν καὶ χάριν ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐνθουσιώντας ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου πρὸς τὸ καλὸν. οὕτω δὲ μέγα καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐφάνη τοῦ ῥήτορος ἔργον ὡστε τὸν μὲν Φίλιππον εὐθὺς ἐπικηρυκεύονται δεόμενον εἰρήνης, ὁρθὴν δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα γενέσθαι καὶ συνεξαναστήναι πρὸς τὸ μέλλον, ὑπηρετεῖν δὲ μὴ μόνον τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῷ Δημοσθένει ποιόντων τὸ προστατήμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς βοιωτάρχας, διοικεῖσθαι δὲ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἀπάσας οὐδὲν ἡττον ὑπ’ ἐκεῖνον τότε τὰς Ἡθικῶν ή τὰς Ἀθηναίων, ἀγαπωμένου παρ’ ἀμφότερούς καὶ δυναστεύοντος οὐκ ἄδικως οὐδὲ παρ’ ἄξιον, ὡσπερ ἀποφαίνεται Θεόπομπος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ προσηκόντωσ.

Χ. Τύχη δὲ τις έοικε δαιμόνιος ἐν περιφορᾷ πραγmátων, εἰς ἐκεῖνο καίροῦ συμπεραίνουσα τὴν ἑλευθερίαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἐναντιοῦσθαι τοῖς πραττόμενοις, καὶ πολλὰ σημεία τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀναφαίνειν, ἐν οἷς ἡ τε Πυθία δεινὰ προφαίνει μαντεύματα, καὶ χρησμὸς ἦδετο παλαιὸς ἐκ τῶν Σιβυλλεῖων.

τῆς ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντι μάχης ἀπάνευθε γενοὺς, αἰετὸς ἐν νεφέεσσι καὶ ἧρι θησασθαι. κλαίει ὁ νικηθεὶς, ὁ δὲ νικήσας ἀπόλωλε.

2 Τὸν δὲ Θερμώδοντά φασιν εἶναι παρ’ ἦμῖν ἐν Χαίρωνείᾳ ποτάμιον μικρόν εἰς τὸν Κηφισοῦν ἐμβάλλον. ἡμεῖς δὲ νῦν μὲν οὐδὲν οὕτω τῶν ρεμμάτων ἵσμεν ὄνομαζομεν, εἰκαζόμεν δὲ τὸν καλοῦμεν Λίμόνα Θερμώδοντα λέγεσθαι τότε.
their honourable ambition and obscured all other considerations, so that, casting away fear and calculation and feelings of obligation, they were rapt away by his words into the path of honour. And so great and glorious was the orator's success seen to be that Philip at once sent an embassy and asked for peace, while Greece was confident and up in arms to aid Demosthenes for the future; and not only did the Athenian generals assist him and do what he ordered, but also the Boeotarchs. He managed at this time all the assemblies of the Thebans no less than those of the Athenians; he was beloved by both peoples and exercised supreme power, not illegally nor unworthily, as Theopompus declares, but rather with perfect propriety.

XIX. But it would seem that some divinely ordered fortune in the revolution of affairs, which was putting an end at this time to the freedom of the Greeks, opposed their efforts, and showed forth many signs of what was to come. Among these were the dire prophecies which the Pythian priestess made known, and an ancient oracle which was recited from the Sibylline books:—

"From the battle on Thermodon may I be far removed,
To behold it like an eagle in clouds and upper air.
Tears are for the conquered there, and for the conqueror, death."

Now, the Thermodon, they say, is in my native territory, in Chaeroneia, being a little river which empties into the Cephisus. But I know of no river bearing this name at the present time; I conjecture, however, that the stream now called Haemon then
καὶ γὰρ παραρρέιπαρα τὸ 'Ηράκλειον, ὅποιον κατεστρατοπέδευον οἱ Ἑλληνες καὶ τεκμαίρομεθα τῆς μάχης γενομένης αἵματος ἐμπληθέντα καὶ νεκρῶν τὸν ποταμὸν ταύτην διαλλάξαι τὴν προσ- 
ηγορίαν. ὁ δὲ Δοῦρης οὐ ποταμὸν εἶναι φησί 
tῶν Θερμώδουτα, ἀλλ’ ἱστάμεθα τινὰς σκηνῆν 
καὶ περιορύπτοντας ἁνδριαντίσκον εὑρεῖν λίθον, 
ὑπὸ γραμμάτων τινῶν διασημαίνομενον ὡς εἶν 
Θερμώδων, ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις Ἀμαζόνα φέροντα 
tετρωμένην. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ χρησμὸν ἄλλον 
ἀδεσθαί λέγοντα:

tὴν δ’ ἐπὶ Θερμώδουτι μάχην μένε, παμμέλαν 
ὁρνί·

tηνεὶ τοι δρέα πολλὰ παρέστεται ἄνθρωπεια.

ΧΧ. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁποῖς ἔχει, διαίτησαι 
χαλεπῶν: ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης λέγεται τοῖς τῶν 
Ἑλλήνων ὁπλοῖς ἐκτεθαρρηκώς, καὶ λαμπρός ὑπὸ 
ῥώμης καὶ προθυμίας ἁνδρῶν τοσοῦτων προκαλο-
μένων τοὺς πολεμίους αἱρόμενος, οὔτε χρησμοῖς 
ἐὰν προσέχειν οὔτε μαντείας ἀκούειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ 
tὴν Πυθίαν ὑπονοεῖν ὡς φιλιππᾶον ἄντι 
Ἀμαζόνων ἢ αἰήμησκον ὑπὸ Θηβαίους καὶ 
Περικλέους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὡς ἔκεινοι τὰ τοιαῦτα 855 
ἑιλίας ἴηούμενοι προφάσεις ἐχρόνιτο τοῖς λο-

2 γιόσοις. μέχρι μὲν οὖν τούτων ἄνὴρ ἢν ἀγαθός· 
ἐν δὲ τῇ μάχῃ καλὸν οὐδὲν οὐδ’ ὀμολογούμενον

46
bore the name of Thermodon. For it flows past the Heracleum, where the Greeks had their camp; and I judge that after the battle the river was filled with blood and corpses and therefore received its present name in exchange. Duris, however, says that this Thermodon was not a river, but that some soldiers who were pitching a tent and digging a trench about it, found a small stone figure, an inscription upon which signified that it was Thermodon, carrying in its arms a wounded Amazon. They say also that in reference to this another oracle is recited as follows:—

"For the battle on Thermodon wait thou, all-black bird;
There thou shalt have in abundance the flesh of men."

XX. How this matter really stands, then, it is difficult to decide; but as for Demosthenes, he is said to have had complete confidence in the Greek forces, and to have been lifted into a state of glowing excitement by the strength and ardour of so many men eager to engage the enemy, so that he would not suffer his countrymen to give heed to oracles or listen to prophecies; nay, he even suspected the Pythian priestess of being in sympathy with Philip, reminding the Thebans of Epaminondas and the Athenians of Pericles, and declaring that those great leaders regarded things of this kind as pretexts for cowardice, and therefore followed the dictates of reason. Up to this point, then, he was a brave man; but in the battle he displayed no con-

1 Deriving ἄμαι from ἄμα (blood).
2 i.e. the god of the river Thermodon, in Cappadocia, on the banks of which the Amazons were thought to dwell. Cf. the Theseus, xxvii. 6.
3 At Chaeroneia, 338 B.C.
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

ἐργον οἷς εἶπεν ὀποδειξάμενος ὥχετο λιπών τὴν τάξιν, ἀποδράς αἰσχιστα καὶ τὰ ὀπλα βίψας, οὕτε τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν τῆς ἀσπίδος, ὥς ἔλεγε Πυθέας, αἰσχυνθεῖς, ἐπιγεγραμμένης γράμμασι χρυσοῖς, Ἀγαθῆ τύχη.

3 Παραμτίκα μὲν οὖν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ διὰ τὴν χαρὰν εξύβρίσας, καὶ κωμᾶσας ἐπὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς μεθύων, ὡς τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ Δημοσθένους ψηφίσματος πρὸς πόδα διαιρὸν καὶ ὑποκρούων.

Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς τὰδ’ εἶπεν·

ἐκνῇψας δὲ καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ περιστάντος αὐτοῦ ἀγώνος ἐν νῷ λαβὼν ἐφριττε τὴν δεινότητα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ῥήτορος, ἐν μέρει μικρῷ μιᾶς ἡμέρας τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἱγμονίας καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀναρρίψαι κίνδυνον ἀναγκασθεῖς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ.

4 διότι δ’ ἡ δόξα μέχρι τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως· κάκεινος ἐπεμψε τοῖς σατράπαις ἐπὶ θάλασσαν γράμματα, χρῆματα Δημοσθένει διδόναι κελεύων, καὶ προσέχειν ἐκεῖνῳ μᾶλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὡς περισπάσαι δυναμένῳ καὶ κατασχεῖν ταῖς Ἑλλη-

5 νικαῖς ταραχάς τὸν Μακεδόνα. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ύστερον ἐφώρασεν Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἐπιστολὰς τινὰς ἀνευρὼν τοῦ Δημοσθένους καὶ γράμματα τῶν βασιλέως στρατηγῶν, δηλοῦσα τὸ πλήθος τῶν δοθέντων αὐτῷ χρημάτων.

XXI. Τότε δ’ τῆς ἀτυχίας τοῖς Ἐλλησι γεγενημένης οἱ μὲν ἀντιπολιτευόμενοι ῥήτορες
duct that was honourable or consonant with his words, but forsook his post, cast away his arms, and ran away most disgracefully, nor was he ashamed to belie the inscription on his shield, as Pytheas said, whereon was written in letters of gold, "With good fortune."

Immediately after his victory, then, Philip waxed insolent for joy, and going forth in revel rout to see the bodies of the slain, and being in his cups, recited the beginning of the decree introduced by Demosthenes, dividing it into feet and marking off the time:—

"Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes, of Paeania, thus moves;" ¹ but when he got sober and realized the magnitude of the struggle in which he had been involved, he shuddered at the power and the ability of the orator who had forced him to hazard his empire and his life in the brief span of a single day. And the fame of this orator penetrated even to the Persian king, who sent letters to his satraps on the coast, bidding them to offer money to Demosthenes, and to pay more attention to him than to any other Greek, since he was able to distract and detain the Macedonian ² with the troubles which he raised in Greece. These things, now, were discovered at a later time by Alexander, who found at Sardis certain letters of Demosthenes and documents of the King's generals, which disclosed the amount of money they had given him.

XXI. At this time, however, when their disaster fell upon the Greeks, the orators of the opposing

¹ The Greek words form an iambic tetrameter catalectic.
² Philip was threatening the invasion of Asia.
ἐπεμβαίνοντες τῷ Δημοσθένει κατεσκεύαζον ευθύνας καὶ γραφᾶς ἑπ' αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ δῆμος οὐ μόνον τούτων ἄπέλυεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμῶν διετέλει καὶ προκαλούμενος αὕθις ὡς εὐνοοῦν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν,
2 ὡστε καὶ τῶν ὁστέων ἑκ Χαιρώνειας κομισθέντων καὶ θαπτομένων τὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνδράσιν ἐπαινοῦν εἰπεῖν ἀπέδωκεν, οὐ ταπεινῶς οὔδ' ἀγεννῶς φέρων τὸ συμβεβηκός, ὡς γράφει καὶ τραγῳδεῖ Θεόπομπος, ἀλλὰ τῷ τιμῶν μάλιστα καὶ κοσμεῖν τὸν σύμβουλον ἀποδεικνύμενος τὸ μὴ μεταμέλεσθαι
3 τοὺς βεβουλευμένους. τὸν μὲν οὖν λόγον εἶπεν ὁ Δημοσθένης, τοῖς δὲ ψηφίσμασιν οὐχ ἑαυτόν, ἀλλ' ἐν μέρη τῶν φίλων ἑκαστὸν ἐπέγραφεν, ἐξουσιώδομεν τὸν ἰδίον δαίμονα καὶ τὴν τύχην, ἔως αὕθια ἀνεθάρρησε Φιλίππου τελευτήσαντος. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ τῇ περὶ Χαιρώνειαν εὐτυχία χρόνον οὐ πολὺν ἐπιβιώσας· καὶ τοῦτο δοκεῖ τῷ τελευταίῳ τῶν ἐπῶν ὁ χρησμὸς ἀποθεσπίσαι·

κλαίει ὁ νικηθείς, ὁ δὲ νικήσας ἀπόλωλεν.

ΧΧII. Ἔγγο τοῦ οὖν κρύφα τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου τελευτήν ὁ Δημοσθένης, προκαταλαμβάνων δὲ τὸ θαρρεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ μέλλοντα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, προῆλθε φαίδρος εἰς τὴν βουλήν ὡς ὧναρ ἐωρακὼς ἃφ' οὐ τι μέγα προσδοκᾶν Ἀθηναίοις ἀγαθόν· καὶ μετ' οὖ πολὺ παρῆσαν οἱ τὸν Φιλίππ.
party assailed Demosthenes and prepared reckonings and indictments against him; but the people not only absolved him from these, nay, they actually continued to honour him and invited him again, as a loyal man, to take part in public affairs. Consequently, when the bones of those who had fallen at Chaeroneia were brought home for burial, they assigned to him the honour of pronouncing the eulogy over the men; nor did they show a base or ignoble spirit under the calamity which had befallen them, as Theopompus writes in his inflated style, but by the special honour and respect which they paid to their counsellor they made it manifest that they did not repent of the counsels he had given them. The oration, then, was pronounced by Demosthenes, but to the decrees which he proposed he would not put his own name, but rather those of his friends, one after the other, avoiding his own as inauspicious and unfortunate, until he once more took courage upon Philip's death. And Philip died, surviving his success at Chaeroneia only a short time;¹ and this, it would seem, was foretold by the last verse of the oracle: —

"Tears are for the conquered there, and for the conqueror, death."

XXII. Now, Demosthenes had secret intelligence of Philip's death, and by way of inspiring the Athenians with courage for the future, he came forth to the council with a glad countenance, declaring that he had had a dream which led him to expect some great blessing for Athens; and not long afterwards the messengers came with tidings of

¹ Philip was assassinated by Pausanias, one of his royal bodyguard, in 336 B.C. See the Alexander, x. 4.
ποιοθάνατον ἀπαγγέλλοντες. εὐθὺς οὖν ἔθνον εὐαγγέλια καὶ στεφανοῦν ἐψηφίσαντο Παυσανίαν. 2 καὶ προῆλθεν ὁ Δημοσθένης ἔχον λαμπρὸν ἵματιον ἑστεφανωμένος, ἐβδόμην ἦμέραν τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ τεθνηκίας, ὡς ὁ Αἰσχύνης φησὶ λοιδορῶν ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ κατηγορῶν αὐτοῦ μισοτεκνίαν, αὐτὸς ὃν ἰγνωτῆς καὶ μαλακός, εἰ τὰ πένθη καὶ τοὺς ὀδυρμοὺς ἠμέρου καὶ φιλοστόργου ψυχῆς ἐποιεῖτο σημεῖα, τὸ δὲ ἀλύτως φέρειν ταῦτα καὶ πρῶς ἄπεδοκιμαζέν. 3 Ἐγὼ δ’, ὡς μὲν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ βασιλέως ἠμέρως οὖτω καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἐν ὦς ηὐτύχισε χρησαμένου πταίσασιν αὐτοῖς στεφανηφορεῖν καλῶς εἴχε καὶ θύειν, οὐκ ἂν εἴποιμι πρὸς γὰρ τῷ νεμεσητῷ καὶ ἰγνωτῆς, ξῶντα μὲν τιμᾶν καὶ ποιεῖσθαι πολίτην, πεσόντος δ’ ὑφ’ ἑτέρου μὴ φέρειν τὴν χαρὰν μετρίως, ἀλλ’ ἐπισκιρταί τῷ νεκρῷ καὶ παιωνίζειν, ὃσπερ αὐτοὺς ἄνδρα-4 γαθήσαντας· ὅτι μέντοι τὰς οἰκοὶ τύχας καὶ δάκρυα καὶ ὀδυρμοὺς ἀπολίποιν ταῖς γυναιξίν ὁ Δημοσθένης, ἄ τῇ πόλει συμφέρειν φέτος, ταῦτ’ ἐπραττεν, ἐπαινῶ, καὶ τίθεμαι πολιτικὴς καὶ ἀνδρόδους ψυχῆς ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν ἵσταμενον καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα πάθη καὶ πράγματα τοὺς δημοσίους ἐπανέχοντα τηρεῖν τὸ ἀξίωμα πολὺ μᾶλλον ἡ
Philip's death. At once, then, the Athenians proceeded to make thank-offerings for glad tidings and voted a crown for Pausanias. And Demosthenes came forth in public dressed in a splendid robe and wearing a garland on his head, although his daughter had died only six days before, as Aeschines says, who rails at him for this and denounces him as an unnatural father. And yet Aeschines himself was of a weak and ungenerous nature, if he considered mournings and lamentations as the signs of an affectionate spirit, but condemned the bearing of such losses serenely and without repining.

For my own part, I cannot say that it was honourable in the Athenians to crown themselves with garlands and offer sacrifices to the gods on the death of a king who, in the midst of his successes, had treated them so mildly and humanely in their reverses; for besides provoking the indignation of the gods, it was also an ignoble thing to honour him while he was alive and make him a citizen of Athens, but when he had fallen by another's hand to set no bounds to their joy, nay, to leap, as it were, upon the dead, and sing paeans of victory, as if they themselves had wrought a deed of valour. However, for leaving his domestic misfortunes and tears and lamentations to the women and going about such business as he thought advantageous to the city, I commend Demosthenes, and I hold it to be the part of a statesmanlike and manly spirit to keep ever in view the good of the community, to find support for domestic sorrows and concerns in the public welfare, and to preserve one's dignity far more than actors.

1 Against Ctesiphon (or On the Crown), § 77.

VOL. VII.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

toiv òpokriticàs tòwn basileikòn kai turañnikòn pròsòpòn, òús òròmev oüte ëklaiòntas oüte gelòntas èn toîs òtètrapòs òs òntw òlèousin, álì' òs ò ògyw òpànteì pròs tìn ùpòtèsiw.
5 Xòrìs ðè tou'tòw, eì ðèi tòw àntukhìsanta ìì pèriòraín àpapàgòpòntò èn tò pàthei ëkìmevòn, álìlà kài lògòwv xhìs òhì koufìziòsì kai pròs ììdòw pràgmàta tòpìeìu tìn diànoiàn, òùspèr òi tòwv òfòðaìmìoutas àpdò tòwv lamprwv kai àntiòuòv èpì tà òlwra kai malaìka xhì-
màta tòn òfìw àpàgeiw kelexwontes, póthev ììn tìs èpàgàgouìto bèlitàw paràgòriàv ìì pàtrìdòs èntuxhòsì èk tòwv koìwv pàthòw èpì tà òikèa sùgkrasiw pòrízòmevòs tòís bèlitàsîn àfàni-
ziòusan tà xèiròw; tànta mèn òwn èvpetìì pròìhxhì-
mev òròwntas èpìkìlwntà pòllowòs kai àpòdèhìf-
ñontà tòn Aìsxhììnì tòw lògòw tou'tòw pròs òikòtw.
XXIII. Aì ðè pòleis pàlwì tòwv òhìmòstèvonis ànàrritìsìontos àwta's suvìswnto. kai Òhìzwì tòw èpèthewtò tìì òhwruì kai pòllowòs ànèliwv, òplà tà òwv òhìmòstèvoni àwtoìs swmpìparaìswà-
santos, 'Àthnàìoi òì wòs pòleiwìswntes met' àwtoìw
2 pàreskevàìzontos. kai tà bììma kataìxèv òò òhì-
mosèvni, kai pròs tòwv èn 'òsia swtràtìgouìs
tòw basileàwv ègràfhe tà wì ekeìxèn èpìgeìròw pòle-
ìwv 'Alejìàndrov, pàîda kai Márghìtw àpòkàlòwv
òwtaì. èpetìì mèntoi tà pèrì tàìì xòwraì òtwèow
parèìì àwtoìs metà tìòs dùnàmwes eìs tàìì Bwòtwiàv,
do when they take the parts of kings and tyrants; for these, as we see in the theatres, neither weep nor laugh according to their own inclinations, but as the subject of the action demands.

And apart from these considerations, if it is our duty not to allow the unfortunate to lie comfortless in his sorrow, but to address him with cheering words and turn his thoughts to pleasanter things (like those who tell people with sore eyes to withdraw their gaze from bright and hard colours and fix it upon those which are soft and green), how can a man obtain better consolation for his domestic griefs than by blending them with the general welfare of a prosperous country, thus making the better things obscure the worse? These things, then, I have been led to say on seeing that many have their hearts softened to effeminate pity by this discourse of Aeschines.

XXIII. The cities of Greece, under the incitations of Demosthenes, now formed themselves into a league again. The Thebans, whom Demosthenes had helped to provide with arms, fell upon their Macedonian garrison and slew many of them; while the Athenians made preparations to go to war along with them. Demosthenes reigned supreme in the assembly, and wrote letters to the King's generals in Asia stirring them up to make war upon Alexander, whom he called a boy and a Margites.¹ When, however, Alexander had settled the affairs of his own country and came in person with his forces into Boeotia, prone lay the courage

¹ i.e. Silly Madman. A mock heroic poem bearing this name was attributed to Homer. Cf. Aeschines, On the Crown, § 160.
εξεκέκοπτο μὲν ή θρασύτης τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ὁ Δημοσθένης ἀπεσβήκει, Θηβαῖοι δὲ προδοθέντες υπ’ ἔκεινων ἤγγισαιντο καθ’ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν 3 πόλιν ἀπέβαλον. ὦρυβου δὲ μεγάλου τοὺς Ἀθηναίους περιεστώτος, ἀπεστάλη μὲν ὁ Δημοσθένης αἰρεθεὶς μεθ’ ἔτερων πρεσβευτῆς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, δεῖσας δὲ τὴν ὀργήν ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρόνος ἀνεχώρησεν ὁπίσω καὶ τὴν πρεσβείαν ἀφήκεν. εὐθὺς δ’ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔσητε πέμπτων τῶν δημαγωγῶν δέκα μέν, ὡς Ἰδομενεὺς καὶ Δοῦρις εἰρήκασιν, ὅκτω δ’, ὡς οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ δοκιμώτατοι τῶν συγγραφέων, τούσδε, Δημοσθένην, Πολύνεκτον, Ἐφιάλτην, Λυκοῦργον, Μοιροκλέα, Δήμωνα, Καλλισθένην, Χαρίδημον.

4 "Οτε καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν προβάτων λόγον ὁ Δημοσθένης προσῆψε τῷ δήμῳ, ὁ τῶν λύκοις τοὺς κύνας ἔξεδωκε, διηγησάμενος αὐτῶν μὲν εἰκασε καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ κυσίν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου μαχομένοις, Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ τὸν Μακεδόνα μονόλυκον προσηγορεύσεν. ἔτι δ’, ""Ωσπέρ," ἔφη, "τοὺς ἐμπόρους ὀρῶμεν, ὅταν ἐν τρυβλίῳ δείγμα περιφέροντο, δ’ ὄλιγον πυρῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς πιπράσκοντας, οὕτως ἐν ἡμῖν λανθάνετε πάντας 5 αὐτοὺς συνεκδιδόντες." ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Ἀριστόβουλος ὁ Κασσανδρεὺς ἱστόρηκε.

Βουλευομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ διαπορούντων, ὁ Δημάδης λαβὼν πέντε τάλαντα παρὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὁμολόγησε πρεσβεύσειν καὶ δεή-

1 προσῆψε . . . ἀ Graux with Ma: ὃς.
DEMOSTHENES, xxiii. 2–5

of the Athenians, and Demosthenes was extinguished, while the Thebans, betrayed by their allies, fought by themselves and lost their city.\(^1\)

Then, in the midst of the great confusion which reigned at Athens, Demosthenes was chosen and sent with others as an ambassador to Alexander, but fearing the wrath of the king he turned back at Cithaeron and abandoned the embassy.\(^2\)

Then straightway Alexander sent to Athens a demand for the surrender to him of ten of their popular leaders, according to Idomeneus and Duris, but according to the most and most reputable writers, only eight, namely, Demosthenes, Polyeuctus, Ephialtes, Lycurgus, Moerocles, Demon, Callisthenes, and Charidemus.

It was on this occasion that Demosthenes told the Athenians the story of how the sheep surrendered their dogs to the wolves, comparing himself and his fellow-orators to dogs fighting in defence of the people, and calling Alexander "the Macedonian arch-wolf." Moreover, he said further: "Just as grain-merchants sell their whole stock by means of a few kernels of wheat which they carry about with them in a bowl as a sample, so in surrendering us you unwittingly surrender also yourselves, all of you." Such, then, is the account which Aristobulus of Cassandreia has given.

The Athenians were deliberating on this demand and were at a loss how to treat it, when Demades, for five talents which he had received from the men demanded, agreed to go on an embassy to

\(^1\) In October, 335 B.C.

From 333 B.C. to 330 B.C., Agis III., the king of Sparta, carried on war against Macedonia in conjunction with Persia. In the latter year he was defeated and slain by Antipater, Alexander's regent in Macedonia.

In 336 B.C., Ctesiphon proposed that Demosthenes receive a golden crown for certain public services, and Aeschines indicted Ctesiphon for proposing an illegal measure. The document (Demos. De Cor. § 54), from which Plutarch takes
DEMOSTHENES, xxiii. 5–xxiv. 2

the king and entreat him in their behalf; either because he relied on the friendship of Alexander, or because he expected to find him sated, like a lion glutted with slaughter. At any rate, Demades persuaded the king to let the men off, and reconciled him with the city.

XXIV. So when Alexander went back to Macedonia, Demades and his associates were high in power, but Demosthenes acted a humble part. It is true that when Agis the Spartan was active in revolt Demosthenes once more made a feeble effort in his support, but then he cowered down, since the Athenians would not join in the uprising. Agis fell in battle, and the Lacedaemonians were crushed.¹

It was at this time that the indictment against Ctesiphon in the matter of the crown came on for trial. It had been prepared in the archonship of Chaerondas a little before the battle of Chaeroneia, but came on for trial ten years later² in the archonship of Aristophon. It became the most celebrated of all public causes, not only on account of the fame of the orators, but also because of the noble conduct of the judges, who, though the prosecutors of Demosthenes were then at the height of power and acting in the interests of Macedonia, would not vote against him, but acquitted him so decisively that Aeschines did not get a fifth part of their ballots.³ Consequently, Aeschines forsook the city at once, and spent the

the name of Chaerondas, the archon of 338, has been shown to be spurious. The case was tried in 330 B.C.

³ This made Aeschines liable to a fine of 1,000 drachmas, and made it impossible for him to bring any future action before an Athenian court.
Φχετ’ ἀπιών, καὶ περὶ 'Ρόδου καὶ Ἰωνίαν σοφιστεύων κατεβίωσε.

XXV. Μετ’ οὐ πολὺ δ’ ὁ Ἀρταλός ἦκεν ἐξ Ἀσίας εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀποδρας Ἀλέξανδρον, αὐτῷ τε πράγματα συνειδῶς πονηρὰ δι’ ἄσωτίαν, κἀκεῖνον ἦδη χαλεπὸν ὄντα τοὺς φίλους δεδουκῶς. καταφυγόντος δὲ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον αὐτοῦ καὶ μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τῶν νεῶν αὐτοῦ παραδιόντος, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ῥήτορες εὐθὺς ἐποθαλμάσαντες πρὸς τὸν πλοῦτον ἐβοήθουν καὶ συνέπεθον τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐξεσθαι καὶ σώζειν τὸν ἱκέτην. οὗ δὲ Δημοσθένης πρῶτον μὲν ἄπελαύνειν συνεβούλευε τὸν Ἀρταλόν, καὶ φυλάττεσθαι μή τὴν πόλιν ἐμβάλωσιν εἰς πόλεμον ἐξ οὐκ ἀναγκαίας καὶ ἀδικοῦ προφάσεως ἡμέραις δ’ ὀλίγαις ύστερον ἐξεταζομένων τῶν χρημάτων ἱδὼν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀρτάλος ἤσθεντα βαρβαρικῆς κύλικα καὶ καταμανθάνοντα τὴν τορείαν καὶ τὸ εἴδος, ἐκέλευσε διαβαστάσαντα τὴν ὀλκήν τοῦ χρυσίου σκέψιαν.

3 θαυμάσαντος δὲ τοῦ Δημοσθένους τὸ βάρος καὶ πυθομένου πόσον ἄγει, μειδιάσας ὁ Ἀρταλός, "Αξεῖ σοι," φησίν, "εἰκοσὶ τάλαντα" καὶ γενομένης τάχιστα τῆς νυκτὸς ἑπεμψεν αὐτῷ τὴν κύλικα μετὰ τῶν εἰκοσι ταλάντων. ἦν δ’ ἀρα δεινὸς ὁ Ἀρταλός ἐρωτικὸν πρὸς χρυσίου ἀνδρὸς ὄψει καὶ διαχύσει καὶ βολαῖς ὀμμάτων ἄνευρείν ἥθος. οὐ γὰρ ἀντέσχεν ὁ Δημοσθένης,
rest of his life as a teacher of rhetoric in Rhodes and Ionia.

XXV. Not long afterwards Harpalus came out of Asia to Athens. He had run away from Alexander, because he was conscious that his prodigality had led him into criminal practices, and because he was afraid of his master, who was now become harsh to his friends. But after he had taken refuge with the Athenian people and put himself in their hands with his ships and his treasures, the other orators at once fixed their longing eyes upon his wealth, came to his aid, and tried to persuade the Athenians to receive and save the suppliant. But Demosthenes, in the beginning, counselled them to drive Harpalus away, and to beware lest they plunge the city into war upon an unnecessary and unjust ground; a few days afterwards, however, while they were making an inventory of the treasure, Harpalus saw that Demosthenes was eyeing with pleasure a cup of barbarian make, with a keen appreciation of its fashion and of the ornamental work upon it. He therefore bade him poise it in his hand and see how heavy the gold was. And when Demosthenes was amazed at its weight and asked how much it would amount to, Harpalus smiled and said, “For you it will amount to twenty talents;” and as soon as night was come he sent him the cup with the twenty talents. Now, Harpalus was skilful in detecting the character of a man who had a passion for gold, by means of the look that spread over his face and the glances of his eyes. For Demosthenes could not resist, but was overcome by the

1 Alexander’s treasurer. He came to Athens in 324 B.C.
άλλα πληγεῖς ὑπὸ τῆς δωροδοκίας ὃσπερ παρα- 
δεδεγμένος φιουράν προσκεκωρίκει τῷ Ἀρπάλῳ, 
καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν εὐ καὶ καλῶς ἐρίοις καὶ ταυτίαις 
kατὰ τοῦ τραχῆλον καθελιξόμενος εἰς τὴν ἐκ- 
κλησίαν προῆλθε· καὶ κελεύοντων ἀνίστασθαι 
kαὶ λέγειν, διένευν ὡς ἀποκεκομμένης αὐτῷ τῆς 
5 φωνῆς. οἱ δ’ εὐφυεῖς χλευάζοντες ὑμῖν ὑπὸ 
συνάγχης ἐφραζόν, ἀλλ’ ὑπ’ ἀργυράγχης εἰλήφθαι 
νύκτωρ τῶν δημαγωγῶν. ὕστερον δὲ τοῦ δήμου 
pαντὸς αἰσθομένου τὴν δωροδοκίαν καὶ βουλό- 
μενον ἀπολογεῖσθαι καὶ πείθειν ὑμᾶς ἐώς, ἀλλὰ 
χαλεπαίνοντος καὶ θορυβοῦντος, ἀναστάς τις 
ἔσκωψε εἰπών· “Οὐκ ἀκούσεσθε, ὦ ἄνδρες 
Ἀθηναίοι, τοῦ τὴν κύλικα ἔχοντος;” 
6 Τότε μὲν οὖν ἀπέπεμψαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τὸν 
”Ἀρπαλον, δεδιότες δὲ μὴ λόγον ἀπαιτῶνται χρη- 
μάτων ὑμὶν διηρπάκεσαν οἱ ρήτορες, ξήτησιν ἐποι- 
ουσάνοιρα νεανίκην καὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἐπιοῦσας ἥρευνον, 
πλὴν τῆς Καλλικλέους τοῦ Ἀρρενίδου. μόνην 
γὰρ τὴν τούτου νεωστὶ γεγαμηκότος ὑμᾶς ἐισαν 
ἐλεγχθῆναι, νύμφης ἐνδον οὐσίας, ὡς ἱστορεῖ 
Θεόπομπος. 
XXVI. Ὅ δὲ Δημοσθένης ὁμόσε χωρὸν εἰσή- 
νεγκε ψήφισμα τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλή 
ἐξετάσαι τὸ πράγμα καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνη δοξαντας 
ἀδικεῖν δοῦναι δίκην. ἐν δὲ πρώτοις αὐτοῦ τῆς 
βουλῆς ἐκείνου καταψηφισμένης, εἰς ἤλθε 
μὲν
bribe, and now that he had, as it were, admitted a garrison into his house, promptly went over to the side of Harpalus. Next day, after swathing his neck carefully in woollen bandages, he went forth into the assembly; and when he was urged to rise and speak, he made signs that his voice was ruined. The wits, however, by way of raillery, declared that the orator had been seized overnight, not with an ordinary quinsy, but with a silver quinsy. And afterwards, when the whole people learned that he had been bribed, and would not permit him, when he wished it, to have a hearing and make his defence, but were angry and raised a tumult against him, someone rose and said jokingly: "Men of Athens, will you not listen to the man who holds the cup?" 1

At that time, then, they sent Harpalus away from the city, and fearing lest they should be called to account for the moneys which the orators had seized, they made a zealous search for it, and went round to their houses on the quest, except that of Callicles the son of Arrhenides. For his house was the only one which they would not allow to be searched, since he was newly married and his bride was within, as Theopompus relates.

XXVI. But Demosthenes put a bold face on the matter and introduced a bill providing that the case should be referred for investigation to the council of the Areiopagus, and that those should be brought to trial who were found guilty there. He was himself, however, among the first condemned by the council, and came before the court for trial,

1 At feasts, the cup passed from guest to guest, and the one who held it had the right of uninterrupted speech or song.
eis to dikastērion, ὄφλων δὲ πεντήκοντα ταλαν-
tων δίκην καὶ παραδοθεῖς eis to ðesmoτērion,
2 aἰσχύνῃ τῆς αἰτίας φησὶν καὶ δὴ ἀσθένειαν τοῦ ἐ法案
σώματος ὦν δυναμένου φέρειν τῶν εἰργυμὸν ἀπο-
δρᾶναι τοὺς μὲν λαθόντα, τῶν δὲ λαβεῖν ἐξουσίαν
δόντων. λέγεται γοῦν ὡς ὦν μακρὰν τοῦ ἀστεος
φεύγων αἰσθοῦτο τινας τῶν διαφόρων αὐτῶν πολι-
tῶν ἐπιδιώκοντας, καὶ βούλοιτο μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπο-
3 κρύπτειν, ὡς δ’ ἐκεῖνοι φθεγξάμενοι τούνομα καὶ
προσελθόντες ἐγγὺς ἐδέοντο λαβεῖν ἐφόδια παρ’
αὐτῶν, ἐπ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο κομίζοντες ἀργύριον οἴκο-
θεν καὶ τούτου χάριν ἐπιδιώξαντες αὐτῶν, ἀμα δὲ
θαρρεῖν παρεκάλουν καὶ μὴ φέρειν ἀνιαρῶς τὸ
συμβεβηκός, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀνακλαύσασθαι τὸν
Δημοσθένη καὶ εἰπεῖν· "Πῶς δ’ οὐ μέλλω
φέρειν βαρέως ἀπολιπτῶν πόλιν ἐχθροὺς τοιούτους
ἐχουσαν οἴους ἐν ἐτέρα φίλους εὑρεῖν οὐ ῥαδίων
ἔστιν;"
4 "Ηνεγκε δὲ τὴν φυγήν μαλακώς, ἐν Λιγύη καὶ
Τροιζήνι καθεξόμενον τὰ πολλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν
Ἀττικὴν ἀποβλέπων δεδακρυμένος, ὡστε φωνᾶς
οὐκ εὐγνώμονας οὐδ’ ὀμολογούσας τοῖς ἐν τῇ
πολιτείᾳ νεανιεύμασιν ἀπομιμημονεύσθαι. λέ-
γεται γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεος ἀπαλλαττόμενος καὶ
πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνατινὰς τὰς χείρας εἰπεῖν·
"Ω δέσποινα Πολιήσ, τί δ’ τρισὶ τοῖς χαλεπω-
tάτοις χαίρεις θηρίοις, γλαυκί καὶ δράκοντι καὶ

1 φησὶ Reiske, and Graux with Ma: φασὶ.
where he was sentenced to a fine of fifty talents and delivered over to prison in default of payment. But out of shame at the charge under which he lay, as he says, and owing to the weakness of his body, which could not endure confinement, he ran away, through the carelessness of some of his keepers and the connivance of others. At any rate, we are told that when he was in flight at a short distance from the city, he learned that some of the citizens who were his enemies were in pursuit of him, and therefore wished to hide himself; and when they called upon him loudly by name, and came up near to him, and begged him to accept from them provision for his journey, declaring that they were bringing money from home for this very purpose, and were pursuing him only in order to get it to him; and when at the same time they exhorted him to be of good courage and not to be pained at what had happened, Demosthenes broke out all the more into cries of grief, saying: "Surely I must be distressed to leave a city where my enemies are as generous as I can hardly find friends to be in another."

And he bore his exile without fortitude, taking up his quarters in Aegina and Troezen for the most part, and looking off towards Attica with tears in his eyes, so that utterances of his are on record which are not generous or consonant with his spirited efforts as a statesman. We are told, namely, that as he was leaving the city he lifted up his hands towards the acropolis and said: "O potent Guardian of the City, Athena, how, pray, canst thou take delight in those three most intractable beasts, the

1 In the second of the letters which have come down to us under his name, § 17.
5 δήμῳ;" τοὺς δὲ προσιόντας αὐτῷ καὶ συνιατριβοῦντας νεανίσκους ἀπέτρεπε τῆς πολιτείας λέγων ὡς εἰ, δυεῖν προκειμένων ὅδων ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς, τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τῆς δ’ ἀντικρυς εἰς τὸν ὀλέθρον, ἐτύγχανε προειδῶς τὰ κατὰ τῆν πολιτείαν κακά, φόβους καὶ φθόνους καὶ διαβολὰς καὶ ἀγώνας, ἐπὶ ταύτην ἄν ὀρμήσαι τὴν εὐθὺ τοῦ θανάτου τείνουσαν.

XXVII. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔτι φεύγοντος αὐτοῦ τῇ εἰρημένῃ φυγῇ Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ἐτελεύτησε, τὰ δ’ Ἑλληνικὰ συνίσταντο πάλιν, Λεωσθένης ἀνδραγαθοῦντος καὶ περιτειχίζοντος Ἄντιπατρον 2 ἐν Λαμίᾳ πολιορκοῦμενον. Πυθέας μὲν οὖν ὁ ῥήτωρ καὶ Καλλιμέδων ὁ Κάραβος ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν φεύγοντες Ἀντιπάτρῳ προσεγένοντο, καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἐκείνου φίλων καὶ πρέσβεων περιόντες οὐκ εἰὼν ἀφίστασθαι τοὺς Ἑλλήνας οὔτε προσέχειν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. Δημοσθένης δὲ τοῖς ἐξ ἀστεος πρεσβεύουσι προσμίζει ἐαυτὸν ἡγονυζετο καὶ συνέπραττεν ὅπως οἱ πόλεις συνεπιθίζονται τοῖς Μακεδοσι καὶ συνεκβαλοῦσιν αὐτοὺς τῆς Ἑλλά 3 δος. ἐν δ’ Ἀρκαδίᾳ καὶ λοιδορίᾳ τοῦ Πυθέου καὶ τοῦ Δημοσθένου γενέσθαι προς ἀλλήλους εἰρηκεν ὁ Φύλαρχος ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, τοῦ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν Μακεδόνων, τοῦ δ’ ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων λέγοντος. λέγεται δὲ τὸν μὲν Πυθέαν εἰπεῖν ὅτι, καθάπερ οἰκίαν εἰς ἦν ὅνειον εἰσφέρεται γάλα, κακὸν τι πάντως ἐχεῖν νομίζομεν, οὕτω καὶ πόλιν ἀνάγκη νοσεῖν εἰς ἦν Ἀθηναίων πρεσβεία παρα-
owl, the serpent, and the people?" Moreover, when young men came to visit and converse with him, he would try to deter them from public life, saying that if two roads had been presented to him in the beginning, one leading to the bema and the assembly, and the other straight to destruction, and if he could have known beforehand the evils attendant on a public career, namely, fears, hatreds, calumnies and contentions, he would have taken that road which led directly to death.

XXVII. But while he was still undergoing the exile of which I have spoken, Alexander died, and the Greek states proceeded to form a league again, while Leosthenes was displaying deeds of valour and walling Antipater up in Lamia, where he held him in siege. Accordingly, the orators Pytheas and Callimedon (called the Stag-beetle) fled from Athens and joined the party of Antipater, and travelling about with the regent's friends and ambassadors tried to prevent the Greeks from revolting or attaching themselves to Athens; but Demosthenes, joining himself to the ambassadors from Athens, used his utmost efforts in helping them to induce the cities to unite in attacking the Macedonians and expelling them from Greece. And Phylarchus states that in Arcadia Pytheas and Demosthenes actually fell to abusing one another in an assembly, the one speaking in behalf of the Macedonians, the other in behalf of the Greeks. Pytheas, we are told, said that just as we think that a house into which asses' milk is brought must certainly have some evil in it, so also a city must of necessity be diseased into which an Athenian embassy comes; whereupon

---

1 At Babylon, in May, 323 B.C.
γίνεται τον δὲ Δημοσθένην στρέψαι το παρά
dεγμα, φήσαντα καὶ το γάλα το ὄνειον ἐφ᾽ ύγιείᾳ
cαὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ σωτηρία παραγίνεσθαι
tῶν νοσούντων.

'Εφ᾽ ὦς ἡσθεὶς ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμος ψηφί-
ζεται τῷ Δημοσθένει κἀθοδον. τὸ μὲν οὖν
ψήφισμα Δήμων ὁ Παιανιεύς, ἀνεψιός ὁν Δη-
μοσθένος, εἰσήγεικεν· ἐπέμφθη δὲ τριήρης ἐπ᾽
αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀγιναν. ἐκ δὲ Πειραιῶς ἀνέβαινεν
οὔτε ἄρχοντος οὔτε ιερέως ἀπολειφθέντος, ἀλλὰ
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν ὁμοί πάντων ἀπαντών-
tων καὶ δεχόμενων προθύμως. ὅτε καὶ φησιν
αὐτὸν ὁ Μάγνης Δημήτριος ἀνατείναντα τὰς
χείρας μακαρίσαι τῆς ἤμερας ἐκείνης αὐτοῦ, ὡς
βέλτιον Ἀλκιβιάδον κατιόντα· πεπεισμένοι
γὰρ, οὐ βεβιασμένους, ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ δέχεσθαι τοὺς
πολίτας. τῆς δὲ χρηματικῆς ζημίας αὐτῷ μενοῦ-
σης (οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν χάριτι λύσαι καταδίκην) ἐσοφι-
sαντο πρὸς τὸν νόμον. εἰσθότες γὰρ ἐν τῇ
θυσίᾳ τοῦ Δίδο τοῦ σωτήρος ἀργύριον τελείων
τοῖς κατασκευάζοντι καὶ κοσμοῦντι τὸν βωμον,
ἐκεῖνω τότε ταῦτα ποιῆσαι καὶ παρασχεῖν πεντή-
kοντα ταλάντων ἐξέδωκαν, ὡςον ἦν τίμημα τῆς
καταδίκης.

XXVIII. Οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἀπέλαυσε
τῆς πατρίδος κατελθόν, ἀλλὰ ταχὺ τῶν Ἑλληνι-
κῶν πραγμάτων συντριβέντων Μεταγειτιοῦνος
μὲν ἢ περὶ Κραννώνα μάχη συνέπεσε, Βοηδρο-
Demosthenes turned the illustration against him by saying that asses' milk was given to restore health, and the Athenians came to bring salvation to the sick.

At this conduct the Athenian people were delighted, and voted that Demosthenes might return from exile. The decree was brought in by Demon of Paeania, who was a cousin of Demosthenes; and a trireme was sent to Aegina to fetch him home. When he set out to go up to the city from Piraeus, not an archon or a priest was missing, and all the rest of the people also met him in a body and welcomed him eagerly. It was at this time, too, as Demetrius the Magnesian says, that he lifted his hands towards heaven and blessed himself for that day, since he was coming home from exile more honourably than Alcibiades did; for he had persuaded, not forced, his fellow-citizens to welcome him. It is true that his pecuniary fine remained standing against him (for it was not lawful to remit an assessment by act of grace), but they found a device to evade the law. It was their custom, namely, in the case of a sacrifice to Zeus the Saviour, to pay a sum of money to those who prepared and adorned the altar, and they now gave Demosthenes the contract to make these preparations for fifty talents, which was just the amount of his assessment.

XXVIII. However, he did not enjoy his native city for long after his return from exile, but the cause of Greece was speedily crushed, and in the month of Metageitnion the battle at Crannon took place, in that of Boëdromion the Macedonian

1 August 6th, 322 B.C. In this battle Antipater and Craterus crushed the combined armies of the Greeks and concluded the so-called Lamian war.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

μιῶνος δὲ παρῆλθεν εἰς Μουνυχίαν ἤ φρουρά, Πυανεψιώνος δὲ Δημοσθένης ἀπέθανε τόνδε τὸν τρόπον.

2 ὡς Ἀντίπατρος καὶ Κρατερὸς ἠγγέλλοντο προσιόντες ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην φθάσαντες ὑπεξῆλθον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ὁ δὲ δήμος αὐτῶν θάνατον κατέγγυς Δημάδου γράψαντος. Ἀλλων δὲ ἀλλαχοῦ διασπαρέντων ὁ Ἀντίπατρος περίπεμπτε τοὺς συλλαμβάνοντας, ὃν ἤγεµῶν ἦν Ἀρχίας ὁ κληθεὶς φυγαδοθήρας.

3 τοῦτον δὲ Θούριον ὄντα τῷ γένει λόγος ἔχει τραγῳδία ὑποκρίνεσθαι ποτε, καὶ τὸν Λυγινήτην Πόλον τὸν ὑπερβαλόντα τῇ τέχνῃ πάντας ἐκείνον γεγονέναι μαθητὴν ἵστορον. Ἐρμιττος δὲ τὸν Ἀρχίαν ἐν τοῖς Λακρίτου τοῦ ῥήτορος μαθηταῖς ἀναγράφει. Δημήτριος δὲ τῆς Ἀναξιμέ-

4 νοὺς διατριβῆς μετεσχηκέναι φησὶν αὐτῶν. οὗτος οὖν ὁ Ἀρχίας Τπερείδην μὲν τὸν ῥήτορα καὶ Ἀριστόνικον τὸν Μαραθώνιον καὶ τὸν Δημητρίον τοῦ Φαληρέως ἀδελφὸν Ἰμεραῖον ἐν Αἰγίνῃ κατα-

φυγόντας ἐπὶ τὸ Αἰάκειον ἁποστάσας ἐπεμψεν εἰς Κλεωνάς πρὸς Ἐντίπατρον κακεὶ διεθθά-

ρησαν, Τπερείδον δὲ καὶ τὴν γλώτταν ἐκτμη-

θήναι λέγουσι.

XXIX. Τὸν δὲ Δημοσθένην πυθόμενοι ἱκέτην ἐν Καλαυρία ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ Ποσειδώνος καθέζεσθαι, διαπλεύσας ὑπηρετικοῖς καὶ ἀποβὰς μετὰ Ἰθα-κόν δορυφόρων ἐπείδειν ἀναστάντα βαδίζειν μετ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον ὡς δυσχερές πεισόμενον

1 μαθηταῖς with Reiske, Coraës, Bekker, and Ma (Graux): μαθητήν.
garrison entered Munychia, and in that of Pyanepsis Demosthenes died, in the following manner.

When Antipater and Craterus were reported to be advancing upon Athens, Demosthenes and his associates succeeded in escaping by stealth from the city, and the people, on motion of Demades, passed sentence of death upon them. Since they dispersed themselves to different places, Antipater sent his soldiers about to arrest them, under the command of Archias the so-called Exile-hunter. This man was a native of Thurii, and the story goes that he was once a tragic actor; indeed, it is recorded that Polus of Aegina, the best actor of his time, was a pupil of his. But Hermippus states that Archias was one of the pupils of Lacritus the rhetorician; while Demetrius says that he belonged to the school of Anaximenes. This Archias, then, finding that Hypereides the orator and Aristonicus of Marathon and Himeraeus the brother of Demetrius the Phalerean had taken refuge in the sanctuary of Aeacus at Aegina, haled them away and sent them to Antipater at Cleonae. There they were put to death, and Hypereides, it is said, also had his tongue cut out.

XXIX. Moreover, on learning that Demosthenes had taken sanctuary in the temple of Poseidon at Calauria, Archias sailed across to the island in small boats, and after landing with Thracian spear-men tried to persuade the fugitive to leave the temple and go with him to Antipater, assuring him that he would suffer no harsh treatment. But
2 οὐδέν. ὃ δὲ Δημοσθένης ἐτύχηκεν ὁψιν ἔωρακός κατὰ τοὺς ὑπ' οὓς ἐκέινης τῆς νυκτὸς ἀλλόκοτον. ἔδοκει γὰρ ἀνταγωνιζόμεθα τῷ Ἀρχίᾳ τραγῳδίαν ὑποκρινόμενος, έυμερῶν δὲ καὶ κατέχουν τῷ θέατρον ἐνδεία παρασκευής καὶ χορηγίας κρατείσθαι. διὸ τοῦ Ἀρχίου πολλὰ φιλάνθρωπα διαλεξθέντος ἀναβλέψας πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡσπερ ἐτύχῃ καθήμενος, "Ω Ἀρχία," εἶπεν, "οὐτε ὑποκρινόμενος με ἐπεισάς πώποτε οὕτε νῦν πεί-
3 σεις ἐπαγγελλόμενος." ἀρξαμένου δ᾽ ἀπειλεῖν τοῦ Ἀρχίου μετ’ ὀργῆς, "Νῦν," ἐφη, "λέγεις τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Μακεδονικοῦ τρίποδος, ἀρτι δ᾽ ὑπεκρίνον. μικρὸν οὖν ἐπίσχες, ὅπως ἐπιστείλω τι τοῖς οἴκοι." καὶ ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν ἐντὸς ἀνεχώρησε τὸν ναὸν· καὶ λαβὼν βιβλίον ὡς γράφειν μέλλων προσήνεγκε τῷ στόματι τοῦ κάλαμου, καὶ δακῶν, ὡσπερ ἐν τῷ διανοεῖσθαι καὶ γράφειν εἰώθει, χρόνον τινὰ κατέσχεν, εἶτα συγκαλυψάμενος ἄπεκλινε τὴν κεφαλήν. οἱ μὲν οὖν παρὰ τὰς θύρας ἐστῶτες δορυφόροι κατεγέλων ὡς ἀποδελιῶτος αὐτοῦ, καὶ μαλακῶν ἀπεκάλουν καὶ ἀνανδρόν, ὁ δ᾽ Ἀρχίας προσελθὼν ἀνίστασθαι παρεκάλει, καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀνακυκλῶν λόγους αὐθις ἐπηγγέλλετο διαλλαγὰς πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίπατρον. ἦδη δὲ συνησθημένος ὁ Δημοσθένης ἐμπεφυκότος αὐτῷ τοῦ φαρμάκου καὶ κρατοῦντος ἐξεκαλύψατο· καὶ διαβλέψας πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχίαν,
4 ὁ δὲ Ἀρχίας προσελθὼν ἀνίστασθαι παρεκάλει, καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀνακυκλῶν λόγους αὐθις ἐπηγγέλλετο διαλλαγὰς πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίπατρον. ἦδη δὲ συνησθημένος ὁ Δημοσθένης ἐμπεφυκότος αὐτῷ τοῦ φαρμάκου καὶ κρατοῦντος ἐξεκαλύψατο· καὶ διαβλέψας πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχίαν,
5 "Οὐκ ἂν φθάνοις," εἶπεν, "ἡδη τὸν ἐκ τῆς τραγῳδίας ὑποκρινόμενος Κρέοντα καὶ τὸ σώμα
DEMOSTHENES, xxix. 1-5

it chanced that Demosthenes, in his sleep the night before, had seen a strange vision. He dreamed, namely, that he was acting in a tragedy and contending with Archias for the prize, and that although he acquitted himself well and won the favour of the audience, his lack of stage decorations and costumes cost him the victory. Therefore, after Archias had said many kindly things to him, Demosthenes, just as he sat, looked steadfastly at him and said: "O Archias, thou didst never convince me by thine acting, nor wilt thou now convince me by thy promises." And when Archias began to threaten him angrily, "Now," said he, "thou utterest the language of the Macedonian oracle;¹ but a moment ago thou wert acting a part. Wait a little, then, that I may write a message to my family." With these words, he retired into the temple, and taking a scroll, as if about to write, he put his pen to his mouth and bit it, as he was wont to do when thinking what he should write, and kept it there some time, then covered and bent his head. The spearmen, then, who stood at the door, laughed at him for playing the coward, and called him weak and unmanly, but Archias came up and urged him to rise, and reiterating the same speeches as before, promised him a reconciliation with Antipater. But Demosthenes, now conscious that the poison was affecting and overpowering him, uncovered his head; and fixing his eyes upon Archias, "Thou canst not be too soon now," said he, "in playing the part of Creon in the tragedy and casting this

¹ i.e. thy real sentiments, in obedience to Antipater.
τοῦτο ρίπττων ἀταφον. ἐγὼ δ', ὁ φίλε Πόσειδον, ἔτι ξών ἐξανισταμαι τοῦ ἱεροῦ· τῷ δὲ Ἄντιπάτρῳ καὶ Μακεδόσιν οὐδ' ὁ σὸς ναὸς καθαρὸς ἀπολέ- λειπται." ταῦτ' εἰπόν, καὶ κελεύσας ὑπολαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἤδη τρέμοντα καὶ σφαλλόμενου, ἀμα τῷ προελθεῖν καὶ παραλλάξαι τὸν βωμὸν ἔπεσε καὶ στενάξας ἀφῆκε τὴν ψυχήν.

XXX. Τὸ δὲ φάρμακον Ἀρίστων μὲν ἐκ τοῦ 860 καλάμου λαβεῖν φησὶν αὐτόν, ὡς εὑρηταί. Πάπ- πος δὲ τις, οὗ τὴν ἱστορίαν Ἑρμιττίας ἀνείληφε, φησὶ, πεσόντος αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν ἐν μὲν τῷ βιβλίῳ γεγραμμένῃ ἐπιστολῆς ἀρχὴν εὐρεθήναι, "Δημοσθένης Ἄντιπάτρῳ," καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο·

2 θαυμαζομένης δὲ τῆς περὶ τὸν θάνατον ὄξυτητος διηγείσθαι τοὺς παρὰ ταῖς θυραῖς Θρῖκας ὡς ἐκ τινος ῥακίου λαβὼν εἰς τὴν χείρα προσθοίτο τῷ στόματι καὶ καταπίοι τὸ φάρμακον· αὐτοὶ δ' ἄρα χρυσὸν ὄψησαν εἰναι τὸ καταπινόμενον· ή δ' ύπηρετοῦσα παιδίσκη, πυθανομένων τὸν περὶ τὸν Ἀρχίαν, φαινῖ πολύν εἰναι χρόνον ἐξ οὗ φοροΐ τὸν ἀπόδεσμον ἐκείνον ὁ Δημοσθένης ὡς 3 φυλακτήριον. Ἐφαρτοσθένης δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν κρίκῳ φησὶ κοίλῳ τὸ φάρμακον φυλάσσειν· τὸν δὲ κρίκον εἰναι τοῦτον αὐτῷ φόρημα περιβραχιόνον. τῶν δ' ἄλλων, ὡσιν γεγράφασι περὶ αὐτοῦ, πάμπολλοι δὲ εἰσὶ, τὰς διαφορὰς οὐκ ἀναγκαίον

4 ἐπεξελθεῖν· πλὴν ὅτι Δημοχάρης ὁ τοῦ Δημο-
DEMOSTHENES, xxix. 5–xxx. 4

body out without burial.  
But I, O beloved Poseidon, will depart from thy sanctuary while I am still alive; whereas Antipater and the Macedonians would not have left even thy temple undefiled." So speaking, and bidding someone support him, since he was now trembling and tottering, he had no sooner gone forth and passed by the altar than he fell, and with a groan gave up the ghost.

XXX. As for the poison, Ariston says he took it from the pen, as I have said; but a certain Pappus, from whom Hermippus took his story, says that when he had fallen by the side of the altar, there was found written in the scroll the beginning of a letter, "Demosthenes to Antipater," and nothing more; and that when men were amazed at the suddenness of his death the Thracians who had stood at the door told the story that he took the poison into his hand from a cloth and put it to his mouth and swallowed it; and that they themselves, strange to say, had supposed that what he swallowed was gold; and that the little maid who served him, when inquiries were made by Archias, said that Demosthenes had long worn that cloth girdle as a safeguard against his enemies. And even Eratosthenes himself says that Demosthenes kept the poison in a hollow bracelet, and that he wore this bracelet as an ornament upon his arm. But the divergent stories of all the others who have written about the matter, and they are very many, need not be recounted; except that Demochares the relative of Demosthenes says

1 An allusion to the Creon in the Antigone of Sophocles, by whose edict the body of Polyneices was to be left unburied (vv. 26 ff., 191 ff.).
σθένους οίκείος οίσεθαί φησιν αυτόν ούχ ύπο φαρμάκου, θεόν δὲ τιμὴ καὶ προοίμια τῆς Μακεδόνων ὁμότητος ἐξαρπαγήναι, συντόμως καταστρέψαντα καὶ ἀλύπως. κατέστρεψε δὲ ἐκτῇ ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ Πυανεψίδων μηνός, ἐν ἦ τὴν σκυθρωποτάτην τῶν Θεσμοφορίων ἰμέραν ἁγοῦσαι παρὰ τῇ θεῷ νηστεύουσιν αἰ γυναῖκες.

5. Τούτῳ μὲν ὀλίγον ὑστερον ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμος ἀξίαν ἀποδίδοις τιμὴν εἰκόνα τε χαλκὴν ἀνέστησε καὶ τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἑγηφίσατο τῶν ἀπὸ γένους ἐν Πρυτανείῳ σίτησιν ἐχειν. καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ θρυλούμενον ἐπεγράφη τῇ βάσει τοῦ ἀνδριάντος.

εἶπερ ὅσον ρώμην γνώμην, Δημόσθενε, εἶχες, οὕτωτι ἀν Ἑλλήνων ἦρξεν Ἀρης Μακεδών.

οἱ γὰρ αυτὸν τὸν Δημοσθένην τούτο ποιῆσαι λέγοντες ἐν Καλαυρίᾳ, μέλλοντα τὸ φάρμακον προσφέρεσθαι, κομιδὴ φλυαροῦσι.

XXXI. Μικρὸν δὲ πρόσθεν ἡ παραβαλείν ἦμᾶς Ἀθήνας λέγεται τι τοιώνδε συμβῆναι. στρατιώτης ἐπὶ κρίσιν τινὰ καλοῦμενος ύφ’ ἡγεμόνος, ὅσον εἰχε χρυσιδίον εἰς τὰς χειρὰς ἐνέθηκε τοῦ ἀνδριάντος. ἔστηκε δὲ τοὺς δακτύλους συνεχῶν δὲ ἀλλήλων, καὶ παραπέφυκεν οὐ μεγάλη 2 πλάτανος. ἀπὸ ταύτης πολλὰ τῶν φυλλῶν, εἴτε

1 An annual festival in honour of Demeter and Persephone.
2 This statue, the work of Polyeuctus, was erected in 280–279 B.C., on motion of Demochares, a nephew of Demos-
that in his opinion it was not due to poison, but to the honour and kindly favour shown him by the gods, that he was rescued from the cruelty of the Macedonians by a speedy and painless death. And he died on the sixteenth of the month Pyanepsion, the most gloomy day of the Thesmophoria, which the women observe by fasting in the temple of the goddess.

It was to this man, a little while after his death, that the Athenian people paid worthy honour by erecting his statue in bronze, and by decreeing that the eldest of his house should have public maintenance in the prytaneium. And this celebrated inscription was inscribed upon the pedestal of his statue:

"If thy strength had only been equal to thy purposes, Demosthenes, Never would the Greeks have been ruled by a Macedonian Ares."

Of course those who say that Demosthenes himself composed these lines in Calauria, as he was about to put the poison to his lips, talk utter nonsense.

XXXI. Now, a short time before I took up my abode in Athens, the following incident is said to have occurred. A soldier who had been called to an account by his commander, put what little gold he had into the hands of this statue of Demosthenes. It stood with its fingers interlaced, and hard by grew a small plane-tree. Many of the leaves from this tree, whether the wind accidentally

thenes. The well-known marble statue of Demosthenes in the Vatican is thought to be a copy of it. See Pausanias, i. 8, 2, with Frazer's notes.
πνεύματος ἐκ τύχης καταβαλόντος, εἰτ' αὐτὸς οὕτως ὁ θεὸς ἐκάλυψε, περικείμενα καὶ συμπεσόντα λαθεῖν ἐποίησε τὸ χρυσίον οὐκ ὀλίγων χρόνον. ὡς δ' ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐπανελθὼν ἀνεύρῃ καὶ διεδόθη λόγος ὑπὲρ τούτου, πολλοὶ τῶν εὐφυῶν ὑπόθεσιν λαβόντες εἰς τὸ ἀδιωροδόκητον τοῦ Δημοσθένους διημιλλόντω τοῖς ἐπιγράμμασι.

3 Δημάδην δὲ χρόνον οὖ πολὺν ἀπολαύσαντα τῆς φυομένης δόξης ἢ Δημοσθένους δίκη κατηγαγεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, οὐς ἐκολάκευεν αἰσχρῶς, ὑπὸ τούτων ἐξολοθρεύουν δικαίως, ἐπαχθῇ μὲν ὄντα καὶ πρότερον αὐτοῖς, τότε δ' εἰς αἰτίαν ἄφυκτον ἐμπεσόντα. γράμματα γὰρ ἐξέπεσεν αὐτοῦ, δι' ὧν παρεκάλει Περδίκκαν ἐπιχειρεῖν Μακεδονία καὶ σώζειν τοὺς Ἐλλήνας ὡς ἀπὸ σαπροῦ καὶ παλαιοῦ στήμονος (λέγων τὸν Ἀντίπατρον) ἡρτημένους. ἐφ' οἷς Δεινάρχου τοῦ Κοριθίου κατηγορήσαντος παροξυνθεὶς ὁ Κάσσανδρος ἐγκατέσφαξεν αὐτοῦ τῷ κόλπῳ τὸν νῖόν, εἰτα οὕτως ἐκείνων ἀνελεῖν προσέταξεν, ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις διδασκόμενον ἀνυχήμασιν ὅτε πρῶτος ἑαυτοῦς οἱ προδόται πωλοῦσιν, ὁ πολλάκις Δημοσθένους προαγορεύοντος οὐκ ἐπίστευσε.

Τὸν μὲν οὖν Δημοσθένους ἀπέχεις, Σόσσιε, βίον ἐξ ὧν ἡμεῖς ἀνέγνωμεν ἡ διηκούσαμεν.
DEMOSTHENES, xxxi. 2-4

blew them thither, or whether the depositor himself took this way of concealing his treasure, lay clustering together about the gold and hid it for a long time. At last, however, the man came back, found his treasure intact, and an account of the matter was spread abroad, whereupon the wits of the city took for a theme the incorruptibility of Demosthenes and vied with one another in their epigrams.

As for Demades, he had not long enjoyed his growing reputation when vengeance for Demosthenes brought him into Macedonia, whose people he had disgracefully flattered, only to be by them justly put to death. He had been obnoxious to them even before this, but now fell under a charge from which there was no escape. A letter of his, namely, leaked out, in which he had urged Perdiccas to seize Macedonia and deliver the Greeks, who, he said, were fastened to it only by an old and rotten thread (meaning Antipater). And when Deinarchus the Corinthian denounced him for this, Cassander\(^1\) flew into a rage and slew the son of Demades as he stood close by his father's side, and then ordered that Demades should be likewise killed. Demades was now learning amid his extremest misfortunes that traitors sell themselves first, a truth of which Demosthenes had often assured him, but which he would not believe.

And so, Sosius,\(^2\) thou hast the promised Life of Demosthenes, drawn from such written or oral sources as I could find.

\(^1\) The son of Antipater and, later, his successor.
\(^2\) See the opening sentence of the *Life.*
ΚΙΚΕΡΩΝ

I. Κικέρωνος δὲ τὴν μὲν μητέρα λέγουσιν ἆδημαν καὶ γεγονέναι καλὸς καὶ βεβιωκέναι, περὶ δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲν ἢν πυθέσθαι μέτριον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν κναφείῳ τινὶ καὶ γενέσθαι καὶ τραφήναι τὸν ἄνδρα λέγουσιν, οί δὲ εἰς Τύλλου Ἀττικῶν ἀνάγουσι τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ γένους, βασιλεύσαντα λαμπρῶς ἐν Οὐσολούσκοις καὶ πολεμής 

2 σαντα Ῥωμαίοις οὐκ ἀδυνάτως. οἱ μέντοι πρῶτος ἐκ τοῦ γένους Κικέρων ἐπονομασθεὶς άξιος λόγου δοκεῖ γενέσθαι, διὸ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν οὐκ ἀπέρριψαν οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν, ἅλλ' ἡσπάσαντο, καὶ περ ὑπὸ πολλῶν χλευαζομένην. κίκερα γὰρ οἱ Λατῖνοι τὸν ἔρεβινθον καλοῦσι, κάκεινος ἐν τῷ πέρατι τῆς ρινῶς διαστολῆς, ὡς ἠικεῖν, ἀμβλειαν εἶχεν ὡσπερ ἔρεβίνθου διαφυήν, ἀψ' ἢς ἐκτύσατο τὴν 

3 ἐπωνυμίαν. αὐτὸς γε μὴν Κικέρων, ὑπὲρ οὐ τάδε γέγραπται, τῶν φίλων αὐτὸν οἰομένων δεῖν, ὅτε πρῶτον ἀρχὴν μετῆι καὶ πολιτείας ὑπετετο, φυγεῖν τούνομα καὶ μεταθέσθαι, λέγεται νεανισάμενος εἰπεῖν ὡς ἄγωνιείται τῶν Κικέρωνα τῶν Σκαύρων καὶ τῶν Κάτλων ἐνδοξότερον ἀποδείξαί. 

4 ταμιεύων δὲ ἐν Σικελία καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἀνάθημα ποιούμενος ἀργυροῦν τὰ μὲν πρῶτα δῦο τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπέγραψε, τὸν τε Μάρκου καὶ τὸν
CICERO

I. It is said of Helvia, the mother of Cicero, that she was well born and lived an honourable life; but of his father nothing can be learned that does not go to an extreme. For some say that he was born and reared in a fuller's shop, while others trace the origin of his family to Tullus Attius, an illustrious king of the Volscians, who waged war upon the Romans with great ability. However, the first member of the family who was surnamed Cicero seems to have been worthy of note, and for that reason his posterity did not reject the surname, but were fond of it, although many made it a matter of raillery. For "cicer" is the Latin name for chick-pea, and this ancestor of Cicero, as it would seem, had a faint dent in the end of his nose like the cleft of a chick-pea, from which he acquired his surname. Cicero himself, however, whose Life I now write, when he first entered public life and stood for office and his friends thought he ought to drop or change the name, is said to have replied with spirit that he would strive to make the name of Cicero more illustrious than such names as Scaurles or Catulus. Moreover, when he was quaestor in Sicily and was dedicating to the gods a piece of silver plate, he had his first two names inscribed thereon, the

1 Called Tullus Aufidius in the Coriolanus, xxii. 1.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

Τύλλιον, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τρίτου σκῶπτων ἐρέβινθον ἐκέλευσε παρὰ τὰ γράμματα τοῦ τεχνίτην ἐντορεύσαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἱστορηται.

II. Τεχθήναι δὲ Κικέρωνα λέγουσιν ἀνωδύνως καὶ ἀπόνως λοχευθείσης αὐτοῦ τῆς μητρὸς ἡμέρα τρίτη τῶν νέων Καλανδῶν, ἐν ἧν νῦν οἱ ἀρχοντες εὑχονται καὶ θύουσιν ἕπερ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος. τῇ δὲ τίτθῃ φάσμα δοκεῖ γενέσθαι καὶ προειπεῖν ὡς 2 ὀφελός μέγα πάσι Ρωμαιοὶ ἐκτρεφοῦση. ταῦτα δὲ ἄλλως οὐκέρατα καὶ φλύαρον εἶναι δοκοῦντα ταχεῶς αὐτὸς ἀπέδειξε μαντείαιν ἀληθινὴν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τοῦ μανθάνειν γενόμενος, δι' εὐφυείαν ἐκλάμψιας καὶ λαβών ὀνομα καὶ δόξαν ἐν τοῖς παισίν, ὅστε τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν ἐπιφοιτᾶν τοῖς διδασκαλείοις ὤψε τε βουλομένους ἱδεῖν τὸν Κικέρωνα καὶ τὴν ὑμνομένην αὐτοῦ περὶ τὰς μαθήσεις ὀξύτητα καὶ σύνεσιν ἱστορῆσαι, τοὺς δ' ἀγροικοτέρους ὁργίζεσθαι τοῖς νήσισι ὀρῶντας ἐν ταῖς ὀδοῖς τὸν Κικέρωνα μέσον αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τιμῇ λαμβάνοντας. γενόμενος δ', ὅσπερ ὁ Πλάτων ἄξιοι τὴν φιλομαθή καὶ φιλόσοφον φύσιν, οἷος ἀστυπάξεσθαι πᾶν μάθημα καὶ μηδὲν λόγου μηδὲ παιδείας ἀτιμάξειν εἴδος, ἐρρύὴ πως προσβυμότερον ἐπὶ ποιητικῆς. καὶ τί καὶ ποιημάτιον ἐτὶ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ διασώζεται, Πόντιος Γλαύκος, ἐν τετρα-
Marcus and the Tullius, but instead of the third, by way of jest, he ordered the artificer to engrave a chick-pea in due sequence. This, then, is what is told about his name.

II. It is said that Cicero was born, without travail or pain on the part of his mother, on the third day of the new Calends,¹ the day on which at the present time the magistrates offer sacrifices and prayers for the health of the emperor. It would seem also that a phantom appeared to his nurse and foretold that her charge would be a great blessing to all the Romans. And although these presages were thought to be mere dreams and idle fancies, he soon showed them to be true prophecy; for when he was of an age for taking lessons, his natural talent shone out clear and he won name and fame among the boys, so that their fathers used to visit the schools in order to see Cicero with their own eyes and observe the quickness and intelligence in his studies for which he was extolled, though the ruder ones among them were angry at their sons when they saw them walking with Cicero placed in their midst as a mark of honour. And although he showed himself, as Plato² thought a nature should do which was fond of learning and fond of wisdom, capable of welcoming all knowledge and incapable of slighting any kind of literature or training, he lent himself with somewhat greater ardour to the art of poetry. And a little poem which he wrote when a boy is still extant, called Pontius Glauceus, Nones being the fifth of January. Strictly speaking, only the first day of the month was called the Calends, but Plutarch seems to call the opening days of the new official year "the new Calends." ² Republic, p. 475 b.
It was under Pompey, however, that Cicero served (Phil. xii. 11, 27).
and composed in tetrameter verse. Moreover, as he grew older and applied himself with greater versatility to such accomplishments, he got the name of being not only the best orator, but also the best poet among the Romans. His fame for oratory abides to this day, although there have been great innovations in style; but his poetry, since many gifted poets have followed him, has altogether fallen into neglect and disrepute.

III. After he had finished the studies of boyhood, he attended the lectures of Philon the Academic, whom, above all the other disciples of Cleitomachus, the Romans admired for his eloquence and loved for his character. At the same time he consorted with Mucius Scaevola, a statesman and leader of the senate, and was helped by him to an acquaintance with the law; and for a little while he also did military service under Sulla in the war against the Marsians. Then, seeing that the commonwealth was hurrying into factions, and from factions into unlimited monarchy, he betook himself to a retired and contemplative life, associated with Greek scholars, and pursued his studies, until Sulla got the mastery and the state appeared to be somewhat settled.

About this time Chrysogonus, a freedman of Sulla's, put up at public auction the estate of a man who, as it was said, had been put to death under proscription, and bought it in himself for two thousand drachmas. Then Roscius, the son and heir of the deceased, was indignant and set

3 In translating Cicero's "duobus millibus nummum," Plutarch erroneously reckons in denarii (which were equivalent to drachmas, or francs) instead of in sestertii (worth only one-quarter as much).
ούσιαν ἀπεδείκνυε πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίων
tαλάντων οὐσαν ἄξιαν, ὡς τε Σύλλας ἐλεγχόμενος
ἐχαλέπαις καὶ δίκην πατροκτονίας ἐπήγε τῷ
Ῥωσκίῳ, τοῦ Χρυσογόνου κατασκευάσαντος, ἐβο-
ήθει δ’ οὕδεις, ἀλλ’ ἀπετρέποντο τοῦ Σύλλα τῇ
4 χαλεπότητα δεδουκότες, οὕτω δὴ δι’ ἔρημιαν τοῦ
μειρακίου τῷ Κικέρωνι προσφυγόντος οἱ φίλοι
συμπαρώρμοι, ὡς οὐκ ἂν αὐτῷ λαμπροτέραν
ἀνθρώπον ἐρχθήν πρὸς δόξαν ἐτέραν οὐδὲ καλλίω
γενησμένην. ἀναδεξάμενος οὖν τὴν συνηγορίαν
καὶ κατορθώσας ἐθαυμάσθη δεδώσος δὲ τὸν Σύλ-
λαν ἀπεδήμησεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, διασπείρας
λόγου ὡς τοῦ σώματος αὐτῷ θεραπείας δεσμένοιν.
5 καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὄντως ἱσχυὸς καὶ ἁσαρκος, ἀρρωστία
στομάχου μικρὰ καὶ γλύσχρα μόνης ὡς τῆς
ἄρας προσφερόμενος· ἢ δὲ φωνὴ πολλὴ μὲν καὶ
ἀγαθή, σκληρὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπλαστὸς, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ
λόγου σφοδρότητα καὶ πάθος ἑχοντος ἄει διὰ τῶν
ἀνω τόνων ἐι.ανυομένη φόβου παρείχεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ
σώματος.

IV. Ἀφικομένοις δ’ εἰς Ἀθηνὰς Ἀντιόχου τοῦ
Ἀσκαλωνίτου διήκουσε, τῇ μὲν εὐροίᾳ τῶν λόγων
ἀυτοῦ καὶ χάριτι κηλούμενος, ἢ δ’ ἐν τοῖς δόγμα-
σιν ἐνεστέριζεν οὐκ ἐπαινόν. ἦδη γὰρ ἐξίστατο
τῆς νέας λεγομένης Ἀκαδημείας ὁ Ἀντίοχος καὶ
τὴν Καρυέαδον οπτάσιν ἐγκατέλειπεν, εἰτε καμ-
πτόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἑναρχεῖας καὶ τῶν αἰσθήσεων,
eῖτε, ὡς φασίν ἐνιοῦ, φιλοτιμία τινὶ καὶ διαφορὰ

88
forth clearly that the estate was worth two hundred and fifty talents, whereupon Sulla, enraged to have his actions called in question, indicted Roscius for the murder of his father, Chrysogonus having trumped up the evidence. No advocate would help Roscius, but all avoided him through their fear of Sulla's cruelty, and so at last, in his destitution, the young man had recourse to Cicero. Cicero's friends encouraged him to undertake the case, arguing that he would never again have a more brilliant or a more honourable opportunity to win fame. Accordingly, he undertook the defence of Roscius, won his cause, and men admired him for it; but fearing Sulla, he made a journey to Greece, after spreading a report that his health needed attention. For in fact he was spare and lean, and owing to a weakness of the stomach could only with difficulty take a little light food late in the day; his voice, however, was full and strong, but harsh and unmodulated, and since, owing to the vehemence and passion of his oratory, it was always forced into the higher tones, it made men apprehensive for his health.

IV. On coming to Athens he attended the lectures of Antiochus of Ascalon, and was charmed by his fluency and grace of diction, although he disapproved of his innovations in doctrine. For Antiochus had already fallen away from what was called the New Academy and abandoned the sect of Carneades, either moved thereto by the clear evidence of the sense-perceptions, or, as some say, led by a feeling of ambitious opposition to

1 See the oration pro Roscio Amerino.
2 This the New Academy refused to admit.
πρὸς τοὺς Κλειτομάχου καὶ Φίλωνος συνήθεις τοῦ Στωίκου ἐκ μεταβολῆς θεραπεύων λόγου ἐν 2 τοῖς πλείστοις. ο ὁ δὲ Κικέρων ἐκεῖνα ἡγάτα κακείνους προσεῖχε μᾶλλον, διανοούμενος, εἰ πανταπασιν ἐκπέσοι τοῦ τα κοινὰ πράσσειν, δεύτερο μετενεγκάμενος τοῦ βίου ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ τῆς πολιτείας ἐν ἱσυχίᾳ μετὰ φιλοσοφίας καταζήν.

3 Ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτῷ Σύλλασ τε προσηγγέλθη τεθνηκὼς, καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῖς γυμνασίοις ἀναρρωνύμενον εἰς ἐξίν ἐβαδίζει νεανίκην, ἢ τε φωνῇ λαμβάνουσα πλάσιν ἤδεια μὲν πρὸς ἀκοήν ἐτέθραπτο,1 μετρίως δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἔξιν ἦρμοστο τοῦ σώματος, πολλὰ μὲν τῶν ἀπὸ Ἡράμης φίλων γραφόντων καὶ δεομένων, πολλὰ δ’ Ἀντιώχου παρακελευμένου τοῖς κοινοῖς ἐπιβαλεῖν πράγμασιν, αὐθίς ὀσπερ ὅργανον ἐξηρτύετο2 τῶν ῥητορικῶν λόγων καὶ ἀνεκίνει τὴν πολιτικὴν δύναμιν, αὐτὸν τε ταῖς μελέταις διαποιών καὶ τοὺς ἐπαινουμένους μετὶων ῥήτορας. οἶθεν εἰς Ἀσίαν καὶ Ἡρόδων ἐπλευσε, καὶ τῶν μὲν Ἀσιανῶν ῥήτορων Ξενοκλεῖ τῶ Ἀδραμυτηνῷ καὶ Διονυσίῳ τῷ Μάγνητι καὶ Μενίππῳ τῶ Καρί συνεσχόλασεν, ἐν δὲ Ἡρόδῳ ῥήτορι μὲν Ἀπολλονίῳ τῷ Μόλωνος, φιλοσόφῳ δὲ Ποσειδωνίῳ. λέγεται δὲ τῶν Ἀπολλονίων οὐ συνιέντα τὴν Ἡρωμαίκην διάλεκτον δειθήναι τοῖς Κικέρωνος Ἐλληνιστὶ μελετῆσαι τὸν δ’ ὑπακούσαι προθύμως, οἰόμενον οὕτως ἔσεσθαι βελτίωνα

1 ἐτέθραπτο the words καὶ πολλὰ (and full) which follow this verb in the MSS. are deleted by Gudeman as contradictory to iii. 5 and due to the double πολλὰ below.
2 ἐξηρτύετο Graux, after Madvig: ἐξηρτύε.
the disciples of Cleitomachus and Philon to change his views and cultivate in most cases the doctrine of the Stoics. But Cicero loved the systems which Antiochus discarded and devoted himself the rather to them, purposing, in case he was altogether driven out of a public career, to change his home to Athens, away from the forum and the business of the state, and spend his life in the quiet pursuit of philosophy.

But word was now brought to him that Sulla was dead,1 and since his body, strengthened by exercise, was taking on a vigorous habit, while his voice, acquiring modulation, had grown pleasant to the ear, and had been moderated into keeping with the habit of his body; and since, moreover, his friends at Rome earnestly besought him by letter and Antiochus strongly urged him to apply himself to public affairs, he once more sought to prepare for service therein his instrument, as it were, to wit his rhetorical style, and to rouse to action his political powers, diligently cultivating himself in declamation and taking lessons of the popular rhetoricians. With this end in view he made a voyage to Asia and Rhodes. In Asia, he studied oratory with Xenocles of Adramyttium, Dionysius of Magnesia, and Menippus the Carian; in Rhodes, oratory with Apollonius the son of Molon, and philosophy with Poseidonius.2 Apollonius, we are told, not understanding the Roman language, requested Cicero to declaim in Greek, with which request Cicero readily complied, thinking that in this way his faults could

1 In 78 B.C.  
2 Cf. Cicero's Brutus, 91.
5 τὴν ἑπανόρθωσιν ἔπει δ' ἐμελέτησε, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐκπεπλήχθαι καὶ διαμυλᾶσθαι πρὸς ἄλληλους τοῖς ἑπαίνοις, τὸν δ' Ἀπολλώνιον οὕτω άκροφέμενον αὐτοῦ διαχυθῆναι καὶ πανσαμένου σύννυν καθέξοσθαι πολὺν χρόνων, ἀχθομένου δὲ τοῦ Κικέρωνος εἰπείν. "Σὲ μὲν, ὦ Κικέρω, ἑπαίνῳ καὶ θαυμάζω, τῆς δὲ Ἑλλάδος οἰκτείρω τὴν τύχην, ὅρων, ἀ μόνα τῶν καλῶν ἡμῖν ὑπελείπετο, καὶ ταῦτα Ὀμοίως διὰ σοῦ προσγενόμενα, παιδείαιν καὶ λόγον." 3

V. ὁ γοῦν Κικέρων ἔλπίδων μεστὸς ἐπὶ τὴν πολιτείαν φερόμενος ὑπὸ χρησμοῦ τῶν ἀπημβλύνθη τὴν ὀρμὴν. ἐρωμένῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς θεοῦ ὅπως ἄν εἰδοξότατος γένοιτο, προσέταξεν ἡ Πυθία τὴν έαυτοῦ φύσιν, ἄλλα μὴ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν δόξαν, ἥγεμόνα ποιεῖσθαι τοῖ βίον. 2 

καὶ τὸν γε πρῶτον ἐν Ὀρμη χρόνων εὐλαβῶς διήγει καὶ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὁκνηρῶς προσῆκει καὶ παρημελεῖτο, ταῦτα δὴ τὰ Ὀμοίων τοῖς βαναυσοτάτοις πρόχειρα καὶ συνίθη ῥήματα, Γραικὸς καὶ σχολαστικὸς ἄκούων. ἐπεὶ δὲ φύσει φιλότιμος ὃν καὶ παροξυμένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῶν φίλων ἐπέδωκεν εἰς τὸ συνηγορεῖν ἑαυτῷ, οὐκ ἦρεμα τῷ πρωτεῖῳ προσήκειν, ἀλλ' εὔθει ἐξελαμψε τῇ δόξῃ καὶ διέφερε πολὺ τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων ἐπ' ἄγορᾶς.

3 Δέγεται δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς οὐδὲν ἦττον νοσήσας τοῦ Δημοσθένους πρὸς τὴν ύπόκρισιν, τοῦτο μὲν
better be corrected. After he had declaimed, his other hearers were astounded and vied with one another in their praises, but Apollonius was not greatly moved while listening to him, and when he had ceased sat for a long time lost in thought; then, since Cicero was distressed at this, he said: “Thee, indeed, O Cicero, I admire and commend; but Greece I pity for her sad fortune, since I see that even the only glories which were left to us, culture and eloquence, are through thee to belong also to the Romans.”

V. However, though Cicero, full of hope, was being borne on towards a political career, a certain oracle took the edge from his eager desire. When he inquired, namely, of the god at Delphi how he could become most illustrious, the Pythian priestess enjoined upon him to make his own nature, and not the opinion of the multitude, his guide in life. And so during the first part of his time at Rome he conducted himself with caution, was reluctant to sue for office, and was therefore neglected, being called “Greek” and “Scholar,” those names which the low and ignorant classes at Rome were wont to give so readily. But he was naturally ambitious and was urged on by his father and his friends, and so when he gave himself in earnest to the work of an advocate, he did not advance slowly to the primacy, but his fame shone forth at once, and he far surpassed those who strove with him for distinction in the forum.

But it is said that he too, no less than Demosthenes, was weak in his delivery, and therefore

1 Cicero returned to Rome in 77 B.C., being in his thirtieth year.
'Ρωσκίψ τῷ κωμῳδῳ, τούτο δ' Αἰσώπῳ τῷ τραγῳδῷ προσέχειν ἐπιμελῶς. τὸν δ' Αἰσώπον τούτον ἵστορούσιν ὕποκρινόμενον ἐν θείτρῳ τοῦν περὶ τῆς τιμωρίας τοῦ Θυέστου βουλευόμενον Ἀτρέα, τῶν ὑπηρετὸν τινὸς ἄφων παραδραμότος, ἐξω τῶν έαυτοῦ λογισμῶν διὰ τὸ πάθος ὀντα τῷ σκηντρῷ πατάξαι καὶ ἀνελείν. οὐ μικρὰ δὲ πρὸς τὸ πείθειν ὑπῆρχεν ἐκ τοῦ ὑποκρινεσθαί ἔστε τῷ Κικέρωνι. καὶ τοὺς γε τῷ βοῶν μεγάλα χρωμένους ῥήτορας ἐπισκόπτων ἐλεγε δὲ ἀσθενείαν ἐπὶ τὴν κραυγήν ύστερ χωλοὺς ἐφ' ὕππον πηδαν. ἡ δὲ περὶ τὰ σκώμματα καὶ τὴν παιδιὰν ταύτην εὐτραπελία δικαιικόν μὲν ἔδόκει καὶ γλαφυρόν, χρώμενος δ' αὐτῇ κατακόρως πολλοὺς ἐλύπει καὶ κακοθείας ἐλάμβανε δόξαν.

VI. Ἀποδειχθεὶς δὲ ταῦτα ἐν σιτοδεῖα καὶ λαχῶν Σικελίαν ἱνώχλησε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐν ἀρχῇ σῖτον εἰς Ρώμην ἀποστέλλειν ἀναγκαζομένους. ὑστερον δὲ τῆς ἐπιμελείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ πραότητος αὐτοῦ πείραν λαμβάνοντες ὥς 2 οὐδένα τῶν πότεθων ἱγεμόνων ἐτίμησαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Ρώμης νέων ἐνδοξοῖ καὶ γεγονότες καλῶς, αἰτιὰν ἔχουτε ἀταξίας καὶ μαλακίας περὶ τῶν πόλεμον, ἀνεπέμφθησαν ἐπὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῆς Σικελίας, συνείπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Κικέρων ἐπιφανὸς καὶ περιποίησεν. ἐπὶ τούτοις οὖν μέγα φρονῶν εἰς Ρώμην βαδίζουν γελοίου τι 3 παθεῖν φησι. συντυχὸν γὰρ ἀνδρὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν

1 μεγάλα χρωμένουs MSS., Sintenis, and Bekker; Sintenis adopts Cobet's μεγαλαυχουμένουs (boasting loudly of); μεγάλα boan χρωμένουs Graux with Ma.
sought with care to imitate now Roscius the comedian, and now Aesop the tragedian. This Aesop, they tell us, was once acting in a theatre the part of Atreus planning to take vengeance on Thyestes, when one of the assistants suddenly ran across the scene, and the actor, losing control of himself in the intensity of his passion, smote him with his sceptre and laid him dead. Now, Cicero's delivery contributed not a little to his persuasive power. Moreover, of those orators who were given to loud shouting he used to say jestingly that they were led by their weakness to resort to clamour as cripples were to mount upon a horse. And his readiness to indulge in such jests and pleasantries was thought indeed to be a pleasant characteristic of a pleader; but he carried it to excess and so annoyed many and got the reputation of being malicious.

VI. He was appointed quaestor\(^1\) at a time when grain was scarce, and had the province of Sicily allotted to him, where he annoyed people at first by compelling them to send grain to Rome. But afterwards they found him careful, just, and mild, and honoured him beyond any governor they had ever had. Moreover, when large numbers of young men from Rome, of illustrious and noble families, were accused of lack of discipline and courage in the war and sent up for trial to the praetor of Sicily, Cicero pleaded their cause brilliantly and won the day. While he was journeying to Rome, then, highly elated over these successes, he had a laughable experience, as he tells us.\(^2\) In Campania, namely, he

\(^1\) In 75 B.C.

\(^2\) *Or. pro Plancio*, 26. This was in the succeeding year (74 B.C.).
.phiµw dokouvnti peri Kapmpavian, errexbai tina de
тов пепраxµевов уп' аутов λόγον έχουσi 'Rω-
мαίoi και τι φρονούσιν, ὁς όνοµατος και δόξηs
тов пепраxµевов аутω την πόλιν ἀπασαν ἐµπε-
πληκώς· τον δ' εἶπεῖν: "Ποῦ γὰρ ἦ, ὦ Κικέρων,
tον χρόνων τοῦτον;" τότε μεν οὖν ἔξαθυµήσαι
πανταπασιν, εἴ καθάπερ εἰς πέλαγος ἀχανες τήν
πόλιν ἐµπεσὼν ὁ περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγος οὖδὲν εἰς
dόξαν ἐπίδηλον πεποίηκεν· ὑστερον δὲ λογισµὸν
ἐαυτῷ διδοὺς πολὺ τῆς φιλοτιµίας ύφειλεν, ὡς
πρὸς ἀόριστον πράγµα τήν δόξαν ἀµιλλώµενος
καὶ πέρας οὐκ ἔφικτον ἔχουσαν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ
tὸ γε χαίρειν ἐπαινούµενον διαφερόντως καὶ πρὸς
dόξαν ἐµπαθέστερον ἐχεῖν ἀχρὶ παντὸς αὐτῶν
παρέµειναι καὶ πολλοὺς πολλάκις τῶν ὀρθῶν
ἐπετάραξε λογισµῶν.
VII. 'Aptóµenos δὲ τῆς πολιτείας προθυµό-
terov, aígχρον ἦγείτο τοὺς μὲν βασάνουσις ὀργά-
νοις χρωµένους καὶ σκεύεσιν ἀψύχοις μηδενὸς
ἀγνοεῖν ὅνοµα μηδὲ χώραν ἡ δύναµιν αὐτῶν, τὸν
dὲ πολιτικόν, ὃ δὲ ἀνθρώπων αἱ κοιναὶ πράξεις
περαίνονται, ῥαθύµως καὶ ἀµελῶς ἐχεῖν περὶ τήν
2 τῶν πολετῶν γιώσων. ὅθεν οὐ μονὸν τῶν ὄνοµα-
tων εἴθιξε µηµονεύειν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τότον ἐν
φι τῶν γνωρίµων ἐκαστὸς οἶκεί, καὶ χωρίον οὐ
κέκτηται, καὶ φίλους οἶς τισι χρήται, καὶ γείτονας
ἐγίνωσκε· καὶ πάσαν ὅδον Ἰταλίας διαπορευ-
μένων Κικέρων προχειρὸν ἦν εἶπεῖν καὶ ἐπιδεῖξαι
tοῦς τῶν φίλων ἀγροὺς καὶ τὰς ἑπαύλεις.
3 Ὁυσίαν δὲ µικρὰν µέν, ἱκανὴν δὲ καὶ ταῖς
dαπάναις ἐπαρκῆ κεκτηµένος ἐθανµάζετο µήτε

96
fell in with an eminent man whom he deemed his friend, and asked him what the Romans were saying and thinking about his achievements, supposing that he had filled the whole city with the name and fame of them; but his friend said: "Where, pray, have you been, Cicero, all this while?" At that time, then, as he tells us, he was altogether disheartened, seeing that the story of his doings had sunk into the city as into a bottomless sea, without any visible effect upon his reputation; but afterwards he reasoned with himself and abated much of his ambition, convinced that the fame towards which he was emulously struggling was a thing that knew no bounds and had no tangible limit. However, his excessive delight in the praise of others and his too passionate desire for glory remained with him until the very end, and very often confounded his saner reasonings.

VII. And now that he was engaging in public life with greater ardour, he considered it a shameful thing that while craftsmen, using vessels and instruments that are lifeless, know the name and place and capacity of every one of them, the statesman, on the contrary, whose instruments for carrying out public measures are men, should be indifferent and careless about knowing his fellow-citizens. Wherefore he not only accustomed himself to remember their names, but also learned to know the quarter of the city in which every notable person dwelt, where he owned a country-place, what friends he had, and what neighbours; so that whatever road in Italy Cicero travelled, it was easy for him to name and point out the estates and villas of his friends.

His property, though sufficient to meet his expenses, was nevertheless small, and therefore men
μισθοὺς μήτε δόρα προσιέμενος ἀπὸ τῆς συνηγορίας, μάλιστα δ’ ὀτὲ τὴν κατὰ Βέρρου δίκην ἀνέλαβε. τούτων γὰρ στρατηγῶν γεγονότα τῆς Σικελίας καὶ πολλὰ πεπονηρευμένον τῶν Σικελιωτῶν διωκόντων εἴλεν, οὐκ εἰπὼν, ἀλλ’ εἴς αὐτοῦ τρόπον τινὰ τοῦ μὴ εἰπεῖν. τῶν γὰρ στρατηγῶν τῷ Βέρρῃ χαρίζομένων καὶ τὴν δίκην ὑπερθέσει καὶ διακρούσει πολλαῖς εἰς τὴν ύστατην ἐκβαλλόντων, ὡς ἦν πρόδηλον ὅτι τοὺς λόγους ἦ τῆς ἡμέρας οὐκ ἐξαρκέει χρόνος οὔτε λήφθαι πέρας ἡ κρίσις, ἀναστὰς ὁ Κικέρων ἔφη μὴ δεῖσθαι λόγων, ἀλλ’ ἐπαγαγόν τοὺς μάρτυρας καὶ ἐπικρίνας ἐκέλευσε φέρειν τὴν ψήφον τοὺς δικαστάς. ὄμως δὲ πολλὰ χαρίεντα διαμνημονεύ-
wondered that he would accept neither fees nor gifts for his services as advocate, and above all when he undertook the prosecution of Verres. This man, who had been praetor of Sicily, and whom the Sicilians prosecuted for many villainous acts, Cicero convicted, not by speaking, but, in a way, by actually not speaking. For the praetors favoured Verres, and by many obstacles and delays had put off the case until the very last day, since it was clear that a day’s time would not be enough for the speeches of the advocates and so the trial would not be finished. But Cicero rose and said there was no need of speeches, and then brought up and examined his witnesses and bade the jurors cast their votes. Nevertheless, many witty sayings of his in connection with this trial are on record. For instance, “verres” is the Roman word for a castrated porker; when, accordingly, a freedman named Caecilius, who was suspected of Jewish practices, wanted to thrust aside the Sicilian accusers and denounce Verres himself, Cicero said: “What has a Jew to do with a Verres?” Moreover, Verres had a young son, who had the name of lending himself to base practices. Accordingly, when Cicero was reviled by Verres for effeminacy, “You ought,” said he, “to revile your sons at home.” And again, the orator Hortensius did not venture to plead the cause of Verres directly, but was persuaded to appear for him at the assessment of the fine, and received an ivory therefore used every artifice to delay the case. See Cicero, in Verrem, i. 10, 31 ff.

2 Of the seven orations against Verres (including the Divinatio in Caecilium) only the first two were delivered; the others were compiled after the verdict had been pronounced.
τίνην Σφίγγα μισθόν, εἰπέ τι πλαγίως ὁ Κικέρων πρὸς αὐτὸν· τοῦ δὲ φήσαντος αὐτιγμάτων λύσεως ἀπείρως ἔχειν, "Καὶ μὴν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας," ἔφη, "τὴν Σφίγγα ἔχεις."

VIII. Οὕτω δὲ τοῦ Βέρρου καταδικασθέντος, ἔβδομηκοντα πέντε μυριάδων τιμησάμενος τὴν δίκην ὁ Κικέρων διαβολὴν ἐσχέν ὡς ἐπὶ ἄργυριῷ τὸ τίμημα καθυφείμενος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οἱ Σικελιώται χάριν εἰδότες ἀγοραμομούντος αὐτοῦ πολλὰ μὲν ἁγοντες ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου, πολλὰ δὲ φέροντες ἰκὼν, διὸ οὐδὲν ἐποιήσατο κέρδος, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐπευνώνεσαι τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀπεχρῆσατο τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

2 Ἐκέκτητο δὲ χωρίον καλὸν ἐν Ἀρποίς, καὶ περὶ Νέαν πόλιν ἦν ἁγρὸς καὶ περὶ Πομπηίων ἐτέρος, οὐ μεγάλοι φερνὴ τε Τερεντίας τῆς γυναικὸς προσεγένετο μυριάδων δέκα, καὶ κληρονομία τις εἰς ἐννέα δηναρίων συναχθεῖσα μυριάδας. ἀπὸ τούτων ἐλευθερίως ἄμα καὶ σωφρόνος διήγε μετὰ τῶν συμβιούντων Ἐλλήνων καὶ Ρωμαίων φιλολόγων, σπάνιον, εἶ ποτε, πρὸς δυσμῶν ἥλιον κατακλινόμενος, οὐχ οὕτω δι' ἀσχολίαν, ὡς διὰ τὸ σῶμα τῷ στομάχῳ μοχθηρῶς διακείμενον. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην περὶ τὸ σῶμα θεραπεῖαν ἀκριβῆς καὶ περιττός, ὅστε καὶ τρίψει καὶ περιπάτους ἀριθμὸ τεταγμένως χρήσθαι. τούτων τὸν τρόπον διαπαίδαγωγῶν τὴν ἐξὶν ἄνοσον καὶ διαρκῆ πρὸς πολλοὺς καὶ μεγαλοὺς ἁγώνας καὶ πόνους συνείχεν. οἰκίαν δὲ τὴν μὲν πατρὶῶν τῷ ἀδελφῷ παρεχώρησεν, αὐτὸς δ' ὤκει περὶ τὸ Παλάτιου ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ μακρὰν βαδίζοντας ἐνο-

1 οἰκίας, ἔφη, τὴν Graux with Ma: οἰκίας τὴν.
sphinx as his reward; and when Cicero made some oblique reference to him and Hortensius declared that he had no skill in solving riddles, "And yet," said Cicero, "thou hast the Sphinx at thy house."

VIII. When Verres had thus been convicted, Cicero assessed his fine at seven hundred and fifty thousand denarii, and was therefore accused of having been bribed to make the fine a low one. The Sicilians, however, were grateful to him, and when he was aedile brought him from their island all sorts of live stock and produce; from these he derived no personal profit, but used the generosity of the islanders only to lower the price of provisions.

He owned a pleasant country-seat at Arpinum, and had a farm near Naples and another near Pompeii, both small. His wife Terentia brought him besides a dowry of a hundred thousand denarii, and he received a bequest which amounted to ninety thousand. From these he lived, in a generous and at the same time modest manner, with the Greek and Roman men of letters who were his associates. He rarely, if ever, came to table before sunset, not so much on account of business, as because his stomach kept him in poor health. In other ways, too, he was exact and over-scrupulous in the care of his body, so that he actually took a set number of rubbings and walks. By carefully managing his health in this way he kept it free from sickness and able to meet the demands of many great struggles and toils. The house which had been his father's he made over to his brother, and dwelt himself near the Palatine hill, in order that those who came to pay their court to

1 See the note on iii. 2.
2 In a house purchased after his consulship (ad fam. v. 6, 2).
4 χλείσθαι τοὺς θεραπεύοντας αὐτῶν. ἔθεράπευον δὲ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἐπὶ θύρας φοιτώντες οὗκ ἐλάττονες ἢ Κράσσον ἐπὶ πλούτῳ καὶ Πομπήιον διὰ 865 τὴν ἐν τοῖς στρατεύμασι δύναμιν, θαυμαζόμενους μάλιστα Ρωμαίων καὶ μεγίστους ὄντας. Πομπήιος δὲ καὶ Κικέρωνα ἔθεράπευε, καὶ μεγάλα πρὸς δύναμιν αὐτῷ καὶ δόξαν ἢ Κικέρωνος συνέπραξε πολιτεία.

IX. Στρατηγίαν δὲ μετιόντων ἀμα σὺν αὐτῷ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων πρῶτος ἀπάντων ἀνηγορεύθη καὶ τὰς κρίσεις ἔδοξε καθαρῶς καὶ καλῶς βραβεύσαι. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ Δικάνινος Μάκερ, ἀνήρ καὶ καθ’ αὐτὸν ἵσχύων ἐν τῇ πόλει μεγα καὶ Κράσσῳ χρόμενος θοιήθῳ, κρινόμενος κλοπῆς ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ, 1 τῇ δυνάμει καὶ σπουδῇ πεποιθώς, ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν ψήφου τῶν κρίτων διαφερόντων ἀπαλλαγεῖς οὐκάδε κείρασθαι τε τὴν κεφαλήν κατὰ τάχος καὶ καθαρὸν ἱμάτιον ὡς νευκηκὸς λαβῶν αὐθείς εἰς ἀγορὰν προϊέναι τοῦ δὲ Κράσσου περὶ τὴν αὐλειον ἀπαντήσας αὐτῷ καὶ φράσαντος ὅτι πάσαις ἐδίωκε ταῖς ψήφοις, ἀναστρέψας καὶ 3 κατακλίνεις ἀποθανεῖν. τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα τῷ Κικέρωνι δόξαν ἤνεγκεν ὡς ἐπιμελῶς βραβεύσαντι τὸ δικαστήριον. ἐπεὶ δὲ Οὐατίνος, ἀνήρ ἔχων τι τραχύ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχοντας ὀλγαφορὸν ἐν ταῖς συνήγορίαις, χοιρίδων δὲ τῶν τράχηλον περὶ-πλεος, ἤτειτὸ τι καταστὰς παρὰ τοῦ Κικέρωνος,

1 ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ Cobet’s correction of the MS. ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ, adopted by Sintenis². So Graux with Ma.

102
him might not have the trouble of a long walk. And men came to his house every day to pay him court, no fewer than came to Crassus for his wealth or to Pompey because of his influence with the soldiery, and these were the two greatest men among the Romans and the most admired. Nay, Pompey actually paid court to Cicero, and Cicero’s political efforts contributed much towards Pompey’s power and fame.

IX. Although many men of importance stood for the praetorship along with Cicero, he was appointed first of them all; and men thought that he managed the cases which came before him with integrity and fairness. It is said, too, that Licinius Macer, a man who had great power in the city on his own account and also enjoyed the help of Crassus, was tried before Cicero for fraud, and that, relying upon his influence and the efforts made in his behalf, he went off home while the jurors were still voting, hastily trimmed his hair and put on a white toga in the belief that he had been acquitted, and was going forth again to the forum; but Crassus met him at the house-door and told him that he had been convicted unanimously, whereupon he turned back, lay down upon his bed, and died. And the case brought Cicero the reputation of having been a scrupulous presiding officer. Again, there was Vatinius, a man who had a harsh manner and one which showed contempt for the magistrates before whom he pleaded; his neck also was covered with swellings. As this man once stood at Cicero’s tribunal and made some request of him,

1 Cf. the Marius, xxxii. 1.
2 In 66 B.C. Eight praetors were appointed, and the one who received most votes was made city praetor, or chief magistrate.
καὶ μη διδόντος, ἀλλὰ βουλευομένου πολὺν χρόνου, εἶπεν ὡς οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸς διστάσειε περὶ τούτου στρατηγῶν, ἐπιστραφεὶς ὁ Κικέρων, "Ἀλλ' ἐγώ," εἶπεν, "οὐκ ἔχω τηλικοῦτον τράχηλον."
4 Ἔτι δ' ἡμέρας δύο ἡ τρεῖς ἔχοντι τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ προσήγαγε τις Μανίλιον εὐθύνων κλητῆς. ὁ δὲ Μανίλιος οὕτως εὔνοιαν εἶχε καὶ σπουδῆν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, δοκῶν ἐλαύνεσθαι διὰ Πομπήιον· ἐκείνου γὰρ ἦν φίλος. αὐτομένου δ' ἡμέρας αὐτοῦ μίαν ὁ Κικέρων μόνην τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἔδωκε· καὶ ὁ δήμος ἤγανάκτησεν εἰδισμένων τῶν στρατηγῶν δέκα τούλιχιστον ἡμέρας διδόναι τοῖς κυν. 5 δυνεύονσι. τῶν δὲ δημάρχων αὐτοῦ διαγαγόντων ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ κατηγοροῦντον, ἀκουσθῆναι δεηθεὶς εἶπεν ὅτι τοῖς κινδυνεύονσιν ἂεί, καθ' ὅσον οἱ νόμοι παρεῖκουσι, κεχρημένος ἐπιεικῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως δεινὸν ἤγειτο τῷ Μανίλίῳ ταῦτα μὴ παρασκείων ἢς οὖν ἠτὶ μόνης κύριος ἢν ἡμέρας στρατηγῶν, ταῦτην ἐπίτηδες ὄρισαι· τὸ γὰρ εἰς ἄλλον ἀρχοντα τὴν κρίσιν ἐκβαλεῖν οὐκ 6 εἶναι βουλευομένου βοηθείν. ταῦτα λεχθέντα θαυμαστὴν ἐποίησε τοῦ δήμου μεταβολήν καὶ πολλὰ κατευθημοῦντες αὐτὸν ἔδεστο τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μανίλιον συνηγορίαν ἀναλαβεῖν. ὁ δ' ὑπέ- στη προθύμως, οὐχ ἦκιστα διὰ Πομπήίου ἀπόντα· καὶ καταστὰς πάλιν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἐδημηγόρησε, νεανικῶς τῶν ὀλιγαρχικῶν καὶ τῷ Πομπήίῳ φθονοῦντων καθαπτόμενος.

Χ. Ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν ὑπατείαν οὐχ ἦττον ὑπὸ τῶν 104
Cicero did not grant it at once, but took a long time for deliberation, whereupon Vatinius said that he himself would not have stuck at the matter had he been praetor. At this Cicero turned upon him and said: "But I have not the neck that you have."

Two or three days before his term of office expired, Manilius was brought before him on a charge of fraudulent accounting. This Manilius had the good will and eager support of the people, since it was thought that he was prosecuted on Pompey's account, being a friend of his. On his demanding several days in which to make his defence, Cicero granted him only one, and that the next; and the people were indignant because it was customary for the praetor to grant ten days at least to the accused. And when the tribunes brought Cicero to the rostra and denounced him, he begged for a hearing, and then said that he had always treated defendants, so far as the laws allowed, with clemency and kindness, and thought it an unfortunate thing that Manilius should not have this advantage; wherefore, since only one day was left to his disposal as praetor, he had purposely set this day for the trial, and surely it was not the part of one who wished to help Manilius to defer it to another praetor's term. These words produced a wonderful change in the feelings of the people, and with many expressions of approval they begged Cicero to assume the defence of Manilius. This he willingly consented to do, chiefly for the sake of Pompey, who was absent, and once more mounting the rostra harangued the people anew, vigorously attacking the oligarchical party and those who were jealous of Pompey.

X. Yet he was advanced to the consulship no less
ἀριστοκρατικῶν ἢ τῶν πολλῶν προϊχθη διὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐξ αἰτίας αὐτῷ τοιαῦτης συναγωγισμένων. τῆς ὑπὸ Σύλλα γενομένης μεταβολῆς περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν ἀτόπου φανερῆς, τότε δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὑπὸ χρόνου καὶ συνηθείας ἢδη τινὰ κατάστασιν ἔχειν οὗ φαύλην δοκούσης, ἦσαν οἱ τὰ παρόντα διασείσαι καὶ μεταθείναι ξητοῦντες ἱδίων ἐνεκα πλεονεξίων, οὐ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον, Πομπηίου μὲν ἐτὶ τοῖς βασιλεύσιν ἐν Πόντῳ καὶ Ἀρμενίᾳ πολεμοῦντος, ἐν δὲ τῇ Ρώμη μηδεμίας ύφεστώσης πρὸς τοὺς νεωτέριζοντας ἀξιομάχουν 2 δυνάμεως. οὗτοι κορυφαῖοι εἰχον ἀνδρα τολμή-

tὴν καὶ μεγαλοπράγμονα καὶ ποικίλον τὸ ἡθος, 

Δεύκιον Κατιλίναν, ὃς αἰτίας ποτὲ πρὸς ἄλλοις ἀδικήμασι μεγάλοις ἐλαβε παρθένων συγγεγονεῖαι 

θυγατρί, κτείναι δ' ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ· καὶ δίκην ἐπὶ 

τούτῳ φοβοῦμενος ἐπεισε Σύλλαν ὡς ἐτὶ ξόντα 

τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν ἐν τοῖς ἀποθανομένοις προγράψαι. 

3 τούτων οὖν προστάτην οἱ πονηροὶ λαβόντες ἄλλας 

τε πίστεις ἄλληλοις ἔδοσαν καὶ καταθύσαντες 

ἀνθρωπὸν ἐγεύσαντο τῶν σαρκῶν. διεφθαρτό δ' ἐπὶ 

αὐτοῦ πολὺ μέρος τῆς ἐν τῇ πόλει νεότητος, 

ήδονᾶς καὶ πότους καὶ γυναικῶν ἔρωτας ἄει προ-

ξευοῦντος ἐκάστῳ καὶ τὴν εἰς ταύτα δαπάνην ἀφειδώς παρασκευάζοντος. ἐπήρτο δ' ἢ τε Τυρ-

ρηνία πρὸς ἀπόστασιν ὅλῃ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῆς 

4 ἐντὸς "Ἀλπεων Γαλατίας. ἐπισφαλέστατα δ' ἢ 

Ῥώμη πρὸς μεταβολὴν εἰχὲ διὰ τὴν ἐν ταῖς 

106
by the aristocrats than by the common people, and in the interests of the city, both parties seconding his efforts for the following reasons. The change which Sulla had made in the constitution at first appeared absurd, but now it seemed to the majority, owing to lapse of time and their familiarity with it, to afford at last a kind of settlement which was not to be despised. There were those, however, who sought to agitate and change the existing status for the sake of their own gain, and not for the best interests of the state, while Pompey was still carrying on war with the kings in Pontus and Armenia, and there was no power in Rome which was able to cope with the revolutionaries. These had for their chief a man of bold, enterprising, and versatile character, Lucius Catiline, who, in addition to other great crimes, had once been accused of deflowering his own daughter and of killing his own brother; and fearing prosecution for this murder, he persuaded Sulla to put his brother’s name, as though he were still alive, in the list of those who were to be put to death under proscription. 1 Taking this man, then, as their leader, the miscreants gave various pledges to one another, one of which was the sacrifice of a man and the tasting of his flesh. 2 Moreover, Catiline had corrupted a large part of the young men in the city, supplying each of them continually with amusements, banquets, and amours, and furnishing without stint the money to spend on these things. Besides, all Etruria was roused to revolt, as well as most of Cisalpine Gaul. And Rome was most dangerously disposed towards change on account of the

---

1 Cf. the Sulla, xxxii. 2.
2 Cf. Dion Cassius, Hist. Rom. xxxvii. 30, 3.
οὐσίας ἀνωμαλίαν, τῶν μὲν ἐν δόξῃ μάλιστα καὶ φρονήματι κατεπτωχευμένων εἰς θέατρα καὶ δείπνα καὶ φιλαρχίας καὶ οἰκοδομίας, τῶν δὲ πλούτων εἰς ὑγεινεῖς καὶ ταπεινων συνεργηκότων ἁνθρώπους, ὡστε μικρὰς ῥοπῆς δείσθαι τὰ πράγματα καὶ παντὸς εἶναι τοῦ τολμήσαντος ἐκστήσαι τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτὴν ὑφ' αὐτῆς νοσοῦσαν.

XI. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ bouλόμενος ὁ Κατιλίνας ἵσχυρὸν τι προκαταλαβεῖν ὑμμητήριον ὑπατείαν μετήρε καὶ λαμπρὸς ἢν ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ὡς Γαίῳ 'Αντώνιῳ συνυπατεύσων, ἀνδρὶ καθ' αὐτὸν μὲν οὔτε πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον οὔτε πρὸς τὸ χείρον ἡγεμονικῷ, προσθήκη δ' ἀγοντος ἑτέρου δυνάμεως 2 ἐσομένῳ. ταύτα δὴ τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἁγαθῶν οἱ πλείστοι προαισθόμενοι τὸν Κικέρωνα προῆγον ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν καὶ τοῦ δῆμου δεξαμένου προθύμως ὁ μὲν Κατιλίνας ἐξέπεσε, Κικέρων δὲ καὶ Γαίου Ἀντώνιος ἤρεθησαν. καῖτοι τῶν μετίκουν τῶν ὁ Κικέρων μόνος ἢν ἐξ ἑπικοῦ πατρός, οὐ βουλευτοῦ, ἑγονός.

XII. Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Κατιλίναν ἐμελλέν τοὺς πολλοὺς λαὐθάνοντα, προάγωνες δὲ μεγάλου τὴν Κικέρωνος ὑπατείαν ἐξεδέξαντο. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ οἱ κεκολυμένοι κατὰ τοὺς Σύλλα νόμους ἀρχεῖν, οὔτ' ἀσθενεῖς οὗτε οὔτ' ὀλίγοι, μετίκουτες ἀρχὰς ἐδημαγώγουν, πολλὰ τῆς Σύλλα τυχανύιδος ἀληθῆ μὲν καὶ δύκαια κατηγοροῦντες, οὐ μὴν ἐν δέοντι τὴν πολιτείαν οὔδὲ σὺν καιρῷ 2 κινοῦντες· τοῦτο δὲ νόμους εἰσῆγον οἱ δήμαρχοι

108
irregularity in the distribution of property, since men of the highest reputation and spirit had beggared themselves on shows, feasts, pursuit of office, and buildings, and riches had streamed into the coffers of low-born and mean men, so that matters needed only a slight impulse to disturb them, and it was in the power of any bold man to overthrow the commonwealth, which of itself was in a diseased condition.

XI. However, Catiline wished to obtain first a strong base of operations, and therefore sued for the consulship; and he had bright hopes that he would share the consulship with Caius Antonius, a man who, of himself, would probably not take the lead either for good or for bad, but would add strength to another who took the lead. Most of the better class of citizens were aware of this, and therefore put forward Cicero for the consulship, and as the people readily accepted him, Catiline was defeated, and Cicero and Caius Antonius were elected.\(^1\) And yet Cicero was the only one of the candidates who was the son, not of a senator, but of a knight.

XII. The schemes of Catiline were still to remain concealed from the multitude, but great preliminary struggles awaited the consulship of Cicero. For, in the first place, those who were prevented from holding office by the laws of Sulla, and they were neither few nor weak, sued for offices and tried to win the favour of the people, making many charges against the tyranny of Sulla which were just and true, indeed, but disturbing the government at an improper and unseasonable time; and, in the second place, the tribunes were introducing

\(^1\) For the year 63 B.C.
πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν, δεκαδρυχίαν καθιστάντες αὐτοκρατόρων ἀνδρῶν, οἷς ἐφέετο πᾶσης μὲν Ἰταλίας, πάσης δὲ Συρίας, καὶ ὅσα διὰ Πομπηίου νεωστὶ προσώριστο κυρίους ὄντας πωλεῖν τὰ δημόσια, κρίνειν οὖς δοκοίη, φυγάδας ἐκβάλλειν, συνοικίζειν πόλεις, χρήματα λαμβάνειν ἐκ τοῦ ταμείου, στρατιώτας τρέφειν καὶ καταλέγειν ὁπόσων δέοιτο. διὸ καὶ τῷ νόμῳ προσείχον ἄλλοι τε τῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ πρῶτος Ἀντώνιος ὁ τοῦ Κικέρωνος συνάρχων ὡς τῶν δέκα γενησό-μενος. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ τὸν Κατιλίνα νεωτερισμὸν εἴδως οὐ δυσχεραίνειν ὑπὸ πλήθους δανείων· ὁ μάλιστα τοὺς ἀρίστους φόβον παρεῖχε.

4 Καὶ τούτων πρῶτον θεραπεύων ὁ Κικέρων ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐγιθήσατο τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν Μακεδονίαν, αὐτῷ δὲ τὴν Γαλατίαν διδομένην παρητήσατο, καὶ κατειργάσατο τῇ χάριτι ταύτῃ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὡσπερ ὑποκρίτην ἐμμισθοῦν αὐτῷ τὰ δεύτερα λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος. ὃς δὲ οὕτως ἐαλάκει καὶ χειροίθης ἐγεγόνει, μᾶλλον ἡδὴ θαρρῶν ὁ

5 Κικέρων ἐνίστατο πρὸς τοὺς καινοτομοῦντας. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ βουλῇ κατηγορίαν τινὰ τοῦ νόμου διατιθέμενος οὕτως ἐξέπληξειν αὐτοὺς τοὺς εἰσφέ- ροντας ὡστε μηδὲν ἀντιλέγειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὕθις ἐπεχείρουν καὶ παρέσκευαι γένοι προεκαλοῦντο τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον, οὐδὲν ὑποδείσας ὁ Κικέρων, ἀλλὰ τὴν βουλὴν ἐπεσθαὶ κελεύσας καὶ προελθὼν, οὐ μόνον ἐξέβαλε τὸν νόμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπογνώναι τοὺς δημάρχους

110
laws to the same purpose, appointing a commission of ten men with unlimited powers, to whom was committed, as supreme masters of all Italy, of all Syria, and of all the territories which Pompey had lately added to the empire, the right to sell the public lands, to try whom they pleased, to send into exile, to settle cities, to take moneys from the public treasury, and to levy and maintain as many soldiers as they wanted. Therefore many of the prominent men also were in favour of the law, and foremost among them Antonius the colleague of Cicero, who expected to be one of the ten. It was thought also that he knew about the conspiracy of Catiline and was not averse to it, owing to the magnitude of his debts; and this was what gave most alarm to the nobles.

This alarm Cicero first sought to allay by getting the province of Macedonia voted to his colleague, while he himself declined the proffered province of Gaul; and by this favour he induced Antonius, like a hired actor, to play the second rôle to him in defence of their country. Then, as soon as Antonius had been caught and was tractable, Cicero opposed himself with more courage to the innovators. Accordingly, he denounced the proposed law in the senate at great length, and so terrified the very promoters of it that they had no reply to make to him. And when they made a second attempt and after full preparation summoned the consuls to appear before the people, Cicero had not the slightest fear, but bidding the senate follow him and leading the way, he not only got the law rejected, but also induced the tribunes to desist
ἐποίησε, παρὰ τοσοῦτον τῷ λόγῳ κρατηθέντας ὑπ'[ αὐτοῦ.

XIII. Μάλιστα γὰρ οὗτος ὁ ἀνήρ ἐπέδειξε Ἀρωμαίοις ὅσον ἠδονής λόγος τῷ καλῷ προστίθησι, καὶ ὅτι τὸ δίκαιον αἵττητόν ἐστιν ἃν ὀρθῶς λέγηται, καὶ δεὶ τὸν ἐμμελῶς πολιτευόμενον ἅλει τῷ μὲν ἔργῳ τὸ καλὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ κολακεύοντος αἱρεῖσθαι, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ τὸ λυποῦν ἀφαιρεῖν τοῦ 2 συμφέροντος. δεῖγμα δὲ αὐτοῦ τῆς περὶ τὸν λόγον χάριτος καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς θέας ἐν τῇ ὑπατείᾳ γενόμενον. τῶν γὰρ ἱππικῶν πρότερον ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἀναμεμημένων τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ μετὰ τοῦ δήμου θεωμένων ὡς ἔτυχε, πρώτος διέκρινεν ἐπὶ τιμῆ τοὺς ἰππέας ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν Μάρκος Ὁθων στρατηγῶν, καὶ διένειμεν ἰδίαν ἐκείνους θέαν, ἣν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐξαίρετον ἔχουσι. 3 τοῦτο πρὸς ἀτιμίας ὁ δήμος ἔλαβε, καὶ φανέντος ἐν θεάτρῳ τοῦ Ὁθωνος ἐφυβρίζων ἐσύριττεν, οἱ δ' ἰππεῖσ ὑπέλαβον κρότῳ τὸν ἄλλα λαμπρῶς. αὕτως δὲ ὁ δήμος ἐπέτεινε τὸν συρυγμόν, εἶτα ἐκεῖνον τὸν κρότον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τραπόμενοι πρὸς ἄλληλους ἐχρώνυτο λοιδορίας, καὶ τὸ θέ- 4 ατρον ἀκοσμία κατείχεν. ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ Κικέρων ἦκε πυθόμενος καὶ τὸν δήμον ἐκκαλέσας πρὸς τὸ τῆς Ὁμιοῦς ἱερὸν ἐπετίμησε καὶ παρῆνεσεν, ἀπελ-

1 See the three orations de Lege Agraria, which have come down to us almost intact.
CICERO, xii. 5–xiii. 4

from the rest of their measures, so overpowered were they by his eloquence.¹

XIII. For this man beyond all others showed the Romans how great a charm eloquence adds to the right, and that justice is invincible if it is correctly put in words, and that it behooves the careful statesman always in his acts to choose the right instead of the agreeable, and in his words to take away all vexatious features from what is advantageous. A proof of the charm of his discourse may be found in an incident of his consulship connected with the public spectacles. In earlier times, it seems, the men of the equestrian order were mingled with the multitudes in the theatres and saw the spectacles along with the people, seated as chance would have it; Marcus Otho was the first to separate in point of honour the knights from the rest of the citizens, which he did when he was prætor,² and gave them a particular place of their own at the spectacles, which they still retain. The people took this as a mark of dishonour to themselves, and when Otho appeared in the theatre they hissed him insultingly, while the knights received him with loud applause. The people renewed and increased their hisses, and then the knights their applause. After this they turned upon one another with reviling words, and disorder reigned in the theatre. When Cicero heard of this he came and summoned the people to the temple of Bellona, where he rebuked

² It was in 67 B.C., four years before Cicero's consulship, that Lucius Roscius Otho, as tribune of the people, introduced his law giving the equites a special place at the spectacles, namely, the fourteen rows of seats next those of the senators. The law, however, had only recently been enacted.
θόντες αὖθις εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἐκρότουν τὸν "Οθωνα λαμπρῶς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἱππεὰς ἀμιλλαν ἐποιοῦντο περὶ τιμῶν καὶ δόξης τοῦ ἀνδρός.

XIV. Ἡ δὲ περὶ τὸν Κατιλίναν συνωμοσία πτήξασα καὶ καταδείξασα τὴν ἀρχὴν αὖθις ἀνεθάρρη, καὶ συνήγγον ἀλλήλους καὶ παρεκάλουν εὐτολμότερον ἀπετεθαί τῶν πραγμάτων πρὶν ἐπανελθεῖν Πομπηίου ἥδη λεγόμενον ὑποστρέφειν μετὰ τὴς δυνάμεως. μᾶλιστα δὲ τὸν Κατιλίναν ἐξηρέθιζον οἱ Σύλλα πάλαι στρατιώται, διαπεφυκότες μὲν ὅλης τῆς Ἰταλίας, πλείστοι δὲ καὶ μαχιμῶτατοι ταῖς Τυρρηνικαῖς ἐγκατεσπαρμένοι πόλεσιν, ἀρπαγὰς πάλιν καὶ διαφορίσεις πλούτων ὠνειροπολοῦντες. οὕτωι γὰρ ἡγεμόνα Μάλλιον ἔχοντες, ἄνδρα τῶν ἐπιφανῶς ὑπὸ Σύλλα στρατευσμένων, συνίσταντο τῷ Κατιλίνα καὶ παρῆσαν εἰς Ἡρώμην συναρχαίρεσιάσοντες. ὑπατείαν γὰρ αὖθις μετήχει, βεβούλευμένος ἀνελεῖν τὸν Κικέρωνα περὶ αὐτὸν τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων τὸν θόρυβον. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ τὸ δαίμονον προσημαίνειν τὰ πρασσόμενα σεισμοῖς καὶ κεραυνοῖς καὶ φάσμασιν. αἱ δὲ ἀνθρώπων μηνύσεις ἀληθεῖς μὲν ἦσαν, οὕτως δὲ εἰς ἔλεγχον ἀποχρώσαι κατ’ ἀνδρὸς ἐνδόξου καὶ δυναμένου μέγα τοῦ Κατιλίνα. διὸ τὴν ἡμέραν τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων ὑπερθέμενος ὁ Κικέρων ἐκάλει τὸν Κατιλίναν εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον καὶ περὶ τῶν λεγόμενων ἀνέκρινεν.

4 οὐ δὲ πολλοὺς οἴόμενος εἶναι τοὺς πραγμάτων καίνῳ ἐφιεμένους ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, καὶ ἀμα τοῖς
and exhorted them, whereupon they went back again to the theatre and applauded Otho loudly, and vied with the knights in showing him honour and esteem.

XIV. But Catiline and his fellow-conspirators, who at first were cowed and terrified, began once more to take courage, and assembling themselves together exhorted one another to take matters in hand more boldly before Pompey came back, and he was said to be now returning with his army. It was the old soldiers of Sulla, however, who were most of all urging Catiline on to action. These were to be found in all parts of Italy, but the greatest numbers and the most warlike of them had been scattered among the cities of Etruria, and were again dreaming of robbing and plundering the wealth that lay ready to hand. These men, I say, with Manlius for a leader, one of the men who had served with distinction under Sulla, associated themselves with Catiline and came to Rome to take part in the consular elections. For Catiline was again a candidate for the consulship, and had determined to kill Cicero in the very tumult of the elections. Moreover, even the heavenly powers seemed, by earthquakes and thunderbolts and apparitions, to foreshow what was coming to pass. And there were also human testimonies which were true, indeed, but not sufficient for the conviction of a man of reputation and great power like Catiline. For this reason Cicero postponed the day of the elections, and summoning Catiline to the senate, examined him concerning what was reported. But Catiline, thinking that there were many in the senate who were desirous of a revolution, and at
συνωμόταις ἐνδεικνύμενος, ἀπεκρίνατο τῷ Κικέρωνι μανικήν ἀπόκρισιν· "Τί γάρ," ἔφη, "πράττω δεινόν, εἰ, δυνών σωμάτων οὐντων, τοῦ μὲν ἵσχυον καὶ κατεφθινήκοτος, ἔχοντος δὲ κεφαλήν, τοῦ δ' ἀκεφάλου μὲν, ἵσχυρον δὲ καὶ μεγάλην, τούτω 5 κεφαλήν αὐτὸς ἐπιτίθημι;" τούτων εἰς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δήμον ὑπαιτημένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, μᾶλλον ὁ Κικέρων ἔδεισε, καὶ τεθωρακισμένον αὐτὸν οί τε δυνατοὶ πάντες ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας καὶ τῶν νέων πολλοὶ κατήγαγον εἰς τὸ πεδίον. τοῦ δὲ θώρακος ἐπίτηδες ὑπέφαινε τι παραλύσας ἐκ τῶν ὄμων τοῦ χιτῶνος, ἐνδεικνύμενος τοῖς ὀρώσι τῶν κίνδυνων, οἵ δ' ἡγανάκτουν καὶ συνεστρέφουσα περί αὐτῶν καὶ τέλος ἐν ταῖς ψήφοις τὸν μὲν Κατιλίναν αὖθις ἐξεβάλον, εἰλοντο δὲ Σιλανὸν ὑπατον καὶ Μουρήναν.

XV. Οὐ πολλῷ δ' ὦστερον τούτων ῥή μανικήν δ' Κατιλίνα τῶν ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ συνεχομένων καὶ καταλοχιζομένων, καὶ τῆς ὑρισμένης πρὸς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ἡμέρας ἐγγὺς οὖσης, ἦκον ἐπὶ τὴν Κικέρωνος οἰκίαν περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἀνδρεῖς οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ δυνατώτατοι Ὀμμαίων, Μάρκος τοῦ Κράσασος καὶ Μάρκος Μάρκελλος καὶ Σκητίων Μέτελλος· κόψαντες δὲ τὰς θύρας καὶ καλέσαντες τὸν θυρωρὸν ἐκέλευον ἐπεγείρατο καὶ φράσαι Κικέρωνι 2 τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτῶν. ἦν δὲ τοιόντες τῷ Κράσασῳ μετὰ δείπνου ἐπιστολὰς ἀποδίδοσιν δ' θυρωρός, ὅπο δὴ τινος ἀνθρώπου κομισθείσας ἀγνώ- στον, ἄλλας ἄλλοις ἐπιγεγραμμένας, αὐτῷ δὲ Κράσασῳ μίαν ἀδέσποτον. ἦν μόνην ἀναγνώσας ὁ Κράσασος, ὡς ἔφραξε τὰ γράμματα φόνου γενη-
the same time making a display of himself to the conspirators, gave Cicero the answer of a madman: "What dreadful thing, pray," said he, "am I doing, if, when there are two bodies, one lean and wasted, but with a head, and the other headless, but strong and large, I myself become a head for this?" Since this riddle of Catiline’s referred to the senate and the people, Cicero was all the more alarmed, and he wore a breastplate when all the nobles and many of the young men escorted him from his house to the Campus Martius. Moreover, he purposely allowed the spectators to get a glimpse of his breastplate by loosing his tunic from his shoulders, thus showing them his peril. The people were incensed and rallied about him; and finally, when they voted, they rejected Catiline once more, and elected Silanus and Murena consuls.

XV. Not long after this, when Catiline’s soldiers in Etruria were already assembling and forming into companies, and when the day set for their attack was near, there came to the house of Cicero at midnight men who were the leading and most powerful Romans, Marcus Crassus, Marcus Marcellus, and Scipio Metellus; and knocking at the door and summoning the doorkeeper, they bade him wake Cicero and tell him they were there. Their business was what I shall now relate. After Crassus had dined, his doorkeeper handed him some letters which an unknown man had brought; they were addressed to different persons, and one, which had no signature, was for Crassus himself. Crassus read this letter only, and since its contents told him that

1 Unum debile, infirmo capite (Cicero, pro Murena, 25, 51).
2 For the year 62 B.C.
σόμενον πολύν διὰ Κατιλίνα, καὶ παρῆνει τῆς πόλεως ὑπεξελθεὶν, τὰς ἄλλας οὐκ ἔλυσεν, ἀλλ' ἦκεν εὐθὺς πρὸς τὸν Κικέρωνα, πληγεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δεινοῦ, καὶ τι τῆς αἰτίας ἀπολυόμενος ἦν ἐσχε διὰ φιλίαν τοῦ Κατιλίνα.

3. Βουλευσάμενος οὖν ὁ Κικέρων ἀρ' ἡμέρα βουλής συνήγαγε, καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολᾶς κορύσας ἀπέδωκεν οἰς ἦσαν ἐπεσταλμέναι, κελεύσας φανερῶς ἀναγνώσαι. πάσαι δὲ ἦσαν ὁμοίως ἐπιβουλήν φράζονσαί. ἐτεὶ δὲ καὶ Κόιντος Ἀρριος, ἀνὴρ στρατηγικὸς, ἀπήγγελλε τοὺς ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ καταλοχισμοὺς, καὶ Μάλλιος ἀπηγγέλλετο σὺν χειρὶ μεγάλῃ περὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐκείνας αἰωροῦμενος ἂεὶ τι προσδοκαίν καὶ νοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης, γίνεται δόγμα τῆς βουλῆς παρακατατίθεσθαι τοῖς υπάτοις τὰ πράγματα, δεξαμένους δὲ ἐκείνους ὡς ἑπίστανται διοικεῖν καὶ σώζειν τὴν πόλιν. τούτῳ δ' οὖ πολλάκις, ἀλλ' ὅταν τι μέγα δείσῃ, ποιεῖν εἴωθεν ἡ σύγκλητος.

XVI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτην λαβὼν τὴν ἐξουσίαν ὁ Κικέρων τὰ μὲν ἔξω πράγματα Κόιντῳ Μετέλλῳ διεπίστευσε, τὴν δὲ πόλιν εἰχε διὰ χειρὸς καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν προῆι δορυφοροῦμενος ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν τοσούτων τὸ πλήθος ὡστε τῆς ἁγορᾶς πολὺ μέρος κατέχειν ἐμβάλλοντος αὐτὸς τοὺς παρατέρμητος, οὐκέτι καρτερῶν τὴν μέλλησιν ὁ Κατιλίνας αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκπηδῶν ἔγνω πρὸς τὸν Μάλλιον

---

1 See the Crassus, xiii 3. Cicero's treatise on his consulship, there referred to, was written in Greek, and is not extant.
there was to be much bloodshed caused by Catiline, and advised him to escape secretly from the city, he did not open the rest, but came at once to Cicero, terrified by the danger, and seeking to free himself somewhat from charges that had been made against him on account of his friendship for Catiline.¹

Cicero, accordingly, after deliberation, convened the senate at break of day, and carrying the letters thither gave them to the persons to whom they had been sent, with orders to read them aloud. All the letters alike were found to tell of a plot. And when also Quintus Arrius, a man of praetorian dignity, brought word of the soldiers who were being mustered into companies in Etruria, and Manlius was reported to be hovering about the cities there with a large force, in constant expectation of some news from Rome, the senate passed a decree that matters should be put in the hands of the consuls, who were to accept the charge and manage as best they knew how for the preservation of the city.² Now, the senate is not wont to do this often, but only when it fears some great danger.

XVI. On receiving this power Cicero entrusted matters outside to Quintus Metellus, while he himself kept the city in hand and daily went forth attended by so large a bodyguard that a great part of the forum was occupied when he entered it with his escort. Thereupon Catiline, no longer able to endure the delay, resolved to hasten forth

¹ Dent operam consules ne quid res publica detrimenti capiat (Sallust, Catiline, 29); decrevit quondam senatus ut L. Opimius consul videret ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet (Cicero, in Catil. i. 2, 4).
2 ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα, Μάρκιον δὲ καὶ Κέθηγον ἐκε-λευσε ξίφη λαβόντας ἐλθεὶν ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας ἐωθεν ὡς ἀσπασομένους τὸν Κικέρωνα καὶ διαχρήσα-θαι προσπεσόντας. τοῦτο Φουλβία, γυνὴ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, ἐξαγγέλλει τῷ Κικέρωνι, νυκτὸς ἐλ-θοῦσα καὶ διακελευσαμένη φυλάττεσθαι τοὺς περὶ τὸν Κέθηγον. οἰ δ' ἦκον ἀμ' ἤμερα, καὶ κωλυθέντες εἰσελθεῖν ἡγανάκτουν καὶ κατεβόων

3 ἐπὶ θύραις, ὡστε ὑποπτότεροι γενέσθαι. προελ-θὼν δ' ὁ Κικέρων ἐκάλει τὴν σύγκλητον εἰς τὸ τοῦ Στησίου Δίος ἱερόν, ὅν Στάτορα Ῥωμαίοι καλοῦσιν, ἠδρυμένον ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὀδοῦ, πρὸς τὸ Παλάτιον ἀνιῶντων. ἐνταῦθα καὶ τοῦ Κατιλίνα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐλθόντος ὡς ἀπολογησο-μένου, συγκαθίσαι μὲν οὔδείς ὑπέμεινε τῶν συγ-κλητικῶν, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἀπὸ τοῦ βάθρου μετῆλ-θον. ἀρξάμενος δὲ λέγειν ἔθορυβεῖτο, καὶ τέλος ἀναστὰς ὁ Κικέρων προσέταξεν αὐτῷ τῆς πόλεως ἀπαλλάττεσθαι: δεῖν γὰρ αὐτοῦ μὲν λόγοις, ἐκεί-νου δ' ὁ πλοὺς πολιτευομένου μέσον εἶναι τὸ τεῖχος. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κατιλίνας εὐθὺς ἐξελθὼν μετὰ τριακοσίων ὑπολοφόρων καὶ περιστησάμενος αὐτῷ ῥαβδοθυεῖται ὡς ἄρχοντι καὶ πελέκια καὶ σημαιάς ἐπαράμενος, πρὸς τὸν Μάλλιον ἔχωρει· καὶ δισμυρίων ὄμοι τι συνηθροισμένων ἐπῆε ταῖς πόλεις ἀναπείθων καὶ ἀφιστάς, ὡστε τοῦ πολέ-μου φανεροῦ γεγονότος τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀποσταλή-ναί διαμαχούμενον.

1 From Cicero's oration pro Sulla (6, 18) and Sallust's Catiline (28) it appears that the names of these would-be murderers were Caius Cornelius and Lucius Vargunteius.
to Manlius and his army, and ordered Marcius and Cethegus\(^1\) to take their swords and go early in the morning to the house of Cicero on pretence of paying him their respects, and there to fall upon him and dispatch him. This scheme Fulvia, a woman of high rank, made known to Cicero, coming to him by night and urging him to be on his guard against Cethegus and his companion. The men came at break of day, and when they were prevented from entering, they were incensed and made an outcry at the door, which made them the more suspected. Then Cicero went forth and summoned the senate to the temple of Jupiter Stesius (or Stator, as the Romans say), which was situated at the beginning of the Via Sacra, as you go up to the Palatine hill. Thither Catiline also came with the rest in order to make his defence; no senator, however, would sit with him, but all moved away from the bench where he was. And when he began to speak he was interrupted by outcries, and at last Cicero rose and ordered him to depart from the city, saying that, since one of them did his work with words and the other with arms, the city-wall must needs lie between them.\(^2\) Catiline, accordingly, left the city at once with three hundred armed followers, assumed the fasces and axes as though he were a magistrate, raised standards, and marched to join Manlius; and since about twenty thousand men altogether had been collected, he marched round to the various cities endeavouring to persuade them to revolt, so that there was now open war, and Antonius was sent off to fight it out.

\(^1\) Cf. Cicero, \textit{in Catil.} i. 5, 10.
ΧVII. Τούς δ’ ὑπολειφθέντας ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν διεφθαρμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Κατιλίνα συνῆγε καὶ παρεθάρρυνε Κορνήλιος Λέντλος Σούρας ἐπίκλησιν, ἀνὴρ γένους μὲν ἐνδόξου, βεβιωκὼς δὲ φαύλως καὶ δι’ ἀσέλγειαν ἐξεληλαμένος τῆς Βουλῆς πρότερον, τότε δὲ στρατηγῶν τὸ δεύτερον, ὧς ἔθος ἑστὶ τοῖς ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἀνακτωμένοις τὸ Βου-

2 λευτικὸν ἥξιωμα. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν αὐτῶ γενέσθαι τὸν Σούραν ἐξ αίτιας τοιαύτης. ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Σύλλαν χρόνοις ταμεύων συχνὰ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων ἀπώλεσε καὶ διέφθειρεν. ἀγανακτούντος δὲ τοῦ Σύλλα καὶ λόγου ἀπαιτοῦντος ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ, προελθὼν ὀλιγώρως πάνυ καὶ καταφρονητικὸς λόγου μὲν οὐκ ἔφη διδόναι, παρέχειν δὲ τὴν κυήμην, ὡσπερ εἰσέθεισαν

3 οἱ παιδεῖς ὅταν ἐν τῷ σφαιρίζειν ἀμάρτωσιν. ἐκ τούτου Σούρας παρωνομάσθη· σούραν γὰρ οἱ Ἦρωμαίοι τὴν κυήμην λέγουσι. πάλιν δὲ δίκην ἔχον καὶ διαφθείρας ἐνίος τῶν δικαστῶν, ἐπεὶ δυσὶ μόναις ἀπέφυγε ψῆφοις, ἔφη παρανάλωμα γεγονέναι τὸ βατέρῳ κριτῇ δοθέν· ἀρκεῖν γὰρ εἰ καὶ μιὰ ψῆφῳ μόνῳ ἀπελύθη.

4 Τούτου ὄντα τῇ φύσει τοιούτων κεκινημένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Κατιλίνα προσδιέφθειραν ἐλπίσι κεναῖς ψευδομάντεις καὶ γόητες ἐπὶ πεπλασμένα καὶ χρησμοὺς ἄδοντες, ὡς ἐκ τῶν Σιβυλλείων, προδηλοῦντας εἰμαρμένους εἶναι τῇ Ἔρωμῃ Κορνηλίοις τρεῖς μονάρχοις, ὑν δύο μὲν ἡδὴ πεπληρωκέναι τὸ χρεών, Κίνναν τε καὶ Σύλλαν, τρίτῳ δὲ
XVII. The creatures of Catiline who had been left behind in the city were brought together and encouraged by Cornelius Lentulus, surnamed Sura, a man of illustrious birth, but one who had led a low life and for his licentiousness had formerly been expelled from the senate, though now he was serving as praetor for the second time, as is the custom with those who have recovered their senatorial dignity. It is said too that he got his surname of Sura for the following reason. In Sulla's time he was quaestor and lost and wasted large amounts of the public moneys. Sulla was angry at this and demanded an accounting from him in the senate, whereupon Lentulus came forward with a very careless and contemptuous air and said that he would not give an account, but would offer his leg, as boys were accustomed to do when they were playing ball and made a miss. On this account he was surnamed Sura, for "sura" is the Roman word for leg. At another time, too, he was under prosecution and had bribed some of the jurors, and when he was acquitted by only two votes, he said that what he had given to the second juror was wasted money, since it would have sufficed if he had been acquitted by one vote only.

Such was the nature of this man who had been stirred up by Catiline, and he was further corrupted by vain hopes held out to him by false prophets and jugglers. These recited forged oracles in verse purporting to come from the Sibylline books,¹ which set forth that three Cornelii were fated to be monarchs in Rome, two of whom had already fulfilled their destiny, namely, Cinna and Sulla, and that now to

¹ Cf. Cicero, in Catil. iii. 4, 9.
λοιπὸν Κορνηλίῳ ἐκείνῳ φέροντα τὴν μοναρχίαν ἥκειν τὸν δαίμονα, καὶ δεῖν πάντως δέχεσθαι καὶ μὴ διαφθείρειν μέλλουτα τοὺς καρποὺς, ὥσπερ Κατιλίνας.

ΧVIII. Οὐδὲν οὖν ἐπενοέει μικρὸν ὁ Δέντλος ἢ ἀσημόν, ἀλλ' ἐδεδοκτο τὴν θουλὴν ἀπασαν ἁναίρειν τῶν τ' ἄλλων πολιτῶν ὅσον δύναιτο, τὴν πόλιν δ' αὐτὴν καταπιμπράναι, φείδεσθαι τε μνημεῖο δ' τῶν Πομπηίου τέκνων ταῦτα δ' ἐξαρπασαμένους ἔχειν ὑφ' αὐτοῖς καὶ φυλάττειν ὁμήρα τῶν πρὸς Πομπηίου διαλύσεων ἥδη γὰρ ἐφοίτα πολὺς λόγος καὶ βέβαιος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κατιόντος ἐπ' ὑπὸ τῆς μεγάλης στρατείας, καὶ νῦς μὲν ὁρίστο πρὸς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν μία τῶν Κρονιάδων, ἤσθις δὲ καὶ στυππεία καὶ θείων εἰς τὴν Κεβήγου φέρουτε οἰκίαν ἀπέκρυψαν. Ἀνδρας δὲ τάξαντες ἐκατὸν καὶ μέρη τοσάντα τῆς Ῥώμης ἐκαστὸν ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ διεκλήρωσαν, οὕς δ' ὑλίγου πολλῶν ἁψάντων φλέγοιτο πανταχόθεν ἡ πόλις. Ἀλλοι δὲ τοὺς ὁχετοὺς ἐμελλὼν ἐμφράζαντες ἀποσφάττειν τοὺς ὑδρευμένους.

3 Πραττομένων δὲ τούτων ἐτυχον ἐπιδημούντες Ἀλλοβρίγων δύο πρέσβεις, ἔθνους μάλιστα δὴ τότε πονηρὰ πράττοντος καὶ βαρυνουμένου τὴν ἕγερον. τούτοις οἱ περὶ Δέντλον ὀφελίμους ἦγούμενοι πρὸς τὸ κωβαί καὶ μεταβάλειν τὴν Γαλατίαν ἐποίησαντο συνομότας. καὶ γράμματα μὲν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὴν ἐκεῖ βουλὴν, γράμματα δὲ πρὸς Κατιλίναν ἐδοσαν, τῇ μὲν ὑπισχυόμενοι
him, the third and remaining Cornelius, the heavenly powers were come with a proffer of the monarchy, which he must by all means accept, and not ruin his opportunities by delay, like Catiline.

XVIII. Accordingly, it was no trifling or insignificant plan which Lentulus was cherishing, nay, it was decided to kill all the senators and as many of the other citizens as they could, to burn down the city itself, and to spare no one except the children of Pompey; these they were to seize and hold in their own custody and keep as hostages for their reconciliation with Pompey; for already there was current a wide-spread and sure report of his coming back from his great expedition. A night had also been fixed for the attempt, a night of the Saturnalia, and swords, tow, and brimstone had been carried to the house of Cethegus and hidden there. Moreover, they had appointed a hundred men and assigned by lot as many quarters of Rome to each one severally, in order that within a short time many might play the incendiary and the city be everywhere in a blaze. Others, too, were to stop up the aqueducts and kill those who tried to bring water.

But while this was going on, there chanced to be staying at Rome two ambassadors of the Allobroges, a nation which at that time was in a particularly evil plight and felt oppressed by the Roman sway. These men Lentulus and his partisans thought would be useful in stirring up Gaul to revolt, and therefore took them into the conspiracy. They also gave them letters to their senate, and letters to Catiline, making

1 At the time of the conspiracy of Catiline the Saturnalia lasted only one day, December 19; in the time of Augustus three days were devoted to them (December 17-19). See the note on Sulla, xviii. 5.
τὴν ἔλευθερίαν, τὸν δὲ Κατιλίναν παρακαλοῦντες ἔλευθερώσαντα τοὺς δούλους ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην
4 ἔλαυνεν. συναπέστελλον δὲ μετ' αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν Κατιλίναν Τίτον τινὰ Κροτωνίατην, κομι-
ζοῦτα τὰς ἑπιστολὰς. οἷα δ' ἀνθρώπων ἀσταθ-
μήτων καὶ μετ' οὖν τὰ πολλὰ καὶ γυναικῶν ἀλλήλως ἐντυγχανόντων βουλεύματα πόνῳ καὶ
λογίσμῳ νήφοντι καὶ συνέσει περιττῆ διόκων ὁ
Κικέρων, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἐχὼν ἐξωθεὶς ἐπισκο-
pοῦντας τὰ πραττόμενα καὶ συνεξενεύοντας αὐτῷ,
πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν μετέχειν δοκοῦντων τῆς
συνωμοσίας διαλεγόμενος κρύφα καὶ πιστεύων,
5 ἔγνω τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ξένους κοινωλογίαν καὶ
νυκτὸς ἐνεδρεύσας ἐλαβεῖ τὸν Κροτωνίατην καὶ τὰ
γράμματα, συνεργοῦντων ἄδιῆλως τῶν Ἀλλο-
βρῶν.
XIX. "Αμα δ' ἡμέρα βουλὴν ἀθροίσας εἰς τὸ
τῆς Ὀμονοίας ἱερὸν ἐξανέγρω τὰ γράμματα καὶ
τῶν μηνυτῶν διήκουσεν. ἔφη δὲ καὶ Σιλανὸς
Ἰούνιος ἀκηκοέμαι τινὰς Κεδήγου λέγοντος ὡς
ὑπατοὶ τε τρεῖς καὶ στρατηγοὶ τέτταρες ἀναρεῖ-
σθαι μέλλουσι. τοιαῦτα δ' ἔτερα καὶ Πεύσων,
2 ἀνήρ ύπατικὸς, εἰσήγγειλε. Γάιος δὲ Σουλπίκιος,
εἰς τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν πεμφθεὶς τοῦ
Κεδήγου πολλὰ μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ βέλη καὶ ὀπλα,
πλεῖστα δὲ ἕξιν καὶ μαχαίρας εὑρέ νεοθήκτοις
ἀπάσας. τέλος δὲ τῷ Κροτωνίατη θησισαμένης
ἀδείαν ἐπὶ μηνύσει τῆς βουλῆς ἐξελεγχθεῖς ὁ
Λέντλος ἀπωμόσατο τὴν ἀρχήν (στρατηγῶν γὰρ
ἐτύγχανε), καὶ τὴν περιπόρφυρον ἐν τῇ βουλῇ
καταθέμενος διηλλαξεν ἐσθήτα τῇ συμφορᾷ πρέ-
the senate promises of freedom and urging Catiline to set the slaves free and march upon Rome. They also sent with them to Catiline a certain Titus of Croton, who was to carry the letters. But the conspirators were unbalanced men who seldom met together without wine and women, while Cicero was following their schemes industriously, with sober judgement and surpassing sagacity; he also had many men outside of their conspiracy who kept watch upon their doings and helped him track them down, and he conferred secretly and confidentially with many who were supposed to belong to the conspiracy; he therefore came to know of their conference with the strangers, and, laying an ambush by night, he seized the man of Croton and his letters with the secret co-operation of the Allobroges.1

XIX. At break of day, then, he assembled the senate in the temple of Concord, read the letters aloud, and examined the informers. Silanus Junius also said that certain ones had heard Cethegus declare that three consuls and four praetors were going to be taken off. Piso, too, a man of consular dignity, brought in other reports of a like nature. Moreover, Caius Sulpicius, one of the praetors, on being sent to the house of Cethegus, found in it many missiles and weapons, and a huge quantity of swords and knives, all newly sharpened. And finally, after the senate had voted immunity to the man of Croton on condition that he gave information, Lentulus was convicted, resigned his office (he was then praetor), and laying aside his purple-bordered toga in the senate, assumed in its place a garment suitable to his

1 Cf. Cicero, in Catil. iii. 2, 4-6.
ποιοσαν. οὗτος μὲν οὖν καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ παρεδόθησαν εἰς ἀδεσμον φυλακὴν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς.

3 Ἡδη δὲ ἐσπέρας οὐσης καὶ τοῦ δήμου περιμένοντος ἄθροον, προελθὼν ὁ Κικέρων, καὶ φράσας τὸ πράγμα τοῖς πολίταισι καὶ προπεμφθείς, παρῆλθεν εἰς οἰκίαν φίλου γειτνιώντος, ἐπεὶ τὴν ἐκείνου γυναικίς κατείχον, ἱεροὶς ἀπορρήτοις ὀργία-ξουσαί θειν ἦν Ὁρμαίοι μὲν ᾿Αγαθήν, "Ελληνες δὲ

4 Γυναικεῖαν ὀνομάζουσι. θυτεῖ καὶ αὐτῇ κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ ὑπάτου διὰ γυναικὸς ἢ μητρὸς αὐτοῦ, τῶν Ἐστιάδων παρθένων παρουσῶν, εἰσελθὼν οὖν ὁ Κικέρων, καθ’ αὐτὸν, ὀλύγων παντάπασιν αὐτῷ παρόντων, ἐφροντίζειν ὅπως χρῆσαι τοῖς ἀνδράσι. τὴν τε γὰρ ἄκραν καὶ προσήκουσαν ἀδικήμασι τηλικούτοις τιμωρίαν ἐξευλαβεῖτο καὶ κατόκυνε δὲ ἐπιείκειαι ἥθους ἀμα καὶ ὡς μη δοκοῖ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἄγαν ἐμφορεῖσθαι καὶ πικρῶς ἐπεμβαίνειν ἀνδράσι γένει τε πρῶτοι καὶ φίλους δυνατοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλις κεκτημένοις: μαλακώτερον τε χρησάμενος ὄρρω- δει τὸν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν κίνδυνον. οὐ γὰρ ἐγαπήσειν μετριώτερον τι θανάτου παθόντας, ἀλλ’ εἰς ἀπαν ἀναρραγησοθαι τόλμης, τῇ παλαιᾷ κακίᾳ νέαν ὀργήν προσλαβόντας: αὐτὸς τε δόξεω ἀναιδρος καὶ μαλακός, οὐδ’ ἄλλως δοκόν εὐτολμότατος εἶναι τοῖς πολλοῖς.

XX. Ταῦτα τοῦ Κικέρωνος διαπορούντων γί-

---

1 i.e. for confinement under guard in their own houses (libera custodia).
predicament. He and his associates, therefore, were handed over to the praetors for custody without fetters.¹

It was now evening, and the people were waiting about the temple in throngs, when Cicero came forth and told his fellow-citizens what had been done.² They then escorted him to the house of a friend and neighbour, since his own was occupied by the women, who were celebrating mysterious rites to a goddess whom the Romans call Bona Dea, and the Greeks, Gynaeceia. Sacrifice is offered to her annually in the house of the consul by his wife or his mother, in the presence of the Vestal Virgins. Cicero, then, having gone into his friend's house, began to deliberate with himself—and he had only very few companions—what he should do with the men.³ For he shrank from inflicting the extreme penalty, and the one besetting such great crimes, and he hesitated to do it because of the kindliness of his nature, and at the same time that he might not appear to make an excessive use of his power and to trample ruthlessly upon men who were of the highest birth and had powerful friends in the city; and if he treated them with less severity, he was afraid of the peril into which they would bring the state. For if they suffered any milder penalty than death, he was sure they would not be satisfied, but would break out into every extreme of boldness, having added fresh rage to their old villainy: and he himself would be thought unmanly and weak, especially as the multitude already thought him very far from courageous.

XX. While Cicero was in this perplexity, a sign

¹ The third oration in Catilinam.
² The third oration in Catilinam.
³ Cf. Sallust's Catiline, 46.
νεταί τε ταῖς γυναιξὶ σημείων θυνόσαι. ὁ γὰρ θωμὸς, ἢδη τοῦ πυρὸς κατακεκομήθησαι δοκοῦντος, ἐκ τῆς τέφρας καὶ τῶν κεκαυμένων φλοιῶν φλόγα πολλὴν ἀνύκε καὶ λαμπρὰν. ὑφ’ ἂς αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι διεπτοίθησαν, αἱ δ’ ἱεραὶ παρθένοι τὴν τοῦ Κικέρωνος γυναῖκα Τερεντίαν ἐκέλευσαν ἣ τάχος χωρεῖν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ κελεύειν εἰς ἐγνωκεν ἐγχειρεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, ὡς μέγα πρὸς τε σωτηρίαν καὶ δόξαν αὐτῷ τῆς θεοῦ φῶς

2 διδοῦσις. ἢ δὲ Τερεντία (καὶ γὰρ οὐδ’ ἄλλως ἦν πραξία της οὐδ’ ἄτολμος την φύσιν, ἄλλα φιλότιμος γυνὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, ὡς αὐτὸς φησιν ὁ Κικέρων, τῶν πολιτικῶν μεταλαμβάνονσα παρ’ ἐκεῖνον φροντίδων ἢ μεταδιδοῦσα τῶν οἰκιακῶν ἐκεῖνο) ταύτα τε πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐφρασε καὶ παρώξυνεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Κόιντος ὁ ἀδελφὸς καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ φιλοσοφίας ἔταρχων Πόπλιος Νιγίδιος, ὃ τὰ πλείστα καὶ μέγιστα παρὰ ταῖς πολιτικαῖς ἐχρῆτο πράξεις.

3 Τῇ δ’ ὑπεραια γενομένων ἐν συγκλήτῳ λόγων περὶ τιμωρίας τῶν ἄνδρων, ὁ πρῶτος ἐρωτηθεὶς γνώμην Σιλανὸς εἰπε τὴν ἐσχάτην δίκην δοῦναι προσῆκειν ἀχθέντας εἰς τὸ δεσμωτηρίου. καὶ προσετίθεντο τούτῳ πάντες ἐφεξῆς μέχρι Γαίου Καύσαρος τοῦ μετὰ ταύτα δικτάτορος γενομένου. τότε δὲ νέος ὁν ἦτα καὶ τὰς πρῶτας ἐχὼν τῆς αὐξήσεως ἀρχάς, ἢδη δὲ τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν ὀδὸν ἐμβεβηκὼς ἥ τὰ Ἔρωμαῖον εἰς μοναρχίαν μετέστησε πράγματα,
was given to the women who were sacrificing. The altar, it seems, although the fire was already thought to have gone out, sent forth from the ashes and burnt bark upon it a great bright blaze. The rest of the women were terrified at this, but the sacred virgins bade Terentia the wife of Cicero go with all speed to her husband and tell him to carry out his resolutions in behalf of the country, since the goddess was giving him a great light on this path to safety and glory. So Terentia, who was generally of no mild spirit nor without natural courage, but an ambitious woman, and, as Cicero himself tells us, more inclined to make herself a partner in his political perplexities than to share with him her domestic concerns, gave him this message and incited him against the conspirators; so likewise did Quintus, his brother, and Publius Nigidius, one of his philosophical companions, of whom he made the most and greatest use in his political undertakings.

On the following day the senate discussed the punishment of the conspirators, and Silanus, who was the first to be asked to give his opinion, said that they ought to be taken to prison and there suffer extremest punishment. All the senators acceded to his opinion one after the other, until it came to Caius Caesar, who afterwards became dictator. At this time, however, he was a young man still and at the very beginning of his rise to power, but in his public policy and his hopes he had already entered upon that road by which he changed the Roman state into a monarchy. His

1 In some passage no longer extant.
4 τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐλάνθανε, τῷ δὲ Κικέρωνι πολ-
λάς μὲν ὑποψίας, λαβήν δ’ οὐδεμιᾶν εἰς ἔλεγχον
παρέδωκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λεγόντων ἢν ἐνῶν ἀκούειν
ὡς ἐγγὺς ἐλθὼν ἀλώναι διεκφύγοι τὸν ἄνδρα.
τινὲς δὲ φασὶ παριδεῖν ἐκόντα καὶ παραλυτεῖν τὴν
κατ’ ἐκείνου μήνυσιν φόβῳ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ καὶ
τῆς δυνάμεως· παντὶ γὰρ εἶναι πρόδηλον ὅτι
μᾶλλον ἄν ἐκεῖνοι γένοιτο προσθήκη Καίσαρι
σωτηρίας ἢ Καίσαρ ἐκείνοις κολάσεως.

XXI. Ἐπεὶ δ’ οὖν ἡ γνώμη περιήλθεν εἰς
αὐτῶν, ἀναστὰς ἀπεφήματο μὴ θανατοῦν τοὺς
ἄνδρας, ἀλλὰ τὰς οὐσίας εἶναι δημοσίας, αὐτοὺς
δ’ ἀπαχθέντας εἰς πόλεις τῆς Ἰταλίας ἃς ἀν δοκῇ
Κικέρωνι, τηρεῖσθαι δεδεμένους ἄχρι ἃν ὦ κατα-

2 πολεμηθῇ Κατιλίνας. οὐσης δὲ τῆς γνώμης ἐπι-
εικούς καὶ τοῦ λέγοντος εἰπεῖν δυνατωτάτου,
ῥωπῆν ὁ Κικέρων προσέθηκεν οὐ μικράν. αὐτὸς
τε γὰρ ἀναστὰς ἐνεχείρησεν εἰς ἐκάτερον, τὰ μὲν
τῇ προτέρᾳ, τὰ δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ Καίσαρος συνεπῶν,
οί τε φίλοι πάντες οἴομενοι τῷ Κικέρωνι συμφέ-


3 ρειν τὴν Καίσαρος γνώμην (ἢ πτοὺς γὰρ ἐν αἰτίας
ἐσεσθαι μὴ θανατώσαντα τοὺς ἄνδρας) ἱρόντο

3 τὴν δευτέραν μᾶλλον γνώμην, ὡστε καὶ τὸν
Σιλανὸν αὖθις μεταβαλλόμενον παρατείσθαι καὶ
λέγειν ὡς οὐδ’ αὐτὸς εἰποὺ θανατικὴν γνώμην;
ἐσχάτην γὰρ ἄνδρὶ βουλευτῇ 'Ρωμαίων εἶναι
δίκην τὸ δεσμωτηρίου, εἰρημένης δὲ τῆς γνώμης
πρώτος ἀντέκρουσεν αὐτῇ Κάτλος Δουτάτιος·
eἰτα δεξάμενος Κάτων, καὶ τῷ λόγῳ σφοδρῶς

132
designs were still unnoticed by the rest, but to Cicero he had given many grounds for suspicion, and yet no hold which could lead to his conviction, although many were heard to say that he had come near being caught by Cicero, but had eluded him. Some, however, say that Cicero purposely overlooked and neglected the information against him through fear of his friends and his power, since it was clear to every one that the other conspirators would be included in Caesar's acquittal, rather than Caesar in their punishment.

XXI. When, then, it was Caesar's turn to give his opinion, he rose and declared it to be against putting the conspirators to death, but in favour of confiscating their property and removing them to whatever cities of Italy Cicero might deem best, there to be put in fetters and closely guarded until Catiline should be defeated. The proposal of Caesar was merciful and its author a very able speaker, and Cicero added no little weight to it. For when he rose to speak himself,\(^1\) he handled the subject in both ways, now favouring the first proposal and now that of Caesar. All his friends, too, thinking that Caesar's proposal was an advantageous one for Cicero, who would be less subject to censure if he did not put the conspirators to death, chose the second proposal rather, so that Silanus also changed his position and excused himself by saying that even his proposal had not meant death: for "extremest punishment," in the case of a Roman senator, meant the prison. Lutatius Catulus was the first to oppose the opinion which Caesar had given; then Cato followed him, helping

\(^1\) The fourth oration in *Catilinam.*
συνεπερείσας ἐπὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τὴν ύπόνοιαν, ἐνέπλησε θυμοῦ καὶ φρονήματος τὴν σύγκλητον, ὡστε θάνατον καταψηφίσασθαι τῶν ἀνδρῶν. 

περὶ δὲ δημεύσεως χρημάτων ἐνίστατο Καίσαρ, οὐκ ἄξιών τὰ φιλανθρωπα τῆς ἐαυτοῦ γνώμης ἐκβαλόντας ἐνὶ χρήσασθαι τῷ σκυθρωποτάτῳ. 

βιαζομένων δὲ πολλῶν ἐπεκαλεῖτο τοὺς δημάρχους. οἱ δὲ οὐχ ὑπήκουοι, ἀλλὰ Κικέρων αὐτὸς ἐνδοὺς ἀνήκε τὴν περὶ δημεύσεως γνώμην.

XXII. Ἐξάρει δὲ μετὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας. οὐκ ἐν ταύτῳ δὲ πάντες ἤσαν, ἀλλος δὲ ἄλλον ἐφύλαττε τῶν στρατηγῶν. καὶ πρῶτον ἐκ Παλατίου παραλαβὼν τὸν Λέντλου ἤγε διὰ τῆς ίερᾶς ὀδοῦ καὶ τῆς ἁγορᾶς μέσης, τῶν μὲν ἠγεμονικωτάτων ἄνδρων κύκλῳ περιεσπειραμένων καὶ δορυφοροῦντων, τοῦ δὲ δήμου φρίστοντος τὰ δρόμενα καὶ παριόντος¹ σιωπῆ, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν νέων, ὡσπερ ίεροὶ τὶς πατρίως ἀριστοκρατικῆς τινος ἔξονσίας τελείωσθαι μετὰ φόβου καὶ θάμβους ² ἐδοκούντων. διελθὼν δὲ τὴν ἁγορὰν καὶ γενόμενος πρὸς τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ παρέδωκε τὸν Λέντλον τῷ δημῶ καὶ προσέταξεν ἄνελείν εἰθ' ἐξῆς τὸν Κέθηγον, καὶ οὕτω τῶν ἄλλων ἐκαστὸν καταγαγὼν ἀπέκτεινεν. ὅρων δὲ πολλοὺς ἐτὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς² συνωμοσίας ἐν ἁγορᾶ συνεστῶτας ἀθρόους καὶ τὴν μὲν πράξεων ἁγιοφόρους, τὴν δὲ νύκτα προσμένοντας, ὡς ἐτὶ ξώτων τῶν ἄνδρων καὶ δυναμένων ἐξαρπασθῆναι, φθεγξάμενος μέγα πρὸς αὐτούς, “Ἐξησαν,” εἴπεν. οὕτω δὲ Ἀρ- 

¹ παριόντος Bekker and Graux adopt the παριόντος (acquiring) of Coraes.
² τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Graux with Μα: τῆς.
by the vehemence of his speech to fix suspicion upon Caesar, and filled the senate with angry resolution, so that a decree of death was passed upon the conspirators. As regarded the confiscation of their property, however, Caesar made opposition, deeming it wrong that the merciful part of his own proposal should be rejected and the one part that was most severe adopted. And when many of the senators insisted upon it, he invoked the aid of the tribunes, but they would not listen to his appeal; Cicero himself, however, yielded the point, and remitted that part of the vote which called for confiscation.

XXII. Then he went with the senate to fetch the conspirators. These were not all in the same place, but different praetors had different ones under guard. And first he took Lentulus from the Palatine hill and led him along the Via Sacra and through the middle of the forum, the men of highest authority surrounding him as a body-guard, and the people shuddering at what was being done and passing along in silence, and especially the young men, as though they thought they were being initiated with fear and trembling into some ancient mysteries of an aristocratic regime. When Cicero had passed through the forum and reached the prison, he delivered Lentulus to the public executioner with the order to put him to death. Then Cethegus in his turn, and so each one of the others, he brought down to the prison and had him executed. And seeing that many members of the conspiracy were still assembled in the forum in ignorance of what had been done and waiting for night to come, with the idea that the men were still living and might be rescued, he cried out to them with a loud voice and said: "They have
μαίων οἱ δυσφημεῖν μὴ βουλόμενοι τὸ τεθνάναι σημαίνονσιν.

3 Ἡδὲ δ’ ἦν ἐσπέρα, καὶ δ’ ἀγορᾶς ἀνέβαινεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, οὐκέτι σιωπῇ τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδὲ τάξει προπεμπόντων αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ φωνάει καὶ κρότοις δεχομένων καθ’ οὗς γένοιτο, σωτῆρα καὶ κτίστην ἀνακαλούντων τῆς πατρίδος. τὰ δὲ φῶτα πολλὰ κατέλαμψε τοὺς στενωποὺς, λαμπάδια καὶ δίδας ἱστώντων ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐκ τῶν τεγών προύφαινον ἐπὶ τιμῇ καὶ θέα τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὑπὸ πομπῆς τῶν ἀρίστων μάλα σεμνῶς ἀνιόντος· ὅπερ οἱ πλείστοι πολέμουσι τε κατεργασμένοι μεγάλους καὶ διὰ θριάμβους εἰσελθεκότες καὶ προσεκτημένου γῆν καὶ θάλατταν ὅπερ ὀλίγην ἐβάδιζον ἀνομολογούμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους πολλοῖς μὲν τῶν τότε ἡγεμόνων καὶ στρατηγῶν πλούτου καὶ λαφύρων καὶ δυνάμεως χάριν ὀφείλειν τὸν Ῥωμαίων δήμον, ἀσφαλείας δὲ καὶ σωτηρίας ἐνὶ μόνῳ Κικέρων, τηλικοῦτον

4 ἀφελόντι καὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτοῦ κύνδυνον. οὗ γὰρ τὸ κωλύσαι τὰ πραττόμενα καὶ κολάσαι τοὺς πράττοντας ἐδόκει θαυμαστὸν, ἀλλ’ ὅτι μέγιστον τῶν πώποτε νεωτερισμῶν οὗτος ἐλαχίστοις κακοῖς ἀνευ στάσεως καὶ ταραχῆς κατέσβεσε. καὶ γὰρ τὸν Κατιλίναν οἱ πλείστοι τῶν συνεργηκότων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀμα τῷ πυθέσθαι τὰ περὶ Δέντλον καὶ Κέθηγον ἐγκαταλιπόντες φωνῆ: καὶ μετὰ τῶν συμμεμενικότων αὐτῷ διαγωνισάμενος πρὸς Ἀντώνιον αὐτός τε διεθάρη καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον.

XXIII. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ἦσαν οἱ τὸν Κικέρωνα παρεσκευασμένοι καὶ λέγειν ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ
lived.” For thus the Romans who wish to avoid words of ill omen indicate death.

It was now evening, and Cicero went up through the forum to his house, the citizens no longer escorting him on his way with silent decorum, but receiving him with cries and clapping of hands as he passed along, calling him the saviour and founder of his country. And many lights illuminated the streets, since people placed lamps and torches at their doors. The women, too, displayed lights upon the house-tops in honour of the man, and that they might see him going up to his home in great state under escort of the noblest citizens. Most of these had brought to an end great wars and entered the city in triumph, and had added to the Roman dominion no small extent of land and sea; but they now walked along confessing to one another that to many of the commanders and generals of the time the Roman people were indebted for wealth and spoils and power, but for preservation and safety to Cicero alone, who had freed them from so peculiar and so great a peril. For it was not his preventing their schemes and punishing the schemers which seemed so wonderful, but his quenching the greatest of all revolutions with the fewest possible evils, without sedition and commotion. For most of those who had flocked to the standard of Catiline, as soon as they learned the fate of Lentulus and Cethegus, deserted him and went away; and Catiline, after a conflict with his remaining forces against Antonius, perished himself and his army with him.1

XXIII. However, there were those who were ready to abuse Cicero for what he had done, and to

1 Near the beginning of 62 B.C.
ποιεῖν κακῶς, ἔχοντες ήγεμόνας τῶν εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἄρχοντων Καίσαρα μέν στρατηγοῦντα, Μέτελλον δὲ καὶ Βηστίαν δημαρχοῦντας. οὐ τὴν ἄρχὴν παραλαβόντες, ἐτὶ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἄρχοντος, οὐκ εἰὼν δημηγορεῖν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμβόλων βάθρα θέντες οὐ παρίεσαν οὐδ' ἐπέτρεπον λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἐκέλευον, εἰ βούλιοτο, μόνον περὶ τῆς ἄρχῆς ἀπομόσαντα καταβαίνειν.

2 κάκεινος ἐπὶ τούτοις ὡς ὁμόσων προῆλθε· καὶ γενομένης αὐτῷ σιωπῆς ὄμμυνεν, οὐ τὸν πάτριον, ἀλλ' ἵδιον τινα καὶ καινὸν όρκον, ἢ μὴν σεσωκέναι τὴν πατρίδα καὶ διαστηρηκέναι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. ἐπώμυνε δὲ τὸν όρκον αὐτῷ σύμπας ὁ δήμος. ἐφ' οἷς ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ο' τε Καίσαρ ο' τε δημαρχοὶ χαλεπαίνοντες ἄλλας τε τῷ Κικέρωνι ταραξάς ἐμηχανῶντο, καὶ νόμος ὑπ' αὐτῶν εἰσήγετο καλεῖν Πομπήιον μετὰ τῆς στρατιάς, ὡς δὴ καταλύσοντα τὴν Κικέρωνος δυναστείαν. ἀλλ' ἦν ὁφελός μέγα τῷ Κικέρωνι καὶ πάση τῇ πόλει δημαρχῶν τότε Κάτων καὶ τοῖς ἔκεινων 1 πολιτεύμασιν ἀπ' ἵστας μὲν ἐξουσίας, μείζους δὲ δόξης ἀντιτασσόμενος. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα ῥαδίως ἔλυσε, καὶ τὴν Κικέρωνος ὑπατείαν οὕτως ἤρε τῷ λόγῳ μεγάλην δημηγορήσας ὡστε τιμᾶς αὐτῷ τῶν πώποτε μεγίστας ψηφίσασθαι καὶ προσαγορεῖσαι πατέρα πατρίδος. πρῶτῷ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ δοκεῖ

1 ἔκεινων Coraës, Bekker, and Graux, after Xylander: ἔκεινον (referring to Caesar).
work him harm, and they had as leaders, among
the magistrates-elect, Caesar as praetor, and Metellus
and Bestia as tribunes. When these assumed
office, Cicero having still a few days of consular
authority, they would not permit him to harangue
the people, but placing their benches so as to com-
mand the rostra, would not suffer or allow him
to speak; instead, they ordered him, if he wished,
merely to pronounce the oath usual on giving
up office, and then come down. Cicero accepted
these terms and came forward to pronounce his oath;
and when he had obtained silence, he pronounced,
not the usual oath, but one of his own and a new
one, swearing that in very truth he had saved his
country and maintained her supremacy. And all the
people confirmed his oath for him. At this Caesar
and the tribunes were still more vexed and contrived
fresh troubles for Cicero. Among other things, a law
was introduced by them for calling Pompey home
with his army, in order, forsooth, that he might put
down the arbitrary power of Cicero. But Cato, who
was tribune at this time, was a great help to Cicero
and to the whole state, and opposed the measures of
the other tribunes with an authority equal to theirs
and a greater good repute. For he easily put a stop
to their other projects, and so highly extolled the
"arbitrary power" of Cicero in a speech to the
people, that they voted him the greatest honours
ever conferred and called him the father of his coun-
try. For he was the first, as it seems, to receive this

1 Bestia was tribune in 63 B.C., and could not have had
any part in dictating the procedure of Cicero.
2 Caesar, as praetor, assumed office January 1, 62 B.C., the
day after Cicero laid down the consulship; but the new
tribunes for the year 62 assumed office early in December of 63.
τούτο καθυπάρξαι, Κάτωνος αυτόν ούτως ἐν τῷ δήμῳ προσαγορεύσαντος.

XXIV. Καὶ μέγιστον μὲν ἰσχύσεν ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε, πολλοῖς δ’ ἐπίφθονον ἑαυτὸν ἐποίησεν ἀπ’ οὕδενος ἔργου ποιηροῦ, τῷ δ’ ἑπαίνειν αἰεὶ καὶ μεγαλύνειν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ πολλῶν δυσχεραινόμενος. οὐτε γὰρ βουλήν οὔτε δήμον οὔτε δικαστήριον ἢν συνελθεῖν ἐν οἴκῳ Κατιλίναν ἔδει 2 θρυλούμενον ἀκοῦσαι καὶ Λέντλον. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ βιβλία τελευτῶν κατέπλησε καὶ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν ἐγκωμίων καὶ τὸν λόγον ἤδιστον οὖν καὶ χάριν ἔχουσα πλείστην ἐπαχθῆ καὶ συνθετικὸν ἐποίησε τοῖς ἀκρωμώνοις, ὡσπέρ τινος ἀεὶ κηρὸς αὐτῷ τῆς ἀγίδας ταύτης προσούσης. ὅμως δὲ, καίτερ οὕτως ἀκράτως φιλοτιμία συνόν, ἀπηλλακτό τοῦ φθονεὶν ἑτέρους, ἀφθονώτατος ὃν ἐν τῷ τούς πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς καθ’ αὐτὸν �δρας ἐγκωμιάζειν, ὡς ἐκ τῶν συγγραμμάτων λαβεῖν 3 ἔστι. πολλά δ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπομνημονεύομαι: οἷον περὶ Ἀριστοτέλους, ὅτι χρυσίον ποταμὸς εἶν ρέοντος, καὶ περὶ τῶν Πλάτωνος διαλόγων, ὡς τοῦ Δόσ, εἰ λόγῳ χρῆσθαι πέρικεν, οὕτω διαλεγομένου. τῶν δὲ Θεόφραστον εἰώθει τρυφὴν ἴδιαν ἀποκαλεῖν. περὶ δὲ τῶν Δημοσθένους λόγων ἑφοτηθεὶς τίνα δοκοῖ κάλλιστον εἶναι,

4 τῶν μέγιστον εἴπε. καίτοι τινὲς τῶν προσποιομένων δημοσθενεῖζεν ἐπιφύςονται φωνῇ τοῦ Κικέρωνος, ἢν πρὸς τινα τῶν ἑταίρων ἔθηκεν ἐν ἐπιστολῇ γράψας, ἐνιαχοῦ τῶν λόγων ἀπουνστάζειν

---

1 Cicero himself nowhere says this, nor does he mention Cato in connection with the title. In his oration in Pisonem,
title,\(^1\) after Cato had given it to him before the people.

XXIV. So at this time Cicero had the greatest power in the state, but he made himself generally odious, not by any base action, but by continually praising and magnifying himself, which made him hateful to many. For there could be no session either of senate or assembly or court of justice in which one was not obliged to hear Catiline and Lentulus endlessly talked about. Nay, he even went so far as to fill his books and writings with these praises of himself; and he made his oratory, which was naturally very pleasant and had the greatest charm, irksome and tedious to his hearers, since this unpleasant practice clung to him like a fatality. But nevertheless, although he cherished so strong an ambition, he was free from envying others, since he was most ungrudging in his encomiums upon his predecessors and contemporaries, as may be gathered from his writings. There are also many sayings of his on record which prove this; for instance, he said of Aristotle that he was a river of liquid gold,\(^2\) and of the dialogues of Plato that Jupiter, were it his nature to use human speech, would thus discourse.\(^3\) Theophrastus, too, he used to call his own special delight. And when he was asked which of the speeches of Demosthenes he thought the best, he replied, "the longest." And yet some of those who pretend to be imitators of Demosthenes dwell much upon an expression which Cicero used in a letter to one of his friends, to the effect that in some parts of

\(^1\) Brutus, 31, 121 (si Graece loquatur).
\(^2\) Acad. Prior. ii. 38, 119.
\(^3\) 3, 6, he says that Quintus Catulus gave him the title in the Senate.
τὸν Δημοσθένη τῶν δὲ μεγάλων καὶ θαυμαστῶν ἐπαινῶν οἷς πολλαχοῦ χρῆται περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ ὅτι περὶ οὕς μᾶλλον τῶν ἰδίων ἐσπούδασε λόγων, τοὺς κατ' Ἀντωνίου, Φιλιππικοὺς ἐπέγραψεν, ἀμυνομοῦσι.

5 Τῶν δὲ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐνδόξων ἀπὸ λόγου καὶ σοφίας οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεὶς ὃν οὐκ ἐποίησεν ἐνδοξό-τερον ἢ λέγων ἢ γράφων εὐμενῶς περὶ ἐκάστουν. Κρατίππῳ δὲ τῷ Περιπατητικῷ διεπράξατο μὲν Ῥωμαίῳ γενέσθαι παρὰ Κάισαρος ἄρχοντος ἥδη, διεπράξατο δὲ καὶ τὴν ἔξο Αρείου πάγου βουλήν ψηφίσασθαι δεηθήναι μένειν αὐτὸν ἐν Ἀθηναῖς καὶ διαλέγεσθαι τοῖς νέοις ὡς κοσμοῦντα τὴν πόλιν. ἐπιστολαί δὲ παρὰ τοῦ Κικέρωνος εἰσὶ πρὸς Ἡρώδην, ἔτερα δὲ πρὸς τὸν ὑόν, ἐγκεκελεομένου συμφιλοσοφεῖν Κρατίππῳ. Γοργίαν δὲ τὸν ῥήτορα αἰτιώμενος εἰς ἥδονας καὶ πότους προάγει τὸ μειράκιον ἀπελαύνει τῆς συνουσίας

6 αὐτοῦ. καὶ σχεδὸν αὐτῇ τε τῶν Ἐλληνικῶν μία καὶ δευτέρα πρὸς Πέλοπα τὸν Βυζάντιον ἐν ὁργῇ τινως γέγραπται, τὸν μὲν Γοργίαν αὐτοῦ προση-κόπτως ἐπικόπτοντος, εἰτερ ἦν φαύλος καὶ ἀκό-λαστος, ἔπερ εδόκει, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Πέλοπα μικρο-λογομένου καὶ μεμψιμοιροῦντος ὁσπερ ἀμελή-σαντα τιμᾶς τινάς αὐτῷ καὶ ψηφίσματα παρὰ Βυζάντιων γενέσθαι.

XXV. Ταῦτά τε δὴ φιλότιμα, καὶ τὸ πολλάκις

1 καὶ supplied here by Reiske, and deleted before δεηθήναι by Sintenis1 (in crit. notes). Graux simply transposes.
his speeches Demosthenes nods; but of the great and admirable praises which he often bestows upon him, and of the fact that those speeches of his own to which he devoted most labour, namely, the speeches against Antony, were entitled by him Philippics, they say nothing.

Moreover, of the men of his own time who were famous for eloquence or learning, there is not one whom he did not make more famous by what he said or wrote in favour of him. For Cratippus the Peripatetic he obtained the Roman citizenship from Caesar, now in power, and he also induced the council of the Areopagus to pass a decree requesting him to remain at Athens and discourse with the young men, and thus be an ornament to the city. Furthermore, there are letters from Cicero to Herodes, and others to his son, in which he urges them to study philosophy with Cratippus. But Gorgias the rhetorician he censured for leading the young man into pleasures and drinking parties, and banished him from his son’s society. This is almost the only one of his Greek letters (there is also a second, addressed to Pelops of Byzantium) which was written in a spirit of anger; and Gorgias he properly rebukes, if, as he was thought to be, he was worthless and intemperate; but towards Pelops he shows a mean and querulous spirit for having neglected to obtain for him certain honorary decrees from the Byzantians.

XXV. These complaints were characteristic of

1 These letters are not extant.
2 The younger Cicero, in a letter to Tiro (ad fam. xvi. 21, 6), says that he had found Gorgias useful as a teacher of declamation, but had dismissed him in obedience to his father’s positive command.
ἐπαιρόμενον τοῦ λόγου τῇ δεινότητι τὸ πρέπον προϊέθαι. Μουνατίῷ μὲν γὰρ ποτε συνηγορήσας, ὡς ἀποφυγὼν τὴν δίκην εκείνος ἐδώκεν ἑταίρον αὐτοῦ Σαβίνον, οὕτω λέγεται προπεσείν ὑπ’ ὀργῆς ὁ Κικέρων ὡστ’ εἰπεῖν. “Σὺ γὰρ ἐκείνη, ὥς Μουνάτις, τῇ δίκῃ ἀπεφυγες διὰ σαυτόν, οὐκ ἐμοῦ πολὺ σκότος ἐν φωτὶ τῷ δικαστηρίῳ”.


144
ambition, as well as the fact that he was often led on by the cleverness of his speech to disregard propriety. For instance, he once served as advocate for Munatius, who was no sooner acquitted than he prosecuted a friend of Cicero’s, Sabinus, whereupon, it is said, Cicero was so transported with anger as to say: “Was it, pray, on your own merits, Munatius, that you were acquitted, and not because I spread much darkness about the court when before there was light?” And again, he gained great applause by an encomium on Marcus Crassus from the rostra, and then a few days afterwards as publicly reviled him, whereupon Crassus said: “What, did you not stand there yourself a day or two ago and praise me?” “Yea,” said Cicero, “exercising my eloquence by way of practice on a bad subject.” Again, Crassus once said that no Crassus had lived in Rome to be older than sixty years, and then tried to deny it, exclaiming, “What could have led me to say this?” “You knew,” said Cicero, “that the Romans would be delighted to hear it, and by that means you tried to court their favour.” And when Crassus expressed his satisfaction with the Stoics because they represented the good man as rich, “Consider,” said Cicero, “whether your satisfaction is not rather due to their declaration that all things belong to the wise.” Now, Crassus was accused of covetousness. Again, one of the sons of Crassus who was thought to resemble a certain Axius, and on this account had brought his mother’s name into scandalous connection with that of Axius, once made a successful speech in the senate, and when Cicero was asked what he thought of him, he answered with the Greek words “Axios Krassou.”

1 “Worthy of Crassus.”
XXVI. When Crassus was about to set out for Syria, wishing that Cicero should be a friend rather than an enemy, he said to him in a friendly manner that he wished to dine with him; and Cicero readily received him into his house. But a few days afterwards, when some friends interceded with him for Vatinius, saying that the man sought reconciliation and friendship (for he was an enemy), "It surely cannot be," said Cicero, "that Vatinius also wishes to dine with me." Such, then, was his treatment of Crassus. Now, Vatinius himself had swellings on his neck, and once when he was pleading a case Cicero called him a tumid orator. Again, after hearing that Vatinius was dead, and then after a little learning for a surety that he was alive, "Wretchedly perish, then," said Cicero, "the wretch who lied!" And again, Caesar once got a decree passed that the land in Campania should be divided among his soldiers, and many of the senators were dissatisfied, and Lucius Gellius, who was about the oldest of them, declared that it should never be done while he was alive; whereupon Cicero said: "Let us wait, since Gellius does not ask for a long postponement." There was a certain Octavius, too, who was reputed to be of African descent; to this man, who said at a certain trial that he could not hear Cicero, the orator replied: "And yet your ear is not without a perforation." And when Metellus Nepos declared that Cicero had brought more men to death as a hostile witness than he had saved from it as an advocate, "Yes," said Cicero, "I admit that my credibility is greater than my eloquence." Again, when a certain young man who was accused of having given his father poison in

1 Usually the mark of a slave.
συνομένου καὶ λέγοντος ὅτι λοιδορήσει τὸν 874
Κικέρωνα, "Τοῦτο," ἐφη, "παρὰ σοῦ βούλομαι
μᾶλλον ἢ πλακοῦντα." Ποπλίου δὲ Σηστίου
συνήγορον μὲν αὐτὸν ἐν τινὶ δίκη παραλαβόντος
μεθ' ἐτέρων, αὐτοῦ δὲ πάντα βούλομένου λέγειν
καὶ μηδενὶ παριέντος εἴπειν, ὡς δὴ λος ἢ ἀφιέ-
μενος ὑπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν ἢδη τῆς ψήφου φερομέ-
νης, "Χρῶ σήμερον," ἐφη, "τῷ καίρῳ, Σήστιε:
6 μέλλεις γὰρ αὐριον ἰδιώτης εἶναι." Ποπλίου δὲ
Κώμσταν νομικὸν εἶναι βουλόμενον, ὅταν δ' ἀμα-
θὴ καὶ ἁφυῆ, πρὸς τινα δίκην ἐκάλεσε μάρτυρα-
τοῦ δὲ μηδενὶ εἰδέναι φάσκοντος, "Ὑσως," ἐφη,
"δοκεῖς περὶ τῶν νομικῶν ἑρωτᾶσθαι." Μετέλ-
λου δὲ Νέπωτος ἐν διαφορᾷ τινι πολλάκις λέ-
γοντος "Τίς σοῦ πατήρ ἐστὶν," ὁ Κικέρων "Σοὶ
tαύτην" ἐφη "τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἢ μήτηρ χαλεπω-
7 τέραν ἐποίησεν." ἐδοκεὶ δ' ἀκόλαστος ἢ μήτηρ
εἶναι τοῦ Νέπωτος, αὐτὸς δὲ τις εὐμετάβολος.
καὶ ποτε τὴν δημαρχίαν ἀποληπτῶν ἄφυν πρὸς
Πομπηίον ἐξέπλευσεν εἰς Συρίαν, εἰτ' ἐκεῖθεν
ἐπανήλθεν ἀλογώτερον. θάγας δὲ Φίλαγρον
τὸν καθηγητὴν ἐπιμελέστερον ἐπέστησεν αὐτοῦ
τῷ τάφῳ κόρακα λίθινον καὶ ὁ Κικέρων "Τοῦτ'
ἐφη "σοφῶτερον ἐποίησας: πέτεσθαι γὰρ σε
8 μᾶλλον ἢ λέγειν ἐδίδαξεν." ἐπεὶ δὲ Μάρκος
Ἄππιος ἐν τινὶ δίκῃ προομιαξόμενος εἴπε φίλον
αὐτοῦ δεδείσθαι παρασχεῖν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ λο-
γιότητα καὶ πίστιν, "Εἴθ' οὖτως," ἐφη, "σιδη-
ροὺς γέγονας ἄνθρωπος ὡστε μηδὲν ἐκ τοσοῦτων
 הזכήσαθ' ὁ φίλος παρασχεῖν;"
a cake put on bold airs and threatened to cover Cicero with abuse, "That," said Cicero, "I would rather have from you than a cake." There was Publius Sextius, too, who retained Cicero as an advocate in a case, along with others, and then wanted to do all the speaking himself, and would allow no one else a word; when it was clear that he was going to be acquitted by the jurors and the vote was already being given, "Use your opportunity to-day, Sextius," said Cicero, "for to-morrow you are going to be a nobody." Publius Consta, too, who wanted to be a lawyer, but was ignorant and stupid, was once summoned by Cicero as witness in a case; and when he kept saying that he knew nothing, "Perhaps," said Cicero, "you think you are being questioned on points of law." Again, in a dispute with Cicero, Metellus Nepos asked repeatedly "Who is your father?" "In your case," said Cicero, "your mother has made the answer to this question rather difficult." Now, the mother of Nepos was thought to be unchaste, and he himself a fickle sort of man. He once suddenly deserted his office of tribune and sailed off to join Pompey in Syria, and then came back from there with even less reason. Moreover, after burying his teacher Philagrus with more than usual ceremony, he set upon his tomb a raven in stone; whereupon Cicero remarked: "In this you have acted more wisely than is your wont, for he taught you to fly rather than to speak." And again, when Marcus Appius prefaced his speech in a case by saying that his friend had begged him to exhibit diligence, eloquence, and fidelity, "And then," said Cicero, "are you so hard-hearted as to exhibit none of those great qualities which your friend demanded?"
XXVII. Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρὸς ἐξθροὺς ἡ ἀντιδίκους
σκώμμασι χρήσθαι πικροτέροις δοκεῖ ῥητορικοῦν
eίναι: τὸ δ’ οίς ἐτυχε προσκρούειν ἐνεκα τοῦ
γελοίου πολλού συνήγη μῆσος αὐτῷ. γράψω δὲ
καὶ τοῦτων οὐλογα. Μάρκου Ακυίου ἔχοντα δύο
2 γαμβροὺς φυγάδας "Αδραστον ἐκάλει. Λευκίου
δὲ Κόττα τιμητικῆν ἐχοντος ἀρχὴν, φιλοιντότατον
δ’ οίντος, ὑπατείαν μετίων ὁ Κικέρων ἐδίψησε,
καὶ τῶν φίλων κύκλῳ περιστάντων ὡς ἐπινευ,
"Ὅρθως φοβεῖσθε," εἶπε, "μὴ μοι γένοιτο χαλ-
επὸς ὁ τιμητὴς ὅτι ὕδωρ πῖνω." Βακκωνίω δ’
ἀπαντήσας ἀγοντι μεθ’ ἐαυτοῦ τρεῖς ἀμορφοτάτας
θυγατέρας ἀνεφθέγξατο:

"Φοίβου ποτ’ οὖκ ἐὼντος ἐσπειρεν τέκνα."

3 Μάρκου δὲ Γελλίου δοκούντος οὖν ἐξ ἐλευθέρων
γεγονέναι, λαμπρὰ δὲ τὴ φωνὴ καὶ μεγάλη γράμ-
ματα πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἐξαναγώντος, "Μὴ
θαυμάξετε," εἶπε, "καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς ἐστὶ τῶν ἀνα-
πεφωνηκότων." ἐπεὶ δὲ Φαῦστος ὁ Σύλλα τοῦ
μοναρχήσαντος ἐν 'Ρώμῃ καὶ πολλοὺς ἐπὶ θανά-
τω προγράψαντος ἐν δανείοισι γενόμενοι καὶ πολ-
λά τῆς ὀυσίας διασπαθήσας ἀπάρτιον προέγραψε,
ταύτην ἑφι μᾶλλον αὐτῷ τὴν προγραφὴν ἀρέ-
σκει ἢ τὴν πατρῴαν.

XXVIII. Ἐκ τούτων ἐγίνετο πολλοῖς ἐπα-
χθῆς: καὶ οἱ μετὰ Κλωδίου συνεστησαν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν
ἀρχὴν τοιαύτην λαβόντες. ἦν Κλώδιος ἀνὴρ
ἐὐγενῆς, τῇ μὲν ἡλικία νέος, τῷ δὲ φρονήματι

1 Adrastus, mythical king of Argos, gave his two daughters in marriage to Tydeus and Polyneices, both of whom were fugitives from their native cities.
XXVII. Now, this use of very biting jests against enemies or legal opponents seems to be part of the orator's business; but his indiscriminate attacks for the sake of raising a laugh made many people hate Cicero. And I will give a few instances of this also. Marcus Aquinius, who had two sons-in-law in exile, he called Adrastus. Again, Lucius Cotta, who held the office of censor, was very fond of wine, and Cicero, when canvassing for the consulship, was a-thirst, and as his friends stood about him while he drank, said: "You have good reason to fear that the censor will deal harshly with me—for drinking water." And when he met Voconius escorting three very ugly daughters, he cried out:

"It was against the will of Phoebus that he begat children."  

Again, when Marcus Gellius, who was thought to be of servile birth, had read letters to the senate in a loud and clear voice, "Do not marvel," said Cicero, "he too is one of those who have cried aloud for their freedom." And when Faustus, the son of the Sulla who was dictator at Rome and placarded many people for death, got into debt, squandered much of his substance, and placarded his household goods for sale, Cicero said he liked this placarding better than his father's.

XXVIII. As a consequence of this he became odious to many; and besides, the partisans of Clodius combined against him on the following ground. Clodius was a man of noble birth, young in years, but bold

2 An iambic trimeter from some lost tragedy, perhaps the Oedipus of Euripides (Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. 2, p. 911).

3 A play upon the phrase (used of a slave) "in libertatem reclamare."
θρασύς καὶ αὐθάδης. οὗτος ἐρών Πομπηίας τῆς Καίσαρος γυναικὸς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ παρεισ-
ήλθε κρύφα, λαβὼν ἑσθῆτα καὶ σκευὴν ψαλ-
τρίας· ἔθυνοι γὰρ αἱ γυναῖκες τὴν ἀπόρρητον
ἐκείνην καὶ ἀθέατον ἀνδράσι θυσίαν ἐν τῇ τοῦ
2 Καίσαρος οἰκία, καὶ παρῆν ἀνήρ οὐδεὶς. ἀλλὰ
μειράκιοι δὲν ἦτο καὶ μῆπω γενεῖόν ὁ Κλώδιος
ἡλπίζει λήσεσθαι διαδός πρὸς τὴν Πομπηίαν
μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν. ὥς δὲ εἰσῆλθε νυκτὸς εἰς
οἰκίαν μεγάλην, ἦπορείτο τῶν διόδων καὶ πλα-
νωμένον αὐτῶν ἴδουσα Αὐρηλίας θεραπαινίς τῆς
Καίσαρος μητρός, ἦτησεν ὄνομα. φθέγξασθαι
δὲ ἀναγκασθέντος ἐκείνου καὶ φήσαντος ἀκόλου-
θουν Πομπηίας ξητειν Ἀβραν τούνομα, συνείσα
τὴν φωνὴν οὐ γυναικελάν οὕσαν ἀνέκραγε καὶ
3 συνεκάλει τὰς γυναῖκας. αἱ δὲ ἀποκλείσασαι
tὰς θύρας καὶ πάντα διερευνώμεναι λαμβάνουσι
tὸν Κλώδιον εἰς οἰκήμα παιδίσκης, ἦ συνεισῆλθε,
καταπεφυγότα. τοῦ δὲ πράγματος περιβοήτου
γενομένου Καίσάρ τε τὴν Πομπηίαν ἀφίκε καὶ
dίκην 1 ἀσεβείας ἀπεγράψατο τῷ Κλωδίῳ.

XXIX. Κικέρων δὲ ἦν μὲν αὐτοῦ φίλος καὶ
τῶν περὶ Κατιλίναν πρατημένων ἐχρῆτο προ-
θυμοτάτῳ συνεργῷ καὶ φύλακι τοῦ σώματος,
ἰσχυρῴμενον δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἔγκλημα τῷ μηδὲ
γεγονέναι κατ' ἐκεῖνον ἐν 'Ῥώμῃ τῶν χρόνων, ἀλλ'
ἐν τοῖς πορρωτάτῳ χωρίοις διατρίβειν, κατεμαρ-
τύρησεν ὡς ἀφιγμένου πρὸς αὐτὸν οἴκαδε καὶ

1 δίκην before this word Sintenis and Bekker assume a lacuna in the text, where once stood some such phrase as eis τῶν δημάρχων (Plutarch, Caesar, x. 5). So (substantially) Graux.
and presumptuous in spirit. This man, being in love with Pompeia, Caesar’s wife, got into his house secretly, by assuming the dress and guise of a lute-player; for the women of Rome were celebrating in Caesar’s house that mysterious rite which men were not allowed to witness,¹ and no man was there; but being still a beardless youth Clodius hoped without being noticed to slip through to Pompeia along with the women. But since he got in at night and the house was large, he lost his way in the passages; and as he was wandering about, a maid of Aurelia, Caesar’s mother, caught sight of him and asked him his name. Being thus compelled to speak, he said that he was looking for an attendant of Pompeia named Abra, whereupon the maid, perceiving that his voice was not that of a woman, raised a cry and called the women together. These shut the doors, searched carefully all about, and found Clodius, who had taken refuge in the chamber of the girl with whom he came into the house. The affair having become noised abroad, Caesar divorced Pompeia and had an action for sacrilege brought against Clodius.

XXIX. Now, Cicero was a friend of Clodius, and in the affair of Catiline had found him a most eager co-worker and guardian of his person; but when Clodius replied to the charge against him by insisting that he had not even been in Rome at the time, but had been staying in places at the farthest remove from there, Cicero testified against him, declaring that Clodius had come to his house and

¹ Cf. chapter xix. 3.
2 διελεγμένου περὶ τινών· ὀπέρ ἦν ἄληθες. οὐ μὴν ἔδοκει μαρτυρεῖν ὁ Κικέρων διὰ τὴν ἄληθειαν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα Τερεντίαν ἀπολογούμενος. ἢ γὰρ αὐτῇ πρὸς τὸν Κλωδίον ἀπεχθεία διὰ τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὴν ἐκείνον Κλωδίαν, ὡς τῷ Κικέρωνι βουλομένην γαμηθήναι καὶ τοῦτο διὰ Τύλλου τινὸς πράττουσαι, ὃς ἔταρχος μὲν ἦν καὶ συνήθης ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Κικέρωνος, ἀεὶ δὲ πρὸς τὴν Κλωδίαν φονῶν καὶ θεραπεύων ἐγγύς
3 οἰκοῦσαν ὑποψίαν τῇ Τερεντία παρέσχε. χαλεπῇ δὲ τὸν πρότον οὕσα καὶ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀρχουσα παρώξυνε τῷ Κλωδίῳ συνεπιθέσθαι καὶ καταμαρτυρῆσαι. κατεμαρτύρουν δὲ τοῦ Κλωδίου πολλοί τῶν καλῶν κἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπιορκίας, ῥαδιουργίας, ὁχλῶν δεκασμοὺς, φθορὰς γυναικῶν. Λευκούλλος δὲ καὶ θεραπεύων ἐγγὺς παρείχεν χώς συγγένοιτο τῇ νεωτάτῃ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ο Ἐκηρώνιος, ὅτε Λευκούλλῳ συνίκαι. πολλῇ δ’ ἦν δόξα καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις δυσὶν ἀδελφαῖς πλησιάζειν τῶν Κλωδίων, ὅτι Τερτίαν μὲν Μάρκιος ὁ Ῥήξ, Κλωδίαν δὲ Μέτελλος ὁ Κέλερ εἶχεν, ἢν Κουνάραντίαν ἐκάλουν, ὅτι τῶν ἐραστῶν τις αὐτῇ χαλκοῦς ἐμβαλὼν εἰς βαλάντιον ὡς ἀργυρίων εἰσέπεμψε· τὸ δὲ λεπτότατον τοῦ χαλκοῦ νομίσματος κουνάραντὶ ἐκάλουν. ἔτι ταύτῃ μάλιστα τῶν ἀδελφῶν κακῶς ἦκουσεν ὁ Κλωδίος.
4 οὐ μὴν ἄλλα τότε τοῦ δῆμου πρὸς τοὺς καταμαρτυροῦντας αὐτοῦ καὶ συνεστῶτας ἀντιταττομένου

1 Κουνάραντίαν Sintenis with the MSS.; Κουνάρανταπλαν Bekker, after Xylander and Du Soul (cf. Cic. pro Cael. 26, 62, mulier quadrantaria).

154
consulted him on certain matters; which was true. However, it was thought that Cicero did not give his testimony for the truth's sake, but by way of defence against the charges of his own wife Terentia. For there was enmity between her and Clodius on account of his sister Clodia, whom Terentia thought to be desirous of marrying Cicero and to be contriving this with the aid of a certain Tullus; now, Tullus was a companion and an especial intimate of Cicero, and his constant visits and attentions to Clodia, who lived near by, made Terentia suspicious. So, being a woman of harsh nature, and having sway over Cicero, she incited him to join in the attack upon Clodius and give testimony against him. Moreover, many men of the better class bore witness against Clodius for perjury, recklessness, bribery of the multitude, and debauching of women. And Lucullus actually produced female slaves who testified that Clodius had commerce with his youngest sister when she was living with Lucullus as his wife. There was also a general belief that Clodius had intercourse with his other two sisters, of whom Tertia was the wife of Marcius Rex, and Clodia of Metellus Celer; the latter was called Quadrantia, because one of her lovers had put copper coins into a purse and sent them to her for silver, and the smallest copper coin was called "quadrans." It was with regard to this sister in particular that Clodius was in evil repute. However, since the people at this time set themselves against those who combined and testified against him, the jurors were
Each juror was provided with three tablets, on one of which was marked A (absolvo); on a second C (condemno); and on a third N.L. (non liquet). The
frightened and surrounded themselves with a guard, and most of them cast their voting-tablets with the writing on them confused. But nevertheless those who were for acquittal appeared to be in the majority; and some bribery also was said to have been used. This led Catulus to say, when he met the jurors, "It was indeed as a measure of safety that you asked for your guard; you were afraid that someone would take your money away from you." And Cicero, when Clodius told him that as a witness he had found no credit with the jurors, said: "Nay, twenty-five of the jurors gave me credit, for so many voted against you; and thirty of them gave you no credit, for they did not vote to acquit you until they had got your money." Caesar, however, when summoned as a witness, gave no testimony against Clodius, and denied that he had condemned his wife for adultery, but said that he had put her away because Caesar's wife must be free not only from shameful conduct, but even from shameful report.

XXX. But Clodius, having escaped his peril, and having been chosen tribune, at once began to attack Cicero, arraying and stirring up against him all things and all men alike. He won the favour of the people by benevolent laws, got large provinces voted to each of the consuls (Macedonia to Piso, and Syria to Gabinius), brought many of the poorer class into organized political activity, and kept armed slaves about his person. Now, of the three men who at that time had most power, jurors voted by placing one of these tablets in the urn. Plutarch must have misunderstood his source.

2 Cf. Cicero, ad Att. i. 16, 5.
3 Cf. Cicero, ibid. 16, 10. 4 For the year 58 B.C.
Κρίσσον μὲν ἀντικρὺς Κικέρωνι πολεμοῦντος, Πομπηίου δὲ θρυπτομένου πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους, Καίσαρος δὲ μέλλοντος εἰς Γαλατίαν ἔξεινα μετὰ στρατεύματος, ὑπὸ τούτον ὑποδὺς ὁ Κικέρων, καὶ περ ὦν ὄντα φίλου, ἀλλ' ὑποττών ἐκ τῶν περὶ Κατολίναν, ἡξίωσε προσβεντῆς αὐτῷ συστρατεύειν. δεξαμένου δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὁ Κλώδιος ὁ ὁρᾷς ἐκφεύγοντα τὴν δημαρχίαν αὐτοῦ τῶν Κικέρωνα προσεποιεῖτο συμβατικῶς ἔχειν, καὶ τῇ Τερεντίᾳ τὴν πλείστην ἀνατιθὲς αὐτίαν, ἔκεινον δὲ μεμνημένον ἐπιεικῶς ἀεὶ καὶ λόγους εὐγνώμονας ἐνδιδοὺς, ὡς ἄν τις ὦ μισών οὐδὲ χαλεπαίνων, ἀλλ' ἐγκαλὸν μέτρια καὶ φιλικά, παντάπασιν αὐτοῦ τὸν φόβον ἀνήκεν, ὡστ' ἀπεπείν τῷ Καίσαρι τὴν προσβείαν καὶ πάλιν ἔχεσθαι τῆς πολιτείας. ἐφ' ὦ παροξυνθεὶς ὁ Καίσαρ τὸν τε Κλώδιον ἐπέρρωσε καὶ Πομπηίον ἀπέστρεψε κομιδὴ τοῦ Κικέρωνος, αὐτός τε κατεμαρτύρησεν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ μὴ δοκεῖν αὐτῷ καλῶς μηδὲ νομίμως ἀνδρὰς ἀκρίτους ἀνηρῆσθαι τοὺς περὶ Δέντλου καὶ Κένθγον. αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ κατηγορία, καὶ ἐπὶ τούθ' ὁ Κικέρων ἐκαλεῖτο. κινδυνεύων οὖν καὶ διωκόμενος ἐσθῆτα μετήλλαξε καὶ κόμης ἀνάπλεως περιών ἰκέτευε τὸν δήμον. πανταχοῦ δ' ὁ Κλώδιος ἀπήντα κατὰ τοὺς στενωποὺς, ἀνθρώπους ἔχων ύβριστὰς περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ θρασεῖς, οὐ πολλὰ μὲν χλευάζοντες ἀκολάστως εἰς τὴν μεταβολὴν καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ Κικέρωνος, πολλαχοῦ 158
Crassus was an out-and-out foe of Cicero, Pompey was dallying with both, and Caesar was about to set out for Gaul with an army; into Caesar’s favour, therefore, Cicero insinuated himself (although Caesar was not a friend, but an object of suspicion owing to the affair of Catiline), and asked to accompany him on his campaign as legate.¹ But no sooner had Caesar granted the request than Clodius, seeing that Cicero was thus escaping his tribunical power, pretended to be desirous of a reconciliation, and by laying the chief blame upon Terentia, and always speaking of Cicero in friendly terms and using kindly expressions about him, as one who bore him no hatred or even ill-will, but had moderate complaints to make of him in a friendly way, he altogether took away his fear, so that he declined the office of legate under Caesar and again applied himself to public matters. But at this conduct Caesar was exasperated, and encouraged Clodius against Cicero, and completely alienated Pompey from him, while he himself testified before the people that he did not think it right or lawful that men should be put to death without a trial, as in the case of Lentulus, Cethegus, and their accomplices. For this was the denunciation made against Cicero, and to this he was summoned to make answer. And so, being in peril of prosecution, he changed his attire,² and with his hair untrimmed went about supplicating the people. But Clodius met him everywhere in the streets, with a band of bold and insolent men about him, who made many unbridled jests upon Cicero’s change of attire,

¹ According to Cicero (ad Att. ii. 18, 3), it was Caesar who made the request. ² To a garb of mourning.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

dè πηλῶ καὶ λίθοις βάλλοντες ἐνίσταντο ταῖς ἱκεσίαις.

XXXI. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῷ Κικέρωνι πρῶτον μὲν ὀλύγου δεῖν σύμπαν τὸ τῶν ἰππικῶν πλῆθος συμμετέβαλε τὴν ἔσθήτα, καὶ δισμυρίων οὐκ ἐλάττους νέων παρηκολούθουν κομῶντες καὶ συνικατεύοντες· ἐπείτα τῆς βουλῆς συνελθούσης ὅπως ψηφίσαιτο τὸν δήμον ὡς ἐπὶ πένθεσι μεταβάλειν τὰ ἱμάτια, καὶ τὸν ὑπάτων ἐναντιωθέντων, Κλωδίου δὲ σιδηροφορομένου περὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἐξέδραμον οὐκ ὀλύγοι τῶν βουλευτικῶν καταρ-2 ῥηγνύμενοι τοὺς χιτῶνας καὶ βοῶντες. ὡς δὴ ἦν οὔτ᾽ οἷκτος οὔτε τις αἴδως πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἔδει τὸν Κικέρωνα φεύγειν ἡ βία καὶ σιδηρῷ κρίθηναι πρὸς τὸν Κλώδιον, ἐδεῖτο Πομπηίου βοηθεῖν ἐπίτηδες ἐκποδῶν γεγονότος καὶ διατρίβοντος ἐν ἄγροις περὶ τὸν Ἀλβανόν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐπεμψε Πείσων τὸν γαμβρὸν δεσσόμενον· 3 ἐπείτα καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνέβη. πυθόμενος δ᾽ οἱ Πομπηίοι οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν εἰς ὄψιν ἠλθείν, δεινὴ γὰρ αὐτὸν αἰδῶς εἰχε πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα μεγάλους ἡγωνισμένου ἁγῶνας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς χάριν ἐκεῖνοι πεπολιτευμένου, ἀλλὰ Καῦσαρι γαμβρὸς δὴν δεσμεύως προύδωκε τὰς παλαιὰς χάριτας καὶ κατὰ θύρας ἄλλας ὑπεξέλθων ἀπεδίδρασκε τὴν ἐντευξίν. οὔτω δὴ προδοθεῖσι ὁ Κικέρων ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ γεγονὼς ἔρημος ἐπὶ τοὺς 4 ὑπάτους κατέφυγε. καὶ Γαβίνιος μὲν ἦν χαλεπὸς ἀεί, Πείσων δὲ διελέχθη πρῶτερον αὐτῷ, 160
and often pelted him with mud and stones, and so interfered with his supplications to the people.

XXXI. However, in the first place, nearly the whole body of knights changed their attire with Cicero, and as many as twenty thousand young men escorted him with their hair untrimmed and joined in his suppliant entreaties to the people; and besides, when the senate had met in order to pass a vote that the people should change their dress in token of public calamity, and the consuls had opposed it, and Clodius was in arms about the senate-house, not a few of the senators ran out, rending their garments and crying aloud. But since this sight awakened neither pity nor any mercy, but Cicero was obliged either to go into exile or to appeal to force and the sword against Clodius, he begged for aid from Pompey, who had purposely got out of the way and was staying at his country seat in the Alban hills. First Cicero sent Piso, his son-in-law, to entreat for him; then he went up thither himself also. Pompey, however, on learning of his coming, could not endure to see him, for he felt a strong sense of shame towards the man who had made great struggles in his behalf and had often adopted a political course to please him; but since he was Caesar's son-in-law, at his request he proved false to his old obligations, slipped out by another door, and so ran away from the interview. Thus betrayed by him and left desolate, Cicero fled for refuge to the consuls. Gabinius was always severe with him, but Piso dealt

1 Cf. Cicero's oration post red. ad Quir. 3, 8.
2 Not the consul who is mentioned in xxx. 1 and below in § 4.
παραϊνών ἐκστήναι καὶ ὑποχωρῆσαι τῇ τοῦ Κλωδίου ρύμη καὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν τῶν καιρῶν ἑνεγκεῖν καὶ γενέσθαι πάλιν σωτῆρα τῆς πατρίδος ἐν στάσει καὶ κακοῖς δὲ ἐκεῖνον οὕσης.

Τοιαύτης τυχῶν ἀποκρίσεως ὁ Κικέρων ἐβουλεύετο σὺν τοῖς φίλοις καὶ Δεύκουλλος μὲν ἐκέλευε μένειν, ὥς περιεσόμενον, ἄλλοι δὲ φεύγειν, ὥς ταχὺ τοῦ δῆμου ποθήσοντος αὐτὸν, όταν ἐμπληθῆ τῆς Κλωδίου μανίας καὶ ἀπονοιάς. 5 ταῦτ' ἐδοξε Κικέρων· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ὁ πολὺν χρόνον ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἰδρυμένον ἐτίμα διαφέροντος, εἰς Καπιτώλιον κομίσας ἀνέθηκεν ἐπιγράψας "Ἀθηνᾶ Ἕρως φύλακι," πομποὺς δὲ παρὰ τῶν φίλων λαβὼν περὶ μέσας νύκτας ὑπεξῆλθε τῆς πόλεως καὶ πεξῇ διὰ Λευκανίας ἐπορεύετο, λαβέσθαι Σικελίας βουλόμενος.

XXXII. Ὡς δ' ἦν φανερὸς ἡδὴ πεφευγός, ἐπήγαγεν αὐτῷ φυγῆς ψήφου ὁ Κλώδιος, καὶ διαγραμμα προὔθηκεν εἰργεῖν πυρὸς καὶ ύδατος τὸν ἀνδρα καὶ μὴ παρέχειν στέγην ἐυτός μιλὼν 87' πεντακοσίων Ἰταλίας. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἄλλοις ἑλάχιστος ἦν τοῦ διαγράμματος τούτου λόγος αἰδούμενος τὸν Κικέρωνα, καὶ πάσαν ἐνδεικνύ-2 μενοι φιλοφροσύνην παρέπεμπον αὐτὸν· ἐν δ' Ἰππονίῳ, πόλει τῆς Λευκανίας, ἦν Οὐιβώνα νῦν καλούσιν, Οὐιβίος, Σικελὸς ἀνήρ, ἄλλα τε πολλά τῆς Κικέρωνος φιλίας ἀπολελαυκώς καὶ γεγονὼς

162
with him more gently, advising him to stand aside and yield to the impetuous assaults of Clodius, to submit to the change in the times, and to become once more a saviour of his country when she was involved in seditions and misfortunes through Clodius.

After getting such answer to his appeal, Cicero took counsel with his friends: Lucullus urged him to remain in the city, believing that he would prevail; but others advised him to go into exile, believing that the people would quickly long for him when they were sated with the folly and madness of Clodius. This Cicero decided to do; so he took the statue of Minerva which had long stood in his house, and which he honoured exceedinggly, carried it to the capitol, and dedicated it there with the inscription "To Minerva, Guardian of Rome"; then, accepting an escort from his friends, about midnight he slipped out of the city, and set out on foot through Lucania, desiring to reach Sicily.

XXXII. But as soon as it was known that he had fled, Clodius caused a vote of banishment to be passed upon him, and issued an edict that all men should refuse him fire and water and that no man should give him shelter within five hundred miles of Italy. Now, most men paid not the slightest heed to this edict out of respect for Cicero, and escorted him on his way with every mark of kindness; but at Hipponium, a city of Lucania, which is now called Vibo, Vibius, a Sicilian, who had profited much from Cicero's friendship and particularly by being made prefect of engineers during

1 Cf. Cicero, de leg. ii. 17, 42; ad fam. xii. 25, 1.
2 Rather Bruttium.
Γάρ τιδε καταγράψειν ἐπηγγέλλετο, καὶ Γάιος Οὐρεγίλιος, ὁ τῆς Σικελίας στρατηγὸς, ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Κικέρωνι κεχρημένοις,

3 ἕγραψεν ἀπέχεσθαι τῆς Σικελίας. ἐφ' οίς ἀθυμησάς ὄρμησεν ἐπὶ Βρεττέσιον, κάκειθεν εἰς Δυρράχιον ἀνέμῳ φορᾷ περαιούμενος, ἀντιπνεύσαντος πελαγίον μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐπαλινδρόμησεν, εἰτ' αὕθις ἀνήχθη. λέγεται δὲ καὶ καταπλεύσαντος εἰς Δυρράχιον αὐτῶς καὶ μέλλοντος ἀποβαίνειν σεισμὸν τε τῆς γῆς καὶ σπασμὸν ἀμα γενέσθαι τῆς θαλάττης. ἀφ' ἤν συνέβαλον οἱ μαντικοὶ μὴ μόνιμον αὐτῶ τὴν φυγήν ἔσεσθαι· μεταβολὴς γὰρ εἰναι ταῦτα σημεία. πολλῶν δὲ φοιτῶντων ἄνδρῶν ὑπ' εὐνοίας καὶ τῶν Ἐλληνίδων πόλεων διαμιλλωμένων πρὸς αὐτὰς ταῖς πρεσβείαις, ὁμοὶ ἀθυμῶν καὶ περίλυπος διήγη τὰ πολλά, πρὸς τήν Ἰταλίαν, ὥσπερ οἱ δυσέρωτες, ἄφορῶν, καὶ τῷ φρονήματι μικρὸς ἄγαν καὶ ταπεινὸς ὑπὸ τῆς συμφορᾶς γεγονός καὶ συνεσταλμένος, ὡς οὐκ ἣν τις ἄλλα παιδεία συμβεβιωκότα τοσαύτη προσ-

5 εδόκησε. καίτοι πολλάκις αὐτῶς ἥξιον τοὺς φίλους μὴ ρήτορα καλεῖν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ φιλόσοφον· φιλοσοφίαν γὰρ ὡς ἔργον ἦρησθαι, ρήτορικὴ δ' ὀργάνων χρῆσθαι πολιτευόμενος ἐπὶ τάς χρείας. ἀλλ' ἡ δόξα δεινή τὸν λόγον, ὡς περ βαφήν, ἀποκλύσαι τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ τὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἐνομόρ-ξασθαι πάθη δι' ὀμιλίαι καὶ συνήθειαν τοῖς

164
his consulship, would not receive him in his house, but sent him word that he would assign him his country-place for residence; and Caius Vergilius, the praetor of Sicily, who had been on most intimate terms with Cicero, wrote him to keep away from Sicily.\footnote{Cf. Cicero, pro Plancio, 40, 95 ff.} Disheartened at this treatment, he set out for Brundisium, and from there tried to cross to Dyrrhachium with a fair breeze, but since he met a counter-wind at sea he came back the next day, and then set sail again. It is said, too, that after he had put in at Dyrrhachium and was about to land, there was an earthquake accompanied by a violent convulsion of the sea. Wherefore the soothsayers conjectured that his exile would not be lasting, since these were signs of change. But although many people visited him out of goodwill, and the Greek cities vied with one another in sending him deputations, still, he passed his time for the most part in dejection and great grief,\footnote{As his letters to Atticus (iii. 8–21) show.} looking off towards Italy like a disconsolate lover, while in his spirit he became very petty and mean by reason of his misfortune, and was more humbled than one would have expected in a man who had enjoyed so lofty a discipline as his. And yet he often asked his friends not to call him an orator, but a philosopher, because he had chosen philosophy as an occupation, but used oratory merely as an instrument for attaining the needful ends of a political career. But public opinion has great power to wash away reason, like a dye, from the soul of man, and by force of familiar association to impress the feelings of the vulgar on those who engage
πολίτευμονείς, ἃν μή τις εὐ μᾶλα φυλαττόμενος οὐτω συμφέρηται τοῖς ἐκτὸς ὡς τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν, οὐ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασι παθῶν συμμεθέξων.

XXXIII. Ὁ δὲ Κλώδιος ἐξελάσας τὸν Κικέρωνα κατέπρησε μὲν αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐπαύλεις, κατέπρησε δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τῷ τόπῳ ναὸν Ἑλευ-θερίας ἐπικοδόμησε· τὴν δὲ ἄλλην οὐσίαν ἐπώλει καὶ διεκήρυττε καθ᾽ ἵμεραν, μηδὲν ὄνουμένου μη-δενός. ἐκ δὲ τούτου φοβερὸς ὄν τοῖς ἀριστοκρατικοῖς, καὶ τὸν δήμου ἀνειμένου εἰς ὑβριν πολλὴν καὶ θρασύτητα συνεφελκόμενος, ἐπεχείρει τῷ Πομπηίῳ, τὸν διρκημένων ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν 2 στρατείαν ἐνια σταράττων. ἐφ᾽ οἷς ὁ Πομπηίος ἀδοξῶν ἐκάκιζεν αὐτός αὐτοῦ προέμενος τὸν Κικέρωνα· καὶ πάλιν ἐκ μεταβολῆς παντοῖο ἐγένετο πράττων κάθοδον αὐτῷ μετὰ τῶν φίλων. ἐνιστα-μένου δὲ τοῦ Κλωδίου συνέδοξε τῇ βουλῇ μηδὲν διὰ μέσου πράγμα κυροῦν μηδὲ πράττειν δημό-3 σιον, εἰ μὴ Κικέρων κάθοδος γένοιτο. τῶν δὲ περὶ Δέντλων ὑπατευόντων καὶ τῆς στάσεως πρόσω βαδιζούσης, οὕτε τρωθῆναι μὲν ἐν ἀγορᾷ δημάρχους, Κόιντον δὲ τὸν Κικέρωνος ἀδελφὸν ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖς ὡς τεθυνκότα κείμενον διαλαθεῖν, ὁ τε δήμου ἢρχετο τρέπεσθαι τῇ γνώμῃ, καὶ τῶν δημάρχων ὁ Αννιος Μίλων πρῶτος ἐτόλμησε τὸν Κλωδίου εἰς δίκην ἀπάγειν βιαίων, καὶ Πομπηίῳ πολλοὶ συνήλθον ἐκ τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν περὶ πόλεων. μεθ᾽ ὄν προελθὼν καὶ τὸν Κλωδίουν
in political life, unless one is right well on his guard when he engages himself in things external, and is resolved to participate only in the things themselves, and not in the feelings attendant upon them.

XXXIII. As for Clodius, after driving Cicero away he burned down his villas, and burned down his house, and erected on its site a temple to Liberty; the rest of his property he offered for sale and had it proclaimed daily, but nobody would buy anything. Being therefore formidable to the patricians, and dragging along with him the people, who indulged in great boldness and effrontery, he assailed Pompey, attacking fiercely some of the arrangements made by him on his expedition. The disgrace which this brought upon Pompey led him to reproach himself for his abandonment of Cicero; and changing front he used every effort to effect Cicero's return, and so did his friends. But since Clodius opposed himself to this, the senate decided to ratify no measure that came up in the mean time and to do no public business, unless Cicero should be permitted to return.1 During the consulship of Lentulus,2 however, when the disorder went on increasing, so that tribunes were wounded in the forum and Quintus the brother of Cicero lay unnoticed for dead among the slain,3 the people began to change their minds, and Annius Milo, one of the tribunes, first ventured to prosecute Clodius for violence, and many joined themselves to Pompey both from the people and from the surrounding cities. With these Pompey came forth, drove

1 Cf. Cicero, pro Sest. 31, 67 f.; Plutarch, Pompey, xlix. 1-3.
2 57 B.C.
3 Cf. Cicero, pro Sest. 35, 75 f.
Ptutarch's Lives

ἀναστήσας ἐκ τῆς ἁγορᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν ψηφον ἐκάλει
τοὺς πολίτας. καὶ λέγεται μηδέποτε μηδὲν ἐκ
tοσαντής ὀμοφροσύνης ἐπιψηφίσασθαι τὸν δή-
μου. ἢ δὲ σύγκλητος ἀμιλλωμένη πρὸς τὸν δήμου
ἐγραψεν ἔπαινεθήναι τὰς πόλεις ὅσαι τὸν Κικέ-
ρωνα παρὰ τὴν φυγήν ἐθεράπευσαν, καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν
αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς ἐπαύλεις, ἃς Κλώδιος διεφθάρκει,
tέλεσι δημοσίοις ἀνασταθήναι.

Κατηγεὶ δὲ Κικέρων ἐκκαιδεκάτῳ μηνὶ μετὰ τὴν
φυγήν καὶ τοσαντὴ τὰς πόλεις χαρὰ καὶ σπουδή
tοὺς ἀνθρώπους περὶ τὴν ἀπάντησιν εἰχεν ὡστε
tὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ Κικέρωνος ὑστερον ἐνδεέστερον εἶναι
tῆς ἀληθείας. ἔφη γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοιὰ την
Ἰταλίαν φέρουσαν εἰς τὴν Ἱρώμην εἰσενεγκείν,
ὁποῦ καὶ Κράσσος, ἔχθρὸς ὄν αὐτῷ πρὸ τῆς
φυγῆς, τότε προθύμως ἀπήντα καὶ διελύετο, τὸ
παιδὶ Ποπλίῳ χαριζόμενος, ὡς ἔλεγε, ἥλωτἐ τοῦ
Κικέρωνος ὄντι.

XXXIV. Χρόνον δ' οὖ πολὺν διαλιπὼν καὶ
παραφυλάξας ἀποδημοῦντα τὸν Κλώδιον ἐπῆλθε
μετὰ πολλὸν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, καὶ τὰς δημαρχικὰς
dέλτους, ἐν αἷς ἀναγραφαὶ τῶν διωκημένων ᾤσαν,
ἀπέσπασε καὶ διεφθείρεσ. ἐγκαλοῦντος δὲ περὶ
tοῦτοῦ τοῦ Κλωδίου, τοῦ δὲ Κικέρωνος λέγωνς
ὡς παρανόμως ἐκ πατρικίων εἰς δημαρχίαν παρέλ-
θοι, καὶ κύριον οὐδὲν εἶναι τῶν πετραγμένων ὑπ'

2 αὐτοῦ, Κάτων ἡγανάκτησε καὶ ἀντέιπε, τὸν μὲν
Κλώδιον οὐκ ἐπαινῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δυσχεραίνων τοῖς
πεπολιτευμένοις, δεινὸν δὲ καὶ βίαιον ἀποφαίνων

1 On the question of Cicero's recall.
2 Cf. Cicero, in Pisonem, 22, 52.
3 Cf. Cicero, post red. in sen. 15, 39.

168
Clodius from the forum, and summoned the citizens to the vote.\(^1\) And it is said that the people never passed any vote with such unanimity. The senate, too, vying with the people, wrote letters of thanks to all the cities which had ministered to Cicero during his exile, and decreed that his house and his villas, which Clodius had destroyed, should be restored at the public cost.\(^2\)

Thus Cicero came home in the sixteenth month after his exile; and so great was the joy of the cities and the eagerness of men to meet him that what was said by Cicero afterwards fell short of the truth. He said, namely, that Italy had taken him on her shoulders and carried him into Rome.\(^3\) And there Crassus also, who was his enemy before his exile, now readily met him and was reconciled with him, to gratify his son Publius, as he said, who was an ardent admirer of Cicero.

XXXIV. After allowing only a short time to pass and watching for an opportunity when Clodius was absent from the city, Cicero went up with a great company to the capitol, and there tore away and destroyed the tablets of the tribunes, in which were the records of their administration. When Clodius brought charges against him for this and Cicero argued that it was illegal for Clodius to pass from the ranks of the patricians into the tribunate,\(^4\) and that therefore none of his acts was valid, Cato was indignant and spoke against Cicero; not that he approved of Clodius, nay, he was actually displeased at his political course, but he set forth that it was a

\(^{4}\) Clodius had secured an adoption into a plebeian family in order to become a candidate for the tribuneship. Cf. Cicero, *pro domo sua*, 29, 77.
ἀναίρεσιν ψηφίσασθαι δογμάτων καὶ πράξεων
τοσούτων τὴν σύγκλητον, ἐν αἷς εἶναι καὶ τὴν
ἐσωτερικῶν τῶν περὶ Κύπρου καὶ Βυζάντιον διοίκησιν.
ἐκ τούτου προσέκρουσεν ὁ Κικέρων αὐτῷ πρόσ-
κρουσιν εἰς οὐδὲν ἐμφανὲς προελθοῦσαν, ἀλλ' ὦστε τῇ φιλοσοφοῦν ἠρήσατι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀμαυρότερον.

XXXV. Μετὰ ταῦτα Κλώδιον μὲν ἀποκτήνυσι
Μίλων καὶ διωκόμενος φόνου Κικέρωνα παρε-
στήσατο συνήγορον. ἢ δὲ βουλὴ φοβηθείσα μὴ
κινδυνεύοντος ἄνδρός εὐδόξου καὶ θυμοειδοῦς τοῦ
Μίλωνος ταραχῇ γέννηται περὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἐπέ-
τρεψε Πομπηίῳ ταύτην τε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας κρίσεις
βραβεύσαι, παρέχοντα τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς δικα-
2 στηρίσις ὀσφάλειαν. ἐκείνου δὲ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐπὶ
υικτός ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων περιλαβόντος τοῖς στρατι-
ώσισι, ὁ Μίλων τὸν Κικέρωνα δεῖσας μὴ πρὸς
τὴν ὅψιν ἁθεία διαταραχθεῖς χείρον διαγωνι-
σηται, συνέπεισεν ἐν φοβεῖο κομισθέντα πρὸς
τὴν ἀγορὰν ἡσυχάζειν, ἀχρί οὗ συνίασιν οἱ κριταὶ
3 καὶ πληροῦται τὸ δικαιστήριον. ὁ δ’ οὐ μόνον ἦν,
ὡς ἐοικεν, ἐν ὀπλοῖς ἀθαρσίας, ἄλλα καὶ τῷ λέγειν
μετὰ φόβου προσήκει, καὶ μόλις ἂν ἐπαύσατό
1 παλλόμενος καὶ τρέμων ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἄγονων ἄκμην
τοῦ λόγου καὶ κατάστασιν λαβόντος. Δικαιοῦν
ἀρθεὶς Μουρῆνα φεύγωσι δίκην ὑπὸ Κάτωνος βοη-
θῶν, καὶ φιλοτιμούμενος Ὀρτῆσιον ὑπερβαλεῖν
ἐνημερήσατα, μέρος οὐδὲν ἀνεπαύσατο τῆς νυ-
κτός, ὃς ὑπὸ τοῦ σφόδρα φροντίσαι καὶ διαγρα-
πνῆσαι κακωθεῖς ἐνδεέστερος αὐτοῦ φανήναι.

1 ἄν ἐπαύσατο Graux with D (ἀνεπαύσατο Μᾶ): ἐπαύσατο.
strange and violent measure for the senate to vote the abrogation of so many acts and decrees, among which were those for his own administration in Cyprus and Byzantium. This led to an antagonism between him and Cicero which came to no open manifestation, but made their friendly treatment of one another less marked.

XXXV. After this Clodius was killed by Milo; and Milo, being prosecuted for murder, engaged Cicero as his advocate. But the senate was afraid that at the trial of Milo, who was a man of repute and high spirit, there might be a disturbance in the city, and therefore intrusted the superintendence of this and the other trials to Pompey, who was to furnish security for the city and the courts of justice. So Pompey, while it was still night, posted his soldiers on the heights so as to command the forum, and Milo, fearing that Cicero might be disturbed at the unusual sight and conduct his case less successfully, persuaded him to be brought in a litter to the forum and to wait there quietly until the jurors assembled and the court-room was filled. Now Cicero, as it would seem, was not only without courage under arms, but also felt fear when he began to speak, and in many trials he hardly ceased quivering and trembling after his eloquence had become high and sustained. When he was to plead for Licinius Murena in a case brought against him by Cato, and was ambitious to surpass Hortensius, who had made a successful plea, he took no rest at all during the night before, so that his lack of sleep and his great anxiety did him harm, and he was thought inferior

1 Early in 52 B.C. For this year Pompey had been made sole consul.
Τότε δ' οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Μίλωνος δίκην ἐκ τοῦ φορείου προελθὼν καὶ θεασάμενος τὸν Πομπηίου ἀνώ καθεζόμενον ὡσπερ ἐν στρατόπεδῳ, καὶ κύκλῳ τὰ ὅπλα περιλάμποντα τῇ ἀγορᾷ, συνεχύθη καὶ μόλις ἐνήρξατο τοῦ λόγου, κραδαινόμενος τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἐνισχύμενος, αὐτοῦ τοῦ Μίλωνος εὐθαρσίας καὶ ἀνδρείας παρισταμένου τῷ ἀγώνι καὶ κόμην θρέψας καὶ μεταβαλέιν ἑσθῆτα φαίνει ἀπαξιώσαντος· ὁπερ οὖχ ἦκιστα δοκεῖ συναίτην αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τῆς καταδίκης. ἀλλ' ὁ γε Κικέρων διὰ ταῦτα φιλέταιρος μᾶλλον ἡ δειλὸς ἐδοξεῖ εἶναι.

XXXVI. Γίνεται δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱερέων οὖς Αὐγου-ρας Ῥωμαίοι καλοῦσιν, ἀντὶ Κράσσου τοῦ νέου μετὰ τὴν ἐν Πάρθοις αὐτοῦ τελευτήν. εἶτα κλήρῳ λαχών τῶν ἐπαρχῶν Κιλεκίαι καὶ στρατὸν ὀπλι-τῶν μυρίων καὶ δισχιλίων, ἱππέων δὲ δισχιλίων ἐξακοσίων, ἐπλευσε, προσταχθὲν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ περὶ Καππαδοκίαν Ἀρισταρχάνη τῷ βασιλεῖ.
to himself in his plea. And so at this time, when he came out of his litter to plead Milo’s cause and saw Pompey stationed on the heights as in a camp, and arms flashing all around the forum, he was confounded and could scarcely begin his speech, for his body quivered and his voice faltered; whereas Milo showed the good courage of a brave man at the trial and had not deigned to let his hair go untrimmed or to change his attire to a dark one; and this seems most of all to have contributed to his condemnation. However, Cicero’s behaviour led men to think him devoted to his friends rather than cowardly.

XXXVI. He became also one of the priests whom the Romans call Augurs, in place of the younger Crassus, who had died among the Parthians. Then the lot gave him Cilicia as his province, with an army of twelve thousand men-at-arms and twenty-six hundred horsemen, and he set sail, with instructions to keep Cappadocia friendly and obedient to King Ariobarzanes. This he accomplished and arranged satisfactorily without war, and seeing that the Cilicians, in view of the Parthian disaster to the Romans and the uprising in Syria, were in an agitated state, he pacified them by his mild government. Gifts he would not receive, not even when the kings offered them, and he relieved the provincials from the expense of entertainments; but he himself daily received men of pleasing accomplishments at banquets which were not expensive, although generous. His house, too, had no door-keeper, nor did anyone ever see him lying a-bed, but early in the morning he would stand or walk in front of his chamber and receive those who came to pay him their respects. It is

1 In 53 B.C. See the Crassus, chapter xxv.
2 In 51 B.C.
δράβδοις αἰκίσασθαι τινα μήτ' ἐσθήτα περισσύσαι
μήτε βλασφημίαν ὑπ' ὀργής ἡ ξημίας προσβάλειν
μεθ' ύβρεων. Ἀνευρόν δὲ πολλὰ τῶν δημοσίων
κεκλεμένα τὰς τε πόλεις εὐπόρους ἐποίησε, καὶ
tοὺς ἀποτίνοντας οὐδὲν τούτου πλείουν παθόντας
ἐπιτίμους διεφύλαξεν. Ἡματο δὲ καὶ πολέμου,
ληστὰς τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀρμανὸν οἰκούντων τρεψά-
μενος: ἐφ' ὃ καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιω-
tῶν ἀνηγορεύθη. Καϊλίου1 δὲ τοῦ ῥήτορος δεο-
μένου παρδάλεις αὐτῷ πρὸς τινα θέαν εἰς Ῥώμην
ἐκ Κιλικίας ἀποστείλα, καλλωπιζόμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς
πεπραγμένοις γράφει πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐκεῖνοι παρ-
dάλεις ἐν Κιλικίᾳ: πεφευγέναι γὰρ εἰς Καρίαν
ἀγανακτοῦσας ὅτι μόναι πολεμοῦνται, πάντων
εἰρήνην ἐχόντων. πλέων δ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπαρχίας
tούτο μὲν Ῥόδῳ προσέσχε, τούτο δ' Ἀθηναῖς
ἐνδιέτριψεν ἁσμενος πόθῳ τῶν πάλαι διατριβῶν.
6 ἀνδράσι δὲ τοῖς πρῶτοι ἀπὸ παιδείας συγγενό-
μενος καὶ τοὺς τότε φίλους καὶ συνήθεις ἁσπασά-
μενος καὶ τὰ πρέποντα θαυμασθεῖς ὑπὸ τῆς
Ἑλλάδος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπανηλθεν, ἦδη τῶν πρα-
γμάτων ὥσπερ ὑπὸ φλεγμονῆς ἁφισταμένων ἐπὶ
tῶν ἐμφύλιον πολέμου.

XXXVII. Ἔν μὲν οὖν τῇ βουλῇ ψηφιζομένων
αὐτῷ θρίαμβον ἤδιον ἄν ἔφη παρακολουθήσαι
Καϊσαρὶ θριαμβεύοντι συμβάσεων γενομένων·
идία δὲ συνεβούλευε πολλὰ μὲν Καϊσαρι γράφων,

1 Καϊλίου Coraës, Bekker, and Graux, after Xylander: Κεκιλίου.
said, moreover, that he never ordered any man to be chastised with rods or to have his raiment torn from him, and that he never inflicted angry abuse or contumelious punishments. He discovered that much of the publice property had been embezzled, and by restoring it he made the cities well-to-do, and men who made restitution he maintained in their civil rights without further penalties. He engaged in war, too, and routed the robbers who made their homes on Mount Amanus; and for this he was actually saluted by his soldiers as Imperator. When Caelius the orator asked Cicero to send him panthers from Cilicia for a certain spectacle at Rome, Cicero, pluming himself upon his exploits, wrote to him that there were no panthers in Cilicia; for they had fled to Caria in indignation because they alone were warred upon, while everything else enjoyed peace. On his voyage back from his province he first touched at Rhodes, and then gladly spent some time at Athens in fond remembrance of his old pursuits in that place. Then, after associating with men who were foremost for their learning, and after greeting his old-time friends and intimates, and after receiving from Greece the tokens of admiration that were his due, he returned to Rome, where a violent inflammation, as it were, was already forcing matters on towards the civil war.

XXXVII. Accordingly, when the senators were voting him a triumph, he said he would more gladly follow in Caesar's triumphal procession if matters could be settled; and privately he gave much advice

---

* Cf. Cicero, *ad fam.* ii. 10, 2 f.

+ Ad fam. ii. 11, 2.

3 January 4, 49 B.C. Cf. *ad fam.* xvi. 11, 2 f.
πολλὰ δ’ αὐτοῦ Πομπηίου δεόμενος, πραύνων ἐκάτερον καὶ παραμυθοῦμενος. ὡς δ’ ἦν ἀνήκεστα καὶ Καίσαρος ἐπερχομένου Πομπηίου οὐκ ἐμεινεν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν πόλιν ἔξελιπτε, ταῦτης μὲν ἀπελεύθη τῆς φυγῆς ὁ Κικέ-2 ρων, ἔδοξε δὲ Καίσαρι προστίθεσθαι. καὶ δῆλος ἐστὶ τῇ γνώμῃ πολλὰ ῥιπτασθεὶς ἐπ’ ἀμφότερα καὶ δυσπαθήσας. γράφει γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς διαπορεῖν ποτέρωσε χρῆ τρέπεσθαι, Πομπηίου μὲν ἐνδοξον καὶ καλὴν ὑπόθεσιν πρὸς τὸν πόλε-μον ἔχοντος, Καίσαρος δ’ ἀμεινον τοῖς πράγμασι χρωμένου καὶ μάλλον ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς φίλους σώζοντος, ὡστ’ ἔχειν μὲν ὑν φύγῃ, μὴ ἔχειν δὲ 3 πρὸς ὑν φύγῃ. Τρεβατίου δὲ, τινὸς τῶν Καίσαρος ἑταίρων, γράψαντος ἐπιστολὴν ὅτι Καίσαρ οἶεται δεῖν μάλιστα μὲν αὐτὸν ἐξετάζεσθαι μεθ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐλπίδων μετέχειν, εἰ δ’ ἀναδύεται διὰ γῆρας, εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα βαδίζειν κἀκεῖ καθήμενον ἡσυχίαν ἁγειν ἐκποδῶν ἀμφότερος γενόμενον, θαυμάζας ὁ Κικέρων ὅτι Καίσαρ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔγρα-ψεν, ἀπεκρίνατο πρὸς ὑργήν ὡς οὐδὲν ἀνάξιον πράξει τῶν πεπολιτευμένων. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς γεγραμμένα τοιαύτα ἐστὶ.

XXXVIII. Τοῦ δὲ Καίσαρος εἰς Ἰβηρίαν ἀπαραντός, εὐθὺς ὡς Πομπηίου ἔπλευσε· καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ψυχείοις ὡφθη, Κάτων δ’ αὐτὸν ἰδὼν ἰδία πολλὰ κατεμέφετο Πομπηίῳ προσήμενον· αὐτῷ μὲν γὰρ οὐχὶ καλῶς ἔχειν ἐγκαταλιπτεῖν ἦν

176
to Caesar by letter, and much to Pompey in person by way of personal entreaty, trying to mollify and pacify each of them. But when things were past healing, and Caesar was advancing upon the city, and Pompey did not stay there, but abandoned the city in the company of many good men, Cicero did not take part in this flight, and was thought to be attaching himself to Caesar. And it is clear that his judgement drew him strongly in both directions and that he was in distress. For he writes in his letters that he knew not which way he ought to turn, since Pompey had honourable and good grounds for going to war, while Caesar managed matters better and had more ability to save himself and his friends; he therefore knew from whom he should flee, but not to whom he should flee. And when Trebatius, one of the companions of Caesar, wrote him a letter stating that Caesar thought he ought above all things to range himself on his side and share his hopes, but that if he declined to do this by reason of his age, he ought to go to Greece and take up a quiet life there out of the way of both, Cicero was amazed that Caesar himself did not write, and replied in a passion that he would do nothing unworthy of his political career. Such, then, is the purport of his letters.

XXXVIII. But when Caesar set out for Spain, Cicero at once sailed to Pompey. The rest of Pompey’s followers were glad to see him, but when Cato saw him, he privately blamed him much for attaching himself to Pompey. In his own case, Cato said, it was not honourable to abandon the

1 Ego vero quem fugiam habeo, quem sequar non habeo (ad Att. viii. 7, 2).
2 In April, 49 B.C., Caesar set out for Spain, and in June Cicero sailed for Greece.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς εἴλετο τῆς πολιτείας τάξιν, ἐκείνων δὲ χρησιμώτερον ὄντα τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τοῖς φίλοις εἰ μένων ἵσος ἐκεῖ πρὸς τὸ ἀποβαίνον ἡμῶν ἐκείνου, κατ’ οὐδένα λογισμὸν οὐδ’ ἐξ ἀνάγκης πολέμιον γεγο-νέαν Καίσαρι καὶ τοσοῦτον μεθέξοντα κινδύνου δεύρ’ ἤκειν.


178
line of public policy which he had chosen from the beginning; but Cicero, though he was of more service to his country and his friends if he remained at home without taking sides and accommodated himself to the issue of events, without any reason and under no compulsion had made himself an enemy of Caesar, and had come thither to share in their great danger.

By these words the purpose of Cicero was upset, as well as by the fact that Pompey made no great use of him. But he was himself to blame for this, since he made no denial that he was sorry he had come, made light of Pompey's preparations and showed a lurking displeasure at his plans, and did not refrain from jests and witty remarks about his comrades in arms; nay, although he himself always went about in the camp without a smile and scowling, still he made others laugh in spite of themselves. And it will be well to give a few instances of this also. When Domitius, then, was advancing to a post of command a man who was no soldier, with the remark that he was gentle in his disposition and prudent, "Why, then," said Cicero, "do you not keep him as a guardian of your children?" And when certain ones were praising Theophanes the Lesbian, who was prefect of engineers in the camp, because he had given excellent consolation to the Rhodians on the loss of their fleet, "What a great blessing it is," said Cicero, "to have a Greek as prefect!" Again, when Caesar was successful for the most part and in a way was laying siege to them,¹ Lentulus said he had heard

¹ At Dyrrhachium. See the Caesar, xxxix.; Caesar, B.C. iii. 41–55.

XXXIX. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ γενομένης τῆς κατὰ Φάρσαλον μάχης, ἦς οὐ μετέσχε δὲ ἀρρωστίαν, καὶ Πομπηίου φυγόντος, ὁ μὲν Κάτων καὶ στράτευμα συχνῶν ἐν Δυρραχίῳ καὶ στόλου ἔχων μέγαν ἐκεῖνον ἥξιον στρατηγεῖν κατὰ νόμον καὶ τὸ τῆς ὑπαιτείας ἀξίωμα προῦχοντα. διωθούμενος δὲ τὴν ἄρχην ὁ Κικέρων καὶ ὅλως φεύγων τὸ συνστρατευόμεθα παρ’ οὐδὲν ἦλθεν ἀναφρήματι,

2 Πομπηίου τοῦ νέου καὶ τῶν φίλων προδότην ἀποκαλοῦντον καὶ τὰ ξίφη σπασαμένων, εἰ μη Κάτων ἐνστάς μόλις ἀφείλετο καὶ διήκεν αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. κατασχὼν δ’ εἰς Βρεντεσιόν ἐνταῦθα διέτριβε. Καίσαρα περιμένων βραδύνοντα διὰ τὰς ἐν Ἀσία καὶ περὶ Ἀιγυπτίων άσχολίας. ἐπεὶ δ’ εἰς Τάραντα καθωρμισμένος.
that Caesar's friends were gloomy, to which Cicero replied: "You mean that they are ill-disposed to Caesar." And when a certain Marcius, who had recently come from Italy, spoke of a report which prevailed in Rome that Pompey was besieged, "And then," said Cicero, "did you sail off that you might see with your own eyes and believe?" Again, after the defeat, when Nonnius said they ought to have good hopes, since seven eagles were left in the camp of Pompey, "Your advice would be good," said Cicero, "if we were at war with jackdaws." And when Labienus, insisting on certain oracles, said that Pompey must prevail, "Yes," said Cicero, "this is the generalship that has now cost us our camp."

XXXIX. However, after the battle at Pharsalus, in which Cicero took no part because of illness, had been fought, and Pompey was in flight, Cato, who had a considerable army and a large fleet at Dyrrhachium, asked Cicero to take the command in accordance with custom and because of his superior consular rank. But Cicero rejected the command and was altogether averse to sharing in the campaign, whereupon he came near being killed; for the young Pompey and his friends called him a traitor and drew their swords upon him, and that would have been the end of him had not Cato interposed and with difficulty rescued him and sent him away from the camp. So Cicero put in at Brundisium and tarried there, waiting for Caesar, who was delayed by his affairs in Asia and Egypt. But when word was brought that Caesar had landed at

1 In August, 48 B.C.
2 Cf. Cato the Younger, Ix. 3.
πηγέλετο καὶ πεζῇ περιῶν ἐκείθεν εἰς Βρεν-
tέσιον, ὡρμησε πρὸς αὐτὸν, οὐ πάντα μὲν ὁν
dύσελπις, αἰδούμενος δὲ πολλῶν παρόντων ἀνδρὸς
ἐχθροῦ καὶ κρατοῦντος λαμβάνειν πείραν, οὐ
μὴν ἔδεησεν αὐτῷ πράξαι τι παρ᾿ ἢξιαν ἢ εἰπεῖν.
4 ο γὰρ Καῦσαρ, ὡς εἶδεν αὐτὸν πολὺ πρὸ τῶν
ἀλλῶν ἀπαντώντα, κατέβη καὶ ἰσπάσατο καὶ
dιαλεγόμενος μόνῳ συχνῶν σταδίων ὅδον προήλ-
θεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου διετέλει τιμῶν καὶ φιλοφρονοῦ-
μενος, ὡστε καὶ γράψαντι λόγον ἐγκώμιον Κά-
tωνος ἀντιγράφων τὸν τε λόγον αὑτοῦ καὶ τὸν
βίον ὃς μάλιστα τῷ Περικλέους ἐνικότα καὶ
5 Θηραμένους ἐπαινεῖν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κικέρωνος
λόγος Κάτων, ὁ δὲ Καῦσαρος Ἀντικάτων ἐπιγέ-
γραπται.

Δέγεται δὲ καὶ Κοῖντον Διγαρίου δίκην φεύ-
γοντος ὅτι τῶν Καῦσαρος πολεμίων εἰς ἐγερόνει,
καὶ Κικέρωνος αὐτῷ βοηθοῦντος, εἶπεν τὸν
Καῦσαρα πρὸς τοὺς φίλους· "Τί κωλύει διὰ
χρόνου Κικέρωνος ἀκούσαι λέγοντος, ἐπεὶ πάλαι
6 κέκριται πονηρὸς ὁ ἀνήρ ¹ καὶ πολέμιος;" ἐπεὶ δὲ
ἀρξάμενος λέγειν ὁ Κικέρων ὑπερφυῶς ἐκινεῖ καὶ
προὔβαινεν αὐτῷ πάθει τε ποικίλος καὶ χάριτι
θαυμαστὸς ὁ λόγος, πολλὰς μὲν ἵναι χρόας ἐτὶ
tου προσώπου τὸν Καῦσαρα, πάσας δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς
τρεπόμενον τροπᾶς κατάδηλον εἰναι, τέλος δὲ τῶν
κατὰ Φάρσαλον ἀψαμένου τοῦ ρήτορος ἀγώνων
ἐκπαθῇ γενόμενον πιναχθῆναι τῷ σώματι καὶ τῆς
χειρὸς ἐκβαλεῖν ἐνια τῶν γραμματείων. τοῦ
γοὺν ἀνθρωποῦ ἀπέλυσε τῆς αἰτίας βεβιασμένος.

¹ ὁ ἀνήρ Bekker, after Schaefer: ἀνήρ.
Tarentum and was coming round by land from there to Brundisium, Cicero hastened to meet him, being not altogether despondent, but feeling shame to test in the presence of many witnesses the temper of a man who was an enemy and victorious. However, there was no need that he should do or say anything unworthy of himself. For Caesar, when he saw him approaching far in advance of the rest, got down and embraced him and journeyed on for many furlongs conversing with him alone. And after this he continued to show him honour and kindness, so that in his reply to the encomium upon Cato which Cicero wrote he praised Cicero's eloquence and his life, as most resembling that of Pericles and Theramenes. Now, the discourse of Cicero was entitled "Cato," and that of Caesar "Anti-Cato."

It is said also that when Quintus Ligarius was under prosecution because he had been one of the enemies of Caesar, and Cicero was his advocate, Caesar said to his friends: "What is to prevent our hearing a speech from Cicero after all this while, since Ligarius has long been adjudged a villain and an enemy?" But when Cicero had begun to speak and was moving his hearers beyond measure, and his speech, as it proceeded, showed varying pathos and amazing grace, Caesar's face often changed colour and it was manifest that all the emotions of his soul were stirred; and at last, when the orator touched upon the struggles at Pharsalus, he was so greatly affected that his body shook and he dropped from his hand some of his documents. At any rate he acquitted Ligarius under compulsion.

1 In September, 47 B.C. 2 Cf. *pro Ligario*, 9, 27 f.
XL. 'Εκ τούτου Κικέρων, εἰς μοναρχίαν τῆς πολιτείας μεθεστώσης, ἀφέμενος τοῦ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν ἐσχόλαζε τοὺς βουλομένους φιλοσοφεῖν τῶν νέων, καὶ σχεδὸν ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τούτους συνήθειας, εὐγενεστάτους καὶ πρωτούς ὄντας, αὐθές 2 ἵσχυεν ἐν τῇ πόλει μέγιστον. αὐτῷ δ’ ἐργοῦ μὲν ἦν τὸ τοὺς φιλοσόφους συντελεῖν διαλόγους καὶ μεταφράζειν, καὶ τῶν διαλεκτικῶν ἡ φυσικῶν ὀνομάτων ἐκαστὸν εἰς Ἦρωμαίκην μεταβάλλειν διάλεκτον· ἐκεῖνος γάρ ἐστιν, ὡς φασίν, ὁ καὶ τὴν φαντασίαν καὶ τὴν συγκατάθεσιν καὶ τὴν ἐποχὴν καὶ τὴν κατάληψιν, ἔτι δὲ τὸ ἄτομον, τὸ ἀμερές, τὸ κενόν, ἀλλὰ τε πολλὰ τῶν τοιούτων ἑξονομάσας πρῶτος ἡ μάλιστα Ἦρωμαίοις, τὰ μὲν μεταφοράς, τὰ δ’ οἰκείοτητιν ἀλλαὶς γνώριμα 3 καὶ προσήγορα μηχανησάμενος. τῇ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ποίησιν εὐκολία παίξων ἐχρῆτο. λέγεται γάρ, ὁπνεύκα ῥυείη πρὸς τὸ τοιοῦτον, τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ ποιεῖν πεντακόσια.

Τὸ μὲν οὖν πλείστον τοῦ χρόνου τούτου περὶ Τοῦσκλον ἐν χωρίοις αὐτοῦ διάγων ἔγραφε πρὸς τοὺς φίλους Δαέρτου βίου ζήν, εἰτε παίξων, ὡς ἐθος εἰχεν, εἰδ’ ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας σπαργῶν πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ ἄδημον τῶν τοῖς καθεστῶσι. 4 σπανίως δ’ εἰς ἀμφί θεραπείας ἐνεκα τοῦ Καίσαρος κατῆκε, καὶ πρῶτος ἦν τῶν συναγορευόντων ταῖς τιμαῖς καὶ λέγειν ἀεὶ τι καίνον εἰς τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὰ πραττόμενα φιλοτιμομένων. οἶνον ἔστι

---

1 In Latin, respectively, visum (conception), assensio (assent), assensionis retentio (withholding of assent), comprehensio (perception), individuum (atom), vacuum (void); “ameres” 184
CICERO, XL. 1–4

XL. After this, when the government had been changed to a monarchy, Cicero abstained from public affairs and devoted his time to those of the young men who wished to study philosophy, and mainly from his intimacy with these, since they were of the highest birth and standing, he was once more very influential in the state. He made it his business also to compose and translate philosophical dialogues, and to render into Latin the several terms of dialectics and natural philosophy; for he it was, as they say, who first, or principally, provided Latin names for "phantasia," "synkatathesis," "epokhe," and "katalepsis," as well as for "atomon," "ameres," "kenon,"¹ and many others like these, contriving partly by metaphors and partly by new and fitting terms to make them intelligible and familiar. His facility in verse-making, too, he employed to divert himself. It is said, indeed, that when he applied himself to such work, he would make five hundred verses in a night.

During this time, then, he lived for the most part at his country-seat in Tusculum, and he used to write to his friends that he was living the life of Laertes,² either jesting, as was his wont, or because his ambition filled him with a desire for public activity and made him dissatisfied with the turn things had taken. He rarely went down to the city, and then only to pay court to Caesar, and he was foremost among those who advocated Caesar’s honours and were eager to be ever saying something new about him and his measures. Of this sort is

(\textit{indivisible}), with its Latin equivalent, does not occur in the extant works of Cicero (Gudeman).

² Cf. \textit{Odyssey}, i. 189 ff.
καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν Πομπηίου λεχθὲν εἰκόνων, ἃς ἀνηρμένας καὶ καταβεβλημένας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκέλευσεν ἀνασταθῆναι καὶ ἀνεστάθησαν. ἔφη γὰρ ὁ Κικέρων ὅτι ταύτη τῇ φίλανθρωπίᾳ Καῖσαρ τοὺς μὲν Πομπηίου ἴστησι, τοὺς δὲ αὐτοῦ πηγνυσὶν ἀνδριαντας.

XLI. Διανοούμενος δ’, ὡς λέγεται, τὴν πάτριον ἱστορίαν γραφῇ περιλαβεῖν καὶ πολλὰ συμμιξιν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ ὅλως τοὺς συνηρμενεύσας λόγους αὐτῶ καὶ μύθους ἑνταῦθα τρέψαι, πολλοῖς μὲν δημοσίοις, πολλοῖς δ’ ἱδίοις κατελήφθη πράγμασιν ἀβουλίτοις καὶ πάθεσιν, ὧν αὐθαίρετα δοκεῖ πλείστα συμβῆναι. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀπεπέμψατο τὴν γυναῖκα Τερεντίαν ἀμεληθείς ὑπ’ αὐτῆς παρὰ τῶν πόλεμον, ὡστε καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐφοδίων ἐνδείξει ἀποσταλῆσαι καὶ μηδ’ ὦτε κατήρεν αὖθις εἰς Ἰταλίαν τυχεῖν εὐγνώμονος. αὐτὴ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἐλθεῖν, ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ διατρήβοντο αὐτοῦ πολύν χρόνον, ἐρχομενῇ δὲ τῇ θυγατρί, παιδίσκη νέα, τοσαύτην ὁδὸν, ὦ πομπὴν πρέπουσαν, οὐ χορηγίαν παρέσχεν, ἄλλα καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τῷ Κικέρωνι πάντων ἐρημοῦν καὶ κενὴν ἀπέδειξεν ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ὀφλήμασι καὶ μεγάλοις.

3 αὐταὶ γὰρ εἰσὶν αἱ λεγόμεναι τῆς διαστάσεως εὐπρεπέσταται προφάσεις. τῇ δὲ Τερεντίᾳ καὶ ταύτας ἀρνουμένη λαμπράν ἐποίησε τὴν ἀπολογίαν αὐτῶς ἐκείνους μετ’ οὐ πολύν χρόνον γῆμας παρθένου, ὡς μὲν ἡ Τερεντία κατεφήμιζεν, ἐρωτῇ τῆς ὀρας, ὡς δὲ Τίρων ὁ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀπελεύθ. 186
what he said about the statues of Pompey. These Caesar ordered to be set up again after they had been thrown down and taken away; and they were set up again. What Cicero said was that by this act of generosity Caesar did indeed set up the statues of Pompey, but firmly planted his own also.

XLI. He purposed, as we are told, to write a comprehensive history of his native country, combining with it many Greek details, and introducing there all the tales and myths which he had collected; but he was prevented by many public affairs which were contrary to his wishes, and by many private troubles, most of which seem to have been of his own choosing. For in the first place he divorced his wife Terentia because he had been neglected by her during the war, so that he set out in lack of the necessary means for his journey, and even when he came back again to Italy did not find her considerate of him. For she did not come to him herself, although he tarried a long time at Brundisium, and when her daughter, a young girl, made the long journey thither, she supplied her with no fitting escort and with no means; nay, she actually stripped and emptied Cicero’s house of all that it contained, besides incurring many large debts. These, indeed, are the most plausible reasons given for the divorce. Terentia, however, denied that these were the reasons, and Cicero himself made her defence a telling one by marrying shortly afterwards a maiden. This he did, as Terentia asserted, out of love for her youthful beauty; but as Tiro, Cicero’s freedman, has written,

1 Tullia was old enough to have lost her first husband and married a second (§ 5).  2 Publilia, of patrician family.
θερος γέγραφεν, εὔπορίας ἐνεκεν πρὸς διάλυσιν 
4 δανείων. ἣν γὰρ ἡ παῖς σφόδρα πλουσία, καὶ 
tὴν οὐσίαν αὐτῆς ὁ Κικέρων ἐν πίστει κληρονόμος 
ἀπολειφθείς διεφύλαττεν. ὁφείλων δὲ πολλὰς 
μυριάδας ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων καὶ οἰκείων ἐπείσθη τὴν 
παῖδα γῆμαι παρ ἥλικιαν καὶ τοὺς δανειστὰς 
ἀπαλλάξας τοὺς ἐκείνης χρησάμενον. Ἀντώνιος 
dὲ τοῦ γάμου μησθεὶς εἰς ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς Φιλιπ-
πικοῦς ἀντιγραφαῖς ἐκβαλεὶν αὐτὸν φησί γυναίκα 
παρ ἧ ἐγίρασες χαριέντως ἀμα τὴν οἰκουριάν ὡς 
ἀπράκτον καὶ ἀστρατεύτων παρασκώπτων τοῦ 
5 Κικέρωνος. γῆμαστὶ δ' αὐτῷ μετ' οὖ πολὺν χρό-
νον ἡ θυγάτηρ ἀπέθανε τίκτουσα παρὰ Δέντλρ 
τούτῳ γὰρ ἐγαμμὴν μετὰ τὴν Πείσωνος τοῦ προ-
tέρου ἀνδρὸς τελευτήν. καὶ συνῆλθον μὲν ἐπὶ 
tὴν παραμυθίαν τῷ Κικέρωνι πανταχόθεν οἱ 
φίλοι. 1 Βαρέως δὲ ἄγαν ἦνεγκε τὸ συμβεβηκός, 
ὡςτε καὶ τὴν γαμηθείσαν ἀποπέμψασθαι δόξαν 
ήσθηναι τῇ τελευτῇ τῆς Τυλλίας.

XLII. Τὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ οἶκον οὕτως εῖχε τῷ 
Κικέρωνι. τῆς δ' ἐπὶ Καίσαρα συνισταμένης 
πράξεως οὐ μετέσχε, καίσερ ὃν ἐταίρος ἐν τοῖς 
μᾶλιστα Βροῦτον καὶ Βαρύνεσθαι τὰ παρόντα 
καὶ τὰ πάλαι ποθεῖν πράγματα δοκῶν ὡς ἐτερῶ 
οὔδεις. ἀλλ' ἔδεισαν οἱ ἄνδρες αὐτοῦ τὴν τε 
φύσιν ὡς ἐνδεῖ τόλμησ, τὸν τε χρόνον, ἐν δὲ 
ταῖς ἐρρωμενεστάταις φύσεις ἐπιλείπει τῷ θαρ-
2 ρείν. ὡς δ' οὖν ἐπέπρακτο τοῖς περὶ Βροῦτον καὶ 
Κάσιον τὸ ἔργον καὶ τῶν Καίσαρος φίλων συνι-
σταμένου ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας αὐτῆς ἤν δέος ἐμφυλίως 
pολέμοις περιπετή γενέσθαι τὴν πόλιν, 'Αντῶ-

1 φιλοί Graux, after Volkmann: φιλόσοφοι.
to get means for the payment of his debts. For the girl was very wealthy, and Cicero had been left her trustee and had charge of her property. So since he owed many tens of thousands he was persuaded by his friends and relatives to marry the girl, old as he was, and to get rid of his creditors by using her money. But Antony, who spoke of the marriage in his replies to Cicero's Philippics, says that he cast out of doors the wife with whom he had grown old, and at the same time makes witty jibes upon the stay-at-home habits of Cicero, who was, he said, unfit for business or military service. Not long after Cicero's marriage his daughter died in child-birth at the house of Lentulus, to whom she had been married after the death of Piso, her former husband. His friends came together from all quarters to comfort Cicero; but his grief at his misfortune was excessive, so that he actually divorced the wife he had wedded, because she was thought to be pleased at the death of Tullia.

XLII. Such, then, were Cicero's domestic affairs. But in the design that was forming against Caesar he took no part, although he was one of the closest companions of Brutus and was thought to be distressed at the present and to long for the old state of affairs more than anybody else. But the conspirators feared his natural disposition as being deficient in daring, and his time of life, in which courage fails the strongest natures. And so, when the deed had been accomplished by the partisans of Brutus and Cassius,¹ and the friends of Caesar were combining against the perpetrators of it, and it was feared that the city would again be plunged into civil

¹ On the Ides of March, 44 B.C.
νιος μὲν ὑπατεύων τὴν βουλήν συνήγαγε καὶ
βραχέα διελέχθη περὶ ὁμονοίας, Κικέρων δὲ πολλὰ
πρὸς τὸν καιρὸν οἰκεῖως διελθὼν ἔπεισε τὴν
σύγκλητον Ἀθηναίους μμησαμένην ἀμυνστίαν
τῶν ἐπὶ Καῖσαρι ψηφίσασθαι, νεῖμαι δὲ τοῖς
3 περὶ Κάσσιον καὶ Βροῦτον ἐπαρχίας. ἔσχε δὲ
τούτων τέλος οὐδέν. ὁ γὰρ δῆμος αὐτὸς μὲν ἂφ'
ἐαυτοῦ πρὸς οἰκτὸν ἐξαχθεῖς ὡς εἰδὲ τὸν νεκρὸν
ἐκκομιζόμενον δι’ ἀγορᾶς, Ἀντωνίου δὲ καὶ τὴν
ἐσθήτα δείξαντο αὐτοῖς αἴματος κατάπλεου καὶ
κεκομμένην πάντη τοῖς ξίφεσιν, ἐκμανέντες ὑπ’
ὀργῆς ἐν ἀγορᾷ ξήτησιν ἐποιοῦντο τῶν ἀνδρῶν,
καὶ πῦρ ἔχοντες ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἔθεον ὡς ὕφα-
ψοντες. οἱ δὲ τούτων μὲν τῷ προπεφυλάχθαι
dιεφυγόν τὸν κίνδυνον, ἔτερος δὲ πολλοὺς καὶ
μεγάλους προσδοκώντες ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν.

XLIII. Εὐθὺς οὖν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπήρτο, καὶ
πᾶσι μὲν ἡν φοβερὸς ὡς μοναρχήσων, τῷ δὲ
Κικέρωνι φοβερῶτατος. ἀναρρωνυμένην τε γὰρ
ἀυτῷ πάλιν ὅρων τὴν δύναμιν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ
cαὶ τοῖς περὶ Βροῦτον ἐπιτήδειοι εἰδὼς ἥχθετο
παρόντι. καὶ ποῦ τι καὶ προὔπηρχεν ὑποψίας
αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατὰ τὴν τῶν βίων ἀνο-
2 μοίστηται καὶ διαφοράν. ταῦτα δέισας ὁ Κικέρων
πρῶτον μὲν ὀρμήσε πρεσβευτὴς Δολοβέλλα
συνεκπλεῦσαι εἰς Συρίαν ἐπεὶ δ’ οἱ μέλλοντες
ὑπατεύων μετ’ Ἀντώνιον, Ἰρτιος καὶ Πάνσας,
ἀνδρεὶς ἁγαθοὶ καὶ ζηλωταί τοῦ Κικέρωνος, ἐδέ-
οντο μὴ σφᾶς καταλιπεῖν, ὑποδεχόμενοι καταλύ-
wars, Antony, as consul, convened the senate and said a few words about concord, while Cicero, after a lengthy speech appropriate to the occasion, persuaded the senate to imitate the Athenians and decree an amnesty for the attack upon Caesar, and to assign provinces to Cassius and Brutus. But none of these things came to pass. For when the people, who of themselves were strongly moved to pity, saw Caesar's body carried through the forum, and when Antony showed them the garments drenched with blood and pierced everywhere with the swords, they went mad with rage and sought for the murderers in the forum, and ran to their houses with fire-brands in order to set them ablaze. For this danger the conspirators were prepared beforehand and so escaped it, but expecting others many and great, they forsook the city.

XLIII. At once, then, Antony was highly elated, and all men were fearful that he would make himself sole ruler, and Cicero most fearful of all. For Antony saw that Cicero's power in the state was reviving, and knew that he was attached to Brutus and his party, and was therefore disturbed at his presence in the city. And besides, they had previously been somewhat suspicious of one another because of the marked difference in their lives. Fearing these things Cicero at first was inclined to sail to Syria with Dolabella, as his legate; but the consuls elect to succeed Antony, Hirtius and Pansa, who were good men and admirers of Cicero, begged him not to desert them, and undertook

1 These declared a general amnesty after the overthrow of the Thirty Tyrants by Thrasybulus in 403 B.C.
2 Cf. Plutarch's Brutus, chapter xx.  
3 In 43 B.C.
σειν Ἀντώνιον ἐκείνου παρόντος, ὅ δ' οὔτ' ἀπιστῶν πανταπασιν οὔτε πιστεύων Δολοβέλλαν μὲν εἴσας χαίρειν, ὁμολογήσας δὲ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰρτιον τὸ θέρος ἐν Ἀθηναίας διάξειν, ὅταν δ' ἐκείνοι παραλάβωσι τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἀφίξεσθαι πάλιν, αὐτὸς 3 καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐξέπλευσε. γενομένης δὲ περὶ τὸν πλοῦν διατριβής, καὶ λόγων ἀπὸ Ρώμης, οἳ φιλεῖ, καὶνῶν προσπεσόντων, μεταβεβληθοῦσι μὲν Ἀντώνιον θαυμαστὴν μεταβολὴν καὶ πάντα πράττειν καὶ πολιτεύεσθαι πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον, ἐνδείν δὲ τῆς ἐκείνου παρουσίας τὰ πράγματα μὴ τὴν ἀρίστην ἔχειν διάθεσιν, καταμεμψάμενος αὐτὸς αὐτοὶ τὴν πολλὴν εὐλάβειαν ἀνέστρεφεν 4 αὐθίς εἰς Ρώμην. καὶ τῶν πρῶτων οὐ δημαρτανευ ἐλπίδων τοσοῦτον πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ χαρᾶς καὶ πόθου πρὸς τὴν ἀπάντησιν ἐξεχύθη, καὶ σχεδὸν ἡμερήσιον ἀνήλωσαν χρόνον αἱ περὶ τὰς πύλας καὶ τὴν εἰσοδον αὐτοῦ δεξιώσεις καὶ φιλοφροσύναι. τῇ δ' ὑπεραῖσ βουλῆν συναγαγόντος Ἀντωνίου καὶ καλοῦντος αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἠλθεν, ἀλλὰ κατέκειτο μαλακῶς ἔχειν ἐκ τοῦ κόπου σκη- 5 πτόμενος. ἐδόκει δὲ τάλανθες ἐπιβουλής εἶναι φόβος ἐκ τινὸς ὕποψίας καὶ μνήσεως καθ' ὅδον αὐτοῦ προσπεσοῦσις. Ἀντώνιος δὲ χαλεπῶς μὲν εἴχεν ἐπὶ τῇ διαβολῇ καὶ στρατιώτας ἐπεμψεν ἄγειν αὐτὸν ἡ καταπρῆσαι τὴν σικίαν κελεύσας, ἐνστάντων δὲ πολλῶν καὶ δεηθέντων ἐνέχυρα 6 λαβὼν μόνον ἐπαύσατο. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὕτως ἀντιπαρεξίοντες ἀτρέμα καὶ φυλαττόμενοι διετέ-
to put down Antony if Cicero would remain at Rome. So Cicero, who neither distrusted nor trusted them altogether, let Dolabella go without him, and after agreeing with Hirtius and Pansa to spend the summer at Athens, and to come back again when they had assumed office, set off by himself. But there was some delay about his voyage, and, as is often the case, new and unexpected reports came from Rome, to the effect that Antony had undergone a wonderful change and was doing and administering everything to please the senate, and that matters needed only Cicero's presence to assume the best possible complexion; he therefore blamed himself for his excessive caution and turned back again to Rome. And in his first expectations he was not disappointed; for a great crowd of people, moved with joy and longing for him, poured forth to meet him, and almost a day's time was consumed in the friendly greetings given him at the gates and as he entered the city. On the following day, however, when Antony convened the senate and invited him to be present, Cicero did not come, but kept his bed, pretending to be indisposed from fatigue. The truth, however, seemed to be that he was afraid of a plot against him, in consequence of some suspicion and of information that had unexpectedly come to him on the road. But Antony was indignant at the implication and sent soldiers with orders to bring Cicero or burn down his house; but since many opposed this course and entreated him to desist, he did so, after merely taking sureties. And thenceforward they kept up this attitude, quietly ignoring one another and mutually on their guard,
λον, ἂριοι Καῖσαρ ὁ νέος ἐξ Ἀπολλωνίας παραγενόμενος τὸν τε κλήρον ἀνεδέξατο τοῦ Καῖσαρος ἐκείνου, καὶ περὶ τῶν δισχιλίων πεντακοσίων μυριάδων ὡς Ἀντώνιος ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας κατείχεν, εἰς διαφορὰν κατέστη πρὸς αὐτὸν.

XLIV. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Φιλίππος ὁ τὴν μιθέρα τοῦ νέου Καῖσαρος ἔχων καὶ Μάρκελλος ὁ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἀφικόμενοι μετὰ τοῦ νεανίσκου πρὸς τὸν Κικέρωνα συνέθεντο, Κικέρωνα μὲν ἐκείνῳ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς πολιτείας δύναμιν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ παρέχειν, ἐκείνου δὲ Κικέρων τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἀσφάλειαν ἦδη γὰρ όλίγους τῶν ὑπὸ Καῖσαρι στρατευσμένων περὶ αὐτῶν εἰχὲ τὸ 2 μειράκιον. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ μεῖζον τις αὐτία γεγο- νεναὶ τοῦ τὸν Κικέρωνα δέξασθαι προθύμως τῇ τὴν Καῖσαρος φιλίαν. ἔτι γὰρ, ὡς ἔοικε, Πομπηίου ξώντος καὶ Καῖσαρος ἔδοξε κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνοὺς ὁ Κικέρων καλεῖν τινα τοὺς τῶν συγκλητικῶν παῖδας εἰς τὸ Καπιτὼλιον, ὡς μέλλουσιν εὖ αὐτῶν ἕνα τοῦ Δίδος ἀποδεικνύει τῆς Ῥώμης 3 ἡγεμόνας τοὺς δὲ πολίτας ὑπὸ σπουδῆς θέουντας ἰστασθαι περὶ τῶν νεὼν, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐν ταῖς περιπορφύροις καθέξεσθαι σωτηρίᾳ ἔχοντας. ἐξαίφνης δὲ τῶν θυρῶν ἀνοιχθεῖσῶν καθ' ἕνα τῶν παῖδων ἀνισταμένων κύκλῳ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν παρα- πορεύεσθαι, τὸν δὲ πάντας ἐπισκοπεῖν καὶ ἀπο- πέμπειν ἀχθομένους. ὡς δ' ὦτος ἢν προσιὼν κατ' αὐτὸν, ἐκτείνα τὴν δεξιάν καὶ εἰπεῖν: "Ὅ Ρωμαιοὶ, πέρας ὑμῖν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων 4 οὖτος ἡγεμῶν γεγομένος." τοιοῦτον φασιν ἐνύ-
until the young Caesar came from Apollonia,\(^1\) assumed the inheritance of the elder Caesar, and engaged in a dispute with Antony concerning the twenty-five million drachmas which Antony was detaining from the estate.\(^2\)

XLIV. After this, Philip, who had married the mother, and Marcellus, who had married the sister of the young Caesar, came with the young man to Cicero and made a compact that Cicero should give Caesar the influence derived from his eloquence and political position, both in the senate and before the people, and that Caesar should give Cicero the security to be derived from his wealth and his armed forces. For already the young man had about him many of the soldiers who had served under the elder Caesar. It was thought, too, that there was a stronger reason why Cicero readily accepted the young man’s friendship. For it would appear that while Pompey and Caesar were still living Cicero dreamed that someone invited the sons of the senators to the Capitol, on the ground that Jupiter was going to appoint one of their number ruler of Rome; and that the citizens eagerly ran and stationed themselves about the temple, while the youths, in their purple-bordered togas, seated themselves there in silence. Suddenly the door of the temple opened, and one by one the youths rose and walked round past the god, who reviewed them all and sent them away sorrowing. But when this young Caesar advanced into his presence the god stretched out his hand and said: “O Romans, ye shall have an end of civil wars when this youth has become your ruler.” By such a dream as

\(^1\) Where he was studying.

\(^2\) Caesar’s widow had made Antony guardian of the estate.
πνιν ίδντα των Κικέρωνα τήν μὲν ίδεαν του ταιδρος εκμεμάχθαι καὶ κατέχειν ἐναργός, αὐτὸν δ᾽ οὐκ ἐπίστασθαι. μεθ᾽ ἤμεραι δὲ καταβαίνοντος εἰς τὸ πεδίον τὸ Ἀρείου αὐτοῦ, τους παῖδας Ἡδη γεγυμνασμένους ἀπέρχεσθαι, κάκεινον ὄφθηναι τῷ Κικέρωνι πρῶτον οἶός ὥφθη καὶ θυνυον, ἐκπλαγέντα δὲ πυνθάνεσθαι τίνων εὖ ἐγνέων. ἦν δὲ πατρὸς Ὀκταουίου τῶν οὐκ ἄγαν ἐπιφανῶν, Ἀττίας δὲ μητρός, ἀδελφιδῆς Καίσαρος. οθέν Καίσαρ αὐτῷ παῖδας οὐκ ἔχων ἰδίους τήν οὐσίαν έαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν οἰκὸν ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις ἐδωκεν. ἐκ τούτου φασὶ τὸν Κικέρωνα τῷ παιδὶ κατὰ τὰς ἀπαντήσεις ἐντυχάνεων ἐπιμελῶς, κάκεινον οἰκείως δέχεσθαι τὰς φιλοφροσύνας καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τύχης αὐτῷ γεγονέαν συμβεβήκει Κικέρωνος ὑπατεύοντος.

XLV. Αὐταὶ μὲν οὖν προφάσεις ἦσαν αἱ λεγόμεναι. 1 τὸ δὲ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον μίσος Κικέρωνα πρῶτον, εἶτα ἡ φύσις ήπτον οὕσα τιμής προσεποίησε Καίσαρι νομίζοντα προσλαμβάνειν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τήν ἐκεῖνον δύναμιν. οὔτω γὰρ ὑπήει τὸ μειράκιον αὐτὸν ὡστε καὶ πατέρα προσαγορεύειν. ἐφ᾽ ω σφόδρα Βρούτος ἀγανακτῶν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς Ἀττικὸν ἐπιστολαῖς καθήγατο τοῦ Κικέρωνος, οτι διὰ φόβον Ἀντωνίου θεραπεύων τὸν Καίσαρα δῆλος ἐστιν οὐκ ἐλευθερίαν τῇ πατρίδι πράττων, ἀλλὰ δεσπότην φιλάνθρωπον αὐτῷ μνώμενος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τὸν γε παῖδα

1 αἱ λεγόμεναι Bekker, after Reiske: λεγόμεναι.
this, they say, Cicero had impressed upon him the appearance of the youth, and retained it distinctly, but did not know him.\footnote{According to Dion Cassius (xliv. 2) and Suetonius (Divus Augustus, 94), Cicero dreamed that Octavius was let down from heaven by a chain of gold, and presented with a whip by Jupiter.} The next day, however, as he was going down to the Campus Martius, the youths, who had just finished exercising there, were coming away, and the youth of his dream was seen by Cicero for the first time, and Cicero, amazed, inquired who his parents were. Now, his father was Octavius, a man of no great prominence, but his mother was Attia, a daughter of Caesar's sister. For this reason Caesar, who had no children of his own, willed his property and his family name to him. After this, it is said, Cicero took pains to converse with the youth when they met, and the youth welcomed his kind attentions; and indeed it happened that he was born during Cicero's consulship.

XLV. These, then, were the reasons that were mentioned; but it was Cicero's hatred for Antony in the first place, and then his natural craving for honour, that attached him to the young Caesar, since he thought to add Caesar's power to his own political influence. And indeed the young man carried his court to him so far as actually to call him father. At this Brutus was very angry, and in his letters to Atticus attacked Cicero, saying that in paying court to Caesar through fear of Antony he was plainly not obtaining liberty for his country, but wooing a kind master for himself.\footnote{Cicero, ad Brutum, i. 17, 5 (Brutus to Atticus).} However, Brutus took up

\footnote{Cicero, ad Brutum, i. 17, 5 (Brutus to Atticus).}
Κικέρωνος ὁ Βροῦτος ἐν Ἀθήναις διατρίβοντα παρὰ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἀναλαβὼν ἔσχεν ἐφ' ἡγεμονία, καὶ πολλὰ χρώμενος αὐτῷ κατώρθουν.  
3 Τοῦ δὲ Κικέρωνος ἀκμὴν ἔσχεν ἡ δύναμις ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε μεγίστην, καὶ κρατῶν ὅσον ἐβούλετο τὸν μὲν Ἀντώνιου ἐξέκρουσε καὶ κατεστασίασε καὶ πολεμήσοντας αὐτῷ τοὺς δύο ὑπάτους, Ἰρτιον καὶ Πάνσαν, ἐξέσπεμψε, Καίσαρι δὲ Ῥαβδούχους καὶ στρατηγικοὺς κόσμου, ὡς δὴ προπολεμοῦντι τῆς πατρίδος, ἐπείσε ψηφίσασθαι τὴν σύγκλητον. ἔπει δ' Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἠττητο, τῶν δ' ὑπάτων ἀμφοτέρων ἀποθανόντων ἐκ τῆς μάχης πρὸς Καίσαρα συνεστησαν αἱ δυνάμεις, δείσασα δ' ἡ Βουλή νέου ἄνδρα καὶ τῦχη λαμπρὰ κεχρημένον ἐπειράτο τιμαῖς καὶ δωρεάῖς ἀποκαλεῖν αὐτοῦ τὰ στρατεύματα καὶ περισπᾶν τὴν δύναμιν, ὡς μὴ δεομένῃ τῶν προπολεμοῦντων  
4 Ἀντωνίου πεφευγότος, οὗτος ὁ Καίσαρ φοβηθεὶς ὑπέπεμπε τῷ Κικέρωνι τοὺς δεομένους καὶ πείθοντας ὑπατείαν μὲν ἀμφοτέροις ὦμοι πράττειν, χρῆσθαι δὲ τοῖς πράγμασιν ὅπως αὐτὸς ἐγνωκε, πυραλαμβάνοντα τὴν ἀρχὴν, καὶ τὸ μειράκιον διοικεῖν ὄνοματος καὶ δόξης γλυχόμενον. ὀμολόγοι δὲ Καίσαρ αὐτὸς ὡς δεδιώς κατάλυσιν καὶ κινδυνεύουν ἔρημος γενέσθαι χρῆσαι τῇ Κικέρωνος ἐν δέοντι φιλαρχίᾳ, προτρηψάμενος αὐτοῦ ὑπατείαν μετιέναι συμπράττοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ συναρχαιρεσιάζοντος.
Cicero's son who was studying philosophy at Athens, gave him a command, and achieved many successes through his instrumentality.¹

Cicero's power in the city reached its greatest height at this time, and since he could do what he pleased, he raised a successful faction against Antony, drove him out of the city, and sent out the two consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, to wage war upon him, while he persuaded the senate to vote Caesar the lictors and insignia of a praetor, on the ground that he was fighting in defence of the country. But after Antony had been defeated,² and, both consuls having died after the battle, the forces had united under Caesar, the senate became afraid of a young man who had enjoyed such brilliant good fortune, and endeavoured by honours and gifts to call his troops away from him and to circumscribe his power, on the ground that there was no need of defensive armies now that Antony had taken to flight. Under these circumstances Caesar took alarm and secretly sent messengers to Cicero begging and urging him to obtain the consulship for them both, but to manage affairs as he himself thought best, after assuming the office, and to direct in all things a youthful colleague who only craved name and fame. And Caesar himself admitted afterwards that it was the fear of having his troops disbanded and the danger of finding himself left alone which led him to make use in an emergency of Cicero's love of power, by inducing him to sue for the consulship with his co-operation and assistance in the canvass.

¹ Cf. the Brutus, xxiv. 2; xxvi. 3.
² Near Mutina, a city in Gallia Cispadana, early in the year 43 B.C. Octavius Caesar acted in conjunction with the two consuls. Cf. Appian, B.C., ii. 71.
XLVI. Ἐνταῦθα μέντοι μάλιστα Κικέρων ἐπαρθεὶς ὑπὸ νέου γέρων καὶ φεναικισθεὶς καὶ συγαρχαιρεσίας καὶ παρασχῶν αὐτῷ τὴν σύγκλητον εὐθὺς μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων αἰτίαν εἶχεν, ὅλγῳ δ’ ὑστερον αὐτὸν ἀπολολεκὼς ἥσθετο καὶ τοῦ δήμου προέμενος τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. ἀυξηθεὶς γὰρ ὁ νεανίας καὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν λαβὼν Κικέρωνα μὲν εἶδασε χαίρειν, 'Αντωνίῳ δὲ καὶ Δεσπίδῳ φίλοις γενόμενος καὶ τὴν δύναμιν εἰς ταύτῳ συνενεγκὼν, ὡσπερ ἄλλο τι κτῆμα, τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐνείματο πρὸς αὐτούς. καὶ κατεγράφησαν ἄνδρες οὓς ἐδει θυνῆσκειν, ὑπὲρ διακοσίους. πλείστην δὲ τῶν ἀμφισβητημάτων αὐτοῖς ἔριν ἡ Κικέρωνος προγραφή παρέσχεν, 'Αντωνίῳ μὲν ἀσυμβάτως ἔχοντος εἰ μὴ πρώτος ἐκεῖνος ἀποθνῄσκοι, Δεσπίδου δ’ 'Αντωνίῳ προστιθημένου, Καίσαρος δὲ πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ἀντέχοντος. ἔγινοντο δ’ αἱ σύνοδοι μόνοις ἀπόρρητοι περὶ πόλιν Βοιωνίαν ἐφ’ ἡμέρας τρεῖς, καὶ συνήσεαν εἰς τόπον τινὰ πρόσω τῶν στρατοπέδων ποταμῷ περιρρεόμενον. λέγεται δὲ τὰς πρώτας ἡμέρας διαγωνισάμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ὁ Καίσαρ ἐνδοῦνα τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ προέσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα. τὰ δὲ τῆς ἀντιδόσεως οὕτως εἶχεν. ἔδει Κικέρωνος ἐκστῆναι Καίσαρα, Παύλου δὲ τάδελφου Δεσπίδου, Λευκίου δὲ Καίσαρος Ἀντώνιου, ὅς ἦν θεῖος αὐτῷ πρὸς μητρός. οὕτως ἔξεπσον ὑπὸ θυμοῦ καὶ λύσεις τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων λογισμῶν, μάλλον δ’ ἀπέδειξαν ὃς οὔδὲν ἀνθρώπων θηρίου ἐστὶν ἀγριώτερον ἐξουσίαν πάθει προσλα-βόντος.

XLVII. Πραπτομένων δὲ τούτων ὁ Κικέρων ἦν μὲν ἐν ἄγροις ἰδίοις περὶ Τοῦσκλον, ἔχων τὸν
XLVI. Here, indeed, more than at any other time, Cicero was led on and cheated, an old man by a young man. He assisted Caesar in his canvass and induced the senate to favour him. For this he was blamed by his friends at the time, and shortly afterwards he perceived that he had ruined himself and betrayed the liberty of the people. For after the young man had waxed strong and obtained the consulship, he gave Cicero the go-by, and after making friends with Antony and Lepidus and uniting his forces with theirs, he divided the sovereignty with them, like any other piece of property. And a list was made out by them of men who must be put to death, more than two hundred in number. The proscription of Cicero, however, caused most strife in their debates, Antony consenting to no terms unless Cicero should be the first man to be put to death, Lepidus siding with Antony, and Caesar holding out against them both. They held secret meetings by themselves near the city of Bononia for three days, coming together in a place at some distance from the camps and surrounded by a river. It is said that for the first two days Caesar kept up his struggle to save Cicero, but yielded on the third and gave him up. The terms of their mutual concessions were as follows. Caesar was to abandon Cicero, Lepidus his brother Paulus, and Antony Lucius Caesar, who was his uncle on the mother's side. So far did anger and fury lead them to renounce their human sentiments, or rather, they showed that no wild beast is more savage than man when his passion is supplemented by power.

XLVII. While this was going on, Cicero was at his own country-seat in Tusculum, having his brother with

1 In August, 43 B.C., when only twenty years of age.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ἀδελφὸν μεθ' αὐτοῦ· πυθόμενοι δὲ τὰς προγραφὰς ἐγνωσαν εἰς Ἀστυρια μεταβήναι, χωρίον παράλιον τοῦ Κικέρωνος, ἐκείθεν δὲ πλεῖν εἰς Μακεδονίαν πρὸς Βρούτον· ἦδη γὰρ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λόγος ἐφοίτα κρατοῦντος. ἐκομίζοντο δ' ἐν φορείοις ἀπειρηκότες ύπὸ λύπης· καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὄδον ἐφιστάμενοι καὶ τὰ φορεῖα παραβάλλοντες ἀλλήλους προσωλο-

2 φύροντο. μᾶλλον δ' ὁ Κοίντος ἦθυμει, καὶ λογισμὸς αὐτὸν εἰσήγη τῆς ἀπορίας· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐφι λαβεὶν οἴκοθεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ Κικέρωνι γλίσχρον ἢν ἐφόδιον· ἀμεινον οὖν εἰναι τὸν μὲν Κικέρωνα προλαμβάνειν τῇ φυγῇ, αὐτὸν δὲ μετα-

3 θείειν οἴκοθεν συσκευασάμενον. ταῦτ' ἐδοξεῖ καὶ περιλαβόντες ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀνακλαυσάμενοι διελύθησαν.

4 'Ο μὲν οὖν Κοίντος οὐ πολλαῖς ὑστερον ἡμέραις ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκετῶν προδοθεῖς τοῖς ζητοῦσιν ἀνηρέθη μετὰ τοῦ παιδός. ὁ δὲ Κικέρων εἰς Ἀστυρα κομισθεὶς καὶ πλοῖον εὐρὼν εὐθὺς ἐνέβη καὶ παρέπλευσεν ἄχρι Κιρκαίου, πνεύματι χρώμενοι. ἐκείθεν δὲ βουλομένων εὐθὺς αἱρεῖν τῶν κυβερ-

νητῶν, εἴτε δείσας τὴν θάλασσαν εἰτ' οὖπω παντάπασι τὴν Καίσαρος ἀπεγνωκὼς πίστιν, ἀπέβη καὶ παρῆλθε πεζῷ στάδιον ἔκατον ὡς εἰς
him; but when they learned of the proscriptions they determined to remove to Astura, a place of Cicero’s on the sea-coast, and from there to sail to Brutus in Macedonia; for already a report was current that he was in force there. So they were carried along in litters, being worn out with grief; and on the way they would halt, and with their litters placed side by side would lament to one another. But Quintus was the more dejected and began to reflect upon his destitute condition; for he said that he had taken nothing from home, nay, Cicero too had scanty provision for the journey; it was better, then, he said, that Cicero should press on in his flight, but that he himself should get what he wanted from home and then hasten after him. This they decided to do, and after embracing one another and weeping aloud, they parted.

So then Quintus, not many days afterwards, was betrayed by his servants to those who were in search of him, and put to death, together with his son. But Cicero was brought to Astura, and finding a vessel there he embarked at once and coasted along as far as Circaeum, with the wind in his favour. From there his pilots wished to set sail at once, but Cicero, whether it was that he feared the sea, or had not yet altogether given up his trust in Caesar, went ashore and travelled along on foot a hundred furlongs in the direction of Rome. But again losing resolution and changing his mind, he went down to the sea at Astura. And there he spent the night in dreadful and desperate calculations; he actually made up his mind to enter Caesar’s house by stealth, to slay himself upon the hearth, and so to fasten upon Caesar an
tīs ἐστίας ἀλάστορα προσβάλειν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτης αὐτοῦ ἀπέκρυσε τῆς ὀδοῦ δέος βασάνων· καὶ πολλὰ ταραχώδη καὶ παλίντροπα βουλεύματα τῆς γνώμης μεταλαμβάνων παρέδωκε τοῖς οἰκέταις ἐαυτοῦ εἰς Καϊήτην ἡ ἔρευνα καὶ καταφυγήν ὥρα θέρους φιλάνθρωπον, ὅταν ἦδιστον οἱ ἐπισίαν καταπνέσωσιν.

5 Ἐχει δ' ὁ τόπος καὶ ναὸν Ὀπολλωνος μικρῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης. ἐντεῦθεν ἄρθεντες ἀδρόοι κόρακες ὑπὸ κλαγῆς προσεβέροντο τῷ πλοῦ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἐπὶ γῆν ἐρεσσομένων, καὶ καθισάντες ἐπὶ τὴν κεραίαν ἐκατέρωθεν οἱ μὲν ἐβόων, οἱ δ' ἐκοπτόν τὰς τῶν μηρυμάτων ἀρχάς, καὶ πᾶσιν ἔδοκει τὸ σημεῖον εἶναι πονηρόν. ἀπέβη δ' οὖν ὁ Κικέρων, καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν ἐπαυλίν

6 ὡς ἀναπαυσόμενος κατεκλίθη. τῶν δὲ κοράκων οἱ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς θυρίδος διεκάθημενοι φθαγγόμενοι θορυβῶδες, εἰς δὲ καταβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ κλινίδιον ἐγκεκαλυμμένου τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀπῆγε τῷ στόματι κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου τὸ ἱμάτιον. οἱ δ' οἰκέται ταῦτ' ὀρώντες, καὶ κακίσαντες ἐαυτοὺς εἰ περιμένουσι τοῦ δεσπότου φονευομένου θεαταὶ γενέσθαι, θηρία δ' αὐτῷ βοηθεῖ καὶ προκῆδεται παρ' ἄξιαν πράπτοντος, αὐτοὶ δ' οὐκ ἀμύνοισι, τὰ μὲν δεόμενοι, τὰ δὲ βία λαβόντες ἐκόμιζον ἐν τῷ φορείῳ πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν.

XLVIII. Ἐν τούτῳ δ' οἱ σφαγεῖς ἐπήλθον, ἑκατοντάρχης Ἕρεμυς καὶ Ποπίλλιος χιλίαρχος,

1 πολλὰ Graux, after Coraës: τάλλα.
2 Καϊήτη, Coraës and Bekker, after Wyttenbach; Καϊήτας Sintenis (in notes), and Graux; Καϊήτας MSS.

204
avenging daemon. But a fear of tortures drove him from this course also; then, revolving in his mind many confused and contradictory purposes, he put himself in the hands of his servants to be taken by sea to Caieta, where he had lands and an agreeable retreat in summer time, when the breath of the Etesian winds is most pleasant.

The place has also a temple of Apollo, a little above the sea. From thence a flock of crows flew with loud clamour towards the vessel of Cicero as it was rowed towards land; and alighting on either end of the sail-yard, some cawed, and others pecked at the ends of the ropes, and everybody thought that the omen was bad. Nevertheless Cicero landed, and going to his villa lay down to rest. Then most of the crows perched themselves about the window, cawing tumultuously, but one of them flew down upon the couch where Cicero lay with muffled head, and with its beak, little by little, tried to remove the garment from his face. The servants, on seeing this, rebuked themselves for waiting to be spectators of their master's murder, while wild beasts came to his help and cared for him in his undeserved misfortune, but they themselves did nothing in his defence. So partly by entreaty, and partly by force, they took him and carried him in his litter towards the sea.

XLVIII. But meantime his assassins came to the villa, Herennius a centurion, and Popillius a tribune,
ο πατροκτονίας ποτὲ δίκην φεύγοντι συνείπεν ὁ 
Κικέρων, ἔχοντες ὑπηρέτας. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰς θύρας
κεκλεισμένας εὑρόντες ἐξέκοψαν, οὐ φανομένου
tοῦ Κικέρωνος οὐδὲ τῶν ἐνδού εἰδέναι φασκόντων,
λέγεται νεανίσκον τινὰ τεθραμμένον μὲν ύπὸ τοῦ
Κικέρωνος ἐν γράμμασιν ἐλευθερίας καὶ μαθή-
μασιν, ἀπελεύθερον δὲ Κοίντου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ,
Φιλόλογον τούμομα, φράσαι τῷ χιλιάρχῳ τὸ
φορεῖον κομιζόμενον διὰ τῶν καταφύτων καὶ
συσκίων περιπάτων ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν. ὁ μὲν
οὖν χιλιάρχος ὁλόγους ἀναλαβὼν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ
περιέθει πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον, τοῦ δ' Ἐρεννίου δρόμῳ
φερομένου διὰ τῶν περιπάτων ὁ Κικέρων ἦσθετο,
cαὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας ἐκέλευσεν ἐνταῦθα καταθέσθαι
τὸ φορεῖον. αὐτὸς δ' ὡσπερ εἰώθη, τῇ ἀριστερᾷ
χειρὶ τῶν γενείων ἀπτόμενος ἄτενὲς ἐνεώρα τοῖς
σφαγεύσιν, αὐχμοῦ καὶ κόμης ἀνάπλεως καὶ
συντετηκὼς ύπὸ φροντίδων τὸ πρόσωπον, ὡστε
tοὺς πλείστους ἐγκαλύψασθαι τοῦ Ἐρεννίου
σφάζοντος αὐτόν. ἔσφαγη δὲ τὸν τράχηλον ἐκ
τοῦ φορεῖου προτείνας, ἔτος ἐκεῖνο γεγονὼς ἐξη-
kοστὸν καὶ τέταρτον. τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν ἀπέκοψεν
αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς χειρὰς, 'Ἀντωνίου κελεύσαντος,
αἰς τοὺς Φιλιππικοὺς ἔγραψεν. αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ὁ
Κικέρων τοὺς κατ' 'Αντωνίου λόγους Φιλιππικοὺς
ἐπέγραψε καὶ μέχρι νῦν τὰ βιβλία Φιλιππικοῖ
καλοῦνται.

XLIX. Τῶν δ' ἀκρωτηρίων εἰς 'Ρώμην κομι-
σθέντων ἐτύχε καὶ ἀρχαιοειδεῖς τελών ὁ 'Ἀντώ-
νιος, ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ ἰδὼν ἀνεβόησεν ὡς νῦν αἰ
προγραφαὶ τέλος ἔχοιεν. τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν καὶ
tὰς χειρὰς ἐκέλευσεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμβόλων ἐπὶ τοῦ
206
who had once been prosecuted for parricide and defended by Cicero; and they had helpers. After they had broken in the door, which they found closed, Cicero was not to be seen, and the inmates said they knew not where he was. Then, we are told, a youth who had been liberally educated by Cicero, and who was a freedman of Cicero's brother Quintus, Philologus by name, told the tribune that the litter was being carried through the wooded and shady walks towards the sea. The tribune, accordingly, taking a few helpers with him, ran round towards the exit, but Herennius hastened on the run through the walks, and Cicero, perceiving him, ordered the servants to set the litter down where they were. Then he himself, clasping his chin with his left hand, as was his wont, looked steadfastly at his slayers, his head all squalid and unkempt, and his face wasted with anxiety, so that most of those that stood by covered their faces while Herennius was slaying him. For he stretched his neck forth from the litter and was slain, being then in his sixty-fourth year.  

Herennius cut off his head, by Antony's command, and his hands—the hands with which he wrote the Philippics. For Cicero himself entitled his speeches against Antony "Philippics," and to this day the documents are called Philippics.

XLIX. When Cicero's extremities were brought to Rome, it chanced that Antony was conducting an election, but when he heard of their arrival and saw them, he cried out, "Now let our proscriptions have an end." Then he ordered the head and hands to be placed over the ships' beaks on the

---

1 Cicero was murdered on the seventh of December, 43 B.C.
βήματος θείναι, θέαμα Ρωμαίοις φρικτόν, οὐ τὸ Κικέρωνος ὄραν πρόσωπων οἰομένοις, ἀλλὰ τῆς
2 Ἀντωνίου ψυχής εἰκόνα. πλὴν ἐν ἑν τῷ φρονή-
σας μέτριον ἐν τούτοις Πομπωνία τῇ Κοίντου
γυναικὶ τὸν Φιλόλογον παρέδωκεν. ἥ δὲ κυρία
γενομένη τοῦ σώματος ἄλλας τε δειναὶς ἔχρῆσατο
τιμωρίας, καὶ τὰς σάρκας ἀποτέμνοντα τὰς αὐτοῦ
κατὰ μικρὸν ὀπτάν, εἴτ' ἐσθίειν ἴνα γκασεν. οὔτω
γὰρ ἔνιοι τῶν συγγραφέων ἱστορήκασιν ὁ δ' ἀυτοῦ
τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀπελεύθερος Τίρων τὸ
παράπαν οὐδὲ μέμνηται τῆς τοῦ Φιλολόγου
προσώπιας.
3 Πυθάνομαι δὲ Καίσαρα χρόνοις πολλοῖς ύστε-
ρον εἰσελθεῖν πρὸς ἕνα τῶν θυγατριδῶν τοῦ δὲ
βιβλίου ἐχοντα Κικέρωνος ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἐκ-
πλαγέντα τῷ ἰματίῳ περικαλύπτειν ἵδοντα δὲ
Καίσαρα λαβεῖν καὶ διελθεῖν ἑστῶτα μέρος πολὺ
tοῦ βιβλίου, πάλιν δ' ἀποδιόντα τῷ μειρακίῳ
φάναι "Δόγιος ἀνήρ, ο πάι, λόγιος καὶ φιλό-
πατρις." ἐπεὶ μέντοι τάχιστα κατεπολέμησεν
Αντώνιον ὑπατεύων αὐτὸς εἰλετο συνάρχοντα
tοῦ Κικέρωνος τῶν νῦν, ἐφ' ὅτι τὰς τ' εἰκόνας ἡ
βουλὴ καθεῖλεν Ἀντωνίου καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἥκυρωσε
τιμᾶς καὶ προσεψηφίσατο μηδενὶ τῶν Ἀντωνίων
ὄνομα Μάρκον εἶναι. οὔτω τὸ δαίμονιον εἰς τὸν
Κικέρωνος οίκον ἐπανήγευκε τὸ τέλος τῆς Ἀντω-
νίου κολάσεως.

208
rostra, a sight that made the Romans shudder; for they thought they saw there, not the face of Cicero, but an image of the soul of Antony. However, he showed at least one sentiment of fair dealing in the case when he handed over Philologus to Pomponia, the wife of Quintus. And she, having got the man into her power, besides other dreadful punishments which she inflicted upon him, forced him to cut off his own flesh bit by bit and roast it, and then to eat it. This, indeed, is what some of the historians say; but Cicero's own freedman, Tiro, makes no mention at all of the treachery of Philologus.

I learn that Caesar, a long time after this, paid a visit to one of his daughter's sons; and the boy, since he had in his hands a book of Cicero's, was terrified and sought to hide it in his gown; but Caesar saw it, and took the book, and read a great part of it as he stood, and then gave it back to the youth, saying: "A learned man, my child, a learned man and a lover of his country." Moreover, as soon as he had finally defeated Antony,1 and when he was himself consul, he chose Cicero's son as his colleague in the office, and it was in his consulship that the senate took down the statues of Antony, made void the other honours that had been paid him, and decreed besides that no Antony should have the name of Marcus. Thus the heavenly powers devolved upon the family of Cicero the final steps in the punishment of Antony.

1 At Alexandria, in 30 B.C. (see the Antony, lxxxi. 1 f.).
ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΙΚΕΡΩΝΟΣ
ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

I. Ἄ μὲν οὖν ἄξια μνήμης τῶν περὶ Δημοσθένους καὶ Κικέρωνος ἱστορομένων εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀφίκται γνώσιν, ταύτ' ἐστίν. ἀφεικὼς δὲ τὸ συγκρίνειν τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἐξιν αὐτῶν, ἐκεῖνό μοι δοκῶ μὴ παρήσεων ἄρρητον, ὅτι Δημοσθένης μὲν εἰς τὸ ῥητορικὸν ἐνέτεινε πᾶν ὅσον εἶχεν ἐκ φύσεως ἢ ἀσκήσεως λόγιον, ὑπερβαλλόμενος ἐναργεία μὲν καὶ δεινότητι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγώνων καὶ τῶν δικῶν συνεξεταξομένους, ὁγκω δὲ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεία τοὺς ἐπίδεικτικοὺς, ἀκρι-
2 βεία δὲ καὶ τέχνη τοὺς σοφιστάς. Κικέρων δὲ καὶ πολυμαθὴς καὶ ποικίλος τῇ περὶ τοὺς λόγους σπουδὴ γενόμενος συντάξεις μὲν ἰδίας φιλοσοφοὺς ἀπολέομεν συν ὅλας εἰς τὸν Ἀκαδημαϊκὸν τρόπον, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τῶν πρὸς τὰς δίκας καὶ τοὺς ἀγώνας γραφομένους λόγων δήλος ἐστιν ἐμπειρίαν τὶνα γραμμάτων παρεπι-
3 δεικνυσθαι βουλόμενος.

3 Ἐστι δὲ τις καὶ τοῦ ἥθους ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἐκατέρων δύος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Δημοσθενικὸς ἐξω παντὸς ὥραίσμοι καὶ παϊδιᾶς εἰς δεινότητα καὶ σπουδὴν συνηγμένος συν ἐλλυχυνῶν ὁδώδεν, ὡσ-
pερ ο Πυθέας ἐσκιστεὶν, ἀλλ' ὑδροποσίας καὶ φροντίδων καὶ τῆς λεγομένης πικρίας τοῦ τρόπου καὶ στυγνότητος, Κικέρων δὲ πολλαχοῦ τῷ
COMPARISON OF DEMOSTHENES AND CICERO

I. These, then, are the memorable incidents in the recorded careers of Demosthenes and Cicero which have come to our knowledge. And though I have renounced the comparison of their oratorical styles,¹ yet this, I think, ought not to be left unsaid, namely, that Demosthenes devoted to the rhetorical art all the powers of speech which he possessed by nature or acquired by practice, surpassing in force and effectiveness his rivals in forensic and judicial pleading, in pomp and majesty of utterance the professional declaimers, and in precision and skill the sophists; Cicero, on the other hand, became widely learned and had a variety of interest in the pursuit of letters, and left behind him not a few philosophical treatises of his own conforming to the fashion of the Academy; indeed, even in the speeches which he wrote for the forum and the courts he clearly desires to display by the way a considerable acquaintance with letters.

It is possible, too, to get a glimpse of the character of each in his style of speaking. For that of Demosthenes, which had no prettiness or pleasantry, and was condensed with a view to power and earnestness, did not smell of lamp-wicks, as Pytheas scoffingly said,² but of water-drinking and anxious thought, and of what men called the bitterness and sullenness of his disposition; whereas Cicero was often carried away by his love of jesting

¹ See the Demosthenes, iii. 1.
² Cf. the Demosthenes, viii. 3.
σκωττικῷ πρὸς τὸ βωμολόχον ἐκφερόμενος καὶ πράγματα σπουδῆς ἁξία γέλωτι καὶ παιδιὰ κατεργασεμένος ἐν ταῖς δίκαιαις εἰς τὸ χρειῶδες ἤφειδε τοῦ πρέποντος, ὡσπερ ἐν τῇ Καιλίου¹ συνηγορία μηδὲν ἄτοπον ποιεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν τοσαύτῃ τρυφῇ καὶ πολυτελείᾳ ταῖς ἱδοναῖς χρώμενον· τὸ γάρ ὥν ἔξεστι μὴ μετέχειν, μανικὸν εἶναι, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν ἱδονῇ τὸ εὐδαιμον τῶν ἑπιφανεστάτων
5 φιλοσόφων τιθεμένων. λέγεται δὲ Κάτωνος Μουρίμαν διώκοντος υπατεύων ἀπολογείθαι καὶ πολλαὶ διὰ τὸν Κάτωνα κωμῳδεῖν τὴν Στωίκην αἰρεσιν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἄτοπίαις τῶν παραδόξων λεγομένων δογμάτων γέλωτος δὲ λαμπρῶν κατώντως ἐκ τῶν περιεστῶτων πρὸς τοὺς δικαστάς, ἱσυχῇ διαμειδίσας ὁ Κάτων πρὸς τοὺς καθημένους εἶπειν ᵃ· ὅσ γελοῖον, ὃ ἀνδρεῖς, ἔχομεν ὑπατον."
6 δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ γέλωτος οἰκεῖος ὁ Κικέρων γεγονέναι καὶ φιλοσκόπτης, τὸ τε πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ μειδίαμα καὶ γαλήνην παρείχε. τὸ δὲ Δημοσθένους ἀεὶ τις ἐπὶ τῆς σπουδῆς, καὶ τὸ πεφροντικός τοῦτο καὶ σύννοιν οὐ βαδίως ἀπέλευτεν ² ὅθεν καὶ δύσκολον αὐτὸν οἱ ἑχθροὶ καὶ δύστροπουν, ὡς αὐτὸς φησιν, ἀπεκάλουν.

Π. Ἐτι τούνων ἐν τοῖς συγγράμμασι κατιδεῖν 88 ἔστι τὸν μὲν ἔμμελῶς καὶ ἀνεπάχθως τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀπτόμενον ἐγκωμίων, ὅτε τούτοι δεῖσι πρὸς ἐτερόν τι μείζον, τάλλα δὲ εὐλαβῆ καὶ μετριον. ἢ δὲ Κικέρωνος ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀμετρίᾳ τῆς

¹ Καιλίου Coraës, Bekker, and Graux, after Wytenbach: Κέκιλίου.
² ἀπέλευτεν with Graux and Bekker, after Coraës: ἀπέλευτεν.
into scurrility, and when, to gain his ends in his cases, he treated matters worthy of serious attention with ironical mirth and pleasantry, he was careless of propriety. Thus, in his defence of Caelius, he said that his client, surrounded as he was by great luxury and extravagance, did nothing out of the way when indulging in pleasures; for not to enjoy what is in one’s possession was madness, he said, particularly when the most eminent philosophers assert that true happiness consists in pleasure. And we are told that when Cato prosecuted Murena, Cicero, who was then consul, defended him, and because of Cato’s beliefs made much fun of the Stoic sect, in view of the absurdities of their so-called paradoxes; and when loud laughter spread from the audience to the jurors, Cato, with a quiet smile, said to those who sat by: “What a funny man we have, my friends, for consul!” And it would seem that Cicero was naturally prone to laughter and fond of jesting; his face, too, was smiling and peaceful. But in that of Demosthenes there was always a certain intense seriousness, and this look of thoughtfulness and anxiety he did not easily lay aside. For this reason his enemies, as he himself says, called him morose and ill-mannered.

II. Still further, then, in their writings it is possible to see that the one touches upon his own praises cautiously and so as not to give offence, when there was need of this for some weightier end, while on other occasions he is careful and moderate; whereas Cicero’s immoderate boasting of

1 Cf. Cicero, pro Caelio, 12, 28; but Plutarch’s interpretation does Cicero great injustice. Cf. 17, 39 f.
2 Cf. pro Murena, 29–31. 3 In Phil. ii. 30.
Plutarch's Lives

περιαντολογίας ἀκρασίαν τινά κατηγόρει πρὸς δόξαν, βοῶντος ως τὰ ὄπλα ἐδεί τῇ τηβέννῳ καὶ τῇ γλώττῃ τὴν θριαμβικὴν ὑπελείκειν δάφνην. τελευτῶν δὲ οὐ τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὰς πράξεις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἐπαινεῖ τοὺς εἰρημένους ὧφ' αὐτοῦ καὶ γεγραμμένους, ὥσπερ Ἰσοκράτει καὶ Ἀναξιμένει τοὺς σοφισταῖς διαμειρακιευόμενος, οὐ τὸν Ῥωμαίον δήμον ἂγειν ἂξιῶν καὶ ὁρθῶν,

βριθὺν, ὀπλιτοπάλαν, δαίον ἀντιπάλοις.

3 ἵσχύει μὲν γὰρ διὰ λόγου τὸν πολιτευόμενον ἀναγκαῖον, ἀγαπᾶν δ' ἂγεννές καὶ λιχυέειν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου δόξαν. οἴθεν ἐμβριθέστερος ταύτῃ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστεροςὁ Δημοσθένης, τὴν μὲν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν ἐμπειρίαν τινὰ πολλής δεομένην τῆς παρὰ τῶν ἀκρωμένων εὐνοίας ἀποφαινόμενος, ἀνελευθέρους δὲ καὶ βανάύσους, ὥσπερ εἰσί, τοὺς ἐπὶ τούτῳ φυσωμένους ἡγούμενος.

III. Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ δημηγορεῖν καὶ πολιτεύεσθαι δύναμις ὀμαλῶς ἀμφότερος ὑπηρέτειν, ὡστε καὶ τοὺς τῶν ὀπλων καὶ στρατοπέδων κυρίους δεῖσθαι, Δημοσθένους μὲν Χάρητα καὶ Διοπείδην καὶ Λεωσθένην, Κικέρωνος δὲ Πομπηίου καὶ Καίσαρα τὸν νέον, ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ Καίσαρ εὖ τοῖς πρὸς Ἀγρίππαν καὶ Μαικήναν ὑπομνήμασιν εὑρήκειν.

1 ὧφ' αὐτοῦ Graux with Mᵃ: ὧφ' αὐτοῦ.
2 μεγαλοπρεπέστερος with Bekker, after Stephanus: μεγαλοπρεπέστατος.

214
himself in his speeches proves that he had an intemperate desire for fame, his cry being that arms must give place to the toga and the laurel of triumph to the tongue. And at last he praises not only his deeds and actions, but also his speeches, both those which he delivered himself and those which he committed to writing, as if he were impetuously vying with Isocrates and Anaximenes the sophists, instead of claiming the right to lead and instruct the Roman people,

"Steadfast, in heavy armour clad, destructive to foes." 

It is necessary, indeed, that a political leader should prevail by reason of his eloquence, but ignoble for him to admire and crave the fame that springs from his eloquence. Wherefore in this regard Demosthenes is more stately and magnificent, since he declares that his ability in speaking was a mere matter of experience, depending greatly upon the goodwill of his hearers, and considers illiberal and vulgar, as they are, those who are puffed up at such success.

III. It is true that in haranguing and guiding the people both had equal power, so that even those who controlled armies and camps had need of their services; Chares, Diopeithes, and Leosthenes needed Demosthenes, and Pompey and the young Caesar needed Cicero, as Caesar himself says in his Memoirs addressed to Agrippa and Maecenas.

1 Cedant arma togae, concedat laurea laudi (in Pisonem, 29, 72 ff.).
3 Cf. On the Crown, 277.
2 δὲ δοκεῖ μαλίστα καὶ λέγεται τρόπον ἁνδρὸς ἐπιδεικνύναι καὶ βασανίζειν, ἐξουσία καὶ ἀρχὴ πᾶν πάθος κινοῦσα καὶ πᾶσαν ἀποκαλύπτουσα κακίαν, Δημοσθένει μὲν οὐχ ὑπῆρξεν, οὐδὲ ἐδώκε τοιαύτην διάπειραν ἑαυτοῦ, μηδεμίαν ἀρχὴν τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀρξας, ὥς οὐδὲ τῆς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ συντεταγμένης ἐπί Φίλιππον ἐστρατήγησε δυνάμεως.

3 Κικέρων δὲ ταμίας εἰς Σικελίαν καὶ ἄνθυπατος εἰς Κιλικίαν καὶ Καππαδοκίαν ἀποσταλεῖς, ἐν ὃ καἱρῷ τῆς φιλοπλουτίας ἀκμαζούσης, καὶ τῶν πεμπομένων στρατηγῶν καὶ ἡγεμόνων, ὡς τοὺς κλέπτειν ἄγεννοὺς οὕνες, ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρτάζειν τρεπομένων, οὕ τὸ λαμβάνειν ἐδόκει δεινῶν, ἀλλ’ ὁ μετρίως τοῦτο ποιῶν ἡγατάτο, πολλὴν μὲν ἐπὶ δειξεὶν ὑπεροψίας χρημάτων ἐποιήσατο, πολλὴν δὲ φιλανθρωπίας καὶ χρηστότητος. ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ Ῥώμῃ λόγῳ μὲν ἀποδειχθεῖς ὑπατος, ἐξουσίαν δὲ λαβὼν αὐτοκράτορος καὶ δικτάτορος ἐπὶ τοὺς περὶ Κατιλίναν, ἐμαρτύρησεν ἀμα τῷ Πλάτωνι μαντευομένῳ παθλαν ἐξειν κακῶν τὰς πόλεις, ὅταν εἰς ταὐτὸ δύναμὶς τε μεγάλη καὶ φρόνησις ἐκ τινος τύχης χρηστῆς ἀπαντήσῃ μετα δικαιοσύνης.

4 Χρηματίσασθαι τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου Δημοσθένης μὲν ἐπιψόγωσ πάγεται, λογογραφῶν κρύφα τοῖς περὶ Φορμίωνα καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρον ἀντιδίκοις, καὶ διαβληθεῖς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς βασιλικοῖς χρήμασιν, ὁφλῶν δὲ τῶν Ἀρπάλεων. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς γράφοντας (οὐκ ὀλίγοι δ’ εἰσὶν οὕτωι) ψεύδεσθαι

216
But what is thought and said most of all to reveal and test the character of a man, namely power and authority, which rouses every passion and uncovers every baseness, this Demosthenes did not have, nor did he give any such proof of himself, since he held no conspicuous office, nor did he even command the force which was raised by him against Philip; whereas Cicero was sent out as quaestor to Sicily, and as pro-consul to Cilicia and Cappadocia, at a time when the love of wealth was at its greatest height, and when those who were sent out as praetors and governors, feeling that theft was an ignoble thing, resorted to open plundering, so that the taking of property was not thought heinous, but he who did this in moderation was held in high esteem; and yet Cicero gave many proofs of his contempt for wealth, and many of his humanity and goodness. And when in Rome itself he was appointed consul in name, but really received the power of a dictator and sole ruler against Catiline and his conspirators, he bore witness to the truth of Plato’s prophecy\(^1\) that states would then have respite from evil, when in one and the same person, by some happy fortune, great power and wisdom should be conjoined with justice.

Moreover, it is said to the reproach of Demosthenes that he made money by his eloquence, since he secretly wrote speeches for Phormio and Apollodorus, who were adversaries in the same case, and since he was accused in the matter of the Great King’s money, and condemned for taking that of Harpalus. And if we should say that those who write these things (and these writers are not few)

\(^1\) *Republic*, p. 473 d.
6 φαίημεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι γε πρὸς δωρεὰς βασιλέων σὺν χάριτι καὶ τιμῇ διδομένας ἀντιβλέψαι Δημοσθένης οὐκ ἂν ἐτόλμησεν, οὐδ' ἂν τούτῳ ἔργον ἀνθρώπου δανείζοντος ἐπὶ ναυτικοῖς, ἀμιχανον ἀντειπεῖν' περὶ δὲ Κικέρωνος, ᾧ τι καὶ Σικελιωτῶν ἀγορανομοῦντι καὶ βασιλέως τοῦ Καππαδοκῶν ἀνθυπατεύντι καὶ τῶν ἐν 'Ῥώμη φίλων, ὃτ' ἐξεπιπτεῖ τῆς πόλεως, δωρουμένων πολλὰ καὶ δεομένων λαβεῖν ἀντέσχειν, εἰρηται.

IV. Καὶ μὴν ἦ γε φυγῇ τῷ μὲν αἰσχρᾷ κλοπῆς ἀλῶντι συνέπεσε, τῷ δὲ κάλλιστον ἔργον ἀνθρώπους ἀληθρίους ἐκκόψαντι τῆς πατρίδος. διὸ τοῦ μὲν οὗδεις λόγως ἐκπίπτοντος, ἐφ' ὡς ἐστὶν σύγκλητος ἐσθήτα τε διήλλαξε καὶ πένθος ἔσχε καὶ γνώμην ὑπὲρ οὗδενος εἰπεῖν ἐπείσθη πρό-2 τερον ἦ Κικέρωνι κάθοδον ψηφίσασθαι. τῇν μέντοι φυγῆν ἄργῳς ὁ Κικέρων διήνεγκεν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ καθήμενοι, τῷ δὲ Δημοσθένει καὶ ἤ φυγῆ μέγα μέρος τῆς πολιτείας γέγονε. συναγωνίζομενος γὰρ, ὡσπερ εἰρηται, τοῖς' Ἑλλησὶ καὶ τοῖς Μακεδόνων πρέσβεισ ἐξελαύνων ἐπηρχέτο τὰς πόλεις, πολὺ βελτίων Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδου παρὰ τὰς αὐτὰς τυχαὶ φανεῖς πολιτῆς· καὶ μέντοι κατελθῶν αὐθίς ἐαυτὸν ἐπέδωκεν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ταῦτην πολιτείαν, καὶ διετέλει πο-3 λέμων πρὸς 'Αντίπατρον καὶ Μακεδόνας. Κικέρωνα δ' ὀνείδισεν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ Λαίλιος αὐτουμένου

1 τούτο ἔργον Bekker and Graux, after Reiske: τούτο τά ἔργον.
tell what is untrue, still, at least, that Demosthenes could not bring himself to look with indifference upon gifts which kings offered as marks of honour and favour, and that this was not to be expected of a man who lent money on bottomry, it is impossible to deny; whereas, in the case of Cicero, that the Sicilians when he was quaestor, and the king of Cappadocia when he was pro-consul, and his friends in Rome when he was going into exile, offered him large sums and begged him to take them, only to meet with his refusal, has been said.

IV. And surely in the matter of banishment, at least, for the one it was disgraceful, since he had been convicted of theft; but for the other it was a most honourable result, since he had rid his country of baleful men. Therefore no account was made of the one when he went into exile; but for the other the senate changed its garb and put on mourning and could not be induced to discuss any business until Cicero's return had been decreed. However, Cicero spent his exile idly, remaining quietly in Macedonia; but the exile of Demosthenes proved to be a great part of his service to the state. For he took part in the struggles of the Greeks, as has been said, and drove out the Macedonian envoys in the various cities which he visited, and so showed himself to be a far better citizen than Themistocles or Alcibiades when they were having the same fortune; and furthermore, when he returned from exile, he again devoted himself to this same public service, and steadfastly continued waging war upon Antipater and the Macedonians. Cicero, on the contrary, was reproached in the senate by Laelius for sitting silent
Καίσαρος ὑπατείαν μετιέναι παρὰ νόμον, οὕτω γενειώντος, σιωπή καθήμενον. ἔγραφε δὲ καὶ Βροῦτος ἐγκαλῶν ὡς μείζονα καὶ βαρυτέραν πεπαιδοτριβήκοτι τυραννίδα τῆς ύφ' αὐτοῦ καταλυθείσης.

V. Ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τῆς τελευτῆς τὸν μὲν οἰκτείραι τις ἂν, ἀνδρὰ πρεσβύτην δὲ ἀγέννειαν ὑπὸ οἰκετῶν ἄνω καὶ κάτω περιφερόμενον καὶ περιφεύ-γουτα τὸν θάνατον καὶ ἀπεκρυπτόμενον τοὺς οὐ πολὺ πρὸ τῆς φύσεως ἤκουτας ἐπ' αὐτὸν, εἰτ' ἀποσφαγέντα· τοῦ δ', εἰ καὶ μικρὰ πρὸς τὴν οἰκτείαν ἐνέδωκεν, ἀγαστὴ μὲν ἡ παρασκευὴ τοῦ φαρμάκου καὶ τήρησις, ἀγαστὴ δ' ἡ χρῆσις, ὦτι τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ παρασχόντος αὐτῷ τὴν ἁσυλίαν, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ μείζονα βωμὸν καταφυγὼν, ἐκ τῶν ὄπλων καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων λαβὼν ἑαυτὸν ὀχετο, τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου καταγελάσας ὀμότητος.
when Caesar asked leave to stand for the consulship, which was contrary to law, since he was still a beardless youth. And Brutus also, in one of his letters, accused him of having reared up a tyranny greater and more severe than that which the writer himself had overthrown.¹

V. And after all, the one is to be pitied for the manner of his death—an old man ignobly carried up and down by servants, trying to escape death, hiding himself from those who were coming after him not much in advance of nature's final summons, and then beheaded; whereas in that of the other, even though it had a slight touch of supplication, we must admire the preparation of the poison and its place of custody, must admire, too, the use he made of it, because, since the god would not afford him asylum, he took refuge at a greater altar, as it were, made his escape from arms and mercenaries, and laughed to scorn the cruelty of Antipater.

¹ Cicero, ad Brutum, i. 17, 2 (Brutus to Atticus).
ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ

Ι. Τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τοῦ βασιλέως βίον καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ύψι ποτὲ κατελύθη Πομπήιος, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ βιβλίῳ γράφοντες, διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὑποκειμένων πράξεων οὔδεν ἀλλὰ προεροῦμεν ἢ παρατησόμεθα τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας, ἐὰν μὴ πάντα μηδὲ καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἐξειργασμένως τὸ τῶν περιβοητῶν ἀπαγγέλλωμεν, ἀλλὰ ἐπιτέμνοντες 2 τὰ πλείστα, μὴ συκοφαντεῖν. οὔτε γὰρ ἱστορίας γράφομεν, ἀλλὰ βίους, οὔτε ταῖς ἐπιφανεστάταις πράξεσι πάντως ἐνεστὶ δήλωσις ἀρετῆς ἢ κακίας, ἀλλὰ πρᾶγμα βραχὺ πολλάκις καὶ ῥήμα καὶ παιδία τις ἐμφασιν ἠθοὺς ἐποίησε μᾶλλον ἢ μᾶχαι μυριόνεκροι καὶ παρατάξεις αἱ μέγισται 3 καὶ πολιορκίαι πόλεων. ὅσπερ οὖν οἱ ξωγράφοι τὰς ὁμοιότητας ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν ὄψιν εἰδών, οἷς ἐμφαίνεται τὸ ἱθος, ἀναλαμβάνοντας, ἐλάχιστα τῶν λοιπῶν μερῶν φροντὶς, οὕτως ἢμῖν δοτέον εἰς τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς σημεῖα μᾶλλον ἐνδύεσθαι καὶ διὰ τούτων εἰδοποιεῖν τὸν ἐκάστου βίον, ἐάσαντας ἔτεροις τὰ μεγέθη καὶ τοὺς ἀγώνας.

II. Ἀλέξανδρος ὅτι τῷ γένει πρὸς πατρὸς μὲν ἢν Ἰτρακλείδης ἀπὸ Καράνου, πρὸς δὲ μητρὸς Αἰακίδης ἀπὸ Νεοπτολέμου, τῶν παντὸς ἐπίστευμένων ἐστί. λέγεται δὲ Φιλίππου ἐν Σαμο-
ALEXANDER

I. It is the life of Alexander the king, and of Caesar, who overthrew Pompey, that I am writing in this book, and the multitude of the deeds to be treated is so great that I shall make no other preface than to entreat my readers, in case I do not tell of all the famous actions of these men, nor even speak exhaustively at all in each particular case, but in epitome for the most part, not to complain. For it is not Histories that I am writing, but Lives; and in the most illustrious deeds there is not always a manifestation of virtue or vice, nay, a slight thing like a phrase or a jest often makes a greater revelation of character than battles where thousands fall, or the greatest armaments, or sieges of cities. Accordingly, just as painters get the likenesses in their portraits from the face and the expression of the eyes, wherein the character shows itself, but make very little account of the other parts of the body, so I must be permitted to devote myself rather to the signs of the soul in men, and by means of these to portray the life of each, leaving to others the description of their great contests.

II. As for the lineage of Alexander, on his father's side he was a descendant of Heracles through Caranus, and on his mother's side a descendant of Aeacus through Neoptolemus; this is accepted without any question. And we are told that Philip, after
θράκη τῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι συμμυθείς αὐτὸς τε μειρά-
κοιν ὃν ἔτι κάκεινης παιδὸς ὀρφανῆς γονέων
ερασθήναι καὶ τὸν γάμον οὔτως ἁρμόσαι, πείσας
2 τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῆς Ἀρύμβαν. ἦ μὲν οὖν νύμφη,
πρὸ τῆς νυκτὸς ἡ συνείρχθησαν εἰς τὸν θάλαμον,
ἐδοξε βροντῆς γενομένης ἐμπεσεῖν αὐτῆς τῇ γαστρὶ
κεραυνόν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς πληγῆς πολὺ πῦρ ἀναφθέν,
eῖτα ρηγυμένου εἰς φλόγας πάντη φερομένας
dιαλυθήναι. ὃ δὲ Φιλίππος ύστερῳ χρόνῳ μετὰ
tὸν γάμον εἶδεν ὅτι ἅπαν ἐπιβάλλοντα σφραγίδα
tῇ γαστρὶ τῆς γυναικὸς· ἦ δὲ γλυφῇ τῆς σφρα-
3 γίδος, ὡς φέτο, λέοντος εἶχεν εἰκόνα. τῶν δὲ
ἀλλων μάντεων υφορμένων τὴν ὄψιν, ὡς ἀκρι-
βεστέρας φυλακῆς δεσμέων τῷ Φιλίππῳ τῶν
περὶ τὸν γάμον, Ἀρίστανδρος ὁ Τελμησσεύς κύειν ἐφῆ τὴν ἀνθρωπον, οὐθὲν γὰρ ἀποσφραγί-
ζεσθαι τῶν κενῶν, καὶ κύειν παῖδα θυμοειδῆ καὶ
4 λεοντώδη τὴν φύσιν. ύφθη δὲ ποτε καὶ δράκων
κοιμωμένης τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος παρεκτεταμένος τῷ
σώματι· καὶ τοῦτο μάλιστα τοῦ Φιλίππου τὸν
ἔρωτα καὶ τὰς φιλοφροσύνας ἀμαυρώσαι λέγουσιν,
ὡς μηδὲ φοιτάν ἔτι πολλάκις παρ᾽ αὐτήν ἀνα-
παυσόμενον, εἶτε δείσαντά τινας μαγείας ἐπὶ
αὐτῷ καὶ φάρμακα τῆς γυναικός, εἶτε τὴν ὀμιλίαν
ὡς κρέατοιν συνούσῃς ἀφοσιούμενον.
5 ὦ Ἐστερὸς δὲ περὶ τούτων ἔστι λόγος, ὡς πᾶσαι
μὲν αἰ τῇδε γυναίκες ἐνοχοι τοῖς ὶρφικοῖς οὖσαι
καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ὀργιασμοῖς ἐκ τοῦ
πᾶν παλαιοῦ, Κλώδωνεῖς τε καὶ Μιμαλλόνες
226
being initiated into the mysteries of Samothrace at the same time with Olympias, he himself being still a youth and she an orphan child, fell in love with her and betrothed himself to her at once with the consent of her brother, Arymbas. Well, then, the night before that on which the marriage was consummated, the bride dreamed that there was a peal of thunder and that a thunder-bolt fell upon her womb, and that thereby much fire was kindled, which broke into flames that travelled all about, and then was extinguished. At a later time, too, after the marriage, Philip dreamed that he was putting a seal upon his wife’s womb; and the device of the seal, as he thought, was the figure of a lion. The other seers, now, were led by the vision to suspect that Philip needed to put a closer watch upon his marriage relations; but Aristander of Telmessus said that the woman was pregnant, since no seal was put upon what was empty, and pregnant of a son whose nature would be bold and lion-like. Moreover, a serpent was once seen lying stretched out by the side of Olympias as she slept, and we are told that this, more than anything else, dulled the ardour of Philip’s attentions to his wife, so that he no longer came often to sleep by her side, either because he feared that some spells and enchantments might be practised upon him by her, or because he shrank from her embraces in the conviction that she was the partner of a superior being.

But concerning these matters there is another story to this effect: all the women of these parts were addicted to the Orphic rites and the orgies of Dionysus from very ancient times (being called Klodones and Mimallones), and imitated in many Macedonian names for Bacchantes.
Plutarch's Lives

6 ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχουσαι, πολλὰ ταῖς Ἡδωνίσι καὶ ταῖς περὶ τὸν Λίμον Θρήσσαις ὀμοια δρόσιν, ἀφ’ ὧν δοκεῖ καὶ τὸ θρησκεύειν ὅνομα ταῖς κατακόροις γενέσθαι καὶ περιέργοις ιερογράφαις, ἡ δὲ Ὀλυμπιάς μᾶλλον ἐτέρων ξηλώσασα τὰς κατοχὰς καὶ τοὺς ἐνθουσιάσμους ἐξάγουσα βαρβαρικώτερον ὅφεις μεγάλους χειροθείς ἐφείλκετο τοῖς θιάσοις, οὗ πολλάκις ἐκ τοῦ κιττού καὶ τῶν μυστικῶν λίκων παραναδύομενοι καὶ περιελιπτόμενοι τοῖς θύρασι τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τοῖς στεφάνοις ἐξέπληττον τοὺς άνδρας.

III. Οὐ μὴν ἄλλα Φιλίππῳ μέν, μετὰ τὸ φάσμα πέμφασε Χαίρωνα τὸν Μεγαλοπολίτην εἰς Δελφούς, χρησμὸν κομισθῆναι λέγουσι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ κελευντός Ἀμμου θύειν καὶ σέβεσθαι μάλιστα τούτων τὸν θεόν ἀποβαλεῖν δὲ τῶν ὦψεων αὐτὸν τὴν ἐτέραν, ἥν τῷ τῆς θύρας ἁρμῷ προσβαλὼν κατώπτευσεν ἐν μορφῇ δράκοντος

2 συνεναξόμενον τῇ γυναικὶ τοῦ θεοῦ. ἡ δὲ Ὀλυμπιάς, ὡς Ἐρατοσθένης φησί, προσέπυπτοσα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπὶ τὴν στρατείαν, καὶ φράσασα μόνῳ τὸ περὶ τὴν τέκνωσιν ἀπόρρητον, ἐκέλευν ἄξια φρονεῖν τῆς γενέσεως. ἐτεροὶ δὲ φασίν αὐτὴν ἀφοσιωθῆναι καὶ λέγειν "Οὐ παύσεται μὲ διαβάλλων Ἀλέξανδρος πρὸς τὴν "Ἡραν;"

3 'Εγεννήθη δ’ οὖν Ἀλέξανδρος ἰσταμένου μηνὸς Ἐκατομβαιώνος, ὃν Μακεδόνες Δώον καλοῦσιν,

1 Plutarch apparently derives this verb from ὅρησαι (Thracian women).
2 Sacred to Dionysus, and carried on the heads of the celebrants.

228
ways the practices of the Edonian women and the Thracian women about Mount Haemus, from whom, as it would seem, the word "threskeuein" came to be applied to the celebration of extravagant and superstitious ceremonies. Now Olympias, who affected these divine possessions more zealously than other women, and carried out these divine inspirations in wilder fashion, used to provide the reveling companies with great tame serpents, which would often lift their heads from out the ivy and the mystic winnowing-baskets, or coil themselves about the wands and garlands of the women, thus terrifying the men.

III However, after his vision, as we are told, Philip sent Chaeron of Megalopolis to Delphi, by whom an oracle was brought him from Apollo, who bade him sacrifice to Ammon and hold that god in greatest reverence, but told him he was to lose that one of his eyes which he had applied to the chink in the door when he espied the god, in the form of a serpent, sharing the couch of his wife. Moreover, Olympias, as Eratosthenes says, when she sent Alexander forth upon his great expedition, told him, and him alone, the secret of his begetting, and bade him have purposes worthy of his birth. Others, on the contrary, say that she repudiated the idea, and said: "Alexander must cease slandering me to Hera." 3

Be that as it may, Alexander was born early in the month Hecatombaeon, the Macedonian name for

3 The lawful spouse of Zeus Ammon.
4 356 B.C. The day of birth has probably been moved back two or three months for the sake of the coincidence mentioned below (§5). Hecatombaeon corresponds nearly to July.
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

4 ὡσοὶ δὲ τῶν μάγων ἐν Ἕφεσι διατρίβοντες 666 ἔτυχον, τὸ περὶ τῶν νεῶν πάθος ἤγονενοὶ πάθους ἔτέρου σημεῖον εἶναι, διέθεσον τὰ πρόσωπα τυπτό- μενοι καὶ βοώντες ἀτην ἁμα καὶ συμφορὰν μεγάλην τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκεῖνην τετοκέναι.

5 Ἀγγελίαι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἡ μὲν Ἰλλυρίους ἴττάσθαι μάχη μεγάλη διὰ Παρμενίωνος, ἡ δὲ Ὁλυμπίασιν ὑπὲρ κέλητι νεικηκέναι, τρίτη δὲ περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου γενέσεως. ἐὰν οἷς ἰδόμενοι, ὡς εἰκὸς, ἔτη μᾶλλον οἱ μάντεις ἐπήραν ἀποφαινό- μενοι τὸν παῖδα τρισὶ νίκαις συγγεγεγυμένοι ἀνίκητον ἔσεσθαι.

IV. Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἱδέαν τοῦ σώματος οἱ Δυσίπ- πειοι μάλιστα τῶν ἀνδριάντων ἐμφαίνουσιν, ὡς οὐ μόνον καὶ αὐτὸς ἥξιον πλάττεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ μάλιστ' ἀ πολλοὶ τῶν διαδόχων ὑστερον καὶ τῶν φίλων ἀπεμμύρουτο, τὴν τε ἀγάταςιν τοῦ αὐχένος εἰς εὐόνυμον ἡσυχὴ κεκλιμένον καὶ τὴν ὑγρότητα τῶν ὀμμάτων, διατετήρηκεν ἀκριβῶς ὁ τεχνίτης.

2 Ἀπελλῆς δὲ γράφων τὸν κεραυνοφόρον οὐκ ἐμμὴσατο τὴν χρόαν, ἀλλὰ φαιότερον καὶ πεπι- νωμένον ἐποίησεν. ἡν δὲ λευκός, ὡς φασιν. η δὲ 230
ALEXANDER, iii. 3–iv. 2

which is Loüs, on the sixth day of the month, and on this day the temple of Ephesian Artemis was burnt. It was apropos of this that Hegesias the Magnesian made an utterance frigid enough to have extinguished that great conflagration. He said, namely, it was no wonder that the temple of Artemis was burned down, since the goddess was busy bringing Alexander into the world. But all the Magi who were then at Ephesus, looking upon the temple’s disaster as a sign of further disaster, ran about beating their faces and crying aloud that woe and great calamity for Asia had that day been born. To Philip, however, who had just taken Potidaea, there came three messages at the same time: the first that Parmenio had conquered the Illyrians in a great battle, the second that his race-horse had won a victory at the Olympic games, while a third announced the birth of Alexander. These things delighted him, of course, and the seers raised his spirits still higher by declaring that the son whose birth coincided with three victories would be always victorious.

IV. The outward appearance of Alexander is best represented by the statues of him which Lysippus made, and it was by this artist alone that Alexander himself thought it fit that he should be modelled. For those peculiarities which many of his successors and friends afterwards tried to imitate, namely, the poise of the neck, which was bent slightly to the left, and the melting glance of his eyes, this artist has accurately observed. Apelles, however, in painting him as wielder of the thunder-bolt, did not reproduce his complexion, but made it too dark and swarthy. Whereas he was of a fair colour, as they say, and his
λευκότης ἐπεφούνισθεν αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸ στῆθος μάλιστα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον. ὅτι δὲ τοῦ χρωτὸς ἱδιστὸν ἀπέπνευ καὶ τὸ στόμα κατείχεν εὐώδια καὶ τὴν σάρκα πᾶσαν, ὡστε πληροῦσθαι τοὺς χειτωνίσκους, ἀνέγγομεν ἐν ὑπομνήμασιν Ἀριστο-ζενείοις.

3 Ἀλτία δὲ ἔσως ἦ τοῦ σώματος κράσις πολύθερμος οὖσα καὶ πυρόδης. ἡ γὰρ εὐώδια γίνεται πένει τῶν υγρῶν ὑπὸ θερμότητος, ὡς οἴεται Θεοφράστος. οἶθεν οἱ ξηροὶ καὶ διάπυροι τόποι τῆς οἴκουμεν ἡ πλείστα καὶ κάλλιστα τῶν ἀρωμάτων φέρουσιν ἔξαιρεὶ γὰρ ὁ ἦλιος τὸ υγρὸν ὀστερ ἐλημ σηπεδώνος ἐπιπολάζον τοῖς σώμασιν.

4 Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ ἦ θερμότης τοῦ σώματος, ὡς ἐστι, καὶ ποτικὸν καὶ θυμοειδῆ παρεῖχεν.

'Ετι δὲ ὄντος αὐτοῦ παιδὸς ἦ τε σωφροσύνη διεφαίνετο τῷ πρὸς τάλλα ραγδαῖον ὅντα καὶ φερόμενον σφοδρῶς ἐν ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ταῖς περὶ τὸ σώμα δυσκίνητον εἶναι καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς πράοτη-

5 τος ἀπτεσθαί τῶν τοιούτων, ἦ τε φιλοτιμία παρ' ἡλικίαν ἐμβριθές εἰχε τὸ φρόνημα καὶ μεγαλόψυ-

χον. οὔτε γὰρ ἁπὸ παντὸς οὔτε πᾶσαν ἡγάτα δόξαν, ὡς Φίλιππος λόγου τε δεινότητι σοφι-

στικῶς καλλωπιζόμενος καὶ τὰς ἐν 'Ολυμπία

νίκας τῶν ἀρμάτων ἐγχαράττων τοῖς νομίσμασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν ἀποπειρωμένων εἰ

βούλοιτ' ἀν 'Ολυμπίασιν ἀγωνίσασθαι στάδιον, ἢν γὰρ τοδόκης, "Εἴ γε," ἔφη, "βασιλεῖς

6 ἐμελλὼν ἔξειν ἀνταγωνιστάς." φαίνεται δὲ καὶ

καθόλου πρὸς τὸ τῶν ἀθλητῶν γένος ἀλλοτρίως ἐχων πλείστους γέ τοι θεῖς ἄγωνας οὐ μόνον

232
fairness passed into ruddiness on his breast particularly, and in his face. Moreover, that a very pleasant odour exhaled from his skin and that there was a fragrance about his mouth and all his flesh, so that his garments were filled with it, this we have read in the Memoirs of Aristoxenus.

Now, the cause of this, perhaps, was the temperament of his body, which was a very warm and fiery one; for fragrance is generated, as Theophrastus thinks, where moist humours are acted upon by heat. Wherefore the dry and parched regions of the world produce the most and best spices; for the sun draws away the moisture which, like material of corruption, abounds in vegetable bodies. And in Alexander's case, it was the heat of his body, as it would seem, which made him prone to drink, and choleric.

But while he was still a boy his self-restraint showed itself in the fact that, although he was impetuous and violent in other matters, the pleasures of the body had little hold upon him, and he indulged in them with great moderation, while his ambition kept his spirit serious and lofty in advance of his years. For it was neither every kind of fame nor fame from every source that he courted, as Philip did, who plumed himself like a sophist on the power of his oratory, and took care to have the victories of his chariots at Olympia engraved upon his coins; nay, when those about him inquired whether he would be willing to contend in the foot-race at the Olympic games, since he was swift of foot, "Yes," said he, "if I could have kings as my contestants." And in general, too, Alexander appears to have been averse to the whole race of athletes; at any rate, though he instituted very many contests, not only
τραγωδῶν καὶ αὐλητῶν καὶ κιθαρῳδῶν, ἄλλα καὶ ῥαψῳδῶν, θώρας τε παυσωδαπῆς καὶ ῥαβδομαχίας, οὕτε πυγμῆς οὕτε παγκρατίου μετά τινος σπουδῆς ἔθηκεν ἄθλον.

V. Τοὺς δὲ παρὰ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως πρέσβεις ἢκοντας ἀποδημοῦντος Φιλίππου ξενίζων καὶ γενόμενος συνήθης οὕτως ἔχειρώσατο τῇ φιλοφροσύνῃ καὶ τῷ μηδὲν ἐρώτημα παιδικὸν ἐρωτήσαι μηδὲ μικρὸν, ἀλλ’ ὀδῶν τε μήκη καὶ πορείας τῆς ἀνώ τρόπον ἐκπυθάνεσθαι, καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὀποίος εἰς πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους, καὶ τὸς Ἡ Περσῶν ἅλκη καὶ δύναμις, ὡστε θανμαζειν ἐκείνους καὶ τὴν λεγομένην Φιλίππου δεινοτητα μηδὲν ἥγεισθαι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς ὀρμήν 2 καὶ μεγαλοπραγμοσύνην. ὀσάκις γοῦν ἀπαγγελθεὶς Φιλίππος ἢ πόλιν ἐνδοξον ἡρηκὼς ἢ μάχην τινὰ περιβόητου νεικηκώς, οὐ πάνω φαιδρὸς ἢν ἀκοῦων, ἄλλα πρὸς τοὺς ἡλικιώτας ἐλεγεν· ":" Ω παιδεῖς, πάντα προλήψεται ὁ πατὴρ. ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπολείψει μεθ’ οὕτων ἔργον ἀποδείξεις ταῖς μέγας 3 καὶ λαμπρὸν." οὐ γὰρ ἡδονὴν ξηλὸν οὐδὲ πλοῦτον, ἀλλ’ ἀρετὴν καὶ δόξαν, ἐνόμιζεν, ὅσῳ πλείονα λήγεται παρὰ τοῦ πατρός, ἐλάττονα κατορθώσειν δὲ ἑαυτοῦ. διὸ τοῖς πράγμασιν αὐξομένους καταναλίσκεσθαι τὰς πράξεις εἰς ἐκείνων ἡγούμενος, ἐβούλετο μὴ χρῆματα μηδὲ τρυφᾶς καὶ ἀπολαύσεις, ἀλλ’ ἀγώνας καὶ πολέμους καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἔχουσαν ἀρχὴν παραλαβεῖν.

4 Πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, ὡς εἰκός,
for tragic poets and players on the flute and players on the lyre, but also for rhapsodists, as well as for hunting of every sort and for fighting with staves, he took no interest in offering prizes either for boxing or for the pancratium.

V. He once entertained the envoys from the Persian king who came during Philip’s absence, and associated with them freely. He won upon them by his friendliness, and by asking no childish or trivial questions, but by inquiring about the length of the roads and the character of the journey into the interior, about the king himself, what sort of a warrior he was, and what the prowess and might of the Persians. The envoys were therefore astonished and regarded the much-talked-of ability of Philip as nothing compared with his son’s eager disposition to do great things. At all events, as often as tidings were brought that Philip had either taken a famous city or been victorious in some celebrated battle, Alexander was not very glad to hear them, but would say to his comrades: “Boys, my father will anticipate everything; and for me he will leave no great or brilliant achievement to be displayed to the world with your aid.” For since he did not covet pleasure, nor even wealth, but excellence and fame, he considered that the more he should receive from his father the fewer would be the successes won by himself. Therefore, considering that increase in prosperity meant the squandering upon his father of opportunities for achievement, he preferred to receive from him a realm which afforded, not wealth nor luxury and enjoyment, but struggles and wars and ambitions.

In the work of caring for him, then, many persons,
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

हसαν अउटः त्रोफेईς καὶ παιδαγωγοὶ καὶ διδάσκα-

λοι λεγόμενοι, πάσι δ’ εφευστήκει Λεωνίδας, άνὴρ
tό τε ἦθος αὐστηρὸς καὶ συγγενής ’Ολυμπιάδος, 

αὐτὸς μὲν οὐ φεύγων τὸ τῆς παιδαγωγίας ὄνομα 

καλὸν ἔργον ἔχουσης καὶ λαμπρῶν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν 

Ἤλλων διὰ τὸ ἄξιόμα καὶ τὴν οἰκείοτητα τροφεὺς 

5 Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ καθηγητής καλοῦμενος. ὁ δὲ 
tὸ σχῆμα τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ καὶ τὴν προσνορίαν 

ὑποποιουμένος ἦν Δυσίμαχος, τῷ γένει Ἀκαρνάν, 

Ἤλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἔχων ἀστείον, ὥστε δ’ ἔαυτὸν μὲν 

ὡνόμαξε Φοινίκα, τὸν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον Ἀχιλλέα, 

Πηλέα δὲ τῶν Φιλίππου, ἤγαστότα καὶ δευτέραν 

eἰχε χώραν.

VI. ‘Επεὶ δὲ Φιλονείκου τοῦ Θεσσαλοῦ τὸν 

Βουκεφάλαν ἀγαγόντος ὅμιον τὸν Φιλίππῳ τρισ-

καίδεκα ταλάντων κατέβησαν εἰς τὸ πεδίον δοκε-

μάσοντες τὸν ἱππον, ἐδόκει τε χαλεπὸς εἶναι καὶ 

κομιδὴ δύσχρηστος, οὐτὲ ἀναβάτην προσιέμενος 

οὔτε φωνῆν ὑπομένων τινὸς τῶν περὶ τὸν Φιλίπ-

πον, ἀλλ’ ἄπαντων κατεξανιστάμενος, δυσχεραῖ-

2 νοτος δὲ τὸν Φιλίππον καὶ κελεύοντός ἀπάγειν 

ὡς παντάπασιν ἀγρίον καὶ ἀκόλαστον, παρῶν 

Ἀλέξανδρος εἶπεν “Οἶον ἱππον ἀπολλύσοι δι’ 

ἀπειρίαν καὶ μαλακίαν χρήσασθαι μὴ δυνάμενοι,” 

tὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ὁ Φιλίππος ἐσιώπησε· πολλά-

κες δὲ αὐτοῦ παραφθεγγομένου καὶ περιπαθοῦν-

τος, “Επιτιμᾶσ σὺ,” ἔφη, “πρεσβυτέρος ὡς τι 

πλέον αὐτὸς εἴδως ἢ μᾶλλον ἱππὸ χρήσασθαι
as was natural, were appointed to be his nurturers, tutors, and teachers, but over them all stood Leonidas, a man of stern temperament and a kinsman of Olympias. Although he did not himself shun the title of tutor, since the office afforded an honourable and brilliant occupation, yet by other people, owing to his dignity and his relationship, he was called Alexander's foster-father and preceptor. The man, however, who assumed the character and the title of tutor was Lysimachus, a native of Acarnania, who had no general refinement, but because he called himself Phoenix, Alexander Achilles, and Philip Peleus, was highly regarded and held a second place.

VI. Once upon a time Philoneicus the Thessalian brought Bucephalas, offering to sell him to Philip for thirteen talents, and they went down into the plain to try the horse, who appeared to be savage and altogether intractable, neither allowing any one to mount him, nor heeding the voice of any of Philip's attendants, but rearing up against all of them. Then Philip was vexed and ordered the horse to be led away, believing him to be altogether wild and unbroken; but Alexander, who was near by, said: "What a horse they are losing, because, for lack of skill and courage, they cannot manage him!" At first, then, Philip held his peace; but as Alexander many times let fall such words and showed great distress, he said: "Dost thou find fault with thine elders in the belief that thou knowest more than they do or art better able to manage a horse?"

1 The preceptor of Achilles.
2 The talent was worth about £235, or $1,200, with four or five times the purchasing power of modern money.
3 δυνάμενος; "Τούτω γοῦν," ἐφη, "χρησαίμην ἂν ἔτέρου βέλτιον." "Ἀν δὲ μὴ χρήσῃ, τίνα δίκην τῆς προπετείας υφέξεις;" "Ἐγώ, νη Δί," εἶπεν, ἀποτίσω τοῦ ἵππου την τιμήν." γενομένου δὲ γέλωτος, είτα ὀρίσμοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἰς τὸ ἀργύριον, εὐθὺς προσδραμὼν τῷ ἵππῳ καὶ παραλαβῶν τὴν ἑνίαν ἐπέστρεψε πρὸς τὸν ἢλιον, ὡς ἐοικεν, ἐννοήσας ὃτι τὴν σκιὰν προπίπτουσαν καὶ σαλευμένην ὄρων πρὸ αὐτοῦ διαταράττοιτο.

4 μικρὰ δὲ οὖτω παρακαλπάσας καὶ καταψήσας, ὡς ἔωρα πληροῦμενον θυμὸν καὶ πνεύματος, ὑπορρίψας ἧσυχὴ τὴν χλαμύδα καὶ μετεωρίσας αὐτὸν ἀσφαλῶς περιέβη. καὶ μικρὰ μὲν περιλαβῶν ταῖς ἑνίαις τὸν χαλινόν ἀνευ πληγῆς καὶ σπαραγμοῦ προσανέστειλεν· ὡς δὲ ἔωρα τὸν ἵππον ἀφεικότα τῇ ἀπειλῇ, ὀργώντα δὲ πρὸς τὸν ὅρμον, ἐφεὶς ἐδίωκεν ἦδη φωνὴ θραυστέρα καὶ ποδὸς κρούσει.

5 χρώμενος. τὸν δὲ περὶ τὸν Φιλίππον ἦν ἀγωνία καὶ σιγὴ τὸ πρότον. ὡς δὲ κάμψας ἐπέστρεψεν ὀρθῶς σοβαρός καὶ γεγηθὼς, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ἡλάλαξαν, ὁ δὲ πατὴρ καὶ δακρύσας τι λέγεται πρὸς τὴν χαράν, καὶ καταβάντος αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν φιλήσας, "Ὡς παῖ," φάναι, "ξίτει σεαυτῷ βασιλείαν ἰσην. Μακεδονία γάρ σε οὐ χωρεῖ." VII. Καθορῶν δὲ τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ δυσκίνητον μὲν οὖσαν ἐρήματος μὴ βιασθῆναι, ῥαδίως δὲ ἀγομένην ὕπο λόγου πρὸς τὸ δέον, αὐτὸς τε πεί-

1 προσανέστειλεν Bekker has προσάστειλεν, with inferior MSS.
"This horse, at any rate," said Alexander, "I could manage better than others have." "And if thou shouldst not, what penalty wilt thou undergo for thy rashness?" "Indeed," said Alexander, "I will forfeit the price of the horse." There was laughter at this, and then an agreement between father and son as to the forfeiture, and at once Alexander ran to the horse, took hold of his bridle-rein, and turned him towards the sun; for he had noticed, as it would seem, that the horse was greatly disturbed by the sight of his own shadow falling in front of him and dancing about. And after he had calmed the horse a little in this way, and had stroked him with his hand, when he saw that he was full of spirit and courage, he quietly cast aside his mantle and with a light spring safely bestrode him. Then, with a little pressure of the reins on the bit, and without striking him or tearing his mouth, he held him in hand; but when he saw that the horse was rid of the fear that had beset him, and was impatient for the course, he gave him his head, and at last urged him on with sterner tone and thrust of foot. Philip and his company were speechless with anxiety at first; but when Alexander made the turn in proper fashion and came back towards them proud and exultant, all the rest broke into loud cries, but his father, as we are told, actually shed tears of joy, and when Alexander had dismounted, kissed him, saying: "My son, seek thee out a kingdom equal to thyself; Macedonia has not room for thee."

VII. And since Philip saw that his son's nature was unyielding and that he resisted compulsion, but was easily led by reasoning into the path of duty,

1 Amyot, "le remeit sentiment."
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

θείν ἔπειρατο μᾶλλον ἢ προστάτευ, καὶ τοῖς περὶ μουσικῆν καὶ τὰ ἐγκύκλια παίδευταις οὐ πάνυ τι πιστεέων τὴν ἐπιστασίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ κατάρτισιν, ὡς μείζονος οὖσαν πραγματείας καὶ κατὰ τὸν Σοφοκλέα

πολλῶν χαλινῶν ἔργων οἰκῶν θ’ āμα,

2 μετεπέμψατο τῶν φιλοσόφων τὸν ἐνδοξότατον καὶ λογιώσατο τ’Αριστοτέλην, καλὰ καὶ πρέποντα διδασκάλια τελέσας αὐτῷ. τὴν γὰρ Σταγειριτῶν πόλιν, ἐξ ἢς ἢν ’Αριστοτέλης, ἀνάστατον ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ γεγενημένη συνόκισε πάλιν, καὶ τοὺς διαφυγόντας ἥ δουλεύοντας τῶν πολιτῶν ἀποκατέστησε.

3 Σχολὴν μὲν οὖν αὐτοῖς καὶ διατριβήν τὸ περὶ Μίεζαν νυμφαῖον ἀπέδειξεν, ὅποι μέχρι νῦν ’Αριστοτέλους ἔδρασ τε λιθίνας καὶ υποσκίους περιπάτους δεικνύουσιν. ἔσωτε δὲ ’Αλέξανδρος οὐ μόνον τὸν ἡθικὸν καὶ πολιτικὸν παραλαβεῖν λόγον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων καὶ βαθυτέρων διδασκαλιῶν, ὅσι οἱ ἄνδρες ἰδίως ἀκροαματικὰς καὶ ἐποπτικὰς προσαγορεύοντες οὐκ ἐξέφερον εἰς

4 πολλοὺς, μετασχεῖν. ἦδη γὰρ εἰς Ἀσίαν διαβέβηκός, καὶ πυθόμενος λόγους τινὰς ἐν βιβλίοις περὶ τούτων ὑπὸ ’Αριστοτέλους ἐκδεδόσθαι, γράφει πρὸς αὐτόν ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας παρρησιαζόμενος ἐπιστολῆν, ἥς ἀντίγραφον ἐστὶν. “’Αλέξανδρος ’Αριστοτέλει εὗ πράττειν. οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐποίησας ἐκδοὺς τοὺς ἀκροαματικοὺς τῶν λόγων τίνι γὰρ

240
he himself tried to persuade rather than to command him; and because he would not wholly entrust the direction and training of the boy to the ordinary teachers of poetry and the formal studies, feeling that it was a matter of too great importance, and, in the words of Sophocles,¹

“A task for many bits and rudder-sweeps as well,”

he sent for the most famous and learned of philosophers, Aristotle, and paid him a noble and appropriate tuition-fee. The city of Stageira, that is, of which Aristotle was a native, and which he had himself destroyed, he peopled again, and restored to it those of its citizens who were in exile or slavery.

Well, then, as a place where master and pupil could labour and study, he assigned them the precinct of the nymphs near Mieza, where to this day the visitor is shown the stone seats and shady walks of Aristotle. It would appear, moreover, that Alexander not only received from his master his ethical and political doctrines, but also participated in those secret and more profound teachings which philosophers designate by the special terms “acroamatic” and “epoptic,”² and do not impart to many. For after he had already crossed into Asia, and when he learned that certain treatises on these recondite matters had been published in books by Aristotle, he wrote him a letter on behalf of philosophy, and put it in plain language. And this is a copy of the letter. “Alexander, to Aristotle, greeting. Thou hast not done well to publish thy acroamatic

² i.e., fit for oral teaching only, and for the initiated; “esoteric,” as opposed to “exoteric” doctrines.
δὴ διοίσομεν ἥμεῖς τῶν ἄλλων, εἰ καθ’ οὓς ἐπαι-
δεύθημεν λόγους, οὕτω πάντων ἔσονται κοινοί;
ἐγὼ δὲ βουλοίμην ἃν ταῖς περὶ τὰ ἀρίστα ἐμπε-
ρίας ἣ ταῖς δυνάμεσι διαφέρειν. ἔρροσο.” ταῦ-
την μὲν οὖν τὴν φιλοτιμίαν αὐτοῦ παραμιθθού-
μενος Ἀριστοτέλης ἀπολογεῖται περὶ τῶν λόγων ἐκείνων, ὥς καὶ ἐκδεδομένων καὶ μὴ ἐκδεδομένων
ἀληθῶς γὰρ ἡ μετὰ τὰ φυσικὰ πραγματεία πρὸς
dιδασκαλίαν καὶ μάθησιν οὐδὲν ἐχοῦσα χρήσιμον
ὑπόδειγμα τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς γέ-
γραται.

VIII. Δοκεῖ δὲ μοι καὶ τὸ φιλιατρεῖν Ἀλέξάν-
δρῳ προστρέψασθαι μᾶλλον ἐτέρων Ἀριστοτέλης.
οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὴν θεωρίαν ἡγάτησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
νοσοῦσιν ἐβοήθει τοῖς φίλοις καὶ συνετάττε θερα-
πείας τινὰς καὶ διαίτας, ὡς ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν
λαβείν ἐστιν. ἢν δὲ καὶ φύσει φιλολόγος καὶ

2 φιλαναγνώστης. καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἡλλάδα τῆς πολε-
μικῆς ἀρετῆς ἐφόδιον καὶ νομίζων καὶ ὅνομάξων,
ἔλαβε μὲν Ἀριστοτέλους διορθώσαντος ἢν ἐκ τοῦ
νάρθηκος καλοῦσιν, εἰχὲ δὲ ἄει μετὰ τοῦ ἐγχειρι-
δίου κειμένην ὑπὸ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον, ὡς Ὀινησι-
κριτος ἱστόρηκε, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων βιβλίων οὐκ εὑ-
πορόν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω τόποις Ἀρταλῶν ἐκέλευσε

3 πέμψαι. κύκεινος ἐπεμψεν αὐτῷ τὰς τε Φιλί-
στον βίβλους καὶ τῶν Ἐυριπίδου καὶ Σοφοκλέους
καὶ Λίσχολου τραγῳδιῶν συχνᾶς, καὶ Τελέστου
καὶ Φιλοξένου διθυράμβους. Ἀριστοτέλην δὲ
θαυμάζων ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ ἅγαπῶν οὐχ ἤττον, ὡς
αὐτὸς ἐλεγε, τοῦ πατρός, ὡς δὲ ἐκεῖνον μὲν ξῖν,
διὰ τούτου δὲ καλῶς ξῶν, ὑστερον ὑποπτότερον

242
doctrines; for in what shall I surpass other men if those doctrines wherein I have been trained are to be all men's common property? But I had rather excel in my acquaintance with the best things than in my power. "Farewell." Accordingly, in defending himself, Aristotle encourages this ambition of Alexander by saying that the doctrines of which he spoke were both published and not published; for in truth his treatise on metaphysics is of no use for those who would either teach or learn the science, but is written as a memorandum for those already trained therein.

VIII. Moreover, in my opinion Alexander's love of the art of healing was inculcated in him by Aristotle preeminently. For he was not only fond of the theory of medicine, but actually came to the aid of his friends when they were sick, and prescribed for them certain treatments and regimens, as one can gather from his letters. He was also by nature a lover of learning and a lover of reading. And since he thought and called the Iliad a viaticum of the military art, he took with him Aristotle's recension of the poem, called the Iliad of the Casket,1 and always kept it lying with his dagger under his pillow, as Onesicritus informs us; and when he could find no other books in the interior of Asia, he ordered Harpalus to send him some. So Harpalus sent him the books of Philistus, a great many of the tragedies of Euripides, Sophocles, and Aeschylus, and the dithyrambic poems of Telestvs and Philoxenus. Aristotle he admired at the first, and loved him, as he himself used to say, more than he did his father, for that the one had given him life, but the other had taught him a noble life; later, however,

1 Cf. chapter xxvi. 1.
ἐσχεν, οὔχ ὡστε ποιήσαι τι κακόν, ἀλλ' αἱ φιλοφροσύναι τὸ σφοδρὸν ἐκεῖνο καὶ στερκτικὸν οὐκ ἔχουσαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀλλοτριώτητος ἐγένοντο τεκμήριον. ὥστε μὲν τού πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ἐμπεφυκός καὶ συνεδραμμένος ὑπὸ ἀρχῆς αὐτῷ ἔβλος καὶ πόθος οὐκ ἔξερρύη τῆς ψυχῆς, ὡς ἦ περὶ 'Ἀνάξαρχον τε τιμή καὶ τὰ πεμφθέντα Ξενοκράτει πεντήκοντα τάλαντα καὶ Δάνδαμις καὶ Καλανὸς οὕτω σπουδασθέντες μαρτυροῦσι.

IX. Φιλίππου δὲ στρατεύοντος ἐπὶ Βυζαντίοις, ἦν μὲν ἐκκαιδεκέτης Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀπολειφθεῖς δὲ κύριος ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς σφαγῆς, Μαϊδών τε τοὺς ἀφεστῶτας κατεστρέψατο, καὶ πόλιν ἐλών αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους ἐξήλασε, συμμίκτους δὲ κατοικίσας Ἀλέξανδρον ἀνδρόπολιν προσηγόρευσεν. ἐν δὲ Χαιρωνείᾳ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας μάχης πυρὸν μετέσχε, καὶ λέγεται πρῶτος ἐνσεισά τῷ ἱερῷ λόχῳ τῶν Θηβαίων. ἔτι δὲ καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐδείκνυτο παλαιὰ παρὰ τῶν Κηφισίων Ἀλέξανδρον καλουμένη δρῦς, πρὸς ἴν τότε κατεσκήνωσε, καὶ τὸ πολυάνδριον οὐ πόρρω τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐστὶν.

3 Ἐκ μὲν οὖν τούτων, ὡς εἰκός, Φιλίππος ὑπερηγάτη τὸν νῦν, ὡστε καὶ χαίρειν τῶν Μακεδόνων Ἀλέξανδρον μὲν βασιλέα, Φιλίππον δὲ στρατηγὸν καλοῦντων. αἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ταραχαί, διὰ τοὺς γάμους καὶ τοὺς ἑρωτας αὐτοῦ τρόπον τινὰ τῆς βασιλείας τῇ γυναικωνίτιδι συννοσοῦσης,
he held him in more or less of suspicion, not to the extent of doing him any harm, but his kindly attentions lacked their former ardour and affection towards him, and this was proof of estrangement. However, that eager yearning for philosophy which was imbedded in his nature and which ever grew with his growth, did not subside from his soul, as is testified by the honour in which he held Anaxarchus, by his gift of fifty talents to Xenocrates, and by the attentions which he so lavishly bestowed upon Dandamis and Calanus.¹

IX. While Philip was making an expedition against Byzantium,² Alexander, though only sixteen years of age, was left behind as regent in Macedonia and keeper of the royal seal, and during this time he subdued the rebellious Maedi, and after taking their city, drove out the Barbarians, settled there a mixed population, and named the city Alexandropolis. He was also present at Chaeroneia and took part in the battle against the Greeks,³ and he is said to have been the first to break the ranks of the Sacred Band of the Thebans. And even down to our day there was shown an ancient oak by the Cephisus, called Alexander’s oak, near which at that time he pitched his tent; and the general sepulchre of the Macedonians is not far away.

In consequence of these exploits, then, as was natural, Philip was excessively fond of his son, so that he even rejoiced to hear the Macedonians call Alexander their king, but Philip their general. However, the disorders in his household, due to the fact that his marriages and amours carried into the kingdom the infection, as it were, which reigned in the

¹ See chapter lxv. ² In 340 B.C. ³ In 338 B.C.
πολλάς αἰτίας καὶ μεγάλας διαφορὰς παρείχουν, ὡς ἡ τῆς Ὑλυμπιάδος χαλεπότης, δυσζήλου καὶ βαρυθύμου γνωστός, ἐτὶ μείζονας ἐποίει, παροξυνούσης τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. ἐκφανεστάτην δὲ Ἀτταλος παρέσχεν ἐν τοῖς Κλεοπάτρας γάμοις, ἢν ὁ Φιλιππὸς ἦγάγετο παρθένον, ἔρασθείς παρ' ἡλικίᾳ τῆς κόρης. θείος γὰρ ὃν αὐτῆς ὁ Ἀτταλος ἐν τῷ πότῳ μεθύου παρεκάλει τοὺς Μακεδόνας αἰτεῖσθαι παρὰ θεῶν γνήσιον ἐκ Φιλίππου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας γενέσθαι διάδοχον τῆς βασιλείας. ἐπὶ τούτῳ παροξυνθεὶς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ εἶπὼν, "Ἡμεῖς δὲ σοι, κακῆ κεφαλῆ, νόθοι δοκούμεν;" ἐβαλε σκύφον ἐπὶ αὐτὸν. ὁ δὲ Φιλιππὸς ἐπὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐξανέστη σπασάμενος τὸ ἕφισο, εὐτυχία δὲ ἐκατέρω διὰ τὸν θυμὸν καὶ τὸν σῖνιον ἐπεσε σφαλεῖς. ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐφυβρίζων, "Οὗτος μέντοι," εἶπεν, "ἄνδρες, εἰς Ἀσίαν ἐξ Εὐρώπης παρεσκευάζετο διαβαίνειν, ὃς ἐπὶ κλῖνην ἀπὸ κλίνης διαβαίνων ἀνατέτραπται." μετὰ ταύτην τὴν παροινίαν ἀναλαβὼν τὴν Ὑλυμπιάδα καὶ καταστήσας εἰς Ἡπείρον αὐτὸς ἐν Ἡλλυρίοις διέτριβεν.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Δημάρατος ὁ Κορίνθιος, ξένος ὃν τῆς οἰκίας καὶ παραρηγίας μετέχων, ἀφίκετο πρὸς Φιλιππὸν. μετὰ δὲ τὰς πρῶτας δεξιώσεις καὶ φιλοφροσύνας ἐπερωτῶντος τοῦ Φιλίππου πῶς ἔχουσιν ὀμονοίας πρὸς ἄλληλους οἱ Ἔλληνες, "Πάνυ γοῦν," ἐφη, "σοι προσήκει, Φιλιππε, κύδεσθαι τῆς Ἐλλάδος, ὃς τὸν οἶκον τὸν σεαυτοῦ 246
women's apartments, produced many grounds of offence and great quarrels between father and son, and these the bad temper of Olympias, who was a jealous and sullen woman, made still greater, since she spurred Alexander on. The most open quarrel was brought on by Attalus at the marriage of Cleopatra, a maiden whom Philip was taking to wife, having fallen in love with the girl when he was past the age for it.\footnote{1} Attalus, now, was the girl's uncle, and being in his cups, he called upon the Macedonians to ask of the gods that from Philip and Cleopatra there might be born a legitimate successor to the kingdom. At this Alexander was exasperated, and with the words, "But what of me, base wretch? Dost thou take me for a bastard?" threw a cup at him. Then Philip rose up against him with drawn sword, but, fortunately for both, his anger and his wine made him trip and fall. Then Alexander, mocking over him, said: "Look now, men! here is one who was preparing to cross from Europe into Asia; and he is upset in trying to cross from couch to couch." After this drunken broil Alexander took Olympias and established her in Epirus, while he himself tarried in Illyria.

Meanwhile Demaratus the Corinthian, who was a guest-friend of the house and a man of frank speech, came to see Philip. After the first greetings and welcomes were over, Philip asked him how the Greeks were agreeing with one another, and Demaratus replied: "It is surely very fitting, Philip, that thou shouldst be concerned about Greece, when thou hast filled thine own house with such great

\footnote{1} Amyot, "hors d'age et de saison." In consequence of this passion Philip had divorced Olympias.
στάσεως τοσαύτης καὶ κακῶν ἐμπέπληκας." οὐ-
τω δὴ συμφρονήσας ὁ Φίλιππος ἐπεμψε καὶ
cατήγαγε πεί&ας διὰ τοῦ Δημαράτου τὸν Ἀλέξ-
ανδρον.

Χ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Πιξώδαρος, ὁ Καρίας σατράπης,
ὑποδυόμενος δὲ οἰκειότητος εἰς τὴν Φίλιππον
συμμαχίαν, ἐβούλετο τὴν πρεσβυτάτην τῶν ἰθ-
γατέρων Ἀρρίδαίῳ τῷ Φίλιππον γυναίκα δούναι
καὶ περὶ τούτων Ἀριστόκριτον εἰς Μακεδονίαν
ἀπέστειλεν, αὕτης ἔγινοντο λόγοι καὶ διαβογαί
παρά τῶν φίλων καὶ τῆς μητρὸς πρὸς Ἀλέξαν-
δρον ὡς Ἀρρίδαιον ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ Φίλιππον
γάμοις λαμπροὶς καὶ πράγμασι μεγάλοις εἰσοι-
2 κειούντος. ὑφ' ὧν διαταραχθεῖσε πέμπει Θεσσα-
λὸν εἰς Καρίαν, τὸν τῶν τραγῳδίων ὑποκριτήν,
Πιξωδάρω διαλεξόμενον ὡς χρή τὸν νόθον ἐσαν-
τα, καὶ οὐ φρενήρη, μεθαρμόσασθαι τὸ κῆδος εἰς
Ἀλέξανδρον. καὶ Πιξωδάρω μὲν οὐ παρὰ μικρὸν
ὑπέρσκε ταῦτα τῶν προτέρων μᾶλλον ὁ δὲ Φίλιπ-
πος αἰσθόμενος, ὅπως εἰς τὸ Ἀλέξανδρου δωμά-
tιον,1 παραλαβὸν τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ καὶ συνήθων
3 ἔνα, Φιλώταν τὸν Παρμενίωνος, ἐπετίμησεν ἵσχυ-
ρῶς, καὶ πικρῶς ἐλοιδόρησεν ὡς ἀγεννή καὶ τῶν
ὑπαρχόντων περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀγαθῶν ἀνάξιων, εἰ Καρὸς
ἀνθρώπον καὶ βαρβάρως βασιλεὶ δουλεύοντος
ἀναπτὰ γαμβρὸς γενέσθαι. τὸν δὲ Θεσσαλὸν
ἐγραψε Κορυνθίοις ὅπως ἀναπέμψοις ἐν πέδαις
δεδεμένον. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐταῖρων "Ἀρπαλον καὶ

1 ὅως... δωμάτιον an anonymous correction of the MSS.
ὅτα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον, after Amyot; Sintenis
and Becker adopt ὅτα, the correction of Stephanus (learning
that Alexander was coming).

248
dissension and calamities." Thus brought to his senses, Philip sent and fetched Alexander home, having persuaded him to come through the agency of Demaratus.

X. But when Pixodarus, the satrap of Caria, trying by means of a tie of relationship to steal into a military alliance with Philip, wished to give his eldest daughter in marriage to Arrhidæus the son of Philip, and sent Aristocritus to Macedonia on this errand, once more slanderous stories kept coming to Alexander from his friends and his mother, who said that Philip, by means of a brilliant marriage and a great connexion, was trying to settle the kingdom upon Arrhidæus. Greatly disturbed by these stories, Alexander sent Thessalus, the tragic actor, to Caria, to argue with Pixodarus that he ought to ignore the bastard brother, who was also a fool, and make Alexander his connexion by marriage. And this plan was vastly more pleasing to Pixodarus than the former. But Philip, becoming aware of this, went to Alexander's chamber, taking with him one of Alexander's friends and companions, Philotas the son of Parmenio, and upbraided his son severely, and bitterly reviled him as ignoble and unworthy of his high estate, in that he desired to become the son-in-law of a man who was a Carian and a slave to a barbarian king. And as for Thessalus, Philip wrote to the Corinthians that they should send him back to Macedonia in chains. Moreover, of the other companions of Alexander, he banished from Mace-
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

Νέαρχος, ἐτι δ' Ἐριγύνου καὶ Πτολεμαίον ἐκ Μακεδονίας μετέστησεν, οὕς ὅστερον Ἀλέξανδρος καταγαγὼν ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις ἐσχε τιμαῖς.

4 Ἐπεὶ δὲ Παυσανίας Ἀττάλου γρώμη καὶ Κλεοπάτρας ὑβρισθεὶς καὶ μὴ τυχῶν δίκης ἀνείλε Φίλιππον, τὸ μὲν πλείστον εἰς Ὄλυμπιάδα τῆς αἰτίας περιήλθεν, ὡς θυμομένως τῷ νεανίσκῳ προσεγκελευσαμένη καὶ παροξύνασαν, ἐθιγε δὲ τις καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον διαβολή. λέγεται γὰρ ἐντυχόντος αὐτῶ τοῦ Παυσανίου μετὰ τὴν υβριν ἐκείνην καὶ ἀποδυρμένου προενέγκασθαι τὸ τῆς Μηδείας ἱαμβείον
tὸν δόντα καὶ γῆμαντα καὶ γαμουμένην.

οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς συναίτιον ἡς ἐπιβουλῆς ἀναζητήσεις ἐκόλασε, καὶ τὴν Κλεοπάτραν ἀποδη-

metros αὐτῶ τῆς Ὅλυμπιάδος ὄμως μεταχειρι-
sαμένης ἡγανάκτησε.

XI. Παρέλαβε μὲν οὖν ἔτη γεγονός εἰκοσὶ τὴν βασιλείαν, φθόνους μεγάλους καὶ δεινὰ μίση καὶ
kωδύνους πανταχόθεν ἔχουσαν. οὖτε γὰρ τὰ βάρβαρα καὶ πρόσοικα γένη τὴν δούλωσιν ἐφερε,
pοθοῦντα τὰς πατρίδους βασιλείας, οὔτε τὴν Ἐλ-
lάδα κρατήσας τοῖς ὁπλοῖς ὁ Φίλιππος οἶον κατα-

ζεύξαι καὶ τιθασεῦσαι χρόνον ἐσχεν, ἀλλὰ μόνον

1 The Medea of Euripides, v. 289 (Kirchhoff). The context makes the verse suggest the murder of Attalus, Philip, and Cleopatra.
ALEXANDER, x. 3–xi. 1

donia Harpalus and Nearchus, as well as Erigyius and Ptolemy, men whom Alexander afterwards re-called and had in the highest honours.

And so when Pausanias, who had been outrageously dealt with at the instance of Attalus and Cleopatra and could get no justice at Philip's hands, slew Philip, most of the blame devolved upon Olympias, on the ground that she had added her exhortations to the young man's anger and incited him to the deed; but a certain amount of accusation attached itself to Alexander also. For it is said that when Pausanias, after the outrage that he had suffered, met Alexander, and bewailed his fate, Alexander recited to him the iambic verse of the "Medeia" 1:—

"The giver of the bride, the bridegroom, and the bride."

However, he did seek out the participants in the plot and punished them, and was angry with Olympias for her savage treatment of Cleopatra during his absence. 2

XI. Thus it was that at the age of twenty years Alexander received the kingdom, which was exposed to great jealousies, dire hatreds, and dangers on every hand. For the neighbouring tribes of Barbarians would not tolerate their servitude, and longed for their hereditary kingdoms; and as for Greece, although Philip had conquered her in the field, he had not had time enough to make her tame under his yoke, but had merely disturbed and changed the

2 "After his death Olympias killed Philip's infant son, together with his mother Cleopatra, niece of Attalus, by dragging them over a bronze vessel filled with fire" (Pausanias, viii. 7, 5).
metaballon kai taraqas tα πράγματα πολν
sálon exonta kai kíνησιν υπο ἀνθείας ἀπέλιπε.

2 φοβουμένων δε των Μακεδόνων τὸν καιρόν, καὶ
tα μὲν Ἑλληνικὰ πάντως ἀφείναι καὶ μὴ προσ-
βιάζεσθαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οἰομένων δεῖν, τοὺς
dε ἀφισταμένους τῶν βαρβάρων ἀνακαλεῖσθαι
πράως καὶ θεραπεύειν τὰς ἁρχὰς τῶν νεωτερι-
σμῶν, αὐτὸς αὐτ’ ἐναντίων λογισμὸν ὁρμησε τόλ-
μη καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνη κτάσθαι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν
καὶ σωτηρίαν τοῖς πράγμασιν, ὡς, κἂν ὀτιοῦν
ὑφίμενος ὧφθη τοῦ φρονήματος, ἐπιβησομένων

3 ἀπάντων. τὰ μὲν οὖν βαρβαρικὰ κινήματα καὶ
tοὺς ἐκεῖ πολέμους κατέπαυσεν ὃξεως ἐπιδραμὺν
στρατῷ μέχρι πρὸς τὸν Ἰστρον, ἢ καὶ Σύρμουν
ἐνίκησε μάχῃ μεγάλῃ, τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Τριβαλ-
λῶν. Θηβαίους δὲ ἀφεστάναι πυθόμενοι καὶ συμ-
φρονεῖν αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, εὐθὺς ἤγε εἰς Πύλῶν
τὴν δύναμιν, εἶπὼν ὅτι Δημοσθένει παῖδα μὲν
αὐτὸν, ἔως ὡς ἐν Ἰλλυρίοις καὶ Τριβαλλοῖς, ἀπο-
καλοῦντι, μειράκιον δὲ περὶ Θεσσαλίαν γενόμενον,
βούλεται πρὸς τοῖς Ἀθηναίων τείχεσιν ἀνὴρ
φανῆναι.

4 Προσμίξας δὲ ταῖς Θηβαίοις καὶ διδοὺς ἔτι τῶν
πεπραγμένων μετάνοιαν ἐξήτει Φοίνικα καὶ Προ-
θύτην, καὶ τοῖς μεταβαλλομένοις πρὸς αὐτὸν
ἀδειαν ἐκὐρυττε. τῶν δὲ Θηβαίων ἀντεξαίτοιν-

1 In September, 335 B.C. Plutarch makes no mention of a
previous expedition of Alexander into Southern Greece, im-
mediately after Philip's death, when he received the submis-
condition of affairs there, and then left them in a great surge and commotion, owing to the strangeness of the situation. The Macedonian counsellors of Alexander had fears of the crisis, and thought he should give up the Greek states altogether and use no more compulsion there, and that he should call the revolting Barbarians back to their allegiance by mild measures and try to arrest the first symptoms of their revolutions; but he himself set out from opposite principles to win security and safety for his realm by boldness and a lofty spirit, assured that, were he seen to abate his dignity even but a little, all his enemies would set upon him. Accordingly, he put a speedy stop to the disturbances and wars among the Barbarians by overrunning their territories with an army as far as to the river Danube, where he fought a great battle with Syrmus, the king of the Triballi, and defeated him; and on learning that the Thebans had revolted and that the Athenians were in sympathy with them, he immediately led his forces through the pass of Thermopylae, declaring that since Demosthenes had called him a boy while he was among the Illyrians and Triballians, and a stripling when he had reached Thessaly, he wished to show him that before the walls of Athens he was a man.

Arrived before Thebes, and wishing to give her still a chance to repent of what she had done, he merely demanded the surrender of Phoenix and Prothytes, and proclaimed an amnesty for those who came over to his side. But the Thebans made

sion of all the Greek states except Sparta, and was made commander-in-chief of the expedition against Persia, in Philip's place. See Arrian, *Anab.* i. 1.
των μὲν παρ’ αὐτοῦ Φιλόταταν καὶ Ἀντίπατρον, κηρυττόντων δὲ τοὺς τὴν Ἑλλάδα βουλομένους συνελευθεροῦν τάττεσθαι μετ’ αὐτῶν, οὕτως ἐτρεψε τοὺς Μακεδόνας πρὸς πόλεμον. ἠγωνίσθη μὲν οὖν ύπερ δύναμιν ἀρετῆ καὶ προθυμία παρὰ τῶν Ὀθῆβαιών¹ πολλαπλασίοις οὐσί τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀντιταχθέντων ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν Κασμ tetas αφέντες οἱ φρουροὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐπέπιπτον αὐτοῖς ἐξόπισθεν, κυκλωθέντες οἱ πλείστοι κατὰ τὴν μάχην αὐτὴν ἔπεσον, ἢ δὲ πόλις ἦλω καὶ διαρπασθέσα κατεσκάφη, τὸ μὲν ὅλου προσδοκῆσαντος αὐτοῦ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐκπλαγέντας πάθει τηλικοῦτο καὶ πτήξαντας ἀτρεμήσειν, ἀλλως δὲ καὶ καλλωπισμένου χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς τῶν συμμάχων ἐγκλήμασι: καὶ γὰρ Φωκεῖς καὶ 6 Πλαταίεις τῶν Ὀθῆβαιών κατηγορήσαν. ὑπεξελόμενος δὲ τοὺς ἔρεις καὶ τοὺς ξένους τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀπαντᾷ καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Πινδάρου γεγονότας καὶ τοὺς ὑπεναντιωθέντας τοῖς ψηφισμένοις τὴν ἀπόστασιν, ἀπέδωκε τοὺς ἄλλους περὶ τρυσμυρίους γενομένους: οἱ δὲ ἀποθανόντες ύπερ ἐξακισχιλίους ᾠδαν.

ΧΙΙ. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς πάθεις καὶ χαλέποις ἑκεῖνοι ἡ τὴν πόλιν κατείχε, Ὁρίκες τινες ἐκκόψαντες οἰκίαν Τιμοκλείας, γυναικὸς ἐνδόξου καὶ σώφρους, αὐτὸι μὲν τὰ χρήματα διlinkplain, ὁ δὲ ῥγμῶν τῇ γυναικὶ πρὸς βίαν συγγενόμενος καὶ καταισχύνας, ἀνέκρινεν εἰ ποὺ χρυσόν ἔχοι κε-2 κρυμμένον ἡ ἀργύριον. ἡ δὲ ἐχειν ὀμολόγησε,
a counter-demand that he should surrender to them Philotas and Antipater, and made a counter-proclamation that all who wished to help in setting Greece free should range themselves with them; and so Alexander set his Macedonians to the work of war. On the part of the Thebans, then, the struggle was carried on with a spirit and valour beyond their powers, since they were arrayed against an enemy who was many times more numerous than they; but when the Macedonian garrison also, leaving the citadel of the Cadmeia, fell upon them in the rear, most of them were surrounded, and fell in the battle itself, and their city was taken, plundered, and razed to the ground. This was done, in the main, because Alexander expected that the Greeks would be terrified by so great a disaster and cower down in quiet, but apart from this, he also plumed himself on gratifying the complaints of his allies; for the Phocians and Plataeans had denounced the Thebans. So after separating out the priests, all who were guest-friends of the Macedonians, the descendants of Pindar,¹ and those who had voted against the revolt, he sold the rest into slavery, and they proved to be more than thirty thousand; those who had been slain were more than six thousand.

XII. Among the many and grievous calamities which thus possessed the city, some Thracians broke into the house of Timocleia, a woman of high repute and chastity, and while the rest were plundering her property, their leader shamefully violated her, and then asked her if she had gold or silver concealed anywhere. She admitted that she had, and after

¹ "And we are told that Alexander preserved the house of Pindar the poet, and the descendants of Pindar, out of regard for Pindar" (Arrian, Anab. i. 9, 10).
καὶ μόνον εἰς τὸν κῆπον ἀγαγούσα καὶ δείξασα φρέαρ, ἐνταῦθα ἔφη τῆς πόλεως ἄλισκομένης καταβαλεῖν αὐτὴ τὰ τιμωτάτα τῶν χρημάτων. ἐγκύπτοντος δὲ τοῦ Θρακοῦ καὶ κατασκεπτομένου τὸν τόπον, ἑως τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐξόπισθεν γενομένη, καὶ τῶν λίθων ἐπεμβαλοῦσα πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν.

3 οὖς δὲ ἀνήχθη πρὸς Ὄλεξανδρον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐλανδροῦ δεδεμένη, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ὀψεως καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐφάνη τις ἀξιωματική καὶ μεγαλόφρων, ἀνεκπλήκτως καὶ ἀδεδως ἐπομένη τοῖς ἀγούσιν ἐπείτα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐρωτήσαντος ἢτις εἰς γονατικόν, ἀπεκρίνατο Θεαγένους ἀδελφῇ γεγονέναι, τοῦ παραταξαμένου πρὸς Φιλίππου ὑπέρ τῆς τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἐλευθερίας καὶ πεσόντος ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ στρατηγοῦντος. θαυμάσας οὖν ὁ Ὄλεξανδρος αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἐκελεύσεν ἐλευθέραν ἀπιέναι μετὰ τῶν τέκνων.

XIII. Ἀθηναίοις δὲ διηλλάγη, καίτερ οὐ μετρίως ἐνεγκαίουσι τὸ περὶ Θῆβας δυστύχημα· καὶ γὰρ τὴν τῶν μυστηρίων ἔσορτην ἐν χερσὶν ἑχοντες ὑπὸ πένθους ἄφηκαν, καὶ τοὺς καταφυγοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀπάντων μετεδίδοσαν τῶν φιλανθρώπων. ἂλλο εἰτε μεστὸς ὁν ἠδὴ τῶν θυμὸν, ὁσπερ οἱ λέοντες, εἰτε ἐπιείκεσι ἔρχον ἀμοτάτῳ καὶ σκυθροποτάτῳ παραβαλεῖν βουλόμενος, οὐ μόνον ἄφηκεν αἰτίας πάσης, ἄλλα καὶ προσέχειν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς πράγμασι τὸν νοῦν τὴν πόλιν, ὡς, εἰ τι συμβαίη περὶ αὐτῶν, ἄρξουσαν τῆς Ἐλλάδος. ὤστερον μέντοι πολλάκις αὐτῶν ἡ Θηβαιών ἄνω ἄσαι συμφορὰ λέγεται καὶ πραότερον οὐκ ὀλίγοις παρασχεῖν. ὦλως δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ Κλεἰτον ἔργον

1 καταφυγοῦσιν ἐπὶ Bekker corrects to φυγοῦσιν εἰς.
leading him by himself into the garden and showing him a well, told him that when the city was taken she had with her own hands cast in there her most valuable possessions. Then, as the Thracian was bending over and inspecting the place, she came behind him and pushed him in, cast many stones upon him, and killed him. And when the Thracians led her, with hands bound, to Alexander, she showed by her mien and gait that she was a person of great dignity and lofty spirit, so calmly and fearlessly did she follow her conductors; and when the king asked her who she was, she replied that she was a sister of Theagenes, who drew up the forces which fought Philip in behalf of the liberty of the Greeks, and fell in command at Chaeroneia. Amazed, therefore, at her reply and at what she had done, Alexander bade her depart in freedom with her children.

XIII. Furthermore, he was reconciled with the Athenians, although they showed exceeding sorrow at the misfortunes of Thebes; for although they had begun the festival of the mysteries, they gave it up in consequence of their grief,¹ and upon the Thebans who sought refuge in their city they bestowed every kindness. But notwithstanding this, whether his rage was now sated, as a lion's might be, or whether he wished to offset a deed of the most sullen savagery with one that was merciful, he not only remitted all his charges against the city, but even bade it give good heed to its affairs, since, if anything should happen to him, it would have the rule over Greece. In later times, moreover, as we are told, the calamity of the Thebans often gave him remorse, and made him milder towards many people. And certainly the

¹ According to Arrian (i. 10, 2), it was from panic fright.
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

ἐν οἷς γενόμενον καὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἰνδοὺς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀποδειλίασιν, ὡσπερ ἔτελῆ τὴν στρατείαν καὶ τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ προεμένων, εἰς μήνιν ἀνήγε
Διονύσου καὶ νέμεσιν. ἦν δὲ Θηβαιων οὔδεις τῶν
περιγενέμενων ὃς ἐντυχὼν τι καὶ δεηθεὶς ύστερον
οὐ διεπράζατο παρ’ αὐτοῦ. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ περὶ
Θῆβας.

XIV. Εἰς δὲ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συλλεγέντων καὶ ἴησισιμένων ἐπὶ Πέρσας μετ’ Ἀλέξανδρον στρατεύειν ἤγεμών ἀνηγορεύθη. πολλῶν
dὲ καὶ πολιτικῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ φιλοσοφῶν ἀπηγνη-
κότων αὐτῶ καὶ συνηδομένων, ἡλπίζε καὶ Διογέ-
νην τὸν Σιωπέα ταύτῳ ποιήσει, διατρίβοντα
2 περὶ Κόρινθον. ὡς δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐλάχιστον Ἀλέξα-
νδρόν λόγον ἔχων ἐν τῷ Κρανείῳ σχολῆν ἤγεν,
αὐτὸς ἐπορεύετο πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔτυχε δὲ κατακει-
μενος ἐν ἡλίῳ. καὶ μικρὸν μὲν ἀνεκάθισεν, ἀν-
θρώπων τοσούτων ἐπερχομένων, καὶ διέβλεψεν
 eius τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. ὡς δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἀσπασάμενος
καὶ προσειπὼν αὐτὸν ἠρώτησεν εἰ τίνος τυχχάνει
deόμενος, “Μικρόν,” εἶπεν, “ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου μετά-
3 στηθι.” πρὸς τούτῳ λέγεται τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον
οὕτω διατεθήναι καὶ θαυμάσαι καταφρονηθέντα
τὴν ὑπεροψίαν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὡστε
τῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἀπῆγαγα, διαγελώντων καὶ
σκωπτόντων, “Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐγώ,” εἶπεν, “εἰ μὴ
Ἀλέξανδρος ἡμῶν, Διογένης ἄν ἡμῶν.”

1 See chapter li. 2 See chapter lxii.
3 This god was said to have been born of Semele, daughter of Cadmus the founder of Thebes.
murder of Cleitus,\(^1\) which he committed in his cups, and the cowardly refusal of his Macedonians to follow him against the Indians,\(^2\) whereby they as it were robbed his expedition and his glory of their consummation, he was wont to attribute to the vengeful wrath of Dionysus.\(^3\) And there was not a Theban of those that survived who afterwards came to him with any request and did not get what he wanted from him. Thus much concerning Thebes.\(^4\)

XIV. And now a general assembly of the Greeks was held at the Isthmus,\(^5\) where a vote was passed to make an expedition against Persia with Alexander, and he was proclaimed their leader. Thereupon many statesmen and philosophers came to him with their congratulations, and he expected that Diogenes of Sinope also, who was tarrying in Corinth, would do likewise. But since that philosopher took not the slightest notice of Alexander, and continued to enjoy his leisure in the suburb Craneion, Alexander went in person to see him; and he found him lying in the sun. Diogenes raised himself up a little when he saw so many persons coming towards him, and fixed his eyes upon Alexander. And when that monarch addressed him with greetings, and asked if he wanted anything, “Yes,” said Diogenes, “stand a little out of my sun.” It is said that Alexander was so struck by this, and admired so much the haughtiness and grandeur of the man who had nothing but scorn for him, that he said to his followers, who were laughing and jesting about the philosopher as they went away, “But verily, if I were not Alexander, I would be Diogenes.”

\(^1\) For a full account of Alexander’s capture and destruction of Thebes, see Arrian, *Anab.* i. 8 f.
\(^2\) See the note on xi. 5.
4 Bouleoménes de tò theó chrísasvatei peri tῆς στρατείας ἤλθεν εἰς Δέλφους· καὶ κατὰ τὺχην ἴμηρον ἀποφράδων οὐσῶν, ἐν αἷς οὐ νενόμισται θεμιστεύειν, πρότον μὲν ἐπεμπε παρακαλοῦν τῇ πρόμαντι. ὡς δὲ ἀρνούμενης καὶ προϊσχομένης τὸν νόμον αὐτὸς ἀναβάς βία πρὸς τὸν ναὸν εἶλκεν αὐτὶν, ἢ δὲ ὠσπέρ ἐξητημένη τῆς σπουδῆς εἰπεν· "Ανίκητος ει, ὦ παῖ," τοῦτο ἀκούσας Ἀλέξανδρος οὐκέτι ἐφὴ χρῆσειν ἑτέρου μαντεύματος, ἀλλ' ἔχειν ὅν ἐβούλετο παρ' αὐτῆς χρησμόν.

5 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὀρμήσε πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν, ἄλλα τε δοκεῖ σημεῖα παρὰ τὸν δαίμονίον γενέσθαι, καὶ τὸ περὶ Λείβθηρα τοῦ Ὄρφεως δόανον (ἡν δὲ κυπαριστίνου) ἴδροτα πολίν ὑπὸ τὰς ἴμερας ἐκείνας ἀφῆκε. φοβουμένων δὲ πάντων τὸ σημεῖον, Ἀρίστανδρος ἐκέλευε θαρρεῖν, ὡς ἀοιδίμους καὶ περιβοήτους κατεργασόμενον πράξεις, ἀι πολίν ἴδροτα καὶ πόνου ὑμνοῦσι ποιηταῖς καὶ μουσικοῖς παρέξουσι.

XV. Τῆς δὲ στρατιᾶς τὸ πλῆθος οἱ μὲν ἐλάχιστον λέγοντες τρισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ τετρακισχιλίους ἵππεῖς, οὶ δὲ πλείστοι πεζοὺς μὲν τετρακισμυρίους καὶ τρισχιλίους, ἵππεας δὲ πεντακισχιλίους ἀναγόρασι. ἐφόδιον δὲ τούτως οὐ πλέον ἐβδομήκοντα ταλάντων ἔχειν αὐτῶν Ἀριστόβουλος ἱστορεῖ, Δούρις δὲ τριάκοντα μόνον ἴμηρον διατροφήν, Ὀυνησίκριτος δὲ καὶ δικό-2 σια ταλάντα προσοφέλειν. ἄλλα καὶ πεπερ ἀπὸ μικρῶν καὶ στενῶν ὦτως ὀρμώμενος, οὐ πρῶτον

1 In the early spring of 334 B.C.
2 Cf. Arrian, Anab. i. 11, 2.

260
And now, wishing to consult the god concerning the expedition against Asia, he went to Delphi; and since he chanced to come on one of the inauspicious days, when it is not lawful to deliver oracles, in the first place he sent a summons to the prophetess. And when she refused to perform her office and cited the law in her excuse, he went up himself and tried to drag her to the temple, whereupon, as if overcome by his ardour, she said: "Thou art invincible, my son!" On hearing this, Alexander said he desired no further prophecy, but had from her the oracle which he wanted.

Moreover, when he set out upon his expedition, it appears that there were many signs from heaven, and, among them, the image of Orpheus at Leibethra (it was made of cypress-wood) sweated profusely at about that time. Most people feared the sign, but Aristander bade Alexander be of good cheer, assured that he was to perform deeds worthy of song and story, which would cost poets and musicians much toil and sweat to celebrate.

XV. As to the number of his forces, those who put it at the smallest figure mention thirty thousand foot and four thousand horse; those who put it at the highest, forty-three thousand foot and five thousand horse. To provision these forces, Aristobulus says he had not more than seventy talents; Duris speaks of maintenance for only thirty days; and Onesicritus says he owed two hundred talents besides. But although he set out with such meagre and narrow resources, he would not set foot upon his ship until

3 "Not much more than thirty thousand foot, including light-armed troops and archers, and over five thousand horse" (Arrian, Anab. i. 11, 3).
ἐπέβη τῆς νεῶς ἡ τὰ τῶν ἑταῖρων πράγματα
σκεψάμενος ἀπονεἰμαι τῷ μὲν ἀγρόν, τῷ δὲ κώ-
μην, τῷ δὲ συνοικίας πρόσοδον ἡ λιμένος. ἦδη
dὲ κατανηλωμένων καὶ διαγεγραμμένων σχεδὸν
ἀπάντων τῶν βασιλικῶν ὁ Περδίκκας “Σεαντῷ
dὲ,” εἶπεν, “ὁ βασίλευ, τί καταλείπεις;” τοῖ δὲ
φήσαντο ὅτι τὰς ἐλπίδας, “Οὐκοῦν,” ἤφη, “καὶ
ἡμεῖς τούτων κοινωνίσομεν οἱ μετὰ σοῦ στρα-
tενόμενοι.” παρατησαμένου δὲ τοῦ Περδίκκου
τὴν διαγεγραμμένην κτήσιν αὐτῷ, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
φίλων ἔνιοι τὸ αὐτὸ ἐποίησαν. τοῖς δὲ λαμβά-
νοσι καὶ δεομένοις προθύμους ἐχαρίζετο, καὶ
tὰ πλείστα τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ διανέμων οὕτως
κατηνάλωσε. τοιαύτῃ μὲν ὀρμή καὶ παρασκευὴ
dιανοίας τὸν Ἑλλησπόντου διεπέρασεν.

3 Ἀναβὰς δὲ εἰς Ἰλιον ἐθυσε τῇ Ἀθήνᾳ καὶ
tοῖς ἡρωσιν ἔσπεισε. τὴν δὲ Ἀχιλλεώς στήλην
ἀλειψάμενος λίπα καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἑταῖρων συνανα-
δραμὼν γυμνός, ὦσπερ θὸς ἐστίν, ἐστεφάνωσε,
μακαρίσας αὐτὸν ὅτι καὶ ξών φίλον πιστοῦ καὶ

5 τελευτήσας μεγάλον κύρικος ἐτυχεν. ἐν δὲ τῷ
περιέναι καὶ θεὰςθαί τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐρομέ-
νον τινὸς αὐτὸν εἰ βούλεται τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου
λύραν ἰδεῖν, ἐλάχιστα φτονίζειν ἔκεινης ἔφη, τὴν
δὲ Ἀχιλλεώς ζητεῖν, ὃ τὰ κλέα καὶ τὰς πράξεις
ύμει τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνθρώπων ἑκείνος.

XVI. Ἔν δὲ τούτῳ τῶν Δαρείου στρατηγῶν
μεγάλην δύναμιν ἠθοικότων καὶ παρατεταγμέ-
νων ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ Γρανικοῦ, μάχεσθαι μὲν

262
he had enquired into the circumstances of his companions and allotted to one a farm, to another a village, and to another the revenue from some hamlet or harbour. And when at last nearly all of the crown property had been expended or allotted, Perdiccas said to him: "But for thyself, O king, what art thou leaving?" And when the king answered, "My hopes," "In these, then," said Perdiccas, "we also will share who make the expedition with thee." Then he declined the possessions which had been allotted to him, and some of the other friends of Alexander did likewise. But upon those who wanted and would accept his favours Alexander bestowed them readily, and most of what he possessed in Macedonia was used up in these distributions. Such was the ardour and such the equipment with which he crossed the Hellespont.

Then, going up to Ilium, he sacrificed to Athena and poured libations to the heroes. Furthermore, the gravestone of Achilles he anointed with oil, ran a race by it with his companions, naked, as is the custom, and then crowned it with garlands, pronouncing the hero happy in having, while he lived, a faithful friend, and after death, a great herald of his fame. As he was going about and viewing the sights of the city, someone asked him if he wished to see the lyre of Paris. "For that lyre," said Alexander, "I care very little; but I would gladly see that of Achilles, to which he used to sing the glorious deeds of brave men."¹

XVI. Meanwhile the generals of Dareius had assembled a large force and set it in array at the crossing of the river Granicus, so that it was prac-

¹ See the Iliad, ix. 185-191.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

... άναγκαιον ἦν, ὡσπερ ἐν πύλαις τῆς Ἀσίας, περὶ τῆς εἰσόδου καὶ ἀρχῆς τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ τὸ βάθος καὶ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν καὶ τραχύτητα τῶν πέραν ὅχθων, πρὸς οὓς ἔδει γίνεσθαι τὴν ἀπόβασιν μετὰ μάχης, τῶν πλείστων δεδιότων, ἐνίων δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν μήνα νενομισμένον οἰομένων

2 δεῖν φυλάξασθαι (Δαισίον γὰρ οὐκ εἰσθείσαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἥξιγειν τὴν στρατιάν), τὸντὸ μὲν ἐπηνωρθώσατο κελεύσας δεῦτερον Ἀρτεμίσιον ἄγειν, τοῦ δὲ Παρμενώνος, ὡς ὅψε τῆς ὀρας οὐσίας, οὐκ ἔδωτος ἀποκινδυνεύειν, εἰπὼν αἰσχύνησθαι τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον εἰ φοβησται τὸν Γρανικὸν διαβεβηκὼς ἐκεῖνον, ἐμβάλλει τῷ ρεύματι σὺν ἱλαισ ἵππεών τρισκαίδεκα. καὶ πρὸς ἐναντία βέλη καὶ τόπους ἀπορρόδγας ὅπλοις καταπεφραγμένους καὶ ἵππους ἔλαιον, καὶ διὰ ἰσχὺς παραφέροντος καὶ περικλύζοντος, ἐδοξε μανικῶς καὶ πρὸς ἀπόνοιαν μᾶλλον ἡ γνώμη στρατηγεῖν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐμφύσ τῇ διαβάσει καὶ κρατήσας τῶν τόπων χαλεπῶς καὶ μόλις, ὑγρῶν καὶ περισσαφάλων γενομένων διὰ τὸν πηλόν, εὔθυς ἡναγκάζετο φύρδην μάχεσθαι καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα συμπλέκεσθαι τοῖς ἐπιφερομένοις, πρὸν εἰς τάξιν

3 ματι σὺν ἱλαισ ἵππεών τρισκαίδεκα. καὶ πρὸς ἐναντία βέλη καὶ τόπους ἀπορρόδγας ὅπλοις καταπεφραγμένους καὶ ἵππους ἔλαιον, καὶ διὰ ἰσχὺς παραφέροντος καὶ περικλύζοντος, ἐδοξε μανικῶς καὶ πρὸς ἀπόνοιαν μᾶλλον ἡ γνώμη στρατηγεῖν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐμφύσ τῇ διαβάσει καὶ κρατήσας τῶν τόπων χαλεπῶς καὶ μόλις, ὑγρῶν καὶ περισσαφάλων γενομένων διὰ τὸν πηλόν, εὔθυς ἡναγκάζετο φύρδην μάχεσθαι καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα συμπλέκεσθαι τοῖς ἐπιφερομένοις, πρὸν εἰς τάξιν

4 τινὰ καταστήναι τοὺς διαβαίνοντας. ἐνέκειντο γὰρ κραυγῇ, καὶ τοὺς ἵππους παραβάλλοντες τοῖς ἵπποις ἐχρῶντο δόρασι, καὶ ξίφοις τῶν δορὰτων συμπεριβέντων. ἰσαμένων δὲ πολλῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ (ἢν δὲ τῇ πέλτῃ καὶ τοῦ κράνους τῇ χαίτῃ διαπρεπῆς, ἢς ἐκατέρωθεν εἰστήκει πτερὸν λευκό-
tically necessary to fight, as it were at the gates of Asia, for entrance and dominion there. But most of the Macedonian officers were afraid of the depth of the river, and of the roughness and unevenness of the farther banks, up which they would have to climb while fighting. Some, too, thought they ought to observe carefully the customary practice in regard to the month (for in the month of Daesius the kings of Macedonia were not wont to take the field with an army). This objection Alexander removed by bidding them call the month a second Artemisius; and when Parmenio, on the ground that it was too late in the day, objected to their risking the passage, he declared that the Hellespont would blush for shame, if, after having crossed that strait, he should be afraid of the Granicus, and plunged into the stream with thirteen troops of horsemen. And since he was charging against hostile missiles and precipitous positions covered with infantry and cavalry, and through a stream that swept men off their feet and surged about them, he seemed to be acting like a frenzied and foolish commander rather than a wise one. However, he persisted in his attempt to cross, gained the opposite banks with difficulty and much ado, though they were moist and slippery with mud, and was at once compelled to fight pell-mell and engage his assailants man by man, before his troops who were crossing could form into any order. For the enemy pressed upon them with loud shouts, and matching horse with horse, plied their lances, and their swords when their lances were shattered. Many rushed upon Alexander, for he was conspicuous by his buckler and by his helmet's crest, on either side of which was fixed a plume of wonderful size and
τητι καὶ μεγέθεις θαυμαστών), ἀκοντισθεὶς μὲν ὑπὸ τὴν ὑποπτυχία τοῦ θώρακος οὐκ ἐτρώθη, 673 Ῥοισάκου δὲ καὶ Σπιθριδάτου τῶν στρατηγῶν προσφερομένων ἀμα, τῶν μὲν ἐκκλίνας, Ῥοισάκη δὲ προεμβαλὼν τεθωρακισμένω καὶ τὸ δόρυ κατα-
5 κλάσας ἐπὶ τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον ὁρμησε. συμπεπτω-
kότων δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ Σπιθριδάτης ὑποστήσας ἐκ πλαγίων τὸν ἵππον καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς συνεξανα-
στάς κοπίδας βαρβαρίας κατήνεγκε· καὶ τὸν μὲν λόφον ἀπέρραξε μετὰ θατέρου πτεροῦ, τὸ δὲ κρά-
νος πρὸς τὴν πληγήν ἀκριβῶς καὶ μόλις ἀντέ-
σχεν, ὡστε τῶν πρῶτων ψαύσαι τριχῶν τὴν πτέ-
ρυγα τῆς κοπίδος. ἔτεραν δὲ τὸν Σπιθριδάτην
πάλιν ἐπαιρόμενον ἐφθασε Κλέιτος ὁ μέλας τῷ
ξυστῷ διελάσας μέσον. ὅμοι δὲ καὶ Ῥοισάκης
ἐπεσεν ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ξίφει πληγεῖς.
6 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ κινδύνου καὶ ἀγῶνος οὐσίας τῆς
ἵππομαχίας ἢ τε φάλαγξ διέβαινε τῶν Μακεδό-
νων καὶ συνήγον ἢ πεζαὶ δυνάμεις. οὐ μὴν ὑπέ-
στησαν εὐρωστῶς οὐδὲ πολὺς χρόνον, ἀλλ' ἐφυγον
τραπόμενοι, πλὴν τῶν μισθοφόρων Ἑλλήνων.
ούτοι δὲ πρὸς τινὶ λόφῳ συστάντες ἦτον τά
7 πιστὰ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου. ὁ δὲ θυμὸς μᾶλλον ἢ
λογισμῷ πρῶτος ἐμβαλὼν τὸν τε ἵππον ἀποβάλ-
λει ξίφει πληγέντα διὰ τῶν πλευρῶν (ἣν δὲ ἔτε-
ρος, οὐχ ὁ Βουκεφάλας), καὶ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν
ἀποθανόντων καὶ τραυματισθέντων ἐκεῖ συνέβη
κινδυνεύσαι καὶ πεσεῖν, πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἀπεγνω-
κότας καὶ μαχίμους συμπλεκομένους.
266
ALEXANDER, xvi. 4-7

whiteness. But although a javelin pierced the joint of his breastplate, he was not wounded; and when Rhoesaces and Spithridates, two Persian commanders, made at him together, he avoided the one, and smote Rhoesaces, who wore a breastplate, with his spear; and when this weapon snapped in two with the blow, he took to his sword. Then, while he was thus engaged with Rhoesaces, Spithridates rode up from one side, raised himself up on his horse, and with all his might came down with a barbarian battle-axe upon Alexander's head. Alexander's crest was broken off, together with one of its plumes, and his helmet could barely and with difficulty resist the blow, so that the edge of the battle-axe touched the topmost hair of his head. But while Spithridates was raising his arm again for another stroke, Cleitus, "Black Cleitus," got the start of him and ran him through the body with his spear. At the same time Rhoesaces also fell, smitten by Alexander's sword.

While Alexander's cavalry were making such a dangerous and furious fight, the Macedonian phalanx crossed the river and the infantry forces on both sides engaged. The enemy, however, did not resist vigorously, nor for a long time, but fled in a rout, all except the Greek mercenaries. These made a stand at a certain eminence, and asked that Alexander should promise them quarter. But he, influenced by anger more than by reason, charged foremost upon them and lost his horse, which was smitten through the ribs with a sword (it was not Bucephalas, but another); and most of the Macedonians who were slain or wounded fought or fell there, since they came to close quarters with men who knew how to fight and were desperate.
Δέχονται δὲ πεζοὶ μὲν δισμύριοι τῶν βαρβάρων, ἵππεις δὲ δισχίλιοι πεντακόσιοι πεσεῖν. τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον Ἀριστόβουλος φησι τέσσαρας καὶ τριάκοντα νεκροὺς γενέσθαι τοὺς 8 πάντας, ὃν ἔννεα πεζοὺς εἶναι. τούτων μὲν οὖν ἐκέλευσεν εἰκόνας ἀνασταθήματι χαλκᾶς, ἃς Λύσιππος εἰργάσατο. κοινοῦμενος δὲ τὴν νίκην τοῖς Ἑλλησὶν ἱδία μὲν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπεμψε τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τριακοσίας ἀσπίδας, κοινῇ δὲ τοῖς ἅλλοις λαφύροις ἐκέλευσεν ἐπιγράψαι φιλοτιμοτάτην ἐπιγραφήν "Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Φιλίππου καὶ οἰ Ἑλληνες πλὴν Δακεδαιμονίων ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικούντων." ἐκπώματα δὲ καὶ πορφύρας, καὶ ὁσα τοιαύτα τῶν Περσικῶν ἔλαβε, πάντα τῇ μιτρὶ πλῆθν ὀλίγων ἐπεμψεν.

ΧVII. Οὗτος ὁ ἀγών μεγάλην εὐθὺς ἐποίησε τῶν πραγμάτων μεταβολήν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, ὥστε καὶ Σάμπες, τὸ πρόσχημα τῆς ἐπὶ θαλάσση τῶν βαρβάρων ἡγεμονίας, παραλαβεῖν καὶ τάλλα προστίθεσθαι. μόνη δὲ Ἀλκικαρνασσὸς ἀντέστη καὶ Μίλητος, ὃς ἠλών κατὰ κράτος καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτᾶς πάντα χειρωσάμενος ἀμφίβολος 2 ὅπρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῇ γυνώῃ. καὶ πολλάκις μὲν ἐσπευδὲ Δαρείῳ συμπέσων ἀποκινδυνεύσαι περὶ τῶν ὅλων, πολλάκις δὲ τοῖς ἐπὶ θαλάσση πράγμασί καὶ χρήμασι διενείτο πρῶτον οἷον ἐνασκήσας καὶ ρώσας αὐτῶν οὕτως ἀναβαίνειν ἐπ' 

1 Diodorus (xvii. 21, 6) says that more than ten thousand Persian footmen fell, and not less than two thousand horsemen; while over twenty thousand were taken prisoners.
Of the Barbarians, we are told, twenty thousand footmen fell, and twenty-five hundred horsemen. But on Alexander's side, Aristobulus says there were thirty-four dead in all, of whom nine were footmen. Of these, then, Alexander ordered statues to be set up in bronze, and Lysippus wrought them. Moreover, desiring to make the Greeks partners in his victory, he sent to the Athenians in particular three hundred of the captured shields, and upon the rest of the spoils in general he ordered a most ambitious inscription to be wrought: "Alexander the son of Philip and all the Greeks except the Lacedaemonians from the Barbarians who dwell in Asia." But the drinking vessels and the purple robes and whatever things of this nature he took from the Persians, all these, except a few, he sent to his mother.

XVII. This contest at once made a great change in the situation to Alexander's advantage, so that he received the submission even of Sardis, the bulwark of the barbarian dominion on the sea-coast, and added the rest of the country to his conquests. Halicarnassus alone withstood him, and Miletus, which cities he took by storm and subdued all the territories about them. Then he was in doubt as to his future course. Many times he was eager to encounter Dareius and put the whole issue to hazard, and many times he would make up his mind to practice himself first, as it were, and strengthen himself by acquiring the regions along the sea with their resources, and

2 According to Arrian (Anab. i. 16, 4), about twenty-five of Alexander's companions, a select corps, fell at the first onset, and it was of these that Alexander ordered statues to be made by Lysippus.

3 The siege and capture of these cities occupied Alexander till the late autumn of 334 B.C.
According to Arrian (Anab. i. 26, 1 f.), there is no route along this beach except when the north wind blows. "But at that time, after strong south winds, the north winds..."
then to go up against that monarch. Now, there is in Lycia, near the city of Xanthus, a spring, which at this time, as we are told, was of its own motion upheaved from its depths, and overflowed, and cast forth a bronze tablet bearing the prints of ancient letters, in which it was made known that the empire of the Persians would one day be destroyed by the Greeks and come to an end. Encouraged by this prophecy, Alexander hastened to clear up the sea-coast as far as Cilicia and Phoenicia. His rapid passage along the coasts of Pamphylia has afforded many historians material for bombastic and terrifying description. They imply that by some great and heaven-sent good fortune the sea retired to make way for Alexander, although at other times it always came rolling in with violence from the main, and scarcely ever revealed to sight the small rocks which lie close up under the precipitous and riven sides of the mountain.¹ And Menander, in one of his comedies,² evidently refers jestingly to this marvel:—

“How Alexander-like, indeed, this is; and if I seek some one,
Spontaneous he’ll present himself; and if I clearly must
Pass through some place by sea, this will lie open to my steps.”

Alexander himself, however, made no such prodigy out of it in his letters, but says that he marched by blew, and rendered his passage easy and quick, not without the divine intervention, as both he and his followers interpreted.”

λεγομένην Κλίμακα καὶ διελθεῖν ὅρμησας ἐκ
5 Φασηλίδος. διὸ καὶ πλείονας ἡμέρας ἐν τῇ πό-
λει διέτριψεν ἐν αἷς καὶ Θεοδέκτον τεθνηκότος
(ἡν δὲ Φασηλίτης) ἵδων εἰκόνα ἀνακειμένην ἐν
ἀγορᾷ, μετὰ δείπνιον ἐπεκώμασε μεθύων καὶ τῶν
στεφάνων ἐπέρριψε πολλοὺς, οὐκ ἄχαριν ἐν
παιδιᾷ ἀποδιδοὺς τιμὴν τῇ γενομένῃ δι᾽ Ἀρι-
στοτέλην καὶ φιλοσοφίαν ὀμιλία πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα.

XVIII. Μετὰ ταῦτα Πισιδίδων τε τοὺς ἀντι-
στάντας ἥρει καὶ Φρυγίαν ἐχειροῦτο· καὶ Γόρδιον
πόλιν, ἔστιν Μίδου τοῦ παλαιοῦ γενέσθαι λεγο-
μένην, παραλαβὼν, τὴν θρυλουμένην ἁμαξαν εἶδε
φλοιῷ κρανίας ἐνδεδεμένην, καὶ λόγον ἐπ’ αὐτή
πιστεύομενον ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἥκουσεν, ὡς τῷ
λύσαι τὸν δεσμὸν εἴμαρται βασιλεῖ γενέσθαι
2 τῆς οἰκουμένης. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ φασὶ, τῶν
desμῶν τυφλάς ἔχοντων τὰς ἁρχὰς καὶ δὲ ἄλλη-
λῶν πολλάκις σκολιοῖς ἐλίγμοις ὑποφερομένων,
tὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἁμηχανοῦντα λύσαι διατεμεῖν
τῇ μαχαίρᾳ τὸ σύναμμα, καὶ πολλὰς ἐξ αὐτοῦ
κοπέτος ἁρχὰς φανήσαι. Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ καὶ
πάνω λέγει ῥαδίαν αὐτῷ τὴν λύσιν γενέσθαι,
ἐξελόντι τοῦ ῥυμοῦ τὸν ἐστορα καλούμενον, ὃ
συνείχετο τὸ ξυγόδεσμον, εἴθ’ οὕτως ὑφελκύσαντι
τὸν ξυγόν.

3 Ἔντευθεν Παφλαγόνας τε καὶ Καππάδοκας
προσαγαγόμενος, καὶ τὴν Μέμνονος ἀκούσας
τελευτήν, ὁς τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ Δαρείου στρατη-
272
way of the so-called Ladder, and passed through it, setting out from Phaselis. This was the reason for his spending several days in that city, during which he noticed that a statue of Theodectas, a deceased citizen of Phaselis, had been erected in the market-place. Once, therefore, after supper and in his cups, he led a band of revellers to the statue and crowned it with many of their garlands, thus in pleasantry returning no ungraceful honour for the past association with the man which he owed to Aristotle and philosophy.

XVIII. After this, he overpowered such of the Pisidians as had offered him resistance, and subdued Phrygia; and after he had taken the city of Gordium,\(^1\) reputed to have been the home of the ancient Midas, he saw the much-talked-of waggon bound fast to its yoke with bark of the cornel-tree, and heard a story confidently told about it by the Barbarians, to the effect that whosoever loosed the fastening was destined to become king of the whole world. Well, then, most writers say that since the fastenings had their ends concealed, and were intertwined many times in crooked coils, Alexander was at a loss how to proceed, and finally loosened the knot by cutting it through with his sword, and that when it was thus smitten many ends were to be seen. But Aristobulus says that he undid it very easily, by simply taking out the so-called "hestor," or \textit{pin}, of the waggon-pole, by which the yoke-fastening was held together, and then drawing away the yoke.\(^2\)

Setting out from there, he subdued Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, and on hearing of the death of Memnon, one of the commanders of Dareius on the

\(^1\) Early in 333 B.C. \(^2\) Cf. Arrian, \textit{Anab.} ii. 3.
γών ἐπίδοξος ἦν Ἄλεξάνδρῳ πολλὰ πράγματα καὶ μυρίας ἀντιλήψεις καὶ ἁσχολίας παρέξειν,
4 ἐπερρώσθη πρὸς τὴν ἄνω στρατείαν μᾶλλον. ἦδη
de καὶ Δαρείος ἐκ Σοῦσων κατέβαινεν, ἐπαιρό-
μενός τε τῷ πλῆθει τῆς δυνάμεως (ἐξήκοντα γὰρ
ἥγε μυριάδας στρατοῦ), καὶ τινος ὅνειρον θαρρύ-
νοντος αὐτῶν, ὅπιοι μάγοι πρὸς χάριν ἔξηγοῦντο
μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ τὸ εἰκός. ἔδοξε γὰρ πυρὶ νέμε-
σθαι πολλῷ τὴν Μακεδόνων φάλαγγα, τὸν δὲ
Ἀλέξανδρον ἔχοντα στολὴν ἦν αὐτὸς ἐφόρει πρό-
τερον ἀστάνδης ὅν βασιλέως, ὑπηρετεῖν αὐτῷ
παρελθόντα δὲ εἰς τὸ τοῦ Βηλου τέμενος ἀφανῆ
5 γενέσθαι. διὰ τούτων, ὡς ἐοικεν, ὑπεδηλοῦτο
παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λαμπρὰ μὲν γενήσεσθαι καὶ περι-
φανῆ τὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων, Ἄλεξανδρὸν δὲ τῆς
μὲν Ἀσίας κρατήσειν, ὡσπερ ἐκράτησε Δαρείος
ἐξ ἀστάνδου βασιλεὺς γενόμενος, ταχύ δὲ σὺν
doξῆ τὸν βίου ἀπολείψειν.

XIX. Ἐτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐθάρρησε καταγνώς
δειλίαν Ἀλεξανδροῦ πολύν χρόνον ἐν Κιλικίᾳ
dιατρίψαντος. ὥστε ἤ διατριβὴ διὰ νόσου, ὥστε
μὲν ἐκ κόπων, ὥστε λουσαμένῳ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Κύδνου
2 ῥεύματι καταπαγέντι 1 προσπεσεῖν λέγουσι. τὸν
μὲν όμοί ἀλλων ἱατρῶν οὐδεὶς ἐθάρρη βοηθήσειν,
ἀλλὰ τὸν κύνδυνον οἰόμενον πάσης ἱσχυρότερον
εἶναι βοηθείας ἐφοβοῦντο τὴν ἐκ τοῦ σφαλῆνα
διαβόλην πρὸς τοὺς Μακεδόνας. Φίλιππος δὲ ὁ

1 καταπαγέντι: Bekker reads καὶ καταπαγέντι (and got chilled).
sea-board, who was thought likely to give Alexander abundant trouble and infinite annoyance, he was all the more encouraged for his expedition into the interior. Moreover, Dareius was already coming down to the coast from Susa, exalted in spirit by the magnitude of his forces (for he was leading an army of six hundred thousand men), and also encouraged by a certain dream, which the Magi interpreted in a way to please him rather than as the probabilities demanded. For he dreamed that the Macedonian phalanx was all on fire, and that Alexander, attired in a robe which he himself formerly used to wear when he was a royal courier, was waiting upon him, after which service he passed into the temple of Belus and disappeared. By this means, as it would seem, it was suggested to Dareius from Heaven that the exploits of the Macedonians would be conspicuous and brilliant, that Alexander would be master of Asia, just as Dareius became its master when he was made king instead of royal courier, and would speedily end his life with glory.

XIX. Dareius was still more encouraged by Alexander’s long delay in Cilicia, which he attributed to cowardice. The delay was due, however, to a sickness, which assailed him in consequence of fatigues, according to some, but according to others, because he took a bath in the river Cydnus, whose waters were icy cold. Be that as it may, none of the other physicians had the courage to administer remedies, but thinking that the danger was too great to be overcome by any remedy whatever, they were afraid of the charges which would be made against them by the Macedonians in consequence of their failure;

1 So Aristobulus (Arrian, Anab. ii. 4, 7).
Ακαρνανίων μοχθηρὰ μὲν ἐώρα τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν ὄντα, τῇ δὲ φιλίᾳ πιστεύων, καὶ δεινὸν ἤγομένοις εἰ κινδυνεύοντι μὴ συγκινδυνεύσει μέχρι τῆς ἐσχάτης πέρας βοηθῶν καὶ παραβαλλόμενος, ἐπεχείρησε φαρμακεία καὶ συνέπεισεν αὐτὸν ὑπομείναι καὶ πιεῖν, σπεύδοντα ρωσθῆναι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον.

3 ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Παρμενίων ἐπεμψεν ἐπιστολὴν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου, διακελευόμενος αὐτῷ φυλάξασθαι τὸν Φίλιππον ὡς ὑπὸ Δαρείου πεπεισμένον ἐπὶ δωρεάς μεγάλαις καὶ γάμῳ θυγατρὸς ἀνελεῖν Ἀλέξανδρον. οὔ δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀναγινωσκόντας καὶ μηδενί δείξας τῶν φίλων ὑπὸ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον ὑπέθηκεν. ὅς δὲ τοῦ καιροῦ παρόντος εἰσήλθε μετὰ τῶν ἐταίρων ὁ Φίλιππος τὸ φάρμακον ἐν κύλικι κομίζων, ἐκεῖνῷ μὲν ἐπέδωκε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ φάρμακον ἐδέξατο προθύμως καὶ ἀνυπόπτως, ὡστε θαυμαστὴν καὶ θεατρικήν τὴν ὄψιν εἶναι, τοῦ μὲν ἀναγινώσκοντος, τοῦ δὲ πίνοντος, εἶτα ἁμα πρὸς ἄλληλους ἀποβλεπόντων σὺν ὁμοίως, ἄλλα τοῦ μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον φαινόμενο τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ διακεχυμένο τὴν πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον εὐμενείαν καὶ πίστιν ἀποφαίνοντος, ἐκεῖνου δὲ πρὸς τὴν διαβολὴν ἐξισταμένου καὶ ποτὲ μὲν θεοκλυτοῦντος καὶ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνατείνοντος τὰς χείρας, ποτὲ δὲ τῇ κλίνῃ περιπέπτοντος καὶ παρακαλοῦντος τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον 4 εὐθυμεῖν καὶ προσέχειν αὐτῷ. τὸ γὰρ φάρμακον ἐν ἀρχῇ κρατήσαν τὸν σώματος ὅλον ἀπέωσε καὶ κατέδυσεν εἰς βάθος τὴν δύναμιν, ὡστε καὶ φωνὴν ἐπιλιπεῖν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν αἰσθησιν ἀσαφῆ καὶ μικρὰ κομιδὴ γενέσθαι, λυποθυμίας ἐπιπεσοῦσας.

5 εὐθυμεῖν καὶ προσέχειν αὐτῷ. τὸ γὰρ φάρμακον ἐν ἀρχῇ κρατήσαν τὸν σώματος ὅλον ἀπέωσε καὶ κατέδυσεν εἰς βάθος τὴν δύναμιν, ὡστε καὶ φωνὴν ἐπιλιπεῖν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν αἰσθησιν ἀσαφῆ καὶ μικρὰ κομιδὴ γενέσθαι, λυποθυμίας ἐπιπεσοῦσας.
but Philip the Acarnanian, who saw that the king was in an evil plight, put confidence in his friendship, and thinking it a shameful thing not to share his peril by exhausting the resources of art in trying to help him even at great risk, prepared a medicine and persuaded him to drink it boldly, if he was anxious to regain his strength for the war. Meanwhile, however, Parmenio sent a letter to Alexander from the camp, urging him to be on his guard against Philip, for the reason that he had been persuaded by Dareius, with the promise of large gifts and a marriage with his daughter, to kill Alexander. Alexander read the letter and placed it under his pillow, without showing it to any one of his friends. When the time appointed was at hand, and Philip came in with the king’s companions, carrying the medicine in a cup, Alexander handed him the letter, while he himself took the medicine from him with readiness and no sign of suspicion. It was an amazing sight, then, and one well worthy of the stage,—the one reading the letter, the other drinking the medicine, and then both together turning their eyes upon one another, but not with the same expression; for Alexander, by his glad and open countenance, showed his good will towards Philip and his trust in him, while Philip was beside himself at the calumny, now lifting up his hands towards heaven and calling upon the gods to witness his innocence, and now falling upon the couch on which Alexander lay and beseeching him to be of good courage and obey his physician. For at first the medicine mastered the patient, and as it were drove back and buried deep his bodily powers, so that his voice failed, he fell into a swoon, and became almost wholly unconscious. However, he
οῦ μὴν ἄλλα ταχέως ἀναληφθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλίπ-πον καὶ ρᾷτας αὐτὸν ἐπέδειξε τοῖς Μακεδόσιων ὑπὸ γὰρ ἐπαύνοιτο πρὶν ἰδεῖν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀθυμοῦντες.

XX. Ἡν δὲ τις ἐν τῷ Δαρείου στρατῷ πεφευ-
γὼς ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἀνὴρ Μακεδών, Ἀμύντας, οὐκ ἄπειρος τῆς Ἀλέξανδρου φύσεως, οὗτος ὀρμημένον ἵδων Δαρείον εἴσῳ τῶν στενῶν βαδι-
ζεων ἐπὶ Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐδειτο κατὰ χώραν ὑπομε-
νειν, ἐν πλάτος ἔχουσι πεδίοις καὶ ἀναπεπταμέ-
νοις πρὸς ἐλάττωνας πλήθει τοσοῦτῳ διαμαχοῦ-

2 μενον. ἀποκριναμένου δὲ Δαρείου δεδεῖναι μὴ 
φθασωσίν αὐτὸν ἀποδράστες οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ 
διαφυγὼν Ἀλέξανδρος, "Ἀλλὰ τούτον γε," εἶπεν, 
"ο βασιλεῦ, χάριν θάρρεις βαδιεῖται γὰρ ἐκεῖνος 
ἐπὶ σὲ, καὶ σχεδὸν ἥδη βαδίζει." ταῦτα λέγων 
Ἀμύντας οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ἀλλὰ ἀναστὰς ἐπορεύετο 
Δαρείος εἰς Κιλικίαν, ἀμα δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς 

3 Συρίαν ἐπὶ ἐκεῖνον. ἐν δὲ τῇ νυκτὶ διαμαρτύντες 
ἀλλήλων αὕτης ἀνέστρεφον, Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν 
ὁδομενός τε τῇ συντυχίᾳ καὶ σπεύδῳ ἀπαντῆσαι 
περὶ τὰ στενά, Δαρείος δὲ τὴν προτέραν ἀνα-
λαβεῖν στρατοπεδεῖαν καὶ τῶν στενῶν ἔξελιξαι 
τὴν δύναμιν. ἥδη γὰρ ἐγνώκει παρὰ τὸ συμφέρον 
ἐμβεβληκός ἐαυτὸν εἰς χωρία θαλάττη καὶ ὧρει 
καὶ ποταμῷ διὰ μέσου ῥέοντι τῷ Πινάρῳ δύσ-
ιππα, καὶ διεσπασμένα πολλαχοῦ, καὶ πρὸς 
τῆς ὁλιγότητος τῶν πολεμιῶν ἔχοντα τὴν θέσιν.

4 Ἀλέξανδρῷ δὲ τὸν μὲν τόπον ἡ τύχη παρέσχεν,
was speedily restored to his senses by Philip, and when he had recovered strength he showed himself to the Macedonians, who refused to be comforted until they had seen Alexander.

XX. Now, there was in the army of Dareius a certain Macedonian who had fled from his country, Amyntas by name, and he was well acquainted with the nature of Alexander. This man, when he saw that Dareius was eager to attack Alexander within the narrow passes of the mountains, begged him to remain where he was, that he might fight a decisive battle with his vast forces against inferior numbers in plains that were broad and spacious. And when Dareius replied that he was afraid the enemy would run away before he could get at them, and Alexander thus escape him, "Indeed," said Amyntas, "on this point, O king, thou mayest be without fear; for he will march against thee, nay, at this very moment, probably, he is on the march." Dareius would not listen to these words of Amyntas, but broke camp and marched into Cilicia, and at the same time Alexander marched into Syria against him. But having missed one another in the night, they both turned back again, Alexander rejoicing in his good fortune, and eager to meet his enemy in the passes, while Dareius was as eager to extricate his forces from the passes and regain his former camping-ground. For he already saw that he had done wrong to throw himself into places which were rendered unfit for cavalry by sea and mountains and a river running through the middle (the Pinarus), which were broken up in many parts, and favoured the small numbers of his enemy. And not only was the place for the battle a gift of Fortune to Alexander, but
εστρατήγησε δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης ὑπαρχόντων πρὸς τὸ νικήσαι βέλτιον, ὡς γε τοσοῦτο πλῆθει τῶν βαρβάρων λειπόμενος ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὐ παρέσχε κύκλωσιν, αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ δεξιῷ τὸ εὐώνυμον ὑπερβαλὼν καὶ γενόμενος κατὰ κέρας φυγὴν ἐποίησε τῶν καθ’ αὐτὸν βαρβάρων, ἐν πρώτοις ἀγωνιζόμενος, ὡστε τρωθῆναι ξίφει τὸν μηρόν, ὡς μὲν Χάρης φησίν, ὑπὸ Δαρείου (συμπεσεῖν γὰρ 5 αὐτοὺς εἰς χείρας). Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ περὶ τῆς μάχης ἐπιστέλλων τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον οὐκ εἰρήκει ὅστις ἦν ὁ τρώσας, ὅτι δὲ τρωθεὶ τοῦ μηρὸν ἐγχειριδίῳ, δυσχερές δ’ οὔδεν ἀπὸ τοῦ τραύματος συμβαίνῃ γέγραφε.

Νικήσας δὲ λαμπρῶς καὶ καταβάλων ὑπὲρ ἐνδεκα μυριάδας τῶν πολεμίων, Δαρείου μὲν οὐχ εἰλε τέτταρας στάδιους ἢ πέντε προλαβόντα τῇ φυγῇ, τὸ δὲ ἄρμα καὶ τὸ τόξον αὐτοῦ λαβὼν 6 ἐπανήλθε καὶ κατέλαβε τοὺς Μακεδόνας τὸν μὲν ἄλλον πλοῦτον εἰ τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ στρατοπέδου φέροντας καὶ ἁγοῦτας ὑπερβάλλοντα πλήθει, καίτερ εὐξώνων πρὸς τὴν μάχην παραγενομένων καὶ τὰ πλείστα τῆς ἀποσκευῆς ἐν Δαμασκῷ καταλιπόντων, τὴν δὲ Δαρείου σκηνῆν ἐχειρηκότας 676 ἐκείνῳ, θεραπείας τε λαμπρᾶς καὶ παρασκευῆς 7 καὶ χρημάτων πολλῶν γέμουσαν. εὐθὺς οὖν ἀποδυσάμενος τὰ ὀπλὰ πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν ἐβάδιζεν, εἰπὼν "Ἰωμεν ἀπολουσόμενοι τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἱδρώτα τῷ Δαρείου λοιπῷ." καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐταίρων "Μά τῶν Δία" εἶπεν, "ἂλλα τῷ Ἀλέξανδρῳ τὰ γὰρ τῶν ῥήτωμένων εἰναὶ τε δεῖ 8 καὶ προσαγορεύεσθαι τοῦ κρατοῦντος." ὡς δὲ
his generalship was better than the provisions of Fortune for his victory. For since he was so vastly inferior in numbers to the Barbarians, he gave them no opportunity to encircle him, but, leading his right wing in person, extended it past the enemy's left, got on their flank, and routed the Barbarians who were opposed to him, fighting among the foremost, so that he got a sword-wound in the thigh. Chares says this wound was given him by Dareius, with whom he had a hand-to-hand combat, but Alexander, in a letter to Antipater about the battle, did not say who it was that gave him the wound; he wrote that he had been wounded in the thigh with a dagger, but that no serious harm resulted from the wound.

Although he won a brilliant victory and destroyed more than a hundred and ten thousand of his enemies, he did not capture Dareius, who got a start of four or five furlongs in his flight; but he did take the king's chariot, and his bow, before he came back from the pursuit. He found his Macedonians carrying off the wealth from the camp of the Barbarians, and the wealth was of surpassing abundance, although its owners had come to the battle in light marching order and had left most of their baggage in Damascus; he found, too, that his men had picked out for him the tent of Dareius, which was full to overflowing with gorgeous servitors and furniture, and many treasures. Straightway, then, Alexander put off his armour and went to the bath, saying: "Let us go and wash off the sweat of the battle in the bath of Dareius." "No, indeed," said one of his companions, "but rather in that of Alexander; for the property of the conquered must belong to the conqueror, and be called his." And when he
Πλούταρχος Βιογραφίες

εἶδε μὲν ὀλκία καὶ κροσσοῦς καὶ πυέλους καὶ ἀλαβάστρους, πάντα χρυσοῦ, ἡσκημένα περιττῶς, ὃδέως δὲ θεσπέσιον οἶον ὑπὸ ἀρωμάτων καὶ μύρων ὁ οἶκος, ἐκ δὲ τοῦτο παρῆλθεν εἰς σκηνὴν ὑψεῖ τε καὶ μεγέθει καὶ τῷ περὶ τὴν στρωματικὸν καὶ τραπέζας καὶ τὸ δείπνον αὐτοῦ κόσμῳ θαύματος ἀξίαν, διαβλέψας πρὸς τοὺς ἑταίρους, "Τοῦτο ἦν, ὡς εὑρίσκειν," ἐφη, "τὸ βασιλεύειν.

XXI. Τρειτώνον δὲ πρὸς τὸ δείπνον αὐτῶ φράζει τις ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ἀγομένας μητέρα καὶ γυναῖκα Δαρείου καὶ θυγατέρας δύο παρθένους ἰδούσας τὸ ἄρμα καὶ τὰ τόξα κόπτεσθαι καὶ βρηκεῖν, ὡς ἀπολωλότος ἐκεῖνον. συχνὸν οὖν ἐπισιχών χρόνον Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ ταῖς ἐκείνων τύχαις μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ ἐμπαθὴς γενόμενος, πέμπτε δεύοντο, ἀπαγγέλλαι κελεύσας ὡς οὔτε Δαρείους τεθνηκεν οὔτε Ἀλέξανδρον δεδέναι χρῆ.

2 Δαρείῳ γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἡγεμονίας πολεμεῖν, ἐκείναις δὲ πάντα υπάρξειν διὸ καὶ Δαρείου βασιλεύουντος ἡξιούντο. τοῦ δὲ λόγου ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἡμέρον καὶ χριστοῦ φανέντος ἐτὶ μᾶλλον τὰ τῶν ἔργων ἀρήντα φιλάνθρωπα. θάψαι γὰρ ὅσοι ἐβούλοντο Περσῶν ἐδώκες, ἐσθήτη καὶ κόσμῳ χρησάμεναι ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων, θεραπείας τε καὶ τιμής ἦν εἰχον οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν ἀφείλε, συντάξεις δὲ καὶ μεί-

3 ξονας ἐκαρποῦντο τῶν προτέρων. ᾗ δὲ καλλίστη καὶ βασιλικωτάτη χάρις ἦν παρ' αὐτοῦ γυναιξὶ γενναίαις γενομέναις αἰχμαλώτοις καὶ σώφροσι μήτε ἀκούσαι τι μήτε ὑπονοήσαι μήτε προσδοκη-
saw the basins and pitchers and tubs and caskets, all of gold, and curiously wrought, while the apartment was marvellously fragrant with spices and unguents, and when he passed from this into a tent which was worthy of admiration for its size and height, and for the adornment of the couch and tables and banquet prepared for him, he turned his eyes upon his companions and said: “This, as it would seem, is to be a king.”

XXI. As he was betaking himself to supper, someone told him that among the prisoners were the mother, wife, and two unmarried daughters of Dareius, and that at sight of his chariot and bow they beat their breasts and lamented, believing that he was dead. Accordingly, after a considerable pause, more affected by their affliction than by his own success, he sent Leonnatus, with orders to tell them that Dareius was not dead, and that they need have no fear of Alexander; for it was Dareius upon whom he was waging war for supremacy, but they should have everything which they used to think their due when Dareius was undisputed king. If this message was thought by the women to be mild and kindly, still more did the actions of Alexander prove to be humane. For he gave them permission to bury whom they pleased of the Persians, and to use for this purpose raiment and adornment from the spoils, and he abated not one jot of their honourable maintenance, nay, they enjoyed even larger allowances than before. But the most honourable and most princely favour which these noble and chaste women received from him in their captivity was that they neither heard, nor suspected, nor
σαι τῶν αἰσχρῶν, ἀλλʼ ὅσπερ οὐκ ἐν στρατοπέδῳ
πολεμίων, ἀλλʼ ἐν ἱεροῖς καὶ ἁγίοις φυλαττομένας
παρθενώσιν ἀπόρρητον ἔχειν καὶ ἄρατον ἐτέροις
diāstai. καὶ τοῖς λέγεται γε τὴν Δαρείου γυναῖκα
πολὺ πασῶν τῶν βασιλίδων εὐπρεπεστάτην γενέ-
σθαι, καθάπερ καὶ αὐτὸς Δαρείος ἀνδρῶν κάλ-
λιστος καὶ μέγιστος, τὰς δὲ παίδας ἐοικέναι τοῖς
γονεῦσιν.
4 Ἀλλʼ Ἀλέξανδρος, ὡς ἐοικε, τοῦ νικῶν τοὺς
πολεμίους τὸ κρατεῖν ἐαυτοῦ βασιλικότερον
ήγούμενος, οὔτε τούτων ἔθιγεν οὔτε ἄλλην ἔγνω
γυναῖκα πρὸ γάμου, πλὴν Βαρσίνης. αὐτὴ δὲ,
μετὰ τὴν Μέμνωνος τελευτὴν χήρα γενομένη, περὶ
Δαμασκὸν ἐλήφθη, πεπαιδευμένη δὲ παιδείαν
Ἑλληνικὴν καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἐπιεικῆς οὕσα καὶ
πατρὸς Ἀρταβάζου γεγονότος ἐκ βασιλέως θυ-
γατρός, ἐγνωσθη, Παρμενίωνος προτρεψαμένου
τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ὡς φησιν Ἀριστόβουλος, κα-
5 λῆς καὶ γενναίας ἄψασθαι γυναικός. τὰς δὲ
ἄλλας αἰχμαλώτους ὅρδον ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος κάλλει
καὶ μεγέθει διαφεροῦσας ἔλεγε παῖζων ὡς εἰσὶν
ἀλγηδόνες ὁμάτων αἰ Περσίδες. ἀντεπιδεικνύ-
μενος δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἱδέαν τὴν ἐκείνων τὸ τῆς ἱδίας
ἐγκρατείας καὶ σωφροσύνης κάλλος, ὅσπερ ἄψυ-
χους εἰκόνας ἀγαλμάτων παρέπεμψεν.
XXII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Φιλόξενος ὁ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ
στρατηγός ἐγραφεὶ εἶναι παρʼ αὐτῷ Θεόδωρον
τεία Ταραντίνου ἔχοντα παίδας ὀνύφους δύο τὴν
ὀφω ὑπερφυεῖς, καὶ πυθανόμενος εἰ πρίηται,
χαλεπῶς ἐνεγκὼν ἐβοά πολλίκες πρὸς τοὺς φί-
lους, ἐρωτῶν τῷ πώποτε Φιλόξενος αἰσχρὸν αὐτῷ
284
awaited anything that could disgrace them, but lived, as though guarded in sacred and inviolable virgins' chambers instead of in an enemy's camp, apart from the speech and sight of men. And yet it is said that the wife of Dareius was far the most comely of all royal women, just as Dareius himself also was handsomest and tallest of men, and the daughters resembled their parents.

But Alexander, as it would seem, considering the mastery of himself a more kingly thing than the conquest of his enemies, neither laid hands upon these women, nor did he know any other before marriage, except Barsine. This woman, Memnon's widow, was taken prisoner at Damascus. And since she had received a Greek education, and was of an agreeable disposition, and since her father, Artabazus, was son of a king's daughter, Alexander determined (at Parmenio's instigation, as Aristobulus says) to attach himself to a woman of such high birth and beauty. But as for the other captive women, seeing that they were surpassingly stately and beautiful, he merely said jestingly that Persian women were torments to the eyes.\(^1\) And displaying in rivalry with their fair looks the beauty of his own sobriety and self-control, he passed them by as though they were lifeless images for display.

XXII. Moreover, when Philoxenus, the commander of his forces on the sea-board, wrote that there was with him a certain Theodorus, of Tarentum, who had two boys of surpassing beauty to sell, and enquired whether Alexander would buy them, Alexander was incensed, and cried out many times to his friends, asking them what shameful thing Philoxenus had ever

\(^1\) Cf. Herod. v. 18.
συνεγγορώς τοιαύτα ὅνειδῃ προξενῶν κάθηται. τὸν δὲ Φιλόξενον αὐτὸν ἐν ἐπιστολῇ πολλὰ λοι-
dορήσας ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοῖς φορτίοις τὸν Θεόδωρον 677
2 εἰς τὸν ὀλέθρον ἀποστέλλειν. ἐπέπληξε δὲ καὶ
"Ἀγνωνι γράψαντί πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι Κρωβύλουν εὐδοκιμοῦνται ἐν Κορίνθῳ βούλεται πριάμους
ἀγαγεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν. πυνθανόμενος δὲ μισθοφόρων τινῶν γύναια διεφθαρκέναι Δάμωνα καὶ Τιμό-
θεον Μακεδόνας τὸν ὑπὸ Παρμενίωνι στρατευο-
μένων, ἔγραψε Παρμενίωνι κελεύων, ἐὰν ἐλεγ-
χθῶσιν, ὡς θηρία ἐπὶ καταφθορᾷ τῶν ἀνδρῶπων
3 γεγονότα τιμωρησάμενον ἀποκτείναι. καὶ περὶ
ἐαυτοῦ κατὰ λέξιν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐπιστολῇ γέ-
γραφεν ὁ Ἑλένος γὰρ όυχ ὃτι ἔωρακός ἄν εὐρεθειν
tὴν Δαρείου γυναῖκα ἥ βεβουλημένον ἰδεῖν, ἀλλ' ὁ
οὐδὲ τῶν λεγόντων περὶ τῆς εὐμορφίας αὐτῆς
προσδεδημένος τὸν λόγον." ἔλεγε δὲ μάλιστα
συνιέναι θυτός ὅν ἐκ τοῦ καθεύδειν καὶ συνου-
σιάζειν, ὡς ἄπο μιᾶς ἐγχινόμενον ἀσθενείας τῇ
φύσει καὶ τὸ πονοῦν καὶ τὸ ἱδόμενον.
4 Ὡς δὲ καὶ γαστρὸς ἐγκρατέστατος, καὶ τοῦτο
ἀλλοις τε πολλοῖς ἔδηλῳσε καὶ τοῖς πρὸς Ἀδαν
λεχθείσιν, ἦν ἐποιήσατο μητέρα καὶ Καρίας
βασιλισσαν ἀπέδειξεν. ὅσ ἡγὰρ ἐκεῖνη φιλοφρο-
νουμένῃ πολλὰ μὲν ὄψα καθ' ἤμεραν ἀπεστέλλεν
αὐτῷ καὶ πέμματα, τέλος δὲ τοὺς δοκούντας εἶναι
δεινοτάτους ὄψοποιοὺς καὶ ἄρτοποιοὺς, ἐφ' ἐκ
5 τοῦ μηδειοῦ δείσας: βελτίονας ἡγὰρ ὄψοποιοὺς
ἐχειν ὑπὸ τοῦ παϊδαγωγοῦ Δεωνίδου δεδομένους
286
seen in him that he should spend his time in making such disgraceful proposals. And on Philoxenus himself he heaped much reproach in a letter, bidding him send Theodorus to perdition, merchandize and all. He severely rebuked Hagnon also for writing to him that he wanted to buy Crobylus, whose beauty was famous in Corinth, as a present for him. Furthermore, on learning that Damon and Timotheus, two Macedonian soldiers under Parmenio’s command, had ruined the wives of certain mercenaries, he wrote to Parmenio ordering him, in case the men were convicted, to punish them and put them to death as wild beasts born for the destruction of mankind. In this letter he also wrote expressly concerning himself: “As for me, indeed, it will be found not only that I have not seen the wife of Dareius or desired to see her, but that I have not even allowed people to speak to me of her beauty.” And he used to say that sleep and sexual intercourse, more than anything else, made him conscious that he was mortal, implying that both weariness and pleasure arise from one and the same natural weakness.

He had also the most complete mastery over his appetite, and showed this both in many other ways, and especially by what he said to Ada, whom he honoured with the title of Mother and made queen of Caria.¹ When, namely, in the kindness of her heart, she used to send him day by day many viands and sweetmeats, and finally offered him bakers and cooks reputed to be very skilful, he said he wanted none of them, for he had better cooks which had been given him by his tutor, Leonidas; for his break-

¹ Cf. Arrian, Anab. i. 23, 8.
αυτῷ, πρὸς μὲν τὸ ἄριστον, νυκτοπορίαν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον, ὀλυγαριστίαν. "Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς οὕτος ἀνήρ," ἔφη, "καὶ τῶν στρωμάτων ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ ἀγ- 
γεία καὶ τῶν ἰματίων ἔλυεν, ἐπισκοπῶν μὴ τί 
μοι τρυφερὸν ἢ περισσὸν ἢ μήτηρ ἐνύσχειν."

XXIII. Ἡν δὲ καὶ πρὸς οίνου ἢττον ἢ ἐδόκει 
καταφερῆς. ἔδοξε δὲ διὰ τῶν χρόνων διὸ καὶ πίνων 
μᾶλλον ἢ λαλῶν εἰλκεν ἐφ’ ἐκώστης κύλικος, ἀεὶ 
μακρὸν τινα λόγον διατίθεμεν, καὶ ταῦτα πολ- 
λῆς σχολῆς οὐσίας. ἐπεὶ πρὸς γε τὰς πράξεις ὡς 
οίνος ἐκεῖνον, οὐχ ὑπνος, οὐ παιδιά τις, οὐ γάμος, 
οὐ θέα, καθάπερ ἄλλους στρατηγοὺς, ἐπέσχε. 

2 δηλοὶ δὲ ὁ βίος, ὃν βιώσας βραχὺν παντάπασι, 
πλείστων καὶ μεγίστων πράξεων ἐνέπλησεν. ἐν 
δὲ ταῖς σχολαῖς πρῶτον μὲν ἀναστὰς καὶ θύσας 
τοὺς θεοῖς εὐθὺς ἥριστα καθῆμεν· ἐπείτα διημέ- 
ρευεν κυνηγόν ἢ δικάζων ἢ συντάττων τι τῶν 
πολεμικῶν ἢ ἀναγινώσκων. εἰ δὲ ὢδὸν βαδίζων 
μὴ λιαν ἐπείγουσαν, ἐμάνθανεν ἁμα πορενομένοι 
ἡ τοξευόν ἢ ἐπιβαίνειν ἄρματος ἐλαυνομένου καὶ 

3 ἀποβαίνειν. πολλάκις δὲ παῖζων καὶ ἀλώπεκας 
ἐθήρευε καὶ ὀρνιθᾶς, ὡς ἔστι λαβέων ἐκ τῶν ἐφη- 
μερίδων. καταλύσας δὲ καὶ τρεπόμενος πρὸς 
λουτρὸν ἢ ἀλειμμα, τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν σιτοποιίων καὶ 
μαγείρων ἀνέκρινεν εἰ τὰ πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον ἐντρε- 
πώς ἔχουσι. καὶ δειπνεῖν μὲν ὠψε καὶ σκότους 
ἡδή κατακλινόμενος ἦρχετο, θαυμαστῇ δὲ ἦν ἢ 
ἐπιμέλεια καὶ περίβλεψις ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης, ὅπως 
μηδὲν ἄνισος μηδὲ ὀλιγώρως διανέμειτο· τὸν δὲ 

288
fast, namely, a night march, and for his supper, a light breakfast. "And this same Leonidas," he said, "used to come and open my chests of bedding and clothing, to see that my mother did not hide there for me some luxury or superfluity."

XXIII. To the use of wine also he was less addicted than was generally believed. The belief arose from the time which he would spend over each cup, more in talking than in drinking, always holding some long discourse, and this too when he had abundant leisure. For in the stress of affairs he was not to be detained, as other commanders were, either by wine, or sleep, or any sport, or amour, or spectacle. This is proved by his life, which, though altogether brief, he filled to overflowing with the greatest exploits. In his times of leisure, however, after rising and sacrificing to the gods, he immediately took breakfast sitting; then, he would spend the day in hunting, or administering justice, or arranging his military affairs, or reading. If he were making a march which was not very urgent, he would practise, as he went along, either archery or mounting and dismounting from a chariot that was under way. Often, too, for diversion, he would hunt foxes or birds, as may be gathered from his journals. After he had taken quarters for the night, and while he was enjoying bath or anointing, he would enquire of his chief cooks and bakers whether the arrangements for his supper were duly made. When it was late and already dark, he would begin his supper, reclining on a couch, and marvellous was his care and circumspection at table, in order that everything might be served impartially and without stint; but
πότον, ὡσπερ εἰρηται, μακρὸν ὑπὸ ἄδολεσχίας
4 ἐξέτεινε. καὶ τάλλα πάντων ἢδιστος ὄν βα-
σιλέων συνεῖναι καὶ χάριτος οὐδεμιᾶς ἀμοιρῶν,
tότε ταῖς μεγαλαυχίαις ἀγής ἐγίνετο καὶ λίαν
στρατιωτικὸς, αὐτὸς τε πρὸς τὸ κομμῶδες ὑπο-
φερόμενος καὶ τοῖς κόλαξιν ἐαυτὸν ἀνεικῶς ἱππά-
σιμον, ὦν ὁι χαριέστεροι τῶν παρόντων ἐπετρίβοντο,
μήτε ἀμιλλᾶσθαι τοῖς κόλαξι μήτε
λείπεσθαι βουλόμενοι τῶν αὐτῶν ἑπαίνων. τὸ
μὲν γὰρ αἰσχρὸν ἔδοκε, τὸ δὲ κίνδυνον ἔφερε.
5 μετὰ δὲ τῶν πότον λουσάμενος ἐκάθευδε πολλάκις
μέχρι μέσης ἁμέρας· ἐστὶ δ' ὅτε καὶ διημέρευεν ἐν
tῷ καθεύδειν.

Αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν καὶ ὄψων ἐγκρατῆς ἦν, ὡστε καὶ
tὰ σπανιώτατα πολλάκις τῶν ὑπὸ θαλάττης
αὐτῷ κομιζομένων ἀκροδρύων καὶ ἰχθύων ἐκάστῳ
δ.απεμπόμενοι τῶν ἑταίρων ἐαυτῷ μόνῳ μηδὲν

6 καταλιπεῖν· τὸ μέντοι δεῖπνον ἦν ἅεὶ μεγαλο-
πρεπεῖς, καὶ τοῖς εὐτυχίμασι τῆς δαπάνης ἀμα
συναυξομένης τέλος εἰς μυρίας δραχμὰς προῆλθεν.
ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐστὶ, καὶ τοσοῦτον ὕρισθη τελεῖν
tοῖς ὕποδεχομένοις Ἀλέξανδρον.

XXIV. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην τὴν ἐν Ἰσσὸ πέμ-
ψας εἰς Δαμασκὸν ἔλαβε τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὰς
ἀποσκευὰς καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν
Περσῶν. καὶ πλείστα μὲν ὁφελήθησαν οἱ τῶν
Θεσσαλῶν ἵππεῖς· τούτους γὰρ ἄνδρας ἄγαθοὺς
dιαφερόντως ἐν τῇ μάχῃ γενομένοις ἐπεμψεν ἐπὶ-
over the wine, as I have said, he would sit long, for conversation's sake. And although in other ways he was of all princes most agreeable in his intercourse, and endowed with every grace, at this time his boastfulness would make him unpleasant and very like a common soldier. Not only was he himself carried away into blustering, but he suffered himself to be ridden by his flatterers. These were a great annoyance to the finer spirits in the company, who desired neither to vie with the flatterers, nor yet to fall behind them in praising Alexander. The one course they thought disgraceful, the other had its perils. After the drinking was over, he would take a bath and sleep, frequently until midday; and sometimes he would actually spend the entire day in sleep.

In the matter of delicacies, too, he himself, at all events, was master of his appetite, so that often, when the rarest fruits or fish were brought to him from the sea-coast, he would distribute them to each of his companions until he was the only one for whom nothing remained. His suppers, however, were always magnificent, and the outlay upon them increased with his successes until it reached the sum of ten thousand drachmas. There it stood, and that was the prescribed limit of expenditure for those who entertained Alexander.

XXIV. After the battle at Issus,¹ he sent to Damascus and seized the money and baggage of the Persians together with their wives and children. And most of all did the Thessalian horsemen enrich themselves, for they had shown themselves surpassingly brave in the battle, and Alexander sent them on this expedition purposely, wishing to have them enrich

¹ November, 333 B.C.
2 τὸ λοιπὸν εὐπορίας στρατόπεδον. καὶ γευσάμενοι τότε πρῶτον οἱ Μακεδόνες χρυσοῦ καὶ υγρῶροι καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ διαίτης βαρβαρικῆς, ὡσπερ κύνες ἐσπευδὸν ἀψάμενοι στίβοι διῶκειν καὶ ἀνυχνεύειν τὸν τὸν Πέρσῳ πλούτον.

Οὐ μὴν ἄλλα Ἀλέξανδρῳ πρῶτον ἐδόκει κρατύνεσθαι τὰ πρὸς θαλάσση. Κύριον μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς οἱ βασιλεῖς ἦκον ἐγχειρίζοντες αὐτῷ, καὶ

3 Φοινίκην πλὴν Τύρου. Τύρον δὲ πολιορκῶν ἐπτὰ μῆνας χῶμασι καὶ μηχαναῖς καὶ τριήρεσι διακοσίαις ἐκ θαλάττης, ὅπως εἰδε τὸν Ἡρακλέα δεξιούμενον αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους καὶ καλοῦντα. τῶν δὲ Τυρίων πολλοῖς κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνοὺς ἔδοξεν ὁ Ἀπόλλων λέγειν ὡς ἀπεισὶ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον· οὐ γὰρ ἀρέσκειν αὐτῷ τὰ πρασόμενα κατὰ τὴν

4 πόλιν. ἄλλ’ αὐτοὶ μὲν ὡσπερ ἄνθρωπον αὐτομολούντα πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπ’ αὐτοφώρῳ τὸν θεὸν εἰληφότες σειρᾶς τε τῷ κολοσσῷ περιβάλλον αὐτοῦ καὶ καθῆκον πρὸς τὴν βάσιν, Ἀλέξανδριστὴν καλοῦντες. ἔτεραν δὲ ὅψιν

5 Ἀλέξανδρος εἰδε κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνοὺς. Σάτυρος αὐτῷ φανεῖς ἐδόκει προσπαίξειν πόρρωθεν, εἶτα βουλομένου λαβεῖν ὑπεξεφυγε· τέλος δὲ πολλά λυπαρῆς τοῖς καὶ περιδραμοῦντος ἤλθεν εἰς χείρα· οἱ δὲ μάντεις τοῦνομα διαιροῦντες οὐκ ἀπίθανος ἐφασαν αὐτῷ. "Σῇ γενήσεται Τύρος," καὶ κρήνην δὲ τινα δεικνύουσι, πρὸς ἥν κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνοὺς ἱδεῖν ἔδοξε τὸν Σάτυρον.

6 Διὰ μέσου δὲ τῆς πολιορκίας ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀραβας τοὺς προσοικοῦντας τῷ Ἀντιλιβάνῳ στρατεύσας
themselves. But the rest of the army also was filled with wealth. Then for the first time the Macedonians got a taste of gold and silver and women and barbaric luxury of life, and now that they had struck the trail, they were like dogs in their eagerness to pursue and track down the wealth of the Persians.

However, Alexander determined first to make himself master of the sea-coasts. As for Cyprus, then, its kings came at once and put the island in his hands, together with Phoenicia, with the exception of Tyre. But Tyre he besieged for seven months, with moles, and engines-of-war, and two hundred triremes by sea. During this siege he had a dream in which he saw Heracles stretching out his hand to him from the wall and calling him. And many of the Tyrians dreamed that Apollo told them he was going away to Alexander, since he was displeased at what was going on in the city. Whereupon, as if the god had been a common deserter caught in the act of going over to the enemy, they encircled his colossal figure with cords and nailed it down to its pedestal, calling him an Alexandrist. In another dream, too, Alexander thought he saw a satyr who mocked him at a distance, and eluded his grasp when he tried to catch him, but finally, after much coaxing and chasing, surrendered. The seers, dividing the word “satyros” into two parts, said to him, plausibly enough, “Tyre is to be thine.” And a spring is pointed out, near which Alexander dreamed he saw the satyr.

While the siege of the city was in progress, he made an expedition against the Arabians who dwelt in the neighbourhood of Mount Antilibanus. On

1 January–August, 332 B.C.
ἐκινδύνευσε διὰ τὸν παιδαγωγὸν Δυσίμαχον ἐξηκολούθησε γὰρ αὐτῷ λέγων τοῦ Φοίνικος οὐκ εἶναι χείρων οὐδὲ πρεσβύτερος. ἐπεὶ δὲ πλησιάσας τοῖς ὅρεινοις καὶ τοὺς ἔπεισεν ἀπολιπτῶν πεζὸς ἐβάδιζεν, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πολὺ προήλθον,

7 αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν Δυσίμαχον, ἐσπέρας ἦδη καταλαμβανούσης καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐγγὺς ὄντων, ἀπαγορεύοντα καὶ βαρυνόμενον οὐχ ὑπομένων ἀπολιπτῶν, ἀλλ' ἀνακαλούμενος καὶ παρακομίζων, ἔλαθε τοῦ στρατεύματος ἀποσπασθεῖς μετ' ὀλίγων καὶ σκότους ἁμα καὶ ρίγους σφοδρὸν νυκτερεύων ἐν χωρίοις χαλεποῖς. εἰδεν οὖν πόρρω πυρὰ πολλὰ καἰ ὧμενα σποράδῃ τῶν πολεμίων. θαρρῶν δὲ τοῦ σώματος τῇ κούφωτητι, καὶ τῷ πονεῖν αὐτὸς ἀεὶ παραμυθούμενος τὴν ἀπορίαν τῶν Μακεδόνων, προσέδραμε τοῖς ἐγγίστα πῦρ καίουσι καὶ περικαθημένοις τῇ πυρᾷ δύο βαρβάρους πατάξας τῷ ἐγχειριδίῳ καὶ δαλὸν ἀρπάσας ἢκε πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ κομίζων. ἐγκαύσαντες δὲ πῦρ πολὺ τοὺς μὲν εὐθὺς ἐφόβησαν ὡστε φυγεῖν, τοὺς δ' ἐπιώντας ἐτρέψαντο, καὶ κατηνιλίσθησαν ἀκινδύνως. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Χάρης ἱστόρηκεν.

XXV. Ἡ δὲ πολιορκία τοιοῦτον ἐσχε πέρας. Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν μὲν πολλὴν τῆς δυνάμεως ἀναπαύοντος ἄπο πολλῶν ἀγώνων τῶν ἐμπροσθεν, οἰκίσας δὲ τινας, ὡς μὴ σχολάζοιες οἱ πολέμιοι, 679 τοῖς τείχεσι προσάγοντος, Ἀρίστανδρος δὲ μάντις ἐσφαγμάζετο· καὶ τὰ σημεῖα κατιδὼν θρασύτερον

294
this expedition he risked his life to save his tutor, Lysimachus, who insisted on following him, declaring himself to be neither older nor weaker than Phoenix. But when the force drew near the mountains, they abandoned their horses and proceeded on foot, and most of them got far on in advance. Alexander himself, however, would not consent to abandon the worn and weary Lysimachus, since evening was already coming on and the enemy were near, but sought to encourage him and carry him along. Before he was aware of it, therefore, he was separated from his army with a few followers, and had to spend a night of darkness and intense cold in a region that was rough and difficult. In this plight, he saw far off a number of scattered fires which the enemy were burning. So, since he was confident in his own agility, and was ever wont to cheer the Macedonians in their perplexities by sharing their toils, he ran to the nearest camp-fire. Two Barbarians who were sitting at the fire he despatched with his dagger, and snatching up a fire-brand, brought it to his own party. These kindled a great fire and at once frightened some of the enemy into flight, routed others who came up against them, and spent the night without further peril. Such, then, is the account we have from Chares.

XXV. The siege of the city had the following issue. While Alexander was giving the greater part of his forces a rest from the many struggles which they had undergone, and was leading up only a few men to attack the walls, in order that the enemy might have no respite, Aristander the seer made a sacrifice, and after taking the omens, declared very confidently

1 Cf. chapter v. 5.
διωρίσατο πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας ἐν ἑκείνῳ τῷ μῆνὶ
2 πάντως ἀλώσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν. γενομένου δὲ χλευασμοῦ καὶ γέλωτος (ὅν γὰρ ἦ τελευταία τοῦ
μηνὸς ἡμέρα), διηπορημένου αὐτῶν ἰδῶν ὁ βασι-
λεὺς καὶ συμφιλιοτιμούμενος ἄεὶ τοῖς μαντεύμασιν
ἐκέλευε μηκέτι τριακάδα τὴν ἡμέραν ἑκείνην,
ἀλλὰ τρίτην φθίνοντο ἀριθμεῖν καὶ τῇ σάλ-
πιγην σημήνας ἀπεπειράτο τῶν τεῖχῶν ἐρρωμενέ-
στερον ἦπερ ἐξ ἁρχῆς διενοήθη. γενομένης δὲ λαμπρᾶς ἐπιβολῆς καὶ μηδὲ τῶν ἑπὶ στρατοπέδου
καρτερούντων, ἀλλὰ συντρεχόντων καὶ προσβο-
θούντων, ἀπείποι ὁ Τύριος· καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐβλε
κατ' ἑκείνην τῇ ἡμέρᾳ.

3 Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα πολιορκοῦντι Γάζαν αὐτῷ, τῆς
Συρίας μεγίστην πόλιν, ἐμπίπτει βόδος εἰς τὸν
ὁμον ἁφεθεῖς ἀνωθεν ὕπο ὀρνιθος. ὁ δὲ ὅρνις ἐφ'
ἐν τῶν μηχανημάτων καθίσας ἔλαθεν ἑνσχέθη
tοῦς νευρόνοις κεκρυφάλοις, ὅσ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιστρο-

4 φᾶς τῶν σχοινίων ἐχρώντο. καὶ τὸ σημεῖον
ἀπέβη κατὰ τὴν Ἀριστάνδρου πρόρρησιν ἐτρώθη
μὲν γὰρ Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς τὸν ὄμον, ἔλαθε δὲ τὴν
πόλιν. ἀποστέλλων δὲ πολλὰ τῶν λαφύρων
Ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ Κλεοπάτρᾳ καὶ τοῖς φίλοις, κατέ-
πεμψε καὶ Δεωνίδη τῷ παιδαγωγῷ τάλαντα

5 λιβανωτοῦ πεντακόσια καὶ σμύρνης ἑκατόν, ἀνα-
μνησθεὶς παιδικῆς ἐξπίδος. ὁ γὰρ Δεωνίδης, ὃς
ἐοικεί, ἐν θυσίᾳ ποτὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπι-
δραξάμενον ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ καθαγί-
σαντα τοῦ θυμιάματος, "’Οταν," ἔφη, "τῆς

296
to the bystanders that the city would certainly be captured during that month. His words produced laughter and jesting, since it was then the last day of the month, and the king, seeing that he was perplexed, and being always eager to support his prophecies, gave orders to reckon that day, not as the thirtieth of the month, but as the twenty-eighth; and then, after the trumpet had sounded the signal, he attacked the walls with greater vigour than he had at first intended. The assault became fierce, and even those troops which had been left in camp could not restrain themselves, but ran in throngs to help the assailants, and the Tyrians gave up the fight. So Alexander took the city on that day.

After this, as he was giving siege to Gaza, the principal city of Syria, a clod of earth, which had been dropped from on high by a bird, struck him on the shoulder. The bird alighted on one of the battering-engines, and was at once caught in the network of sinews which were used to give a twist to the ropes. And the omen was fulfilled as Aristander predicted; for though Alexander was wounded in the shoulder, he took the city. Moreover, as he was dispatching great quantities of the spoils home to Olympias and Cleopatra and his friends, he sent also to Leonidas his tutor five hundred talents' weight of frankincense and a hundred of myrrh, in remembrance of the hope with which that teacher had inspired his boyhood. It would seem, namely, that Leonidas, as Alexander was one day sacrificing and taking incense with both hands to throw upon the altar-fire, said to him:—"Alexander,

1 During September and October of 332 B.C.
2 Cf. Curtius, Hist. Alex. iv. 6, 11 f.
άρωματοφόρου κρατήσης, Ὄλεξανδρε, πλουσίως οὖτως ἐπιθυμιάσεις; νῦν δὲ φειδομένως χρῶ τοῖς παροῦσι." τότε οὖν Ὄλεξανδρος ἐγραψε πρὸς αὐτόν: "Ἀπεστάλκαμεν σοι λιβανωτὸν ἀφθονον καὶ σμύρναν, ὅπως παύσῃ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς μικρολογούμενος."

XXVI. Κιβωτίον δὲ τινὸς αὐτῷ προσενεχθέντος, οὔ ποτε λευκέστερον οὐδὲν ἔφαν τοῖς τὰ Δαρείου χρήματα καὶ τὰς ἀποσκευὰς παράλαμβάνουσιν, ἥρωτα τοὺς φίλους ὦ τι δοκοί μάλιστα τῶν ἀξίων σπουδῆς εἰς αὐτὸ καταθέσαν. πολλὰ δὲ πολλῶν λεγόντων αὐτῶς ἔφη τὴν Ἰλιάδα 2 φιούρησειν ἑνταῦθα καταθέμενος. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ ἀλλόθροι τῶν ἀξιοπίστων μεμαρτυρήκασιν. εἰ δ', ὅπερ Ὄλεξανδρεῖς λέγουσιν Ἡρακλείδη πιστεύσωτε, ἀληθὲς ἔστιν, οὐκότι ἄργος οὖδὲ ἁσύμβολος αὐτῷ συστράτευειν ἑοίκετο" ὸμηρος. λέγοντι γὰρ ὅτι τῆς Αἰγύπτου κρατήσας ἐβούλετο πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ πολυάνθρωπον Ἑλληνίδα συνοικίσας ἐπώνυμον εαυτοῦ καταλιπεῖν, καὶ τινα τόπον γνώμη τῶν ἀρχιτεκτόνων ὅσον οὐδέπω διεμετρῆτο 3 καὶ περιέβαλλεν. εἶτα νῦκτωρ κοιμώμενος ὄψιν εἶδε θαυμαστήν· ἀνὴρ πολιὸς εὖ μάλα τὴν κόμην καὶ γεραρὸς τὸ εἷδος ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ παραστὰς λέγειν τὰ ἐπὶ τάδε·

Νῆσος ἔπειτά τις ἐστὶ πολυκλύστω ἐνὶ πόντῳ, Αἰγύπτου προπάροιθε. Φάρον δὲ ἐκ κικλήσκουσιν.

εὕθὺς οὖν ἔξαναστας ἐβαίδεξεν ἐπὶ τὴν Φάρον, ἦ τότε μὲν ἔτι νῆσος ἦν, τοῦ Κανωβικοῦ μικρὸν ἀνωτέρω στόματος, νῦν δὲ διὰ χῶματος ἀνείλη-
when thou hast conquered the spice-bearing regions thou canst be thus lavish with thine incense; now, however, use sparingly what thou hast.” Accordingly, Alexander now wrote him: “I have sent thee myrrh and frankincense in abundance, that thou mayest stop dealing parsimoniously with the gods.”

XXVI. When a small coffer was brought to him, which those in charge of the baggage and wealth of Dareius thought the most precious thing there, he asked his friends what valuable object they thought would most fittingly be deposited in it. And when many answered and there were many opinions, Alexander himself said he was going to deposit the Iliad there for safe keeping.¹ This is attested by many trustworthy authorities. And if what the Alexandrians tell us on the authority of Heracleides is true, then it would seem that Homer was no idle or unprofitable companion for him in his expedition. They say, namely, that after his conquest of Egypt he wished to found a large and populous Greek city which should bear his name, and by the advice of his architects was on the point of measuring off and enclosing a certain site for it. Then, in the night, as he lay asleep, he saw a wonderful vision. A man with very hoary locks and of a venerable aspect appeared to stand by his side and recite these verses:—

“Now, there is an island in the much-dashing sea,  
In front of Egypt; Pharos is what men call it.”²

Accordingly, he rose up at once and went to Pharos, which at that time was still an island, a little above the Canobic mouth of the Nile, but now it has been

¹ Cf. chapter viii. 2. ² Odyssey, iv. 354 f.
4 πται προς τὴν ἡπειρον. ὡς οὖν εἶδε τὸπον εὐφυῖα διαφέροντα (ταινία γάρ ἐστιν ἱσθμῷ πλάτος ἔχοντι σύμμετρον ἐπιεικὸς διεύργοσα λίμνην τε πολλὴν καὶ θάλασσαν ἐν λιμένι μεγάλῳ τελευτῶσαν), εἰπὼν ὡς "Ὀμηρὸς ἦν ἄρα τά τε ἄλλα θαυμαστὸς καὶ σοφώτατος ἀρχιτεκτόνων, ἐκέλευσε διαγράψαι τὸ σχῆμα τῆς πόλεως.

5 τῷ τόπῳ συναρμόττοντας. καὶ γῇ μὲν οὐ παρῆν λευκῇ, τῶν δὲ ἀλφίτων λαμβάνοντες ἐν πεδίῳ μελαγγείῳ κυκλοτερῆ κόλπων ἤγον, οὐ τὴν ἐντὸς περιφέρειαν εὑθεῖα βάσεις ὡσπερ ἀπὸ κρασπέδων εἰς σχῆμα χλαμύδος ὑπελάμβανον, ἐξ ἵσον συνάγονται τὸ μέγεθος. ἦσθεντος δὲ τῇ διαθέσει τοῦ βασιλέως αἰφνίδιον ὤρνθες ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς λίμνης, πλήθει τε ἄπειροι καὶ κατὰ γένος παντοδαποὶ καὶ μέγεθος, ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον καταρροτες νέφεσιν ἐοικότες οúde μικρὸν ὑπέλιπτον τῶν ἀλφίτων, ὡστε καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον διαταραχθῆναι πρὸς τὸν οὐγων.

6 Οὐ μὴν ἄλλα τῶν μάντεων θαρρεῖν παρανοοῦντων (πολυναρκεστάτην γὰρ οἰκίζοντι πόλιν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, καὶ παντοδαπῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐσομένην τροφῶν) ἔργων κελεύσας ἔχεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιμελητὰς αὐτὸς ὁμηριεῖν εἰς Ἀμμωνος, ὅδον μακρὰν καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἔχουσαν ἐργώδη καὶ ταλαίπωρα, κινδύνους δὲ δύο, τὸν μὲν ἀνυδρίας, δ’ ἴνα ἔρημος ἐστὶν οὐκ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν, τὸν δὲ, εἶ λάβρος ἐν ἀμμῷ βαθείᾳ καὶ ἀχανεῖ πορευομένοις ἐπιπέσοι νότος,
joined to the mainland by a causeway. And when he saw a site of surpassing natural advantages (for it is a strip of land like enough to a broad isthmus, extending between a great lagoon and a stretch of sea which terminates in a large harbour), he said he saw now that Homer was not only admirable in other ways, but also a very wise architect, and ordered the plan of the city to be drawn in conformity with this site. There was no chalk at hand, so they took barley-meal and marked out with it on the dark soil a rounded area, to whose inner arc straight lines extended so as to produce the figure of a chlamys, or military cloak, the lines beginning from the skirts (as one may say), and narrowing the breadth of the area uniformly. The king was delighted with the design; but suddenly birds from the river and the lagoon, infinite in number and of every sort and size, settled down upon the place like clouds and devoured every particle of the barley-meal, so that even Alexander was greatly disturbed at the omen.

However, the seers exhorted him to be of good cheer, since the city here founded by him would have most abundant and helpful resources and be a nursing mother for men of every nation, and so he ordered those in charge of the work to proceed with it, while he himself set out for the temple of Ammon. The journey thither was long, full of toils and hardships, and had two perils. One is the dearth of water, which leaves the traveller destitute of it for many days; the other arises when a fierce south wind smites men travelling in sand of boundless depth,

1 Cf. Arrian, Anab. iii. 2, 1.
ός ποι καὶ πάλαι λέγεται περὶ τὸν Καμβύσου στρατόν, ἀναστήσας βίνα μεγάλην καὶ κυματώσας τὸ πεδίον μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων πέντε καταχώσαι καὶ διαφθείραι. ταῦτα πάντα σχεδὸν πάντες ἔλογιζοντο, χαλεπὸν δὲ ἦν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀποτρέψαι πρὸς ὁτιοῦν ὄρμημένον. ἦ τε γὰρ τύχη ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς ὑπείκουσα τῇ γυνώμην ἵσχυρὰν ἔποιει, καὶ τὸ θυμοειδὲς ἄχρι τῶν πραγμάτων ὑπεξέφερε τῇ φιλονεικίᾳ ἀκτίνῃ, οὐ μόνον πολεμίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τόπους καὶ καιροὺς καταβιαζομένην.

XXVII. Ἐν γοῦν τῇ τότε πορείᾳ τὰ συντυχόντα ταῖς ἀπορίαις παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθήματα τῶν υστέρων χρησμῶν ἐπιστεύθη μᾶλλον τρόπον ὑπὲρ ταῖς συστάσεως ἐκ τούτων ὑπήρξε. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐκ Δίως ύδωρ πολὺ καὶ διαρκείς υπεκαίγοντο τὸν τε σῆμα καὶ τοῖς χρησμοῖς ἡ πίστις ἐκ τούτων ὑπηρέτζε. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐκ Δίως ύδωρ πολὺ καὶ διαρκείς υπεκαίγοντο τὸν τε σῆμα καὶ τοῖς χρησμοῖς ἡ πίστις ἐκ τούτων ὑπηρέτζε. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐκ Δίως ύδωρ πολὺ καὶ διαρκείς υπεκαίγοντο τὸν τε σῆμα καὶ τοῖς χρησμοῖς ἡ πίστις ἐκ τούτων ὑπηρέτζε.

2 παρέσχον. ἔπειτα τῶν ὅρων, οὐπερ ἦταν τοῖς ὤνημοις, συνεχοῦσται καὶ πλάνης ὀψις καὶ διασπασμοῦ τῶν βαδιζόντων διὰ τὴν ἁγιαί, κόρακες ἐκφανέντες ὑπελάμβανοι τὴν ἠγεμονίαν τῆς πορείας, ἐπομένων μὲν ἐμπρόσθεν πετόμενοι καὶ σπεῦδοντες, ὑπερωντὰς δὲ καὶ βραδύνοντας

3 ἀναμένοντες: ὅ δὲ ἦν θαυμασιώτατον, ὡς Καλλισθένης φησὶ, ταῖς φωναῖς ἀνακαλούμενοι τοὺς

---

1 Cf. Herod. iii. 26.
2 According to Ptolemy, son of Lagus, two serpents served Alexander's army as guides to the oracle and back again. "But Aristobulus, whose account is generally admitted to
as is said to have been the case with the army of Cambyses, long ago; the wind raised great billows of sand all over the plain and buried up fifty thousand men, to their utter destruction.\footnote{Almost all of Alexander's followers took all these things into consideration, but it was difficult to turn him aside from any course so ever when he had once set out upon it. For Fortune, by yielding to his onsets, was making his purpose obstinate, and the high spirit which he carried into his undertakings rendered his ambition finally invincible, so that it subdued not only enemies, but even times and places.}

XXVII. At all events, during the journey which he made at this time, the assistance rendered him by Heaven in his perplexities met with more credence than the oracles which he afterwards received, nay, in a way, the oracles obtained credence in consequence of such assistance. For, to begin with, much rain from heaven and persistent showers removed all fear of thirst, quenched the dryness of the sand, so that it became moist and compact, and made the air purer and good to breathe. Again, when the marks for the guides became confused, and the travellers were separated and wandered about in ignorance of the route, ravens appeared and assumed direction of their march,\footnote{flying swiftly on in front of them when they followed, and waiting for them when they marched slowly and lagged behind. Moreover, what was most astonishing of all, Callisthenes tells us that the birds by their cries called back those who straggled away in the night, be correct, says that two ravens flew in front of the army and acted as Alexander's guides” (Arrian, Anab. iii. 3, 5 f.).} flying swiftly on in front of them when they followed, and waiting for them when they marched slowly and lagged behind. Moreover, what was most astonishing of all, Callisthenes tells us that the birds by their cries called back those who straggled away in the night,
πλανωμένους νύκτωρ καὶ κλάζοντες εἰς ἕχνος καθίστασαι τῆς πορείας.

'Επεὶ δὲ διεξελθὼν τὴν ἑρμοὺς ἤκεν εἰς τὸν τόπον, ὁ μὲν προφήτης αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀμμανος ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ χαίρειν, ὡς ἀπὸ πατρός, προσεῖπεν ὁ δὲ ἐπήρετο μὴ τις αὐτοῦ εἰς διαπεφευγός τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς φονεῶν. εὐφημεῖν δὲ τοῦ προφήτου κελεύσαντος, ὦ γὰρ εἶναι πατέρα θυτῶν αὐτῶ, μεταβαλὼν ἐπυνθάνετο, τοὺς Φιλίππου φονεῖς εἰ πάντας εἶνε τετμωριμένοις: εἶτα περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, εἰ πάντων αὐτῶ δίδωσιν ἀνθρώπων κυρὼ γενέσθαι. χρήσαντος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τούτο διδόναι καὶ Φιλίππου ἀπέχειν ἐκπλεώ τὴν δίκην, ἐδωρεῖτο τὸν θεὸν ἀναθήμασι λαμπροῖς καὶ χρήμασι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

5 Ταῦτα περὶ τῶν χρησμῶν οἱ πλείστοι γράφουσιν αὐτῶς δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν ἔπιστολῇ πρὸς τὴν μητέρα φησὶ γεγονέναι τινὰς αὐτῶς μαντείας ἀπορρήτους, ὡς αὐτῶς ἐπανελθὼν φράσει πρὸς μόνην ἐκείνην. ἔνιοι δὲ φασὶ τὸν μὲν προφήτην Ἐλληνιστὶ βουλόμενον προσεῖπεῖν μετὰ τινὸς φιλοφροσύνης "Ὃ παιδίον," ἐν τῷ τελευταῖῳ τῶν φθόγγοι ὑπὸ βαρβαρίσμῳ πρὸς τὸ σῆμα ἐξενεχθῆναι καὶ εἰπεῖν, "Ὃ παιδίος," ἀντὶ τοῦ νῦ τῷ σῆμα χρησάμενον, ἀσμένω δὲ τῷ Ἀλέξανδρῳ τὸ σφάλμα τῆς φωνῆς γενέσθαι καὶ διαδοθῆναι λόγων ὡς παίδα Διὸς αὐτῶν τοῦ θεοῦ προσεπόντως.

6 λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ψάμμωνος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τοῦ φιλοσόφου διακόυσας ἀποδέξασθαι μάλιστα τῶν λεχθέντων, ὅτι πάντες οἱ ἀνθρώποι βασιλεύονται ὑπὸ θεοῦ· τὸ γὰρ ἄρχον ἐν ἑκάστῳ καὶ κρατοῦν

304
and cawed until they had set them in the track of the march.

When Alexander had passed through the desert and was come to the place of the oracle, the prophet of Ammon gave him salutation from the god as from a father; whereupon Alexander asked him whether any of the murderers of his father had escaped him. To this the prophet answered by bidding him be guarded in his speech, since his was not a mortal father. Alexander therefore changed the form of his question, and asked whether the murderers of Philip had all been punished; and then, regarding his own empire, he asked whether it was given to him to become lord and master of all mankind. The god gave answer that this was given to him, and that Philip was fully avenged. Then Alexander made splendid offerings to the god and gave his priests large gifts of money.

This is what most writers state regarding the oracular responses; but Alexander himself, in a letter to his mother, says that he received certain secret responses, which he would tell to her, and to her alone, on his return. And some say that the prophet, wishing to show his friendliness by addressing him with “O paidion,” or O my son, in his foreign pronunciation ended the words with “s” instead of “n,” and said, “O paidios,” and that Alexander was pleased at the slip in pronunciation, and a story became current that the god had addressed him with “O pai Dios,” or O son of Zeus. We are told, also, that he listened to the teachings of Psammon the philosopher in Egypt, and accepted most readily this utterance of his, namely, that all mankind are under the kingship of God, since in every case that
κοινὸν ἄνθρώπων πατέρα τὸν θεόν, ἰδίους δὲ ποιούμενον ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς ἀρίστους.


ἰχώρ, οἶος πέρ τε ῥέει μακάρεσσι θεοίσιν." εἶπε δὲ μεγάλης ποτὲ βροντῆς γενομένης καὶ πάντων ἐκπλαγεντῶν Ἀνάξαρχος ὁ σοφιστής πάρων ἔφη πρὸς αὐτὸν, "Μή τι σὺ τοιοῦτον ὁ τοῦ Διὸς;" γελάσας ἐκεῖνος, "Οὐ βούλομαι γάρ," εἶπε, "φοβερὸς εἶναι τοῖς φίλοις, ὡσπερ σὺ με κελεύεις ὁ καταφαυλίζων μου τὸ δείπνον, ὅτι ταῖς τραπέζαις ἵχθυας ὅρας ἐπικειμένους, οὐ σατρα-3 πών κεφαλάς." τῷ γὰρ ὅτι λέγεται τὸν Ἀνά-ξαρχον ἵχθυδίων Ἡφαιστίων πεμφθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν προειρημένον ἐπιφθέγξασθαι λόγον, οἶον ἐξευτελίζοντα καὶ κατειρωμένουν

306
which gets the mastery and rules is divine. Still more philosophical, however, was his own opinion and utterance on this head, namely that although God was indeed a common father of all mankind, still, He made peculiarly His own the noblest and best of them.

XXVIII. In general, he bore himself haughtily towards the Barbarians, and like one fully persuaded of his divine birth and parentage, but with the Greeks it was within limits and somewhat rarely that he assumed his own divinity. However, in writing to the Athenians concerning Samos, he said: "I cannot have given you that free and illustrious city; for ye received it from him who was then your master and was called my father," meaning Philip. At a later time, however, when he had been hit by an arrow and was suffering great pain, he said: "This, my friends, that flows here, is blood, and not 'Ichor, such as flows from the veins of the blessed gods.'"¹

Once, too, there came a great peal of thunder, and all were terrified at it; whereupon Anaxarchus the sophist who was present said to Alexander: "Couldst thou, the son of Zeus, thunder like that?" At this, Alexander laughed and said: "Nay, I do not wish to cause fear in my friends, as thou wouldst have me do, thou who despisest my suppers because, as thou sayest, thou seest the tables furnished with fish, and not with satraps' heads."² For, in fact, we are told that Anaxarchus, on seeing a present of small fish which the king had sent to Hephaestion, had uttered the speech above mentioned, as though he were dis-

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

toûs tâ periβleppta megálouîs pónouis kai kûndû-

vois diókountas, òs oûdeîn ò mîkroûn ev ëdonais kai
ápolauûseî pléon êxontas tòv ãllwv. ò d' òîn
'Aléxandros kai ápò tòv ëirhmênov dêlûs êstiv
aûtòs oûdeîn peπouðòs oûdeî teπuφwÎenôs, álλa
toûs ãllous kàtadouûûmenos tì ðóxeî tîs òeió-
têtòs.

XXIX. Eis de Ïouîkèvên èpavèlòvîn èξ Aîgù-
pòvòu ðusias toîs òeòîs kai pòmpàs èpetêlei kai
χoròvûn kûkliûwv kai traγikîwv àγôwvàs, ou mûnò

v tâis paraðkeuâîs, álλa kai tâis ìmîllâiû lam-
prouûs Ïenoumènous. êxwðîghouv ãår òi baðîleîs

tòv Kûprîwv, òspèper 'Aðhînêsv òi këplouûmenoi

tàs ðûlâs, kai ëghovîzûnto ðauðmâstì fîlotoûmâ

pûs ãllîlîs. mûlîsta ðe Nîkôkrewv ò Sâlâm-
mûînîs kai Pàsîkràtâs ò Sôlius dièphîlowîkèsv.

2 ouîtòi ãår êlakhou toîs ènðôxòtûtoûs ãpokritâís

xórhgeîn, Pàsîkràtâs mèn 'Aðhînôdôrf, Nîko-
krewv ðe Òëssaîlûû, pèrî òv èspouûdàkei kai aûtòs
'Aléxandros. ouî ìmûn dièfînê tîn spouðhûn prò-
terov ò tâiûs ïûfîsov ànàγorouðhînai nîkòvta tûn
'Aðhînôdôrówv. tôte dê, òs èoikev, àptîow èfì tòûs

mèn krîtaûs èpâivîenî, aûtòs mèntoi mèrûs àv ëdëwû

p oùsèðh tîs baðîleîas èpî tû ìmû Òëssaîlûû

3 ðìdeîn vepikêmènou. èpèî ðe 'Aðhînôdôrówv òpò tûn
'Aðhînàîwv ëùmìoðhës, ótî pûs tûn àγôwvà tûwv
Dìovûswûw ouî àpîntîstev, ëxiûv ìgràfai pèrî
paraging and ridiculing those who undergo great toils and dangers in the pursuit of eminence and power, since in the way of enjoyments and pleasures they have little or nothing more than other men. From what has been said, then, it is clear that Alexander himself was not foolishly affected or puffed up by the belief in his divinity, but used it for the subjugation of others.

XXIX. When he had returned from Egypt into Phoenicia, he honoured the gods with sacrifices and solemn processions, and held contests of dithyrambic choruses and tragedies which were made brilliant, not only by their furnishings, but also by the competitors who exhibited them. For the kings of Cyprus were the choregi, or exhibitors, just like, at Athens, those chosen by lot from the tribes, and they competed against each other with amazing ambition. Most eager of all was the contention between Nicocreon of Salamis and Pasicrates of Soli. For the lot assigned to these exhibitors the most celebrated actors, to Pasicrates Athenodorus, and to Nicocreon Thessalus, in whose success Alexander himself was interested. He did not reveal this interest, however, until, by the votes of the judges, Athenodorus had been proclaimed victor. But then, as it would appear, on leaving the theatre, he said that he approved the decision of the judges, but would gladly have given up a part of his kingdom rather than to have seen Thessalus vanquished. And yet, when Athenodorus, who had been fined by the Athenians for not keeping his engagement in the dramatic contest of their Dionysiac festival, asked the king to write a letter to them in his behalf,

1 Early in 331 B.C.
αὐτοῦ τὸν βασιλέα, τούτῳ μὲν οὐκ ἐποίησε, τὴν δὲ ξημίαν ἀπέστειλε παρ’ ἑαυτοῦ. Λύκωνος δὲ τοῦ Σκαρφέως εὐημεροῦντος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ καὶ στίχον εἰς τὴν κωμῳδίαν ἐμβαλόντος αἴτησιν περιέχοντα δέκα ταλάντων, γελάσας ἔδωκε.

4 Δαρεῖον δὲ πέμψαντος ἐπιστολῆν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ φίλους δεομένους μύρια μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐαλωκότων λαβεὶν τάλαντα, τὴν δὲ ἐντὸς Εὐφράτου πᾶσαν ἐχοντα καὶ γῆμαντα μίαν τῶν θυγατέρων φίλον εἶναι καὶ σύμμαχον, έκοινοῦντο τοῖς ἐταίροις καὶ Παρμενίωνος εἰπόντος "Εγὼ μεν, εἰ Ἀλέξανδρος ἡμην, ἑλαβον ἀν ταύτα," "Καγώ, νη Δία," εἶπεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, "εἰ Παρμενίων." πρὸς δὲ τὸν Δαρεῖον ἐγγραφεὶν, ὡς οὐδενὸς ἀνυχησεί τῶν φιλανθρώπων ἐλθὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, αὐτὸς ἐπ’ ἐκεῖνον ἦδη πορεύεσθαι.

XXX. Ταχὺ μέντοι μετεμελήθη τῆς Δαρείου γυναικὸς ἀποθανοῦσης ἐν ὁδίσιν καὶ φανέρας ἦν ἀνιῶμενος· ὡς επίδειξιν οὐ μικρὰν ἀφηρημένος χριστότητος. ἔθαψεν οὖν τὴν ἀνθρωπον οὐδεμιᾶς πολυτελείας φειδόμενος. τῶν δὲ θαλαμηπόλων τις εὐνούχων, οὗ συνεαλόκεισαν ταῖς γυναιξίν, ἀποδρᾶς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ πρὸς Δαρείον ἀφιππασάμενος, Τείρεως ὄνομα, φράξει ἀνὶ τὸν θάνατον αὐτῷ τῆς γυναικὸς. ὡς δὲ πληξάμενος τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ ἀνακλαύσας "Φιῦ τοῦ Περσῶν" ἐφή "δαίμονος, εἰ τὴν βασιλέως γυναικα καὶ ἄδελφην οὐ μόνον αἰχμαλωτόν γενέσθαι

310
though he would not do this, he sent them the amount of the fine from his own purse. Furthermore, when Lycon of Scarpheia, who was acting successfully before Alexander, inserted into the comedy a verse containing a request for ten talents, Alexander laughed and gave them to him.¹

When Dareius sent to him a letter and friends,² begging him to accept ten thousand talents as ransom for the captives, to hold all the territory this side of the Euphrates, to take one of his daughters in marriage, and on these terms to be his ally and friend, Alexander imparted the matter to his companions. "If I were Alexander," said Parmenio, "I would accept these terms." "And so indeed would I," said Alexander, "were I Parmenio." But to Dareius he wrote: "Come to me, and thou shalt receive every courtesy; but otherwise I shall march at once against thee."³

XXX. Soon, however, he repented him of this answer, when the wife of Dareius died in childbirth, and it was evident that he was distressed at this loss of opportunity to show great kindness. Accordingly, he gave the woman a sumptuous burial. One of the eunuchs of the bed-chamber who had been captured with the women, Teireos by name, ran away from the camp, made his way on horseback to Dareius, and told him of the death of his wife. Then the king, beating upon his head and bursting into lamentation, said: "Alas for the evil genius of the Persians, if the sister and wife of their king

¹ Cf. Morals, pp. 334 f.
² This was during the siege of Tyre, according to Arrian (Anab. ii. 25, 1).
³ This was but the conclusion of an arrogant letter. Cf. Arrian, Anab. ii. 25, 3.
ξώσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τελευτήσασαν ἁμοιρον κείσθαι ταφῆς βασιλικῆς,” ὑπολαβὼν ὁ θαλαμηπόλος, "’Αλλὰ ταφῆς γε χέρων," εἶπεν, "ὁ βασιλεύ, καὶ τιμῆς ἀπάσης καὶ τοῦ πρέποντος οὐδὲν ἔχεις. 3 αιτιάσασθαι τὸν ποιηρὸν δαίμονα Περσῶν. οὔτε γὰρ ξώσῃ τῇ δεσποίνῃ Στατείρᾳ καὶ μητρὶ σῇ καὶ τέκνοις ἐνέδει τῶν πρόσθεν ἁγαθῶν καὶ καλῶν ἢ τὸ σὺν ὅραν φῶς, ὁ πάλιν ἀναλάμψει λαμπρὸν ὁ κύριος Ὥρωμαίσδης, οὔτε ἀποθανοῦσα κόσμου τινὸς ἁμοιρος γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολεμίων τετίμηται δάκρυσιν. οὔτω γὰρ ἔστι χρηστὸς κρατήρας 'Αλέξανδρος, ως δεινὸς μαχόμενος.”

4 Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντα Δαρείου ἡ ταραχᾷ καὶ τὸ πάθος ἐξέφερε πρὸς ὑποψίας ἀτόπους· καὶ τὸν εὐνοῦχον ἐνδότερον τῆς σκηνῆς ἀπαγαγών, “Εἰ μὴ καὶ σὺ μετὰ τῆς Περσῶν,” ἔφη, "τὸ χρής μακετενοῦξεις, ἀλλ’ ἔτι σοι δεσπότης ἐγὼ Δαρείος, εἰπὲ μοι σεβόμενοι Μίθρου τε φῶς μέγα καὶ δεξιὰν βασίλειον, ἀρα μὴ τὰ μικρότατα τῶν Στατείρας κλαίω κακῶν, οἰκτρότερα δὲ ξώσης ἐπάσχομεν, καὶ μᾶλλον ἂν κατ’ ἄξιαν ἐδυστυχοῦμεν ὡμῷ καὶ σκυθρωπῷ περιπεσόντες ἐχθρῷ; τί γὰρ ἐνπρετέωι ἀνδρὶ νέῳ πρὸς ἐχθροῦ γυναῖκα μέχρι1 τιμῆς τοσοῦτης συμβόλαιον;” ἔτι λέγοντος αὐτοῦ καταβαλὼν ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας Τείρεως αὐτὸν ἱκέτευεν εὐφημεῖν καὶ μήτε 'Αλέξανδρον ἄδικεῖν μήτε τὴν τεθνεόσαν ἰδελφὴν καὶ γυναίκα κατασχύναι, μήτε αὐτοῦ τὴν μεγίστην ὄν ἐπταίκεν

1 μέχρι Coraës and Bekker: καὶ μέχρι.
must not only become a captive in her life, but also in her death be deprived of royal burial.” “Nay, O King,” answered the chamberlain, “as regards her burial, and her receiving every fitting honour, thou hast no charge to make against the evil genius of the Persians. For neither did my mistress Stateira, while she lived, or thy mother or thy children, lack any of their former great blessings except the light of thy countenance, which Lord Oromazdes will cause to shine again with lustre; nor after her death was she deprived of any funeral adornment, nay, she was honoured with the tears of enemies. For Alexander is as gentle after victory as he is terrible in battle.”

When Dareiueus heard this, his agitation and grief swept him into absurd suspicions, and leading the eunuch away into a more secluded part of his tent, he said: “If thou also, together with the fortune of the Persians, dost not side with the Macedonians, and if I, Dareiueus, am still thy lord and master, tell me, as thou reverest the great light of Mithras and the right hand of thy king, is it not the least of Stateira’s misfortunes that I am now lamenting? While she was alive did I not suffer more pitiful evils? And would not my wretched fortune have been more compatible with my honour if I had met with an angry and savage enemy? For what intercourse that is proper can a young man have with an enemy’s wife when it leads to such marks of honour?” While the king was still speaking, Teireos threw himself down at his feet and besought him to hold his peace, and neither to wrong Alexander, nor shame his dead sister and wife, nor rob himself of the greatest consolation for his disasters,
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ

ἀφαιρεῖσθαι παραμυθεῖν, τὸ δοκεῖν ὅπερ ἄνδρὸς ἠττήσθαι κρείττονος ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θαυμάζειν Ἀλέξανδρον ὅσ τοι πλείονα ταῖς Περσῶν γυναιξὶ σωφροσύνη ἢ Πέρσαις ἀνδρείαν ἐπιδειδευμένον. ἃμα δὲ ὅρκον τε φρικώδεις τοῦ θαλαμητῶλου κινοῦντος ὑπὲρ τούτων, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἐγκρατείας καὶ μεγαλοπρεπείας τῆς Ἀλέξανδρον λέγοντος, ἐξελθὼν πρὸς τοὺς ἐταῖρους ὁ Δαρείος καὶ χείρας ἀνατέτας πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐπεύξατο: "Θεοὶ γενέθλιοι καὶ βασίλειοι, μάλιστα μὲν ἐμοὶ διδοίητε τὴν Περσῶν τύχην εἰς ὅρθον αὐθίς σταθεῖσαν ἐφ’ ὃς ἐδεξάμην ἀγαθοίς ἀπολιπεῖν, ἵνα κρατήσας ἀμείψωμαι τὰς Ἀλέξανδρον χάριτας δὲν εἰς τὰ φιλτατὰ πταίσας ἑτυχῶν. 7 εἰ δ’ ἄρα τις οὕτως εἰμαρττὸς ἥκει χρόνος, ὁφειλόμενος νεμέσει καὶ μεταβολή, παῦσασθαι τὰ Πέρσῶν, μηδεὶς ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων καθισεῖν εἰς τὸν Κύρου θρόνον πλὴν Ἀλέξανδρον.” τάντα μὲν οὕτω γενέσθαι τε καὶ λεχθήναι φασιν οἱ πλείστοι τῶν συγγραφέων.

XXXI. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τὴν ἐντός τοῦ Εὐφράτου πάσαν ὅφ’ ἑαυτῷ ποιησάμενος ἠλαυνεὶ ἐπὶ Δαρείον ἐκατόν μυριάσι στρατοῦ καταβαίνοντα. καὶ τις αὐτῷ φράζει τῶν ἐταῖρων, ὡς ἡ γέλωτος ἀξίων πράγμα, τοὺς ἀκολούθους παῖζοντας εἰς δύο μέρη διηρήκειν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς, ὃν ἐκατέρου στρατηγὸν εἶναι καὶ ἡγεμόνα, τὸν μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον, τὸν δὲ Δαρείον ὅπερ αὐτῶν προσαγορευόντω-2 μενον ἀρξαμένους δὲ βῶλοις ἀκροβολίζεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, εἶτα πυγμαίας, τέλος ἐκκεκαῦσθαι τῇ φιλονεκία καὶ μέχρι λίθων καὶ ξύλων, πολ-
namely, the belief that he had been conquered by a man who was superior to human nature; nay, he should even admire Alexander for having shown greater self-restraint in dealing with Persian women than valour against Persian men. Then, while the eunuch was confirming his testimony with the most solemn oaths, and discoursing on the general self-mastery and magnanimity of Alexander, Dareius went out to his companions, and lifting his hands towards heaven, prayed: "O ye gods of my race and kingdom, above all things else grant that I may leave the fortune of Persia reëstablished in the prosperity wherein I found it, in order that my victory may enable me to requite Alexander for the favours which I received at his hands when I had lost my dearest possessions; but if, then, a fated time has now come, due to divine jealousy and the vicissitudes of things, and the sway of the Persians must cease, grant that no other man may sit upon the throne of Cyrus but Alexander." That these things were thus done and said is the testimony of most historians.¹

XXXI. But to return to Alexander, when he had subdued all the country on this side of the Euphrates, he marched against Dareius,² who was coming down to meet him with a million men. On this march one of his companions told him, as a matter worth laughing at, that the camp-followers, in sport, had divided themselves into two bands, and set a general and commander over each of them, one of whom they called Alexander, and the other Dareius; and that they had begun by pelting one another with clods of earth, then had fought with their fists, and finally, heated with the desire of battle, had taken

¹ Cf. Arrian, Anab. iv. 20. ² In June or July of 331 B.C.
λοὺς καὶ δυσκαταπαύστους γεγονότας. ταύτα δὲ ἀκούσας ἐκέλευσεν αὐτούς μονομαχῆσαι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας· καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸς ὁπλίσε, τὸν δὲ Δαρείον Φιλώτας. ἔθεατο δὲ ὁ στρατός, ἐν οἷῳ τοῖς μέλλοντος τιθέμενος τὸ γεγονόμενον. ἦσχυρᾶς δὲ τῆς μάχης γενομένης ἐνίκησεν ὁ καλούμενος Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ ὅρωραν ἐλάβε δώδεκα χώμας καὶ στολῆς Περσικῆς χρῆσθαι. ταύτα μὲν οὖν Ἐρατοσθένης ἱστορηκε.

3 Τὴν δὲ μεγάλην μάχην πρὸς Δαρείον οὐκ ἐν Ἀρβηλίοις, ἀπερ οἱ πολλοί γράφουσιν, ἀλλὰ ἐν Πανομήληοις γενέσθαι συνέπεσε. σημαίνει δὲ φασιν οἶκον καμήλου τὴν διάλεκτον, ἐπεὶ τῶν πάλαι τις βασιλέων ἐκφυγήν πολεμίους ἐπὶ καμήλου δρομάδος ἐνταῦθα καθίσμασεν αὐτῆς, ἀποτάξας τινὰς κόμας καὶ προσόδους εἰς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν. ἦ μὲν οὖν σελήνη τοῦ Βοηθρομιῶνος ἐξέλυτε περὶ τὴν τῶν μυστηρίων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀρχῆς, εἴδεκάτη δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκλείψεως νυκτὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐν ὁμεί γεγονότων, Δαρείος μὲν ἐν ὁπλοῖς συνείχε τὴν δύναμιν, ὡπὸ λαμπάδων ἐπιπορευόμενος τὰς τάξεις, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀναπαυμένον αὐτὸς πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς μετὰ τοῦ μάντεως Ἀριστάνδρου διέτριβεν, ἱερουργίας τινὰς ἀπορρίτους ἱερουργούμενος καὶ τῷ Φόβῳ σφαγιαζόμενος. οὐ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι τῶν ἑταίρων, καὶ μάλιστα Παρμενίων, ὦς τὸ μὲν πεδίον τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ Νιφάτου καὶ τῶν ὁρῶν τῶν Πορτναίων ἀπαύ ἐωρᾶτο καταλαμπόμενον τοῖς βαρβαρικοῖς φέγγεσιν, ἀτέκμαρτος δὲ τις φωνῆ συμμεριμμένη καὶ θόρυβος ἐκ τοῦ στρατο-
to stones and sticks, being now many and hard to quell. When he heard this, Alexander ordered the leaders themselves to fight in single combat; to the one called Alexander he himself gave armour, and to the one called Dareius, Philotas. The army were spectators of the combat, counting the issue as in some measure an omen of the future. After a strenuous battle, the one called Alexander was victorious, and received as a reward twelve villages and the right to wear Persian dress. This, at any rate, is what we are told by Eratosthenes.

Now, the great battle against Dareius was not fought at Arbela, as most writers state, but at Gagamela.1 The word signifies, we are told, "camel's house," since one of the ancient kings of the country, after escaping from his enemies on a swift camel, gave the animal a home here, assigning certain villages and revenues for its maintenance. It so happened that in the month Boëdromion the moon suffered an eclipse,2 about the beginning of the Mysteries at Athens, and on the eleventh night after the eclipse, the armies being now in sight of one another, Dareius kept his forces under arms, and held a review of them by torch-light; but Alexander, while his Macedonians slept, himself passed the night in front of his tent with his seer Aristander, celebrating certain mysterious sacred rites and sacrificing to the god Fear. Meanwhile the older of his companions, and particularly Parmenio, when they saw the plain between the Niphates and the Gordyaean mountains all lighted up with the barbarian fires, while an indistinguishably mingled and tumultuous sound of voices arose from their camp as

1 Cf. Arrian, Anab. iii. 8, 7. 2 September 20, 331 B.C.
πέδου καθάπερ ἐξ ἀχανοῦς προσήχει πελάγος,
6 θαυμάσαντες τὸ πλῆθος καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους
dιαλεχθέντες ὡς μέγα καὶ χαλεπὸν ἔργον εἰς
συμπεσόντας ἐκ προφανοῦς τοσοῦτον ὡσασθαί
πόλεμον, ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν γενομένω τῷ βασιλεί
προσελθόντες ἐπείθον αὐτοῦ ἐπιχειρήσανυκτῶρ
tοῖς πολεμίως καὶ τῷ σκότῳ τὸ φοβερῶτατον
7 συγκαλύπσα τού μέλλοντος ἀγῶνος. ὃ δὲ τὸ
μνημονευόμενον εἰπόν, "Οὐ κλέπτω τὴν νίκην,
ἐνίοις μὲν ἐδοξε μειρακιόδη καὶ κενὴν ἀπόκρισιν
πεποίησαί, παῖζων πρὸς τοσοῦτον κίνδυνον,
ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ τῷ παρόντι θαρρεῖν καὶ στοχάζεσθαι
τού μέλλοντος ὀρθῶς, μὴ διδοὺς πρόφασιν ἡττη-
θέντι Δαρείῳ πρὸς ἀλλήν αὕτης ἀναθαρρῆσαι
πείραν, αὐτωμένῳ τούτων νύκτα καὶ σκότος,
ὡς ὄρη καὶ στενῶ καὶ θάλασσαν τῶν προτέρων.
8 οὐ γὰρ ὅπλων οὐδὲ σωμάτων ἀπορίᾳ πάϊσεσθαι
πολεμοῦντα Δαρείον ἀπὸ τηλικαύτης δυνάμεως
καὶ χώρας τοσαύτης, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἄφη τὸ φρόνημα
καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα, δι' ἐμφανοῦς ἦττης κατὰ κράτος
ἐξελεγχθεῖσ.

XXXII. Ἀπελθόντων δὲ τούτων κατακλιθεῖσ
ὑπὸ σκηνῆν λέγεται τὸ λοιπὸν μέρος τῆς νυκτὸς
ὑπνῷ βαθεὶ κρατηθῆναι παρὰ τὸ εἰσωθός, ὡστε
θαυμάζειν ἐπελθόνται ὀρθῶν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ
παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐξενεγκεῖν παράγγελμα πρῶτον
ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι τοὺς στρατιῶτας· ἐπεὶ τοῦ
καιροῦ κατεπείγοντος εἰσελθόντα Παρμενίωνα
καὶ παραστάντα τῇ κλίνῃ δῆς ἡ ἐτής αὐτοῦ φθέγ-
ξασθαι τούνομα· καὶ διεγερθέντος οὕτως ἐρωτῶν
if from a vast ocean, were astonished at their multitude and argued with one another that it was a great and grievous task to repel such a tide of war by engaging in broad day-light. They therefore waited upon the king when he had finished his sacrifices, and tried to persuade him to attack the enemy by night, and so to cover up with darkness the most fearful aspect of the coming struggle. But he gave them the celebrated answer, “I will not steal my victory”; whereupon some thought that he had made a vainglorious reply, and was jesting in the presence of so great a peril. Others, however, thought that he had confidence in the present situation and estimated the future correctly, not offering Dareius in case of defeat an excuse to pluck up courage again for another attempt, by laying the blame this time upon darkness and night, as he had before upon mountains, defiles, and sea.¹ For Dareius would not give up the war for lack of arms or men when he could draw from so great a host and so vast a territory, but only when he had lost courage and hope, under the conviction brought by a downright defeat in broad day-light.

XXXII. After the men were gone, Alexander lay down in his tent, and is said to have passed the rest of the night in a deeper sleep than usual, so that when his officers came to him in the early morning they were amazed, and on their own authority issued orders that the soldiers should first take breakfast. Then, since the occasion was urgent, Parmenio entered the tent, and standing by his couch called Alexander twice or thrice by name; and when he

¹ Cf. Arrian, Anab. iii. 10, where it is Parmenio who advises a night attack.
δ' τι δὴ πεπονθὼς ὑπνον καθεύδοι νεκικηκότος, οὐχὶ μέλλοντος ἀγωνιεῖσθαι τῶν μέγιστον τῶν ἀγωνιῶν. τὸν γὰρ Ἀλέξανδρον εὑπειν διαμειδιάσαντα: "Τί γάρ; οὐκ ἦδη σοι νευκηκέναι δοκοῦμεν ἀπηλλαγμένοι τοῦ πλανᾶσθαι καὶ διώκειν ἐν πολλῇ καὶ κατεφθαρμένῃ φυγομαχοῦντα χώρα Δαρείου;" οὗ μόνον δὲ πρὸ τῆς μάχης, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν κίνδυνον ἐπεδείξατο μέγαν καὶ συνεστηκότα τῷ λογιζεσθαι καὶ θαρρεῖν ἑαυτῶν.
3 ἔσχε γὰρ ὁ ἄγων ὑποτροπήν καὶ σάλον ἐν τῷ εὐνούμῳ κέρατι κατὰ Παρμενίωνα, τῆς Βακτριανῆς ὑππον ρόθῳ πολλῷ καὶ μετὰ βίας παρεμπεσοῦσι εἰς τοὺς Μακεδόνας, Μαξαίον δὲ περιπέμψαντος ἐξω τῆς φάλαγγος ἑπείς τοῖς σκευοφυλακοῦσι προσβαλοῦντας. διὸ καὶ θορυβοῦμενος ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων ὁ Παρμενίων ἀπέστειλε πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἀγγέλους φράζοντας οἶχεσθαι τὸν χάρακα καὶ τὰς ἀποσκευὰς, εἰ μὴ κατὰ τάχος βοήθειαν ὃχυραν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος πέμψει τοῖς ὑπισθείς. ἔτυχε μὲν οὖν κατ' ἐκεῖνο καρπὸν τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐφόδου διδοὺς σημείον ὡς δὲ ἦκουσε τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Παρμενίωνος, οὐκ ἐφ' ἱσθομένων αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ ἐντὸς εἰναι τῶν λογισμῶν, ἀλλὰ ἐπιλεληθῆθαι ταραττόμενον ὅτι νικῶντες μὲν προσκτήσονται καὶ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων, ἡπτωμένους δὲ φρουτιστέον ὑπὲρχρημάτων οὐδὲ ἀνδραπόδων, ἀλλὰ ὅπως ἀποθανοῦνται καλῶς καὶ λαμπρῶς ἀγονιζόμενοι.
4 Ὁπισθεὶς τὰ ἐπιστείλας Παρμενίων τὸ κράνος περιέθετο, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον ὑπλισμὸν εὕθυς ἀπὸ σκηνῆς.
had thus roused him, he asked him how he could possibly sleep as if he were victorious, instead of being about to fight the greatest of all his battles. Then Alexander said with a smile: "What, pray? Dost thou not think that we are already victorious, now that we are relieved from wandering about in a vast and desolated country in pursuit of a Dareius who avoids a battle?" And not only before the battle, but also in the very thick of the struggle did he show himself great, and firm in his confident calculations. For in the battle the left wing under Parmenio was thrown back and in distress, when the Bactrian cavalry fell upon the Macedonians with great impetuosity and violence, and when Mazaeus sent horsemen round outside the line of battle to attack those who were guarding the Macedonian baggage. Therefore, too, Parmenio, much disturbed by both occurrences, sent messengers to Alexander telling him that camp and baggage were gone, unless he speedily sent strong reinforcements from front to rear.¹ Now, it chanced that at that instant Alexander was about to give the signal for the onset to those under his command; but when he heard Parmenio's message, he declared that Parmenio was beside himself and had lost the use of his reason, and had forgotten in his distress that victors add the baggage of the enemy to their own, and that those who are vanquished must not think about their wealth or their slaves, but only how they may fight gloriously and die with honour.

After sending this message to Parmenio, he put on his helmet, but the rest of his armour he had on as

¹ Cf. Arrian, Anab. iii. 15, 1, where Parmenio's message recalls Alexander from the pursuit of Dareius.
εἶχεν, ὑπένδυμα τῶν Σικελίκων ξωστῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ θώρακα διπλοῦν λυνοῦ ἐκ τῶν ληφθέντων ἐν Ἰσσῷ. τὸ δὲ κράνος ἦν μὲν σιδηρόν, ἐστιλβε δὲ ὅσπερ ἄργυρος καθαρὸς, ἐργον Θεοφίλου, συνήρμοστο δὲ αὐτῷ περιτραχήλιον ὁμοίως σιδη-
6 ροῦ, λιθοκόλλητον μάχαιραν δὲ θαιμαστὴν βαφῆ καὶ κουφότητι, δωρησαμένου τοῦ Κιτιέων βασιλέως, εἶχεν, ἡσκημένος τὰ πολλὰ χρήσθαι μαχαίρα παρὰ τὰς μάχας. ἐπιπόρπωμα δὲ ἐφόρει τῇ μὲν ἐργασίᾳ σοβαρώτερον ἢ κατὰ τὸν ἄλλου ὀπλισμὸν· ἦν γὰρ ἐργον Ἐλικῶνος τοῦ παλαιοῦ, τιμὴ δὲ τῆς Ῥῳδίων πόλεως, ύφ’ ἦς ἐδόθη δόρον.
7 ἐχρήτο δὲ καὶ τούτῳ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγώνας. ἀχρὶ μὲν οὖν συντάττων τι τῆς φάλαγγος ἢ παρα-
κελεύμονας ἢ διδάσκων ἢ ἐφορῶν παρεξήλαυνεν, ἄλλου ἑκατον εἰχὲ, τοῦ Βουκεφάλα φειδόμενος ἢ ὅπω τιρήλικος ὤντος· χαροῦντι δὲ πρὸς ἐργον ἐκεῖνος προσήγετο, καὶ μεταβὰς εὐθὺς ἦρχεν ἐφόδου.

XXXIII. Τότε δὲ τοῖς Θετταλοῖς πλεῖστα διαλεξθεῖσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἐλληνισιν, ὡς ἐπέρρω-
σαν αὐτῶν βοῶντες ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους, τὸ ἔστον εἰς τὴν ἀριστερὰν μεταβαλῶν τῇ δεξιᾷ παρεκάλει τοὺς θεοῦς, ὡς Καλλισθένης φησίν, ἐπευχόμενος, εἴπερ ὄντως Διόθεν ἐστὶ γεγονὼς,
2 ἀμύναι καὶ συνεπιρρώσαι τοὺς Ἐλληνας. ὡ δὲ μάντις Αρίστανδρος χλανίδα λευκῆν ἔχων καὶ χρυσοῦν στέφανον ἐπεδείκνυτο παριππεύων ἀετῶν
he came from his tent, namely, a vest of Sicilian make girt about him, and over this a breastplate of two-ply linen from the spoils taken at Issus. His helmet was of iron, but gleamed like polished silver, a work of Theophilus; and there was fitted to this a gorget, likewise of iron, set with precious stones. He had a sword, too, of astonishing temper and lightness, a gift from the king of the Cilicianians, and he had trained himself to use a sword for the most part in his battles. He wore a belt also, which was too elaborate for the rest of his armour; for it was a work of Helicon the ancient, and a mark of honour from the city of Rhodes, which had given it to him; this also he was wont to wear in his battles. As long, then, as he was riding about and marshalling some part of his phalanx, or exhorting or instructing or reviewing his men, he spared Bucephalas, who was now past his prime, and used another horse; but whenever he was going into action, Bucephalas would be led up, and he would mount him and at once begin the attack.

XXXIII. On this occasion, he made a very long speech to the Thessalians and the other Greeks, and when he saw that they encouraged him with shouts to lead them against the Barbarians, he shifted his lance into his left hand, and with his right appealed to the gods, as Callisthenes tells us, praying them, if he was really sprung from Zeus, to defend and strengthen the Greeks. Aristander the seer, too, wearing a white mantle and having a crown of gold upon his head, rode along the ranks pointing out to

---

1 Sometimes the term "Hellenes" excludes, and sometimes it includes, the Macedonians. The context must decide. Cf. xlvii. 5.
ΠΛΥΤΟΡΧΗΣ Ο ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΣΥΝΕΥΔΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΟΝΤΑ ΜΑΣΤΙΓΩΤΩΝ ΧΕΙΡΩΝ ΣΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΗ 

5 Δεραίος δέ, τόν δεινόν αμάντον ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς "υς τῇ κατακαλύτητος τῆς διάσκειας ἡπειροχωρίῳ, καὶ προσόντα, καὶ κατοικήτως τῇ κατακαλύτητος τῆς διάσκειας ἡπειροχωρίῳ, καὶ προσόντα, καὶ κατοικήτως τῇ κατακαλύτητος τῆς διάσκειας ἡπειροχωρίῳ, καὶ προσόντα, καὶ κατοικήτως τῇ κατακαλύτητος τῆς διάσκειας ἡπειροχωρίῳ, καὶ προσόντα, καὶ κατοικήτως τῇ κατακαλύτητος τῆς διάσκειας ἡπειροχωρίῳ, καὶ προσόντα, καὶ κατοικήτως τῇ κατακαλύτητος τῆς διάσκειας ἡπειροχωρίῳ, καὶ προσόντα, καὶ κατοικήτως τῇ κατακαλύτητος τῆς διάσκειας ἡπειροχωρίῳ.
them an eagle which soared above the head of Alexander and directed his flight straight against the enemy, at which sight great courage filled the beholders, and after mutual encouragement and exhortation the cavalry charged at full speed upon the enemy and the phalanx rolled on after them like a flood. But before the foremost ranks were engaged the Barbarians gave way, and were hotly pursued, Alexander driving the conquered foe towards the centre of their array, where Dareius was.¹ For from afar he was seen by Alexander through the deep ranks of the royal squadron of horse drawn up in front of him, towering conspicuous, a fine-looking man and tall, standing on a lofty chariot, fenced about by a numerous and brilliant array of horsemen, who were densely massed around the chariot and drawn up to receive the enemy. But when they saw Alexander close at hand and terrible, and driving those who fled before him upon those who held their ground, they were smitten with fear and scattered, for the most part. The bravest and noblest of them, however, slain in front of their king and falling in heaps upon one another, obstructed the Macedonians in their pursuit, weaving and twining themselves in their last agonies about riders and horses.

But Dareius, now that all the terrors of the struggle were before his eyes, and now that the forces drawn up to protect him were crowded back upon him, since it was not an easy matter to turn his chariot about and drive it away, seeing that the wheels were obstructed and entangled in the great numbers of the fallen, while the horses, surrounded and hidden

¹ Alexander's tactics are minutely described by Arrian (Anab. iii. 14, 1-3).
λαμβανόμενοι καὶ ἀποκρυπτόμενοι τῷ πλήθει τῶν νεκρῶν ἐξήλλοντο καὶ συνετάραττον τὸν ἤνιοχον, ἀπολείπει μὲν τὸ ἄρμα καὶ τὰ οπλα, θῆλειαν δὲ,

6 ὡς φασί, νεστόκον ἵππον περιβάς ἐφυγεν. οὐ μὴν τότε ἂν ἐδόκει διαφυγεῖν, εἰ μὴ πάλιν ἦκον ἐτεροὶ παρὰ τοῦ Παρμενίωνος ἵππεῖς μετακαλοῦντες Ἀλέξανδρον, ὡς συνεστώσης ἐτὶ πολλῆς δυνάμεως ἐκεῖ καὶ τῶν πολέμων οὐκ ἐνδιδόντων. ὅλως γὰρ αἰτιῶνται Παρμενίωνα κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν μάχην νωθρὸν γενέσθαι καὶ ἄνεργον, εἰτε τοῦ γῆρως ἦδη τι παραλύουστος τῆς τόλμης, εἰτε τὴν ἐξουσίαν καὶ τὸν ὄγκον, ὡς Καλλισθένης φησί, τῆς Ἀλέξανδρον δυνάμεως βαρυνόμενου καὶ προσφθο- νοῦντα. τότε δ' οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνιαθείς τῇ μεταπέμψει τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις οὐκ ἐφρασε τὸ ἀληθὲς, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀνέχων τοῦ φονεύειν καὶ σκότους ὄντος ἀνάκλησιν ἐσῖμανεν. ἐλαύνων δὲ πρὸς τὸ κινδυνεῦον μέρος ἦκουσε καθ' ὅδὸν ἠττησθαι παντάπασι καὶ φεύγειν τοὺς πολεμίους.

XXXIV. Τοῦτο τῆς μάχης ἐκείνης λαβόουσας τὸ πέρας, ἡ μὲν ἄρχη παντάπασιν ἡ Περσῶν ἐδόκει καταλεύσθαι, βασιλεὺς δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἀλέξανδρος ἀνηγορευμένος ἔθυν τοῖς θεοῖς μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ τοῖς φίλοις ἐδώρειτο πλούτους καὶ οὐκοὺς καὶ ἤγεμονίας. φιλοτιμούμενος δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ἐλλήνας ἐγραψε τὰς τυραννίδας πάσας καταλυθῆναι καὶ πολιτευεῖν αὐτονόμους, ἕδα δὲ Πλαταιεύσι τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖν, ὅτι τὴν χώραν οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν ἐναγωνίσασθαι τοῖς

326
away by the multitude of dead bodies, were rearing up and frightening the charioteer, forsook his chariot and his armour, mounted a mare which, as they say, had newly foaled, and took to flight. However, it is thought that he would not then have made his escape, had not fresh horsemen come from Parmenio summoning Alexander to his aid, on the ground that a large force of the enemy still held together there and would not give ground. For there is general complaint that in that battle Parmenio was sluggish and inefficient, either because old age was now impairing somewhat his courage, or because he was made envious and resentful by the arrogance and pomp, to use the words of Callisthenes, of Alexander’s power. At the time, then, although he was annoyed by the summons, the king did not tell his soldiers the truth about it, but on the ground that it was dark and he would therefore remit further slaughter, sounded a recall; and as he rode towards the endangered portion of his army, he heard by the way that the enemy had been utterly defeated and was in flight.

XXXIV. The battle having had this issue, the empire of the Persians was thought to be utterly dissolved, and Alexander, proclaimed king of Asia, made magnificent sacrifices to the gods and rewarded his friends with wealth, estates, and provinces. And being desirous of honour among the Greeks, he wrote them that all their tyrannies were abolished and they might live under their own laws; moreover, he wrote the Plataeans specially that he would rebuild their city, because their ancestors had furnished their

---

1 Arrian makes no mention of a second appeal for aid from Parmenio.
2 "Ελλησιν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας παρέσχον. ἐπεμψε δὲ καὶ Κροτωνιάταις εἰς Ἰταλίαν μέρος τῶν λαφύρων, τὴν Φαύλλου τοῦ ἄθλητοῦ τιμῶν προθυμίαν καὶ ἀρετὴν, ὅσερ περὶ τὰ Μηδικὰ τῶν ἀλλῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν ἀπεγνωκότων τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἰδιόστολον ἔχων ναῦν ἔπλευσεν εἰς Σαλαμίνα, τοῦ κυνδύνου τι μεθέξων. οὕτω τις εὐμενὴς ἦν πρὸς ἀπασαν ἀρετὴν καὶ καλῶν ἔργων φύλαξ καὶ οἰκεῖος.

XXXV. Ἐπιῶν δὲ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν ἀπασαν εὐθὺς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ γενομένην ἑθαύμασε μάλιστα τὸ τε χάσμα τοῦ πυρὸς ὦσπερ ἐκ πηγῆς συνεχῶς ἀναφερομένου, καὶ τὸ ἑβδόμα τοῦ νάφθα λιμνάζοντος διὰ τὸ πλῆθος οὐ πόρρω τοῦ χάσματος, οὕτω δὲ εὐπαθῆς πρὸς τὸ πῦρ ἐστὶν ὦστε, πρὶν ἡ θυγεῖν τὴν φλόγα, δι᾽ αὐτῆς τῆς περὶ τὸ φῶς ἐξαπτῶμενος αὐγῆς τὸν

2 μεταξὺ πολλάκις ἀέρα συνεκκαίειν. ἐπιδεικνύμενοι δὲ τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ δύναμιν οἱ βάρβαροι τὸν ἁγούτα πρὸς τὴν κατάλυσιν τοῦ βασιλέως στενωτὸν ἑλαφρῷ τῷ φαρμάκῳ κατεψεκασαν· εἶτα στάντες ἐπ᾽ ἀκρῷ τοὺς λαμπτήρας τοῖς βεβρεγμένοις προσέθηκαν· ἢδη γὰρ συνεσκόταξε· τῶν δὲ πρώτων εὐθὺς ἀψαμένων οὐκ ἐσχεν η νομὴ χρόνον αἰσθητὸν, ἀλλʼ ἀμα νομάτι δικτο πρὸς θάτερον πέρας καὶ πῦρ ἐγεγονεὶ συνεχῆς ὁ στενω-

3 πός. ἦν δὲ τις 'Ἀθηνοφάνης 'Αθηναῖος τῶν περὶ Ἀλειμμα καὶ λοντρὸν εἰώθότων τὸ σῶμα θεραπεύειν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐμελῶς ἀπάγειν ἐπὶ τὸ ράθυμον. οὕτως εὖ τῷ λοντρῶν τοτε παιδαρίου τῷ Ἄλεξάνδρῳ παρε-
territory to the Greeks for the struggle in behalf of their freedom.\footnote{In 479 B.C.} He sent also to the people of Croton in Italy a portion of the spoils, honouring the zeal and valour of their athlete Phaïllus, who, in the Median wars, when the rest of the Greeks in Italy refused to help their brother Greeks, fitted out a ship at his own cost and sailed with it to Salamis, that he might have some share in the peril there.\footnote{Cf. Herodotus, viii. 47.} So considerate was Alexander towards every form of valour, and such a friend and guardian of noble deeds.

XXXV. As he traversed all Babylonia, which at once submitted to him, he was most of all amazed at the chasm from which fire continually streamed forth as from a spring, and at the stream of naphtha, so abundant as to form a lake, not far from the chasm. This naphtha is in other ways like asphaltum, but is so sensitive to fire that, before the flame touches it, it is kindled by the very radiance about the flame and often sets fire also to the intervening air. To show its nature and power, the Barbarians sprinkled the street leading to Alexander’s quarters with small quantities of the liquid; then, standing at the farther end of the street, they applied their torches to the moistened spots; for it was now getting dark. The first spots at once caught fire, and without an appreciable interval of time, but with the speed of thought, the flame darted to the other end, and the street was one continuous fire. Now, there was a certain Athenophanes, an Athenian, one of those who were accustomed to minister to the person of the king when he bathed and anointed himself, and to furnish suitable diversion for his thoughts. This man, one time when there was standing by Alexander
στῶτος εὐτελοῦσ σφόδρα καὶ γελοίον τὴν ὑπίν, ἄδοντος δὲ χαριέντως, Στέφανος ἐκαλεῖτο, “Βούλει,” φησίν, “ὁ βασιλεὺς, διάπειραν ἐν Στεφάνῳ τοῦ φαρμάκου λάβωμεν; ἀν γὰρ ἄψηται τούτων καὶ μὴ κατασβέσθῃ, παντάπασιν ἀν φαίνην ἀμα-4 χον καὶ δεινὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν εἶναι.” προθύμωσι δὲ πως καὶ τοῦ παιδαρίου ἔδοντος ἐαυτῶν πρὸς τὴν πείραν, ἀμα τῷ περιαλείψαι καὶ θυγεῖν ἐξήνθησε φλόγα τοσαύτην τὸ σῶμα καὶ πυρὶ κατεσχέθη τὸ πᾶν ὡστε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰς πᾶν ἀπορίας καὶ δέους ἐλθεῖν· εἰ δὲ μὴ κατὰ τύχην πολλοί παρῆσαν ἀγγεία πρὸς τὸ λοτρὸν ὦδατος διὰ χειρῶν ἔχοντες, οὐκ ἀν ἐφθασεν ἡ βοίθεια 5 τὴν ἐπινομὴν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸτε μόνις κατέσβεσαν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ παιδὸς δι’ ὀλοῦ πῦρ γενόμενον, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα χαλεπῶς ἔσχεν.

Εἰκότως οὖν ἐνιοῦ τὸν μῦθον ἀνασώζοντες πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τούτο φασίν εἶναι τὸ τῆς Μηδείας φάρμακον, ὡς τὸν τραγῳδούμενον στέφανον καὶ τὸν πέπλον ἔχρισεν. οὐ γὰρ ἔξι αὐτῶν ἐκείνων οὐδὲ ἀπ’ αὐτομάτου λάμψει τὸ πῦρ, ἀλλὰ φλογὸς ἐγγύθεν παρατεθείσης ὀξείαν ὀλκήν καὶ συνα-6 φὴν ἄδηλον αἰσθῆσει γενέσθαι. τὰς γὰρ ἀκτίνας καὶ τὰ ρεύματα τοῦ πυρὸς ἀπώθεν ἐπερχόμενα τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις σώμασι φῶς καὶ θερμότητα προσβάλλειν μόνον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄρσεντα διεστιακοῦ ἐθροι-ζόμενα καὶ πυριμανοῦντα μεταβάλλειν ὀξέος τὴν υλήν. παρεῖχε δὲ ἀπορίαν ἡ γένεσις... εἴτε

330
in the bath-room a youth who had a ridiculously plain countenance, but was a graceful singer (his name was Stephanus), said, "Wilt thou, O King, that we make a trial of the liquid upon Stephanus? For if it should lay hold of him and not be extinguished, I would certainly say that its power was invincible and terrible." The youth also, strangely enough, offered himself for the experiment, and as soon as he touched the liquid and began to anoint himself with it, his body broke out into so great a flame and was so wholly possessed by fire that Alexander fell into extreme perplexity and fear; and had it not been by chance that many were standing by holding vessels of water for the bath, the youth would have been consumed before aid reached him. Even as it was, they had great difficulty in putting out the fire, for it covered the boy's whole body, and after they had done so, he was in a sorry plight.

It is natural, then, that some who wish to bring fable into conformity with truth should say that this naphtha is the drug which Medeia used, when, in the tragedies, she anoints the crown and the robe. For it was not from these objects themselves, they say, nor of its own accord, that the fire shot up, but a flame was placed near them, which was then so swiftly drawn into conjunction with them that the senses could not take cognisance of it. For the rays and emanations of fire which come from a distance impart to some bodies merely light and warmth; but in those which are dry and porous, or which have sufficiently rich moisture, they collect themselves together, break into fierce flame, and transform the material. There has been much discussion about
πάλλων ὑπέκκαμια τῆς φλογὸς ὑπορρέει τὸ υγρὸν ἐκ τῆς γῆς φύσιν λιπαρὰν καὶ πυριγόνον ἔχούσης. 7 καὶ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ Βαβυλωνία σφόδρα πυρώδης, ὡστε τὰς μὲν κριθὰς χαμόθεν ἐκπηδᾶν καὶ ἀποπάλλεσθαι πολλάκις, ὅπως ὑπὸ φλεγμονῆς τῶν τόπων σφυγμοὺς ἔχοντων, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἐν τοῖς καύμασιν ἐπὶ ἀσκών πεπληρωμένων ὑδατος 8 καθεύδειν. Ἀρπαλός δὲ τῆς χώρας ἀπολειφθεῖς ἐπιμελήτης καὶ φιλοκαλῶν Ἑλληνικαῖς φυτείαις διακοσμῆσαι τὰ βασίλεια καὶ τοὺς περιπάτους, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἐκράτησε, τὸν δὲ κιττῶν οὐκ ἔστεξεν ἢ γῆ μόνον, ἀλλ’ αἰεὶ διεφθείρεν οὐ βέροντα τὴν κράσιν· ἢ μὲν γὰρ πυρώδης, ο δὲ φιλόψυχρος, τῶν μὲν οὖν τοιούτων παρεκβάσεων, ἀν μέτρον ἔχοσιν, ἤττου ἔσως οἱ δύσκολοι κατηγορήσωσιν.

XXXVI. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ Σοῦσων κυριεύσας παρέλαβεν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις τετρακισμύρια τάλαντα νομίσματος, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην κατασκευὴν καὶ πολυτέλειαν ἀδιήγητον. ὅπου φασί καὶ πορφύρας Ἑρμονικῆς εὑρεθῆναι τάλαντα πεντακισχίλια, συνκειμένης μὲν εἰς ἔτων δέκα δεόντων διακοσίων, πρόσφατον δὲ τὸ ἀνθὸς ἔτι καὶ νεαρὸν 2 φυλαττοῦσης. αἰτιῶν δὲ τοῦτον φασίν εἶναι τὸ τῆς βαφῆν διὰ μέλιτος γίνεσθαι τῶν ἀλουργῶν, δι’ ἐλαιόν δὲ λευκοῦ τῶν λευκῶν καὶ γὰρ τούτων τῶν ἱσον χρόνον ἔχοντων τὴν λαμπρότητα καθαρὰν καὶ στίλβοσαν ὑράσθαι. Δείγων δὲ φησὶ καὶ ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Νείλου καὶ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ 332
the origin of or whether rather the liquid substance that feeds the flame flows out from a soil which is rich and productive of fire. For the soil of Babylonia is very fiery, so that grains of barley often leap out of the ground and bound away, as if its inflammation made the ground throb; and the inhabitants, during the hot season, sleep on skins filled with water. Harpalus, moreover, when he was left as overseer of the country and was eager to adorn the royal gardens and walks with Hellenic plants, succeeded with all except ivy; this the soil would not support, but always killed it. The plant could not endure the temper of the soil, for the soil was fiery, while the plant was fond of coolness. However, if such digressions are kept within bounds, perhaps my impatient readers will find less fault with them.

XXXVI. On making himself master of Susa, Alexander came into possession of forty thousand talents of coined money in the palace, and of untold furniture and wealth besides. Among this they say was found five thousand talents' weight of purple from Hermione, which, although it had been stored there for a hundred and ninety years, still kept its colours fresh and lively. The reason for this, they say, is that honey was used in the purple dyes, and white olive oil in the white dyes; for these substances, after the like space of time, are seen to have a brilliancy that is pure and lustrous. Moreover, Deinon says that the Persian kings had water also brought from the Nile and the Danube and stored

1 "This naphtha," and the first "whether"-clause, have fallen out of the text.
2 Cf. Arrian, Anab. iii. 16, 7. A talent's weight was something over fifty pounds.
μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων μεταπεμπομένων εἰς τὴν γάζαν ἀποτίθεσθαι τοὺς βασίλεις, οἵον ἐκβεβαιομένους τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τὸ κυριεύειν ἀπάντων.

XXXVII. Τῆς δὲ Περσίδος ὀυσίς διὰ τραχύτητα δυσεμβόλου καὶ φυλαττομένης ὑπὸ γεναιοτάτων Περσῶν (Δαρείος μὲν γὰρ ἐπεφεύγει) γέγνεται τινὸς περιόδου κύκλων ἔχοσίς οὐ πολὺν ἡγεμῶν αὐτῶ διήγησος ἄνθρωπος, ἐκ πατρὸς Λυκίου, μητρὸς δὲ Περσίδος γεγονός· ὃν φασίν, ἔτι παιδὸς οἳτος Ἀλεξάνδρου, τὴν Πυθίαν προειπεῖν, ὡς λύκος ἐσται καθηγεμών Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῆς

2 ἐπὶ Πέρσας πορείας. φόνον μὲν οὖν ἐνταὶθα πολὺν τῶν ἀλισκομένων γενέσθαι συνέπεσε· γράφει γὰρ αὐτὸς ὡς νομίζων αὐτῷ τούτῳ λυσιτελεῖν ἐκέλευεν ἀποσφάττεσθαι τοὺς ἄνθρωπος· νομίσματος δὲ εὑρεῖν πλῆθος ὅσον ἐν Σουςίς, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην κατασκευήν καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον ἐκκομισθῆναι φασὶ μυρίοις ὄρικοις ξεύγεσι καὶ πεντακισχιλίαις καμίλαις.

3 Ἐλέρξον δὲ ἀνδριάντα μέγαν θεασάμενος ὑπὸ πλῆθους τῶν ἀθομένων εἰς τὰ βασίλεια πλημμελῶς ἀνατετραμμένου ἐπέστη, καὶ καθάπερ ἐμψυχοῦν προσαγορεύσας, "Πότερον σε," εἶπε, "διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἐλλήνας στρατεῖαν κείμενον παρέλθωμεν ἢ διὰ τὴν ἄλλην μεγαλοφροσύνην καὶ ἀρετὴν ἐγείρωμεν;" τέλος δὲ πολὺν χρόνον πρὸς ἕαυτῷ γενόμενος καὶ σῳπῆσας παρῆλθε. Βουλόμενος δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀναλαβεῖν (καὶ γὰρ ἦν
up among their treasures, as a sort of confirmation of the greatness of their empire and the universality of their sway.

XXXVII. Persis was difficult of access, owing to the roughness of the country, and was guarded by the noblest of the Persians (for Dareius had taken to flight); but Alexander found a guide to conduct him thither by a circuit of no great extent. The man spoke two languages, since his father was a Lycian and his mother a Persian; and it was he, they say, whom the Pythian priestess had in mind when she prophesied, Alexander being yet a boy, that a "lycus," or wolf, would be Alexander's guide on his march against the Persians. In this country, then, as it turned out, there was a great slaughter of the prisoners taken; for Alexander himself writes that he gave orders to have the inhabitants butchered, thinking that this would be to his advantage; and they say that as much coined money was found there as at Susa, and that it took ten thousand pairs of mules and five thousand camels to carry away the other furniture and wealth there.

On beholding a great statue of Xerxes which had been carelessly overthrown by a throng that forced its way into the palace, Alexander stopped before it, and accosting it as if it had been alive, said: "Shall I pass on and leave thee lying there, because of thine expedition against the Hellenes, or, because of thy magnanimity and virtue in other ways, shall I set thee up again?" But finally, after communing with himself a long time in silence, he passed on. Wishing to refresh his soldiers (for it was winter

1 Arrian (Anab. iii. 18, 1f.) speaks only of a forced march through the mountains.  
2 In Persepolis.
4 Λέγεται δὲ καθίσαντος αὐτοῦ τὸ πρῶτον ὑπὸ τῶν χρυσοῦν οὐρανίσκον ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ θρόνῳ τῶν Κορίνθιον Δημάρατον εὐνοοῦν ὄντα ἀνδρα καὶ πατρὸς φίλον Ἀλεξάνδρου πρεσβυτικὸς ἐπι- δακρύσαι, καὶ εἰπεῖν ὡς μεγάλης ἤδονῆς στεροῦντο τῶν Ἐλλήνων οἱ τεθνηκότες πρὶν ἰδεῖν Ἁλεξάν- δρον ἐν τῷ Δαρείῳ θρόνῳ καθήμενον.

XXXVIII. Ἐκ τούτου μέλλων ἔξελαύνειν ἔτι Δαρείων ἐτυχε μὲν εἰς μέθην τινά καὶ παιδιάν τοῖς ἑταίροις ἑαυτῶν δεδωκώς, ὡστε καὶ γύναια συμπίνειν ἐτὶ κῶμον ἥκοντα πρὸς τοὺς ἔραστάς. ἐν δὲ τούτωι εὐδοκιμοῦσα μάλιστα Ὁλίας ἡ Πτο- λεμαίου τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος ὑστερον ἑταῖρα, γένος Ἀττική, τὰ μὲν ἐμμελῶς ἐπαινοῦσα, τὰ δὲ παι- ξουσα πρὸς τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἀμα τῇ μέθη λόγον εἰπεῖν προήχθη τῷ μὲν τῆς πατρίδος ἦθει πρέ- 2 ποντα, μείζονα δὲ ἦ κατ' αὐτήν. ἐφ' ὑπὸ δὲν πεπόνηκε πεπλανημένη τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπολαμβάνειν χάριν ἑκείνης τῆς ἥμερας ἐντρυφῶσα τοῖς ὑπερη- φήνοις Περσῶν βασιλεύοις: ἔτι δ' ἄν ἢδιον ὑπο- πρῆσαι κωμάσασα τὸν ᾿Ερξον τοῦ κατακαύ- σαντος τὰς Ἀθήνας οἴκον, αὐτὴ τὸ πῦρ ἄψασα τοῦ βασιλέως ὀρῶντος, ὡς ἄν λόγος ἔχη πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ὅτι τῶν ναυμάχων καὶ πεζομάχων ἑκείνων στρατηγῶν τὰ μετὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου γύναια μείζονα δίκην ἐπέθηκε Πέρσαις ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἐλλά- 3 δος. ἀμα δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ κρότου καὶ θυρύβου γενομένου καὶ παρακελεύσεως τῶν ἑταίρων καὶ
time), he spent four months in that place. And it is said that when he took his seat for the first time under the golden canopy on the royal throne, De- maratus the Corinthian, a well-meaning man and a friend of Alexander's, as he had been of Alexander's father, burst into tears, as old men will, and declared that those Hellenes were deprived of great pleasure who had died before seeing Alexander seated on the throne of Dareius.

XXXVIII. After this, as he was about to march forth against Dareius, it chanced that he consented to take part in a merry drinking bout of his companions, at which women also came to meet their lovers and shared in their wine and revelry. The most famous among these women was Thaïs, an Athenian, the mistress of Ptolemy, who was afterwards king. She, partly in graceful praise of Alexander, and partly to make sport for him, as the drinking went on, was moved to utter a speech which befitted the character of her native country, but was too lofty for one of her kind. She said, namely, that for all her hardships in wandering over Asia she was being requited that day by thus reveling luxuriously in the splendid palace of the Persians; but it would be a still greater pleasure to go in revel rout and set fire to the house of the Xerxes who burned Athens, she herself kindling the fire under the eyes of Alexander, in order that a tradition might prevail among men that the women in the train of Alexander inflicted a greater punishment upon the Persians in behalf of Hellas than all her famous commanders by sea and land. As soon as she had thus spoken, tumultuous applause arose, and the companions of the king eagerly urged him on,
φιλοτιμίας, ἐπισπασθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἀναπη-
δήσας ἔχων στέφανον καὶ λαμπάδα προῆγεν. οἱ
dὲ ἐπόμενοι κόμῳ καὶ βοὴ περισταντο τὰ βασι-
λεία, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Μακεδόνων οἱ πυθανόμενοι
συνέτρεχον μετὰ λαμπάδων χαίροντες. ἦλπιζον
γὰρ ὅτι τοῖς οἴκοι προσέχοντός ἐστι τῶν νοῦν καὶ
μὴ μέλλοντος ἐν βαρβάροις οίκεῖν τὸ πιμπράναι
tὰ βασίλεια καὶ διαφθείρειν. οἱ μὲν οὕτω ταῦτα
gενέσθαι φασίν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ γνώμης ὅτι δ’ οὖν
μετενόησε ταχὺ καὶ κατασβέσαι προσέταξεν
ὀμολογεῖται.

XXXIX. Φύσει δὲ ὁν μεγαλοδωρότατος ἐτι
μᾶλλον ἐπέδωκεν εἰς τοῦτο τῶν πραγμάτων αὐ-
ξομένων· καὶ προσῆν ἡ φιλοφροσύνη, μεθ’ ἧς
μόνης ὡς ἄληθῶς οἱ διδόντες χαρίζονται. μη-
σθήσομαι δὲ ὀλίγων. Ἀρίστων ο τῶν Παίόνων
ἡγούμενος ἀποκτείνας πολέμιον ἀνδρὰ καὶ τὴν
κεφαλὴν ἐπιδειξάμενος αὐτῷ, “Τοῦτο,” ἐίπεν,
“ὁ βασιλεὺς, πὼρ’ ἡμῖν ἐκπώματος χρυσοῦ τιμᾶ-
2 ται τὸ δόρον.” ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος γελάσας,
“Κενοῦ γε,” ἐίπεν, “ἐγὼ δὲ σοι μεστὸν ἀκράτου
προπίσται.” τῶν δὲ πολλῶν τις Μακεδόνων
ἡλαυνεν ἡμῖνον βασιλικὸν χρυσίον κομίζοντα·
κάμυντος δὲ τοῦ κτήμους αὐτὸς ἄραμεν ἐκόμιζε
τὸ φορτίον. ίδὼν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς θλιβόμενον
αὐτὸν σφόδρα καὶ πυθόμενος τὸ πράγμα, μέλ-
λοντος κατατίθεσθαι, “Μὴ κάμης,” ἐίπεν, “ἀλλὰ

338
so that he yielded to their desires, and leaping to his feet, with a garland on his head and a torch in his hand, led them the way. The company followed with shouts and revelry and surrounded the palace, while the rest of the Macedonians who learned about it ran thither with torches and were full of joy. For they hoped that the burning and destruction of the palace was the act of one who had fixed his thoughts on home, and did not intend to dwell among Barbarians. This is the way the deed was done, according to some writers; but others say it was premeditated. However, it is agreed that Alexander speedily repented and gave orders to put out the fire.

XXXIX. Alexander was naturally munificent, and became still more so as his wealth increased. His gifts, too, were accompanied by a kindly spirit, with which alone, to tell the truth, a giver confers a favour. I will mention a few instances. Ariston, the captain of the Paeonians, having slain an enemy, brought his head and showed it to Alexander, saying: "In my country, O King, such a gift as this is rewarded with a golden beaker." "Yes," said Alexander with a laugh, "an empty one; but I will pledge thy health with one which is full of pure wine." Again, a common Macedonian was driving a mule laden with some of the royal gold, and when the beast gave out, took the load on his own shoulders and tried to carry it. The king, then, seeing the man in great distress and learning the facts of the case, said, as the man was about to lay his burden down, "Don't give out,

1 So Arrian, Anab. iii. 18. 11 f., where there is none of Plutarch's romance. For this, cf. Diodorus, xvii. 72; Curtius, v. 7, 1-7.
πρόσθες ἐτὶ τῆν λοιπὴν ὅδον ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἐαυτῷ τῷ τοῦτο κομίσας." ὁλως δὲ ἤχθετο τοῖς μὴ λαμβάνοντι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς αἰτοῦσι. καὶ Φωκίων μὲν ἐγραψεν ἐπιστολὴν ὡς οὐ χρησάμενος αὐτῷ φίλω τὸ λοιπόν, εἶ διωθοῖτο τὰς χάριτας. Σεραπίων δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ σφαίρας τινὶ νεανίσκων οὐδὲν ἐδίδου διὰ τὸ μηδὲν αἰτεῖν. ὡς οὖν εἰς τὸ σφαιρίζειν παραγενόμενος ὁ Σεραπίων ἄλλος ἐβάλλε τὴν σφαίραν, εἶπόντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως, "Ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐ δίδως;" "Οὐ γὰρ αἰτεῖς," εἶπε, τούτῳ μὲν δὴ γελάσας πολλὰ ἔδωκε. Πρωτέα δὲ τινὶ τῶν περὶ σκώμματα καὶ πότον οὐκ ἀμοῦσων ἐδοξῆ δι’ ὀργῆς γεγονέναι τῶν δὲ φίλων δεομένων κάκεινον δακρύνοντος ἐφ’ ἀιτήθησθαι κάκεινος, "Οὐκοῦν," εἶπεν, "ὁ βασιλεὺς, δός τι μοι πιστὸν πρῶτον." ἐκέλευσεν οὖν αὐτῷ πέντε τάλαντα δοθῆναι. περὶ δὲ τῶν τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τοῖς σωματοφύλαξι νεομένων πλούτων, ἡλίκον εἶχον ὡγκον, ἐμφαίνει δ’ ἐπιστολής Ὀλυμπιάς, ἦν ἐγραψε πρὸς αὐτὸν. ""Ἀλλας," φησίν, "εὖ ποιεῖ τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἐνδόξους ἀγεννοῦν δ’ ἵσοβασιλέας πάντας ποιεῖς καὶ πολυφιλίας παρασκευάζεις αὐτοῖς, ἐαυτόν δὲ ἐρημοῖς." πολλάκις δὲ τοιαύτα τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος γραφούσης ἐφύλαττεν ἀπόρρητα τὰ γράμματα, πλὴν ἀπαξ Ἡφαιστίωνος, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, λυθεῖσαν ἐπιστολὴν αὐτῷ συναναγινώσκοντος οὐκ ἐκώλυσεν, ἅλλα τὸν δα-

1 ἐαυτῷ Sint., with the best MSS.; Coraës and Bekker have σεαυτῷ. Cf. § 5.

340
but finish your journey by taking this load to your own tent.” Furthermore, he was generally more displeased with those who would not take his gifts than with those who asked for them. And so he wrote to Phocion in a letter that he would not treat him as a friend in future if he rejected his favours. Again, to Serapion, one of the youths who played at ball with him, he used to give nothing because he asked for nothing. Accordingly, whenever Serapion had the ball, he would throw it to others, until the king said: “Won’t you give it to me?” “No,” said Serapion, “because you don’t ask for it,” whereat the king burst out laughing and made him many presents. With Proteas, however, a clever wag and boon companion, he appeared to be angry; but when the man’s friends begged his forgiveness, as did Proteas himself with tears, the king said that he was his friend again, whereat Proteas said: “In that case, O King, give me something to prove it first.” Accordingly, the king ordered that five talents should be given him. What lofty airs his friends and bodyguards were wont to display over the wealth bestowed by him, is plain from a letter which Olympias wrote to him. She says: “I beg thee to find other ways of conferring favours on those thou lovest and holdest in honour; as it is, thou makest them all the equals of kings and providest them with an abundance of friends, whilst thyself thou strippest bare.” Olympias often wrote him in like vein, but Alexander kept her writings secret, except once when Hephaestion, as was his wont, read with him a letter which had been opened; the king did not prevent him, but took the ring
κτύλιον ἀφελόμενον τὸν αὐτοῦ προσέθηκε τῷ ἐκείνῳ νοῦ στόματι τὴν σφραγίδα. Μαζαίου δὲ τοῦ μεγίστου παρὰ Δαρείῳ γενομένου παιδὶ σατραπείαν ἔχοντι δευτέραν προσετίθει μεῖζον. παραιτούμενος δὲ ἐκείνος εἶπεν ὁ Βασιλεύς, τότε μὲν ἢν εἰς Δαρείον, νῦν δὲ σὺ πολλοὺς πεποίηκας Ἀλεξάνδρους." Παρμενίωνε μὲν οὖν τὸν Βαγώνου ἔδωκεν οἶκον τὸν περὶ Σοῦσα, ἐν δὲ λέγεται χιλίων ταλάντων εὐρεθήναι ἵματισμὸν. πρὸς δὲ Ἀντιπατρὸν ἔγραψε κελεύων ἐχειν φύλακας τοῦ σώματος ὡς ἐπιβουλεύομενον. τῇ δὲ μητρὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἔδωρεῖτο καὶ κατέπεμπεν, οὐκ ἐὰν δὲ πολυπραγμονεῖν οὐδὲ παραστρατηγεῖν ἐγκαλούσης δὲ πρᾶσις ἐφερε τὴν χαλεπότητα. πλὴν ἀπαξ ποτὲ Ἀντιπατρὸν μακρὰν κατ’ αὐτῆς γράφαντος ἐπιστολὴν ἀναγροῦς ἀναγοίην εἶπεν Ἀντιπατρὸν ὅτι μυρίας ἐπιστολὰς ἐν δακρυοὶ ἀπαλείφει μητρός.

Χ. τ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς περὶ αὐτῶν ἑώρα παντάπασιν ἐκτετρυφηκότας καὶ φορτικοὺς ταῖς διαίταις καὶ πολυτελείαις ὡς, ὡστε Ἀγνωνα μὲν τὸν Τῇξιοὶ ἀργυροὺς ἐν ταῖς κρητίσιν ἦλους φορεῖν, Λεονυτῶ τε πολλαῖς καμήλοις ἀπ' Ἀιγύπτον κόνιν εἰς τὰ γυμνάσια παρακομίζεσθαι, Φιλώτα δὲ πρὸς θηρίων σταδίων ἐκατὸν αὐλαίας γεγονόναι, μύρῳ δὲ χρωμένους ἔναν πρὸς ἢλειμμα καὶ λοντρόν ὅσους οὐδὲ ἑλαῖο, τρίπτας δὲ καὶ κατευναστὰς περιαγομένους, ἐπετίμησε πράγματι καὶ φιλοσόφως, θαυμάζειν φάμενοι εἰς τοσοῦτος ἡγωνισμένοι καὶ τηλικούτους ἅγωνας οὐ μνημονεύουσιν ὅτι τῶν καταπονηθέντων οἱ καταπονήθι.

1 οἶκον τὸν περὶ Σοῦσα, Coraës and Bekker: οἶκον, ἐν δὲ λέγεται τῶν περὶ Σοῦσα κ. τ. λ.
from his own finger and applied its seal to the lips of Hephaestion. Again, though the son of Mazaeus, the most influential man at the court of Darcius, already had a province, Alexander gave him a second and a larger one. He, however, declined it, saying: "O King, formerly there was one Darcius, but now thou hast made many Alexanders." To Parmenio, moreover, Alexander gave the house of Bagoas at Susa, in which it is said there was found apparel worth a thousand talents. Again, he wrote to Antipater bidding him keep guards about his person, since plots were being laid against him. To his mother, also, he sent many presents, but would not suffer her to meddle in affairs nor interfere in his campaigns; and when she chided him for this, he bore her harshness patiently. Once, however, after reading a long letter which Antipater had written in denunciation of her, he said Antipater knew not that one tear of a mother effaced ten thousand letters.

XL. He saw that his favourites had grown altogether luxurious, and were vulgar in the extravagance of their ways of living. For instance, Hagnon the Teian used to wear silver nails in his boots; Leonnatus had dust for his gymnastic exercises brought to him on many camels from Egypt; Philotas had hunting-nets a hundred furlongs long; when they took their exercise and their baths, more of them actually used myrrh than olive oil, and they had in their train rubbers and chamberlains. Alexander therefore chided them in gentle and reasonable fashion. He was amazed, he said, that after they had undergone so many and so great contests they did not remember that those who conquer by toil sleep more sweetly than those who are con-

ΧΛΙ. Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν οὖν ἐαυτὸν ἀσκῶν ἁμα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παροξύνων πρὸς ἅρετὴν ἑκυνδύ-νευν, οἱ δὲ φίλοι διὰ πλοῦτον καὶ ὅγκον ἥδι τρυφᾶν βουλόμενοι καὶ σχολάζειν ἐξαρύνοντο τὰς πλάνας καὶ τᾶς στρατείας, καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν οὐτω προῆλθον εἰς τὸ βλασφημεῖν καὶ κακῶς λέγειν αὐτὸν. ὁ δὲ καὶ πάντες πράως ἐν ἄρχῃ πρὸς ταῦτα διέκειτο, φάσκων βασιλικὸν εἶναι τὸ 2 κακῶς ἀκοῦειν εὐθεῖα. καίτι τὰ μικρό-τατα τῶν γεγομένων τοῖς συνήθεσι παρ' αὐτῶν - σημεῖα μεγάλης ὑπήρχεν εὐνοίας καὶ τιμῆς· ὃν ὀλίγα παραθήσομαι.
conquered by their toil, and did not see, from a comparison of their own lives with those of the Persians, that it is a very servile thing to be luxurious, but a very royal thing to toil. "And yet," said he, "how can a man take care of his own horse or furbish up his spear and helmet, if he is unaccustomed to using his hands on his own dear person? Know ye not," said he, "that the end and object of conquest is to avoid doing the same thing as the conquered?" Accordingly, he exerted himself yet more strenuously in military and hunting expeditions, suffering distress and risking his life, so that a Spartan ambassador who came up with him as he was bringing down a great lion, said: "Nobly, indeed, Alexander, hast thou struggled with the lion to see which should be king." This hunting-scene Craterus dedicated at Delphi, with bronze figures of the lion, the dogs, the king engaged with the lion, and himself coming to his assistance; some of the figures were moulded by Lysippus, and some by Leochares.

XLI. Alexander, then, in exercising himself and at the same time inciting others to deeds of valour, was wont to court danger; but his friends, whose wealth and magnificence now gave them a desire to live in luxury and idleness, were impatient of his long wanderings and military expeditions, and gradually went so far as to abuse him and speak ill of him. He, however, was very mildly disposed at first toward this treatment of himself, and used to say that it was the lot of a king to confer favours and be ill-spoken of therefor. And yet in the most trifling attentions which he paid his familiar friends there were marks of great good-will and esteem. I will instance a few of these.
Πευκέστα μὲν ἐγραψε μεμφόμενος ὅτι δηχθεὶς ὑπ’ ἀρκτὸς τοὺς μὲν ἄλλοις ἐγραψεν, αὐτῷ δὲ οὐκ ἐδήλωσεν. "Ἀλλὰ νῦν γε," φησί, "γράψοι πῶς ἔχεις, καὶ μὴ τινὲς σε τῶν συγκυνηγητοῦντων 3 ἐγκατέλιπτον, ἵνα δίκην δῶσι." τοῖς δὲ περὶ Ἡφαιστίων διὰ πράξεις τινὰς ἀπούσιν ἐγραψεν ὅτι παιζόντων αὐτῶν πρὸς ἰχνεύμονα τῷ Περδίκ-κον δορατίῳ περιπεσόν Κρατερὸς τοὺς μηροὺς ἐτρώθη. Πευκέστα δὲ σωθέντος ἐκ τινὸς ἀσθενείας ἐγραψε πρὸς Ἀλέξιππον τὸν ἰατρὸν εὐχαρι-στῶν. Κρατερὸς δὲ νοσούσιος ὅψιν ἵδων καὶ ὑπνὸν αὐτὸς τῇ τιναι θυσίας ἔθνοσεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ 4 κάκεινον θύσαι ἐκέλευσεν. ἐγραψε δὲ καὶ Παυ-σανίς τῷ ἰατρῷ βουλομένῳ τὸν Κρατερὸν ἐλλεβορίσαι, τὰ μὲν ἀγωνιῶν, τὰ δὲ παραπόν ὅπως χρηίζεται τῇ φαρμακείᾳ. τοὺς δὲ πρῶτος τὴν Ἀρτάλου φυγήν καὶ ἀπόδρασιν ἀπαγγείλαντας ἔδησεν, Ἐφιάλτην καὶ Κίσσον, ὡς καταψευδο- 5 μένους τοῦ ἀνδρὸς. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας αὐτοῦ καὶ γέροντας εἰς οἶκον ἀποστέλλοντος Εὐ-ρύλοχος Αἰγαῖος ἐνέγραψεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τοὺς νοσοῦντας, εἶτα φωραθεῖς ἐξων οὐδὲν κακὸν ἀμο-λόγησε Τελεσίππας ἐρᾶν καὶ συνεπακολούθειν ἐπὶ θάλασσαι ἀπιούσης ἐκείνης, ἡρώτησε τίνων ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ τὸ γύναιον. ἀκούσας δὲ ὅτι τῶν ἑλευθέρων ἑταίρῶν, " lesbische μὲν," ἐπευ, "ὦ Εὐ- ρύλοχε, συνερώντας ἔχεις· ὅρα δὲ ὅπως πείθωμεν ἢ λόγος ἢ δύροις τὴν Τελεσίππαν, ἐπειδῆπερ ἐξ ἑλευθέρας ἐστὶ." 346
He found fault with Peucestas by letter because, after being bitten by a bear, he wrote about it to the rest of his friends but did not tell him. "Now, however," said he, "write me how you are, and tell me whether any of your fellow-huntsmen left you in the lurch, that I may punish them." To Hephaestion, who was absent on some business, he wrote that while they were diverting themselves with hunting an ichneumon, Craterus encountered the lance of Perdiccas and was wounded in the thighs. After Peucestas had safely recovered from an illness, Alexander wrote to the physician, Alexippus, expressing his thanks. While Craterus was sick, Alexander had a vision in his sleep, whereupon he offered certain sacrifices himself for the recovery of his friend, and bade him also sacrifice. He wrote also to Pausanias, the physician, who wished to administer hellebore to Craterus, partly expressing distress, and partly advising him how to use the medicine. Those who first brought word to him that Harpalus had absconded, namely, Ephialtes and Cissus, he put in fetters, on the ground that they were falsely accusing the man. When he was sending home his aged and infirm soldiers, Eurylochus of Aegae got himself enrolled among the sick, and then, when it was discovered that he had nothing the matter with him, confessed that he was in love with Telesippa, and was bent on following along with her on her journey to the sea-board. Alexander asked of what parentage the girl was, and on hearing that she was a free-born courtezan, said: "I will help you, O Eurylochus, in your amour; but see to it that we try to persuade Telesippa either by arguments or by gifts, since she is free-born."
XLII. Θαυμάσαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐστιν ὅτι καὶ μέχρι τοιούτων ἐπιστολῶν τοὺς φίλους ἔσχολαζεν, οία γράφει παίδα Σελεύκου εἰς Κελικίαν ἀποδεδρα-κότα κελεύων ἀναξητήσαι, καὶ Πευκέσταν ἐπαι-νῶν ὅτι Νίκωνα, Κρατεροῦ δοῦλον, συνέλαβε, καὶ Μεγαβύξῳ περὶ τοῦ θεράποντος τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καθεξομένου, κελεύων αὐτόν, ἀν δύνηται, συλλα-βεῖν ἔξω τοῦ ἱεροῦ προκαλεσάμενος, ἐν δὲ τῷ 2 ἱερῷ μὴ προσάπτεσθαι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὰς δίκας διακρίνων ἐν ἀρχῇ τὰς θανατικὰς τὴν χεῖρα τῶν ὁτων τῷ ἑτέρῳ προστίθεναι τοῦ κατηγόρου λέγον-τος, ὅπως τῷ κυνδυνεύοντι καθαρὸν φιλάττηται καὶ ἀδιάβλητον. ἀλλ´ ύστερὸν γε αὐτὸν ἐξετρά-χυναν αἱ πολλαὶ διαβολαί, διὰ τῶν ἀληθῶν πάρ-οδον ἐπὶ τὰ ψευδὴ λαβοῦσαι. καὶ μάλιστα κακῶς ἀκούων ἐξίστατο τοῦ φρονεῖν καὶ χαλεπῶς ἦν καὶ ἀπαραίτητος, ἀτε δὴ τὴν δόξαν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἤτη καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἡγαπηκὼς.

3 Τότε δὲ ἐξῆλθαν εἶπὶ Δαρείου ὡς πάλιν μαχούμενοι· ἀκούσας δὲ τὴν ὑπὸ Βῆσσον γενο-μένην αὐτοῦ σύλληψιν ἀπέλυσε τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς οἴκαδε, δισχίλια τάλαντα δωρεάν ἐπιμετρήσας ταῖς μισθοφοραῖς. πρὸς δὲ τὴν δίωξιν ἀργαλέαν καὶ μακρὰν γινομένην (ἐνδεκα γὰρ ἵμεραις ἱππά-σατο τρισχίλιους καὶ τριακόσιους στάδιους) ἀπηγόρευσαν μὲν οἱ πλείστοι, καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὴν ἀνυδριάν. ἔνθα δὴ Μακεδόνες ἀπῆτησαν αὐτῷ τινες ὕδωρ ἐν ἁσκοῖς ἐφ’ ἡμιώνων κομίζοντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ· καὶ θεασάμενοι τὸν Ἀλέξαν-
And it is astonishing that he had time to write so many letters for his friends. For instance, he wrote one giving orders to seek out a slave of Seleucus who had run away into Cilicia; and one in commendation of Peucestas for arresting Nicon, a servant of Craterus; and one to Megabyzus about an attendant who had taken refuge in a sanctuary, bidding him, if possible, entice the slave outside the sanctuary and then arrest him, but not to lay hands upon him in the sanctuary. It is said, too, that at first, when he was trying capital cases, he would put his hand over one of his ears while the accuser was speaking, that he might keep it free and unprejudiced for the accused. But afterwards the multitude of accusations which he heard rendered him harsh, and led him to believe the false because so many were true. And particularly when he was maligned he lost discretion and was cruel and inexorable, since he loved his reputation more than his life or his kingdom.

Now, however, he marched out against Dareius, expecting to fight another battle; but when he heard that Dareius had been seized by Bessus, he sent his Thessalians home, after distributing among them a largess of two thousand talents over and above their pay. In consequence of the pursuit of Dareius, which was long and arduous (for in eleven days he rode thirty-three hundred furlongs), most of his horsemen gave out, and chiefly for lack of water. At this point some Macedonians met him who were carrying water from the river in skins upon their mules. And when they beheld Alexander, it being now midday, in a

1 In the spring of 330 B.C.

ΧΛΙΙΙ. Ἡ μὲν οὖν προθυμία πάντων ἢν ὀμοία· μόνους δὲ φασιν ἐξήκοντα συνεισπεσεῖν εἰς τὰ στρατόπεδα τῶν πολεμίων. ἐνθα δὴ πολὺν μὲν ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσὸν ἔρριμμένον ἤπερβαίνοντες, πολλὰς δὲ παῖδων καὶ γυναικῶν ἀρμαμάξας ἑμιόχων ἐρήμους διαφερομένας παρερχόμενοι, τοὺς πρώτους ἐδίωκον, ὡς ἐν ἐκείνοις Δαρείου ὀντα. μόλις δὲ εὐρίσκεται πολλῶν ἀκοντισμάτων κατάπλεως τὸ σῶμα κείμενος ἐν ἀρμαμάξῃ, 2 μικρὸν ἀπολείπον τοῦ τελευτάν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ πιεῖν ἕτησε, καὶ πιὼν ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν ἐπὶ πρὸς τὸν δόντα Πολύστρατον· "Ὤ ἀνθρωπε, τοῦτο μοι πέρας γέγονε δυστυχίας ἀπάσης, ευ παθεῖν ἀμείδασθαι μὴ δυνάμενον ἀλλ' Ἀλέξανδρος ἀποδώσει σοι τὴν χάριν, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ οἱ θεοὶ
wretched plight from thirst, they quickly filled a helmet and brought it to him. To his enquiry for whom they were carrying the water, they replied:
“For our own sons; but if thou livest, we can get other sons, even if we lose these.” On hearing this he took the helmet into his hands, but when he looked around and saw the horsemen about him all stretching out their heads and gazing at the water, he handed it back without drinking any, but with praises for the men who had brought it; “For,” said he, “if I should drink of it alone, these horsemen of mine will be out of heart.” But when they beheld his self-control and loftiness of spirit, they shouted out to him to lead them forward boldly, and began to goad their horses on, declaring that they would not regard themselves as weary, or thirsty, or as mortals at all, so long as they had such a king.

XLIII. So, then, all were alike ready and willing; but only sixty, they say, were with Alexander when he burst into the camp of the enemy. There, indeed, they rode over much gold and silver that was thrown away, passed by many waggons full of women and children which were coursing hither and thither without their drivers, and pursued those who were foremost in flight, thinking that Dareius was among them. But at last they found him lying in a waggon, his body all full of javelins, at the point of death. Nevertheless, he asked for something to drink, and when he had drunk some cold water which Polystratus gave him, he said to him: “My man, this is the extremity of all my ill-fortune, that I receive good at thy hands and am not able to return it; but Alexander will requite thee for thy good offices, and the gods will reward Alexander for his kindness to
These details of the death of Dareius are not to be found in Arrian (Anab. iii. 21 fin.), but in Curtius (v. 13, 28) and Diodorus (xvii. 73).
my mother, wife, and children; to him, through thee, I give this right hand." With these words he took the hand of Polystratus and then expired. 1 When Alexander came up, he was manifestly distressed by what had happened, and unfastening his own cloak threw it upon the body and covered it. And when, at a later time, 2 he found Bessus, he had him rent asunder. Two straight trees were bent together and a part of his body fastened to each; then when each was released and sprang vigorously back, the part of the body that was attached to it followed after. Now, however, he sent the body of Dareius, laid out in royal state, to his mother, 3 and admitted his brother, Exathres, into the number of his companions.

XLIV. He himself, however, with the flower of his army, marched on into Hyrcania. Here he saw a gulf of the open sea which appeared to be as large as the Euxine, but was sweeter than the Mediterranean. He could get no clear information about it, but conjectured that in all probability it was a stagnant overflow from the Palus Maeotis. And yet naturalists were well aware of the truth, and many years before Alexander's expedition they had set forth that this was the most northerly of four gulfs which stretch inland from the outer sea, and was called indifferently the Hyrcanian or Caspian Sea.

Here some Barbarians unexpectedly fell in with those who were leading Alexander's horse, Bucephalas, and captured him. Alexander was angry

2 In the spring of 329 B.C. Cf. Arrian, Anab. iii. 30, 5; iv. 7, 3 ff.
3 "To Persepolis, with orders that it should be buried in the royal sepulchre" (Arrian, Anab. iii. 22, 1).
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

τρῖως, ἀλλὰ κήρυκα πέμψας ἡπείλησε πάντας ἀποκτενεῖν μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν, εἰ τὸν ἵππον αὐτῷ μὴ ἀναπέμψειαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἵππον ἁγιοτε ἢκου καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐγχειρίζοντες, ἐχρῆσατο φιλανθρώπως πᾶσι καὶ τοῦ ἵππου Λύτρα τοῖς λαβοῦσιν ἔδωκεν.

ΧLV. Ἔντευθεν εἰς τὴν Παρθικὴν ἀναζεύξας καὶ σχολάζων πρῶτον ἐνεδύσατο τὴν βαρβαρικὴν στολὴν, εὐτε βουλόμενος αὐτὸν συνοικεῖον τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις νόμοις, ὡς μέγα πρὸς ἐξημέρωσιν ἀνθρώπων τοῦ σύνθες καὶ ὀμόφυλον, εἰτ' ἀπότειρα τις ύφειτο τῆς προσκυνήσεως αὐτῆ τοῖς Μακεδόσι, κατὰ μικρὸν ἀνασχέσθαι τὴν ἐκδιαί-

2 τησίν αὐτοῦ καὶ μεταβολὴν ἐθικομένοις. οὐ μὴν τὴν γε Μηδίκην ἐκείνην προσήκατο παντάπασι βαρβαρικὴν καὶ ἀλλόκοτον οὐσαν, οὐδὲ ἀναξυρίδας οὐδὲ κάνδων οὐδὲ τιάραν ἔλαβεν, ἀλλὰ ἐν μέσῳ τινὰ τῆς Περσικῆς καὶ τῆς Μηδίκης μιξάμενοι εὐ πως, ἀτυφότεραν μὲν ἐκείνης, ταύτης δὲ σοβαρωτέραν οὐσαν. ἔχρητο δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐντυγχάνων τοῖς βαρβάροις καὶ τοῖς ἑταῖροις κατ' οἰκον, εἶτα τοῖς πολλοῖς οὕτως ἐξελαύνων καὶ

3 χρηματίζων ἑωράτο. καὶ λυπηρῶν μὲν ἦν τοῖς Μακεδόσι τὸ θέαμα, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην αὐτοῦ θαυμάζουντες ἀρετὴν φύοντο δειν ἐνιὰ τῶν πρὸς ἡδονὴν αὐτῷ καὶ δόξαν ἐπιχωρεῖν· ὅσι γε πρὸς ἅπασι τοῖς ἀλλοίς ἐναγχος τοξεύμα μὲν εἰς τὴν κυήμην

354
beyond measure, and sent a herald threatening to put them all to the sword, together with their wives and children, if they did not send him back his horse. But when they came with the horse and also put their cities into his hands, he treated them all kindly, and gave a ransom for his horse to those who had captured him.

XLV. From thence he marched into Parthia, where, during a respite from fighting, he first put on the barbaric dress, either from a desire to adapt himself to the native customs, believing that community of race and custom goes far towards softening the hearts of men; or else this was an attempt to introduce the obeisance among the Macedonians, byaccustoming them little by little to put up with changes and alterations in his mode of life. However, he did not adopt the famous Median fashion of dress, which was altogether barbaric and strange, nor did he assume trousers, or sleeved vest, or tiara, but carefully devised a fashion which was midway between the Persian and the Median, more modest than the one and more stately than the other. At first he wore this only in intercourse with the Barbarians and with his companions at home, then people generally saw him riding forth or giving audience in this attire. The sight was offensive to the Macedonians, but they admired his other high qualities and thought they ought to yield to him in some things which made for his pleasure or his fame. For, in addition to all his other hardships, he had recently been shot by an arrow in the leg below the knee, so

1 In the early autumn of 330 B.C.
2 Prostration on the ground before a great personage, a peculiarly Persian custom.
λαβών, ύφ' οὗ τὸ τῆς κερκίδος ὅστεον ἀποθραυσθέν ἐξέπεσε, λίθω δὲ πληγεὶς πάλιν εἰς τὸν τράχηλον ὡστε καὶ ταῖς ὅψεσιν ἄχλων ὑποδραμεῖν παραμείνασαν οὐκ ὅλιγον χρόνον, ὥμως οὐκ ἐπαινετο χρώμενον ἐαυτῷ πρὸς τοὺς κυνδύνους ἁφειδώς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Ὄρεξάρτην διαβὰς ποταμόν, ὅν αὐτὸς ὅετο Τάναϊν εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς Σκύθας τρεψάμενος ἐδίωξεν ἐπὶ στάδιον ἐκατόν, ἐνοχλούμενος ὑπὸ διαρροίας.

XLVI. Ἑνταῦθα δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι τῇ Ἀμαζόνα οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσιν, ὥς καὶ Κλείταρχὸς ἐστὶ καὶ Πολύκλειτος καὶ Ὄνησίκριτος καὶ Ἀντιγένης καὶ Ἰστρὸς. Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ καὶ Χάρης ὁ εἰσαγγελεύς καὶ Πτολεμαῖος καὶ Ἀντικλείδης καὶ Φίλων ὁ Θηβαῖος καὶ Φιλίππος ὁ Θεαγγελεύς, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἐκαταῖος ὁ Ἑρετριεὺς καὶ Φιλίππος ὁ Χαλκίδευς καὶ Δοῦρις ὁ 2 Σάμιος πλάσμα φασὶ γεγονέναι τούτῳ, καὶ μαρτυρεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐοικεῖν Ἀλέξανδρος. Ἀντιπάτρω γὰρ ἀπαντὰ γράφων ἀκριβῶς τῶν μὲν Σκύθην αὐτῷ φησὶ διδόναι τὴν θυγατέρα πρὸς γάμον, Ἀμαζόνας δὲ οὐ μνημονεύει. λέγεται δὲ πολλοῖς χρόνοις Ὅνησίκριτος ὑστερὸν ῥῆθη βασιλεύοντι λυσιμάχῳ τῶν βιβλίων τὸ τέταρτον ἀναγινωσκεῖν, ἐν ὧ γεγραμμένη περὶ τῆς Ἀμαζόνος τῶν οὖν λυσιμάχου ἀτρέμα μειδίασαντα “Καὶ ποὺ,” φάναι, “τότε ἦμην ἐγώ;” ταῦτα μὲν οὐν ἄν τις οὔτε ἀπιστῶν ἦττον οὔτε πιστεύων μᾶλλον Ἀλέξανδρον θαυμάσει.

XLVII. Φοβοῦμενος δὲ τοὺς Μακεδόνας, μὴ εἰς τὰ ὑπόλοιπα τῆς στρατείας ἀπαγορεύσωσι, τὸ μὲν ἄλλο πλήθος εἰσεῖται κατὰ χώραν, τοὺς δὲ
that splinters of the larger bone came out; and at another time he was smitten in the neck with a stone so severely that his eye-sight was clouded and remained so for some time. Nevertheless, he did not cease exposing himself to dangers without stint, nay, he actually crossed the river Orexartes (which he himself supposed to be the Tanaïs), put the Scythians to rout, and pursued them for a hundred furlongs, although he was suffering all the while from a diarrhoea.

XLVI. Here the queen of the Amazons came to see him, as most writers say, among whom are Cleitarchus, Polycleitus, Onesicritus, Antigenes, and Ister; but Aristobulus, Chares the royal usher, Ptolemy, Anticleides, Philo the Theban, and Philip of Theangela, besides Hecataeus of Eretria, Philip the Chalcidian, and Duris of Samos, say that this is a fiction. And it would seem that Alexander's testimony is in favour of their statement. For in a letter to Antipater which gives all the details minutely he says that the Scythian king offered him his daughter in marriage, but he makes no mention of the Amazon. And the story is told that many years afterwards Onesicritus was reading aloud to Lysimachus, who was now king, the fourth book of his history, in which was the tale of the Amazon, at which Lysimachus smiled gently and said: "And where was I at the time?" However, our belief or disbelief of this story will neither increase nor diminish our admiration for Alexander.

XLVII. Fearing that his Macedonians might tire of the rest of his expedition, he left the greater part of them in quarters, and while he had the best of
епιχωρίους έαυτόν, δισμυρίους πεζούς καὶ τρισχίλιους ἵππεις, προσέβαλε, λέγων ὡς νῦν μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐνύπνιον τῶν βαρβάρων ὀρώντων, ἂν δὲ μόνον τασάξαντες τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπίωσιν, ἐπιθησομένων εὐθὺς ὀστερ γυναιξίν.

2 οὗ μὴν ἀλλὰ ἀπιέναι γε τοὺς βουλομένους ἐφήκε,1 μαρτυρίμενος ὅτι τὴν οἰκουμένην τοῖς Μακεδώνιοι κτώμενος ἐγκαταλέλειπται μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν ἑθελόντων στρατευέων, ταύτα σχεδὸν αὐτοὶς ὑνόμασιν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον ἐπιστολῇ γέγραπται, καὶ ὅτι ταύτα εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ πάντες ἐξέκραγον ὅτι βούλεται τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀγειν. δεξαμένων δὲ τούτων τὴν πείραν οὐκέτι ἢν χαλέπον προαχθῆναι τὸ πλῆθος, ἀλλὰ βαδίως ἐπηκολουθήσειν.

3 Οὕτω δὴ καὶ τῇν διάιταν ἔτι μᾶλλον ὦμοίου τε τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἐαυτόν, ἐκεῖνά τε προσήγε τοῖς Μακεδώνιοις ἔθεσιν, ἀνακράσει καὶ κοινωνία μᾶλλον διευνόις καταστήσεσθαι τὰ πράγματα νομίζων ἢ βία, μακρὰν ἀπαίροντος αὐτοῦ. διὸ καὶ τρισμυρίους παίδας ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐκέλευσε γράμματα τε μανθάνεων Ἑλληνικά καὶ Μακεδώνιος ὁπλοῖς ἐντρέφεσθαι, πολλοὺς ἐπιστάτας καταστήσας. καὶ τὰ περὶ Ῥωξάνην ἔρωτι μὲν ἐπράξθη, καλὴν καὶ ὡραίαν ἐν τινὶ χάρῳ παρὰ πότον ὁφθεὶς, ἔδοξε δὲ οὐκ ἀνάρμοστα τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις εἶναι πράγμασιν. ἐθάρρησαν γὰρ οἱ βαρβαροὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τοῦ γάμου, καὶ τὸν

1 ἐφήκε Coraës’ correction of the ἐφη καὶ of the MSS., adopted by Sint.; Bekker reads ἀφιέναι ... ἐφη.
them with him in Hyrcania, twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse, he addressed them, saying that at present they were seen by the Barbarians as in a dream, but that if they should merely throw Asia into confusion and then leave it they would be attacked by them as if they were women. However, he said, he allowed those who wished it to go away, calling them to witness that while he was winning the inhabited world for the Macedonians he had been left behind with his friends and those who were willing to continue the expedition. This is almost word for word what he wrote in his letter to Antipater, and he adds that after he had thus spoken all his hearers cried out to him to lead them to whatever part of the world he wished. After these had met his test of their loyalty, it was no longer a hard matter for the main body to be led along too, nay, they readily followed after.

Under these circumstances, too, he adapted his own mode of life still more to the customs of the country, and tried to bring these into closer agreement with Macedonian customs, thinking that by a mixture and community of practice which produced good will, rather than by force, his authority would be kept secure while he was far away. For this reason, too, he chose out thirty thousand boys and gave orders that they should learn the Greek language and be trained to use Macedonian weapons, appointing many instructors for this work. His marriage to Roxana, whom he saw in her youthful beauty taking part in a dance at a banquet, was a love affair, and yet it was thought to harmonize well with the matters which he had in hand. For the Barbarians were encouraged by the partnership into which the marriage brought them, and they were beyond
'Αλέξανδρον ύπερηγάπησαν, ὅτι σωφρονέστατος
περὶ ταῦτα γεγονός οὐδὲ ἦς μόνης ἤττηθη γυναι-
κὸς ἄνευ νόμου θιγείν ύπέμεινεν.

5 Ὁποτε δὲ καὶ τῶν φίλων ἑώρα τῶν μεγίστων
'Ἡφαιστίωνα μὲν ἐπαινοῦντα καὶ συμμετακοσμού-
μενον αὐτῷ, Κρατέρον δὲ τοῖς πατρίοις ἐμμένοντα,
δι’ ἐκείνου μὲν ἐχρημάτιζε τοῖς βαρβάροις, διὰ
τούτου δὲ τοῖς "Ελλησι καὶ τοῖς Μακεδόσι καὶ
οἷς τὸν μὲν ἐφίλει μάλιστα, τὸν δὲ ἐτίμα, νομί-
ζων καὶ λέγων ἄει τὸν μὲν ὉΗφαιστίωνα φιλα-
λέξανδρον εἶναι, τὸν δὲ Κρατέρον φιλοβασιλέα.

6 διὸ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑποῦλως ἔχοντες συνε-
κρουνον πολλάκις. ἀπαξ δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν
καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ἥλθον σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη, καὶ
τῶν φίλων ἑκατέρῳ παραβοηθοῦντον προσελάσας
'Αλέξανδρος ἐλοιδόρει τὸν ὉΗφαιστίωνα φανερῶς,
ἐμπληκτον καὶ τῶν μαίνομενον, εἰ μὴ συνίησιν
ὡς, ἕως τοις αὐτοῖς τὸν ὉΑλέξανδρον ἄφεληται, 692
μηδὲν ἔστιν ἰδία δὲ καὶ τοῦ Κρατεροῦ πικρῶς

7 καθήγατο, καὶ συναγαγὼν αὐτοὺς καὶ διαλλάξας
ἐπώρουσε τὸν "Ἀμμωνα καὶ τοὺς ἅλλους θεοὺς, ἢ
μὴν μάλιστα φιλεῖν ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ἐκείνους·
ἀν δὲ πάλιν αἰσθηταὶ διαφερομένους, ἀποκτενεῖν
ἀμφοτέρους, ἢ τὸν ἀρξάμενον. ὁθεν ύστερον οὐδὲ
παίζοντες εἰπεῖν τι οὐδὲ πρᾶξαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους
λέγονται.

XLVIII. Φιλότας δὲ ὁ Παρμενίωνος ἀξίωμα
μὲν εἶχεν ἐν τοῖς Μακεδόσι μέγα· καὶ γὰρ ἀν-
δρείος ἐδόκει καὶ καρτερικὸς εἶναι, φιλόδωρος δὲ
360
measure fond of Alexander, because, most temperate of all men that he was in these matters, he would not consent to approach even the only woman who ever mastered his affections, without the sanction of law.

Moreover, when he saw that among his chiefest friends Hephaestion approved his course and joined him in changing his mode of life, while Craterus clung fast to his native ways, he employed the former in his business with the Barbarians, the latter in that with the Greeks and Macedonians. And in general he showed most affection for Hephaestion, but most esteem for Craterus, thinking, and constantly saying, that Hephaestion was a friend of Alexander, but Craterus a friend of the king. For this reason, too, the men cherished a secret grudge against one another and often came into open collision. And once, on the Indian expedition, they actually drew their swords and closed with one another, and as the friends of each were coming to his aid, Alexander rode up and abused Hephaestion publicly, calling him a fool and a madman for not knowing that without Alexander's favour he was nothing; and in private he also sharply reproved Craterus. Then he brought them together and reconciled them, taking an oath by Ammon and the rest of the gods that he loved them most of all men; but that if he heard of their quarrelling again, he would kill them both, or at least the one who began the quarrel. Wherefore after this they neither did nor said anything to harm one another, not even in jest.

XLVIII. Now, Philotas, the son of Parmenio, had a high position among the Macedonians; for he was held to be valiant and able to endure hardship, and,
οὗτο καὶ φιλέταιρός μετ' αυτῶν Ἀλέξανδρον οὔδείς. λέγεται γοῦν ὅτι τῶν συνήθων τινὸς αἰτοῦντος ἀργύριον ἐκέλευσε δοῦναι: φήσαντος δὲ τοῦ διοικητοῦ μὴ ἔχειν, "Τὰ λέγεις;" εἶπεν,

2 "οὖδὲ ποτήριον ἐχεις οὖδὲ ἰμάτιον;" ὄγκῳ δὲ φρονήματος καὶ βάρει πλούτου καὶ τῇ περὶ τὸ σῶμα θεραπεία καὶ διαίτη χρώμενος ἐπαχθέστε- ρον ἢ κατ' ἱδιότητι, καὶ τότε δὴ τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ ύψηλον οὐκ ἐμελέως, ἀλλ' ἄνευ χαρίτων τῷ σολοίκῳ καὶ παρασήμω μιμούμενος, ὑποψίαν καὶ φθόνον ἔσχεν, ὡστε καὶ Παρμενίωνα ποτε εἶπεῖν

3 πρὸς αὐτῶν "Ὡ παῖ, χείρων μοι γίνον." πρὸς δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκ πάνω πολλῶν χρόνων ἐτύγχανε διαβεβλημένοις. ὅτε γὰρ τὰ περὶ Δαμασκοῦ ἐώς χρήματα Δαρείου νυκθέντος ἐν Κιλικίᾳ, πολλῶν σωμάτων κομισθέντων εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον εὐρέθη γύναιον ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις, τῷ μὲν γένει Πυθναίον, εὐπρεπές δὲ τῇν ὤψιν.

4 ἑκαλεῖτο δὲ Ἀντιγόνη. τοῦτο ἔσχεν ὁ Φιλώτας· οἷα δὲ νέος πρὸς ἐρωμένη καὶ σὺν οἴνῳ πολλὰ φιλότιμα καὶ στρατιωτικὰ παρρησιαξόμενος ἕαυ- τοῦ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἔργων ἀπέφανε καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς, Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ μειράκιον ἀπεκάλει δι' αὐτῶν τὸ τῆς ἁρχῆς ὄνομα καρποῦμενον. ταῦτα τῆς γυναικὸς ἐκφεροῦσα πρὸς τινὰ τῶν συνήθων, ἐκείνου δὲ, ὡς εἰκός, πρὸς ἐτερον, περιῆλθεν εἰς Κρατερὸν ὁ λόγος· καὶ λαβὼν τὸ γύναιον εἰση- γαγε κρύφα πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον. ἀκούσας δὲ ἐκείνος ἐκέλευσε φοιτᾶν εἰς ταῦτο τῷ Φιλώτα, καὶ πῶν, ὁ τι ἀν ἐκπύθηται τοῦτον, πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀπαγγέλλειν βαδίζουσαν.
after Alexander himself, no one was so fond of giving and so fond of his comrades. At any rate, we are told that when one of his intimates asked him for some money, he ordered his steward to give it him, and when the steward said he had none to give, "What meanest thou?" cried Philotas, "hast thou not even plate or clothing?" However, he displayed a pride of spirit, an abundance of wealth, and a care of the person and mode of life which were too offensive for a private man, and at this time particularly his imitation of majesty and loftiness was not successful at all, but clumsy, spurious, and devoid of grace, so that he incurred suspicion and envy, and even Parmenio once said to him: "My son, pray be less of a personage." Moreover, for a very long time accusations against him had been brought to Alexander himself. For when Dareius had been defeated in Cilicia and the wealth of Damascus was taken, among the many prisoners brought into the camp there was found a young woman, born in Pydna, and comely to look upon; her name was Antigone. This woman Philotas got; and as a young man will often talk freely in vaunting and martial strain to his mistress and in his cups, he used to tell her that the greatest achievements were performed by himself and his father, and would call Alexander a stripling who through their efforts enjoyed the title of ruler. These words the woman would report to one of her acquaintances, and he, as was natural, to somebody else, until the story came round to Craterus, who took the girl and brought her secretly to Alexander. He, on hearing her story, ordered her to continue her meetings with Philotas and to come and report to him whatever she learned from her lover.
XLIX. Ὅ μὲν οὖν Φιλώτας ἐπιβουλεύομενος οὕτως ἤγγοει, καὶ συνήν τῇ Ἀντιγόνῃ πολλά καὶ πρὸς ὅργῃ καὶ μεγαλαυχίαν ῥήματα καὶ λόγους κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀνεπιτηθείον προὶ ἐρωτηθήκεν εἰτε θαρρῶν τῇ Παρμενίωνος εὐνοία πρὸς αὐτὸν, εἰτε δεδίως τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν. ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε χρόνῳ Μακεδόνων ὄνομα Λίμνος, ἐκ Χαλαίστρας, ἐπιβουλεύων Ἀλέξανδρῳ Νικόμαχῷ τινα τῶν νέων, πρὸς ἐν αὐτὸς ἐρωτικός εἶχεν, ἔπι τὴν κοινωνίαν τῆς πρᾶξεως 3 παρεκάλει. τοῦ δὲ μὴ δεξαμένου, φράσαντος δὲ τάδελφῳ Κεβαλίνῳ τὴν πείραν, ἔλθων ἐκείνος πρὸς Φιλώταν ἐκελευσεν εἰσάγειν αὐτοὺς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ὡς περὶ ἀναγκαίων ἔχοντας ἐντυχεῖν καὶ μεγάλων. ὁ δὲ Φιλώτας, ὁ τι δὴ παθὼν (ἀδηλον γὰρ ἐστὶν), οὐ παρῆγεν αὐτοὺς, ὡς πρὸς ἄλλους μείζωσι γεγομένου τοῦ βασιλέως. καὶ τούτω διὸ ἐποίησεν. οἳ δὲ καθ’ ὑποψίαν ἤδη τοῦ Φιλώτου τραπόμενοι πρὸς ἔτερον καὶ δι’ ἐκείνου τῶν Ἀλέξανδρῳ προσαχθέντες πρῶτον μὲν τὰ τοῦ Λίμνου κατείπον, ἔπειτα παρεδήλωσαν ἡσυχῆ τὸν Φιλώταν, ὡς ἀμελήσειν αὐτῶν διὰ ἐντυχώντων. καὶ τούτῳ δὴ σφόδρα παροξύνε τῶν Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ τοῦ πεμφθέντος ἐπὶ τὸν Λίμνον, ὡς ἡμύνετο συλλαμβανόμενος, ἀποκτείναντος αὐτῶν, ἐτε μᾶλλον διεταράχθη, τὸν ἔλεγχον ἐκπεφευγέ- 5 ναι τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς νομίζων. καὶ πικρῶς ἔχων 693

1 In the late autumn of 330 B.C.
XLIX. Now, Philotas was ignorant of the plot thus laid against him, and in his frequent interviews with Antigone would utter many angry and boastful speeches and many improper words against the king. But Alexander, although strong testimony against Philotas came to his ears, endured in silence and restrained himself, either because he had confidence in Parmenio’s good will towards him, or because he feared the reputation and power of father and son. Meanwhile, however, a Macedonian named Limnus, from Chalaestra, conspired against Alexander’s life,¹ and invited Nicomachus, one of the young men, whose lover he was, to take part with him in the undertaking. Nicomachus would not accept the invitation, but told his brother Cebalinus of the attempt, and he, going to Philotas, ordered him to conduct them into the presence of Alexander, on the ground that there were matters of great importance about which they must see him. But Philotas, for whatever reason (and the reason is not known), would not conduct them in, alleging that the king was engaged on other matters of more importance. And he refused their request twice. They now became suspicious of Philotas and applied to someone else, by whom they were brought before Alexander. In the first place they told him about the plot of Limnus, and then threw out veiled insinuations against Philotas, on the ground that he had neglected their petitions on two occasions. This greatly incensed Alexander; and when he found that Limnus had defended himself against arrest and had therefore been killed by the man sent to fetch him, he was still more disturbed in mind, thinking that the proof of the plot had escaped him. And since
πρὸς τὸν Φιλόταυν ἐπεστάσατο τοὺς πάλαι μι- 
σοῦντας αὐτὸν, ἤδη φανερῶς λέγοντας ὡς ῥαθυμία 
τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς Δίμυον οἰομένου, Χαλαιστραῖον ἀνθρωπον, ἐπιχειρήσας τολμήματι τοσούτω καθ' 
αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ τούτον μὲν ὑπηρέτην εἶναι, μᾶλλον 
δὲ ὀργανον ἀπὸ μείζονος ἀρχῆς ἀψιέμενον, ἐν ἐκεί-

νοις δὲ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ζητητέον ὦς μᾶλιστα ταῦ-

ta λανθάνειν συνέφερε. τοιούτοις λόγοις καὶ 
ὑπονοίαις ἀναπτάσαντος τὰ ὅτα τοῦ βασιλέως 
ἐπῆγον ἤδη μυρίας κατὰ τὸν Φιλόταυν διαιθολα- 
έκ τούτου δὲ συλληφθεὶς ἀνεκρίνετο, τῶν ἔταρων 
ἐφεστῶτων ταῖς βασάνοις, Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ κατα-
kουόντος ἐξωθεὶν αὐλαίας παρατεταμένης· ὅτε δὴ 
καὶ φασιν αὐτὸν εἶπεῖν, οὐκτράς καὶ ταπεινᾶς 
tοῦ Φιλόταυν φωνάς καὶ δεήσεις τοῖς περὶ τὸν 
᾿Ηφαιστίωνα προσφέροντος· "Οὗτω δὴ μαλακὸς 
ὠν, ὦ Φιλότα, καὶ ἀνανδρὸς ἐπεχείρεις πράγμασι 
7 τηλικοῦτος;" ἀποθανόντος δὲ τοῦ Φιλόταυν καὶ 
Παρμενίωνα πέμψας εὕθυς εἰς Μηδίαν ἀνεῖλεν, 
ἀνδρα πολλὰ μὲν Φιλίππῳ συγκατεργασάμενον, 
μόνον δὲ ἡ μάλιστα τῶν πρεσβυτέρων φίλων 
Ἀλέξανδρον εἰς Ἀσίαν ἐξορμήσαντα διαβῆναι, 
τρὶῶν δὲ νῦν οὐς ἐσχεν, ἐπὶ τῆς στρατίας δύο 
mὲν ἐπιδόντα πρότερον ἀποθανόντας, τῷ δὲ τρῖτῳ 
συναναιρεθέντα.

8 Ταῦτα πραξθέντα πολλοὶ τῶν φίλων φοβερῶν 
ἐποίησε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, μάλιστα δὲ Ἀντιπᾶ-
tρῷ καὶ πρὸς Αἰτωλοὺς ἐπεμψε κρύφα πίστεις 
διὸς καὶ λαμβάνου. ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ Ἀλέ-
ξανδρον Αἰτωλοὶ διὰ τὴν Οἰνιαδῶν ἀνάστασιν, ἦν

---

he felt bitter towards Philotas he drew to himself those who had long hated the man, and they now said openly that the king took things too easily when he supposed that Limnus, a man of Chalaestra, had set his hand to a deed of so great daring on his own account; nay, they said, he was only an assistant, or rather an instrument sent forth by a higher power, and enquiry into the plot should be made in those quarters where there was most interest in having it concealed. After the king had once given ear to such speeches and suspicions, the enemies of Philotas brought up countless accusations against him. Consequently he was arrested and put to the question, the companions of the king standing by at the torture, while Alexander himself listened behind a stretch of tapestry. Here, as we are told, on hearing Philotas beset Hephaestion with abject and pitiful cries and supplications, he said: "So faint-hearted as thou art, Philotas, and so unmanly, couldst thou have set hand to so great an undertaking?" After Philotas had been put to death, Alexander sent at once into Media and dispatched Parmenio also, a man whose achievements with Philip had been many, and who was the only one of Alexander's older friends, or the principal one, to urge his crossing into Asia, and who, of the three sons that were his, had seen two killed on the expedition before this, and was now put to death along with the third.¹

These actions made Alexander an object of fear to many of his friends, and particularly to Antipater, who sent secretly to the Aetolians and entered into an alliance with them. For the Aetolians also were in fear of Alexander, because they had destroyed the city of the Oeniadae, and because Alexander, on
πυθόμενος οὐκ Οίνιαδῶν ἔφη παῖδας, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ἐπιθήσειν δίκην Αἴτωλοῖς.

1. Οū πολλῷ δὲ ύστερον συνηνέχθη καὶ τὰ περὶ Κλείτων, οὕτω μὲν ἀπλῶς πυθόμενοι τῶν κατὰ Φιλώταν ἀγριώτερα· λόγῳ μέντοι συντιθέντες ἀμα καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ τὸν καίρον, οὐκ ἀπὸ γνώμης, ἀλλ' δυστυχία τινὶ ταῦτα εὐρίσκομεν πεπραγμένα τοῦ βασιλέως, ὅργην καὶ μέθην πρόφασιν τῷ Κλείτον δαίμονι παρασχόντος.

2 ἑπράξθη δὲ οὕτως. ἦκον τινες ὀπόραν Ἑλληνικὴν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῷ βασιλεί κομίζοντας. ὁ δὲ θαυμάσας τὴν ἄκρη καὶ τὸ κάλλος ἐκάλει τὸν Κλείτον, ἑπιδεἰξαι καὶ μεταδοῦναι βουλόμενος. ὁ δὲ θύων μὲν ἐτύγχανεν, ἀφεὶς δὲ τῆς θυσίαν ἐβάδιζε καὶ τρία τῶν κατεστησμένων προβάτων

3 ἑπηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ. πυθόμενος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνεκοινοῦτο τοῖς μάντεσιν Ἀριστάνδρῳ καὶ Κλεομάντει τῷ Λάκωνι. φησάντων δὲ ποιηρὸν εἶναι τὸ σημεῖον, ἐκέλευσεν ἐκθύσασθαι κατὰ τάχος ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κλείτου. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἡμέρα τρίτη κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνοὺς ἱδεὶν ὅψιν ἄτοπον· δόξα γὰρ αὐτῶ τὸν Κλείτον μετὰ τῶν Παρμενίων νῦν ἐν μέλασιν ἑμαῖς καθέζεσθαι, τεθυκότων ἀπάντων. οὐ μὴν ἐφθασεν ο Κλείτος ἐκθυσάμενος, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸ δείπνον ἤκε, τεθυκότος τοῦ βασιλέως Διοσκούροις. πότου δὲ νεανικοῦ συρραγεύτος ἤδετο ποιήματα Πρανίχου τινὸς, ὡς δὲ φασιν ἐνιοί, Πιερίωνος, εἰς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς πε-
learning of it, had said that it would not be the sons of the Oeneadae, but he himself who would punish the Aetolians.

L. Not long afterwards came the affair of Cleitus,¹ which those who simply learn the immediate circumstances will think more savage than that of Philotas; if we take into consideration, however, alike the cause and the time, we find that it did not happen of set purpose, but through some misfortune of the king, whose anger and intoxication furnished occasion for the evil genius of Cleitus. It happened on this wise. Some people came bringing Greek fruit to the king from the sea-board. He admired its perfection and beauty and called Cleitus, wishing to show it to him and share it with him. It chanced that Cleitus was sacrificing, but he gave up the sacrifice and came; and three of the sheep on which libations had already been poured came following after him. When the king learned of this circumstance, he imparted it to his soothsayers, Aristander and Cleomantis the Lacedaemonian. Then, on their telling him that the omen was bad, he ordered them to sacrifice in all haste for the safety of Cleitus. For he himself, two days before this, had seen a strange vision in his sleep; he thought he saw Cleitus sitting with the sons of Parmenio in black robes, and all were dead. However, Cleitus did not finish his sacrifice, but came at once to the supper of the king, who had sacrificed to the Dioscuri. After boisterous drinking was under way, verses were sung which had been composed by a certain Pranichus, or, as some say, Pierio, to shame and ridicule the

¹ During the campaign of 328 B.C., at Samarkand, in Sogdiana. Cf. Arrian, Anab. iv. 8 f.
ποιημένα τούς ἐναγχαίς ἑττημένους ὑπὸ τῶν βαρ-
5 βάρων ἐπ' αἰσχύνη καὶ γέλωτι. τῶν δὲ πρε-
sβυτέρων δυσχεραινότων καὶ λοιδοροῦντων τὸν
te ποιητὴν καὶ τὸν ἀδοντα, τοῦ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου
cαι τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν ἣδεως ἀκρωμένων καὶ λέγειν
κελεύων, ὁ Κλείτος ἦδη μεθύων καὶ φύσει
τραχὺς ὁν ὀργῆν καὶ αὐθάδης ἤγανάκτει μάλιστα,
φύσκων οὐ καλῶς ἐν βαρβάροις καὶ πολεμίοις
ὑβριζέσθαι Μακεδόνας πολὺ βελτίωνας τῶν γε-
lῶντων, εἰ καὶ δυστυχία κέχρηται. φήσαντος
δὲ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν Κλείτον αὐτῷ συνηγορεῖν
dυστυχίαν ἀποφαίνοντα τὴν δειλίαν, ἐπαναστὰς ὁ
Κλείτος, "Ἄρτη μέντοι σε," εἶπεν, "ἡ δειλία τὸν
ἐκ θεοῦ ἦδη τῷ Σπιθριδάτῳ ξέφει τῶν νότων
ἐκτρέποντα περιεποίησε, καὶ τῷ Μακεδόνων αἱ-
ματι καὶ τοῖς τραύμασι τούτοις ἐγένει τηλικοῦτος
όστε "Ἀμμωνι σαυτὸν εἰσποιεῖν ἀπειπάμενος
Φίλιππον."

II. Παροχυνθεῖς οὖν ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρος, "Ἡ ταὐ-
tα," εἶπεν, "ὁ κακὴ κεφαλή, σὺ περὶ ἡμῶν
ἐκάστοτε λέγων καὶ διαστασιάζων Μακεδόνας
χαίρησειν νομίζεις;" "Ἀλλ' οὖδὲ νῦν," ἐφη,
"χαίρομεν, Ἀλεξάνδρε, τοιαῦτα τέλη τῶν πόνων
κομιζομενοι, μακαρίζομεν δὲ τοὺς ἦδη τεθνηκότας
πρὶν ἐπιδείων Μηδικαίς ράβδοις ξαινομένους Μακε-
dόνας, καὶ Περσῶν δεομένους ἵνα τῷ βασιλεῖ
2 προσέλθωμεν." τοιαῦτα τοῦ Κλείτου παρρησια-
γεμένου καὶ τῶν περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀντανιστάμε-
νων καὶ λοιδοροῦντων αὐτῶν, οἱ πρεσβύτεροι
κατέχειν ἑπειρῶντο τὸν θόρυβον. ὁ δὲ Ἀλεξάν-
dρος ἀποστραφεῖς πρὸς Ξενόδοχου τὸν Καρδιανὸν

370
generals who had lately been defeated by the Barbarians. The older guests were annoyed at this and railed at both the poet and the singer, but Alexander and those about him listened with delight and bade the singer go on. Then Cleitus, who was already drunk and naturally of a harsh temper and wilful, was more than ever vexed, and insisted that it was not well done, when among Barbarians and enemies, to insult Macedonians who were far better men than those who laughed at them, even though they had met with misfortune. And when Alexander declared that Cleitus was pleading his own cause when he gave cowardice the name of misfortune, Cleitus sprang to his feet and said: "It was this cowardice of mine, however, that saved thy life, god-born as thou art, when thou wast already turning thy back upon the spear of Spithridates; and it is by the blood of Macedonians, and by these wounds, that thou art become so great as to disown Philip and make thyself son to Ammon."  

LI. Thoroughly incensed, then, Alexander said: "Base fellow, dost thou think to speak thus of me at all times, and to raise faction among Macedonians, with impunity?" "Nay," said Cleitus, "not even now do we enjoy impunity, since such are the rewards we get for our toils; and we pronounce those happy who are already dead, and did not live to see us Macedonians thrashed with Median rods, or begging Persians in order to get audience with our king." So spake Cleitus in all boldness, and those about Alexander sprang up to confront him and reviled him, while the elder men tried to quell the tumult. Then Alexander, turning to Xenodochus of Cardia

---

1 Cf. chapter xvi. 5. 2 Cf. chapters xxvii. f.
καὶ τὸν Κολοφωνίου Ἀρτέμιον, "Οὐ δοκοῦσιν," ἐπειπον τοῖς Ἔλληναῖς ἐν τοῖς Μακεδόνιοι ὁσιοτέρους, ἀλλὰ εἰς μέσουν ἀβούλεται λέγει τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον κελεύοντος, ἡ μὴ καλεῖν ἐπὶ δείπνου ἄνδρας ἐλευθέρους καὶ παρρησιὰν ἔχουσας, ἀλλὰ μετὰ βαρβάρων ζῆν καὶ ἄνδραπόδῳ, οὖ πήν περιπατεῖν; τούτῳ δὲ Κλείτον μὴ εἴκοστος, ἀλλὰ εἰς μέσουν ἀβούλεται λέγει τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον κελεύοντος, ἡ μὴ καλεῖν ἐπὶ δείπνου ἄνδρας ἐλευθέρους καὶ παρρησιὰν ἔχουσας, ἀλλὰ μετὰ βαρβάρων ζῆν καὶ ἄνδραπόδῳ, οὐ πηκέτι φέρων τὴν ὄργην Ἀλέξανδρος μήλων παρακειμένων ἐνὶ βαλῶν ἐπαίσθεν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον ἐξῆτει. τοῖς δὲ σωματοφυλάκων ἐνὸς Ἀριστοφάνους φθάσαντος ὑφελέσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων περιεχόντων καὶ δεομένων, ἀναπηδήσας ἀνεβόρα Μακεδοστὶ καλῶν τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς (τούτῳ δὲ ἢν σύμβολον θορύβου μεγάλου), καὶ τὸν σαλπιγκτὴν ἑκέλευσε σημαίνειν, καὶ πὲ ἐπαίσθεν ὡς διατρίβοτα καὶ μὴ βουλόμενον. οὕτως μὲν ὁν ὑστερον εὐδοκίμησεν ὡς τοῦ μὴ συνταραχθῆναι τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶτας γενόμενος. τοῖς δὲ Κλείτον ὁμίλων ὑφεμένων οἱ φίλοι μόλις ἐξῆσαν τοῦ ἀνδρόνως.

5 'Ο δὲ κατ' ἄλλας θύρας αὖθις εἰσῆλθε, μᾶλα ὀλυγώρως καὶ θρασεῖος Ἐὐριπίδος τὰ ἔξ Ἀνδρομάχης ἰαμβείᾳ ταῦτα περαίνων:

οἵμοι, καθ' Ἑλλάδ' ὡς κακῶς νομίζεται.

οὕτω δὴ λαβὼν παρὰ τινος τῶν δορυφόρων Ἀλεξανδρὸς αἰχμῆν ἀπαντῶντα τὸν Κλείτον αὐτῷ καὶ παράγοντα τὸ πρὸ τῆς θύρας παρακάλυμμα διελαύνει. πεσόντος δὲ μετὰ στεναγμοῦ καὶ

1 Verse 683 (Kirchhoff).
and Artemius of Colophon, said: "Do not the Greeks appear to you to walk about among Macedonians like demi-gods among wild beasts?" Cleitus, however, would not yield, but called on Alexander to speak out freely what he wished to say, or else not to invite to supper men who were free and spoke their minds, but to live with Barbarians and slaves, who would do obeisance to his white tunic and Persian girdle. Then Alexander, no longer able to restrain his anger, threw one of the apples that lay on the table at Cleitus and hit him, and began looking about for his sword. But one of his body-guards, Aristophanes, conveyed it away before he could lay hands on it, and the rest surrounded him and begged him to desist, whereupon he sprang to his feet and called out in Macedonian speech a summons to his corps of guards (and this was a sign of great disturbance), and ordered the trumpeter to sound, and smote him with his fist because he hesitated and was unwilling to do so. This man, then, was afterwards held in high esteem on the ground that it was due to him more than to any one else that the camp was not thrown into commotion. But Cleitus would not give in, and with much ado his friends pushed him out of the banquet-hall.

He tried to come in again, however, by another door, very boldly and contumaciously reciting these iambics from the "Andromache" of Euripides:

"Alas! in Hellas what an evil government!"

And so, at last, Alexander seized a spear from one of his guards, met Cleitus as he was drawing aside the curtain before the door, and ran him through. No sooner had Cleitus fallen with a roar and a groan
βρυχήματος ευθὺς ἀφήκεν ὁ θυμὸς αὐτόν. καὶ γενόμενος παρ’ έαυτῷ καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἵδων ἀφόνους ἐστῶτας ἐλκύσασθαι μὲν ἐκ τοῦ νεκροῦ τὴν ἀίχμην ἐφθασε, παῦσαι δ’ ἐαυτὸν ὀρμήσας παρὰ τὸν τράχηλον ἐπεσχέθη, τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τὰς χείρας αὐτοῦ λαβόντων καὶ τὸ σῶμα βία παρενεγκόντων εἰς τὸν θάλαμον.

Λ.Π. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν τε νύκτα κακῶς κλαίων διήνεγκε καὶ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἤμέραν ἢδη τῷ βοῶν καὶ θρηνεῖν ἀπειρηκὸς ἀναυδὸς ἔκειτο, βαρεῖς ἀναφέρων στεναγμοὺς, δείσαντες οἱ φίλοι τὴν ἀποσιώπησιν εἰσῆλθον βία. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐ προσέτο τοὺς λόγους, Ἄριστανδρον δὲ τοῦ μάντεως ὑπομυνήσκοντος αὐτὸν τὴν τε ὀψίν ἢν εἰδε περὶ τοῦ Κλείτου, καὶ τὸ σημεῖον, ὡς δὴ πάλαι καθειμαρμένων τούτων, ἐδοξεῖν ἐνδιδόναι.

2 διὸ Καλλισθένην τε τὸν φιλόσοφον παρεισήγαγον, Ἄριστοτέλους οἰκείον ὄντα, καὶ τὸν Ἄριστοτέλους αὐτὸν ὄντα, καὶ τὸν Ἀβδηρίτην Ἀνάξαρχον. ὅν Καλλισθένης μὲν ἡθικὸς ἐπειρᾶτο καὶ πράως, ὑποδύομενος τῷ λόγῳ καὶ περιώδω ἀλύπωσ, λαβέσθαι τοῦ πάθους, ὃ δὲ Ἐρίτην οἰκείον ὄντα, ἀποκαλοῦμεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁδὸν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ, καὶ δόξαι εἰληφὼς ὑπεροφίας καὶ ὀλγωρίας τῶν συνήθων, εὐθὺς εἰσέλθων ἀνεβό-3 ησεν. "Ὅτὸς ἐστὶν Ἀλέξανδρος, εἰς ὅν ἡ οἰκουμένη νῦν ἀποβλέπει: ὃ δὲ ἐρριπταὶ κλαίου ὄστερ ἀνδράποδον, ἀνθρώπων νόμον καὶ ψόγων δεδομένων, οἷς αὐτῶν προσήκει νόμον εἶναι καὶ ὄρον τῶν δικαίων, ἐπείπερ ἀρχεῖν καὶ κρατεῖν νενίκηκεν, ἀλλὰ μὴ δουλεύειν ὑπὸ κενῆς δόξης κεκρατημένοιν."
than the king's anger departed from him. And when he was come to himself and beheld his friends standing speechless, he drew the spear from the dead body and would have dashed it into his own throat, had not his body-guards prevented this by seizing his hands and carrying him by force to his chamber.

LII. Here he spent the night and the following day in bitter lamentations, and at last lay speechless, worn out with his cries and wailing, heaving deep groans. Then his friends, alarmed at his silence, forced their way in. To what the others said he would pay no attention, but when Aristander the seer reminded him of the vision he had seen concerning Cleitus, and of the omen, assuring him that all this had long ago been decreed by fate, he seemed to be less obdurate. Therefore they brought in to him Callisthenes the philosopher, who was a relative of Aristotle, and Anaxarchus of Abdera. Of these, Callisthenes tried by considerate and gentle methods to alleviate the king's suffering, employing insinuation and circumlocution so as to avoid giving pain; but Anaxarchus, who had always taken a path of his own in philosophy, and had acquired a reputation for despising and slighting his associates, shouted out as soon as he came in: "Here is Alexander, to whom the whole world is now looking; but he lies on the floor weeping like a slave, in fear of the law and the censure of men, unto whom he himself should be a law and a measure of justice, since he has conquered the right to rule and mastery, instead of submitting like a slave to the mastery of a vain opinion. Knowest

1 Cf. chapter 1. 2 f.
4 ὦνκ ὁίσθα,” εἶπεν, “ὅτι τήν Δίκην ἐχεῖ πάρεδρον ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ τήν Θέμιν, ὑπά πάν τὸ πραξθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατοῦντος θεμιτοῦ ἢ καὶ δίκαιον;” τοιοῦτοις τις λόγοις χρησάμενοι ὁ Ἀνάξαρχος τὸ μὲν πάθος ἐκούφησε τοῦ βασιλέως, τὸ δὲ ἦθος εἰς πολλὰ χαυνότερον καὶ παρανομώτερον ἐποίησεν, αὐτὸν δὲ δαιμονίως ἐνήρμοσε, καὶ τοῦ Καλλισθένους τὴν ὁμιλίαν, οὗτος ἀλλος ἐπίχαριν διὰ τὸ αὐτηροῦν ὤσαν, προσδέβαλε.

5 Δέγεται δὲ ποτε παρὰ δεῖπνον ὑπὲρ ὄρων καὶ κράσεως τοῦ περιέχοντος λόγων ὄντων, τὸν Καλλισθένην, μετέχοντα δόξης τοῖς λέγουσι τάκει μᾶλλον εἶναι ψυχρὰ καὶ δυσχείμερα τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, ἐναντιομένου τοῦ Ἀναξάρχου καὶ φιλονεικούντος, εἴπειν: “Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἀνάγκη σοὶ ταῦτα ἐκεῖνων ὁμολογεῖν ψυχρότερα· σὺ γὰρ ἐκεῖ μὲν ἐν τρίβων διεχείμαζες, ἐνταῦθα δὲ τρεῖς ἐπιβεβλημένοι δάπιδας κατάκεισαι.” τὸν μὲν οὖν Ἀναξάρχου καὶ τοῦτο προσπαρώξυνε.

3. Τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους σοφιστὰς καὶ κόλακας ὁ Καλλισθένης ἐλύπει σπουδαζόμενοι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν νέων διὰ τῶν λόγων, ὅπως ἤττον δὲ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἀρέσκων διὰ τῶν βίων, εὐτακτὸν ὤντα καὶ σεμνὸν καὶ αὐτάρκη, καὶ βεβαιοῦντα τὴν λεγομένην τῆς ἀποδημίας πρόφασιν, ὅτι τοὺς πολίτας καταγαγεῖν καὶ κατοικίσαι πάλιν τὴν πατρίδα.

2 φιλοτιμούμενος ἀνέβη πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον. φθονοῦμενος δὲ διὰ τήν δόξαν ἔστιν ἄ καὶ καθ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ διαβάλλουσι παρεῖχε, τὰς τε κλήσεις τὰ

1 Olynthus, which had been destroyed by Philip in 347 B.C.
thou not,” said he, “that Zeus has Justice and Law seated beside him, in order that everything that is done by the master of the world may be lawful and just?” By using some such arguments as these Anaxarchus succeeded in lightening the suffering of the king, it is true, but rendered his disposition in many ways more vainglorious and lawless; he also made himself wonderfully liked by the king, and brought the intercourse of Callisthenes with him, which had always been unpleasant because of the man’s austerity, into additional disfavour.

It is said that once at supper the conversation turned upon seasons and weather, and that Callisthenes, who held with those who maintain that it is more cold and wintry there than in Greece, was stoutly opposed by Anaxarchus, whereupon he said: “You surely must admit that it is colder here than there; for there you used to go about in winter in a cloak merely, but here you recline at table with three rugs thrown over you.” Of course this also added to the irritation of Anaxarchus.

LIII. Moreover, the other sophists and flatterers in the train of Alexander were annoyed to see Callisthenes eagerly courted by the young men on account of his eloquence, and no less pleasing to the older men on account of his mode of life, which was well-ordered, dignified, and independent, and confirmed the reason given for his sojourn abroad, namely, that he had gone to Alexander from an ardent desire to restore his fellow-citizens to their homes and re-peopled his native city. And besides being envied on account of his reputation, he also at times by his own conduct furnished material for his detractors, rejecting invitations for the most
πολλὰ διωθούμενος, ἐν τῇ τῷ συνεϊναι βαρύτητι καὶ σιωπῇ δοκῶν οὖκ ἐπαινεῖν οὐδὲ ἀρέσκεσθαι τοῖς γινομένοις, ὡστε καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰπεῖν ἐπ' αὐτῷ·

μισῶ σοφιστήν, ὅστις οὐδ' αὐτῷ σοφός.

3 Δέγεται δὲ ποτε πολλῶν παρακεκλημένων ἐπὶ τὸ δείπνον ἐπαινεῖσαι κελευσθείς ἐπὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου Μακεδόνας ὁ Καλλισθένης οὕτως εὐροίσαι πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ὡστε ἁνισταμένους κροτεῖν καὶ βάλλειν τοὺς στεφάνους ἐπ' αὐτόν· εἰπεῖν οὖν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὅτι, κατ' Εὐριπίδην, τὸν λαβόντα τῶν λόγων

καλὰς ἄφορμας οὐ μέγ' ἔργον εὖ λέγειν·

4 "Ἄλλ' ἐνδείξαι," φαναι, "τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν ἡμῖν κατηγορίσας Μακεδόνων, ἰνα καὶ βελτίους γένονται μαθόντες ἀ πλημμελοῦσιν." οὕτω δὴ τὸν ἀνδρα πρὸς τὴν παλινῳδίαν τραπόμενον πολλὰ παρρησιάσασθαι κατὰ τῶν Μακεδώνων, καὶ τὴν Ἐλληνικὴν στάσιν αἰτίαν ἀποφήμαντα τῆς γενομένης περὶ Φίλιππον αὐξήσεως καὶ δυνάμεως εἰπεῖν·

ἐν δὲ διχοστάσιν καὶ ὁ πάγκακος ἐλλαχε τιμῆς·

5 ἐφ' ὁ πικρὸν καὶ βαρὺ ἐγγενέσθαι μίσος τοῖς Μακεδόσι, καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐ τῆς

---

part, and when he did go into company, by his gravity and silence making it appear that he disapproved or disliked what was going on, so that even Alexander said in allusion to him:

"I hate a wise man even to himself unwise." 1

It is said, moreover, that once when a large company had been invited to the king’s supper, Callisthenes was bidden, when the cup came to him, to speak in praise of the Macedonians, and was so successful on the theme that the guests rose up to applaud him and threw their garlands at him; whereupon Alexander said that, in the language of Euripides, when a man has for his words

"A noble subject, it is easy to speak well;" 2

"But show us the power of your eloquence," said he, "by a denunciation of the Macedonians, that they may become even better by learning their faults." And so Callisthenes began his palinode, and spoke long and boldly in denunciation of the Macedonians, and after showing that faction among the Greeks was the cause of the increase of Philip’s power, added:

"But in a time of sedition, the base man too is in honour." 3

This gave the Macedonians a stern and bitter hatred of him, and Alexander declared that Callisthenes

2 Bacchae, 260 (Kirchhoff).
3 A proverb in hexameter verse, sometimes attributed to Callimachus. Cf. the Nicias, xi. 3; Morals, p. 479 a.
δεινότητος ὁ Καλλισθένης, ἀλλὰ τῆς δυσμενείας Μακεδόσιν ἀπόδειξιν δέδωκε.

LIV. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ Ἐρμιππός φησὶ τὸν ἀναγνώστην τοῦ Καλλισθένους Στροῖβον Ἀριστοτέλει διηγεῖσθαι, τὸν δὲ Καλλισθένην συνεντα τὴν ἄλλοτρότητα τοῦ βασιλέως διὰ ἢ τρῖς ἀπίόντα πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν.

κάθανε καὶ Πάτροκλος, ὁπερ σέο πολλὸν ἀμείων.

οὐ φαύλως οὖν εἰπεῖν ἐοικεὶν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης ὡς Καλλισθένης λόγῳ μὲν ἢν δυνατός καὶ μέγας, 2 νοῦν δὲ οὐκ εἰχεν. ἀλλὰ τὴν γε προσκύνησιν ἵσχυρὸς ἀπωσάμενος καὶ φιλοσόφως, καὶ μόνος ἐν φανερῷ διελθὼν ἀ πρὸς πάντες οἱ βέλτιστοι καὶ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν Μακεδόνων ἠγανάκτουν, τοὺς μὲν Ἑλλήνας αἰσχύνης ἀπήλλαξε μεγάλης, καὶ μείζονος Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀποτρέψας τὴν προσκύνησιν, αὐτὸν δὲ ὑπώλεσεν, ἐκβιάσασθαι δοκῶν μᾶλλον ἢ πείσαι τὸν βασιλέα.

3 Χάρης δὲ ὁ Μιτυληναιός φησὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ πιόντα λιθῆν προτείνει τινὶ τῶν φίλων τοῦ δὲ δεξάμενον πρὸς ἐστίν ἀναστήματι καὶ πιόντα προσκυνήσαι πρῶτον, εἶτα φιλήσαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ κατακλιθῆναι. 4 πάντων δὲ τοῦτο ποιοῦντων ἐφεξῆς τὸν Καλλισθένην λαβόντα τὴν φιάλην, οὐ προσέχοντος τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ Ἡφαιστίων προσδιαλεγομένου, πιόντα προσείναι φιλήσοντα, Δημητρίου δὲ τοῦ

1 Achilles to Hector, Iliad, xxi. 107.

380
had given a proof, not of his eloquence, but of his ill-will towards the Macedonians.

LIV. This, then, according to Hermippus, is the story which Stroebus, the slave who read aloud for Callisthenes, told to Aristotle, and he says that when Callisthenes was aware of the alienation of the king, twice or thrice, as he was going away from him, he recited the verse:

"Dead is also Patroclus, a man far braver than thou art." 1

What Aristotle said, then, would seem to have been no idle verdict, namely, that Callisthenes showed great ability as a speaker, but lacked common sense. But in the matter of the obeisance, at least, by refusing sturdily and like a philosopher to perform the act, and by standing forth alone and rehearsing in public the reasons for the indignation which all the oldest and best of the Macedonians cherished in secret, he delivered the Greeks from a great disgrace, and Alexander from a greater, by leading him not to insist upon the obeisance; but he destroyed himself, because he was thought to use force rather than persuasion with the king.

Chares of Mitylene says that once at a banquet Alexander, after drinking, handed the cup to one of his friends, and he, on receiving it, rose up so as to face the household shrine, and when he had drunk, first made obeisance to Alexander, then kissed him, and then resumed his place upon the couch. As all the guests were doing this in turn, Callisthenes took the cup, the king not paying attention, but conversing with Hephaestion, and after he had drunk went towards the king to kiss him; but
προσονομαξομένου Φείδωνος εἰπόντος, „Ω βασιλεὺ, μὴ φιλήσης· οὗτος γὰρ σε μόνος οὐ προσεκύνησε,” διακλίναι τὸ φίλημα τοῦ Αλέξανδρον, τὸν δὲ Καλλισθένη μέγα φθεγξάμενον εἰπεῖν· “Φιλήματι τοίνυν ἔλασσον ἔχων ἀπειμί.”

LV. Τοιαύτης ὑπογενομενής ἀλλοτριότητος πρώτον μὲν Ἡφαιστίων ἐπιστεύετο λέγων ὅτι συνθέμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Καλλισθένης προσκυνήσαι ψεύσαι τὴν ὀμολογίαν· ἐπείτα Λυσίμαχοι καὶ Ἀγρινός ἐπεφύσωντο φάσκοντες περιέναι τὸν σοφιστήν ὡς ἐπὶ καταλύσει τυραννίδος μέγα φρονούντα, καὶ συντρέχειν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὰ μειράκια καὶ περιέπειν ὡς μόνον ἔλευθερον ἐν τοσάνταις μυριάσι. διὸ καὶ τῶν περὶ Ἐρμόλαου ἐπιβουλευσάντων τῷ Αλέξανδρῳ καὶ φανερῶν γενομένων ἐδοξαν ἀληθεύσων ὁμοία κατηγορεῖν οἱ διαβάλλοντες, ὡς τῷ μὲν προβαλάντι πῶς ἂν ἐνδοξότατος γένοιτο ἀνθρώπος, εἶπεν, “Ἀν ἀποκτείνῃ τὸν ἐνδοξότατον,” τὸν δὲ Ἐρμόλαον ἐτή τὴν πρᾶξιν παροξύνων ἐκέλευεν μὴ δεδιέναι τὴν χρυσῆν κλίνῃν, ἀλλὰ μημονευεῖν ὅτι καὶ νοσοῦντι καὶ τιτρωσκομένῳ πρόσεισιν ἀνθρώπῳ. καίτοι τῶν περὶ Ἐρμόλαον οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ διὰ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀνάγκης τοῦ Καλλισθένους κατείπεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτὸς εἰδὺς Κρατερᾶ γράφον καὶ Ἀττάλῳ καὶ Ἀλκέτα φησί τοὺς παιδᾶς βασανιζομένους ὀμολογεῖν ὡς αὐτοὶ ταῦτα πράξειν, ἀλλος δὲ οὐδεὶς συνειδεῖ. ὅστερον δὲ γράφον πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον καὶ τὸν Καλλισθένην συνεπ-

1 Cf. Arrian, Anab. iv. 12.
2 The conspiracy of the pages (Arrian, Anab. iv. 13).
Demetrius, surnamed Pheido, cried: "O King, do not accept his kiss, for he alone has not done thee obeisance." So Alexander declined the kiss, at which Callisthenes exclaimed in a loud voice: "Well, then, I'll go away the poorer by a kiss." 1

LV. The king having been thus alienated, in the first place, Hephaestion found credence for his story that Callisthenes had promised him to make obeisance to the king and then had been false to his agreement. Again, men like Lysimachus and Hagnon persisted in saying that the sophist went about with lofty thoughts as if bent on abolishing a tyranny, and that the young men flocked to him and followed him about as if he were the only freeman among so many tens of thousands. For this reason also, when the conspiracy of Hermolaüs and his associates 2 against Alexander was discovered, it was thought that the accusations of his detractors had an air of probability. They said, namely, that when Hermolaüs put the question to him how he might become a most illustrious man, Callisthenes said: "By killing the most illustrious;" and that in inciting Hermolaüs to the deed he bade him have no fear of the golden couch, but remember that he was approaching a man who was subject to sickness and wounds. And yet not one of the accomplices of Hermolaüs, even in the last extremity, denounced Callisthenes. Nay, even Alexander himself, in the letters which he wrote at once to Craterus, Attalus, and Alcetas, says that the youths confessed under torture that they had made this attempt of themselves, and that no one else was privy to it. But in a letter written later to Antipater, wherein he accuses Callisthenes also of the crime, he says: "The
4 αυτιασάμενος, "Όι μὲν παίδες," φησίν, "ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων κατελεύσθησαν, τὸν δὲ σοφίστην ἔγω κολάσω καὶ τοὺς ἐκπέμψαντας αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ύποδεχομένους ταῖς πόλεσι τοὺς ἐμοὶ ἐπι-βουλεύοντας," ἀντικρυς ἐν γε τούτοις ἀποκαλυπτόμενος πρὸς Αριστοτέλην καὶ γὰρ ἐτέθραπτο Καλλισθένης παρ' αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν, έξ 5 Ἡροῦς γεγονός, ἀνεψιᾶς Αριστοτέλους. ἀποθανεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν ὑπ' Ἀλέξανδρον κρεμασθέντα λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐν πέδαις δεδεμένου καὶ νοσήσαντα, Χάρης δὲ μετὰ τὴν σύλληψιν ἐπτά μῆνας φυλάττεσθαι δεδεμένου, ὡς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ κριθεὶ τρία χρόνος Αριστοτέλους, ἐν αἷς δὲ ἡμέραις Ἀλέξανδρος ἑτρώθη περὶ τὴν Ἰνδίαν, ἀποθανεῖν ὑπέρπαξαν γενόμενον καὶ φθειρίσαντα.

LVI. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑστερον ἑπτάρχηθη. Δημαρατος δὲ ὁ Κορίνθιος ἦδη πρεσβύτερος ὑπὸ ἐφιλοτιμήθη πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἀναβηθὴν: καὶ θεασάμενος αὐτὸν εἶπε μεγάλης ἡδονῆς ἑστηρησθαί τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, ὅσοι τεθηκασί πρὶν ἰδεῖν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν τῷ Δαρεῖου θρόνῳ καθῆμενον. οὐ μὴν ἔπτι πλέον γε τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίας τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπέλαυσεν, ἀλλὰ ἐξ ἀρρωστίας ἀποθανὼν ἐκηδεύθη μεγαλοπρεπῶς, καὶ τάφον ἔχωσεν ὁ στρατὸς ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῇ περιμέτρῳ μέγαν, ὕψος δὲ πηχὼν ὕγδοίκαντα: τὰ δὲ λείψανα τέθριππον κεκοσμημένον λαμπρῶς ἐπὶ μάλασσαν κατεκόμμασε.

LVII. Μέλλων δὲ ὑπερβάλλειν εἰς τὴν Ἰνδικήν, ὡς ἐώρα πλήθει λαφύρων τὴν στρατιὰν ἦδη

---

1 Cf. Arrian, Anab. iv. 14, 3 f., where other accounts still are mentioned.

384
youths were stoned to death by the Macedonians, but the sophist I will punish, together with those who sent him to me and those who harbour in their cities men who conspire against my life;” and in these words, at least, he directly reveals a hostility to Aristotle, in whose house Callisthenes, on account of his relationship, had been reared, being a son of Hero, who was a niece of Aristotle. As to the death of Callisthenes, some say that he was hanged by Alexander's orders, others that he was bound hand and foot and died of sickness, and Chares says that after his arrest he was kept in fetters seven months, that he might be tried before a full council when Aristotle was present, but that about the time when Alexander was wounded in India, he died from obesity and the disease of lice.  

LVI. This, however, belongs to a later time. Meanwhile Demaratus the Corinthian, who was now well on in years, was eagerly desirous of going up to Alexander; and when he had seen him, he said that those Greeks were deprived of a great pleasure who had died before seeing Alexander seated on the throne of Dareius. However, he did not long enjoy the king's good will towards him, but died from debility. His obsequies were magnificent, and the army raised in his memory a mound of great circumference and eighty cubits in height. His ashes were carried down to the sea-board on a four-horse chariot splendidly adorned.

LVII. Alexander was now about to cross the mountains into India, and since he saw that his army was by this time cumbered with much booty

2 The spring of 327 B.C.  
3 Cf. chapter xxxvii. 4.  
4 In the late spring of 327 B.C.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

386

βαρείαν καὶ δυσκόινητον οὖσαν, ἀμὴ ἡμέρᾳ συνεκενασμένων τῶν ἁμαξῶν, πρώτας μὲν ὑπέπτησε τὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἔταιρων, μετὰ δὲ ταύτας ἐκέλευσε καὶ ταῖς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐνείναι πῦρ. καὶ τοῦ πράγματος τὸ βουλευμα μεῖζον ἔφανη 1 καὶ δεινότερον ἢ τὸ ἔργον. οἷγοις μὲν γὰρ ἡμίσειν, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι βοή καὶ ἀλαλαμφὶ μετὰ ἐνθουσιασμοῦ τὰ μὲν ἀναγκαίᾳ τοῖς δεσμένοις μεταδιδόντες, τὰ δὲ περίοντα τῆς χρείας αὐτοῖς κατακαίνοντες καὶ διαφθείροντες ὀρμής καὶ προθυμίας ἐνεπίμπλασαν τὸν Αλέξανδρον. ἤδη δὲ καὶ φοβερὸς ἦν καὶ ἀπαράίτητος κολαστῆς τῶν πλημμελούντων. καὶ γὰρ Μένανδρον τινα τῶν ἔταιρων ἄρχοντα φρουρίου καταστήσας, ὡς οὐκ ἐβούλετο μένειν, ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τῶν ἀποστάντων βαρβάρων Ὠρσιδάτην αὐτὸς κατετόξευσε.

3 Προβάτου δὲ τεκόντος ἅρμα περὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ σχῆμα καὶ χρώμα τιάρας ἔχοντα καὶ διδύμους ἐκατέρωθεν αὐτοῦ, βδελυχθείς τὸ σημεῖον ἐκαθάρθη μὲν ὕπο τῶν Βαβυλωνίων, οὐς ἐξ ἐθος ἐπήγετο πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα· διελέχθη δὲ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ὡς οὔ δι' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ δι' ἐκεῖνους ταράττοιτο, μὴ τὸ κράτος εἰς ἱγενῆ καὶ ἀναλκίν ἀνθρωπον ἐκλιπόντος αὐτοῦ περιστήσῃ τὸ δαιμόνιον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ βέλτιόν τι σημεῖον γενόμενον τὴν ἀθυμίαν ἔλυσεν.

4 ὁ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν στρωματοφυλάκων τεταγμένος ἀνὴρ Μακεδόν, ὅνομα Πρόξενος, τῇ βασιλικῇ σκηνῇ
and hard to move, at break of day, after the baggage-waggons had been loaded, he burned first those which belonged to himself and his companions, and then gave orders to set fire to those of the Macedonians. And the planning of the thing turned out to be a larger and more formidable matter than its execution. For it gave annoyance to a few only of the soldiers, while the most of them, with rapturous shouts and war-cries, shared their necessaries with those who were in need of them, and what was superfluous they burned and destroyed with their own hands, thus filling Alexander with zeal and eagerness. Besides, he was already greatly feared, and inexorable in the chastisement of a transgressor. For instance, when a certain Menander, one of his companions, who had been put in command of a garrison, refused to remain there, he put him to death; and Orsodates, a Barbarian who had revolted from him, he shot down with his own hand.

When a sheep yeaned a lamb which had upon its head what looked like a tiara in form and colour, with testicles on either side of it, Alexander was filled with loathing at the portent, and had himself purified by the Babylonians, whom he was accus-to take along with him for such purposes; and in conversation with his friends he said that he was not disturbed for his own sake, but for theirs, fear-ing lest after his death Heaven might devolve his power upon an ignoble and impotent man. However, a better portent occurred and put an end to his dejection. The Macedonian, namely, who was set over those in charge of the royal equipage, Proxenus by name, as he was digging a place for the
χώραν ὁρυττῶν παρὰ τὸν Ὄξον ποταμὸν ἀνεκάλυπτε πηγὴν ύγροῦ λιπαροῦ καὶ πιμελώδους· ἀπαντλουμένου δὲ τοῦ πρῶτου καθαρὸν ἀνέβλυζεν ἡδὴ καὶ διανύσει ἐλαιον, οὔτε ὀσμῇ δοκοῦν οὔτε γεύσει ἐλαιον διαφέρειν, στειλπνύητα τε καὶ λιπαρότητα παντάπασιν ἀπαράλλακτον, καὶ 5 ταῦτα τῆς χώρας μηδὲ ἐλαιάς φερούσης. λέγεται μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸν Ὄξον αὐτὸν εἶναι μαλακώτατον ύδωρ, ὡστε τὸ δέρμα τοῖς λουομένοις ἐπιλιπάνειν. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα θαυμαστῶς Ἀλέξανδρος ἢσθεὶς δηλὸς ἐστιν ἐξ ὧν γράφει πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον, ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις τούτοι τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ γεγονότων αὐτῷ τιθέμενος. οἱ δὲ μάντεις ἐνδόξοι μὲν στρατείας, ἐπιτόπου δὲ καὶ χαλεπῆς τὸ σημεῖον ἐποιοῦντο· πόλων γὰρ ἄρωγὴν ἐλαιον ἀνθρώποις ὑπὸ θεοῦ δεδόσθαι.

LVIII. Πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὰς μάχας αὐτῷ κίνδυνοι συνέπεσον καὶ τραύμασι νεανικοῖς ἀπήντησε, τὴν δὲ πλείστην φθορὰν ἀπορίας τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ δυσκρασίας τοῦ περίεχοντος ἀπειργάσαντο τῆς στρατιᾶς. αὐτὸς δὲ τόλμη τὴν τύχην ὑπερβαλέσθαι καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἄρετῆς φιλοτιμοῦμενος, οὐδὲν φέτος τοῖς θαρροῦσιν ἀνάλωτον οὐδὲ 2 ὁχυρὸν εἶναι τοῖς ἀτόλμοις. λέγεται δὲ τὴν Σισιμίθρου πολιορκῶν πετρὰν ἀβατον οὐσαν καὶ ἀπότομον1 ἀθυμοῦντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐρωτήσαι τὸν Ὀξυάρτην ποιῶς τις αὐτὸς εἶν τὴν ψυχὴν ὁ Σισιμίθρης· φήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ὀξυάρτου δειλότατον ἀνθρώπων, “Λέγεις σὺ γε,” φάναι, “τὴν

1 ἀπότομον Coraës’ correction of the MSS. ἀπρόσβατον, for which Bekker reads ἀπρόσμαχον, after Schaefer. Sintenis suggests ἀπότομον καὶ ἀπρόσβατον.
king's tent along the river Oxus, uncovered a spring of liquid which was oily and fatty; but when the top of it was drawn off, there flowed at once a pure and clear oil, which appeared to differ from olive oil neither in odour nor in flavour, and in smoothness and lustre was altogether the same, and that too though the country produced no olive trees. It is said, indeed, that the Oxus itself also has a very soft water, which gives sleekness to the skin of those who bathe in it. However, that Alexander was marvellously pleased is clear from what he writes to Antipater, where he speaks of this as one of the greatest omens vouchsafed to him from Heaven. The seers, however, held that the omen fore-shadowed an expedition which would be glorious, but difficult and toilsome; for oil, they said, was given to men by Heaven as an aid to toil.

LVII. And so it proved; for he encountered many perils in the battles which he fought, and received very severe wounds; but the greatest losses which his army suffered were caused by lack of necessary provisions and severity of weather. Still, he was eager to overcome fortune by boldness and force by valour, and thought nothing invincible for the courageous, and nothing secure for the cowardly. It is said that when he was besieging the citadel of Sisimithres, which was steep and inaccessible, so that his soldiers were disheartened, he asked Oxyartes what sort of a man Sisimithres himself was in point of spirit. And when Oxyartes replied that he was most cowardly of men, "Thy words mean," said Alexander, "that we
πέτραν ἀλώσιμον ἡμῖν εἶναι τὸ γὰρ ἄρχον αὐτὴς
οὐκ ὅχυρόν ἐστὶ." ταύτην μὲν οὖν ἐκφοβῆσας τὸν
Σισιμίθρην ἔλαβεν. ἐτέρα δὲ ὁμοίως ἀποτόμῳ
προσβαλῶν τοὺς νεωτέρους τῶν Μακεδόνων
παρώρμα, καὶ Ἀλέξανδρόν τινα καλούμενον
προσαγορεύσας, "Ἀλλὰ σοὶ γε,” εἶπεν, "ἂν-
δραγαθεῖν προσήκει καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν.” ἔτει
δὲ λαμπρῶς ὁ νεανίας ἀγωνιζόμενος ἔπεσεν, οὐ
μετρίως ἔδήχθη. τῇ δὲ καλουμένη Νύση τῶν
Μακεδόνων ὁκνούντων προσάγειν (καὶ γὰρ ποτα-
μὸς ἦν πρὸς αὐτὴ βαθὺς) ἐπιστάς, "Τί γὰρ,” εἶπεν,
"ὁ κάκιστος ἐγώ νεῖν οὖν ἔμαθον;” καὶ ἦδη ἔχων
τὴν ἁσπίδα περάν ἥθελησεν. ἔτει δὲ καταπαύ-
σαντος τὴν μάχην αὐτοῦ παρῆσαν ἀπὸ τῶν
πολιορκουμένων πόλεων πρέσβεις δεσσόμενοι,
πρῶτον μὲν ὀφθεὶς ἀθεράπευτος ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις
ἐξέπληξεν αὐτούς· ἔπειτα προσκεφαλαίον τινὸς
αὐτῷ κομισθέντος ἐκέλευσε λαβόντα καθίσαι τὸν
πρεσβύτατον ὁ Ἀκουφίς ἐκαλεῖτο. θαυμάσας οὖν
τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν ὁ ὁ Ἀκουφίς
ἡρώτα τί βούλεται ποιοῦντας αὐτοῦ ἔχειν φίλους.
φήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρον, "Σὲ μὲν ἄρχοντα
καταστήσαντας αὐτῶν, πρὸς δὲ ἡμᾶς πέμψαντας
ἐκατον ἄνδρας τοὺς ἄριστους,” γελάσας ὁ ὁ Ἀκου-
φίς, ὁ Ἀλλὰ βέλτιον,” εἶπεν, "ἀρξώ, βασιλεῦ,
tοὺς κακίστους πρὸς σὲ πέμψας μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς
ἄριστους.”

LIX. Ὡ δὲ Ταξίλης λέγεται μὲν τῆς Ἰνδικῆς
ἐχεῖν μοῖραν οὐκ ἀποδέουσαν Ἀἰγύπτου τὸ μέγε-
θος, εὐβοτον δὲ καὶ καλλικαρπον ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα,
can take the citadel, since he who commands it is a weak thing." And indeed he did take the citadel by frightening Sisimithres. Again, after attacking another citadel equally precipitous, he was urging on the younger Macedonians, and addressing one who bore the name of Alexander, said: "It behooves thee, at least, to be a brave man, even for thy name's sake." And when the young man, fighting gloriously, fell, the king was pained beyond measure. And at another time, when his Macedonians hesitated to advance upon the citadel called Nysa because there was a deep river in front of it, Alexander, halting on the bank, cried: "Most miserable man that I am, why, pray, have I not learned to swim?" and at once, carrying his shield, he would have tried to cross. And when, after he had put a stop to the fighting, ambassadors came from the beleaguered cities to beg for terms, they were amazed, to begin with, to see him in full armour and without an attendant; and besides, when a cushion was brought him for his use, he ordered the eldest of the ambassadors, Acuphis by name, to take it for his seat. Acuphis, accordingly, astonished at his magnanimity and courtesy, asked what he wished them to do in order to be his friends. "Thy countrymen," said Alexander, "must make thee their ruler, and send me a hundred of their best men." At this Acuphis laughed, and said: "Nay, O King, I shall rule better if I send to thee the worst men rather than the best." 1

LIX. Taxiles, we are told, had a realm in India as large as Egypt, with good pasturage, too, and in the highest degree productive of beautiful fruits. He

σοφὸς δὲ τις ἀνήρ εἶναι, καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀσπασάμενος, "Τί δεῖ πολέμων," φάναι, "καὶ μάχης ἡμῖν, Ἀλέξανδρε, πρὸς ἄλληλους, εἰ μήτε ὑδωρ ἀφαιρησόμενος ἡμῶν ἀφίξαι μήτε τροφὴν ἀναγκαίαν, ὑπὲρ ὧν μόνων ἀνάγκη διαμάχεσθαι

2 νοῦν ἔχουσιν ἀνθρώποις; τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις χρήμασι καὶ κτήμασι λεγομένοις, εἰ μὲν εἰμὶ κρείττον, ἔτοιμος εὖ ποιεῖν, εἰ δὲ ἦττων, οὐ φεύγω χάριν ἔχειν εὖ παθῶν." ἥσθείς οὖν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ δεξιωσάμενος αὐτὸν, "Ἡ ποινοῦσεις," ἔφη, "δίχα μάχης ἔσεσθαι τὴν ἐντευξίν ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τοιοῦτων λόγων καὶ φιλοφροσύνης; ἀλλ' οὐδέν σοι πλέον ἐγὼ γὰρ ἁγωνιοῦμαι πρὸς σὲ καὶ διαμαχοῦμαι ταῖς χάρισιν, ὡς μου χρηστὸς ὄν

3 μὴ περιγένη." λαβὼν δὲ δώρα πολλά καὶ δοῦς πλείονα τέλος χίλια τάλαντα νομίσματος αὐτῷ προέπιεν. ἐφ' οἷς τοὺς μὲν φίλους ἱσχυρῶς ἐλύπησε, τὸν δὲ βαρβάρων πολλοὺς ἐποίησεν ἕμερωτέρως ἔχειν πρὸς αὐτόν.

'Επεὶ δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν οἱ μαχημάτατοι μισθοφο-ροῦντες ἐπεφοίτων ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐρρωμένως ἀμύ-νοντες καὶ πολλὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκακοποίον, σπειρόμενος εὖ τινὶ πόλει πρὸς αὐτοῦς ἀπίοντας

4 ἐν ὁδῷ λαβὼν ἀπαντᾷ ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τούτῳ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ, τὰ ἄλλα νομίμως καὶ βασιλικῶς πολεμήσαντος, ὡσπερ κηλὶς πρόσ-εστιν. οὐκ ἐλάσσονα δὲ τούτων οἱ φιλόσοφοι πράγματα παρέσχον αὐτῷ, τοὺς τε προστιθε-μένους τῶν βασιλέων κακίζοντες καὶ τοὺς ἐλευ-θέρους δήμους ἀφιστάντες. διὸ καὶ τούτων πολλοὺς ἐκρέμασε.
was also a wise man in his way, and after he had greeted Alexander, said: "Why must we war and fight with one another, Alexander, if thou art not come to rob us of water or of necessary sustenance, the only things for which men of sense are obliged to fight obstinately? As for other wealth and possessions, so-called, if I am thy superior therein, I am ready to confer favours; but if thine inferior, I will not object to thanking you for favours conferred." At this Alexander was delighted, and clasping the king's hand, said: "Canst thou think, pray, that after such words of kindness our interview is to end without a battle? Nay, thou shalt not get the better of me; for I will contend against thee and fight to the last with my favours, that thou mayest not surpass me in generosity." So, after receiving many gifts and giving many more, at last he lavished upon him a thousand talents in coined money. This conduct greatly vexed Alexander's friends, but it made many of the Barbarians look upon him more kindly.

The best fighters among the Indians, however, were mercenaries, and they used to go about to the different cities and defend them sturdily, and wrought much harm to Alexander's cause. Therefore, after he had made a truce with them in a certain city and allowed them to depart, he fell upon them as they marched and slew them all. And this act adheres like a stain to his military career; in all other instances he waged war according to usage and like a king. The philosophers, too, no less than the mercenaries, gave him trouble, by abusing those of the native princes who attached themselves to his cause, and by inciting the free peoples to revolt. He therefore took many of these also and hanged them.

393
LX. Τὰ δὲ πρὸς Πῶρον αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ὃς ἔπραξθη γέγραφε. ἤφη γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν στρατοπέδων τοῦ Ἅδασπου ἰέρους ἀντιπόρους ἱστάντα τοὺς ἑλέφαντας ἱεῖ τὸν Πῶρον ἐπιτηρεῖν τὴν διάβασιν. αὐτὸν μὲν οὖν καθ’ ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ψόφον ποιεῖν καὶ θόρυβον ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πολύν, έθίζοντα τοὺς βαρβάρους 2 μὴ φοβείσθαι: νυκτὸς δὲ χειμερίου καὶ ἀσελήνου λαβόντα τῶν πεζῶν μέρος, ἵππεῖς δὲ τοὺς κρατίστους, καὶ προελθόντα πόρρω τῶν πολεμίων διαπεράσαι πρὸς νῆσον οὐ μεγάλην. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ῥαγδαίον μὲν ἐκχυθέντος ὀμβρού, πρηστήρων δὲ πολλῶν καὶ κεραυνῶν ἐις τὸ στρατόπεδον φερομένων, ὁμοὶ δρῶν ἀπολλυμένους τινὰς καὶ συμφλεγομένους ὑπὸ τῶν κεραυνῶν ἀπὸ τῆς νυσίδος ἅρας προσφέρεσθαι ταῖς ἀντιπέρας ὀχ- 3 θαις. τραχύν δὲ τὸν Ἅδασπὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμώνος ἐπίστωμα καὶ μετέωρον, ἐκρηγμα ποιήσαι μέγα, καὶ πολὺ μέρος ἐκείνη φέρεσθαι τοῦ ῥεύματος: αὐτοῦς δὲ δέξασθαι τὸ μέσον οὐ βεβαιῶσ, ἄτε δὲ συνολισθάνον καὶ περιρρηγνύ- μενον. ἐνταῦθα δὲ εἰπεῖν φασιν αὐτόν. "Ὤ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἄρα γε πιστεύσατε ἂν ἡλίκους ὑπο- μένω κυνδύνους ἐνεκα τῆς παρ' ὑμῖν εὐδοξίας;" 4 ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν Ὀνησίκρητος εἴρηκε, αὐτὸς δὲ φησὶ τὰς σχεδίας ἀφέντας αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῶν ὀπλων τὸ ἐκρηγμα διαβαίνειν ἄχρι μαστῶν βρε- χομένους, διαβας δὲ τῶν πεζῶν εἰκοσι σταδίους προπεύσαι, λογιζόμενος, εἰ μὲν οἱ πολέμιοι τοῖς 394
LX. Of his campaign against Porus he himself has given an account in his letters. He says, namely, that the river Hydaspes flowed between the two camps, and that Porus stationed his elephants on the opposite bank and kept continual watch of the crossing. He himself, accordingly, day by day caused a great din and tumult to be made in his camp, and thereby accustomed the Barbarians not to be alarmed. Then, on a dark and stormy night, he took a part of his infantry and the best of his horsemen, and after proceeding along the river to a distance from where the enemy lay, crossed over to a small island. Here rain fell in torrents, and many tornadoes and thunder-bolts dashed down upon his men; but nevertheless, although he saw that many of them were being burned to death by the thunder-bolts, he set out from the islet and made for the opposite banks. But the Hydaspes, made violent by the storm and dashing high against its bank, made a great breach in it, and a large part of the stream was setting in that direction; and the shore between the two currents gave his men no sure footing, since it was broken and slippery. And here it was that he is said to have cried: "O Athenians, can ye possibly believe what perils I am undergoing to win glory in your eyes?" This, however, is the story of Onesicritus; Alexander himself says that they left their rafts and crossed the breach with their armour on, wading breast-high in water, and that after he had crossed he led his horsemen twenty furlongs in advance of his infantry, calculating that, in case the enemy attacked with

1 See Arrian, Anab. v. 9-19. It was in the spring of 326 B.C.
ἐπ' ὄσις προσβάλοιει, πολὺ κρατήσειν, εἰ δὲ κιν-οίειν τὴν φάλαγγα, φθίσεσθαι τοὺς πεζοὺς ἀυτῷ 5 προσγενομένους· θάτερον δὲ συμβῆναι. τῶν γὰρ ἰππέων χιλίων καὶ τῶν ἀρμάτων ἐξήκοντα συμ-πεσόντα τρεψάμενος, τὰ μὲν ἀρματα λαβεῖν ἀπαντα, τῶν δ' ἰππέων ἀνελεῖν τετρακοσίους. οὕτω δὴ συμφρονήσαντα τὸν Πώρον ὡς αὐτὸς εἶν διαβεβηκὼς Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐπίεναι μετὰ πάσῃ τῆς δυνάμεως, πλὴν ὅσον ἐμποδῶν εἶναι τοῖς διαβαινοῦσι τῶν Μακεδώνων ἀπέλιπτε. φοβηθεῖς δὲ τὰ θηρία καὶ τὸ πλήθος τῶν πολεμίων αὐτὸς μὲν ἐνσεῖσαι κατὰ θάτερον κέρας, Κοίνον δὲ τῷ 6 δεξιῷ προσβαλεῖν κελεύσαι. γενομένης δὲ τροπῆς ἐκατέρωθεν ἀναχωρεῖν ὠς ἄρος τὰ θηρία καὶ συνειλεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐκβιαζομένους, οἴει ἢ ἦδη τὴν μάχην ἀναμεμιγμένην εἶναι, καὶ μόλις ὑγός ὡρας ἀπειπεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους. ταύτα μὲν οὖν ὁ τῆς μάχης ποιήτης αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς εἴρηκεν.

Οἱ δὲ πλείστοι τῶν συγγραφέων ὡμολογοῦσι τὸν Πώρον ὑπεραίροντα τεσσάρων πηχῶν σπιθα-μῆ τὸ μῆκος ἰππότου μηδὲν ἀποδείξει πρὸς τὸν ἐλέφαντα συμμετρία διὰ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸν ὄγκον 7 τοῦ σώματος. καίτοι μέγιστος ἢν ὁ ἐλέφας· σύνεσιν δὲ θαυμαστην ἐπεδείξατο καὶ κηδεμονίαν τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐρρωμένου μὲν ἐτι θυμῷ τοὺς προσμαχομένους ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ ἀνακόπτων, ὡς δὲ ἦσθε τοι ἐλεόν πληθεῖ καὶ τραυμάτων κάμ-νοντα, δείσας μὴ περιρρυῆ, τοῖς μὲν γόνασιν εἰς γῆν ύψηκε πρὸς ἑαυτὸν, τῇ δὲ προνομαίᾳ λαμ-
ALEXANDER, LXX. 4-7

their cavalry, he would be far superior to them, and in case they moved up their men-at-arms, his infantry would join him in good season. And one of these suppositions came to pass. For after routing a thousand of the enemy's horsemen and sixty of their chariots which engaged him, he captured all the chariots, and slew four hundred of the horsemen. And now Porus, thus led to believe that Alexander himself had crossed the river, advanced upon him with all his forces, except the part he left behind to impede the crossing of the remaining Macedonians. But Alexander, fearing the elephants and the great numbers of the enemy, himself assaulted their left wing, and ordered Coenus to attack their right. Both wings having been routed, the vanquished troops retired in every case upon the elephants in the centre, and were there crowded together with them, and from this point on the battle was waged at close quarters, and it was not until the eighth hour that the enemy gave up. Such then, is the account of the battle which the victor himself has given in his letters.

Most historians agree that Porus was four cubits and a span¹ high, and that the size and majesty of his body made his elephant seem as fitting a mount for him as a horse for a horseman. And yet his elephant was of the largest size; and it showed remarkable intelligence and solicitude for the king, bravely defending him and beating back his assailants while he was still in full vigour, and when it perceived that its master was worn out with a multitude of missiles and wounds, fearing lest he should fall off, it knelt softly on the ground, and with its proboscis

¹ Six feet and three inches.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES


LXI. Ἐκ δὲ τῆς πρὸς Πῶρον μάχης καὶ ὁ Βουκεφάλας ἐτελεύτησεν, οὐκ εὐθὺς, ἀλλὰ ύστερον, ὡς οἱ πλείστοι λέγουσιν ἀπὸ τραυμάτων θεραπεύομενος, ὡς δὲ ὁ Ὀνησίκριτος, διὰ γῆρας υπέρπονος γενόμενος τριάκοντα γὰρ ἐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν αὐτόν. ἐδήχθη δ' ἱσχυρῶς Ἀλέξανδρος, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ συνήθη καὶ φίλον ἀποβεβληκέναι νομίζων καὶ πόλιν οἰκίσας ἐπὶ αὐτῷ παρὰ τὸν Τδασπην Βουκεφαλίαν προσηγόρευσε. λέγεται δὲ καὶ κύνα Περίται ὄνομα τεθραμμένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ στεργόμενον ἀποβαλὼν κτίσαι πόλιν ἐπώνυμον. τούτῳ δὲ Σωτίων φησὶ Ποτάμωνος ἀκοῦσαι τοῦ Λεσβίου.

LXII. Τοὺς μέντοι Μακεδόνας ὁ πρὸς Πῶρον ἀγὼν ἀμβλυτέρους ἐποίησε καὶ τοῦ πρόσω τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἐτὶ προελθεῖν ἐπέσχε. μόλις γὰρ ἐκεῖνον

1 τοὺς with Bekker, after Coraës: καὶ τοὺς.

1 Cf. Arrian, Anab. v. 19, 4 f.
2 Alexander carried his conquests from the Indus to the
ALEXANDER, LXX. 7-LXII. 1

gently took each spear and drew it out of his body. Porus was taken prisoner, and when Alexander asked him how he would be treated, said: “Like a king”; and to another question from Alexander whether he had anything else to say, replied: “All things are included in my ‘like a king.’” Accordingly, Alexander not only permitted him to govern his former kingdom, giving him the title of satrap, but also added to it the territory of the independent peoples whom he subdued, in which there are said to have been fifteen nations, five thousand cities of considerable size, and a great multitude of villages. He subdued other territory also thrice as large as this and appointed Philip, one of his companions, satrap over it.

LXI. After the battle with Porus, too, Bucephalas died,—not at once, but some time afterwards,—as most writers say, from wounds for which he was under treatment, but according to Onesicritus, from old age, having become quite worn out;¹ for he was thirty years old when he died. His death grieved Alexander mightily, who felt that he had lost nothing less than a comrade and friend; he also built a city in his memory on the banks of the Hydaspes and called it Bucephalia. It is said, too, that when he lost a dog also, named Peritas, which had been reared by him and was loved by him, he founded a city and gave it the dog’s name. Sotion says he heard this from Potamon the Lesbian.

LXII. As for the Macedonians, however, their struggle with Porus blunted their courage and stayed their further advance into India.² For having had Hyphasis (Arrian, Anab. v. 25), subduing the Punjab. It was now September, 326 B.C.
ὅσάμενοι δισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ δισχιλίους ἵππευσι
παραταξάμενοι, ἀντέστησαν ἵσχυρος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ
βιαζομένῳ καὶ τὸν Γάγγην περάσαι ποταμὸν,
εὐρός μὲν αὐτοῦ δύο καὶ τριάκοντα σταδίων εἶναι
πυθανόμενοι καὶ βάθος ὄργιας ἐκατόν, ἀντι-
πέρας δὲ τὰς ὀχθὰς ἀποκεκρύβθαι πλήθεισιν
2 ὀπλῶν καὶ ἵππων καὶ ἑλεφάντων. ἔλεγοντο γὰρ
ὅκτῳ μὲν μυριάδας ἵπποτῶν, εἰκοσὶ δὲ πεζῶν,
ἄρματα δὲ ὅκτακισχίλια καὶ μαχίμους ἑλεφάντας
ἐξακισχίλιους ἔχοντες οἱ Γανδαρίτων καὶ Πραι-
σίων βασιλεῖς ὑπομένειν. καὶ κόμπος οὐκ ἦν
περὶ ταύτα. Ἀλεξάνδρος γὰρ ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ
βασιλεύσας Σελεύκῳ πεντακισχίλιον ἑλεφάντας
ἐδώρησατο, καὶ στρατοῦ μυριάσιν ἐξήκοντα τὴν
Ἰνδίκην ἐπίλθεν ἀπασάν καταστρεφόμενος.
3 Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ὑπὸ δυσθυμίας καὶ ὀργῆς
αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν καθείρξας ἤκειτο, χάριν
οὐδεμίαν εἰδῶς τοὺς διαπεπραγμένους εἰ μὴ περά-
σεις τὸν Γάγγην, ἀλλὰ ἐξομολόγησιν ἄτης τιθέ-
μενος τὴν ἀναχώρησιν. ώς δὲ οἳ τὰ εἰκότα
παρηγοροῦντες αὐτὸν οἳ τε στρατιῶται κλαυ-
θμῷ καὶ βοῇ προσιστάμενοι ταῖς θύραις ἰκέτευνον,
ἐπικλασθεὶς ἀνεξέγυνε, πολλὰ πρὸς δόξαν ἀπα-
4 τηλὰ καὶ σοφιστικὰ μηχανώμενος. καὶ γὰρ ὀπλὰ
μείζονα καὶ φάτνας ἵππων καὶ χαλινῶν βαρυ-
τέρους κατασκευάζας ἀπέλιπε τε καὶ διερρίψεν
ἵδρυσατο δὲ βωμοὺς θεῶν, οὐς μέχρι χῦν οἱ
Πραισίων βασιλεῖς διαβαίνοντες σέβονται καὶ
all they could do to repulse an enemy who mustered only twenty thousand infantry and two thousand horse, they violently opposed Alexander when he insisted on crossing the river Ganges also, the width of which, as they learned, was thirty-two furlongs, its depth a hundred fathoms, while its banks on the further side were covered with multitudes of men-at-arms and horsemen and elephants. For they were told that the kings of the Ganderites and Praesii were awaiting them with eighty thousand horsemen, two hundred thousand footmen, eight thousand chariots, and six thousand fighting elephants. And there was no boasting in these reports. For Androcottus, who reigned there not long afterwards, made a present to Seleucus of five hundred elephants, and with an army of six hundred thousand men overran and subdued all India.

At first, then, Alexander shut himself up in his tent from displeasure and wrath and lay there, feeling no gratitude for what he had already achieved unless he should cross the Ganges, nay, counting a retreat a confession of defeat. But his friends gave him fitting consolation, and his soldiers crowded about his door and besought him with loud cries and wailing, until at last he relented and began to break camp, resorting to many deceitful and fallacious devices for the enhancement of his fame. For instance, he had armour prepared that was larger than usual, and mangers for horses that were higher, and bits that were heavier than those in common use, and left them scattered up and down. Moreover, he erected altars for the gods, which down to the present time are revered by the kings of the Praesii when they cross the river, and on them they offer...
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

θύουσιν Ἑλληνικάς θυσίας. Ἀνδρόκοττος δὲ μειράκιον ὅν αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἶδε, καὶ λέγεται πολλάκις εἰπεῖν ὑστερον ὡς παρ' οὐδὲν ἦλθε τὰ πράγματα λαβεῖν Ἀλέξανδρος, μισοῦμένου τε καὶ καταφρονοῦμένου τοῦ βασιλέως διὰ μοχθηρίαν καὶ δυσγένειαν.

IXII. Ἑντεῦθεν ὀρμήσας Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν ἐξοθάλασσαν ἐπιδείξεως, καὶ πολλὰ παράσκεψε κωπήριη καὶ σχεδία πηξάμενος, ἐκομίζετο τοῖς ποταμοῖς ὑποθροφόμενος σχολαίως. ὁ δὲ πλοῦς οὐκ ἀργὸς ἦν οὐδὲ ἀπόλεμος, προσβάλλαν δὲ ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ ἀποβαίνον ἔχειροιτο πάντα. πρὸς δὲ τοῖς καλουμένοις Μάλλοις, οὓς φασιν Ἰνδῶν μαχιμωτάτους γενέσθαι, μικρὸν ἐδέσθη

κατακοπῆναι. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπους βέλεσιν ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἀπεσκέδασε, πρῶτος δὲ διὰ κλίμακος τεθείσης ἀναβας ἑπὶ τό τείχος, ὡς ἦ τε κλίμαξ συνετρίβη καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων υφισταμένων παρὰ τὸ τείχος ἐλάμβανε πληγὰς κάτωθεν, ὀλιγοστὸς δὲν συστρέψας ἑαυτὸν εἰς μέσους ἀφῆκε τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ κατὰ τύχην ὅρθος ἐστή.

τιναξαμένου δὲ τοῖς ὅπλοις, ἐδοξαζον οἱ βαρβαροὶ σέλας τι καὶ φάσμα πρὸ τοῦ σώματος φέρεσθαι. διὸ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐφυγὼν καὶ διασκεδάζομαν ὡς δὲ εἴδον αὐτὸν μετὰ δυνῶν ὑπασπιστῶν, ἐπιδραμόντες οἱ μὲν ἐκ χειρὸς ἔφεσι καὶ δόρασι διὰ τῶν ὅπλων συνετίρωσκον ἀμνόμενον, εἰς δὲ μικρὸν ἀπωτέρω στὰς ἐφῆκεν ἀπὸ τὸξον βέλος οὕτως εὐτονον καὶ βλαίον ὡστε τὸν θώρακα διακόψαν ἐμπαγῆναι τοῖς περὶ τὸν μασθὸν ὅστεοις.

1 Hydaspes, Acesines, and Indus (Arrian, Anab. vi. 1).
sacrifices in the Hellenic manner. Androcottus, when he was a stripling, saw Alexander himself, and we are told that he often said in later times that Alexander narrowly missed making himself master of the country, since its king was hated and despised on account of his baseness and low birth.

LXIII. From thence, being eager to behold the ocean, and having built many passage-boats equipped with oars, and many rafts, he was conveyed down the rivers in a leisurely course. And yet his voyage was not made without effort nor even without war, but he would land and assault the cities on his route and subdue everything. However, in attacking the people called Malli, who are said to have been the most warlike of the Indians, he came within a little of being cut down. For after dispersing the inhabitants from the walls with missiles, he was the first to mount upon the wall by a scaling ladder, and since the ladder was broken to pieces and he was exposed to the missiles of the Barbarians who stood along the wall below, almost alone as he was, he crouched and threw himself into the midst of the enemy, and by good fortune alighted on his feet. Then, as he brandished his arms, the Barbarians thought that a shape of gleaming fire played in front of his person. Therefore at first they scattered and fled; but when they saw that he was accompanied by only two of his guards, they ran upon him, and some tried to wound him by thrusting their swords and spears through his armour as he defended himself, while one, standing a little further off, shot an arrow at him with such accuracy and force that it cut its way through his breastplate and fastened itself in his ribs at the breast. Such was
4 πρὸς δὲ τὴν πληγήν ἐνδόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ σῶμα κάψαντος, ὁ μὲν βαλὼν ἐπέδραμε βαρβαρικὴν μάχαιραν σπασάμενος, Πευκέστας δὲ καὶ Λευναῖος προέστησαν ὃν πληγέντων ἐκατέρων ὁ μὲν ἀπέθανε, Πευκέστας δὲ ἀντείχε, τὸν δὲ βάρβαρον Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπέκτεινεν. αὐτὸς δὲ τραύματα πολλὰ λαβὼν, τέλος δὲ πληγεῖς ύπέρω κατὰ τοῦ τραχήλου, προσήρειε τῷ τείχει τὸ σῶμα, βλέπων
5 πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων περικυθέντων ἀρπασθεὶς ἀναίσθητος ἤδη τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἑπὶ σκηνῆς ἐκομίζετο. καὶ παραυτικὰ μὲν ὡς τεθυνώσω ἔν λόγος ἐν τῷ στρατηγόδῳ χαλεπῶς δὲ καὶ πολυπόνως τὸν ὀἰστὸν ἐκπριασάντων ἠξύλινον ὄντα, καὶ τοῦ θώρακος σύνω μόνις ἀπολυθέντος, περὶ τὴν ἐκκοπῆν ἐγκύοντο τῆς ἀκίδος ἐνδεδυκυλᾶς ἐνὶ τῶν ὀστέων. λέγεται δὲ τὸ μὲν πλάτος τριῶν δακτύλων εἶναι, τὸ δὲ μῆκος τεσσάρων. διὸ ταῖς λυπθημέναις ἐγχιστὰ θανάτῳ συνελαυνόμενος ἐξαιρομένης αὐτῆς, ὁμοίς άνέλαβε. καὶ διαφύγων τὸν κίνδυνον, ἐτι δὲ ἄσθενε ὁν καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐν διαίτῃ καὶ θεραπείας ἔχων αὐτὸν, ἔξω θρυ- βοῦντος ὡς ἐσθετο ποθοῦντας αὐτὸν ἱδεῖν τοὺς Μακεδόνας, λαβὼν ἰμάτιον προῆλθε. καὶ θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς αὖθις ἀνήχθη καὶ παρεκομίζετο χῶραν τε πολλὴν καὶ πόλεις μεγάλας καταστρεφόμενος.

6 LXIV. Τῶν δὲ Γυμνοσοφιστῶν τοὺς μάλιστα τῶν Σάββαν ἀναπείσαντας ἀποστήναι καὶ κακὰ πλείστα τοῖς Μακεδόσι παρασχόντας λαβῶν δέκα, δεινοὺς δοκοῦντας εἶναι περὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις

1 Leonnatus, according to Arrian, vi. 10, 2.
the force of the blow that Alexander recoiled and sank to his knees, whereupon his assailant ran at him with drawn scimitar, while Peucestas and Limnaeus \(^1\) defended him. Both of them were wounded, and Limnaeus was killed; but Peucestas held out, and at last Alexander killed the Barbarian. But he himself received many wounds, and at last was smitten on the neck with a cudgel, and leaned against the wall, his eyes still fixed upon his foes. At this instant his Macedonians flocked about him, caught him up, already unconscious of what was going on about him, and carried him to his tent. And straightway a report that he was dead prevailed in the camp; but when with much difficulty and pains they had sawn off the shaft of the arrow, which was of wood, and had thus succeeded at last in removing the king’s breastplate, they came to the excision of the arrow-head, which was buried in one of the ribs. We are told, moreover, that it was three fingers broad and four long. Its removal, therefore, threw the king into swoons and brought him to death’s door, but nevertheless he recovered. And after he was out of danger, though he was still weak and kept himself for a long time under regimen and treatment, perceiving from their tumult at his door that his Macedonians were yearning to see him, he took his cloak and went out to them. And after sacrificing to the gods he went on board ship again and dropped down the river, subduing much territory and great cities as he went.

LXIV. He captured ten of the Gymnosophists who had done most to get Sabbas to revolt, and had made the most trouble for the Macedonians. These philosophers were reputed to be clever and concise
καὶ Βραχυλόγους, ἐρωτήματα προὔβαλεν αὐτοῖς ἀπόρα, φήσας ἀποκτενεῖν τὸν μὴ ὀρθῶς ἀποκρινόμενον πρῶτον, εἶτα ἐφεξῆς οὕτω τοὺς ἄλλους. 2 ἔνα δὲ τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἐκέλευσε κρίνειν. ὁ μὲν ὄν πρῶτος ἐρωτηθεῖς πότερον οἴεται τοὺς ξώντας εἶναι πλείονας ἡ τοὺς τεθυράκοτας, ἐφ' ἄυτος ξών-
τας: οὐκέτι γὰρ εἶναι τοὺς τεθυράκοτας. ὁ δὲ δεύτερος, πότερον τὴν γῆν ἢ τὴν θάλασσα μεί-
ξονα τρέφειν θηρία, τὴν γῆν ταῦτας γὰρ μέρος εἶναι τὴν θάλασσαν. ὁ δὲ τρίτος, ποίον ἐστι πρὸ-
ξῶν πανυργύτατον, "Ο μέχρι νῦν," εἶπεν, 3 "ἀνθρώπως οὐκ ἐγνωκεν." ὁ δὲ τέταρτος ἀνα-
κρινόμενος τῖνι λογισμῷ τὸν Σάββαν ἀπέστησεν, ἀπεκρίνατο, "Καλῶς ξῆν υἱῆς θεουμένος αὐτὸν ἢ καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν." ὁ δὲ πέμπτος ἐρωτηθεῖς πό-
τερον οἴεται τὴν ἡμέραν ἢ τὴν νύκτα προτέραν γεγονέναι, "Τὴν ἡμέραν," εἶπεν, "ἡμέρα μιᾷ" καὶ προσεπείπεν οὔτος, θαυμάσαντος τοὺς βασι-
λέως, ὅτι τῶν ἀπόρων ἐρωτήσεων ἀνάγκη καὶ τὰς 4 ἀποκρίσεις ἀπόρους εἶναι. μεταβαλὼν οὖν τὸν ἐκτὸν ἴρωτα πῶς ἂν τις φίληθείς μάλιστα: "Ἀν κράτιστος ὄν," ἐφή, "μὴ φοβερὸς ἢ." τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν τριῶν ὁ μὲν ἐρωτηθεῖς πῶς ἄν τις εἰς ἀνθρώπων γένοιτο θεὸς, "Εἰ τι πράξειεν," εἶπεν, "ὁ πρᾶξαι δυνατὸν ἀνθρώπῳ μὴ ἑστιν" ὁ δὲ περὶ ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου, πότερον ἰσχυρότερον, ἀπε-
5 κρίματο τὴν ζωὴν τοσαῦτα κακᾷ φέρουσαν. ὁ δὲ τελευταῖος, μέχρι τίνος ἀνθρώπως καλῶς ἔχων ζωὴν, "Μέχρι οὗ μὴ νομίζει τὸ τεθνάναι τοῦ ζην ἅμει-
νον," οὕτω δὴ τραπόμενος πρὸς τὸν δικαστὴν ἐκέλευσεν ἀποφαίνεσθαι. τοῦ δὲ ἐτερον ἐτέρου χείρον εἰρηκέναι φήσαντος "Οὐκοῦν," ἐφη, "σὺ 406
in answering questions, and Alexander therefore put difficult questions to them, declaring that he would put to death him who first made an incorrect answer, and then the rest, in an order determined in like manner; and he commanded one of them, the oldest, to be judge in the contest. The first one, accordingly, being asked which, in his opinion, were more numerous, the living or the dead, said that the living were, since the dead no longer existed. The second, being asked whether the earth or the sea produced larger animals, said the earth did, since the sea was but a part of the earth. The third, being asked what animal was most cunning, said: “That which up to this time man has not discovered.” The fourth, when asked why he had induced Sabbas to revolt, replied: “Because I wished him either to live nobly or to die nobly.” The fifth, being asked which, in his opinion, was older, day or night, replied: “Day, by one day”; and he added, upon the king expressing amazement, that hard questions must have hard answers. Passing on, then, to the sixth, Alexander asked how a man could be most loved; “If,” said the philosopher, “he is most powerful, and yet does not inspire fear.” Of the three remaining, he who was asked how one might become a god instead of man, replied: “By doing something which a man cannot do”; the one who was asked which was the stronger, life or death, answered: “Life, since it supports so many ills.” And the last, asked how long it were well for a man to live, answered: “Until he does not regard death as better than life.” So, then, turning to the judge, Alexander bade him give his opinion. The judge declared that they had answered one worse than another. “Well, then,” said Alexander, “thou shalt
πρῶτος ἀποθανὼν τοιαῦτα κρήνων." "Οὐκ ἂν γε," εἶπεν, "ὅ βασιλεῦ, εἰ μὴ σὺ ψεύδῃ φήσας πρῶτον ἀποκτενεῖν τὸν ἀποκρινόμενον κάκιστα."  

LXV. Τούτους μὲν οὖν ἀφῆκε δωρησάμενος πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐν δόξῃ μάλιστα καὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥήμαξι ζωντας ἐπεμψεν Ὁυνησίκριτον, ἀφικέσθαι δεόμενος πρὸς αὐτοὺν. ὁ δὲ Ὁυνησίκριτος ἦν φιλοσόφος τῶν Διογένει τῷ Κυνικῷ συνεσχολακότων.  

2 καὶ φησὶ τῶν μὲν Καλανῶν ὑβριστικῶς πάντα καὶ τραχέως κελεύειν ἀποδοῦντα τὸν χιτῶνα γυμνὸν ἀκροαθαί τῶν λόγων ἄλλως δὲ οὐ διαλέξεσθαι πρὸς αὐτοῖς, οὐδ' εἰ παρὰ τοῦ Δίος ἀφίκταν τὸν δὲ Δάνδαμων πράοτερον εἶναι, καὶ διακούσαντα περὶ Σωκράτους καὶ Πυθαγόρου καὶ Διογένους εἰπεῖν ὅσ' εὐφυεῖς μὲν αὐτῷ γεγονέναι δοκοῦσιν οἱ ἄνδρες, λίαν δὲ τοὺς νόμους αἰσχυνόμενοι βεβιω-κέναι. ἄλλοι δὲ φασί τῶν Δάνδαμων οὐδ' εἰπεῖν ἀλλ' ἢ τοσοῦτον μόνον. "Τίνος χάριν ὁ Ἀλέξαν-δρος ὁδὸν τοσαύτην δεῦρ' ἦλθε;" τὸν μὲντοι Καλανῶν ἐπείσεν ὁ Ταξίλης ἐλθεῖν πρὸς Ἀλέ-ξανδρον. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Σφίνης· ἐπεὶ δὲ κατ' Ἰνδικὴν γλῶτταν τῷ Καλε προσαγορεύον ἀντὶ τοῦ Χαίρεω τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ἁπαζετο, Καλα-νός ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὀνομάσθη. τούτων δὲ λέγεται καὶ τὸ παραδειγμα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ Ἀλε-ξανδρῷ προθέσθαι. καταβαλὼν γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ βύρσαν τινὰ ἤπραν καὶ κατεσκληκυῖαν ἐπάτησε τὸ ἁκρον· ἢ δὲ εἰς ἐν πιεσθέεσα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπήρ-θη μέρεσι. καὶ τούτῳ περίδων ἐν κύκλῳ καὶ πιέζων καθ' ἐκαστῶν ἐδείκνυε γιγνόμενον, ἄχρι οὗ τὸ μέσον ἐπιστάσας κατέσχε καὶ πάντα οὕτως ἠρέ-
die first for giving such a verdict.” “That cannot be, O King,” said the judge, “unless thou falsely saidst that thou wouldst put to death first him who answered worst.”

LXV. These philosophers, then, he dismissed with gifts; but to those who were in the highest repute and lived quietly by themselves he sent Onesicritus, asking them to pay him a visit. Now, Onesicritus was a philosopher of the school of Diogenes the Cynic. And he tells us that Calanus very harshly and insolently bade him strip off his tunic and listen naked to what he had to say, otherwise he would not converse with him, not even if he came from Zeus; but he says that Dandamis was gentler, and that after hearing fully about Socrates, Pythagoras, and Diogenes, he remarked that the men appeared to him to have been of good natural parts but to have passed their lives in too much awe of the laws. Others, however, say that the only words uttered by Dandamis were these: “Why did Alexander make such a long journey hither?” Calanus, nevertheless, was persuaded by Taxiles to pay a visit to Alexander. His real name was Sphines, but because he greeted those whom he met with “Cale,” the Indian word of salutation, the Greeks called him Calanus. It was Calanus, as we are told, who laid before Alexander the famous illustration of government. It was this. He threw down upon the ground a dry and shrivelled hide, and set his foot upon the outer edge of it; the hide was pressed down in one place, but rose up in others. He went all round the hide and showed that this was the result wherever he pressed the edge down, and then at last he stood in the middle of it, and lo! it was all held down firm and still.
μησεν. ἐβούλετο δὲ ἡ εἰκῶν ἐνδείξις εἶναι τοῦ τὰ μέσα δειν μάλιστα τῆς ἀρχῆς πιέσειν καὶ μὴ μακράν ἀποπλανᾶσθαι τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρου.

LXVI. Ἡ δὲ διὰ τῶν ποταμῶν πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν ὑπαγωγὴ μηνῶν ἐπτὰ χρόνων ἀνάλωσεν. ἐμβαλὼν δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶν εἰς τὸν Ὀμειανὸν ἀνέπλευσε πρὸς νῆσον ἣν Σκιλλοῦστιν αὐτὸς ὁψόμασεν, ἐτεροί δὲ Ψιλτοῦκιν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀποβαίς ἔθυε τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἐπείδη τοῦ πελαγοὺς καὶ τῆς παραλίας ὅσον ἑφικτὸν ἦν. εἰτα ἐπευξάμενος μηδένα μετ' αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπερ-βηναι τοὺς ὅρους τῆς στρατείας ἀνέστρεφε. καὶ τὰς μὲν ναῦς ἐκέλευσε περιπλέειν ἐν δεξιᾷ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἑχούσας, ἣγεμόνα μὲν Νέαρχον ἀποδειξας, ἀρχικυβερνήτην δὲ Ὕνησίκριτον αὐτὸς δὲ πεξῆ δὴ Ὀρειτῶν πορεύομενος εἰς ἐσχάτην ἀπορίαν προήχθη καὶ πλήθος ἀνθρώπων ἀπώλεσεν, ὡστε τῆς μαχῆς δυνάμεως μηδὲ τὸ τέταρτον ἢ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ὑπαγαγεῖν. καίτοι δῶδεκα μὲν μυριάδες ἦσαν οἱ πεζοὶ, τὸ δ' ἱππικὸν εἰς μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους. ἀλλὰ καὶ νόσι καλεταὶ καὶ διαταῖ πονηραὶ καὶ κάμματα ἕιρα καὶ πλείστους ὁ λιμὸς διέφθειρεν, ἀσπορον χώραν ἐπιόντας ἀνθρώπων κακοβίων, ὀλίγα καὶ ἀγεννὴ πρόβατα κεκτεμένων, ἀ τοὺς θαλαττίους ἰχθύς εἰδισμένα προσφέρεσθαι σάρκα μοχθηράν εἰχε καὶ δυσώδη. μόλις οὖν ἐν ἡμέραις ἐξήκοντα ταύτην διελθὼν καὶ τῆς Γεδρωσίας ἀγάμενος εὐθὺς ἐν ἰφθόνοις ἦν πάσι, τῶν ἐγχιστα σατραπῶν καὶ βασιλέων παρασκευασάντων.

1 In midsummer of 325 B.C.
2 It is Cilluta in Arrian (Anab. vi. 19, 3).
The similitude was designed to show that Alexander ought to put most constraint upon the middle of his empire and not wander far away from it.

LXVI. His descent of the rivers to the sea consumed seven months' time. And after emerging with his fleet into the ocean,\(^1\) he sailed out to an island to which he himself gave the name of Scillus-tis, others that of Psiltucis.\(^2\) Here he landed and sacrificed to the gods, and studied the nature of the sea and of all the sea-coast that was accessible. Then, after praying that no man after him might pass beyond the bounds of his expedition, he turned to go back. His fleet he ordered to go round by sea, keeping India on the right; Nearchus was appointed admiral of the fleet, Onesicritus its chief-pilot. But he himself proceeded by land through the country of the Oreites, where he was reduced to the direst straits and lost a multitude of men, so that not even the fourth part of his fighting force was brought back from India. And yet his infantry had once numbered a hundred and twenty thousand, and his cavalry fifteen thousand. But grievous diseases, wretched food, parching heats, and, worst of all, famine destroyed them, since they traversed an untilled country of men who dragged out a miserable existence, who possessed but few sheep and those of a miserable sort, since the sea-fish which they ate made their flesh unsavoury and rank. It was with difficulty, then, that Alexander passed through this country in sixty days; but as soon as he reached Gedrosia he had all things in abundance, for the nearest satraps and princes had provided them.
LXVII. 'Analabōn oûn èntauðha tîn dúnamîn ἐξώρμησε κῶμον χρόμενον ἕφ' ἡμέρας ἔπτα διὰ τῆς Καρμανίας. αὐτὸν μὲν οὖν ἵπποι σχέδην ἑκόμιζον ὅκτω, μετὰ τῶν ἐταίρων ὑπὲρ θυμέλης ἐν ψηλῆς καὶ περιφανεῖ πλαισίῳ πετηνίαίς εὐ- χούμενον συνεχῶς ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἀμαξαι δὲ παμπληθεῖς, αἱ μὲν ἀλουργοῖς καὶ ποικίλοις περιβολαίοις, αἱ δ' ὑλῆς ἀεὶ προσφήτου καὶ χλωρᾶς σκιαζόμεναι κλάδοις, εἶποντο τοὺς ἀλ- λους ἀγούσας φίλους καὶ ἡγεμόνας ἑστεφανωμέ-νους καὶ πίνοντας. εἶδες δ' ἄν οὐ πέλτην, οὗ κράνος, οὐ σάρισαν, ἀλλὰ φιάλαις καὶ ρυτοῖς καὶ θηρικλείοις παρὰ τὴν ὄδον ἄπασαν οἱ στρατιῶται βαπτίζοντες ἐκ πίθου μεγάλων καὶ κρατήρων ἀλλήλοις προετίνοιν, οἱ μὲν ἐν τῷ προάγειν ἁμα καὶ βαδίζειν, οἱ δὲ κατακείμενοι. πολλὴ δὲ μοῦ-σα συρίγγων καὶ αὐλῶν ὕδης τε καὶ ψαλμοῦ καὶ

3 βακχείας γυναικῶν κατείχε πάντα τόπουν. τῷ δὲ ἀτάκτῳ καὶ πεπλαιμένῳ τῆς πορείας παρείπετο καὶ παίδιά βακχικῆς ύβρεως, ως τοῦ θεοῦ παρ-όντος αὐτοῦ καὶ συμπαραπέμποντος τῶν κώμων. ἤπει δὲ ἤκε τῆς Γεδροσίας εἰς τὸ βασίλειον, αὐ-

4 θείς ἀνελάμβανε τὴν στρατιὰν πανηγυρίζων. λέ-γεται δὲ μεθύοντα αὐτὸν θεωρεῖν ἀγώνας χορῶν, τὸν δὲ ἐρωμένον Βαγώνα χορεύοντα νικήσαι καὶ κεκοσμημένον διὰ τοῦ θεότρου παρελθόντα καθί-σαι παρ' αὐτῶν ἱδόντας δὲ τοὺς Μακεδώνας κροτεῖν καὶ βοῶν φιλῆσαι κελεύοντας, ἀχρὶ οὗ περιβαλῶν κατεφίλησεν.

1 According to Arrian (Anab. vi. 28, 1 f.), this bacchana- lian procession through Carmania rests on no credible authority.
LXVII. Accordingly, after refreshing his forces here, he set out and marched for seven days through Carmania in a revelling rout. He himself was conveyed slowly along by eight horses, while he feasted day and night continuously with his companions on a dais built upon a lofty and conspicuous scaffolding of oblong shape; and wagons without number followed, some with purple and embroidered canopies, others protected from the sun by boughs of trees which were kept fresh and green, conveying the rest of his friends and commanders, who were all garlanded and drinking. Not a shield was to be seen, not a helmet, not a spear, but along the whole march with cups and drinking-horns and flagons the soldiers kept dipping wine from huge casks and mixing-bowls and pledging one another, some as they marched along, others lying down; while pipes and flutes, stringed instruments and song, and reveling cries of women, filled every place with abundant music. Then, upon this disordered and straggling procession there followed also the sports of bacchanalian license, as though Bacchus himself were present and conducting the revel. Moreover, when he came to the royal palace of Gedrosia, he once more gave his army time for rest and held high festival. We are told, too, that he was once viewing some contests in singing and dancing, being well heated with wine, and that his favourite, Bagoas, won the prize for song and dance, and then, all in his festal array, passed through the theatre and took his seat by Alexander's side; at sight of which the Macedonians clapped their hands and loudly bade the king kiss the victor, until at last he threw his arms about him and kissed him tenderly.
LXVIII. Ἐνταῦθα τῶν περὶ Νέαρχον ἀναβάντων πρὸς αὐτῶν ἡσθεὶς καὶ διακούσας τὰ περὶ τὸν πλοῦν, ὦρμησεν αὐτὸς πλεῦσας κατὰ τὸν Ἐὐφράτην στόλῳ μεγάλῳ, εἶτα περὶ τὴν Ἀραβίαν καὶ τὴν Διβύνην παρακομισθεὶς διὰ στηλῶν Ἡρακλείων ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν ἑυτὸς θάλασσαν. καὶ πλοῖα παντοδαπὰ περὶ Θάψακον ἐπήγαγο, καὶ συνήγαγον ναῦται καὶ κυβερνῆται πανταχόθεν.

2 ἡ δὲ ἄνω στρατεία χαλεπὰ γενομένη καὶ τὸ περὶ Μαλλοὺς τραύμα καὶ ἡ φθορὰ πολλὴ λεχθεῖσα τῆς δυνάμεως ἀπιστία τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ τὰ τε ὑπήκοα πρὸς ἀποστάσεις ἐπὶ ἡρε καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ σατράπαις ἀδικίαν¹ πολλὴν καὶ πλεονεκίαν καὶ ὑβριν ἐνεποίησε· καὶ ὅλως διέδραμε

3 σάλος ἀπάντων καὶ νεωτερισμός. ὅπου καὶ πρὸς Ἀντῖπατρον Ὀλυμπίας καὶ Κλεοπάτρα στασιάσασαι διεἶλοντο τὴν ἀρχὴν Ὀλυμπίας μὲν Ἡπειρόν, Κλεοπάτρα δὲ Μακεδονίαν παραλαβοῦσα. καὶ τούτο ἀκούσας Ἀλέξανδρος βέλτινον ἐφή βεβουλεῦσθαι τὴν μητέρα: Μακεδόνας γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ὑπομεῖναι βασιλευομένους ὑπὸ γυναικῶς.

Διὰ ταῦτα Νέαρχον μὲν αὕθις ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἐπεμψεν, ἐμπλήσει πολέμων ἀπαχὼν ἐγνωκὸς τὴν παραλίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ καταβαίνων ἐκόλαξε τοὺς 703

4 ποιηροὺς τῶν στρατηγῶν. τῶν δὲ Ἀβουλῆτος παῖδων ἐνα μὲν Ὀξυάρτην αὐτὸς ἀπέκτεινε σαρίση διελάσας, Ἀβουλῆτον δὲ μηδὲν τῶν ἀναγκαίων παρασκευάσαντος, ἀλλὰ ἡ τρισχίλια τάλαντα νομίσματος αὐτῷ προσαγαγόντος, ἐκεῖ-

¹ ἀδικίαν Bekker reads ἂνδιαν (indifference) with a Munich MS. (M.).
LXVIII. Here Nearchus came up to meet him, and Alexander was so delighted to hear of his voyage that he eagerly desired to sail down the Euphrates himself with a large fleet, and then, after circumnavigating Arabia and Africa, to enter the Mediterranean by way of the pillars of Heracles. And vessels of every sort were built for him at Thapsacus, and sailors and pilots were assembled from all parts. But the increasing difficulties of his march back, his wound among the Malli, and the losses in his army, which were reported to be heavy, led men to doubt his safe return, inclined subject peoples to revolt, and bred great injustice, rapacity, and insolence in the generals and satraps whom he had appointed. In a word, restlessness and a desire for change spread everywhere. For even against Antipater, Olympias and Cleopatra had raised a faction, and had divided his realm between them, Olympias taking Epirus, and Cleopatra Macedonia. When he heard of this, Alexander said that his mother had made the better choice; for the Macedonians would not submit to be reigned over by a woman.

For these reasons he sent Nearchus back to the sea, determined to fill all the regions along the sea with wars, while he himself, marching down from Upper Asia, chastised those of his commanders who had done wrong. One of the sons of Abuletes, Oxyartes, he slew with his own hand, running him through with a spear; and when Abuletes failed to furnish him with the necessary provisions, but brought him instead three thousand talents in coin, Alexander

---

1 It was after his return to Persepolis that this desire seized him (Arrian, Anab. vii. 1, 1).
2 Early in 324 B.C.
Λευσε τοίς ἵπποις τὸ ἀργύριον παραβαλεῖν. ὡς δ’ οὖν ἐγεύσοντο, φήσας, “Τι οὖν ὁφελος ἢμῖν τῆς σῆς παρασκεύης;” καθείρξε τὸν Ἀβουλήτην.

ΛXIX. Ἐν δὲ Πέρσας πρῶτον μὲν ἀπέδωκε τὸ νόμισμα ταῖς γυναιξῖν, ὡσπερ εἰώθεσαν οἱ βασιλεῖς, ὅσοις εἰς Πέρσας ἀφίκοιντο, διδόναι χρυσοῦν ἐκάστη. καὶ διὰ τούτο φασίν ἐνίους μὴ πολλάκις, Ὡγχον δὲ μηδὲ ἀπαξ εἰς Πέρσας παραγενέσθαι, διὰ μικρολογίαν ἀποξενώσαντα τῆς 2 πατρίδος ἡμῶν. ἔπειτα τὸν Κύρου τάφον εὐραί διορωγμένον ἀπέκτεινε τὸν ἀδικήσαντα, καίτοι Πελλαῖος ὁ γὰρ τῶν ἀσημοτάτων ὁ πλημμελήσας, ὄνομα Πολύμαχος. τὴν δὲ ἐπιγραφὴν ἀναγνωρίσει ἐκέλευσεν Ἑλληνικοῖς ὑποχαράξαι γράμμασιν. εἰχὲ δὲ οὕτως: “Ὡ ἀνθρωπε, ὅστις εἰ καὶ ὅθεν ἥκες, ὦτι μὲν γὰρ ἥξεις, οἶδα, ἐγὼ Κύρος εἰμὶ ὁ Πέρσας κτησάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν. μὴ οὖν τῆς ὀλίγης μοι ταύτης γῆς φθονήσῃς ἢ 3 τούμων σῶμα περικαλύπτει.” ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐμπαθῆ σφόδρα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐποίησεν, ἐν νῷ λαβόντα τὴν ἀδηλότητα καὶ μεταβολήν.

Τὸ δὲ Καλανὸς ἐνταῦθα χρόνον οὐ πολὺν ὑπὸ κοιλίας ἐνοχληθεὶς ὑτῆσετο πυρὰν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι. καὶ κομισθεὶς ὑπὲρ πρὸς αὐτὴν, ἐπευξάμενος καὶ κατασπείσας ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν τριχῶν ἀπαρξάμενος, ἀναβαίνων ἐδεξιοῦτο τοὺς παρόντας τῶν Μακεδόνων, καὶ παρεκάλει τὴν ἰμέραν ἐκεῖ-
ordered the money to be thrown to his horses. And when they would not touch it, "Of what use to us, then," he cried, "is the provision you have made?" and threw Abuletes into prison.

LXIX. In Persia, to begin with, he distributed the money among the women, just as their kings were accustomed, as often as they came into Persia, to give each one of them a gold piece. And for this reason, it is said, some of their kings did not come often into Persia, and Ochus not even once, being so penurious as to expatriate himself. In the second place, having discovered that the tomb of Cyrus had been rifled, he put to death the perpetrator of the deed, although the culprit was a prominent Macedonian native of Pella, by name Polymachus. After reading the inscription upon this tomb, he ordered it to be repeated below in Greek letters. It ran thus: "O man, whosoever thou art and whencesoever thou comest, for I know that thou wilt come, I am Cyrus, and I won for the Persians their empire. Do not, therefore, begrudge me this little earth which covers my body." These words, then, deeply affected Alexander, who was reminded of the uncertainty and mutability of life.¹

In Persia, too, Calanus, who had suffered for a little while from intestinal disorder, asked that a funeral pyre might be prepared for him.² To this he came on horseback, and after offering prayers, sprinkling himself, and casting some of his hair upon the pyre, he ascended it, greeting the Macedonians who were present, and exhorting them to make that

¹ Cf. Arrian, Anab. vi. 29, 4-8.
² The self-sacrifice of Calanus is narrated by Arrian (Anab. vii. 3).
νην ἢδέως γενέσθαι καὶ μεθυσθήναι μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐκείνου ἔφη μετ’ ὅλιγον χρό-νον ἐν Βαβυλώνι ὄψεσθαι. ταῦτα δ’ εἰπὼν κατακλιθεῖς καὶ συγκαλυψάμενος οὐκ ἐκινηθη τοῦ πυρὸς πλησιάζοντος, ἀλλὰ ἐν ὧ κατεκλύθη σχή-ματι, τούτῳ διατηρῶν ἐκαλλιέρισθεν ἐαυτὸν τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ τῶν ἐκεῖ σοφιστῶν. τούτῳ πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὑστερον ἄλλος Ἰνδὸς ἐν ’Αθηναῖς Καίσαρι συνών ἐποίησε· καὶ δείκνυται μέχρι νῦν τὸ μνη-μεῖον Ἰνδοῦ προσαγορεύμενον.

IXX. Ὅ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρος ἀπὸ τῆς πυρᾶς γενό-μενος, καὶ συναγαγὼν πολλοὺς τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐπὶ δείπνου, ἀγώνα προύθηκε καὶ στεφανον ἀκρατοποσίας. ὁ μὲν οὖν πλεῖστον πιὼν Πρόμαχος ἀχρι χοῦν τεσσάρων προῆλθε· καὶ λαβὼν τὸ νικητήριον, στεφανον ταλαντιάτου, ἡμέρας τρεῖς ἐπέζησε. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων, ὡς Χάρης φησί, τετταράκοντα καὶ εἰς ἀπέθανον πιόντες, ἵσχυρον τῇ μέθῃ κρύους ἐπιγενομένον.

2 Τῶν δὲ ἐταῖρων γάμον ἐν Σούσσους ἐπιτελῶν, καὶ λαμβάνων μὲν αὐτὸς γνωϊκά τῇ Δαρείου θυγα-τέρᾳ Στάτερα, διανέμων δὲ τὰς ἀρίστας τοῖς ἀρίστοις, κοινῷ δὲ τῶν ἤδη προγεγαμηκότων Μακεδόνων γάμον ἄλλον ἕστιάσας, ἐν ὧ φασίν ἐννακισχίλιων τῶν παρακεκλημένων ἐπὶ τὸ δεί-πνον οὖντων ἐκάστῳ χρυσῆν φιάλην πρὸς τὰς σπουδὰς δοθήναι, τὰ τε ἅλλα θαυμαστῶς ἐλαμ-πρύνατο καὶ τὰ χρέα τοῖς δανείσασιν ὑπὲρ τῶν οφειλόντων αὐτῶς διαλύσας, τοῦ παυτὸς ἀναλώ-ματος ἐλάσσονος μυρίων ταλάντων ἐκατον τριά-

1 ἄλλον Bekker, after Coraës: καὶ δὲ with the MSS.

418
day one of pleasure and revelry with the king, whom, he declared, he should soon see in Babylon. After thus speaking, he lay down and covered his head, nor did he move as the fire approached him, but continued to lie in the same posture as at first, and so sacrificed himself acceptably, as the wise men of his country had done from of old. The same thing was done many years afterwards by another Indian who was in the following of Caesar,¹ at Athens; and the "Indian's Tomb" is shown there to this day.

LXX. But Alexander, after returning from the funeral pyre and assembling many of his friends and officers for supper, proposed a contest in drinking neat wine, the victor to be crowned. Well, then, the one who drank the most, Promachus, got as far as four pitchers;² he took the prize, a crown of a talent's worth, but lived only three days afterwards. And of the rest, according to Chares, forty-one died of what they drank, a violent chill having set in after their debauch.

At Susa he brought to pass the marriage of his companions, took to wife himself the daughter of Dareius, Stateira, assigned the noblest women to his noblest men, and gave a general wedding feast for those of his Macedonians who had already contracted other marriages. At this feast, we are told, nine thousand guests reclined at supper, to each of whom a golden cup for the libations was given. All the other appointments too, were amazingly splendid, and the host paid himself the debts which his guests owed, the whole outlay amounting to nine thousand

¹ Augustus Caesar.
² The "chous," or pitcher, held about three quarts.
Alexander also paid the debts of all his soldiers, amounting to 20,000 talents (Arrian, Anab. vii. 5, 1–3),
eight hundred and seventy talents.\footnote{1} Now Antigenes, the One-eyed, had got himself enrolled as a debtor fraudulently and, on producing somebody who affirmed that he had made a loan to him at the bank, the money was paid over; then his fraud was discovered, and the king, in anger, drove him from his court and deprived him of his command. Antigenes, however, was a splendid soldier, and while he was still a young man and Philip was besieging Perinthus, though a bolt from a catapult smote him in the eye, he would not consent to have the bolt taken out nor give up fighting until he had repelled the enemy and shut them up within their walls. Accordingly, he could not endure with any complacency the disgrace that now fell upon him, but was evidently going to make away with himself from grief and despondency. So the king, fearing this, put away his wrath and ordered him to keep the money.

LXXI. The thirty thousand boys whom he had left behind him under instruction and training\footnote{2} were now so vigorous in their bodies and so comely in their looks, and showed besides such admirable dexterity and agility in their exercises, that Alexander himself was delighted; his Macedonians, however, were filled with dejection and fear, thinking that their king would now pay less regard to them. Therefore when he also sent the weak and maimed among them down to the sea-board, they said it was insult and abuse, after using men up in every kind of service, now to put them away in disgrace and cast them back upon their native cities and their parents, no longer unless this is the donation which Plutarch has here erroneously connected with the great wedding feast. Cf. Athenaeus, xii. pp. 538 ff. \footnote{2} Cf. chapter xlvii. 3.
The account of the quarrel between Alexander and the Macedonians in Arrian (Anab. vii. 8-11) differs materially from that of Plutarch.
the men they were when he took them. Accordingly, they bade him send them all away and hold all his Macedonians of no account, since he had these young war-dancers, with whom he could go on and conquer the world. At these words of theirs Alexander was displeased, and heaped much abuse upon them in his anger, and drove them away, and committed his watches to Persians, and out of these constituted his body-guards and attendants. When the Macedonians saw him escorted by these, while they themselves were excluded from him and treated with contumely, they were humbled; and when they reasoned the matter out they found that they had been almost mad with jealousy and rage. So finally, after coming to their senses, they went to his tent, without their arms and wearing their tunics only, and with loud cries and lamentations put themselves at his mercy, bidding him deal with them as base and thankless men. But Alexander would not see them, although his heart was softening. And the men would not desist, but for two days and nights persisted in standing thus before his door, weeping and calling upon their master. So on the third day he came forth, and when he saw their piteous and humble plight, wept for some time; then, after chiding them gently and speaking kindly to them, he dismissed those who were past service with magnificent gifts, and wrote to Antipater that at all the public contests and in the theatres they should have the foremost seats and wear garlands. He also ordained that the orphan children of those who had lost their lives in his service should receive their father's pay.

LXXII. Ὅς δὲ ἦκεν εἰς Ἐκβάτανα τής Μηδίας καὶ διώκησε τὰ κατεπείγοντα, πάλιν ἦν ἐν θεάτροις καὶ πανηγύρεσιν, ἀτε δὴ τρισχιλίων αὑτῷ τεχνιτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀφυγμένων. ἔτυχε δὲ περὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἑκείνας Ἡφαιστίων πυρέσσων οἷα δὲ νέος καὶ στρατιωτικὸς οὐ φέρων ἀκριβὴ διάιταν, ἀμα τῷ τὸν ἰατρὸν Γλαῦκον ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὸ θέατρον περὶ ἄριστον γενόμενος καὶ καταφαγῶν ἀλεκτρυώνα ἐφθόν καὶ ψυκτῆρα μέγαν ἐκπιῶν οὕνου κακῶς ἔσχε καὶ μικρὸν δια-2 λιπῶν ἀπέθανε. τοῦτο οὖν εἰς λογισμῷ τὸ πάθος Ἀλέξανδρος ἦνεγκεν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς μὲν ἢπύπους τε κεῖται πάντας ἐπὶ πένθει καὶ ἡμίωνους ἐκέλευσε καὶ τῶν πέρικ πόλεων ἀφεῖλε τὰς ἐπάλξεις, τὸν δὲ ἄθλιον ἰατρὸν ἀνεσταύρωσεν, αὐλούς δὲ κατέ-παυσε καὶ μουσικήν πᾶσαν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πολὺν χρόνον, ἔως ἐξ Ἀμμωνος ἦλθε μαντεία τιμᾶν Ἡφαιστίωνα καὶ θύειν ὡς ἠρωί παρακελεύ-3 ουσα. τοῦ δὲ πένθους παρηγορίᾳ τῷ πολέμῳ χρώμενος, ὅσπερ ἐπὶ θήραν καὶ κυνηγέσιον ἀν-θρώπων ἐξηλθε καὶ τὸ Κοσσαίων ἔθνος κατε-στρέφετο, πάντας ἡβηδόν ἀποσφάττων. τοῦτο δὲ Ἡφαιστίωνος ἐναγισμὸς ἐκαλεῖτο. τύμβοι δὲ καὶ ταφὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν περὶ ταῦτα κόσμον ἀπὸ μυρίων ταλάντων ἐπιτελέσαι διανοούμενος, ὑπερ-βαλέεθαι δὲ τῷ φιλοτέχνῳ καὶ περιττῷ τῆς κατασκευῆς τῆς δαπάνης, ἐπόθησε μάλιστα τῶν τεχνιτῶν Στασικράτην, μεγαλουργίαν τινὰ καὶ τόλμαν καὶ κόμπων ἐν ταῖς καινοτομίαις ἐπαγ-
LXXII. When he came to Ecbatana in Media and had transacted the business that was urgent, he was once more much occupied with theatres and festivals, since three thousand artists had come to him from Greece. But during this time it chanced that Hephaestion had a fever; and since, young man and soldier that he was, he could not submit to a strict regimen, as soon as Glaucus, his physician, had gone off to the theatre, he sat down to breakfast, ate a boiled fowl, drank a huge cooler of wine, fell sick, and in a little while died. Alexander's grief at this loss knew no bounds. He immediately ordered that the manes and tails of all horses and mules should be shorn in token of mourning, and took away the battlements of the cities round about; he also crucified the wretched physician, and put a stop to the sound of flutes and every kind of music in the camp for a long time, until an oracular response from Ammon came bidding him honour Hephaestion as a hero and sacrifice to him. Moreover, making war a solace for his grief, he went forth to hunt and track down men, as it were, and overwhelmed the nation of the Cossaeans, slaughtering them all from the youth upwards. This was called an offering to the shade of Hephaestion. Upon a tomb and obsequies for his friend, and upon their embellishments, he purposed to expend ten thousand talents, and wished that the ingenuity and novelty of the construction should surpass the expense. He therefore longed for Stasicrates above all other artists, because in his innovations there was always promise of great

1 Arrian finds great diversity in the accounts of Alexander's displays of grief at Hephaestion's death (Anab. vii. 14).
4 γελλόμενον. οὔτος γὰρ αὐτῷ πρότερον ἐνυχθῶν ἔφη τῶν ὀρῶν μάλιστα τὸν Ῥάξιον Ὄλων διατύ-πωσιν ἀνδρείκελον δέχεσθαι καὶ διαμόρφωσιν ἄν οὖν κελεύη, μονιμώτατον ἄγαλμάτων αὐτῷ καὶ περιφανέστατον ἐξεργάσεσθαι τὸν Ὄλων, τῇ μὲν ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ περιλαμβάνοντα μυρίανδρον πόλιν οἰκουμένην, τῇ δὲ δεξιᾷ σπένδοντα ποταμοῦ ῥέμα δαψιλῆς εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπορρέοντος. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν παρητήσατο, πολλῷ δὲ ἀτοπώτερα καὶ δαπανηρότερα τούτων σοφίζομενος τότε καὶ συμμπιχανώμενος τοῖς τεχνώτατοι διέτριβεν.

LXXIII. Εἰς δὲ Βασιλέων προάγγειν αὐτοῦ Νέαρχος (ἀφικετο γὰρ αὐθεὶς εἰσπλέυσας εἰς τὸν Ἐυφράτην διὰ τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης) ἔφη τινὰς ἐνυχθεῖν αὐτῷ Χαλδαίοις, παρανοοῦντας ἀπέχεσθαι Βασιλέων τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. ό δὲ οὐκ ἐφρόντισεν, ἀλλ' ἐπορεύετο· καὶ πρὸς τοὺς τεῖχεσι γενόμενος ὅρα κόρακας πολλοὺς διαφερομένους καὶ τύπτοντας ἀλλήλους, δὲν ἐνιοὶ κατέπεσον 2 παρ' αὐτῶν. ἔπειτα μηνύσεως γενομένης κατὰ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῆς Βασιλέων ὡς εἶν περὶ αὐτοῦ τεθυμένος, ἐκάλει Πυθαγόραν τὸν μάντιν. οὐκ ἀρνομένου δὲ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἱρώτησε τῶν ἱερῶν τὸν τρόπον. φήσαντος δὲ ὅτι τὸ ἑπαρ ἦν ἀλοβον, "Παπαῖ," εἶπεν, "ἰσχυρὸν τὸ σημεῖον" καὶ τὸν Πυθαγόραν οὔδεν ἡδίκησεν. ἦχθετο δὲ μὴ πεισθεὶς τῷ Νέαρχῳ, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῆς Βασιλέων ἐξω κατασκηνών καὶ περιπλέων 426
magnificence, boldness, and ostentation. This man, indeed, had said to him at a former interview that of all mountains the Thracian Athos could most readily be given the form and shape of a man; if, therefore, Alexander should so order, he would make out of Mount Athos a most enduring and most conspicuous statue of the king, which in its left hand should hold a city of ten thousand inhabitants, and with its right should pour forth a river running with generous current into the sea. This project, it is true, Alexander had declined; but now he was busy devising and contriving with his artists projects far more strange and expensive than this.

LXXIII. As he was on his way to enter Babylon, Nearchus (who had joined him again after sailing through the ocean into the Euphrates) told the king that certain Chaldaeans had met him and advised that Alexander should keep away from Babylon. Alexander paid no heed to this, but continued on his march; and when he was arrived at the walls, he saw many ravens flying about and clawing one another, and some of them fell dead at his feet. Again, being informed that Apollodorus the commandant of Babylon had sacrificed to learn Alexander’s fate, Alexander called Pythagoras the seer. Pythagoras did not deny the fact, whereupon Alexander asked him what was the character of the sacrifice. And when the seer told that the victim’s liver had no lobe, “Ah me!” said Alexander, “a forcible omen!” and did Pythagoras no harm. He was sorry, too, that he had not obeyed Nearchus, and passed most of his time outside of Babylon, either

1 According to Arrian (Anab. vii. 16, 5), the Chaldaeans besought Alexander in person to suspend his march to Babylon. It was in the spring of 323 B.C.
3 τὸν Εὐφράτην διέτριβεν. ἦνώχλει δ' αὐτὸν σημεία πολλά. καὶ γὰρ λέοντα τῶν τρεφομένων μέγιστον καὶ κάλλιστον ἥμερος ὄνος ἐπελθὼν καὶ λακτίσας ἀνείλεν. ἀποδυσαμένου δὲ πρὸς ἀλειμμα καὶ σφαῖραν αὐτοῦ παίζοντος οἱ νεανίσκοι οἱ σφαιρίζοντες, ὡς ἔδει πάλιν λαβεῖν τὰ ἰμάτια, καθορῶσιν ἀνθρωπὸν ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ καθεξό-μενον σιωπῆ, τὸ διάδημα καὶ τὴν στολὴν τὴν βα-

4 σιλικῆν περικείμενον. οὕτος ἀνακρινόμενος ὅστις εἴη, πολὺν χρόνον ἀναυδός ἦν· μόλις δὲ συμφρο-

νήσας Διονύσιος μὲν ἐφι καλεῖσθαι, Μεσσήνιος δὲ εἶναι τὸ γένος· ἐκ δὲ τινὸς αἰτίας καὶ κατη-

γορίας ἐνταῦθα κομισθεῖσι ἀπὸ θαλάσσης πολὺν χρόνον γεγονέναι ἐν δεσμοῖς· ἀρτι δὲ αὐτῷ τὸν Σάραπιν ἐπιστάντα τοὺς δεσμοὺς ἀνείναι καὶ προαγαγεῖν δεύρο, καὶ κελεύσαι λαβόντα τὴν στολὴν καὶ τὸ διάδημα καθίσαι καὶ σιωπᾶν.

LXXIV. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τὸν μὲν ἀνθρωπὸν, ὅσπερ ἐκέλευν οἱ μάντεις, ἡφα-

νισεν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἠθύμει καὶ δύσελπις ἦν πρὸς τὸ θείον ἡη καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ὑποπτος. μά-

λιστα δὲ Ἀντίπατρον ἔφοβευτο καὶ τοὺς παῖδας, ὡν Ἰόλας μὲν ἀρχιοινοχόος ἦν, ὁ δὲ Κάσανδρος ἀφίκτο μὲν νεωστι, θεασάμενος δὲ βαρβάρους τινὰς προσκυνοῦντας, ἀτε δὴ τεθραμμένος Ἐλ-

ληνικῶς καὶ τοιοῦτο πρότερον μηδὲν ἔωρακώς, 2 ἐγέλασε προπετέστερον. ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ὀργί-

σθη, καὶ δραξάμενος αὐτοῦ τῶν τριχῶν σφόδρα

428
living in his tent, or sailing about on the Euphrates. And he was troubled by many omens. For instance, the largest and handsomest lion in his menagerie was attacked by a tame ass and kicked to death. Again, he once took off his clothes for exercise and was playing at ball, and when it was time to dress again, the young men who were playing with him beheld a man seated on the king's throne, in silence, wearing the royal diadem and robes. When the man was asked who he was, he was speechless for a long time; but at last he came to his senses and said that his name was Dionysius, and that he was a native of Messenia; in consequence of some charge brought against him, he said, he had been brought thither from the sea-board, and for a long time had been in chains; but just now the god Serapis had come to him and loosed his chains and brought him to this spot, bidding him put on the robe and diadem and sit on the throne and hold his peace.  

LXXIV. On hearing of this, Alexander put the man out of the way, as the seers directed; but he began to be low-spirited, and was distrustful now of the favour of Heaven and suspicious of his friends. He was particularly afraid of Antipater and of his sons, one of whom, Iolas, was his chief cupbearer; the other, Cassander, had only recently come to Babylon, and when he saw some Barbarians doing obeisance to Alexander, since he had been reared as a Greek and had never seen such a sight as this before, he laughed boisterously. But Alexander was enraged, and clutching him fiercely by

1 Other predictions of Alexander's death are given in Arrian (Anab. vii. 18, 22, and 24).
tais xeroini amboterais epaisie tin kefali ton pro ton toichon. autis de pro tis kathgorountas 'Antipaton legein ti boulomenon ton Kasaandro ekkoiron, "Ti legeis," efhi, "tosaunti odon andropon mou den adikoumenous, alla sykofan-
touthis elthein;" phisanos de ton Kasaandro touto auton simeion einai ton sykofantein, oti makran hekousi ton elegxh, anagelasa o 'Ale-xandros, "Tauta ekeina," efhi, "sofismata ton Aristotelous eis ekateron ton logon oimomega-
nwn,1 an kal mikron adikouthis ton autropon 4 fahtete. to de oinon ouxion fasi deinon evdojai 
ai deusopoiou eigneisbai th psyxhi ton Kasa-
rhrou to deis, wste ustieron chrono polloi, hedh 
Makedonon basileuontai kai kratoounta ths El-
lados, en Delfois peripatontai kai theoimenon 
tous andriantas, eikonos 'Alexandrou faneisps, 
afwn phlegynta frizei kai kradanvnikai to swma 
kal molis analabein eauton, ilignisantanta pro 
tin yphi.

LXXV. 'O de oinon 'Alexandros os enedwke tote 
pros ta theia parakwdege genomevos kai peripobos 
tin diadoian, oudein h mnikron ouwos ton anithw 
akai atopon o my teras epoiete kai simeion: 
allass thumemov kai kathairontov kai maunen-
tou musston hin ton basileion. ouwos ara deinon 
mew apaistia pros ta theia kai katafroynsis 
autov, deini de autis h deisidaiomia, h,2 dikhn 
ydatos aiei pros to tapenousmenon katarrheontos,2

1 oimomegaewn Sint. with the best MSS.; oimomegaewn en Coraes; oimomegaewn oin oin Bekker.
2 H, katarrheontos supplied by Bekker, after Coraes.
the hair with both hands dashed his head against the wall. And at another time, when Cassander would have said something in opposition to those who were bringing charges against Antipater, Alexander interrupted him, saying: "What meanest thou? Would men come so long a journey if they had not been wronged and were making false charges?" And when Cassander declared that this very fact of their coming a long distance away from the proofs showed that they were making false charges, Alexander burst out laughing and said: "These are the famous sophisms of Aristotle's disciples for either side of the question; but ye shall rue the day if it appear that ye have done these men even a slight wrong." And in general, as we are told, Cassander's spirit was deeply penetrated and imbued with a dreadful fear of Alexander, so that many years afterwards, when he was now king of Macedonia and master of Greece, as he was walking about and surveying the statues at Delphi, the sight of an image of Alexander smote him suddenly with a shuddering and trembling from which he could scarcely recover, and made his head swim.

LXXV. Alexander, then, since he had now become sensitive to indications of the divine will and perturbed and apprehensive in his mind, converted every unusual and strange occurrence, were it never so insignificant, into a prodigy and portent; and sacrificers, purifiers, and diviners filled his palace. So, you see, while it is a dire thing to be incredulous towards indications of the divine will and to have contempt for them, superstition is likewise a dire thing, which, after the manner of water ever seeking the
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

ἀνεπλήρους¹ ἀβελτερίας κατάφοβου² τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον γενόμενον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ χρησμῶν γε τῶν περὶ Ἡφαιστίων ἐκ θεοῦ κομισθέντων ἀποθέμενος τὸ πένθος αὕτης ἦν ἐν θυσίαις καὶ 3 πότοις. ἐστιάσας δὲ λαμπρῶς τοὺς περὶ Νέαρχον, εἶτα λουσάμενος, ὅσπερ εἰώθει μέλλων καθεύδειν, Μηδίου δηθέντος ὥχετο κωμασόμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν κάκει πιῶν ὅλην τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ἡρξατο πυρέττειν, οὕτε σκύφον Ἡρακλέους ἐκπιὼν οὕτε ἀφνω διαλγῆς γενόμενος τὸ μετάφευν ὅσπερ λόγχη πεπληγήσως, ἀλλὰ ταῦτὰ τινες ὄντος δεῖν γράφειν ὅσπερ δράματος μεγάλου τραγικοῦ ἐξόδιοι καὶ περιπαθὲς πλάσαντες.

4 Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ φησιν αὐτῶν πυρέττοντα μανικώς, διψῆσαντα δὲ σφόδρα πιεῖν οἶνον· ἐκ τούτοι δὲ φρενιτιάσας, καὶ τελευτῆσαι τριακάδι Δαισίου μηνός.

LXXVI. Ἔν δὲ ταῖς ἐφημερίσιν οὔτως γέγραπται τὰ περὶ τῆς νόσου. ὅγδον ἐπὶ δεκάτῃ Δαισίου μηνὸς ἐκάθευδεν ἐν τῷ λουτρῶν διὰ τὸ πυρέξαι. τῇ δὲ ἔξης λουσάμενος εἰς τὸν τόλαμον μετῆλθε, καὶ διημέρευε πρὸς Μηδίου κυβεύσω. εἰτ’ ὃψε λουσάμενος καὶ τὰ ίερὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπι-

² θεῖς ἐμφαγῶν διὰ νυκτὸς ἐπύρεξε. τῇ εἰκάδι λουσάμενος πάλιν ἔθυσε τὴν ἐἰθισμένην θυσιαν· καὶ κατακείμενος ἐν τῷ λουτρῶν τοῖς περὶ Νέαρ-

¹ ἀνεπλήρους Coraës’ correction of the MSS. καὶ ἀναπληροῦν, adopted by Bekker.
² κατάφοβου Coraës’ correction of the MSS. καὶ φόβου, adopted by Bekker.

432
lower levels, filled with folly the Alexander who was now become a prey to his fears. Notwithstanding, in consequence of oracular responses regarding Hephaestion which were brought him, he laid aside his grief and betook himself once more to sacrifices and drinking-bouts. He gave a splendid entertainment to Nearchus, and then, although he had taken his customary bath before going to bed, at the request of Medius he went to hold high revel with him; and here, after drinking all the next day, he began to have a fever. This did not come upon him after he had quaffed a “bowl of Heracles,” nor after he had been seized with a sudden pain in the back as though smitten with a spear; these particulars certain writers felt obliged to give, and so, as it were, invented in tragic fashion a moving finale for a great action. But Aristobulus says that he had a raging fever, and that when he got very thirsty he drank wine, whereupon he became delirious, and died on the thirtieth day of the month Daesius.

LXXVI. Moreover, in the court “Journals” there are recorded the following particulars regarding his sickness. On the eighteenth of the month Daesius he slept in the bathing-room because he had a fever. On the following day, after his bath, he removed into his bed-chamber, and spent the day at dice with Medius. Then, when it was late, he took a bath, performed his sacrifices to the gods, ate a little, and had a fever through the night. On the twentieth, after bathing again, he performed his customary sacrifice; and lying in the bathing-room

1 Cf. Arrian, Anab. vii. 25.
2 They are given also by Arrian (Anab. vii. 25).
3 June 2, 323 B.C.
χον ἐσχόλαζεν, ἀκροφόμενος τὰ περὶ τὸν πλοῦν καὶ τὴν μεγάλην θάλατταν. τῇ δεκάτῃ φθίνοντος ταῦτα ποιήσας μᾶλλον ἀνεφλέχθη, καὶ τὴν νύκτα βαρέως ἔσχε, καὶ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἥμεραν ἐπύρρετε σφώδρα. καὶ μεταρθεὶς κατέκειτο παρὰ τὴν μεγάλην κολυμβήθραν, ὅτε δὴ τοῖς ἠγεμόσι διελέχθη περὶ τῶν ἐρήμων ἡγεμονίας τάξεων,

3 ὁπως καταστήσωσι δοκιμάσαντες. ἐβδόμῃ σφώδρᾳ πυρέττου ἔθυσεν ἐξαρθεὶς πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ τῶν δὲ ἠγεμόνων ἐκέλευε τοὺς μεγίστους διατρίβειν ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ, ταξιάρχους δὲ καὶ πεντακοσιάρχους ἔξω νικτερεύειν. εἰς δὲ τὰ πέραν βασίλεια διακομισθεὶς τῇ ἐκτῇ μικρὸν ὑπνωσεν, ὁ δὲ πυρετὸς οὐκ ἀνήκεν. ἐπελθόντων δὲ τῶν ἠγεμόνων ἦν ἀφωνος, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν πέμπτην διὸ καὶ τοῖς Μακεδόσιων ἔδοξε τεθνάναι, καὶ κατεβόων ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας, καὶ διηπειλοῦντο τοῖς ἑταίροις ἐως ἐβιάσαντο καὶ τῶν θυρῶν αὐτοῖς ἀνοιχθεῖσον ἐν τοῖς χιτῶσι καθ’ ἕνα πάντες παρὰ τὴν κλίνην παρεξηλθοῦν. ταύτης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας οἱ περὶ Πύθωνα καὶ Σέλενκον εἰς τὸ Σαραπεῖον ἀποστάλεντες ἤρωτων εἰ κομίσωσιν ἐκεῖ τὸν Ἄλεξανδρον· ὁ δὲ θεὸς κατὰ χώραν ἕαν ἀνείλε. τῇ δὲ τρίτη φθίνοντος πρὸς δείλην ἀπέθανεν.

LXXVII. Τούτων τὰ πλείοντα κατὰ λέξιν ἐν ταῖς ἐφημερίσιν οὔτω γεγραπται. φαρμακείας δὲ ὑποψίαι παραυτίκα μὲν οὐδεὶς ἔσχεν, ἐκτὸς δὲ 707

434
he devoted himself to Nearchus, listening to his story of his voyage and of the great sea. The twenty-first he spent in the same way and was still more inflamed, and during the night he was in a grievous plight, and all the following day his fever was very high. So he had his bed removed and lay by the side of the great bath, where he conversed with his officers about the vacant posts in the army, and how they might be filled with experienced men. On the twenty-fourth his fever was violent and he had to be carried forth to perform his sacrifices; moreover, he ordered his principal officers to tarry in the court of the palace, and the commanders of divisions and companies to spend the night outside. He was carried to the palace on the other side of the river on the twenty-fifth, and got a little sleep, but his fever did not abate. And when his commanders came to his bedside, he was speechless, as he was also on the twenty-sixth; therefore the Macedonians made up their minds that he was dead, and came with loud shouts to the doors of the palace, and threatened his companions until all opposition was broken down; and when the doors had been thrown open to them, without cloak or armour, one by one, they all filed slowly past his couch. During this day, too, Python and Seleucus were sent to the temple of Serapis to enquire whether they should bring Alexander thither; and the god gave answer that they should leave him where he was. And on the twenty-eighth, towards evening, he died.

LXXVII. Most of this account is word for word as written in the “Journals.” And as for suspicions of poisoning, no one had any immediately, but five

1 June 13, 323 B.C.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΦΙΛΙΝΝΗΣ

ἔτει φασὶ μηνύσεως γενομένης τῇ Ὀλυμπιάδᾳ πολλοὺς μὲν ἄνελεῖν, ἐκρίθαι δὲ τὰ λείψανα τοῦ Ἰόλα τεθηκότος, ὡς τούτου τὸ φάρμακον ἐγχέ-

2 αὐτος. οὶ δὲ Ἀριστοτέλης φάσκοντες Ἀντιπά-

τρω σύμβουλον γεγενήθαι τῆς πράξεως, καὶ ὁλος δι’ ἐκείνου πορισθήναι τὸ φάρμακον, Ἀγνώ-

θεμίν τινα διηγείσθαι λέγουσιν ὡς Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀκούσαντα· τὸ δὲ φάρμακον ὑδωρ

εἶναι ψυχροῦ καὶ παγετώδες ἀπὸ πέτρας τινὸς ἐν Νωνάκριδι οὕσης, ἢν ὦσπερ δρόσον λεπτὴν ἀνα-

λαμβάνοντες εἰς ὅνυχν χηλὴν ἀποτίθενται· τῶν

γὰρ ἄλλων ὁδὲν ἄγγειον στέγειν, ἄλλα διακό-

3 πτειν ὑπὸ ψυχρότητος καὶ δριμύτητος. οἱ δὲ

πλεῖστοι τὸν λόγον ὁλὸς οἴονται πεπλάσθαι τὸν

περὶ τῆς φαρμακείας· καὶ τεκμήριον αὐτοῖς ἔστιν

οὐ μικρὸν ὅτι τῶν ἡγεμόνων στασιασάντων ἐφ’

ήμερας πολλὰς ἀθεράπευτον τὸ σῶμα κείμενον ἐν
tόποις θερμοῖς καὶ πνευμόδεσιν οὐδὲν ἔσχε
tοιαύτης φθορᾶς σημείον, ἀλλ’ ἔμεινε καθαρὸν

καὶ πρόσφατον.

4 Ἡ δὲ Ῥωξάνη κύουσα μὲν ἐτύγχανε καὶ διὰ
tοῦτο τιμωμένη παρὰ τοῖς Μακεδόσι· δυσζήλως
dὲ ἔχουσα πρὸς τὴν Στάτεραν ἐξηπάτησεν αὐτὴν ἐπιστολὴ τινι πεπλασμένη παραγενέσθαι, καὶ

προσαγαγόντα μετὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ
tοὺς νεκροὺς εἰς τὸ φρέαρ κατέβαλε καὶ συνε-

χωσεν, εἰδότος ταῦτα Περδίκκου καὶ συμπράτ-

5 τοντος. ἦν γὰρ ἐκείνοις εὐθὺς ἐν δυνάμει μεγίστη,
tὸν Ἀρρίδαιον ὦσπερ δορυφόρημα τῆς βασιλείας

ἐφελκόμενος, γεγονότα μὲν ἐκ γυναικὸς ἀδῷ

οι καὶ κοινῆς Φιλίννης, ἀτελῆ δὲ τὸ φρονεῖν ὡντα

436
years afterwards, as we are told, upon information given, Olympias put many men to death, and scattered abroad the ashes of Iolas, alleging that he had administered the poison. But those who affirm that Aristotle counselled Antipater to do the deed, and that it was entirely through his agency that the poison was provided, mention one Hagnothemis as their authority, who professed to have heard the story from Antigonus the king; and the poison was water, icy cold, from a certain cliff in Nonacris; this they gathered up like a delicate dew and stored it in an ass's hoof; for no other vessel would hold the water, but would all be eaten through by it, owing to its coldness and pungency. Most writers, however, think that the story of the poisoning is altogether a fabrication; and it is no slight evidence in their favour that during the dissensions of Alexander's commanders, which lasted many days, his body, although it lay without special care in places that were moist and stifling, showed no sign of such a destructive influence, but remained pure and fresh.

Now, Roxana was with child, and on this account was held in honour among the Macedonians; but she was jealous of Stateira, and therefore deceived her by a forged letter into coming where she was, and when she had got her there, slew her, together with her sister, threw their bodies into the well, and filled the well with earth, Perdiccas being privy to the deed and partner in it. For it was he who was at once in the greatest authority, dragging Arrhidaeus around after him to safe-guard, as it were, the royal power. Arrhidaeus was Philip's son by an obscure and common woman named Philinna, and

1 Cf. Arrian, Anab. vii. 28.
Διὰ σώματος νόσου οὐ φύσει προσπεσοῦσαν οὔδὲ αὐτομάτως, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ φαινί παιδὸς ὄντος αὐτοῦ διαφαίνεσθαι χάριν ἡθος καὶ οὐκ ἄγεννες, εἶτα μέντοι φαρμάκοις ὑπὸ Ὀλυμπιάδος κακωθέντα διαφθαρῆμαι τὴν διάνοιαν.
was deficient in intellect owing to bodily disease. This, however, did not come upon him in the course of nature or of its own accord, indeed, it is said that as a boy he displayed an exceedingly gifted and noble disposition: but afterwards Olympias gave him drugs which injured his body and ruined his mind.
Γ. ΚΑΙΣΑΡ

1. Την Κίννα τοῦ μοναρχήσαντος θυγατέρα Κορνηλίαν, ώς ἐπεκράτησε Σύλλας, οὔτε ἐλπίσων οὔτε φόβῳ δυνηθεῖς ἀποσπᾶσαι Καίσαρος, ἔδημενσε τὴν φερνὴν αὐτῆς. αἰτία δὲ Καίσαρι τῆς πρὸς Σύλλαν ἀπεκθείας ἢ πρὸς Μάριον οἰκειότητι ἦν. Ἰουλία γὰρ, πατρὸς ἀδελφῆ Καίσαρος, ὁ πρεσβύτερος συνήκει Μάριος, ἐξ ἦς ἐγεγόνει

2. Μάριος ὁ νεώτερος, ἀνεψιὸς ὃν Καίσαρος. ὡς δὲ ὑπὸ πλῆθος φόνων ἐν ἄρχῃ καὶ δι’ ἀσχολίας ὑπὸ Σύλλα παρορώμενος οὐκ ἦγαπησεν, ἀλλὰ μετίῳν ἱερωσύνην εἰς τὸν δῆμον προῆλθεν οὗτῳ πάνυ μειράκιον ὄν, ταύτης μὲν ἐκπεσείων αὐτοῦ ὑπεναντίωθείς Σύλλας παρεσκεύασε, περὶ δὲ ἀναιρέσεως Βουλευόμενος, ἐνίων λεγόντων ὡς οὐκ ἔχοι λόγον ἀποκτινωνιαὶ παῖδα τηλικοῦτον, οὐκ ἔφη νοῦν ἔχειν αὐτοὺς, εἰ μὴ πολλοὺς ἐν τῷ παιδὶ

3. τοῦτο Μαρίους ἐνορῶσι. ταύτης τῆς φωνῆς ἀνεκθείσης πρὸς Καίσαρα συχνὸν μὲν τινα χρόνον πλανώμενος ἐν Σαβίνοις ἐκλεπτεῖ ἑαυτὸν ἐπείτα δι’ ἀρρωστίαν εἰς οἰκίαν ἑτέραν μετακομιζόμενος κατὰ νύκτα περιπίπτει στρατιώταις τοῦ Σύλλα

---

1 Many think that opening paragraphs of this Life, describing the birth and boyhood of Caesar, have been lost.
2 In 86 B.C., after the death of his colleague, Valerius Flaccus.
I. The wife of Caesar was Cornelia, the daughter of the Cinna who had once held the sole power at Rome, and when Sulla became master of affairs, he could not, either by promises or threats, induce Caesar to put her away, and therefore confiscated her dowry. Now, the reason for Caesar's hatred of Sulla was Caesar's relationship to Marius. For Julia, a sister of Caesar's father, was the wife of Marius the Elder, and the mother of Marius the Younger, who was therefore Caesar's cousin. Moreover, Caesar was not satisfied to be overlooked at first by Sulla, who was busy with a multitude of proscriptions, but he came before the people as candidate for a priesthood, although he was not yet much more than a stripling. To this candidacy Sulla secretly opposed himself, and took measures to make Caesar fail in it, and when he was deliberating about putting him to death and some said there was no reason for killing a mere boy like him, he declared that they had no sense if they did not see in this boy many Mariuses. When this speech was reported to Caesar, he hid himself for some time, wandering about in the country of the Sabines. Then, as he was changing his abode by night on account of sickness, he fell in with soldiers of Sulla who

3 In 82 B.C. Cf. the *Pompey*, ix. 1 f.
4 Nam Caesari multos Marios inesse (*Suetonius, Divus Julius*, i.).
Caesar served under Marcus Thermus, praetor of Asia, in 81–80 B.C., being then nineteen years of age, and by him
were searching those regions and arresting the men in hiding there. Caesar gave their leader, Cornelius, two talents to set him free, and at once went down to the sea and sailed to King Nicomedes in Bithynia. With him he tarried a short time, and then, on his voyage back, was captured, near the island Pharmacusa, by pirates, who already at that time controlled the sea with large armaments and countless small vessels.

II. To begin with, then, when the pirates demanded twenty talents for his ransom, he laughed at them for not knowing who their captive was, and of his own accord agreed to give them fifty. In the next place, after he had sent various followers to various cities to procure the money and was left with one friend and two attendants among Cilicians, most murderous of men, he held them in such disdain that whenever he lay down to sleep he would send and order them to stop talking. For eight and thirty days, as if the men were not his watchers, but his royal body-guard, he shared in their sports and exercises with great unconcern. He also wrote poems and sundry speeches which he read aloud to them, and those who did not admire these he would call to their faces illiterate Barbarians, and often laughingly threatened to hang them all. The pirates were delighted at this, and attributed his boldness of speech to a certain simplicity and boyish mirth. But after his ransom had come from Miletus and he had paid it and was set free, he immediately manned vessels and put to sea from the harbour was sent to Bithynia in order to raise a fleet to assist in the siege of Mitylene.

2 According to Suetonius (Div. Jul. 4), it was on a voyage from Rome to Rhodes (after 77 B.C.) that Caesar was captured by pirates.
According to Suetonius (Div. Jul. 4), this voyage, on which he was captured by pirates, was undertaken after his 446
of Miletus against the robbers. He caught them, too, still lying at anchor off the island, and got most of them into his power. Their money he made his booty, but the men themselves he lodged in the prison at Pergamum, and then went in person to Junius, the governor of Asia, on the ground that it belonged to him, as praetor of the province, to punish the captives. But since the praetor cast longing eyes on their money, which was no small sum, and kept saying that he would consider the case of the captives at his leisure, Caesar left him to his own devices, went to Pergamum, took the robbers out of prison, and crucified them all, just as he had often warned them on the island that he would do, when they thought he was joking.

III. After this, Sulla's power being now on the wane, and Caesar's friends at home inviting him to return, Caesar sailed to Rhodes to study under Apollonius the son of Molon, an illustrious rhetorician with the reputation of a worthy character, of whom Cicero also was a pupil. It is said, too, that Caesar had the greatest natural talent for political oratory, and cultivated his talent most ambitiously, so that he had an undisputed second rank; the first rank, however, he renounced, because he devoted his efforts to being first as a statesman and commander rather, and did not achieve that effectiveness in oratory to which his natural talent directed him, in consequence of his campaigns and of his political activities, by means of which he acquired the supremacy. And so it was that, at a later time, in his reply to Cicero's "Cato," he himself deprecated comparison between the diction of a soldier and the eloquence of an unsuccessful prosecution of Dolabella, mentioned in the next chapter. See the note on i. 4.
IV. Ἐπανελθὼν δ' εἰς Ὁρμὺν Δολοβέλλαν ἔκρινε κακώσεως ἑπαρχίας, καὶ πολλαὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πόλεων μαρτυρίας αὐτῷ παρέσχουν. ὃ μὲν οὖν Δολοβέλλας ἀπέφυγε τὴν δίκην, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἀμειβόμενος τὴν Ἑλλάδα τῆς προθυμίας συνηγόρευσεν αὐτῇ Πόπλιον Ἀντώνιον διωκοῦσα διωροδοκίας ἐπὶ Λευκούλλου τοῦ Μάρκου Μακε-

2 δονίας στρατηγοῦ. καὶ τοσοῦτον ἵσχυσεν ὡστε τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπικαλέσασθαι τοὺς δημάρχους, σκηνύμενον οὐκ ἔχειν τὸ ὅσον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πρὸς Ἑλληνας. ἐν δὲ Ὁρμὺ πολλῇ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ περὶ τὰς συνηγορίας αὐτοῦ χάρις ἐξέλαμπτε, πολλῇ δὲ τῆς περὶ τὰς δεξιώσεις καὶ ὀμιλίας φιλοφροσύνης εὐνοίᾳ παρὰ τῶν δημοτῶν ἀπήντα, θεραπευτικοῦ παρ’ ἡλικίαι ὄντος. ἦν δὲ τις καὶ ἀπὸ δείπνων καὶ τραπέζης καὶ ὅλως τῆς περὶ τὴν διαίταν λαμπρότητος αὐξανομένη κατὰ μικρὸν αὐτῷ δύναμις εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν. ἦν τὸ πρῶτον οἱ φθονοῦντες οἴόμενοι ταχύ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων ἐπιλυπόντων ἐξίστηλον ἐσεσθαι, περιεώρων ἀνθοῦ-

3 σαν ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς· ὄψε δὲ ἡσθοντο, μεγάλης καὶ δυσανατρέπτου γενομένης καὶ βαδιζόμενης ἀντικρυ χπὶ τὴν τῶν ὄλων μεταβολήν, ὡς οὐδε-

4 μίαν ἀρχήν πράγματος ἡγητέον 1 μικράν, ἤν οὐ ταχὺ ποιεῖ μεγάλην τὸ ἐνδεχόμενο ἐκ τοῦ κατα-

1 ἡγητέον MSS. and Sint. 2; ἡγητέον οὗτῳ Coraës, after Stephanus; οὗτῳ ἡγητέον Sint. 1; οὔτως ἡγητέον Bekker.
orator who was gifted by nature and had plenty of leisure to pursue his studies.

IV. After his return to Rome he impeached Dolabella¹ for maladministration of his province, and many of the cities of Greece supplied him with testimony. Dolabella, it is true, was acquitted, but Caesar, in return for the zealous efforts of the Greeks in his behalf, served as their advocate when they prosecuted Publius Antonius for corruption before Marcus Lucullus, the praetor of Macedonia. And he was so effective that Antonius appealed to the tribunes at Rome, alleging that he could not have a fair trial in Greece against Greeks. At Rome, moreover, Caesar won a great and brilliant popularity by his eloquence as an advocate, and much good will from the common people for the friendliness of his manners in intercourse with them, since he was ingratiating beyond his years. He had also a large and gradually increasing political influence in consequence of his lavish hospitality and the general splendour of his mode of life. At first his enemies thought this influence would quickly vanish when his expenditures ceased, and therefore suffered it to thrive among the common people; but later on when it had become great and hard to subvert, and aimed directly at a complete revolution in the state, they perceived that no beginnings should be considered too small to be quickly made great by continuance, after contempt of them has left them unobstructed. At all events, the man who is thought to have been the first to see beneath the surface of Caesar's public policy and to fear it, as one might fear the smiling surface of the sea, and who com-

¹ In 77 B.C.
καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ καὶ ἰλαρῷ κεκρυμμένην δεινοτητα τοῦ ἢθους καταμαθῶν Κικέρων ἔλεγε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασίω ἐπιβουλεύμασιν αὐτοῦ καὶ πολιτεύμασι τυραννικὴν ἑνόραν διάνοιαν, "'Ἀλλ' ὃταν," ἔφη, "ἡ τὸν κόμην οὕτω διακειμένην περιττώς ἵδω κάκεινον ἐνὶ δακτύλῳ κυνόμενον, οὐ μοι δοκεὶ πάλιν οὕτος ἄνθρωπος εἰς νοῦν ἄν ἐμβαλέσθαι τηλικοῦτον κακοῦ, ἀναίρεσιν τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας." ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑστερον.

V. Τοῦ δὲ δήμου πρώτην μὲν ἀπόδειξιν τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίας ἔλαβεν ὅτε πρὸς Γάϊον Ποπίλιον ἐρίσας ὑπὲρ χιλιαρχίας πρότερος ἀνηγορεύθη δευτέραν δὲ καὶ καταφανεστέραν ὅτε, τῆς Μαρίου γυναικὸς Ἰουλίας ἀποθανοῦσης, ἀδελφίδοις ὧν αὐτὴς ἐγκώμιον τε λαμπρὸν ἐν ἀγορᾷ διήλθε, καὶ περὶ τὴν ἐκφορὰν ἐτόλμησεν εἰκόνας Μαρίου προβέσθαι, τότε πρῶτον ὀφθείσας μετὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Σύλλα πολιτείαν, πολεμίων τῶν ἀνδρῶν 2 κριθέντων. ἐπὶ τούτῳ γὰρ ἐνώπιον καταβοησάντων τοῦ Καίσαρος ὁ δῆμος ἀντίχεισε λαμπρῶς, ἐξαμενος κρότῳ καὶ θαυμάσας ὡσπέρ ἔξω Λιδίου διὰ χρόνων πολλῶν ἀνάγοντα τὰς Μαρίου τιμᾶς εἰς τὴν πόλιν. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ γυναικί πρεσβυτέρας λόγους ἐπιταφίους διεξείχεν πάτριον ἦν Ῥωμαίοις, νέαις δὲ οὐκ ὃν ἐν ἐθεὶ πρῶτος ἐίπε Καίσαρ ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὸς ἀποθανοῦσης· καὶ τούτῳ ἦνεγκεν αὐτῷ χάριν τινὰ καὶ συνεδριακόγησε τῷ πάθει τοὺς πολλοὺς ὡς ἢμερον ἀνδρὰ καὶ περίμεστον ἢθους ἀγαπάν.

450
prehended the powerful character hidden beneath his kindly and cheerful exterior, namely Cicero, said that in most of Caesar's political plans and projects he saw a tyrannical purpose; "On the other hand," said he, "when I look at his hair, which is arranged with so much nicety, and see him scratching his head with one finger, I cannot think that this man would ever conceive of so great a crime as the overthrow of the Roman constitution." This, it is true, belongs to a later period.

V. The first proof of the people's good will towards him he received when he competed against Caius Popilius for a military tribuneship and was elected over him; a second and more conspicuous proof he received when, as nephew of Julia the deceased wife of Marius, he pronounced a splendid encomium upon her in the forum, and in her funeral procession ventured to display images of Marius, which were then seen for the first time since the administration of Sulla, because Marius and his friends had been pronounced public enemies. When, namely, some cried out against Caesar for this procedure, the people answered them with loud shouts, received Caesar with applause, and admired him for bringing back after so long a time, as it were from Hades, the honours of Marius into the city. Now, in the case of elderly women, it was ancient Roman usage to pronounce funeral orations over them; but it was not customary in the case of young women, and Caesar was the first to do so when his own wife died. This also brought him much favour, and worked upon the sympathies of the multitude, so that they were fond of him, as a man who was gentle and full of feeling.

1 In 68 B.C. 2 In 68 B.C.
3 Θάψας δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα τιμίας εἰς Ἴβηριαν ἐνὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν Βέτερι συνεζήλθεν, διὸ αὐτὸν τε τιμῶν ἀεὶ διετέλεσε καὶ τὸν νῦν πάλιν αὐτὸς ἀρχων τιμίαν ἐποίησε. γενόμενος δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης τρίτην ἡγάγετο γυναῖκα Πομπηίαν, ἔχουν ἐκ Κορνηλίας θυγατέρα τὴν ὑστερον Πομπηίαν.

4 πηγὰς Μάγνω γαμήθεισαν. χρώμενος δὲ ταῖς δαπάναις ἀφειδῶς, καὶ δοκῶν μὲν ἐφίμερον καὶ βραχεῖαν ἀντικαταλλάττεσθαι μεγάλων ἀναλωμάτων δόξαν, ὁνομάζοντο δὲ ταῖς ἀληθείαις τὰ μέγιστα μικρῶν, λέγεται πρὶν εἰς ἀρχὴν τινα καθίστασθαι χιλίων καὶ τριακοσίων γενέσθαι

5 χρεωφειλήτης ταλάντων. ἔπει δὲ τούτῳ μὲν ὅδε τῆς Ἀππίας ἀποδειχθεῖς ἐπιμελητὴς πάμπολλα χρήματα προσανάλωσε τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, τούτῳ δὲ ἀγορανομῶν ζεύγη μονομάχων τριακόσια καὶ εἰκοσὶ παρέσχε καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις περὶ θέατρα καὶ πομπαῖς καὶ δεῖπνα χορηγίαις καὶ πολυτελείαις τὰς πρὸ αὐτοῦ κατέκλυσε φιλοτιμίας, οὕτω διέθηκε τὸν δήμον ὡς καὶνὰς μὲν ἄρχας καὶνὰς δὲ τιμὰς ξητεῖν ἑκαστοῦ, αἷς αὐτὸν ἀμείψαντο.

VI. Δουὲν δὲ οὐσῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει στάσεων, τῆς μὲν ἀπὸ Σύλλα μέγα δυναμένης, τῆς δὲ Μαριανῆς, ἢ τότε κατεπτήχει καὶ διέσπαστο κομιδή ταπεινὰ πράττουσα, ταύτην ἀναρρωσάι καὶ προσαγαγέσθαι βουλόμενος ἐν ταῖς ἀγορανομικαῖς φιλοτιμίαν.
After the funeral of his wife, he went out to Spain as quaestor under Vetus, one of the praetors, whom he never ceased to hold in high esteem, and whose son, in turn, when he himself was praetor, he made his quaestor. After he had served in this office, he married for his third wife Pompeia, having already by Cornelia a daughter who was afterwards married to Pompey the Great. He was unsparing in his outlays of money, and was thought to be purchasing a transient and short-lived fame at a great price, though in reality he was buying things of the highest value at a small price. We are told, accordingly, that before he entered upon any public office he was thirteen hundred talents in debt. Again, being appointed curator of the Appian Way, he expended upon it vast sums of his own money; and again, during his aedileship, he furnished three hundred and twenty pairs of gladiators, and by lavish provision besides for theatrical performances, processions, and public banquets, he washed away all memory of the ambitious efforts of his predecessors in the office. By these means he put the people in such a humour that every man of them was seeking out new offices and new honours with which to requite him.

VI. There were two parties in the city, that of Sulla, which had been all powerful since his day, and that of Marius, which at that time was in an altogether lowly state, being cowed and scattered. This party Caesar wished to revive and attach to himself, and therefore, when the ambitious efforts of his aedileship were at their height, he had images

Caesar was first married to Cossutia, the daughter of a rich Roman knight.  

2 In 66 B.C.
2 εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνέστησεν. ἀμα δὲ ἡμέρα τοὺς θεασαμένους μαρμαίροντα πάντα χρυσῷ καὶ τέχνῃ κατεσκευασμένα περίττως (διεδήλου δὲ γράμματα τὰ Κιμβρικὰ κατορθώματα) θάμβος ἔσχε τῆς τόλμης τοῦ ἀναθέντος (οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄδηλος), ταχὺ δὲ περιώδων ὁ λόγος ἢθροιζε πάντας ἀνθρώπους πρὸς τὴν ὦψιν. ἀλλά οἱ μὲν ἔβοων τυραννίδα πολιτεύσθαι Καίσαρα, νόμοις καὶ δόγμαις καταρωρυγμένας ἐπανιστάντα τιμᾶς, καὶ τούτῳ πεἰραίαν ἐπὶ τὸν δήμον εἶναι προμαλαττόμενον, εἰ τετιθάσευται ταῖς φιλοτιμίαις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ δίδωσι παίζειν τοιαῦτα καὶ καινοτομεῖν, οἱ δὲ Μαριανοὶ παραθαρρύναντες ἀλλήλους πλήθει τε θαυμαστοὶ ὁσοὶ διεφάνησαν ἐξαιρεῖν, καὶ 4 κρότῳ κατεῖχον τὸ Καπιτώλιον πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ δάκρυα τῆς Μαρίου θεωμένοις ὄψιν ὑφ᾽ ἡδωνῆς ἔχωρει, καὶ μέγας ἦν ὁ Καίσαρ ἐγκωμίως αἰρόμενος, ὥς ἀντὶ πάντων ἀξίως εἶν ὁ ἅνὴρ τῆς Μαρίου συγγενείας. συναχθεῖσας δὲ περὶ τούτων τῆς βουλής, Κάτλος Δουτάτιος, ἀνὴρ εὐδοκιμῶν τὸτε μάλιστα Ῥωμαίων, ἀναστὰς καὶ κατηγορήσας Καίσαρος ἐπεθήκεσθαι τὸ μυθομενόμενον. "Οὐκέτι γὰρ ὑπονόμοις," ἐφη, "Καίσαρ, ἀλλ' ἢδη μηχαναῖς αἱρεῖ τὴν πολιτείαν." ἐπει δὲ ἀπολογησάμενος πρὸς ταῦτα Καίσαρ ἐπείσε τὴν σύγκλητον, ἐτὶ μᾶλλον οἱ θαυμάζοντες αὐτὸν

1 εἰν ὁ bracketed by Sint.2.
of Marius secretly made, together with trophy-bearing Victories, and these he ordered to be carried by night and set up on the Capitol. At day-break those who beheld all these objects glittering with gold and fashioned with the most exquisite art (and they bore inscriptions setting forth the Cimbrian successes of Marius) were amazed at the daring of the man who had set them up (for it was evident who had done it), and the report of it quickly spreading brought everybody together for the sight. But some cried out that Caesar was scheming to usurp sole power in the state when he thus revived honours which had been buried by laws and decrees, and that this proceeding was a test of the people, whose feelings towards him he had previously softened, to see whether they had been made docile by his ambitious displays and would permit him to amuse himself with such innovations. The partisans of Marius, however, encouraged one another and showed themselves on a sudden in amazing numbers, and filled the Capitol with their applause. Many, too, were moved to tears of joy when they beheld the features of Marius, and Caesar was highly extolled by them, and regarded as above all others worthy of his kinship with Marius. But when the senate met to discuss these matters, Catulus Lutatius, a man of the highest repute at that time in Rome, rose up and denounced Caesar, uttering the memorable words: "No longer, indeed, by sapping and mining, Caesar, but with engines of war art thou capturing the government." Caesar, however, defended himself against this charge and convinced the senate, whereupon his admirers were still more

1 See the *Marius*, chapters xi.-xxii.
ἐπήρθησαν, καὶ παρεκελεύοντο μηδενὶ τοῦ φρονήματος υφίεσθαι πάντων γὰρ ἐκόντι τῷ δήμῳ περιέσεσθαι καὶ πρωτεύσειν.

VII. ἔν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ Μετέλλου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως τελευτήσαντος καὶ τὴν ἱερωσύνην περιμάχησαν ὁ σουαυρικοῦ καὶ Κάτλου μετιόντων, ἐπιφανεστάτων ἀνδρῶν καὶ μέγιστον ἐν βουλῇ δυναμένων, οὐχ ὑπείζειν αὐτοῖς ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἀλλὰ 2 καταβὰς εἰς τὸν δήμον ἀντιπαρῆγγελλεν. ἀγχωμάλου δὲ τῆς σπουδῆς φαινομένης, ὁ Κάτλος, ἀπὸ μείζονος άξιας μᾶλλον ὄρρωδῶν τὴν ἁδηλότητα, προσέπεμψε πείθων ἀποστήναν τὸν Καίσαρα τῆς φιλοτιμίας ἐπὶ πολλοῖς χρήμασιν. ὁ δὲ καὶ πλεῖον προσδανεισάμενος ἐφ᾽ διαγωνισθαί.

Τῆς δ᾽ ἡμέρας ἐνστάσης καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἅδαιρε τροπεμπούσης, ἀσπασάμενος αὐτῆς, "Ὡς μήτερ, ἐπεῖ, "τήμερον 3 ἡ ἀρχιερεία τὸν υἱὸν ἡ φυγάδα ὡμεί. " διενεχθεῖσας δὲ τῆς ψήφου καὶ γενομένης ἁμίλλης ἐκράτησε, καὶ παρέσχε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τοῖς ἀρίστοις φόβου ὡς ἐπὶ πάν τραβελτῆς προαίξον τὸν δήμον. ὅθεν οἱ περὶ Πείσωνα καὶ Κάτλου ἢτιόντο Κικέρωνα φεισάμενον Καίσαρος ἐν τοῖς περὶ 4 Κατιλίναν λαβὴν παρασχόντος. ὁ γὰρ ἡ Κατιλίνας οὐ μόνον τὴν πολιτείαν μεταβαλεῖν, ἀλλὰ ὀλην ἀνελεῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ πάντα τὰ πράγματα συγχέαι διανοθεῖς αὐτοῦ μὲν ἐξέπεσε,
elated and exhorted him not to lower his pretensions for any man, since the people would be glad to have him triumph over all opposition and be the first man in the state.

VII. At this time, too, Metellus, the pontifex maximus, or high priest, died,¹ and though Isauricus and Catulus were candidates for the priesthood, which was an object of great ambition, and though they were most illustrious men and of the greatest influence in the senate, Caesar would not give way to them, but presented himself to the people as a rival candidate. The favour of the electors appeared to be about equally divided, and therefore Catulus, who, as the worthier of Caesar's competitors, dreaded more the uncertainty of the issue, sent and tried to induce Caesar to desist from his ambitious project, offering him large sums of money. But Caesar declared that he would carry the contest through even though he had to borrow still larger sums.

The day for the election came, and as Caesar's mother accompanied him to the door in tears, he kissed her and said: "Mother, to-day thou shalt see thy son either pontifex maximus or an exile." The contest was sharp, but when the vote was taken Caesar prevailed, and thereby made the senate and nobles afraid that he would lead the people on to every extreme of recklessness. Therefore Piso and Catulus blamed Cicero for having spared Caesar when, in the affair of Catiline, he gave his enemies a hold upon him. Catiline, namely, had purposed not only to subvert the constitution, but to destroy the whole government and throw everything into confusion. He himself, however, was expelled from the city,²

¹ In 63 B.C. Cf. the Cicero, chapters x.-xxii.
περιπταίσας ἐλάττοσιν ἐλέγχοις πρὸ τοῦ τὰς ἐσχάτας αὐτοῦ βουλὰς ἀποκαλυφθῆναι, Δέντλον δὲ καὶ Κέθηγον ἐν τῇ πόλει διαδόχους ἀπέλιπε τῆς συνωμοσίας, οίς εἰ μὲν κρύφα παρεῖχέ τι θάρσους καὶ δυνάμεως ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀδηλῶν ἔστιν, ἐν δὲ τῇ βουλῇ κατὰ κράτος ἐξελεγχθέντων καὶ Κικέρωνος τοῦ ὑπάτου γνώμας ἐρωτῶντος περὶ
5 κολάσεως ἐκαστοῦ, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι μέχρι Καῖσαρος θανατοῦ ἐκέλευν, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἀναστὰς λόγον διήλθε πεφροντισμένον, ὡς ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν ἀκρι-
tους ἄνδρας ἀξιώματι καὶ γένει λαμπροὺς οὐ
dοκεῖ πάτριον οὐδὲ δίκαιον εἶναι, μὴ μετὰ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀνάγκης, εἰ δὲ φρουροῦντο δεθέντες ἐν πόλεσι τῆς Ἰταλίας ἃς ἄν αὐτὸς ἐληταὶ Κικέρων,
μέχρι οὐ καταπολεμηθῆ Κατιλίνας, ὑστερον ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ καθ’ ἡσυχίαν περὶ ἐκάστου τῇ βουλῇ γνώ-
νων παρέξει.

VIII. Οὕτω δὲ τῆς γνώμης φιλανθρώπου 711

φανείσης καὶ τοῦ λόγου δυνατῶς ἐπ’ αὐτῆς ῥηθέν-
tος οὐ μόνον οἱ μετὰ τούτου ἀνιστάμενοι προσ-
ετίθεντο, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐιρημένας γνώμας ἀπειπάμενοι πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνην 
μετέστησαν, ἐως ἐπὶ Κάτωνα τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ 
Κάτλον περιῆλθε. τούτων δὲ νεανικῶς ἑναντιώ-
θέντων, Κάτωνος δὲ καὶ τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἀμα τῷ 
λόγῳ συνεπερείσαντος αὐτῷ καὶ συγκατεξανα-
2 στάντος ἐρρωμένως, οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες ἀποθανοῦμενοι 
παρεδόθησαν, Καῖσαρι δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ἠξιώντι

1 Cf. the Cato Minor, xxii. 4 f.
having been overwhelmed by proofs of lesser iniquities before his most far reaching plans were discovered; but he left Lentulus and Cethegus behind him in the city to promote the conspiracy in his place. Now, whether or not Caesar secretly gave these men any countenance and help, is uncertain; but after they had been overwhelmingly convicted in the senate, and Cicero the consul asked each senator to give his opinion on the manner of their punishment, the rest, down to Caesar, urged that they be put to death, but Caesar rose in his place and delivered a long and studied speech against this. He pleaded that to put to death without legal trial men of high rank and brilliant lineage was not, in his opinion, traditional or just, except under extremest necessity; but that if they should be bound and kept in custody, in such cities of Italy as Cicero himself might elect, until the war against Catiline had been brought to a successful end, the senate could afterwards, in a time of peace and at their leisure, vote upon the case of each one of them.

VIII. This opinion seemed so humane, and the speech in support of it was made with such power,¹ that not only those who rose to speak after Caesar sided with him, but many also of those who had preceded him took back the opinions which they had expressed and went over to his, until the question came round to Cato and Catulus. These warmly opposed Caesar's proposal, and Cato even helped to raise suspicion against Caesar by what he said.² As a result, the men were handed over to the executioner, and many of the young men who at that time formed a body-guard for Cicero ran together

² See the Cato Minor, chapter xxiii.
πολλοὶ τῶν Κικέρωνα φρουροῦντων τότε νέων γυμνὰ τὰ ξίφη συνδραμόντες ἐπέσχον. ἀλλὰ Κουρίων τε λέγεται τῇ τηβένῳ περιβαλὼν ὑπεξαγαγεῖν, αὐτός τε ὁ Κικέρων, ὡς οἱ νεανίσκοι προσέβλεψαν, ἀνανεῦσαι, φοβηθεῖν τὸν δῆμον, ἢ τὸν φόνον ὅλως ἁδικον καὶ παράνομον ἡγούμενοι.

3 Τούτο μὲν οὖν οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως ὁ Κικέρων, εἰπερ ἢν ἄληθες, ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ὑπατείας οὐκ ἐγραφεν· αἰτιαν δὲ εἶχεν ὑστερον ὡς ἀριστα τῷ καίρῳ τὸτε παρασχόντι κατὰ τοῦ Καῖσαρος μὴ χρησάμενος, ἀλλ' ἀποδειλιάσας τὸν δῆμον ὑπερφυὸς περιεχόμενον τοῦ Καῖσαρος, ὃς γε καὶ μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας εἰς τὴν βουλὴν εἰσελθόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ ὅν ἐν ὑποψίαις ἢν ἀπολογουμένου καὶ περιπτάπτοντος θορύβοις πονηροῖς, ἐπειδὴ πλείων τοῦ συνήθους ἐγίνετο τῇ βουλῇ καθεξομένη χρόνος, ἐπήλθε μετὰ κρανγῆς καὶ περίεστη τὴν σύγκλητον, ἀπαίτων τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ κελεύων ἀφεῖναι. διὸ καὶ Κάτων φοβηθεῖς μᾶλλον τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων νεωτερισμόν, οὐ τοῦ παντὸς ὑπέκκαυμα πλήθους ἦσαν ἐν τῷ Καῖσαρι τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχοντες, ἐπεισε τὴν σύγκλητον ἀπονεῖμαι σιτηρέσιον αὐτοῖς ἐμμηνον, εἰς οὗ δαπάνης μὲν ἐπτακόςιαι πεντήκοντα μυριάδες ἐνιαύσιοι προσεγίνοντο τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀναλώμασι, τὸν μέντοι μέγαν ἐν τῷ παρόντι φόβου ἔσβεσε περιφανῶς τῷ πολίτευμα τούτο, καὶ τὸ πλείστον ἀπέρρηξε τῆς Καῖσαρος δυνάμεως καὶ
with drawn swords and threatened Caesar as he was leaving the senate. But Curio, as we are told, threw his toga round Caesar and got him away, while Cicero himself, when the young men looked to him for a sign, shook his head, either through fear of the people, or because he thought the murder would be wholly contrary to law and justice.

Now, if this is true, I do not see why Cicero did not mention it in the treatise on his consulship;\(^1\) however, he was afterwards blamed for not having improved that best of all opportunities for removing Caesar. Instead, he showed a cowardly fear of the people, who were extravagantly attached to Caesar; in fact, a few days afterward, when Caesar came into the senate and tried to defend himself in the matters wherein suspicion had been fixed upon him, and met with a tumult of disapproval, the people, seeing that the session of the senate was lasting a longer time than usual, came up with loud cries and surrounded the senate-house, demanding Caesar, and ordering the senate to let him go. It was for this reason, too, that Cato, fearing above all things a revolutionary movement set on foot by the poorer classes, who were setting the whole multitude on fire with the hopes which they fixed upon Caesar, persuaded the senate to assign them a monthly allowance of grain, in consequence of which an annual outlay of seven million five hundred thousand drachmas was added to the other expenditures of the state.\(^2\) However, the great fear which prevailed at the time was manifestly quenched by this measure, and the greatest part of Caesar’s power was broken down and dissi-

---

\(^1\) No longer extant.  
\(^2\) Cf. the *Cato Minor*, xxvi. 1.
δεισκέδασεν ἐν καιρῷ, στρατηγεῦσιν μέλλουτος καὶ φοβερωτέρου διὰ τὴν ἄρχην ὄντος.

IX. Οὐ μὴν ἀπέβη τι παραχώδες ἀπ’ αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τύχη τῆς ἄχαρις τῷ Καίσαρι συνηνέχθη περὶ τὸν οἶκον. Πόπλιος Κλώδιος ἦν ἀνήρ γένεις μὲν εὐπατρίδης καὶ πλούτω καὶ λόγῳ λαμπρός, ὑβρεὶ δὲ καὶ θρασύτητι τῶν ἐπὶ βδελυγίᾳ

2 περιβοήτων οὐδενὸς δεύτερος. οὕτος ἦρα Πομπηίας τῆς Καίσαρος γυναικὸς οὐδὲ αὐτῆς ἀκούσης. ἀλλὰ φυλακαί τε τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος ἀκριβεῖς ἦσαν, ἢ τε μήτηρ τοῦ Καίσαρος Αὐρηλία, γυνὴ σώφρων, περιέπουσα τὴν νύμφην ἀεὶ χαλεπὴν καὶ παρακεκυδυνεμένην αὐτοῖς ἐποίει τὴν ἐντευξίν.

3 "Εστι δὲ Ἡρωαίοις θεοῖς ἦν Ἀγάθην ὀνομαζούσιν, ὡσπερ Ἑλλήνες Γυναικεῖαν. καὶ Φρύγες μὲν οἰκείοι μενοὶ Μίδα μητέρα τοῦ βασιλέως γενέσθαι φασὶ, Ἡρωαίοι δὲ νύμφην Δρυάδα Φαῦνῳ συνοικῆσασαν, Ἑλληνεὶς δὲ τῶν Διονύσου μητέρων τὴν ἄρρητον. ὅθεν ἀμπελίνοις τε τὰς σκηνὰς κλήμασιν ἐφοτάξουσα καταρέφουσι, καὶ δράκων ἱερὸς παρακαθίδρυται τῇ θεῷ κατὰ τῶν μύθων. ἀνδρα δὲ προσελθεὶν οὐ θέμις οὐ δὲ τῆς οἰκίας γενέσθαι τῶν ἱερῶν ὑργιαξομένων· αὐταῖ δὲ καθ’ ἑαυτᾶς αἱ γυναῖκες πολλὰ τοῦ Ὁρφικοῦ ὀμολογοῦντα δρᾶν λέγονται περὶ τὴν ἱερουργίαν.

4 ὅταν οὖν ὃ τῆς ἐφοτῆς καθήκη χρόνος, ὑπατεύοντος ἡ στρατηγοῦντος ἀνδρός, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐξι-
pated in the nick of time, since he was praetor elect,¹ and would be more formidable on account of his office.

IX. However, there were no disturbances in consequence of Caesar's praetorship, but an unpleasant incident happened in his family. Publius Clodius was a man of patrician birth, and conspicuous for wealth and eloquence, but in insolence and effrontery he surpassed all the notorious scoundrels of his time. This man was in love with Pompeia the wife of Caesar, and she was not unwilling. But close watch was kept upon the women's apartments, and Aurelia, Caesar's mother, a woman of discretion, would never let the young wife out of her sight, and made it difficult and dangerous for the lovers to have an interview.

Now, the Romans have a goddess whom they call Bona, corresponding to the Greek Gynaecia. The Phrygians claim this goddess as their own, and say that she was the mother of King Midas; the Romans say she was a Dryad nymph and the wife of Faunus; the Greeks that she was the unnameable one among the mothers of Dionysus. And this is the reason why the women cover their booths with vine-branches when they celebrate her festival, and why a sacred serpent is enthroned beside the goddess in conformity with the myth. It is not lawful for a man to attend the sacred ceremonies, nor even to be in the house when they are celebrated; but the women, apart by themselves, are said to perform many rites during their sacred service which are Orphic in their character. Accordingly, when the time for the festival is at hand, the consul or praetor at whose house it is to be held goes away, and every male with him,

¹ For the year 62 B.C.
σταταί καὶ πάν τὸ ἄρρεν, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τὴν οἰκίαν παραλαβοῦσα διακοσμεῖ. καὶ τὰ μέγιστα νύκτωρ τελεῖται, παιδιᾷ ἀναμεμιγμένης ταῖς πανυχίσι καὶ μουσικῆς ἁμα πολλῆς παροῦσης.

Χ. Ταύτην τότε τὴν ἑορτὴν τῆς Πομπηίας ἑπιτελοῦσι, ὁ Κλώδιος οὕτω γενειών καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λήσειν οἴομενοι ἔσθήτα καὶ σκευὴν ψαλτρίας ἀναλαβὼν ἔχωρει, νέα γυναικὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἔοικός. καὶ ταῖς θύραις ἐπιτυχών ἀνεφρήμους εἰσήγηθη μὲν ἄδεως ὑπὸ τῆς συνειδύναις θεραπαίνῳ.

2 δος, ἐκείνης δὲ προδραμοῦσι ὡς τῇ Πομπηίᾳ φράσειε, καὶ γενομένης διατριβῆς, περιμένειν μὲν ὁποῦ κατελείφθη τῷ Κλώδῳ μὴ καρτεροῦτι, πλανωμένῳ δ’ ἐν οἰκίᾳ μεγάλῃ καὶ περιφεύγοντι τὰ φῶτα προσπεσοῦσα τῆς Αὐρηλίας ἀκόλουθος ὡς δὴ γυνὴ γυναικά παίζειν προκαλεῖτο, καὶ μὴ βουλόμενον εἰς τὸ μέσον εἰλκε, καὶ τὸς ἐστὶ καὶ 3 πόθεν ἐπιυθάνετο. τοῦ δὲ Κλώδιον φήσαντος Ἀβραων περιμένειν Πομπηίας, αὐτὸ τοῦτο καλουμένην, καὶ τῇ φωνῇ γενομένου καταφανοῦς, ἢ μὲν ἀκόλουθος εὐθὺς ἀπετήθησε κραυγὴ πρὸς τὰ φῶτα καὶ τὸν ὄχλον, ἀνδρὰ πεφωρακέναι βοῶσα, τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν διαπτοθεισῶν ἡ Αὐρηλία τὰ μὲν ὅργα τῆς θεοῦ κατέταυσε καὶ συνεκάλυψεν, αὐτὴ δὲ τὰς θύρας ἀποκλείσαι κελεύσασα περιῆρε τὴν οἰκίαν ὑπὸ λαμπάδων,

4 ξητόοσα τὸν Κλώδιον. εὐρίσκεται δ’ εἰς οίκημα παιδίσκης ἢ συνεισῆλθε καταπεφυγώς· καὶ γενόμενος φανερὸς ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἔξελαύνεται διὰ τῶν θυρῶν. τὸ δὲ πράγμα καὶ νυκτὸς εὐθὺς αἱ γυναίκες ἀπιουσαι τοῦτοι αὐτῶν ἔφραξον

464
while his wife takes possession of the premises and puts them in due array. The most important rites are celebrated by night, when mirth attends the revels, and much music, too, is heard.

X. At the time of which I speak, Pompeia was celebrating this festival, and Clodius, who was still beardless and on this account thought to pass unnoticed, assumed the dress and implements of a lute-girl and went to the house, looking like a young woman. He found the door open, and was brought in safely by the maid-servant there, who was in the secret; but after she had run on ahead to tell Pompeia and some time had elapsed, Clodius had not the patience to wait where he had been left, and so, as he was wandering about in the house (a large one) and trying to avoid the lights, an attendant of Aurelia came upon him and asked him to play with her, as one woman would another, and when he refused, she dragged him forward and asked who he was and whence he came. Clodius answered that he was waiting for Pompeia's Abra (this was the very name by which the maid was called), and his voice betrayed him. The attendant of Aurelia at once sprang away with a scream to the lights and the throng, crying out that she had caught a man. The women were panic-stricken, and Aurelia put a stop to the mystic rites of the goddess and covered up the emblems. Then she ordered the doors to be closed and went about the house with torches, searching for Clodius. He was found where he had taken refuge, in the chamber of the girl who had let him into the house; and when they saw who he was, the women drove him out of doors. Then at once, and in the night, they went off and
ἀνδράσι, καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν ἔχωρει διὰ τῆς πόλεως λόγος ὡς ἰθέσσως ἐπικεχειρηκότος τοῦ Κλαδίου καὶ δίκην οὐ τοῖς υβρισμένοις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ 5 τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ὀφείλοντος. ἐγράψατο μὲν οὖν τὸν Κλάδιον εἰς τῶν δημάρχων ἁσβείας, καὶ συνέστησαν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν οἱ δυνατώτατοι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, ἀλλὰς τε δεινὰς ἁσβείας καταμαρτυροῦντες καὶ μοιχεῖαν ἁδελφίς, ἡ Δευ- κούλλης συνωκίκηε. πρὸς δὲ τὰς τούτων σπουδὰς ὁ δῆμος ἀντιτάξας ἐκατὸν ἢμvio τῷ Κλαδίῳ, καὶ μέγα πρὸς τοὺς δικαστὰς ὀφελός ἢν ἐκπεπλη- 6 γμένους καὶ δεδοικότας τὸ πλῆθος. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἀπεπέμψατο μὲν εὐθὺς τῇν Πομπηίαν, μάρτυς δὲ πρὸς τῇν δίκην κληθεῖς οὐδὲν ἔφη τῶν λεγομένων κατὰ τοῦ Κλαδίου γιγνώσκειν. ὡς δὲ τοῦ λόγου παραδόξου φανέντος ὁ κατήγορος ἠρώτησε, "Πῶς οὖν ἀπεπέμψω τῇν γυναίκα;" ""Ὅτι," ἔφη, "τὴν ἐμὴν ἡξίουν μηδὲ ὑπονοηθήναι."

Ταῦτα οἱ μὲν οὕτω φρονοῦντα τὸν Καῖσαρα λέγουσιν εἰπεῖν, οἱ δὲ τῷ δῆμῳ χαριζόμενον ὡρ- 7 μημένῳ σῶζειν τὸν Κλάδιον. ἀποφεύγει δ’ οὖν τὸ ἐγκλῆμα τῶν πλείστων δικαστῶν συγκεκρε- μένους τοῖς γράμμασι τὰς γυνῶς ἀποδοῦτων, ὡς μήτε παρακινδυνεύσωσιν ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς καταψηφισάμενοι μήτε ἀπολύσαντες ἅδοξήσωσι παρὰ τοῖς ἀρίστοις.

XI. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς στρατηγίας τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν τὴν Ἰβηρίαν λαβὼν, ὡς ἦν δυσδιά- 466
told the matter to their husbands, and when day came a report spread through the city that Clodius had committed sacrilege and owed satisfaction, not only to those whom he had insulted, but also to the city and to the gods. Accordingly, one of the tribunes of the people indicted Clodius for sacrilege, and the most influential senators leagued themselves together and bore witness against him that, among other shocking abominations, he had committed adultery with his sister, who was the wife of Lucullus. But against the eager efforts of these men the people arrayed themselves in defence of Clodius, and were of great assistance to him with the jurors in the case, who were terror-stricken and afraid of the multitude. Caesar divorced Pompeia at once, but when he was summoned to testify at the trial, he said he knew nothing about the matters with which Clodius was charged. His statement appeared strange, and the prosecutor therefore asked, “Why, then, didst thou divorce thy wife?” “Because,” said Caesar, “I thought my wife ought not even to be under suspicion.”

Some say that Caesar made this deposition honestly; but according to others it was made to gratify the people, who were determined to rescue Clodius. At any rate, Clodius was acquitted of the charge, the majority of the jurors giving their verdicts in illegible writing, in order that they might neither risk their lives with the populace by condemning him, nor get a bad name among the nobility by acquitting him.¹

XI. Immediately after his praetorship Caesar received Spain as his province, and since he found it

¹ The sacrilege and trial of Clodius are described at length also in the Cicero, chapters xxviii. and xxix.
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

θετον αυτῷ τὸ περὶ τοὺς δανειστὰς ἐνοχλοῦντας ἐξίοντι καὶ καταβοῶντας, ἐπὶ Κράσσουν κατέφυγε πλουσιώτατον ὅντα Ῥωμαίων, δεόμενον δὲ τῆς Καίσαρος ἀκμῆς καὶ θερμότητος ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς Πομπῆίου ἀντιπολίτειαν. ἀναδεξαμένου δὲ τοῦ Κράσσου τοὺς μάλιστα χαλεποὺς καὶ ἀπαραίτητος τῶν δανειστῶν καὶ διεγγυήσαντος ὀκτακοσίων καὶ τριάκοντα ταλάντων, οὕτως ἔξηλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν.

2 Δέγεται δὲ, τὰς Ἀλπεῖς ὑπερβάλλοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ πολίχνιον τι βαρβαρικόν οἰκούμενον ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων παντάπασιν ὄλγον καὶ λυπρὸν παρερχομένου, τοὺς ἐταίρους ἀμα γέλωτι καὶ μετὰ παιδίας "Ἡ ποινή" φάναι "κανταῦθα τινὲς εἰσὶν ὑπὸ ἁρχῶν φιλοτιμίαι καὶ περὶ πρωτείων ἀμιλλαϊ καὶ φθόνοι τῶν δυνατῶν πρὸς ἄλληλους;" τὸν δὲ Καίσαρα σπουδάσαντα πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰπεῖν, "Ἐγὼ μὲν ἐβουλόμην παρὰ τούτοις εἶναι μᾶλλον πρῶτος ἡ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις δεύτερος." ὅμως δὲ πάλιν ἐν Ἰβηρία σχολῆς οὕσης ἀναγνώσκοντα τι τῶν περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου γεγραμμένων σφόδρα γενέσθαι πρὸς ἐαυτῷ πολύν χρόνον, εἶτα καὶ δα κρύσαι τῶν δὲ φίλων θαυμασάντων τὴν αἰτίαν εἰπεῖν. "Οὐ δοκεῖ ὕμιν ἄξιον εἶναι λύπης, εἰ τηλεκοῦτος μὲν ὄν Ἀλεξάνδρος ἤδη τοσούτων ἔβασιλευεν, ἐμοὶ δὲ λαμπρὸν οὐδὲν οὕτω πέπρακται;"

XII. Τῆς γοῦν Ἰβηρίας ἐπιβάς εὐθὺς ἦν ἐνεργός, ὡσθ' ἡμέραις οἰλίγαις δέκα σπείρας συναγαγεὶν πρὸς ταῖς πρότερον οὕσας εἴκοσι, καὶ στρατεύσας ἐπὶ Καλλαίκους καὶ Λυσιτανοὺς κρα-

1 Early in 61 B.C.
hard to arrange matters with his creditors, who obstructed his departure and were clamorous, he had recourse to Crassus, the richest of the Romans, who had need of Caesar's vigour and fire for his political campaign against Pompey. And it was only after Crassus had met the demands of the most importunate and inexorable of these creditors and given surety for eight hundred and thirty talents, that Caesar could go out to his province.  

We are told that, as he was crossing the Alps and passing by a barbarian village which had very few inhabitants and was a sorry sight, his companions asked with mirth and laughter, "Can it be that here too there are ambitious strifes for office, struggles for primacy, and mutual jealousies of powerful men?" Whereupon Caesar said to them in all seriousness, "I would rather be first here than second at Rome." In like manner we are told again that, in Spain, when he was at leisure and was reading from the history of Alexander, he was lost in thought for a long time, and then burst into tears. His friends were astonished, and asked the reason for his tears. "Do you not think," said he, "it is matter for sorrow that while Alexander, at my age, was already king of so many peoples, I have as yet achieved no brilliant success?"  

XII. At any rate, as soon as he reached Spain he set himself to work, and in a few days raised ten cohorts in addition to the twenty which were there before. Then he led his army against the Callaici

2 Suetonius (Div. Jul. 7) and Dio Cassius (xxxvii. 52, 2) connect this anecdote more properly with Caesar's quaestorship in Spain (67 B.C.), when he was thirty-three years of age, the age at which Alexander died.
τῆς αἰ τειχεῖν ἀρχι τῆς ἔσω θαλάσσας τὰ μὴ πρῶτον ὑπακούοντα Ρωμαίοις ἔθνη κατα-
στρεφόμενοι. θέμενος δὲ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου καλῶς,
οὐ χείρων ἐβράβευε τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης, ὀμόνοιαν τε
tαῖς πόλεσι καθιστάς, καὶ μάλιστα τὰς τῶν
χρεωφειλητῶν καὶ δανειστῶν ἱώμενος διαφοράς.

2 ἔταξε γὰρ τῶν προσιόντων τοὺς ὀφείλοντο καθ'
ἐκαστὸν ἐνιαυτὸν δύο μὲν μέρη τῶν δανειστὴν
ἀναρείσθαι, τῷ δὲ λοιπῷ χρῆσθαι τὸν δεσπότην,
ἀρχι ἂν οὕτως ἐκλυθῇ τὸ δάνειον. ἐπὶ τούτοις
ἐυδοκιμῶν ἀπηλλάγη τῆς ἐπαρχίας, αὐτὸς τε
πλούσιος γεγονὼς καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ὀφεληκὼς
ἀπὸ τῶν στρατευῶν, καὶ προσηγορευμένος αὐτο-
κράτωρ ὑπ' αὐτῶν.

XIII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς μὲν μνωμένους θρίαμβου
ἔσω διατρίβειν ἐδεί, τοὺς δὲ μετιόντας ὑπατειαν
παρόντας ἐν τῇ πόλει τούτῳ πράττειν, ἐν τοιαύτῃ
γεγονὼς ἀντινομία καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰς τὰς ὑπατικάς
ἀφιγμένος ἀρχαιρεσίας ἐπεμψε πρὸς τὴν σύνκλη-
tον αἰτούμενος αὐτῷ δοθῆναι παραγγέλλειν εἰς
ὑπατειάν ἀπόντι διὰ τῶν φίλων. Κάτωνος δὲ
πρῶτον μὲν ἰσχυριζομένου τῷ νόμῳ πρὸς τὴν
ἀξίωσιν, εἰτα, ὡς ἐώρα πολλοὺς τεθεραπευμένους
ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἐκκρούσαντος τῷ χρόνῳ τὸ
πράγμα καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ λέγειν καταρρί-
ψαντος, ἔγνω τὸν θρίαμβον ἀφεῖς ὁ Καίσαρ

2 ἔχεσθαι τῆς ὑπατείας. καὶ παρελθὼν εὐθὺς ὑπο-
dύεται πολίτευμα τι πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐξαπα-
tῆσαν πλὴν Κάτωνος. ἢν δὲ τούτῳ διαλλαγή
Πομπηίου καὶ Κράσσου τῶν μέγιστον ἐν τῇ πόλει
dυναμένων· οὐς συναγαγὼν ὁ Καίσαρ εἰς φιλίαν

470
and Lusitani, overpowered them, and marched on as far as the outer sea, subduing the tribes which before were not obedient to Rome. After bringing the war to a successful close, he was equally happy in adjusting the problems of peace, by establishing concord between the cities, and particularly by healing the dissensions between debtors and creditors. For he ordained that the creditor should annually take two thirds of his debtor's income, and that the owner of the property should use the rest, and so on until the debt was cancelled. In high repute for this administration he retired from the province; he had become wealthy himself, had enriched his soldiers from their campaigns, and had been saluted by them as Imperator.

XIII. Now, since those who sued for the privilege of a triumph must remain outside the city, while those who were candidates for the consulship must be present in the city, Caesar was in a great dilemma, and because he had reached home at the very time for the consular elections, he sent a request to the senate that he might be permitted to offer himself for the consulship in absentia, through the agency of his friends. But since Cato began by insisting upon the law in opposition to Caesar's request, and then, when he saw that many senators had been won over by Caesar's attentions, staved the matter off by consuming the day in speaking, Caesar decided to give up the triumph and try for the consulship. So as soon as he entered the city he assumed a policy which deceived everyone except Cato. This policy was to reconcile Pompey and Crassus, the most influential men in the city. These men Caesar brought together in friendship after their quarrel, and by
ἐκ διαφοράς, καὶ τὴν ἀπ’ ἀμφοῖν συνενεγκάμενος ἰσχύν εἰς ἑαυτὸν, ἔργῳ φιλάνθρωπον ἔχοντι προσ-
ηγορίαν ἔλαθε μεταστήσας τὴν πολιτείαν. οὐ γάρ, ὡς οἱ πλείστοι νομίζοντες, ἡ Καύσαρος καὶ
Πομπηίδον διαφορὰ τοὺς ἐμφυλιοὺς ἀπειργάσατο πολέμους, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἡ φιλία, συστάντων ἐπὶ
catalύσει τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας τὸ πρῶτον, εἴτε οὕτως καὶ πρὸς ἄλληλους διαστάντων. Κάτων
dὲ πολλάκις τὰ μέλλοντα προβεστιζόταν περιήν
dυσκόλον μὲν ἀνθρώπον τὸτε καὶ πολυπράγμονοι,
ὕστερον δὲ φρονίμου μὲν, οὐκ εὐτυχοὺς δὲ συμ-
βούλου λαβεῖν δόξαν.

XIV. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ ὁ Καύσαρ ἐν μέσῳ τῆς
Κράσσου καὶ Πομπηίδου φιλίας δορυφορούμενος
eπὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν κατήχη: καὶ λαμπρός ἀνα-
goreveis metὰ Kαλπουργίου Βύβλου καὶ κατα-
stas eis tὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθὺς εἰσέφερε νόμους οὐχ
ὑπάτω προσήκοντας, ἀλλὰ δημάρχῳ τινὶ θρασυ-
tatφ, πρὸς ἱδονὴν τῶν πολλῶν κληρουχίας τινῶς
χώρας καὶ διανομὰς εἰσηγούμενοι. ἐν δὲ τῇ
βουλῆ τῶν καλῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀντικρουσάντων,
pάλαι δεόμενος προφάσεως, ἀνακραγὼν καὶ μαρ-
tυράμενος ὡς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἄκων ἐξελαύνοιτο
therapeūswn ekeivōn ex anagnēs υβρεῖ καὶ χαλε-
poteti tῆs βουλῆs, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξεπήδησε· καὶ
περιστηρᾶμενος ἐνθεὶ μὲν Κράσσου, ἐνθεὶ δὲ
Πομπηίδου, ἡρώτησεν εἰ τοὺς νόμους ἐπαινοῖεν.
3 ἐπανεῖν δὲ φασκόντων, παρεκάλει βοηθεῖν ἐπὶ
touς ἐνίστασθαι μετὰ ξιφῶν ἀπειλοῦντας. ἐκεῖνοι

472
concentrating their united strength upon himself, succeeded, before men were aware of it, and by an act which could be called one of kindness, in changing the form of government. For it was not, as most men supposed, the quarrel between Caesar and Pompey that brought on the civil wars, but rather their friendship, since they worked together for the overthrow of the aristocracy in the first place, and then, when this had been accomplished, they quarrelled with one another. And Cato, who often foretold what was to come of their alliance, got the reputation of a morose and troublesome fellow at the time, but afterwards that of a wise, though unfortunate, counsellor.  

XIV. Caesar, however, encompassed and protected by the friendship of Crassus and Pompey, entered the canvass for the consulship; and as soon as he had been triumphantly elected, along with Calpurnius Bibulus, and had entered upon his office, he proposed laws which were becoming, not for a consul, but for a most radical tribune of the people; for to gratify the multitude he introduced sundry allotments and distributions of land. In the senate the opposition of men of the better sort gave him the pretext which he had long desired, and crying with loud adjurations that he was driven forth into the popular assembly against his wishes, and was compelled to court its favour by the insolence and obstinacy of the senate, he hastened before it, and stationing Crassus on one side of him and Pompey on the other, he asked them if they approved his laws. They declared that they did approve them, whereupon he urged them to give him their aid against those who threatened to oppose

1 Cf. the Pompey, xlvii. 1-5.  
2 In 59 B.C.
δὲ υπισχυοῦστο. Πομπηίος δὲ καὶ προσετείπεν ὡς ἀφίξοτο πρὸς τὰ ξίφη μετὰ τοῦ ξίφους καὶ θυρεοῦν κομίζων. ἐπὶ τούτῳ τοὺς μὲν ἀριστοκρατικοὺς ἦνιασεν, οὐκ ἄξιαν τῆς περὶ αὐτοὺς αἴδον, οὐδὲ τῆς πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον εὐλαβείας πρέπουσαν, ἀλλὰ μανικήν καὶ μειρακιώδη φωνήν ἀκούσαντας, ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἦσθη.

4 Καίσαρ δὲ μειζόνως ἐτι τῆς Πομπηίου δυνάμεως ύποδρατόμενος, ἦν γὰρ αὐτῷ Ἰουλία θυγάτηρ ἐγγεγυμνεῖν Σερούλιον Καιπίων, ταύτην ἐνεγυμνήσε Πομπηίῳ, τῇ δὲ Πομπηίου τῷ Σερούλιῳ δώσειν ἐφησεν, οὐδὲ αὐτὴν ἀνέγγυνον οὐσαν, ἀλλὰ Φαῦστῳ τῷ Σύλλα παιδὶ καθωμολογημένην.

5 ὁλίγω δὲ ὤστερον Καίσαρ ἤγαγετο Καλπουρνίαν θυγατέρα Πείσωνος, τὸν δὲ Πείσωνα κατέστησεν ὕπατον εἰς τὸ μέλλον, ἑνταῦθα δὴ καὶ σφόδρα μαρτυρομένου Κάτωνος καὶ βοῶτος οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν εἶναι, γάμοις διαμαστροπευμένης τῆς ἤγερμονίας καὶ διὰ γυναιῶν εἰς ἑπαρχίας καὶ στρατεύματα καὶ δυνάμεις ἀλλήλους ἀντεισαγόντων.

6 ὁ μὲν ὄσιν συνάρχων τοῦ Καίσαρος Βύβλος, ἐπεὶ κωλύων τοὺς νόμους οὐδὲν ἐπέρασεν, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ἐκκυνδύνευε μετὰ Κάτωνος ἐπὶ τῆς ἁγορᾶς ἀποθανεῖν, ἐγκλεισάμενος οἶκοι τόν τῆς ἁρχῆς χρόνον διετέλεσε. Πομπηίος δὲ γῆμας εὔθυς ἐνεπλησε τήν ἁγορᾶν ὀπλῶν καὶ συνεπεκύρων τῷ δήμῳ τοὺς νόμους, Καίσαρι δὲ τῇ ἐντὸς Ἀλπῶν καὶ τῇ ἐκτὸς ἀπασαν Κελτικῆν, προσθέεις τῷ Ἰλλυρικὸν μετὰ ταγμάτων τεσσάρων εἰς πενταετίαν. Κάτωνα μὲν ὁμο ἐπιχειρήσαντα τούτοις ἀντιλέγειν ἀπῆγεν εἰς φυλακὴν ὁ Καίσαρ, οἰόμενος αὐτὸν ἐπικαλεσθῇ τοὺς δημάρχους. ἐκείνον δὲ
him with swords. They promised him such aid, and Pompey actually added that he would come up against swords with sword and buckler too. At this impulsive and mad speech, unworthy of the high esteem in which Pompey stood and unbecoming to the respect which was due to the senate, the nobility were distressed but the populace were delighted.

Moreover, Caesar tried to avail himself still more of the influence of Pompey. He had a daughter, Julia, who was betrothed to Servilius Caepio. This daughter he betrothed to Pompey, and said he would give Pompey's daughter in marriage to Servilius, although she too was not unbetrothed, but had been promised to Faustus, the son of Sulla. And a little while afterwards Caesar took Calpurnia to wife, a daughter of Piso, and got Piso made consul for the coming year, although here too Cato vehemently protested, and cried out that it was intolerable to have the supreme power prostituted by marriage alliances and to see men helping one another to powers and armies and provinces by means of women.

As for Caesar's colleague, Bibulus, since he availed nothing by obstructing Caesar's laws, but often ran the risk with Cato of being killed in the forum, he shut himself up at home for the remainder of his term of office. Pompey, however, immediately after his marriage, filled the forum with armed men and helped the people to enact Caesar's laws and give him as his consular province Gaul on both sides of the Alps for five years, together with Illyricum and four legions. Cato, of course, tried to speak against these measures, but Caesar had him led off to prison, supposing that he would appeal to the popular tribunes; but when Cato walked off without a word and Caesar
αφώνου βαδίζοντος ὁρῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐ μόνον τῶν κρατιστῶν δυσφόροντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ δημοτικὸν αἴδοι τῆς Κάτωνος ἀρετής σωπῆ καὶ μετὰ κατηφείας ἐπόμενον, αὐτὸς ἐδείηθη κρύφα τῶν δημάρχων ἕνως ἀφελέσθαι τὸν Κάτωνα.

8 Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων συγκλητικῶν ὁλίγοι παντάπασιν αὐτῷ συνήσαν εἰς θουλήν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ δυσχεραίνοντες ἐκποδῶν ἦσαν. εἰπόντος δὲ Κονσίδιον τινὸς τῶν σφόδρα γερόντων ὡς φοβούμενοι τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας οὐ συνέρχοντο, "Τί οὖν," ἔφη ὁ Καῖσαρ, "οὐ καὶ σὺ ταῦτα δεδῶς οἰκουρεῖς;" καὶ ὁ Κονσίδιος ἐπεν. "Ὅτι μὲ ποιεῖ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τὸ γῆρας τὸ γὰρ ἔτι λειπόμενος βίος οὐ πολλῆς ὀλίγος ὑπὲρ δεῖται προνοίας."

9 αἰσχυστὸν δὲ τῶν τότε πολιτευμάτων ἐδοξέων ἐν τῇ Καῖσαρος ὑπατεία δήμαρχον αἱρεθήναι Κλωδίων ἐκείνων, ὧς οὖ ὅ τὰ περὶ τὸν γάμον καὶ τὰς ἀπορρήτους παρευμομήθη πανωχίδας. ἡρέθη δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ Κικέρωνος καταλύσει· καὶ Καῖσαρ οὐ πρότερον ἐξῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἡ καταστασισμάσῃ Κικέρωνα μετὰ Κλωδίου καὶ συνεκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας.

ΧV. Τοιαῦτα μὲν οὐν λέγεται γενέσθαι τὰ πρὸ τῶν Ἰταλίκων. ὁ δὲ τῶν πολέμων οὐς ἐπολέμησε μετὰ ταῦτα, καὶ τῶν στρατευῶν αἷς ἠμερωσατο τὴν Κελτικὴν, χρόνος, ὡσπερ ἄλλην ἀρχὴν λαβόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ καταστάντος εἰς ἐτέραν τινὰ βίον καὶ πραγμάτων καυνῶν ὄδον, οὐκ ἐστὶν ὅτου τῶν μάλιστα τεθαυμασμένων ἐφ' ἱγγειονίᾳ καὶ μεγίστων γεγονότων ἀπολείποντα 2 πολεμιστὴν καὶ στρατηλάτην ἀπέδειξεν αὐτὸν,
saw not only that the most influential men were displeased, but also that the populace, out of respect for Cato's virtue, were following him in silence and with downcast looks, he himself secretly asked one of the tribunes to take Cato out of arrest.

Of the other senators, only a very few used to go with Caesar to the senate; the rest, in displeasure, stayed away. Considius, a very aged senator, once told Caesar that his colleagues did not come together because they were afraid of the armed soldiers. "Why, then," said Caesar, "dost thou too not stay at home out of the same fear?" To this Considius replied: "Because my old age makes me fearless; for the short span of life that is still left me does not require much anxious thought." But the most disgraceful public measure of the time was thought to be the election to the tribuneship, during Caesar's consulate, of the notorious Clodius, who had trespassed upon his rights as a husband, and upon the secret nocturnal vigils. He was elected, however, for the overthrow of Cicero; and Caesar did not go forth upon his campaign until, with the help of Clodius, he had raised a successful faction against Cicero and driven him out of Italy.¹

XV. Such, then, is said to have been the course of Caesar's life before his Gallic campaigns. But the period of the wars which he afterwards fought, and of the campaigns by which he subjugated Gaul, as if he had made another beginning and entered upon a different path of life and one of new achievements, proved him to be inferior as soldier and commander to no one soever of those who have won most admiration for leadership and shown themselves

¹ Cf. the Cicero, chapters xxx. and xxxi.
PLUTARCH’S LIVES


ált’ εἴτε Φαβίους καὶ Σκηπτίωνας καὶ Μετέλλους καὶ τοὺς κατ’ αὐτὸν ἢ μικρὸν ἐμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ, Σύλλαν καὶ Μάριον ἀμφοτέρους τε Δευκούλλους ἢ καὶ Πομπήιον αὐτὸν, οὐ κλέος ὑπουράνιον ἤθει τὸτε παντοίας περὶ πόλεμον ἀρετῆς, παραβάλοι τις, αἱ Καίσαρος ὑπερβάλλουσι πράξεις τὸν μὲν χαλέποτητι τόπων ἐν οἷς ἐπολέμησε, τὸν δὲ μεγέθει χώρας ἢν προσεκτήσατο, τὸν δὲ πλήθει καὶ

3 βία πολεμίων οὖς ἐνίκησε, τὸν δὲ ἀτοπίαις καὶ ἀπιστίαις ἠθῶν ἢ καθωμίλησε, τὸν δὲ ἐπίτευκεία καὶ πραότητι πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλισκομένους, τὸν δὲ δόροις καὶ χάρισι πρὸς τοὺς συστρατευομένους, πάντας δὲ τῷ πλείστας μεμαχήσθαι μάχας καὶ πλείστους ἀνηρρηκέναι τῶν ἀντιαχθέντων. ἦτη γὰρ οὖδὲ δέκα πολεμήσας περὶ Γαλατίαν πόλεις μὲν ὑπὲρ ὀκτακοσίας κατὰ κράτος ἔδει, ἐθνὴ δὲ ἐχειρώσατο τριακόσια, μυρίασι δὲ παραταξάμενος κατὰ μέρος τριακοσίας ἐκατόν μὲν ἐν χερσὶ διέφθειρεν, ἄλλας δὲ τοσαύτας ἐξώγρησεν.

ΧΩ. Εὐνοία δὲ καὶ προθυμία στρατιωτῶν ἐχρήσατο τοσαύτῃ περὶ αὐτὸν ὡστε τοὺς ἐτέρων μηδὲν ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις στρατείαις διαφέροντας ἀμάχους καὶ ἀνυποστάτους φέρεσθαι πρὸς πάν δεινὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς Καίσαρος δόξης. οἶος ἦν τοῦτο μὲν Ἀκίλιος, διὰ ἐν τῇ περὶ Μασσαλίαν ναυμαχίᾳ νεὼς πολεμίας ἐπιβεβηκὼς τὴν μὲν δεξιὰν ἀπεκόπη τηρά μαχαῖρα, τῇ δὲ ἐτέρᾳ τὸν θυρεὸν οὐκ ἀφῆκεν, ἄλλα τύπτων εἰς τὰ πρόσωπα τοὺς
greatest therein. Nay, if one compare him with such men as Fabius and Scipio and Metellus, and with the men of his own time or a little before him, like Sulla, Marius, the two Luculli, or even Pompey himself, whose fame for every sort of military excellence was at this time flowering out and reaching to the skies, Caesar will be found to surpass them all in his achievements. One he surpassed in the difficulty of the regions where he waged his wars; another in the great extent of country which he acquired; another in the multitude and might of the enemies over whom he was victorious; another in the savage manners and perfidious dispositions of the people whom he conciliated; another in his reasonableness and mildness towards his captives; another still in the gifts and favours which he bestowed upon his soldiers; and all in the fact that he fought the most battles and killed the most enemies. For although it was not full ten years that he waged war in Gaul, he took by storm more than eight hundred cities, subdued three hundred nations, and fought pitched battles at different times with three million men, of whom he slew one million in hand to hand fighting and took as many more prisoners.

XVI. His soldiers showed such good will and zeal in his service that those who in their previous campaigns had been in no way superior to others were invincible and irresistible in confronting every danger to enhance Caesar's fame. Such a man, for instance, was Acilius, who, in the sea-fight at Massalia,\(^1\) boarded a hostile ship and had his right hand cut off with a sword, but clung with the other hand to his shield, and dashing it into the faces of

---

\(^1\) Described by Caesar in *Bell. Civ.* ii. 4–7.
πολεμίους ἀπέστρεψε πάντας καὶ τοῦ σκάφους
2 ἐπεκράτησε· τούτῳ δὲ Κάσσιος Σκένας, δς ἐν τῇ
περὶ Δυρράχιον μάχῃ τὸν ὄφθαλμον ἐκκοπεῖς
τοξεύματι, τὸν δὲ ὦμον ὦσῳ καὶ τὸν μηρὸν ἐτέρῳ
διελθαμένοις, τῷ δὲ θυρεῷ βελῶν ἐκατὸν καὶ
τριάκοντα πληγάς ἀναδειγμένος, ἐκάλει τοὺς
πολεμίους ὡς παραδώσων ἑαυτόν. δυεῖν δὲ
προσιόντων, τοῦ μὲν ἀπέκοψε τὸν ὦμον τῇ
μαχαίρᾳ, τὸν δὲ κατὰ τοῦ προσώπου πατάξας
ἀπέστρεψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ διεσώθη τῶν οἰκείων περι-
3 σχόντων. ἐν δὲ Βρεττανίᾳ τῶν πολεμίων εἰς τόπον
ἐλώδη καὶ μεστὸν υδάτων ἐμπεσοῦσι τοῖς πρώ-
τοις ταξιάρχοις ἑπιθεμένων στρατιώτης, Καϊ-
σαρος αὐτοῦ τὴν μάχην ἐφορῶντος, ὠσάμενος εἰς
μέσους καὶ πολλὰ καὶ περίστα τὸλμης ἀποδει-
ξάμενος ἔργα τοὺς μὲν ταξιάρχους ἐσώσε, τῶν
μαρβάρων φυγόντων, αὐτὸς δὲ χαλεπῶς ἐπὶ πᾶσι
διαβαίνον ἐρρίψεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς ὑφάμα τελματώδη,
καὶ μόλις ἀνευ τοῦ θυρεοῦ, τὰ μὲν νηχόμενος, τὰ
4 δὲ βαδίζων, διεπέρασε. θαυμαζόντων δὲ τῶν
περὶ τῶν Καίσαρα καὶ μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ κρανγῆς
ἀπαντῶντων, αὐτὸς εὐ μᾶλα κατηφής καὶ δεδα-
κρυμένος προσέπεσε τῷ Καίσαρι, συγγωνίμην αὐ-
tούμενος ἐπὶ τῷ προέσθαι τῶν θυρεῶν. ἐν δὲ
Διβύη ναῦν ἐλόντες οἱ περὶ Σκητίωνα Καίσαρος,
ἐν ἦ Γράνιος Πέτρων ἐπέτπλει ταμίας ἀποδει-
γμένος, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐποιοῦντο λείαν, τῷ δὲ
tαμίᾳ διδόναι τὴν σωτηρίαν ἔφασαν. ὁ δὲ εἶπὼν
ότι τοῖς Καίσαρος στρατιώταις οὐ λαμβάνειν,
ἄλλα διδόναι σωτηρίαν ἔθους ἐστίν, ἑαυτὸν τῷ
ξίφει πατάξας ἀνείλε. 480
his foes, routed them all and got possession of the vessel. Such a man, again, was Cassius Scaeva, who, in the battle at Dyrrhachium, had his eye struck out with an arrow, his shoulder transfixed with one javelin and his thigh with another, and received on his shield the blows of one hundred and thirty missiles. In this plight, he called the enemy to him as though he would surrender. Two of them, accordingly, coming up, he lopped off the shoulder of one with his sword, smote the other in the face and put him to flight, and came off safely himself with the aid of his comrades.\(^1\) Again, in Britain, when the enemy had fallen upon the foremost centurions, who had plunged into a watery marsh, a soldier, while Caesar in person was watching the battle, dashed into the midst of the fight, displayed many conspicuous deeds of daring, and rescued the centurions, after the Barbarians had been routed. Then he himself, making his way with difficulty after all the rest, plunged into the muddy current, and at last, without his shield, partly swimming and partly wading, got across. Caesar and his company were amazed and came to meet the soldier with cries of joy; but he, in great dejection, and with a burst of tears, cast himself at Caesar's feet, begging pardon for the loss of his shield. Again, in Africa, Scipio captured a ship of Caesar's in which Granius Petro, who had been appointed quaestor, was sailing. Of the rest of the passengers Scipio made booty, but told the quaestor that he offered him his life. Granius, however, remarking that it was the custom with Caesar's soldiers not to receive but to offer mercy, killed himself with a blow of his sword.

\(^1\) Cf. Caesar, \textit{Bell. Civ.} iii. 53
XVII. Τὰ δὲ τοιαύτα λήματα καὶ τὰς φιλοτιμίας αὐτὸς ἀνέθρεψε καὶ κατεσκεύασε Καϊσαρ, πρῶτον μὲν τῷ χαρίζεσθαι καὶ τιμᾶν ἀφειδῶς ἐνδεικνύμενος ὅτι τὸν πλούτον οὐκ εἰς τροφὴν ἤδιαν οὐδὲ τιμᾶς ἡδυπαθείας ἐκ τῶν πολέμων άθροίζει, κοινὰ δὲ ἅθαλα τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας παρ’ αὐτῷ φυλασσόμενα ἀπόκειται, καὶ μέτεστιν ἐκείνῳ τοῦ πλούτειν ὡς τοῖς ἀξίοις τῶν στρατιωτῶν διδοσιν ἔπειτα τῷ πάντα μὲν κύνδυνον ἔκων ψήφιστασθαι, πρὸς μηδένα δὲ τῶν πόνων ἀπαγορεύειν.

2 τὸ μὲν οὖν φιλοκύνδυνον οὐκ ἔθαυμαζόν αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν φιλοτιμίαν· ἢ δὲ τῶν πόνων ὑπομονὴ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος δύναμιν ἐγκαρτερεῖν δοκοῦντος ἐξέπληττεν, ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἔξιν ὡς ἰσχύος καὶ τὴν σάρκα λευκὸς καὶ ἄπαλος καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν νοσόδης καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐπιληπτικοῖς ἐνοχοῖς, ἐν Κορδύβη πρῶτον αὐτῷ τοῦ πάθους, ὥς λέγεται, τούτου προσπεσόντος, οὐ μαλακίας

3 ἐποίησατο τὴν ἀρρωστίαν πρόφασιν, ἀλλὰ θεραπεῖαν τῆς ἀρρωστίας τὴν στρατείαν, ταῖς ἀτρύτοις ὀδοιπορίαις καὶ ταῖς εὐτελείς διαίταις καὶ τῷ θυραυλεῖν ἐνδελεχῶς καὶ ταλαιπωρεῖν ἀπομαχόμενος τῷ πάθει καὶ τῷ σῶμα τηρῶν δυσάλωτον. ἐκομίματο μὲν γε τοὺς πλείστους ὑποσιν ἐν χήμασιν ἢ φορείσοις, εἰς πρᾶξιν τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν κατατιθέμενος, ὥχειτο δὲ μεθ’ ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τὰ φρούρια καὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ τοὺς χάρακας, ἐνὸς αὐτὸ συγκαθημένου παιδὸς τῶν ὑπογράφειν ἀμα διώκοντος εἰθισμένων, ἐνὸς δ’ ἐξόπισθεν ἐφεστηκότος στρατιώτου ξίφος ἔχοντος. συντόνως δὲ ἧλαυνεν οὖτος ὡστε τήν πρώτην ἔξοδον ἀπὸ Ἄρωμης ποιησάμενος ὁγδοαίος ἐπὶ τῶν Ἄρδανὸν ἐλθεῖν.
XVII. Such spirit and ambition Caesar himself created and cultivated in his men, in the first place, because he showed, by his unsparing bestowal of rewards and honours, that he was not amassing wealth from his wars for his own luxury or for any life of ease, but that he treasured it up carefully as a common prize for deeds of valour, and had no greater share in the wealth than he offered to the deserving among his soldiers; and in the second place, by willingly undergoing every danger and refusing no toil. Now, at his love of danger his men were not astonished, knowing his ambition; but that he should undergo toils beyond his body’s apparent power of endurance amazed them, because he was of a spare habit, had a soft and white skin, suffered from distemper in the head, and was subject to epileptic fits, a trouble which first attacked him, we are told, in Corduba. Nevertheless, he did not make his feeble health an excuse for soft living, but rather his military service a cure for his feeble health, since by wearisome journeys, simple diet, continuously sleeping in the open air, and enduring hardships, he fought off his trouble and kept his body strong against its attacks. Most of his sleep, at least, he got in cars or litters, making his rest conducive to action, and in the day-time he would have himself conveyed to garrisons, cities, or camps, one slave who was accustomed to write from dictation as he travelled sitting by his side, and one soldier standing behind him with a sword. And he drove so rapidly that, on his first journey from Rome to Gaul, he reached the Rhone in seven days.
Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἵππευεν ἐκ παιδὸς ἢν αὐτῷ ράδιον· εἰδιστὸ γὰρ εἰς τοῦπίσω τὰς χεῖρας ἀπώγων καὶ τῷ νότῳ περιπλέκων ἀνὰ κράτος ἐλαύνειν τὸν ἵππον. ἐν ἐκείνῃ δὲ τῇ στρατείᾳ προσεξήκησεν ἵππαξόμενος τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ὑπαγορεύειν καὶ δυσίν ὁμοῖ γράφουσιν ἐξαρκεῖν, ὡς δὲ Ἀπτίτος 5 φησὶ, καὶ πλείοσι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὸ διὰ γραμμάτων τοῖς φίλοις ὁμιλεῖν Καίσαρα πρῶτον μηχανήσασθαι, τὴν κατὰ πρόσωπον ἐντευξίν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπειγόντων τοῦ καιροῦ διὰ τε πλῆθος ἁγωνιῶν καὶ τῆς πόλεως τὸ μέγεθος μὴ περιμένουσον. τῆς δὲ περὶ τὴν δίαιταν εὐκολίας κάκεινο ποιοῦνται σημείον, ὅτι τοῦ δειπνίζοντος αὐτὸν ἐν Μεδιολάνῳ ξένου Ὀναλλερίῳ Λέόντος παραβέντος ἀσπάραγον καὶ μύρον ἀντ' ἐλαιῶν καταχέαντος, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀφελῶς ἑφαγε, τοῖς δὲ φίλοις δυσχεραί- 6 νουσιν ἐπεπληξεν. "Ἡρκει γὰρ," ἔφη, "τὸ μὴ χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἀπαρέσκουσιν· ὡς δὲ τὴν τοιαύτην ἀγροκίμιαν ἐξελέγχων αὐτός ἔστιν ἄγροικος." ἐν οἴῳ δὲ ποτε συνελασθεῖς ὑπὸ χειμῶνος εἰς ἔπαυλαν ἀνθρώπου πένητος, ὡς οὐδέν εὑρὲ πλέων οἰκή- ματος ἑνὸς γλύσχρως ἕνα δέξασθαι δυναμένου, πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰπὼν ὡς τῶν μὲν ἐντίμων παρα- χωρητέου εἰς τοὺς κρατίστους, τῶν δὲ ἀναγκαίων τοῖς ἀσθενεστάτοις, Ὄππιον ἐκέλευσεν ἀναπαύ- σασθαι· αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπὸ τὸ προ- στεγώ τῆς θύρας ἐκάθευδεν.

XVIII. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁ μὲν πρῶτος αὐτῷ τῶν Κελτικῶν πολέμων πρὸς Ἑλβητίους συνέστη καὶ Τιγυρίνους, οἱ τὰς αὐτῶν δώδεκα πόλεις καὶ κώμας τετρακοσίας ἐμπρήσαντες ἔχοντον πρόσω

484
Horsemanship, moreover, had been easy for him from boyhood; for he was wont to put his hands behind his back and, holding them closely there, to ride his horse at full speed. And in the Gallic campaigns he practised dictating letters on horseback and keeping two scribes at once busy, or, as Oppius says, even more. We are told, moreover, that Caesar was the first to devise intercourse with his friends by letter, since he could not wait for personal interviews on urgent matters owing to the multitude of his occupations and the great size of the city. Of his indifference in regard to his diet the following circumstance also is brought in proof. When the host who was entertaining him in Mediolanum, Valerius Leo, served up asparagus dressed with myrrh instead of olive oil, Caesar ate of it without ado, and rebuked his friends when they showed displeasure. "Surely," said he, "it were enough not to eat what you don't like; but he who finds fault with ill-breeding like this is ill-bred himself." Once, too, upon a journey, he and his followers were driven by a storm into a poor man's hut, and when he found that it consisted of one room only, and that one barely able to accommodate a single person, he said to his friends that honours must be yielded to the strongest, but necessities to the weakest, and bade Oppius lie down there, while he himself with the rest of his company slept in the porch.

XVIII. But to resume, the first of his Gallic wars was against the Helvetii and Tigurini, who had set fire to their twelve cities and four hundred villages and were advancing through that part of Gaul which

1 Cf. Caesar, Bell. Gall. i. 2–29.
διὰ τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους Γαλατίας, ὡσπερ πάλαι Κύμβρου καὶ Τεύτωνες, οὔτε τόλμαν ἐκείνων ὑπο-
δεέστεροι δοκούντες εἶναι καὶ πλήθος ὁμαλῶς 
τριάκοντα μὲν αἱ πᾶσαι μυριάδες οὕτε, εἶκοσι δὲ 
2 αἱ μαχόμεναι μᾶς δέουσαι. τούτων Ἡγυρίουν 
μὲν οὐκ αὐτὸς, ἀλλὰ Δαβινὸς πεμφθεὶς ὑπ᾽ 
αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸν Ἀραρα ποταμὸν συνέτριψεν, 
Ἑλβητίων δὲ αὐτῶ πρὸς τινα πόλιν φίλην 
ἀγοντι τῇ στρατιᾷ καθ᾽ ὁδὸν ἀποσδοκήτως 
ἐπιθεμένων φθάσας ἐπὶ χωρίον καρτερὸν κατέ-
φυσε. κάκει συναγαγὼν καὶ παρατάξας τῇ 
ὁψαμμίν, ὡς ἰππὸς αὐτῷ προσῆχθη, “Τούτῳ 
μέν;” ἐφη, “νικῆσας χρήσομαι πρὸς τῇ δίωξιν, 
μὲν δὲ ίσωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους,” καὶ πεζὸς 
3 ὀρμῆσας ἐνέβαλε. χρόνῳ δὲ καὶ χαλεπώς 
ὡσάμενος τὸ μάχιμον περὶ ταῖς ἀμάξισι καὶ 
τῷ χώρακι τὸν πλείστον ἐσχε πόλον, οὐκ αὐτῶν 
μόνων ὑφισταμένων ἐκεῖ καὶ μαχομένων, ἀλλὰ 
καὶ παιδές αὐτῶν καὶ γυναικὲς ἀμυνόμενοι μέχρι 
θανάτου συγκατεκόπησαν, ὡσε τῇ μάχῃ μόλις 
4 εἰς μέσας νύκτας τελευτήσαι. καλὸ δὲ τῷ τῆς 
νύκης ἔργῳ κρείττον ἐπέθηκε τὸ συνοικίσαι τοὺς 
diaφυγόντας ἐκ τῆς μάχης τῶν περιόπτων βαρ-
βαρών, καὶ καταναγκάσαι τὴν χώραν ἀναλαβεῖν 
ἤν ἀπέλιπον καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἃς διέφθειραν, ὄντας 
ὑπὲρ δίκα μυριάδας. ἐπραξε δὲ τούτῳ δεδώς 
μὴ τὴν χώραν ἔρημον γενομένην οἱ Γερμανοὶ δια-
βάντες κατάσχωσι.

XIX. Δεύτερον δὲ πρὸς Γερμανοὺς ἀντικρυ 
ὑπὲρ Κελτῶν ἐπολέμησε, καὶ τοιὸν βασιλέα 
πρότερον αὐτῶν Ἀριόβιστον ἐν Ῥώμη σύμμαχον

486
was subject to the Romans, as once the Cimbri and Teutones had done. To these they were thought to be not inferior in courage and of equal numbers, being three hundred thousand in all, of whom one hundred and ninety thousand were fighting men. The Tigurini were crushed at the river Arar, not by Caesar himself, but by Labienus, his deputy; the Helvetii, however, unexpectedly attacked Caesar himself on the march, as he was leading his forces towards a friendly city, but he succeeded in reaching a strong place of refuge. Here, after he had collected and arrayed his forces, a horse was brought to him. “This horse,” said he, “I will use for the pursuit after my victory; but now let us go against the enemy,” and accordingly led the charge on foot. After a long and hard struggle he routed the enemy’s fighting men, but had the most trouble at their rampart of waggons, where not only did the men themselves make a stand and fight, but also their wives and children defended themselves to the death and were cut to pieces with the men. The battle was hardly over by midnight. To the noble work of victory Caesar added a nobler still, that of settling those of the Barbarians who had escaped alive from the battle (there were more than one hundred thousand of them), and compelling them to resume the territory which they had abandoned and the cities which they had destroyed. He did this because he feared that if the territory became vacant the Germans would cross the Rhine and occupy it.

XIX. His second war, directly in defence of the Gauls, was against the Germans,\(^1\) although previously, in Rome, he had made their king Ariovistus

\(^1\) Cf. Caesar, B. G. i. 30–53.
πεποιημένος· ἀλλ' ἦσαν ἀφόρητοι τοῖς ὑπηκόοις αὐτοῦ γείτονες, καὶ καὶροῦ παραδόντος οὐκ ἂν ἐδόκουν ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀτρεμήσειν, ἀλλ' ἑπενεμῆσθαι καὶ καθέξειν τὴν Γαλατίαν. ἢρων δὲ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἀποδειλιῶντας, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ νέων αὐτῶν συνεξῆλθον ὡς δὴ τρυφὴ χρησόμενοι καὶ χρηματισμῷ τῇ μετὰ Καίσαρος στρατείᾳ, συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἐκέλευσεν ἀπιέναι καὶ μὴ κινδυνεύειν παρὰ γνώμην οὕτως ἀνάνδρως καὶ μαλακῶς ἕχοντας, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐφὶ τὸ δέκατον τάγμα μόνον παραλαβὼν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους πορεύσεσθαι, μήτε κρείττοσι μέλλων Κίμβρων μάχεσθαι πολεμίοις μήτε αὐτὸς ὅν Μαρίον χείρων στρατηγὸς. ἐκ τούτου τὸ μὲν δέκατον τάγμα πρεσβευτὰς ἐπεμψε πρὸς αὐτὸν χάριν ἔχειν ὀμολογοῦντες, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἐκάκιζον ἡγεμόνας, ὁρμής δὲ καὶ προθυμίας γειόμενοι πλῆρεις ἀπαντεῖς ἡκολουθοῦν ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν πολλῶν, ἔως ἐν διακοσίοις τῶν πολεμίων σταδίοις κατεστρατοπέδευσαν.

Ἡν μὲν οὖν ὁ τι καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐφοδοῦ αὐτὴν ἑτέθραυστο τῆς γνώμης τοῦ Ἀριστοτήμων. Γερμανοὶς γὰρ ἐπιθῆσεσθαι Ῥωμαίους, δὲν ἐπερχομένους οὐκ ἂν ἐδόκουν ὑποστῆναι, μὴ προσδοκήσας ἑθαύμαζε τὴν Καίσαρος τόλμαν καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἑώρᾳ τεταραγμένον. ἔτι δὲ μάλλον αὐτοὺς ἦμβλυνε τὰ μαντεύματά τῶν ἱερῶν γυναικῶν, αἱ ποταμῶν δίναις προσβλέπουσαι καὶ ῥευμάτων ἐλιγμοῖς καὶ ψόφοις τεκμαρόμεναι προεθέσπιζον.
an ally.¹ But they were intolerable neighbours of Caesar's subjects, and if an opportunity presented itself it was thought that they would not remain quietly in their present homes, but would encroach upon and occupy Gaul. Seeing that his officers were inclined to be afraid, and particularly all the young men of high rank who had come out intending to make the campaign with Caesar an opportunity for high living and money-making, he called them together² and bade them be off; since they were so unmanly and effeminate, and not force themselves to face danger; as for himself, he said he would take the tenth legion alone and march against the Barbarians; the enemy would be no better fighters than the Cimbri, and he himself was no worse a general than Marius. Upon this the tenth legion sent a deputation to him, expressing their gratitude, while the other legions reviled their own commanders, and all the army, now full of impetuous eagerness, followed Caesar on a march of many days, and at last encamped within two hundred furlongs of the enemy.

Now, the very approach of Caesar somewhat shattered the purpose of Ariovistus. For he did not expect that the Romans would attack the Germans, whose onset he thought they could not withstand, and he was amazed at the boldness of Caesar; besides, he saw that his own army was disturbed. Still more, too, was the spirit of the Germans blunted by the prophecies of their holy women, who used to foretell the future by observing the eddies in the rivers and by finding signs in the whirlings and

¹ Acting as consul, in 59 B.C.
² Cf. Caesar, B.G. i. 40.
οὐκ ἐδώσαι μάχην τίθεσθαι πρὶν ἐπιλάμψαι νέαν
σελήνην. ταῦτα τῷ Καίσαρι πινθανομένῳ καὶ
touς Γερμανοὺς ἱσυχάζοντας ὅρωτι καλῶς ἔχειν
ἐδοξεῖν ἀπροθύμους οὕσιν αὑτοὶς συμβαλεῖν μᾶλ-
λον ἢ τῶν ἐκείνων ἀναμένοντα καίρον καθῆσθαι.
καὶ προσβολὰς ποιούμενος τοῖς ἐρύμασι καὶ
λόφοις ἐφ’ ὅν ἐστρατοπέδευσιν, ἐξηγρίασιν καὶ
παρώξυνε καταβάντας πρὸς ὀργὴν διαγωνισθῆσαι.
γενομένης δὲ λαμπρῶς τροπῆς αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ σταδί-
ους τετρακοσίους ἀχρὶ τοῦ 'Ῥήμου διώξει κατέ-
πλησε τούτο πάν νεκρῶν τὸ πεδίον καὶ λαφύρων.
"Ἀριστιστος δὲ φθάσας μετ’ ὀλίγον διεπέρασε
tῶν 'Ῥήμου ἀριθμὸν δὲ νεκρῶν μυριάδας ὅκτω
γενέσθαι λέγουσι.

ΧΧ. Ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος τὴν μὲν δύναμιν
ἐν Σηκουανοῖς ἀπέλυτε διαχειμάσοντα, αὐτὸς
δὲ τοῖς ἐν 'Ῥώμῃ προσέχειν βουλόμενος εἰς τὴν
περὶ Πάδου Γαλατίαν κατέβη, τῆς αὐτῷ δεδο-
μένης ἐπαρχίας οὕσαν’ ὁ γὰρ καλούμενος Ῥου-
βίκων ποταμὸς ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπὸ ταῖς "Ἀλπεσί
2 Κελτικὴς ὅριζε τήν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν. εὐτάθα
καθήμενος ἐδημαγώγηε, πολλῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄφι-
κοινομένων, διδοὺς ὅν ἐκαστός δειθεῖ, καὶ πάντας
ἀποτέμπων τὰ μὲν ἔχοντας ἑδῆ παρ’ αὐτοῦ, τὰ
dὲ ἐπιξύνας. καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ πάντα
tῆς στρατείας χρόνου ἑλάνθανε τὸν Πομπῆίον
ἐν μέρει νῦν μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους τοῖς τῶν πολιτῶν
ὀπλοῖς καταστρεφόμενος, νῦν δὲ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν
πολεμίων χρήμασιν αἱρῶν τοὺς πολίτας καὶ
χειρούρμενος.
3 Ἐπεὶ δὲ Βέλγας ἡκουσε δυνατωτάτους Κολτῶν
καὶ τὴν τρίτην ἀπάσης τῆς Κελτικῆς νεμομένους
490
splashings of the waters, and now forbade joining battle before a new moon gave its light. When Caesar learned this, and saw that the Germans kept quiet, he decided that it was a good plan to engage them while they were out of heart, rather than to sit still and wait for their time. So, by attacking their entrenchments and the hills on which they were encamped, he irritated them and incited them to come down in anger and fight the issue out. They were signally routed, and Caesar pursued them a distance of four hundred furlongs, as far as the Rhine, and filled all the intervening plain with dead bodies and spoils. Ariovistus, with a few followers, succeeded in crossing the Rhine; his dead are said to have been eighty thousand in number.

XX. After this achievement, Caesar left his forces among the Sequani to spend the winter, while he himself, desirous of giving attention to matters at Rome, came down to Gaul along the Po, which was a part of the province assigned to him; for the river called Rubicon separates the rest of Italy from Cisalpine Gaul. Here he fixed his quarters and carried on his political schemes. Many came to see him, and he gave each one what he wanted, and sent all away in actual possession of some of his favours and hoping for more. And during all the rest of the time of his campaigns in Gaul, unnoticed by Pompey, he was alternately subduing the enemy with the arms of the citizens, or capturing and subduing the citizens with the money which he got from the enemy.

But when he heard that the Belgae, who were the most powerful of the Gauls and occupied the third

---

1 The winter of 58–57 B.C.
2 Cf. Caesar, B.G. 1. 54: ipse in citeriorem Galliam ad conventus agendos profectus est.
ἀφεστάναι, πολλὰς δὴ τινας μυριάδας ἐνόπλων ἀνδρῶν ἡθροικότας, ἐπιστρέψας εὐθὺς ἔχωρει τάχει πολλῶν καὶ πορθοῦσι τοὺς συμμάχους Γαλάτας ἐπιπέσων τοὺς πολεμίους τοὺς μὲν ἀθροιστάτους καὶ πλείστους αἰσχρῶς ἀγωνισμένους τρεψάμενοι διέφθειρεν, ὡστε καὶ λίμνας καὶ ποταμοὺς βαθεῖς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις νεκρῶν πλῆθει περατοὺς γενέσθαι, τῶν δ’ ἀποστάντων οἱ μὲν παρωκεάνιοι πάντες ἀμαχεὶ προσεχώρησαν· ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἀγριωτάτους καὶ μαχιμωτάτους τῶν τηδεῖ, Νερβίους, ἐστράτευσεν, οὐπερ εἰς συμμιγεῖς δρυμοὺς κατωκημένοι, γενεὰς δὲ καὶ κτήσεις ἐν τινὶ βυθῶ τῆς ὕλης ἀπωτάτω θέμενοι τῶν πολεμίων, αὐτὸι τῷ Καίσαρι ποιουμένῳ χάρακα καὶ μὴ προσδεχομένῳ τηνικαῦτα τὴν μάχην ἔξαικισμύριοι τὸ πλῆθος ὅντες αἰφνιδίως προσέπεσον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἱππεῖς ἐτρέψαντο, τῶν δὲ ταγμάτων τὸ δωδεκάτον καὶ τὸ ἔβδομον περισχόντες ἀπαντας ἀπέκτειναν τοὺς ταξιάρχους. εἰ δὲ μὴ Καίσαρ ἄρπασας τὸν θυρεῶν καὶ διασχῶν τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ μαχομένους ἐνέβαλε τοῖς Βαρβάροις, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων τὸ δέκατον κινδυνεύοντος αὐτοῦ κατέδραμε καὶ διέκοψε τὰς τάξεις τῶν πολεμίων, οὐδέις ἂν δοκεῖ περιγενέσθαι· νῦν δὲ τῇ Καίσαρος τόλμη τὴν λειωμένην ὑπὲρ δύναμιν μάχην ἀγωνισάμενοι τρέπονται μὲν οὖν ὅς τοὺς Νερβίους, κατακόπτουσι δὲ ἀμυνομένους· πεντακόσιοι γὰρ ἀπὸ μυριάδων ἐξ σωθῆναι λέγονται, βουλευταὶ δὲ τρεῖς ἀπὸ τετρακοσίων.
part of all their country, had revolted, and had assembled unknown myriads of armed men, he turned back at once and marched thither with great speed.¹ He fell upon the enemy as they were plundering the Gauls that were in alliance with Rome, and so routed and destroyed the least scattered and most numerous of them, after a disgraceful struggle on their part, that the Romans could cross lakes and deep rivers for the multitude of dead bodies in them. All the rebels who dwelt along the ocean submitted without a battle; against the Nervii, however, the most savage and warlike of the people in these parts, Caesar led his forces. The Nervii, who dwelt in dense woods, and had placed their families and possessions in a recess of the forest at farthest remove from the enemy, at a time when Caesar was fortifying a camp and did not expect the battle, fell upon him suddenly, sixty thousand strong. They routed his cavalry, and surrounded the seventh and twelfth legions and slew all their centurions, and had not Caesar snatched a shield,² made his way through the combatants in front of him, and hurled himself upon the Barbarians; and had not the tenth legion, at sight of his peril, run down from the heights and cut the ranks of the enemy to pieces, not a Roman, it is thought, would have survived. As it was, however, owing to Caesar's daring, they fought beyond their powers, as the saying is, and even then did not rout the Nervii, but cut them down as they defended themselves; for out of sixty thousand only five hundred are said to have come off alive, and only three of their senators out of four hundred.

¹ Caesar's campaign against the Belgae, in 57 B.C., is described by himself in B.G. ii. 1-33.
² Scuto ab novissimis uni militi detracto (B.G. ii. 25, 2).
XXI. Ταύτα ἢ σύγκλητος πυθομένη πεντεκαί- 
δέκα ἡμέρας ἐψηφίσατο θυεῖν τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ 
σχολάζειν ἐορτάζοντας, ὡςας ἐπ' οὖνεμιὰ νύκη 
πρότερον. καὶ γὰρ ὁ κίνδυνος ἐφάνη μέγας, 
ἐθνῶν ἀμα τοσούτων ἀναρραγέντων, καὶ τὸ νίκημα 
λαμπρότερον, ὅτι Καῖσαρ ἦν ὁ νικῶν, ἡ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον εὐνοία τῶν πολλῶν ἐποίει. Καῖσαρ δ' 
αὐτὸς ἡμέρας τὰ κατὰ τὴν Γαλατίαν πάλιν 
ἐν τοῖς περὶ Πάδου χωρίοις διεσχιμάζει συσκευα- 
2 ξόμενοι τὴν πόλιν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον οἱ τὰς ἀρχὰς 
παραγγέλλοντες ἐκεῖνο ἤρωμενοι ἠρωγιὰ καὶ 
τοῖς παρε ἐκεῖνον χρήμασι διαφθείροντες τὸν 
δήμον ἀνηγορεύοντο, καὶ πᾶν ἔπραττον ὁ τὴν 
ἐκεῖνον δύναμιν αὐξεῖν ἔμελλεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν 
ἐπιφανεστάτων ἀνδρῶν καὶ μεγίστων οἱ πλεῖστοι 
συνήθθησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς Δοῦκαν, Πομπηίος τε 
καὶ Κράσσος καὶ Ἀππίος ὁ τῆς Σαρδόνος ἤγεμῶν 
καὶ Νέπως ὁ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἀνθύπατος, ὡστε 
ῥαβδούχους μὲν ἐκατον εἰκοσὶ γενέσθαι, συγκλη- 
tικοῦς δὲ πλείονας ἡ διακοσίους. 
3 Βουλὴν δὲ θέμενοι διεκρίθησαν ἐπὶ τοῦτοις' 
ἐδει Πομπηίοις μὲν καὶ Κράσσον ὑπάτως ἀποδει-
χθῆναι, Καῖσαρι δὲ χρήματα καὶ πεντετείαν ἄλλην 
ἐπιμετρηθῆναι τῆς στρατηγίας, ὡς καὶ παραλογώ-
tατον ἐφαίνετο τοῖς νοῦν ἑχοσίν. οἱ γὰρ το-
σαῦτα χρήματα παρὰ Καῖσαρος λαμβάνοντες ὡς 
οὐκ ἑχοντι διδόναι τὴν βουλὴν ἔπειθον, μᾶλλον 
δὲ ἡνάγκαζον ἐπιστένουσαν οἷς ἐψηφίζοντο, Καῖσ-
4 νος μὲν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν, ἐπίτηδες γὰρ αὐτὸν εἰς 

1 Καῖσαρ δ' αὐτὸς Sint.2; αὐτὸς δ' Bekker; καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς 
MSS., Sint.1, and Coraës.

494
XXI. The Roman senate, on learning of these successes, decreed sacrifices to the gods and cessation from business, with festival, for fifteen days, a greater number than for any victory before.¹ For the danger was seen to have been great when so many nations at once had broken out in revolt, and because Caesar was the victor, the good will of the multitude towards him made his victory more splendid. Caesar himself, after settling matters in Gaul, again spent the winter² in the regions along the Po, carrying out his plans at Rome. For not only did the candidates for office there enjoy his assistance, and win their elections by corrupting the people with money from him, and do everything which was likely to enhance his power, but also most of the men of highest rank and greatest influence came to see him at Luca,³ including Pompey, Crassus, Appius the governor of Sardinia, and Nepos the proconsul of Spain, so that there were a hundred and twenty lictors in the place and more than two hundred senators.

They held a council and settled matters on the following basis. Pompey and Crassus were to be elected consuls for the ensuing year, and Caesar was to have money voted him, besides another five years in his provincial command. This seemed very strange to men of understanding. For those who were getting so much money from Caesar urged the senate to give him money as if he had none, nay rather, they forced it to do so, though it groaned over its own decrees. Cato, indeed, was not there, for he had purposely been sent out of the way on a

¹ Quod ante id tempus accidit nulli (Caesar, B.G. ii. 35, 4).
² 57–56 B.C. Cf. the Pompey, li. 3 f.
³ In April of 56 B.C.
Kύπρον ἀπεδιοπομπήσαντο, Φαωνίου δέ, ὃς ἦν ξηλωτής Κάτωνος, ὡς οὐδὲν ἐπέραινεν ἀντι- λέγων, ἐξαλλομένου διὰ θυρῶν καὶ βοῶντος εἰς τὸ πλήθος. ἀλλὰ προσείχεν οὖνείς, τῶν μὲν Πομπηίου αἰδοῦμένων καὶ Κράσσων, οἱ δὲ πλεί- στοι Καίσαρι χαριζόμενοι καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀπ’ ἑκείνου ἄκτως ἐλπίδας ἕσπεραξάντων.

XXII. Τραπόμενος δὲ αὖθις ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Κελτικῇ δυνάμεις τολίν καταλαμβάνει πόλεμον ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, δύο Γερμανικῶν ἑθνῶν μεγάλων ἐπὶ κατακτήσει γῆς ἀρτι τὸν Ρήμων διαβεβηκότων. Οὐσίπτας καλοῦσι τοὺς ἑτέρους, τοὺς δὲ Τεντερίτας. περὶ δὲ τῆς πρὸς τούτους γενομένης μάχης ὃ μὲν Καίσαρ ἐν ταῖς ἐφημερίσι γέγραφεν ὡς οἱ Βάρβαροι διαπρεσβεύμενοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν σπονδαῖς ἐπιθυμοῦντο καθ’ ὀδὸν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τρέψαιντο τοὺς αὐτοῖς πεντακισχίλιους ὄντας ἵππεις ὀκτακοσίων τοῖς ἑκείνων μὴ προσδο- κώντας· εἰτα πέμψειαν ἑτέρους πρὸς αὐτὸν αὖθις ἐξαπατώντας, οὐς κατασχῶν ἑπαγάγοι τοὺς βαρ- βάρους τὸ στράτευμα, τὴν πρὸς οὕτως ἀπίστους καὶ παραστόνδους πίστιν εὐθεῖαν ἡγούμενος.

3 Ταυτόσιος δὲ λέγει Κάτωνα, τῆς Βουλῆς ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ ἡψαλλομένης ἐορτᾶς καὶ θυσίας, ἀποφη- νασθαί γνώμην ὡς ἐκδοτέον ἐστὶ τοῦ Καίσαρα τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἀφοσιούμενος τὸ παραστόνδημα ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν ἀρὰν εἰς τὸν αὖτιον τρέποντας.

Τῶν δὲ διαβάντων αἱ μὲν κατακοπεῖσαι τεσσα- ράκοντα μυριάδες ἦσαν, ὅλιγοι δὲ τοὺς ἀπο-

1 Cf. the Cato Minor, xxxiv.
mission to Cyprus,¹ and Favonius, who was an ardent follower of Cato, finding himself unable to accomplish anything by his opposition, bounded out of doors and clamoured to the populace. But no one gave heed to him, for some were in awe of Pompey and Crassus, and most wanted to please Caesar, lived in hopes of his favours, and so kept quiet.

XXII. On returning to his forces in Gaul,² Caesar found a considerable war in the country, since two great German nations had just crossed the Rhine to possess the land, one called the Usipes,³ the other the Tenteritae.³ Concerning the battle which was fought with them Caesar says in his "Commentaries”⁴ that the Barbarians, while treating with him under a truce, attacked on their march and therefore routed his five thousand cavalry with their eight hundred, since his men were taken off their guard; that they then sent other envoys to him who tried to deceive him again, but he held them fast and led his army against the Barbarians, considering that good faith towards such faithless breakers of truces was folly. But Tanusius says that when the senate voted sacrifices of rejoicing over the victory, Cato pronounced the opinion that they ought to deliver up Caesar to the Barbarians, thus purging away the violation of the truce in behalf of the city, and turning the curse therefor on the guilty man.

Of those who had crossed the Rhine into Gaul four hundred thousand were cut to pieces, and the

² In 55 B.C. Plutarch passes over Caesar’s campaign of 56 B.C. in Gaul, following the conference at Luca. Caesar describes it in B.G. iii.
³ Caesar calls them Usipetes and Tencteri (B.G. iv. 1).
⁴ B.G. iv. 13.
περάσαντας αὖθις ὑπεδέξαντο Σοῦγαμβροί, Γερ-
μανικὸν ἔθνος. καὶ ταύτην λαβὼν αὐτίαν ἐπὶ
αὐτοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἄλλως δὲ δόξης ἐφιέμενος καὶ
τοῦ πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων στρατῷ διαβήναι τὸν
Ῥήμου, ἔγερθησαν πλίτος τε πολλὰ ἄντα καὶ κατ
ἐκεῖνο τοῦ πόρου μάλιστα πλημμυρόντα καὶ
τραχὺς καὶ ῥοώδη καὶ τοὺς καταφερομένους στε-
λέχεις καὶ ξύλοις πληγᾶς καὶ σπαραγμοὺς
ἐνυδιόντα κατὰ τῶν ἐρειδοντων τὴν γέφυραν.

5 ἀλλὰ ταῦτα προβόλοις ξύλων μεγάλων διὰ τοῦ
πόρου καταπετηγότων ἀναδεχόμενος, καὶ χαλι-
νώσας τὸ προσπίπτον ρεύμα τῷ ξεύγματι, πίστεως
πάσης θέμα κρείττων ἐπεδείξατο τὴν γέφυραν
ἡμέρας δέκα συντελεσθέσαν.

XXIII. Περαιῶσας δὲ τὴν δύναμιν, οὐδενὸς
ύπαντήσαι τολμήσαντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἱγεμονι-
κωτάτων τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Σοῦββων εἰς βαθεῖς
καὶ ύλόδεις αὐλώνας ἀνασκευασμένων, πυρπο-
λήσας μὲν τὴν τῶν πολεμίων, θαρρύνας δὲ τοὺς
ἀεὶ τὰ Ρωμαίων ἀσπαζομένους, ἀνεχώρησεν αὖθις
εἰς τὴν Γαλατίαν, εἴκοσι δυεῖν δεούσας ἡμέρας
ἐν τῇ Γερμανικῇ διατετριφώς.

2 Ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς Βρεττανοὺς στρατεῖα τὴν μὲν
τόλμαν εἰχεν ὀνομαστὴν: πρῶτος γὰρ εἰς τὸν
ἐσπέριον Ωκεανὸν ἐπέβη στόλω, καὶ διὰ τῆς
Ἀτλαντικῆς θαλάττης στρατὸν ἐπὶ πόλεμον κο-
μίζων ἐπλευσε· καὶ νῆσον ἀπιστομένην ύπὸ με-
γέθους καὶ πολλὴν ἔριν παμπόλλοις συγγραφεύς
παρασχοῦσαν, ὡς ὄνομα καὶ λόγος οὖ γενομένης
οὐδὲ οὕσης πέπλασται, κατασχεῖν ἐπιθέμενος
προῆγαγεν ἐξὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης τῆς Ρωμαίων

498
few who succeeded in making their way back were received by the Sugambri, a German nation. This action Caesar made a ground of complaint against the Sugambri, and besides, he coveted the fame of being the first man to cross the Rhine with an army. He therefore began to bridge the river, although it was very broad, and at this point in its course especially swollen, rough, and impetuous, and with the trunks and branches of trees which it bore down stream kept smiting and tearing away the supports of his bridge. But Caesar caught up these trunks and branches with bulwarks of great timbers planted across the stream, and having thus bridled and yoked the dashing current, he brought his bridge—sight beyond all credence—to completion in ten days.

XXIII. He now threw his forces across the river. No one ventured to oppose him, but even the Suevi, who were the foremost nation of the Germans, bestowed themselves and their belongings in deep and woody defiles. Caesar ravaged the country of the enemy with fire, gave encouragement to the constant friends of Rome, and then retired again into Gaul, having spent eighteen days in Germany.

His expedition against the Britanni was celebrated for its daring. For he was the first to launch a fleet upon the western ocean and to sail through the Atlantic sea carrying an army to wage war. The island was of incredible magnitude, and furnished much matter of dispute to multitudes of writers, some of whom averred that its name and story had been fabricated, since it never had existed and did not then exist; and in his attempt to occupy it he carried the Roman supremacy beyond the confines of

1 B.G. iv. 16–19.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

3 ἡγεμονίαν. διὸς δὲ διαπλέυσας εἰς τὴν νῆσον ἐκ τῆς ἀντιπέρας Γαλατίας, καὶ μάχαις πολλαῖς κακώσας τοὺς πολεμίους μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς ἰδίους ὕφελθας, οὐδὲν γὰρ ὁ τι καὶ λαβεῖν ἢν ἄξιον ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων κακοβίων καὶ πενήτων, οὐχ οἶον ἐβούλετο τῷ πολέμῳ τέλος ἐπέθηκεν, ἀλλ' ὀμή-ρους λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ταξάμενος φόρους ἀπήρευ ἐκ τῆς νῆσου.

4 Καὶ καταλαμβάνει γράμματα μέλλοντα δια-πλεύν πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Ἄρωμη φίλων, δη-λοῦντα τὴν τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ τελευτήν· τελευτᾷ δὲ τίκτουσα παρὰ Πομπηίου. καὶ μέγα μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐσχε Πομπηίοι, μέγα δὲ Καίσαρα πένθος, οἱ δὲ φίλοι συνεταράχθησαν ὡς τῆς ἐν εἰρήνη καὶ ὀμνυόλα τάλλα νοσοῦσαν τὴν πολιτείαν φιλατ-τούσης οἰκείοτητος λειμαένης· καὶ γὰρ τὸ βρέφος εὐθὺς οὐ πολλὰς ἥμερας μετὰ τὴν μητέρα δια-ζησαν ἐτελεύτησε. τὴν μὲν οὖν Ἰουλίαν βία τῶν δημάρχων ἀράμευν τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τὸ Ἄρειον ἥμεγκε πεδίον, κάκει κιδευθεῖσα κεῖται.

XXIV. Τοῦ δὲ Καίσαρος μεγάλη ἦδη τὴν δύναμιν οὖσαν εἰς πολλὰ κατ' ἀνάγκην χειμάδια διελόντος, αὐτοῦ δὲ πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ὀσπερ εἰώθει, τραπομένου, πάντα μὲν αὖθις ἀνερρήγυντο τὰ τῶν Γαλατῶν, καὶ στρατοί μεγάλοι περιύντες ἐξέκοπτον τὰ χειμάδια καὶ προσεμάχοντο τοῖς χαρακώμασι τῶν Ῥωμαίων, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι καὶ κράτισσοι τῶν ἀποστάντων μετὰ Ἀβριόριγος Κότταν μὲν αὐτῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ Τιτύριον διέ-

1 Once in 55 B.C. (B.G. iv. 20-36); again in 54 B.C. (B.G. v. 1-22).

500
the inhabited world. After twice crossing to the island from the opposite coast of Gaul and in many battles damaging the enemy rather than enriching his own men— for there was nothing worth taking from men who lived in poverty and wretchedness—he brought the war to an end which was not to his liking, it is true; still, he took hostages from the king, imposed tributes, and then sailed away from the island.

In Gaul he found letters which were about to be sent across to him. They were from his friends in Rome, and advised him of his daughter's death; she died in child-birth at Pompey's house. Great was the grief of Pompey, and great the grief of Caesar, and their friends were greatly troubled too; they felt that the relationship which alone kept the dis-tempered state in harmony and concord was now dissolved. For the babe also died presently, after surviving its mother a few days. Now Julia, in spite of the tribunes, was carried by the people to the Campus Martius, where her funeral rites were held, and where she lies buried.²

XXIV. Caesar's forces were now so large that he was forced to distribute them in many winter-quarters, while he himself, as his custom was, turned his steps towards Italy. Then all Gaul once more broke out in revolt,³ and great armies went about attacking the entrenchments and trying to destroy the winter-quarters of the Romans. The most numerous and powerful of the rebels, under Abriorix,⁴ utterly destroyed Titurius and Cotta, together with

² Cf. the *Pompey*, chapter liii.
⁴ Caesar calls him Ambiorix.
2 φθειραν, τὸ δὲ ὑπὸ Κικέρωνι τάγμα μυριάσιν ἐξ περισχόντες ἐπολιόρκουν καὶ μικρὸν ἀπέλιπτον ἥρηκέναι κατὰ κράτος, συντετρωμένων ἀπάντων καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν ὑπὸ προθυμίας ἀμυνομένων.

'Ὡς δὲ ἡγγέλθη ταύτα τῷ Καίσαρι μακρὰν ὄντι, ταχεῖας ἐπιστρέψας καὶ συναγαγὼν ἐπτακισχιλίους τοὺς σύμπαντας ἥπειγετο τὸν Κικέρωνα τῆς πολιορκίας ἐξαιρησόμενος. οὐκ δὲ πολυορκοῦντας οὐκ ἐλαθεν, ἀλλ' ἀπῆντων ὡς ἀναρπαστομενοι, τῆς ὁλυγότητος καταφρονήσαντες. καὶ κεῖνος ἐξαπατών ύπέφευγεν ἀεί, καὶ χωρία λαβὼν ἐπιτηδείως ἐχοντα πρὸς πολλοὺς μαχομένῳ μετ' ὀλίγων φράγματι στρατόπεδου, καὶ μάχης ἐσχε τοὺς ἐαυτοῦ πάσης, ἀναγαγεῖν δὲ τὸν χάρακα καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνοικοδομεῖν ὡς δεδοικότας ἦμαγκαζε, καταφρονηθῆναι στρατηγῶν, μέχρι οὐ σποράδην ύπὸ θράσους προσβάλλοντας ἐπεξελθὼν ἐτρέψατο καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν διέφθειρε.

XXV. Τούτο τὰς πολλὰς ἀποστάσεις τῶν ἐνταῦθα Γαλατῶν κατεστόρεσε, καὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος αὐτῶς ἐπιφοιτῶν τε πανταχόσε καὶ προσέχων ὀξέως τοῖς νεωτερισμοῖς. καὶ γὰρ ἦκεν ἐξ 'Ἰταλίας ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολολότων αὐτῶ τρία τάγματα, Πομπηίου μὲν ἐκ τῶν ύφ' αὐτῶ δύο χρήσαντος, ἐν δὲ νεοσύλλεκτον ἐκ τῆς περὶ Πάδου Γαλατίας.

2 τόρρω δὲ τούτων αἱ πάλαι καταβεβλημέναι κρύφα καὶ νεμόμεναι διὰ τῶν δυνατωτάτων ἀνδρῶν.
their army, while the legion under Cicero was surrounded and besieged by sixty thousand of them, and narrowly escaped having its camp taken by storm, although all were wounded and went beyond their powers in the ardour of their defence.

When tidings of these things reached Caesar, who was far on his journey, he turned back quickly, got together seven thousand men in all, and hurried on to extricate Cicero from the siege. But the besiegers became aware of his approach, and went to meet him with the purpose of cutting his forces off at once, despising their small numbers. Caesar deceived them by avoiding battle continually, and when he had found a place suitable for one who was fighting against many with few, fortified a camp, where he kept his men altogether from fighting and forced them to increase the height of their ramparts and the defences of their gates as though they were afraid. His strategy thus led the enemy to despise him, until at last, when their boldness led them to attack in scattered bands, he sallied out, routed them, and destroyed many of them.

XXV. The numerous revolts of the Gauls in those parts were quieted by this success, as well as by the fact that Caesar himself, during the winter, went about in all directions and kept close watch on the disturbers of the peace. For there had come from Italy three legions to replace the men that he had lost, Pompey having lent two of those under his command, and one having been newly levied in Gaul about the Po. But in remoter regions the germs of the greatest and most dangerous of the wars waged in

1 Plutarch here passes over the events of the year 53 B.C., described by Caesar in B. G. vi. The seventh book is wholly taken up with the war now to be described (52 B.C.).
en tois makimwotatois gevesin arxai tou megistou kai kivdunwdestatou tois ekei polemwn anefai-
nouto, rostheisai pollh mei 'likia kai pantax-
chovein oplous afrusiasei, 1 megaloi de plooutois
eis tauto suvenekteisin, ischurais de polesi, 3
dusemboloi de xwrais. tote de kai cheimwos
ora pagoi potamow kai nifetois apokekrumwv
Oropou kai peidia cheimarrwv epilemvasmena,
kaiphei men utekmarstoi Batesi chinos atrapoi, pi
de di elwv kai reumati paratrepomewn asa-
feia pollh tis poreias pantapasin edokoun an-
epixeirhata Kaisari tawo afistasmenwv poiein.
afestikei men ou polla fylwa, prsuxhma de
hisan Arbevnoi kai Karvoutinou, to de sympan
airtheis kratos eixe tou polwmo Ourgevntorix,
opw to patera Galatai turaudio dokoonta prwt-
tei anpektwv.

XXVI. Owtos ou eis pollla dieiow thn dyn-
mw meri kai pollois episthisa geimwv
thn periex apasax akhri tov pro tov 'Arara
keklheavynov, diavosumevos hth tov eb 'Rwm
symp-
estamewn eti Kaisara sympasas exeiwein to
polwmo Galatian. operei mikron usteron epra-
xei, Kaisaros eis tov emfulion empevntos polo-
lemov, ouk an elaphoteroi tov Kiwbrwvkei-

2


1 'afrusiasei Sint. with the MSS.; Coraes and Bekker
read 'afrusiasei (arms collected from all sides) with the
Aldine ed.
those parts began to show themselves. They had for a long time been secretly sown and cultivated by the most influential men among the most warlike tribes, and derived strength from large bodies of young men assembled from all sides in arms, from great riches brought together, from strong cities, and from countries which were hard to invade. At that season of winter, too, frozen rivers, forests buried in snow, plains converted into lakes by winter torrents, in some parts paths obliterated by deep snow, and in others the great uncertainty of a march through swamps and streams diverted from their courses, all seemed to make it wholly impossible for Caesar to oppose the plans of the rebels. Accordingly, many tribes had revolted, but the head and front of the revolt were the Arverni and Carnuntini,¹ and Ver-gentorix¹ was chosen to have the entire authority in the war. His father the Gauls had put to death because they thought he was aiming at a tyranny.

XXVI. This leader, then, after dividing his forces into many parts and putting many officers in command of them, was winning over all the country round about as far as the water-shed of the Arar. He purposed, now that there was a coalition at Rome against Caesar, at once to rouse all Gaul to war. If he had done this a little later, when Caesar was involved in the civil war, Italy would have been a prey to terrors no less acute than those aroused by the Cimbri of old. But as it was, the man endowed by nature to make the best use of all the arts of war, and particularly of its crucial moments, namely Caesar, as soon as he learned of the revolt, set out and marched by the same roads over which

¹ In Caesar's B.G. the names are Carnutes and Ver-cingetorix.
διήλθε, καὶ βία καὶ τάχει τῆς πορείας διὰ τοσοῦτον χειμώνος ἐπιδειξάμενος τοῖς βαρβάροις ὡς ἀμαχός αὐτοῖς καὶ ἁγίττητος ἐπεισὶ στρατός. ὁποις γὰρ ἄγγελον ἡ γραμματοφόρον διαδύναι τῶν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ χρόνῳ πολλῷ ἦν ἀπιστον, ἐνταῦθα μετὰ πάσης ἐωράτο τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀμα χώρας λυμαίνόμενος αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκκόπτων τὰ χωρία, 3 καταστρεφόμενος πόλεις, ἀναλαμβάνων τοὺς μετατιθεμένους, μέχρι καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἑδούων ἔθνος ἐξεπολεμώθη πρὸς αὐτόν, οὐ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἀδελφοὺς ἀναγορεύοντες αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίοι καὶ τιμώμενοι διαπρεπῶς, τότε δὲ τοῖς ἀποστάταις προσγενόμενοι πολλὴν τῇ Καίσαρος στρατιά περιέστησαν ἀθυμίαν. διότι καὶ κινήσας ἐκεῖθεν ὑπερέβαλε τὰ Διγγονικά, βουλόμενος ἄψασθαι τῆς Σηκουνίων φίλων ὑπον καὶ προκειμένων τῆς 4 Ἰταλίας πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην Γαλατίαν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ αὐτῶν τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιπεσόντων καὶ περισχύντων μυριάσι πολλαῖς, ὄρμησας διαγωνίσασθαι τοῖς μὲν ὅλοις καταπολεμῶν ἐκράτησε, χρόνῳ πολλῷ καὶ φύσι καταβιασάμενος τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἔδοξε δὲ κατ᾽ ἀρχάς τι καὶ σφαλῆναι, καὶ δεικνύοντι Ἀρβέρνοι ξιφίδιον πρὸς ἱερῷ κρεμαμένον, ὡς δὲ Καίσαρος λάφυρον. ὁ θεασάμενος αὐτῶς ύστερον ἐμειδίασε, καὶ τῶν φίλων καθελείν κελευόντων οὐκ εἴασεν, ἱερῶν ἡγούμενος.

XXVII. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τότε τῶν διαφυγόντων οἱ πλείστοι μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς πόλιν Ἀλησίαν συνέφυγον. καὶ πολιορκοῦντι ταύτην Καί-506
he had previously come, and by the vigour and speed of his passage in so severe a winter showed the Barbarians that an unconquered and invincible army was coming against them. For where it was incredible that one of his messengers or letter-carriers could make his way in a long time, there he was seen with his whole army, at once ravaging their lands and destroying their strongholds, subduing cities, and receiving those who came over to his side, until the nation of the Aedui also entered the war against him. These up to this time had called themselves brethren of the Romans and had been conspicuously honoured, but now, by joining the rebels, they caused great dejection in Caesar's army. In consequence of this Caesar removed from those parts and passed across the territory of the Lingones, wishing to reach the country of the Sequani, who were friends, and stood as a bulwark between Italy and the rest of Gaul. There the enemy fell upon him and surrounded him with many tens of thousands, so that he essayed to fight a decisive battle. In the main he got the best of the struggle, and after a long time and much slaughter overpowered the Barbarians; but it appears that at first he met with some reverse, and the Arverni show a short-sword hanging in a temple, which they say was captured from Caesar. When Caesar himself saw it, at a later time, he smiled, and though his friends urged him to have it taken down, he would not permit it, considering it sacred.

XXVII. However, the most of the Barbarians who escaped at that time took refuge with their king in the city of Alesia. And while Caesar was besieging
σαρι δοκούσαν ανάλωτον εἶναι μεγέθει τε τειχῶν καὶ πλήθει τῶν ἀπομαχομένων ἐπιπίπτει παντὸς
2 λόγου μείζων κίνδυνος ἐξωθεν. ὄ γὰρ ἦν ἐν Γαλατία κράτιστον ἀπὸ τῶν ἔθνων ἀθροισθέν, ἐν ὀπλοῖσ ἦκον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλησίαν τριάκοντα μυριάδες· αἱ δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν μαχομένων οὐκ ἐλάττωνες ἦσαν ἐπτακαίδεκα μυριάδων, ὡστε ἐν μέσῳ πολέμου τοσοῦτον τὸν Καίσαρα κατελημμένου καὶ πολιορκούμενον ἀναγκασθῆναι διέτα τείχῃ προβαλέσθαι, τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπεληπθῶν, ὡς, εἰ συνέλθοιν αἱ δυνάμεις, κομιδὴ διαπεπραγμένων τῶν καθ' αὐτῶν.
3 Διὰ πολλὰ μὲν οὖν εἰκότως ὁ πρὸς Ἀλησία κίνδυνος ἐσχε δόξαι, ὡς ἔργα τόλμης καὶ δεινότητος οἷα τῶν ἄλλων ἀγώνων οὐδεὶς παρασχόμενος, μάλιστα δὲ ἂν τὸς θαυμαστεῖ τὸ λαθεῖν τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει Καίσαρα τοσαῦτας μυριάσι ταῖς ἐξω συμβαλόντα καὶ περιγενόμενον, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τοὺς τὸ πρὸς τῇ πόλει τείχος φυλάττοιτας. οὐ γὰρ πρότερον ἧσθοντο τὴν ύκην ἡ κλαυθμὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἀλησίας ἀνδρῶν καὶ κοπτεῖν γυναικῶν ἄκουσθηναι, θεασαμένων ἄρα κατὰ θάτερα μέρη πολλοὺς μὲν ἀργύρω καὶ χρυσῆς κεκοσμημένους θυρεοὺς, πολλοὺς δὲ αἰματι πεφυρμένους θώρακας, ἢτι δὲ ἐκπώματα καὶ σκηνὰς Γαλατικὰς ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον κομιζομένας. οὖτως ἄξεως ἡ τοσαῦτη δύναμις, ὡσπερ εἶδωλον ἡ ὀνειρον, ἡφαίνιστο καὶ διεπ- 5 φόρητο, τῶν πλείστων ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πεσόντων. οἱ δὲ τὴν Αλησίαν ἔχουσιν οὐκ ὀλίγα πράγματα παρασχόντες ἐαυτοῖς καὶ Καίσαρι τέλος παρέ-
this city, which was thought to be impregnable by reason of the great size of its walls and the number of their defenders, there fell upon him from outside the city a peril too great for words to depict. For all that was mightiest among the nations of Gaul assembled and came in arms to Alesia, three hundred thousand strong; and the number of fighting men inside the city was not less than a hundred and seventy thousand. Thus Caesar, caught between so large hostile forces and besieged there, was compelled to build two walls for his protection, one looking towards the city, and the other towards those who had come up to relieve it; he felt that if the two forces should unite his cause was wholly lost.

For many reasons, then, and naturally, Caesar's peril at Alesia was famous, since it produced more deeds of skill and daring than any of his other struggles; but one must be amazed above all that he engaged and conquered so many tens of thousands outside the city without the knowledge of those inside, nay more, without the knowledge even of the Romans who were guarding the wall that faced the city. For these did not learn of the victory until the wailing of the men in Alesia and the lamentations of the women were heard, as they beheld in the quarters of the enemy many shields adorned with gold and silver, many corselets smeared with blood, and also drinking cups and tents of Gallic fashion carried by the Romans into their camp. So quickly did so great a force, like a phantom or a dream, disperse and vanish out of sight, the greater part of them having fallen in the battle. Those who held Alesia, too, after giving themselves and Caesar no small trouble, finally surrendered.
δοσαν ἑαυτούς. ο̣ δὲ τού σύμπαντος ἥγεμὼν πολέμου Οὐεργεντόριζ ἅγιοι ἱππῶν τῶν ὅπλων τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ κοσμήσας τὸν ἵππον ἔξεππάσατο διὰ τῶν πυλῶν καὶ κύκλῳ περί τὸν Καίσαρα καθεξόμενον ἐλάσας, εἶτα ἀφαλόμενος τοῦ ἵππου τὴν μὲν πανοπλιῶν ἀπέρριψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ καθίσας ὑπὸ πόδας τοῦ Καίσαρος ἴσχύιαν ἤγεν, ἀρχί οὐ παρεδόθη φρουρησόμενος ἐπὶ τὸν θρίαμβον.

XXVIII. Καίσαρι δὲ πάλαι μὲν ἐδέδοκτο καταλύειν Πομπηίου, ὀσπερ ἀμέλει κάκεινο θύετον. Κράσσον γὰρ ἐν Πάρθοις ἀπολωλότος, ὡς ἢ ἐφεδρὸς ἀμφοίν, ἀπελείπτετο τῷ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ γενέσθαι μεγίστῳ τὸν ὄντα καταλύειν, τῷ δὲ ἴνα

2 μὴ πάθη τούτῳ, προαναρείν ὃν ἐδεδοίκει. τοῦτο δὲ Πομπηίῳ μὲν ἔξ ὀλίγου φοβεὶσθαι παρέστη τέως ὑπερορώντι Καίσαρος, ὥς οὐ χαλεπῶν ἔργων ὁν αὐτὸς ἡμέρησε καταλυθῆναι πάλιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, Καίσαρ δὲ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὑπόθεσεν ταύτην πεποιημένος, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν ὀσπερ ἄθλητρις ἑαυτὸν ἀποστῆσας μακρὰν καὶ τοῖς Κελτικοῖς ἐγγυμνασάμενος πολέμους ἐπηρήκησε μὲν τὴν δύναμιν, ἡμέρησε δὲ τὴν δόξαν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων εἰς ἀντίπαλον ἄρθεις τοῖς Πομπηίου κατορθώμασι, λαμβάνων προφάσεις τὰς μὲν αὐτοῦ Πομπηίου, τὰς δὲ τῶν καίρων ἐνεδίδοντων καὶ τῆς ἐν 'Ρώμῃ κακοπολειτείας, δι' ἣν οἱ μὲν ἄρχασ μετίοντες εἰ μέσῳ θέμενοι τραπέζας ἐδέκαξον ἀναισχύντως τὰ πλήθη, κατήκει δὲ ὁ δήμος ἐμμισθος, οὐ ψήφους
And the leader of the whole war, Vergentorix, after putting on his most beautiful armour and decorating his horse, rode out through the gate. He made a circuit round Caesar, who remained seated, and then leaped down from his horse, stripped off his suit of armour, and seating himself at Caesar's feet remained motionless, until he was delivered up to be kept in custody for the triumph.

XXVIII. Now, Caesar had long ago decided to put down Pompey, just as, of course, Pompey also had decided to put Caesar down. For now that Crassus, who was only waiting for the issue of their struggle to engage the victor, had perished among the Parthians, it remained for him who would be greatest to put down him who was, and for him who was greatest, if he would not be put down, to take off in time the man he feared. This fear had only recently come upon Pompey, who till then despised Caesar, feeling that it was no hard task to put down again the man whom he himself had raised on high. But Caesar had from the outset formed this design, and like an athlete had removed himself to a great distance from his antagonists, and by exercising himself in the Gallic wars had practised his troops and increased his fame, lifting himself by his achievements to a height where he could vie with the successes of Pompey. He laid hold of pretexts which were furnished partly by Pompey himself, and partly by the times and the evil state of government at Rome, by reason of which candidates for office set up counting-tables in public and shamelessly bribed the multitudes, while the people went down into the forum under pay, contending in behalf of their

1 Cf. the *Pompey*, liii. 6. 2 Cf. the *Pompey*, chapter liv.
"ὑπὲρ τοῦ δεδωκότος, ἀλλὰ τὸξοις καὶ ξίφεσι καὶ
σφενδόνας ἀμιλλώμενος. αἵματι δὲ καὶ νεκροῖς
πολλάκις αἰσχύνατε τὸ βῆμα διεκρίθησαν, ἀναρ-
χία τὴν πόλιν ὡσπερ ἀκυβέρνητον ναῦν ὑποφερο-
μένην ἀπολυπόντες, ὡστε τοὺς ναῦν ἔχοντας ἀγα-
pᾶν εἰ πρὸς μηδὲν αὐτοῖς χεῖρον, ἀλλὰ μοναρχίαν
ἐκ τοιαῦτας παραφροσύνης καὶ τοσοῦτον κλύδω-
nοσ ἐκπεσεῖται τὰ πράγματα. πολλοὶ δὲ ἦσαν οἱ
καὶ λέγειν ἐν μέσῳ τολμῶντες ἢδη πλὴν ὑπὸ
μοναρχίας ἀνήκεστον εἰναι τὴν πολιτείαν, καὶ τὸ
φάρμακον τούτῳ χρῆμα τοῦ πραστάτου τῶν ἰα-
τρῶν ἀνασχέσθαι προσφέροντος, ὑποδηλοῦντες
τὸν Πομπηίου. ἐπεὶ δὲ κάκεινος λόγῳ παρατεί-
σθαι καλλωπιζόμενος ἔργῳ παντὸς μᾶλλον ἐπέ-
ραινεν ἐξ ὧν ἀναδειχθῆσοιτο δικτάτωρ, συμφρο-
nύσαντες ὦν καὶ Κατώνα πείθουσι τὴν γεροντίαν
ὑπατον αὐτὸν ἀποδείξαι μόνον, ὡς μὴ βιάσαιτο
δικτάτωρ γενέσθαι, νομιμωτέρα μοναρχία παρη-
γορηθείς. οἱ δὲ καὶ χρόνον ἐπεφησάσαι τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν
dύο δὲ εἰχεν, Ἰβηρίαν καὶ Λιβύην
σύμπασαν, ἃς διόκει πρεσβευτὰς ἀποστέλλων
καὶ στρατεύματα τρέφων, οἷς ἐλάμβανεν ἐκ τοῦ
δημοσίου ταμείου χίλια τάλαντα καὶ ἐκαστον
ἔιπαντον.

XXIX. Ἐκ τούτου Καίσαρ ὑπατεῖαν ἐμισάτο 722
πέμπων, καὶ χρόνον ὁμοίως τῶν ἰδίων ἐπαρχιῶν.
τὸ μὲν ὅσον πρῶτον Πομπηίου σιωπῶντος οἱ περὶ
Μάρκελλου καὶ Λέντλου ἦναντιόντο, μισοῦντες
ἀλλως Καίσαρα καὶ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις οὐκ ἀναγ-
καία προστιθέντες εἰς ἀτιμάν αὐτοῦ καὶ προ-
τηλακισμοῦ. Νεοκωμίτας γὰρ ἐναγχος ὑπὸ
1 ναῦν supplied by Coraës and Bekker, after Reiske.
paymaster, not with votes, but with bows and arrows, swords, and slings. Often, too, they would defile the rostra with blood and corpses before they separated, leaving the city to anarchy like a ship drifting about without a steersman, so that men of understanding were content if matters issued in nothing worse for them than monarchy, after such madness and so great a tempest. And there were many who actually dared to say in public that nothing but monarchy could now cure the diseases of the state, and that this remedy ought to be adopted when offered by the gentlest of physicians, hinting at Pompey. And when even Pompey, although in words he affected to decline the honour, in fact did more than any one else to effect his appointment as dictator, Cato saw through his design and persuaded the senate to appoint him sole consul, solacing him with a more legal monarchy that he might not force his way to the dictatorship. They also voted him additional time in which to hold his provinces; and he had two, Spain and all Africa, which he managed by sending legates thither and maintaining armies there, for which he received from the public treasury a thousand talents annually.\(^1\)

XXIX. Consequently, Caesar canvassed by proxy for a consulship, and likewise for an extension of time in which to hold his own provinces. At first, then, Pompey held his peace, while Marcellus and Lentulus opposed these plans; they hated Caesar on other grounds, and went beyond all bounds in their efforts to bring dishonour and abuse upon him. For instance, the inhabitants of Novum Comum, a

\(^1\) Cf. the *Pompey*, lv. 7.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

Kaisaros en Galatia kathwismenos afhroyno
tis politeias; kal M'arkellos upatewn ena
ton ekei boulenton eis 'Romein afikome
nhtisto rabdos, epilegon os tauta to y mi
Romaion einai parasema proosthisen autw,
kal deiknvein aptonta Kaijari ekeleyne.1 metab
de M'arkellos, ydza Kaijaro tov Galatikov
plouton arwsethai rvdhen afieikonos paoi tois
politeusmenois, kal Kouriwma men dhmarqhunta

3 pollou eleutherosantos daveinw, Pavlyf de upa-
teunynti chilia kal pevntakoria tala\nta dontos,
afr toin kal tin basilikin ekines, onomaston
anathema, ty agora proskeosmenen auti tis
Fouli\via oikodomyeivsan, oytw dh fobhseis tis
sy\ntasis o Pompheios anafanvov ydha de ian
kal twn filwn epstattei apodeixh
i diadochov
Kaijari tis arx\is, kal pe\mpwv apithe iou
stmatwta sas ekh\sen autw pro tois Kell
	ikous agwv. o de apopempe, dhrikamenes
ekaston밯\dra pemptikonta kal diakosiais drak-

4 maiz. oi de tov\ous Pompheios koum\asantes eis men
to plithos ouk epieikeis oude chr\s\stous katex-
speir
lan logous upo tov Kaijaro, aut\on de Pompheios e\lpisive ke


1 So Cora\aes and Bekker with the MSS.; Sint.2 corrects to

ekaleuei.
CAESAR. xxix. 2-4

colony recently established by Caesar in Gaul, were deprived of citizenship by them; and Marcellus, while he was consul, beat with rods a senator of Novum Comum who had come to Rome, telling him besides that he put these marks upon him to prove that he was not a Roman, and bade him go back and show them to Caesar. But after the consulship of Marcellus, Caesar having now sent his Gallic wealth for all those in public life to draw from in copious streams, and having freed Curio the tribune from many debts, and having given Paulus the consul fifteen hundred talents, out of which he adorned the forum with the Basilica,¹ a famous monument, erected in place of the Fulvia,—under these circumstances Pompey took fright at the coalition, and openly now, by his own efforts and those of his friends, tried to have a successor appointed to Caesar in his government, and sent a demand to him for the return of the soldiers whom he had lent him for his Gallic contests.² Caesar sent the soldiers back, after making a present to each man of two hundred and fifty drachmas. But the officers who brought these men to Pompey spread abroad among the multitude stories regarding Caesar which were neither reasonable nor true, and ruined Pompey himself with vain hopes. They told him that Caesar's army yearned for him, and that while he was with difficulty controlling affairs in the city owing to the disease of envy which festered in the body politic, the forces in Gaul were ready to serve him, and had but to cross into Italy when they would at once be on his side; so obnoxious to

¹ The Basilica Pauli Aemilii, called also Regia Pauli. It took the place of the Basilica Aemilia et Fulvia, erected in 179 B.C. ² See chapter xxv. 1
Καίσαρα πλήθει στρατεύων λυπηρών αυτοῖς καὶ 5 φόβῳ μοναρχίας ύποπτον. ἐπὶ τούτοις Πομπῆίος ἐχαυνύτο· καὶ παρασκευῆς μὲν ἥμελει στρατιωτῶν, ὡς μὴ δεδοικώς, λόγοις δὲ καὶ γνώμαις κατεπολιτεύτο τῷ δοκεῖν Καίσαρα, κατα-
ψηφιζόμενος ὃν ἐκεῖνος οὐδὲν ἐφροντίζειν· ἄλλα καὶ λέγεται τίνα τῶν ἄφιγμένων παρ’ αὐτοῦ ταξιάρχων ἑστῶτα πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου καὶ πυθόμενον ὡς οὐ διδωσιν ἡ γερουσία Καίσαρι χρόνον τῆς ἀρχῆς, "Ἀλλ’ αὕτη" φάναι "δωσεί,”
κρούσαντα τῇ χειρὶ τὴν λαβῇ τῆς μαχαίρας.

XXX. Οὐ μὴν ἄλλ’ ἢ γε παρὰ Καίσαρος ἀξίωσις τὸ πρόσχημα τῆς δικαιολογίας λαμπρὸν εἰχεν. ἦξιον γὰρ αὐτὸς τε καταθέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ Πομπηίου ταύτῳ πράξαντος ἄμφοτέρους ἴδιωτας γενομένους εὐρίσκεσθαι τι παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὡς τοὺς αὐτὸν μὲν ἄφαιρο-
μένους, ἐκεῖνῳ δὲ ἢν εἰχε βεβαιοῦντας δύναμιν, ἐτερον διαβάλλοντας ἔτερον κατασκευάζειν τύραν-
νον. ταύτα προκαλούμενοι εν τῷ δήμῳ Κουρίων ὑπὲρ Καίσαρος ἐκροτεῖτο λαμπρῶς· οἱ δὲ καὶ στεφάνους ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ὡσπερ ἀθλητὴν ἀνθοβολούν-
tes ἡφίεσαν. Ἀντώνιος δὲ δημαρχῶν Καίσαρος ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐπιστολὴν κομισθεῖσαν εἰς τὸ πλή-
θος ἐξήνεγκε καὶ ἀνέγυω βία τῶν υπάτων. ἐν δὲ τῇ βουλή Σκηπτῶν μὲν ὁ Πομπηίου πενθερὸς

1 Cf. the Pompey, Iviii. 2.
them had Caesar become by reason of the multitude of his campaigns, and so suspicious of him were they made by their fear of a monarchy. All this fed Pompey’s vanity, and he neglected to provide himself with soldiers, as though he had no fears; while with speeches and resolutions of the senate he was carrying the day against Caesar, as he supposed, although he was merely getting measures rejected about which Caesar cared naught. Nay, we are told that one of the centurions sent to Rome by Caesar, as he stood in front of the senate-house and learned that the senate would not give Caesar an extension of his term of command, slapped the handle of his sword and said: “But this will give it.”

XXX. However, the demands which came from Caesar certainly had a striking semblance of fairness. He demanded, namely, that if he himself laid down his arms, Pompey should do the same, and that both, thus become private men, should find what favour they could with their fellow citizens; arguing that if they took away his forces from him, but confirmed Pompey in the possession of his, they would be accusing one of seeking a tyranny and making the other a tyrant. When Curio laid these proposals before the people in behalf of Caesar, he was loudly applauded, and some actually cast garlands of flowers upon him as if he were a victorious athlete. Antony, too, who was a tribune, brought before the people a letter of Caesar’s on these matters which he had received, and read it aloud, in defiance of the consuls. But in the senate, Scipio, the father-in-law of Pompey, introduced a motion

² Pompey had married Cornelia, the young widow of Publius Crassus (Pompey, iv. 1).
eις ηγήσατο γνώμην, ἂν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ῥητή μὴ κατά-
θηται τὰ ὀπλα Καίσαρ, ἀποδειχθῆναι πολέμιον
3 αὐτῶν. ἐρωτώντων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων εἰ δοκεῖ Πομ-
πῆιον ἀφεῖναι τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ πάλιν, εἰ
dοκεῖ Καίσαρα, τῇ μὲν ὄλγοι παντάπασι, τῇ δὲ
πάντες παρ’ ὄλγους προσέθεντο τῶν δὲ περὶ
’Ἀντώνιον πάλιν ἀξιούντων ἀμφοτέρους τὴν ἁρ-
χὴν ἀφεῖναι, πάντες ὁμαλῶς προσεχώρησαν.
ἀλλὰ ἐκβιαζομένου Σκηπίωνος, καὶ Δέντλου τοῦ
ὑπάτου βοῶντος ὀπλῶν δειν πρὸς ἀνδρὰ ληστῶν,
oὐ ψήφων, τότε μὲν διελύθησαν καὶ μετεβάλουν
tὰς ἐσθήτας ἐπὶ πένθει διὰ τὴν στάσιν.

XXXI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρὰ Καίσαρος ἦκον ἐπι-
στολαὶ μετριάζειν δοκοῦντος (ἥξιον γὰρ ἀφεῖς
tὰ ἀλλὰ πάντα τὴν ἑνῶς ’Ἀλπεων καὶ τὸ ’Ἰλλυ-
ρικὸν μετὰ δυνῖν ταγμάτων αὐτῷ δοθῆναι, μέχρι
οὗ τὴν δευτέραν ὑπατείαν μετεισι), καὶ Κικέρων ὁ
ῥήτωρ ἄρτι παρὸν ἐκ Κιλικίας καὶ διαλλαγὰς
πράττων ἐμάλαττε τὸν Πομπῆιον, ὁ δὲ τὰλλα
συγχωρῶν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀφῆρε. καὶ Κικέρων
μὲν ἐπειδε τοὺς Καίσαρος φίλους συνειδόντας
ἐπὶ ταῖς εἰρημέναις ἑπαρχίαις καὶ στρατιώταις
μόνοις ἔξακισχίλιοις ποιεῖσθαι τὰς διαλύσεις,

2 Πομπῆιον δὲ καμπτομένου καὶ διδόντος οἱ περὶ
Δέντλου ὄνκ εἰὼν ὑπατεύοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς
βουλῆς ’Ἀντώνιον καὶ Κουρίωνα προπηλακίσαν-
tες ἔξηλασαν ἀτίμως, τὴν εὐπρεπεστάτην Καί-
σαρι τῶν προφάσεων αὐτοῖς μηχανησάμενοι, καὶ
dι’ ἓς μάλιστα τοὺς στρατιώτας παρῶξυνεν, ἐπι-
that if by a fixed day Caesar did not lay down his arms he should be declared a public enemy. And when the consuls put the question whether Pompey should dismiss his soldiers, and again whether Caesar should, very few senators voted for the first, and all but a few for the second; but when Antony again demanded that both should give up their commands, all with one accord assented. Scipio, however, made violent opposition, and Lentulus the consul cried out that against a robber there was need of arms, not votes; whereupon the senate broke up, and the senators put on the garb of mourning in view of the dissension.

XXXI. But presently letters came from Caesar in which he appeared to take a more moderate position, for he agreed to surrender everything else, but demanded that Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum together with two legions should be given him until he stood for his second consulship. Cicero the orator, too, who had just returned from Cilicia and was busy with a reconciliation, tried to mollify Pompey, who yielded everything else, but insisted on taking away Caesar’s soldiers. Cicero also tried to persuade the friends of Caesar to compromise and come to a settlement on the basis of the provinces mentioned and only six thousand soldiers, and Pompey was ready to yield and grant so many. Lentulus the consul, however, would not let him, but actually heaped insults upon Antony and Curio and drove them disgracefully from the senate,\(^1\) thus himself contriving for Caesar the most specious of his pretexts, and the one by means of which he most of all incited his soldiers, showing them men of repute.

\(^1\) January 7, 49 B.C.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

dεικνύμενος ἀνδρας ἐλλογίμους καὶ ἀρχοντας ἐπὶ μισθίων ζευγῶν πεφευγότας ἐν ἐσθήσιω οἰκετικαῖς. οὕτω γὰρ ἀπὸ 'Ῥώμης σκευάσαντες ἕαντος διὰ φόβον ὑπεξήσαν.

XXXII. Ἑσαυ μὲν ōν περὶ αὐτὸν οὐ πλεῖον ἤπειρον τριακοσίων καὶ πεντακισχιλίων ὀπλῶν τὸ γὰρ ἄλλο στράτευμα πέραν Ἀλπεων ἀπολελειμμένου ἔμελλον ἄξειν οἱ περιβαλόντες. ὅρων δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅν ἐνίστατο πραγμάτων καὶ τὴν ἐφοδίων οὐ πολυχειρίας δεομένην ἐν τῷ παρόντι μᾶλλον ἡ θάμβη θεῖοι καὶ τάχει καιροῦ 2 καταληπτέαν οὕσαν, ἐκπλήξειν γὰρ ἀπιστούμενος ῥάν ἡ βιάσεσθαι μετὰ παρασκευῆς ἐπελθὼν, τοὺς μὲν ἤγεμόνας καὶ ταξιάρχους ἐκέλευσε μαχαίρας ἔχοντας ἀνευ τῶν ἄλλων ὀπλῶν κατασχείν Ἀρίμων τῆς Κελτικῆς μεγάλην πόλιν, ὡς ἐνδέχεται μάλιστα φεισαμένους φόνου καὶ ταραχῆς, Ὀρτησίῳ δὲ τὴν δύναμιν παρέδωκεν.

3 Αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν μὲν ἡμέραν διήγειν ἐν φανερῷ μονομάχοις ἐφεστῶς γυμναζομένους καὶ θεώμενος. μικρὸν δὲ πρὸ ἐσπέρας θεραπεύσας τὸ σῶμα καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὸν ἀνδρῶν καὶ συγγενόμενος βραχέα τοῖς παρακεκλημένοις ἐπὶ τὸ διεισνυν, ἦδη συντελόταξον ἐξανέστη, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους φιλοφρονηθεῖς καὶ κελεύσας περιμένειν αὐτὸν ὡς ἐπανελευσόμενον, διόγοις δὲ τῶν φίλων προείρητο μὴ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ πάντας, ἄλλον δὲ ἄλλη διώκειν.

4 αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν μισθίων ζευγῶν ἐπιβάς ἐνὸς ἔλαυνεν ἐτέραν τινὰ πρῶτον ὅδον, εἰτὰ πρὸς τὸ Ἀρίμων ἐπιστρέψας, ὡς ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν διορίζοντα τὴν ἐντὸς Ἀλπεων Γαλατίαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης Ἰταλίας

520
and high office who had fled the city on hired carts and in the garb of slaves. For thus they had arrayed themselves in their fear and stolen out of Rome.

XXXII. Now, Caesar had with him not more than three hundred horsemen and five thousand legionaries; for the rest of his army had been left beyond the Alps, and was to be brought up by those whom he had sent for the purpose. He saw, however, that the beginning of his enterprise and its initial step did not require a large force at present, but must take advantage of the golden moment by showing amazing boldness and speed, since he could strike terror into his enemies by an unexpected blow more easily than he could overwhelm them by an attack in full force. He therefore ordered his centurions and other officers, taking their swords only, and without the rest of their arms, to occupy Ariminum, a large city of Gaul, avoiding commotion and bloodshed as far as possible; and he entrusted this force to Hortensius.

He himself spent the day in public, attending and watching the exercises of gladiators; but a little before evening he bathed and dressed and went into the banqueting hall. Here he held brief converse with those who had been invited to supper, and just as it was getting dark rose and went away, after addressing courteously most of his guests and bidding them await his return. To a few of his friends, however, he had previously given directions to follow him, not all by the same route, but some by one way and some by another. He himself mounted one of his hired carts and drove at first along another road, then turned towards Ariminum. When he came to the river which separates Cisalpine Gaul from the
ποταμόν (Ῥοβικών καλεῖται), καὶ λογισμὸς αὐτῶν εἰσήγηται μᾶλλον ἑγγύς οὕτω δεινῷ καὶ περιφερομένῳ τῷ μεγάλῳ τῶν τολμώμενων,
5 ἐσχέτο δρόμου καὶ τὴν πορείαν ἐπιστήμονα πολλὰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ διήμενες σιγῇ τῇ γνώμῃ ἐπὶ ἀμφότερα μεταλαμβάνον, καὶ τροπᾶς ἐσχέν αὐτῷ τότε τὸ βούλευμα πλείστος: πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν φίλων τοῖς παροῦσιν, ὧν ἦν καὶ Πολλίων Ἀσίνιος, συνδιηπόρησεν, ἀναλογιζόμενος ἥλικων κακῶν ἀρξεῖ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἡ διάβασις, ὡς αὐτῇ τῷ πανομοσχευσθῇ τῷ λόγῳ τοῖς αὐθείς ἀπολείψονσι. τέλος δὲ μετὰ θυμοῦ τινος ωσπερ ἀφείς ἑαυτῶν ἐκ τοῦ λογισμοῦ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον, καὶ τὸτε δὴ τὸ κοινὸν τοῖς εἰς τύχας ἐμβαίνουσιν ἀπόρους καὶ τόλμας προσίμου ὑπειπῶν, "Ἄνερρίφθω κύβος," ὀρμησε πρὸς τὴν διάβασιν καὶ δρόμῳ τὸ λοιπὸν ἠδη χρῶμενος εἰσέπεσε πρὸ ἡμέρας εἰς τὸ Αρίμινον καὶ κατέσχε. λέγεται δὲ τῇ πρωτέρᾳ νυκτὶ τῆς διαβάσεως ὁνάρ ἰδεῖν ἕκθεσμον ἐδόκει γὰρ αὐτὸς τῇ ἑαυτοῦ μητρὶ μέγυνονται τῷ ἁρρητῶν μῆξιν.

XXXIII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατελίφθη τὸ Ἀρίμινον, ὀσπέρ ἀνεσφυμένον τοῦ πολέμου πλατείας πύλαις ἐπὶ πάσαιν ὁμοῦ τὴν γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν, καὶ συγκεχυμένων ἀμα τοῖς ὄροις τῆς ἐπαρχίας τῶν νόμων τῆς πόλεως, οὐκ ἀνδρᾶς ἀν τις ωθηθη καὶ γυναῖκας, ὀσπέρ ἄλλοτε, σὺν ἐκπλήξει διαφοριτάν τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἀλλὰ τὰς πόλεις αὐτὰς ἀνισταμένας 724.
rest of Italy (it is called the Rubicon), and began to reflect, now that he drew nearer to the fearful step and was agitated by the magnitude of his ventures, he checked his speed. Then, halting in his course, he communed with himself a long time in silence as his resolution wavered back and forth, and his purpose then suffered change after change. For a long time, too, he discussed his perplexities with his friends who were present, among whom was Asinius Pollio, estimating the great evils for all mankind which would follow their passage of the river, and the wide fame of it which they would leave to posterity. But finally, with a sort of passion, as if abandoning calculation and casting himself upon the future, and uttering the phrase with which men usually prelude their plunge into desperate and daring fortunes, "Let the die be cast," he hastened to cross the river; and going at full speed now for the rest of the time, before daybreak he dashed into Ariminum and took possession of it.\(^1\) It is said, moreover, that on the night before he crossed the river he had an unnatural dream; he thought, namely, that he was having incestuous intercourse with his own mother.\(^2\)

XXXIII. After the seizure of Ariminum, as if the war had opened with broad gates to cover the whole earth and sea alike, and the laws of the state were confounded along with the boundaries of the province, one would not have thought that men and women, as at other times, were hurrying through Italy in consternation, but that the very cities had

\(^1\) Cf. the *Pompey*, lx. 1–2.

\(^2\) According to Suetonius (Div. Jul. 7), Caesar had this dream while he was quaestor in Spain (67 B.C.). The interpreters of dreams told him that his *mother* meant the Earth, the universal parent, which was to become *subject* to him.
2 φυγή διαφέρεσθαι δι' ἀλλήλων, τὴν δὲ 'Ῥώμην ὀσπερ ὑπὸ ῥευμάτων πιμπλαμένην φυγαίς τῶν πέριξ δήμων καὶ μεταστάσεις, οὔτε ἄρχοντι πεῖσαι ραδίαν οὔσαν οὔτε λόγῳ καθεκτὶν, ἐν πολλῷ κλύδων καὶ σάλῳ μικρῶν ἀπολιπέων αὐτῆς τῆς υφ’ αὐτῆς ἀνατετράφθαι. πάθη γὰρ ἀντίπαλα καὶ βίαια κατείχε κινήματα πάντα τόπων. οὔτε γὰρ τὸ χαῖρον Ἰουχιάν ἤγεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ δεδοικότι καὶ λυπομένῳ κατὰ πολλὰ συμπίπτον ἐν μεγάλῃ πόλει καὶ θρασύνομενον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέλλοντος δι’ ἐρίδων ἦν, αὐτῶν τε Πομπήιον ἐκπεπληγμένοιν ἄλλοι ἄλλαχοθεν ἐτάραττε, τοῖς μὲν, ὡς ἦν ξησε Καίσαρα καθ’ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, εὐθύνας ὑπέχουτα, τῶν δὲ, ὅτι παρείκοντα καὶ προτεινόμενον εὐγνώμονας διαλύσεις ἐφήκε τοῖς περὶ 4 Λέντλου ὑβρίσαι, κατηγοροῦντων. Φαώνιος δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκέλευε τῷ ποδὶ κτυπεῖν τὴν γῆν, ἐπεὶ μεγαληγορῶν ποτε πρὸς τὴν συγκλητον οὐδὲν εἶναι πολυπραγμονεῖν οὐδὲ φροντίζειν ἐκεῖνους τῆς ἐπὶ τῶν πόλεμον παρασκευής; αὐτὸς γὰρ, ὅταν ἐπὶ, κρούσας τὸ ἔδαφος τῷ ποδὶ στρατευμάτων ἔμπλήσει τὴν Ἰταλίαν.

5 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε πλήθει δυνάμεως ὑπερεβάλλει ὁ Πομπήιος τὴν Καίσαρος· εἶασε δ’ οὐδεῖς τῶν ἄνδρα χρήσασθαι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ λογισμοῖς, ἀλλὰ ὑπ’ ἀγγελμάτων πολλῶν καὶ ψευδῶν καὶ φόβων, ὡς ἐφεστῶτος ἦδη τοῦ πολέμου καὶ πάντα κατέχοντος, εἶξας καὶ συνεκκρούσθεις τῇ πάντων φορὰ ψηφίζεται ταραχὴν ὥραν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔξελιπε κελεύσας ἐπέσατο τὴν γερουσίαν, καὶ μηδένα μένειν τῶν πρὸ τῆς τυμπανίδος ἡμέρας τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν.
risen up in flight and were rushing one through another; while Rome herself, deluged as it were by the inhabitants of the surrounding towns who were fleeing from their homes, neither readily obeying a magistrate nor listening to the voice of reason, in the surges of a mighty sea narrowly escaped being overturned by her own internal agitations. For conflicting emotions and violent disturbances prevailed everywhere. Those who rejoiced did not keep quiet, but in many places, as was natural in a great city, encountered those who were in fear and distress, and being filled with confidence as to the future came into strife with them; while Pompey himself, who was terror-stricken, was assailed on every side, being taken to task by some for having strengthened Caesar against himself and the supreme power of the state, and denounced by others for having permitted Lentulus to insult Caesar when he was ready to yield and was offering reasonable terms of settlement. Favonius bade him stamp on the ground; for once, in a boastful speech to the senate, he told them to take no trouble or anxious thought about preparations for the war, since when it came he had but to stamp upon the earth to fill Italy with armies.\(^1\) However, even then Pompey's forces were more numerous than Caesar's; but no one would suffer him to exercise his own judgement; and so, under the influence of many false and terrifying reports, believing that the war was already close at hand and prevailed everywhere, he gave way, was swept along with the universal tide, issued an edict declaring a state of anarchy, and forsook the city, commanding the senate to follow, and forbidding any one to remain who preferred country and freedom to tyranny.

\(^1\) Cf. the *Pompey*, lvii. 5.
XXXIV. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ὑπατοὶ μηδὲ ἂ νόμος ἐστὶ πρὸ ἐξόδου θύσαντες ἐφυγον ἐφευγον δὲ καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν οἱ πλείστοι, τρόπουν τινὲς δὲ ἀρπαγής ἀπὸ τῶν ἱδίων ὁ τι τύχοιεν ὦσπερ ἄλλοτρῶν λαμβάνοντες. εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ καὶ σφόδρα τὰ Καίσαρος ἠρημένου πρότερον ἔξεπεσον ὑπὸ θάμβους τότε τῶν λογισμῶν καὶ συμπαρηθήσαν οὐδὲν δεό-2 μενοι τῷ βεῦματι τῆς φοράς ἐκείνης. οἰκτρότατον δὲ τὸ θέαμα τῆς πόλεως ἦν, ἐπιθερμομένου το-σούτου χειμῶνος, ὦσπερ νεώς ὑπὸ κυβερνητῶν ἀπαγορευόντων πρὸς τὸ συντυχὸν ἐκπεσεῖν κομι-ζομένης. ἀλλὰ καίπερ οὐτω τῆς μεταστάσεως οἰκ-τρᾶς οὐσίας, τὴν μὲν φυγήν οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ πατρίδα διὰ Πομπήίου ἤγοντο, τὴν δὲ 'Ῥώμην ὡς Καίσα-ρος στρατόπεδον ἐξέλειπον ὅπου καὶ Λαβινῶς, ἀνὴρ ἐν τοὺς μάλιστα φίλοις Καίσαρος καὶ πρεσβευτῆς γεγονός καὶ συνηγονισμένος εν πᾶσι προθυμότατα τοῖς Κελτικοῖς πολέμους, τότ’ ἐκεί-νον ἀποδράς ἀφίκετο πρὸς Πομπήίου.

3 Ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μὲν καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὰς ἀποσκευὰς ἀπέπεμψεν ὁ Καίσαρ. Δομετίω δὲ ἤγονει σπειρῶν τριάκοντα καὶ κατέχοντι Κορ-φίνου ἐπελθὼν παρεστρατοπέδευσεν. ὁ δὲ ἄπο-γνοὺς τὰ καθ’ ἐαυτὸν ἤτησε τὸν ἰατρὸν οἰκέτην οὖντα φάρμακον καὶ λαβὼν τὸ δοθὲν ἐστει ὡς τεθνησόμενοι. μετ’ ὀλγον δὲ ἀκούσας τὸν Καί-σαρα θαυμαστὴ τινὶ φιλανθρωπία χρήσαται πρὸς τοὺς ἐαλωκότας, αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεθάνει καὶ τὴν ἐξύπητα τοῦ βουλεύματος ἤτιατο. τοῦ δ’ ἰατροῦ θαρρύναντος αὐτὸν, ὡς ὑπνωτικόν, οὐθανάσιμον, πεπωκότα, περιχαρῆς ἀναστὰς ἀπῆλε πρὸς Καί-
XXXIV. Accordingly, the consuls fled, without even making the sacrifices usual before departure; most of the senators also fled, after seizing, in a sort of robbery, whatever came to hand of their own possessions, as though it were the property of others. Some, too, who before this had vehemently espoused the cause of Caesar, were now frightened out of their wits, and were carried along, when there was no need of it, by the sweep of the great tide. But most pitiful was the sight of the city, now that so great a tempest was bearing down upon her, carried along like a ship abandoned of her helmsmen to dash against whatever lay in her path. Still, although their removal was so pitiful a thing, for the sake of Pompey men considered exile to be their country, and abandoned Rome with the feeling that it was Caesar's camp.\footnote{Cf. the \textit{Pompey}, lxi. 4.} For even Labienus, one of Caesar's greatest friends, who had been his legate and had fought most zealously with him in all his Gallic wars, now ran away from him and came to Pompey.

But Caesar sent to Labienus his money and his baggage; against Domitius, however, who was holding Corfinium with thirty cohorts under his command, he marched, and pitched his camp near by. Domitius, despairing of his enterprise, asked his physician, who was a slave, for a poison; and taking what was given him, drank it, intending to die. But after a little, hearing that Caesar showed most wonderful clemency towards his prisoners, he bewailed his fate, and blamed the rashness of his purpose. Then his physician bade him be of good cheer, since what he had drunk was a sleeping-potion and not deadly; whereupon Domitius rose up overjoyed and went to Caesar,
σαρα, καὶ λαβὼν δεξίαν αὐθίς διεξέπεσε πρὸς Πομπηίου. ταῦτα εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπαγγέλλομενα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἥδιος ἐποίει, καὶ τινὲς φυγόντες ἀνέστρεψαν.

XXXV. Ὅ δὲ Καίσαρ τὴν τε τοῦ Δομετίου στρατιὰν παρέλαβε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ὅσους ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι Πομπηίῳ στρατολογομένους ἐφθασε καταλαβὼν. πολὺς δὲ γεγονός ἦδη καὶ φοβερὸς ἐπ’ αὐτῶν ἦλαυνε Πομπηίου. ὥ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξατο τὴν ἐφοδίων, ἀλλ’ εἰς Βρεττίσιον φυγῶν τοὺς μὲν ὑπόντους πρότερον ἐστειλε μετὰ δυνάμεως εἰς Δυρράχιον, αὐτὸς δὲ ὄλγον ὑπέτερον ἐπελθόντος Καίσαρος ἐξέπλευσεν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γραφησομένοις τὰ καθ’ ἐκαστὸν δηλωθήσεται.

2 Καίσαρι δὲ βουλομένῳ μὲν εὐθὺς διώκειν ἀπορία νεῶν ἦν’ εἰς δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνέστρεψε, γεγονός ἐν ἠμέραις ἐξήκοντα πάσης ἀναίμωτι τῆς Ἰταλίας κύριος.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν εὗρε μᾶλλον ἡ προσεδόκα καθεστῶσαν καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ βουλῆς ἐν αὐτῇ συγνοῦσ, τούτοις μὲν ἐπιεικῆ καὶ δημοτικά διελέξθη, παρακαλῶν αὐτοὺς καὶ πρὸς Πομπηίου ἀποστέλλειν ἄνδρας ἐπὶ συμβάσει πρεποῦσαις ὑπήκουσε δ’ οὕτως, ἐπὶ φοβοῦμενοι Πομπηίου ἐγκαταλελειμμένου, ἐπὶ μὴ νομίζοντες οὕτω Καίσαρα φρονεῖν, ἀλλ’ εὑρετεῖα λόγων χρῆσθαι.

3 τοῦ δὲ δημάρχου Μετέλλου κωλύοντος αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀποθέτων χρήματα λαμβάνειν καὶ νόμους τινὰς προφέροντος, οὐκ ἐφ’ τὸν αὐτὸν ὁπλῶν καὶ νόμων καίρου εἶναι. "Σὺ δὲ εἰ τοῖς πραττομένοις δυσκολαίνεις, νῦν μὲν ἐκποδῶν ἄπιθι: παρρησίας
the pledge of whose right hand he received, only to desert him and go back to Pompey. When tidings of these things came to Rome, men were made more cheerful, and some of the fugitives turned back.

XXXV. Caesar took over the troops of Domitius, as well as all the other levies of Pompey which he surprised in the various cities. Then, since his forces were already numerous and formidable, he marched against Pompey himself. Pompey, however, did not await his approach, but fled to Brundisium, sent the consuls before him with an army to Dyrrhachium, and shortly afterwards, as Caesar drew near, sailed off himself, as shall be set forth circumstantially in his Life. Caesar wished to pursue him at once, but was destitute of ships; so he turned back to Rome, having in sixty days and without bloodshed become master of all Italy.

He found the city more tranquil than he was expecting, and many senators in it. With these, therefore, he conferred in a gentle and affable manner, inviting them even to send a deputation to Pompey proposing suitable terms of agreement. But no one would listen to him, either because they feared Pompey, whom they had abandoned, or because they thought that Caesar did not mean what he said, but was indulging in specious talk. When the tribune Metellus tried to prevent Caesar's taking money from the reserve funds of the state, and cited certain laws, Caesar said that arms and laws had not the same season. "But if thou art displeased at what is going on, for the present get out

1 Chapter lxxii.
2 Caesar gives a summary of his speech to the senators in B.C. i. 32.
γὰρ οὐ δεῖται πόλεμος· ὅταν δὲ κατάθωμαι τὰ ὅπλα συμβάσεων γενομένων, τότε παριών δημα-
γογήσεις. καὶ ταῦτα," ἐφη, "λέγω τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ
δικαίων υφίστανος· ἐμὸς γὰρ εἰ καὶ σὺ καὶ πάντες
όσους εἰληφα τῶν πρὸς ἐμὲ στασιασάντων.
4 ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Μέτελλον εἰπὼν ἐβαίνει πρὸς
tὰς θύρας τοῦ ταμείου, μὴ φανομένων δὲ τῶν
κλειδῶν χαλκεῖς μεταπεμψάμενος ἐκκόπτειν ἐκέ-
λευν· ἀδίκες δὲ ἐνισταμένου τοῦ Μετέλλου καὶ
tινῶν ἐπαινοῦντων, διατεινάμενος ἥπειρείς ἀπο-
κτείνειν αὐτόν, εἰ μὴ πάσαντο παρενοχλῆσαι. "Καὶ
tούτο," ἐφη, "μειράκιον, οὐκ ἁγιοις ὅτι μοι
dυσκολῶτερον ἦν εἰπεῖν ἢ πράξαι." οὕτως ὁ
λόγος τότε καὶ Μέτελλον ἀπελθεῖν ἐποίησε κατα-
δείκειαν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ῥαδίως αὐτῷ καὶ ταχέως
ὑπηρετεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον.
XXXVI. Ὑστράτευε δὲ εἰς ᾿Ιβηρίαν πρότερον
ἐγνωκὼς τοὺς περὶ ᾿Αφράντον καὶ Βάρρωνα Πομ-
πηίου πρεσβευτὰς ἐκβαλεῖν, καὶ τὰς ἐκεῖ δυνά-
μεις καὶ τὰς ἐπαρχίας ὑφ’ αὐτῶν ποιησάμενος
οὕτως ἐπὶ Πομπηίου ἑλαύνειν, μηδένα κατὰ νότον
tῶν πολέμιων ὑπολειπόμενος. κινδυνεύσας δὲ
καὶ τὸ σῶμα πολλάκις κατ’ ἐνέδρας καὶ τῷ
στρατῷ μάλιστα διὰ λιμόν, οὐκ ἄνηκε πρότερον
dιώκων καὶ προκαλούμενος καὶ περίταφεύων
tοὺς ἄνδρας ἢ κύριος βία γενέσθαι τῶν στρατο-
πεδῶν καὶ τῶν δυνάμεων. οἱ δὲ ἡγεμόνες ὅχοντο
πρὸς Πομπηίου φεύγοντες.
XXXVII. Ὑπανελθόντα δὲ εἰς ᾿Ρώμην Καί-
σαρα Πείσοι μὲν ὁ πενθερὸς παρεκάλει πρὸς
Πομπηίου ἀποστέλλειν ἄνδρας ὑπὲρ διαλύσεως,
of the way, since war has no use for free speech; when, however, I have come to terms and laid down my arms, then thou shalt come before the people with thy harangues. And in saying this I waive my own just rights; for thou art mine, thou and all of the faction hostile to me whom I have caught.” After this speech to Metellus, Caesar walked towards the door of the treasury, and when the keys were not to be found, he sent for smiths and ordered them to break in the door. Metellus once more opposed him, and was commended by some for so doing; but Caesar, raising his voice, threatened to kill him if he did not cease his troublesome interference. “And thou surely knowest, young man,” said he, “that it is more unpleasant for me to say this than to do it.” Then Metellus, in consequence of this speech, went off in a fright, and henceforth everything was speedily and easily furnished to Caesar for the war.1

XXXVI. So he made an expedition into Spain,2 having resolved first to drive out from there Afranius and Varro, Pompey’s legates, and bring their forces there and the provinces into his power, and then to march against Pompey, leaving not an enemy in his rear. And though his life was often in peril from ambuscades, and his army most of all from hunger, he did not cease from pursuing, challenging, and besieging the men until he had made himself by main force master of their camps and their forces. The leaders, however, made their escape to Pompey.

XXXVII. When Caesar came back to Rome, Piso, his father-in-law, urged him to send a deputation to Pompey with proposals for a settlement; but

1 Cf. the Pompey, lxii. 1.  2 Cf. Caesar, B.C. i. 34–86.
'Ισαυρικὸς δὲ Καίσαρι χαρίζομενος ἀντεῖπεν. αἱρεθεὶς δὲ δικτάτωρ ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς φυγάδας τε κατήγαγε, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Σύλλα δυστυχησάντων τοὺς παίδας ἐπιτίμησε ἐποίησε, καὶ σεισάχθείς τινί τόκων ἐκούφιζε τοὺς χρεώφειλέτας, ἀλλὰ τε τοιούτων ἦσατο πολιτεμάτων οὐ πολλῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἡμέραις ἐνδεκα τὴν μὲν μοναρχίαν ἀπει- πάμενος, ὑπατον δὲ ἀναδείξας ἑαυτὸν καὶ Σερούλ- λιον Ἰσαυρικόν, εἰχετο τῆς στρατείας.

2 Καὶ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας δυνάμεις καθ' ὁδὸν ἐπενγό- μενος παρῆλθεν, ἄπτεσι δὲ ἔχων λογάδας ἐξα- κοσίους καὶ πέντε τάγματα, χειμῶνος ἐν τροπαῖς ὁντος, ἵσταμένου Ἰαννουαρίου μηνὸς (ὧτος δ' ἀν εὗθυς Ποσειδέων Ἀθηναίοις) ἀφίκεν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος· καὶ διαβαλών τὸν Ἰόνιον Ὀμικον καὶ Ἀπολλω- νίαν αἱρεί, τὰ δὲ πλοῖα πώλην ἀπέπεμψεν εἰς Βρεντέσιον ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑστερόσαντας τῇ πορείᾳ.

3 στρατιώτας. οἱ δὲ ἄχρι μὲν καθ' ὁδὸν ἤσαν, ἀτε δὴ καὶ παρηκμακότες ἤδη τοῖς σώμασι καὶ πρὸς τὰ πλῆθη τῶν πολέμων ἀπειρηκότες, εἰς αὑτίας εἶχον τὸν Καίσαρα. "Ποί δὴ καὶ πρὸς τὰ πέρας ἡμᾶς οὕτως ο ἄνηρ καταθήκεται περιφέρων καὶ χρόμενος ὡσπέρ ἀτρύνως καὶ ἄψυχος ἦμιν; καὶ σίδηρος ἔξεκαμε πληγαῖς, καὶ θυρεοῦ τῆς ἐστὶ

4 φειδὼ ἐν χρόνῳ τοσοῦτῳ καὶ θώρακος. οὐδὲ ὧτο τῶν τραυμάτων ἀρα λογίζεται Καίσαρ ὅτι ὑνητῶν μὲν ἄρχει, ὑνητὰ δὲ πεφυκαμεν πάσχειν καὶ ἀλ- γεῖς; ὥραν δὲ χειμῶνος καὶ πνεύματος ἐν θαλάτ- τη καιρόν οὐδὲ θεῷ βιάζεσθαι δυνάτον ἀλλ' οὕτως παραβάλλεται καθάπερ οὐ διάκον πολε- μίους, ἄλλα φεύγων." τοιαῦτα λέγοντες ἐπορεύ-

532
Isauricus, to please Caesar, opposed the project. So, having been made dictator by the senate, he brought home exiles, restored to civic rights the children of those who had suffered in the time of Sulla, relieved the burdens of the debtor-class by a certain adjustment of interest, took in hand a few other public measures of like character, and within eleven days abdicated the sole power, had himself declared consul with Servilius Isauricus, and entered upon his campaign.

The rest of his forces he passed by in a forced march, and with six hundred picked horsemen and five legions, at the time of the winter solstice, in the early part of January¹ (this month answers nearly to the Athenian Poseideon), put to sea, and after crossing the Ionian gulf took Oricum and Apollonia, and sent his transports back again to Brundisium for the soldiers who had been belated on their march. These, as long as they were on the road, since they were now past their physical prime and worn out with their multitudinous wars, murmured against Caesar. "Whither, pray, and to what end will this man bring us, hurrying us about and treating us like tireless and lifeless things? Even a sword gets tired out with smiting, and shield and breastplate are spared a little after so long a time of service. Will not even our wounds, then, convince Caesar that he commands mortal men, and that we are mortal in the endurance of pain and suffering? Surely the wintry season and the occasion of a storm at sea not even a god can constrain; yet this man takes risks as though he were not pursuing, but flying from, enemies." With such words as these they

¹ 48 B.C. The Roman calendar, at this time, was much in advance of the solar seasons.
5 οντο σχολαίως εῖς τὸ Βρεντέσιον. ὃς δὲ ἐλθόντες εὐρόν ἀνηγμένον τὸν Καίσαρα, ταχὺ πάλιν αὐτοκράτορας ἀποκαλοῦντες τοῦ τοῦς ὅγισκόν, ἦγεμόνας οὐκ ἐπιταχύναντας τὴν πορείαν. καθήμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἁκρῶν πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος καὶ τὴν Ἡπείρου ἀπεσκόπουν τὰς ναῦς ἐφ᾽ ὃν ἐμελλὼν περαιοῦσθαι πρὸς ἐκείνων.

XXXVIII. Ἐν δὲ Ἀπολλωνία Καίσαρ οὐκ ἔχων ἀξιόμαχον τὴν μεθ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν, βραδυνοῦς δὲ τῆς ἐκείθεν, ἀπορούμενος καὶ περιπαθῶν, δεινὸν ἐβούλευσε βούλευμα, κρύφα πάντων εἰς πλοῖον ἐμβας τὸ μέγεθος δωδεκάσκαλλον ἀναχθῆναι πρὸς τὸ Βρεντέσιον, τηλικοῦτος στόλους περιεχομένου τοῦ πελάγους ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμιῶν.

2 νυκτὸς οὖν ἐσθητίθανε βεράποντος ἑπικρυψάμενος ἐνέβη, καὶ καταβαλὼν ἑαυτὸν ὡς τινα τῶν παρημελημένων ἕστηκε. τοῦ δὲ Ἀὼν ποταμοῦ τὴν ναῦν ὑποφέροντος εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, τὴν μὲν ἐωθινὴν ἀυραν, ἢ παρεῖχε τηνικάντα περὶ τᾶς ἐκβολᾶς γαλήνην ἀπωθοῦσα πόρρω τὸ κύμα, πολὺς πνεύσας πελάγιος διὰ νυκτὸς ἀπέσβεσε.

3 πρὸς δὲ τὴν πλημμύραν τῆς θαλάττης καὶ τὴν ἀντίβασιν τοῦ κλύδωνος ἀγριαίνων ὁ ποταμὸς, καὶ τραχὺς ἀμα καὶ κτύπῳ μεγάλῳ καὶ σκληραῖς ἀνακοπτόμενος δίναις, ἀπορος ἢν βιασθῆναι τῷ κυβερνήτῃ καὶ μεταβαλεῖν ἐκέλευσε τοῦς ναύτας ὡς ἀποστρέψων τὸν πλοῖον, αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὁ Καίσαρ ἀνάδεικνυσιν ἑαυτόν, καὶ τοῦ κυβερνήτου λαβόμενος τῆς χειρὸς ἐκπεπληγμένου πρὸς τὴν ὁψιν, "Ἰθι," ἔφη, "γεννάε, τόλμα καὶ δέδιθι.
marched in a leisurely way to Brundisium. But when they got there and found that Caesar had put to sea, they quickly changed their tone and reviled themselves as traitors to the Imperator; they reviled their officers, too, for not having quickened their march. Then, sitting on the cliffs, they looked off towards the open sea and Epirus, watching for the ships which were to carry them across to their commander.

XXXVIII. At Apollonia, since the force which he had with him was not a match for the enemy and the delay of his troops on the other side caused him perplexity and distress, Caesar conceived the dangerous plan of embarking in a twelve-oared boat, without any one's knowledge, and going over to Brundisium, though the sea was encompassed by such large armaments of the enemy. At night, accordingly, after disguising himself in the dress of a slave, he went on board, threw himself down as one of no account, and kept quiet. While the river Aoüs was carrying the boat down towards the sea, the early morning breeze, which at that time usually made the mouth of the river calm by driving back the waves, was quelled by a strong wind which blew from the sea during the night; the river therefore chafed against the inflow of the sea and the opposition of its billows, and was rough, being beaten back with a great din and violent eddies, so that it was impossible for the master of the boat to force his way along. He therefore ordered the sailors to come about in order to retrace his course. But Caesar, perceiving this, disclosed himself, took the master of the boat by the hand, who was terrified at sight of him, and said: "Come, good man, be bold
μηδέν" Καίσαρα φέρεις καὶ τὴν Καίσαρος τὺχευν
συμπλέονσαν." ἐλάθοντο τοῦ χειμῶνος οἱ ναῦται, καὶ ταῖς κώπαις ἐμφύτευτες ἐβιάζοντο πάση προθυμία τὸν ποταμὸν. ὡς δὲ ἦν ἀπορα, δεξαμενὸς πολλὴν θαλατταν καὶ κινδυνεύσας ἐν τῷ στόματι συνεχώρησε μᾶλα ἄκων τῷ κυβερνήτῃ μεταβαλεῖν. ἀνιόντε ἐς αὐτῷ κατὰ πλῆθος ἀπήντων οἱ στρατιῶται, πολλὰ μεμφόμενοι καὶ δυσπαθοῦντες εἰ μὴ πέπεισται καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς μόνοις ἰκανὸς εἶναι νικᾶν, ἀλλ' ἀχθεῖαι καὶ παραβάλλεται διὰ τοὺς ἀπόντας ὡς ἀπιστῶν τοῖς παροῦσιν.

XXXIX. Ἑκ τούτου κατέπλευσε μὲν 'Αντόνιος ἀπὸ Βρεντεσίου τὰς δυνάμεις ἄγων. θαρρήσας δὲ Καίσαρ προὔκαλείτο Πομπήιον ἰδρυμένον ἐν καλῷ καὶ χορηγούμενον ἐκ τε γῆς καὶ θαλάτης ἀποχρώντως, αὐτὸς ἐν οὐκ ἀφθόνοις διάγων καὶ ἀρχαῖς, ύστερον δὲ καὶ σφόδρα πισθεις ἀπορία τῶν ἀναγκαίων. ἀλλὰ ρίζαν τινὰ κοπτοῦτες οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ γάλακτι φυρώντες 2 προσεφέροντο. καὶ ποτε καὶ διαπλάσαντες ἐς αὐτῆς ἄρτους καὶ ταῖς προφυλακαῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιδραμόντες ἐβαλλον εἰςω καὶ διερρήτων, ἐπιλέγοντες ός, ἄρχε  ἄν ἡ γῆ τοιαύτας ἐκφέρη ρίζας, οὐ παύσονται πολιορκούντες Πομπήιον. ὁ μέντοι Πομπήιος οὔτε τοὺς ἄρτους οὔτε τοὺς λόγους εἶα τούτους ἐκφέρεσθαι πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος. ήθύμονον γὰρ οἱ στρατιῶται, τὴν ἀγριότητα καὶ τὴν ἀπάθειαν τῶν πολεμίων ὥσπερ θηρίων ὀρ-ρωδοῦντες.

3 'Αεὶ δὲ τινὲς περὶ τοῖς ἐρύμασι τοῖς Πομπηίου μᾶχαι σποράδες ἐγήγονοντο· καὶ περὶ ἕν πάσαις ὁ
536
and fear naught; thou carryest Caesar and Caesar's fortune in thy boat." ¹ The sailors forgot the storm, and laying to their oars, tried with all alacrity to force their way down the river. But since it was impossible, after taking much water and running great hazard at the mouth of the river, Caesar very reluctantly suffered the captain to put about. When he came back, his soldiers met him in throngs, finding much fault and sore displeased with him because he did not believe that even with them alone he was able to conquer, but was troubled, and risked his life for the sake of the absent as though distrusting those who were present.

XXXIX. After this, Antony put in from Brundisium with his forces, and Caesar was emboldened to challenge Pompey to battle. Pompey was well posted and drew ample supplies both from land and sea; while Caesar had no great abundance at first, and afterwards was actually hard pressed for want of provisions. But his soldiers dug up a certain root, mixed it with milk, and ate it.² Once, too, they made loaves of it, and running up to the enemy's outposts, threw the loaves inside or tossed them to one another, adding by way of comment that as long as the earth produced such roots, they would not stop besieging Pompey. Pompey, however, would not allow either the loaves or these words to reach the main body of his army. For his soldiers were dejected, fearing the ferocity and hardiness of their enemies, who were like wild beasts in their eyes.

There were constant skirmishings about the fortifications of Pompey, and in all of them Caesar got

¹ Cf. Dion Cassius, xli. 46, 3.
² Cf. Caesar, B.C. iii. 48.
Καίσαρ πλὴν μᾶς, ἐν ἦ τροπῆς μεγάλης γενομένης ἐκεινὸν ἀπολέσατο τὸ στρατόπεδον. Πομπήιον γὰρ προσβάλλοντος οὐδεὶς ἔμεινεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τάφροι κατεπίπλαντο κτεινομένων, καὶ περὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν χαρακώμασι καὶ περιτειχισμασίᾳ. 4 σμασίν ἐπιπτὼν ἠλαυνομένου προτροπάδην. Καίσαρ δὲ ὑπαντιάζων ἑπειρᾶτο μὲν ἀναστρέφειν τοὺς φεύγοντας, ἔπεραινε δὲ οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ λαμβανομένων τῶν σημείων ἀπερρίπτουν οἱ κομίζοντες, ὡστε δύο καὶ τριάκοντα λαβεῖν τοὺς πολέμιους. αὐτὸς δὲ παρὰ μικρὸν ἦλθεν ἀποθανεῖν. ἀνδρὶ γὰρ μεγάλῳ καὶ ῥωμαλέῳ φεύγοντι παρ' αὐτῶν ἐπιβαλὼν τὴν χειρα μένειν ἐκέλευσε καὶ στρέψεθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολέμιους· οὐ δὲ μεστὸς ὁ ἁραγῆς παρὰ τὸ δείνον ἐπίρατο τὴν μάχαιραν ὡς καθιξόμενος, φθάνει δὲ ὁ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑπαστήτης ἀποκόψας αὐτοῦ τὸν ὄμον. σύντοι δὲ ἀπείνω τὰ καθ' αὐτὸν ὅστε, ἐπεὶ Πομπήιος ὑπ' εὐλαβείας τινὸς ἢ τύχης ἔργῳ μεγάλῳ τέλος οὐκ ἐπέθηκεν, ἀλλ' καθείρξας εἰς τὸν χάρακα τοὺς φεύγοντας ἀνεχώρησεν, εἶπεν ἄρα πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἀπὶ ὧν ὁ Καίσαρ, "Σῆμερον ἢν ἢ νύκη παρὰ τοῖς πολέμιοις ἤ, εἰ τὸν νυκώντα εἴχον." 5 πιστὴς ἀποκόψας αὐτοῦ τὸν ὄμον. σύντοι δὲ ἀπείνω τὰ καθ' αὐτὸν ὅστε, ἐπεὶ Πομπήιος ὑπ' εὐλαβείας τινὸς ἢ τύχης ἔργῳ μεγάλῳ τέλος οὐκ ἐπέθηκεν, ἀλλ' καθείρξας εἰς τὸν χάρακα τοὺς φεύγοντας ἀνεχώρησεν, εἶπεν ἄρα πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἀπὶ ὧν ὁ Καίσαρ, "Σῆμερον ἢν ἢ νύκη παρὰ τοῖς πολέμιοις ἤ, εἰ τὸν νυκώντα εἴχον." 6 αὐτὸς δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ κατακλυθεὶς νῦκτα πασῶν ἐκείνην ἀνιαροτάτην διήγαγεν ἐν ἀπόροις λογισμοῖς, ὡς κακῶς ἐστρατηγικός, ὅτι καὶ χώρας ἐπικειμένης βαθείας καὶ πόλεων εὐδαιμόνων τῶν Μακεδονικῶν καὶ Θεταλικῶν, εὔσας ἐκεῖ περιστασάς τῶν πολέμου ἐνταῦθα καθέξοιτο πρὸς θαλάττη, ναυκρατούντων τῶν πολέμιων, πολιορκομένους τοῖς ἀγαγκαίοις μᾶλ-
the better except one, where there was a great rout of his men and he was in danger of losing his camp. For when Pompey attacked not one of Caesar’s men stood his ground, but the moats were filled with the slain, and others were falling at their own ramparts and walls, whither they had been driven in headlong flight. And though Caesar met the fugitives and tried to turn them back, he availed nothing, nay, when he tried to lay hold of the standards the bearers threw them away, so that the enemy captured thirty-two of them. Caesar himself, too, narrowly escaped being killed. For as a tall and sturdy man was running away past him, he laid his hand upon him and bade him stay and face about upon the enemy; and the fellow, full of panic at the threatening danger, raised his sword to smite Caesar, but before he could do so Caesar’s shield-bearer lopped off his arm at the shoulder. So completely had Caesar given up his cause for lost that, when Pompey, either from excessive caution or by some chance, did not follow up his great success, but withdrew after he had shut up the fugitives within their entrenchments, Caesar said to his friends as he left them: “To-day victory had been with the enemy, if they had had a victor in command.” ¹ Then going by himself to his tent and lying down, he spent that most distressful of all nights in vain reflections, convinced that he had shown bad generalship. For while a fertile country lay waiting for him, and the prosperous cities of Macedonia and Thessaly, he had neglected to carry the war thither, and had posted himself here by the sea, which his enemies controlled with their fleets, being thus held in siege by lack of

¹ Cf. the Pompey, lxv. 5.
Λόγος η τοίς ὄπλοις πολιορκῶν. οὕτω δὴ ρυπτασθεὶς καὶ ἀδημονήσας πρὸς τὴν ἀπορίαν καὶ χαλεπότητα τῶν παρόντων ἀνίστη τὸν στρατὸν, ἔπι Σκηνίωνα προάγει εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἐγνωκὸς ἥ γὰρ ἐπιστάσεσθαι Πομπηίου ὅποι παλαιότερος ὑποίκιος ἢ παλαιότερος ἢ περισσότερος ὑποίκιος Σκηνίωνος. 

ΧΙ. Τοῦτο τὴν Πομπηίου στρατιὰν ἐπῆρε καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἰγκρόνα γόρα λαβὼς ἐὰν Πομπηίος ἀναρρίχαται μάχην περὶ τηλικοῦτων, καὶ παραδοεύθεμαν ἄριστα πᾶσι πρὸς τὸν χρόνον ἦξιον τρίβειν καὶ μαραίνειν τὴν τόλμην πολεμίων ἀκμήν βραχεῖαν ὄνταν. τὸ γὰρ τοι μαχιμῶστατον τῆς Καίσαρος ἄνυμεοι ἐμπερίαν μὲν εἰχε καὶ τόλμαν ἀνυπόστατον πρὸς τοὺς ἀγώνας, ἐν δὲ ταῖς πλάναις καὶ ταῖς στρατοπεδεῖαις καὶ τειχωμαχοῦσι καὶ νυκτεριοῦσι εξεκαμοῦν ὑπὸ γήρως, καὶ βαρῆς ἦσαν τοῖς σώμασι πρὸς τοὺς πόνους, δι' ἀσθενεῖαν ἐγκαταλείπουσι τὴν προθυμίαν. τότε δὲ καὶ τὴ νόσημα λοιμῶδες ἐξέλθη, τὴν ἀτοπίαν τῆς διαίτης ποιησάμενον ἄρχην, ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ περιφέρεσθαι τῇ Καίσαρος. καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, οὕτε χρήμασιν ἔρωμενοποιεῖ τροφῆς εὐπορῶν χρόνου βραχέος ἐδόκει περὶ αὐτῶ καταλυθῆσθαι.

ΧΙ. Διὰ ταῦτα Πομπηίου μάχεσθαι μὴ βουλομένου μόνος ἐπῆναι Κάτων φείδωτο τῶν πολιτῶν.
provisions rather than besieging with his arms. Thus his despondent thoughts of the difficulty and perplexity of his situation kept him tossing upon his couch, and in the morning he broke camp, resolved to lead his army into Macedonia against Scipio; for he would then either draw Pompey after him to a place where he would give battle without drawing his supplies as he now did from the sea, or Scipio would be left alone and he would overwhelm him.

XL. This emboldened the soldiers of Pompey and the leaders by whom he was surrounded to keep close to Caesar, whom they thought defeated and in flight. For Pompey himself was cautious about hazarding a battle for so great a stake, and since he was most excellently provided with everything necessary for a long war, he thought it best to wear out and quench the vigour of the enemy, which must be short-lived. For the best fighting men in Caesar’s army had experience, it is true, and a daring which was irresistible in combat; but what with their long marches and frequent encampments and siege-warfare and night-watches, they were beginning to give out by reason of age, and were too unwieldy for labour, having lost their ardour from weakness. At that time, too, a kind of pestilential disease, occasioned by the strangeness of their diet, was said to be prevalent in Caesar’s army. And what was most important of all, since Caesar was neither strong in funds nor well supplied with provisions, it was thought that within a short time his army would break up of itself.

XLI. For these reasons Pompey did not wish to fight, but Cato was the only one to commend his course, and this from a desire to spare the lives
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

"ός γε καὶ τοὺς πεσόντας ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῶν πολεμίων εἰς χιλίους τὸ πλῆθος γενομένους ἵδων ἀπῆλθεν ἐγκαλυψάμενος καὶ καταδικάσας. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι πάντες ἐκάκιζον τὸν Πομπήιον φυγομαχοῦντα, καὶ παρόξυνον Ἀγαμέμνονα καὶ βασιλέα βασιλέων ἀποκαλοῦντες, ὡς δὴ μὴ βουλόμενον ἀποθέσθαι τὴν μοναρχίαν, ἀλλ' ἀγαλλόμενον ἠγεμόνων τοσοῦτων ἐξηρτημένων αὐτοῦ καὶ φοι-2 τῶν ἐπὶ σκηνήν. Φαώνιος δὲ τὴν Κάτωνος παρρησίαν ὑποτοιούμενος, μανικῶς ἐσχετλιάζεν εἰ μηδὲ τῆς ἔστατον περὶ Τουσκλάνων ἀπολαύσαι σύκων διὰ τὴν Πομπήιον φιλαρχίαν. Ἀφράνιος δὲ (νεωστὶ γὰρ εἰ Ἰβηρίας ἀφίκτο κακῶς στρατηγήσας) διαβαλλόμενος ἐπὶ χρήμασι προδούναι τὸν στρατὸν, ἡρώτα διὰ τὸ πρὸς τὸν ἐμπορὸν ὦ μάχονται τὸν ἐσωμημένον παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐπαρχίας. ἐκ τούτων ἀπαντῶν συνελαυνόμενοι ἄκων εἰς μάχην ὁ Πομπήιος ἔχωρει τὸν Καίσαρα διώκων.

3 'Ο δὲ τὴν μὲν ἄλλην πορείαν χαλεπῶς ἦνυσεν, οὐδενὸς παρέχοντος ἀγοράν, ἀλλὰ πάντων καταφρονοῦντων διὰ τὴν ἐναγχος ἦτταν· ὡς δὲ εἴλε Γόμφους, Θεσσαλικὴν πόλιν, οὐ μόνον ἐθρεψε τὴν στρατιὰν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς νασῆματος ἀπῆλλαξε παραλόγως. ἀφθόνω γὰρ ἐνέτυχον οἴνω, καὶ πίοντες ἀνέδην, εἰτὰ χρώμενοι κόμοις καὶ βακχευόντες ἀνὰ τὴν ὁδὸν, ἐκ μέθης διεκρύσαντο καὶ παρῆλλαξαν τὸ πάθος, εἰς ἕξιν ἐτέραν τοῖς σώμασι μεταπεσόντες.

XLIII. 'Ως δὲ εἰς τὴν Φαρσαλίαν ἐμβαλόντες ἀμφότεροι κατεστρατοπέδευσαν, ὁ μὲν Πομπήιος
of his fellow citizens; for when he saw even those of the enemy who had fallen in the battle, to the number of a thousand, he burst into tears, muffled up his head, and went away. All the rest, however, reviled Pompey for trying to avoid a battle, and sought to goad him on by calling him Agamemnon and King of Kings, implying that he did not wish to lay aside his sole authority, but plummed himself on having so many commanders dependent upon him and coming constantly to his tent. And Favonius, affecting Cato’s boldness of speech, complained like a mad man because that year also they would be unable to enjoy the figs of Tusculum because of Pompey’s love of command.\textsuperscript{1} Afranius, too, who had lately come from Spain, where he had shown bad generalship, when accused of betraying his army for a bribe, asked why they did not fight with the merchant who had bought the provinces from him.\textsuperscript{1} Driven on by all these importunities, Pompey reluctantly sought a battle and pursued Caesar.

Caesar accomplished most of his march with difficulty, since no one would sell him provisions, and everybody despised him on account of his recent defeat; but after he had taken Gomphi, a city of Thessaly, he not only provided food for his soldiers, but also relieved them of their disease unexpectedly. For they fell in with plenty of wine, and after drinking freely of it, and then revelling and rioting on their march, by means of their drunkenness they drove away and got rid of their trouble, since they brought their bodies into a different habit.

XLII. But when both armies entered the plain of Pharsalus and encamped there, Pompey’s mind

\textsuperscript{1} Cf. the \textit{Pompey}, lxvii. 3.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

αὐθις εἰς τὸν ἄρχαίον ἀνεκρούετο λογισμὸν τὴν γνώμην, ἣτι καὶ φασμάτων οὐκ αἰσίων προσγενομένων καὶ καθ' ὑπνον ὀψεως. ἐδόκει γὰρ ἑαυτὸν ὅραν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ κροτούμενον ὑπὸ Ἦρωμαιών, ...

1 οἱ δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν οὕτω θρασεῖς ἦσαν καὶ τὸ νύκτιμα ταῖς ἐλπίσι προειληφότες ἀστει φιλοεικος ἐπερὶ τῆς Καίσαρος ἀρχιερωσύνης Δομίτιον καὶ Σπινθηρα καὶ Σκηπίωνα διαμιλλωμένους ἀλλ

2 λῆλοις, πέμπειν δὲ πολλοὺς εἰς Ἦρωμην μισθομένους καὶ προκαταλαμβάνοντας οἰκίας ὑπατεύουσι καὶ στρατηγούσιν ἐπιτηδείους, ὡς εὐθὺς ἄρξοντες μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον. μάλιστα δὲ ἐσφάδαζον οἱ ἵππεις ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην ἰσσημένοι περιττῶς ὅπλων λαμπρότησι καὶ τροφαῖς ὑπ'πων καὶ κάλλει σωμάτων, μέγα φρονούντες καὶ διὰ τὸ πλήθος, ἐπτακισχίλιοι πρὸς χιλίους τοὺς Καίσαρος ὄντες. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν πεζῶν πλῆθος οὐκ ἀγχώμαλον, ἀλλὰ τετρακισμύριοι καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι παρετάττοντο δισμυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους.

XLIII. Ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ τοὺς στρατιώτας συναγαγὼν, καὶ προειπὼν ὡς δύο μὲν αὐτῷ τάγματα Κορβίνιος ἄγων ἐγγύς ἔστιν, ἀλλ' δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα σπείραι μετὰ Καλλυνοῦ κάθηναι περὶ Μέγαρα καὶ Ἀθήνας, ἤρωτησεν εἴτε βούλοντα περιμένειν ἐκεῖνους, εἴτε αὐτοὶ διακινδυνεύσαι καθ' ἑαυτοὺς. οἱ δὲ ἀνεβόησαν δεόμενοι μὴ περιμένειν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον, ὅπως τάχιστα συνίασιν εἰς χείρας τοῖς πολεμίοις, τεχνάζεσθαι καὶ στρα2 τηγεῖν. ποιομένω δὲ καθαρμὸν αὐτῷ τῆς δυνά-

1 The substance of what has fallen from the text here may be found in the Pompey, lxviii. 2. Sintenis brackets the sentence as an intrusion here from marginal notes.
reverted again to its former reasoning, and besides, there befell him unlucky appearances and a vision in his sleep. He dreamed, namely, that he saw himself in his theatre applauded by the Romans, . . . Those about him, however, were so confident, and so hopefully anticipated the victory, that Domitius and Spinther and Scipio disputed earnestly with one another over Caesar's office of Pontifex Maximus, and many sent agents to Rome to hire and take possession of houses suitable for praetors and consuls, assuming that they would immediately hold these offices after the war.1 And most of all were his cavalry impatient for the battle, since they had a splendid array of shining armour, well-fed horses, and handsome persons, and were in high spirits too on account of their numbers, which were seven thousand to Caesar's one thousand. The numbers of the infantry also were unequal, since forty-five thousand were arrayed against twenty-two thousand.

XLIII. Caesar called his soldiers together, and after telling them that Corfinius2 was near with two legions for him, and that fifteen cohorts besides under Calenus were stationed at Athens and Megara, asked them whether they wished to wait for these troops, or to hazard the issue by themselves. Then the soldiers besought him with loud cries not to wait for the troops, but rather to contrive and manoeuvre to come to close quarters with the enemy as soon as possible. As he was holding a lustration

1 Cf. Caesar, B. C. iii. 82 f.; Plutarch, Pompey, lxvii. 5.
2 An error for Cornificius.
μενως καὶ θύσαντι τὸ πρῶτον ἱερεῖον εὐθὺς ὁ μάντες ἐφραξε τρὶῶν ἡμερῶν μάχη κριθήσεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. ἔρομένου δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος εἰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ τέλους ἐνόρα τι τοῖς ἱεροῖς εὐσήμουν, "Αὐτὸς ἄν," ἔφη, "σὺ τὸ τοῦ βέλτιον ὑποκρίναιο σαυτῷ. μεγάλην γὰρ οἱ θεοὶ μεταβολὴν καὶ μετάπτωσιν ἐπὶ τὰ ἑναντία τῶν καθεστώτων δηλοῦσιν, ὡστε εἰ μὲν εἰ πράττειν ἤγη σεαυτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ παρόντι, τὴν χείρονα προσδόκα τύχην εἰ δὲ κα-κὺς, τὴν ἄμεινα." τῇ δὲ πρὸ τῆς μάχης νυκτὶ τὰς φυλακὰς ἐφοδεύοντο αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸ μεσο-νύκτιον ὦφθη λαμπτὰς οὐρανίου πυρὸς, ἣν ὑπερ-ενεχθέεσαν τὸ Καίσαρος στρατόπεδον λαμπρὰν καὶ φλογάδη γενομένην ἔδοξεν εἰς τὸ Πομπηίου καταπεσεῖν. ἐσθινῆς δὲ φυλακῆς καὶ πανίκων τάραχον ἤσθοντο γυγνόμενον παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις. οὐ μὴν μαχεῖσθαι γε κατ’ ἐκείνην προσεδόκα τὴν ἡμέραν, ἀλλὰ ὡς ἐπὶ Σκοτοῦσσης ὀδεύων ἀνε-ξέγυνεν.

XLIV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν σκηνῶν ἦδη καταλελυ-μένων οἱ σκοποὶ προσίππευσαν αὐτῷ τοὺς πο-λεμίους ἐπὶ μάχη καταβαίνειν ἀπαγγέλλοντες, περιχαρῆς γεινόμενος καὶ προσευξάμενος τοῖς θεοῖς παρέτατε τὴν φάλαγγα, τὴν τάξιν τριπλῆν ποιῶν. καὶ τοῖς μὲν μέσοις ἔπεστησε Καλβίνοι Δομήτιοι, τῶν δὲ κεράτων τὸ μὲν εἶχεν Ἀντώνιος, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ δεξίον, ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ τάγματι μέλλων 2 μάχεσθαι. κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων ἱππεῖς ἀντιπαραταττομένους ὄρων, καὶ δεδοικὼς τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσχάτης τάξεως ἄδηλως ἐκέλευσε περιελθεῖν πρὸς εαυτὸν ἐξ σπείρας καὶ κατόπιν ἔστησε τοῦ δεξιοῦ, 729
and review of his forces and had sacrificed the first victim, the seer at once told him that within three days there would be a decisive battle with the enemy. And when Caesar asked him whether he also saw in the victims any favourable signs of the issue, "Thou thyself," said the seer, "canst better answer this question for thyself. For the gods indicate a great change and revolution of the present status to the opposite. Therefore, if thou thinkest thyself well off as matters stand, expect the worse fortune; if badly off, the better." Moreover, on the night before the battle, as Caesar was making the round of his sentries about midnight, a fiery torch was seen in the heavens, which seemed to be carried over his camp, blazing out brightly, and then to fall into Pompey's. And during the morning watch it was noticed that there was actually a panic confusion among the enemy.\(^1\) However, Caesar did not expect to fight on that day,\(^2\) but began to break camp for a march to Scotussa.

XLIV. But just as the tents had been struck, his scouts rode up to him with tidings that the enemy were coming down into the plain for battle. At this he was overjoyed, and after prayers and vows to the gods, drew up his legionaries in three divisions. Over the centre he put Domitius Calvinus, while of the wings Antony had one and he himself the right, where he intended to fight with the tenth legion. But seeing that the enemy's cavalry were arraying themselves over against this point, and fearing their brilliant appearance and their numbers, he ordered six cohorts from the furthermost lines to come round to him unobserved, and stationed them behind his right

\(^1\) Cf. the *Pompey*, lxviii. 3. \(^2\) August 9, 48 B.C
διδάξας ἂ χρή ποιεῖν ὅταν οἱ τῶν πολεμίων ἵππεῖς προσφέρονται. Πομπήιος δὲ τὸ μὲν αὐτὸς εἴχε τῶν κεράτων, τὸ δὲ εὐώνυμον Δομίτιος, τοῦ δὲ μέσου Σκηπίων ἦρχεν ὁ πενθερός. οἱ δὲ ἵππεῖς ἀπαντεῖς ἐπὶ τὸ ἀριστερὸν ἔβρισαν ὡς τὸ δεξιὸν κυκλωσόμενοι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ λαμπρὰν περὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ἴγμονα ποιησόμενοι τροπήν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀνθέξειν βάθος ὀπλιτικῆς φάλαγγος, ἀλλὰ συντρίψεθαι καὶ καταρράξεθαι πάντα τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐπιβολῆς ἀμα τοσοῦτον ἵππεών γενομένης.

4 Ὅσπειρ δὲ σημαίνειν ἐμελλὸν ἀμφότεροι τὴν ἔφοιδον, Πομπήιος μὲν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἐστώτας ἐν προβολῇ καὶ μένοντας ἀραρτῶς δέχεσθαι τὴν ἐπιδρομὴν τῶν πολεμίων, μέχρι ἂν ὑσσοῦ βολῆς ἐντὸς γένονται. Καῖσαρ δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτῳ διαμαρτεῖν φήσιν αὐτὸν, ἀγνοῆσαντα τὴν μετὰ δρόμου καὶ φορὰς ἐν ἀρχῇ γινομένην σύρραξιν, ὡς ἐν τῇ ταῖς πληγαῖς βίαιν προστίθησι καὶ συνεκκαίει τὸν


548
wing, teaching them what they were to do when the enemy’s horsemen attacked. Pompey had one of his wings himself, and Domitius the left, while Scipio, Pompey’s father-in-law, commanded the centre. But his horsemen all crowded to the left wing, intending to encircle the enemy’s right and make a complete rout about the commander himself; for they thought that no legionary array, however deep, could resist them, but that when so many horsemen made an onset together the enemy would be utterly broken and crushed.\footnote{Cf. the \textit{Pompey}, lxix. 1-3.}

When both sides were about to sound the charge, Pompey ordered his legionaries to stand with arms at the ready and await in close array the onset of the enemy until they were within javelin cast. But Caesar says\footnote{\textit{B.C.} iii. 92.} that here too Pompey made a mistake, not knowing that the initial clash with all the impetus of running adds force to the blows and fires the courage, which everything then conspires to fan. As Caesar himself was about to move his lines of legionaries, and was already going forward into action, he saw first one of his centurions, a man experienced in war and faithful to him, encouraging his men and challenging them to vie with him in prowess. Him Caesar addressed by name and said: "Caius Crassinius,\footnote{In Caesar’s version of this episode (\textit{B.C.} iii. 91 and 99), the name is Crastinus.} what are our hopes, and how does our confidence stand?" Then Crassinius, stretching forth his right hand, said with a loud voice: "We shall win a glorious victory, O Caesar, and thou shalt praise me to-day, whether I am alive or dead." So saying, he plunged foremost into the enemy at full
πολεμίως δρόμῳ, συνεπιπασάμενος τούς περι ἐαυτὸν ἐκατόν καὶ εἰκοσι στρατιῶτας. διακόψας δὲ τοὺς πρῶτους καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς χωρὶς φόνω πολλῶ καὶ βιαζόμενος ἀνακόπτεται ξίφει πληγεῖς διὰ τοῦ στόματος, ὡστε καὶ τὴν αἷμα ὑπὲρ τὸ ἵππον ἀνασχέειν.

XLV. Οὗτος δὲ τῶν πεζῶν κατὰ τὸ μέσον συρραγέντων καὶ μαχομένων, ἀπὸ τοῦ κέρατος οἱ Πομπηίου ἐπτεῖσ σοβάρως ἐπήλαυνον εἰς κύκλωσιν τοῦ δεξιοῦ τάς ἱλας ἀναχεόμενων καὶ πρὶν ἡ προσβαλεῖν αὐτούς ἔκτρεχουσιν αἱ σπείραι παρὰ Καίσαρος, οὐχ, ὡσπερ εἰώθεσαν, ἀκον-
2 τίσμασι χρώμενοι τοῖς υψίστοις, οὐδὲ μηροὺς παίοντες ἐκ χειρὸς ἡ κυήμας τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὄψεων εφίμενοι καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα συντιτρωσκοντες, ὑπὸ Καίσαρος δεδιδαγμένοι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἐσπίζοντος ἄνδρας οὐ πολλὰ πολέμοις οὐδὲ τραύμασιν ωμιληκότας, νέους δὲ καὶ κομῶντας ἐπὶ κάλλει καὶ ὁμα, μάλιστα τὰς τοιαύτας πληγὰς ὑπόψεσθαι καὶ μὴ μενεῖν, τὸν ἐν τῷ παρόντι κίνδυνον ἀμα καὶ τὴν αὐθίνης αἰσχύνης
3 δεδοικότας. ὁ δὴ καὶ συνεβαινειν οὐ γὰρ ἕνεκ' χοντο τῶν υψίστων ἀναφερομένων, οὐδὲ ἐτόλμων ἐν ὀφθαλμῷ τῶν σίδηρον ὁρῶντες, ἀλλ' ἀπεστρέφοντο καὶ συνεκαλύπτοντο φειδόμενοι τῶν προσώπων καὶ τέλος οὕτως ταράξανται εαυτοὺς ἐτράποντο φεύγειν αἰσχύστα, λυμνάμενοι τὸ σύμπαν. εὐθὺς γὰρ οἱ μὲν νεικηκότες τοῦτο έκυκλοῦντο τοὺς πεζοὺς καὶ κατὰ νότου προσπιττουτες ἐκοπτον.

4 Πομπηίους δὲ ὡς κατείδευν ἀπὸ θατερου τοὺς

550
speed, carrying along with him the one hundred and twenty soldiers under his command. But after cutting his way through the first rank, and while he was forging onwards with great slaughter, he was beaten back by the thrust of a sword through his mouth, and the point of the sword actually came out at the back of his neck.¹

XLV. When the infantry had thus clashed together in the centre and were fighting, Pompey's cavalry rode proudly up from the wing and deployed their squadrons to envelope the enemy's right; and before they could attack, the cohorts ran out from where Caesar was posted, not hurling their javelins, as usual, nor yet stabbing the thighs and legs of their enemies with them, but aiming them at their eyes and wounding their faces. They had been instructed to do this by Caesar, who expected that men little conversant with wars or wounds, but young, and pluming themselves on their youthful beauty, would dread such wounds especially, and would not stand their ground, fearing not only their present danger, but also their future disfigurement. And this was what actually came to pass; for they could not endure the upward thrust of the javelins, nor did they even venture to look the weapon in the face, but turned their heads away and covered them up to spare their faces. And finally, having thus thrown themselves into confusion, they turned and fled most shamefully, thereby ruining everything. For the conquerors of the horsemen at once encircled the infantry, fell upon their rear, and began to cut them to pieces.

When Pompey, on the other wing, saw his horse-

Cf. the Pompey, lxxi. 1–3.
ίππεις φυγή σκεδασθέντας, οὐκέτι ἦν ὁ αὐτὸς οὐδ' ἐμέμνητο Πομπήιος ὃν Μάγνος, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ θεοῦ μᾶλλον βλαπτομένῳ τὴν γυμνήν ἐσκόμως ἀφθογγος φυκό ἀπιὸν ἐπὶ σκηνήν, καὶ καθε-ξόμενος ἐκαραδόκει τὸ μέλλον, ἀρχι οὐ τροπῆς ἀπάντων γενομένης ἐπέβαινον οἱ πολέμιοι τοῦ χάρακος καὶ διεμάχοντο πρὸς τοὺς φυλάττοντας.

5 τότε δὲ ὅσπερ ἐννοοῦ γενόμενοι, καὶ ταύτην μόνην, ὡς φασί, φωνῇ ἁφεῖς, "Οὐκόν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν παρεμβολήν;" ἀπεδύσατο μὲν τὴν ἑναγώνιον καὶ στρατηγικὴν ἐσθήτα, φεύγοντι δὲ πρέπουσαν μεταλαβῶν ὑπεξῆλθεν. ἀλλ' οὕτως μὲν οὐαις ύστερον χρησάμενος τύχαις ὅπως τε παραδοῦσι ἑαυτὸν τοῖς Ἀιγυπτίοις ἀνδράσιν ἀνηρέθη, δηλοῦ-μεν ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκεῖνον γράμμασιν.

XLVI. Ὅ δὲ Καίσαρ ὃς ἐν τῷ χάρακι τοῦ Πομπήιου γενόμενος τοὺς τε κειμένους νεκροὺς ἤδη τῶν πολεμίων εἶδε καὶ τοὺς ἐτὶ κτεινομένους, εἰπεν ἀρα στενάξας: "Τούτο ἐβουλήθησαν, εἰς τούτῳ μὲ ἀνάγκης ὑπηγάγοντο, ἵνα Γαῖος Καίσαρ ὁ μεγίστους πολέμους κατορθώσας, εἰ προηκάμην 2 τὰ στρατεύματα, κἂν κατεδικάσθην." ταῦτα φησι Πολλίων Ἀσίννιος τὰ ρήματα Ὁρμαῖστι μὲν ἀναφθέγγασθαι τὸν Καίσαρα παρὰ τὸν τότε καίρον, Ἔλληνιστὶ δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγράφθαι τῶν δὲ ἀποθανόντων τούς πλείστους οἰκέτας γενέσθαι περὶ τὴν κατάληψιν τὸν χάρακος ἀναιρεθέντας, στρατιώτας δὲ μὴ πλείους ἐξακισχιλῶν πεσεῖν. τῶν δὲ ξώτων ἀλόντων κατέμιξε τοὺς πλείστους ὁ Καίσαρ εἰς τὰ τάγματα: πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀδειαν ἐδωκεν, ὥν καὶ Βροῦτος ἦν ὁ κτείνας αὐτὸν ύστερον, ἐφ' ὦ λέγεται μὴ φαινο-
men scattered in flight, he was no longer the same man, nor remembered that he was Pompey the Great, but more like one whom Heaven has robbed of his wits than anything else, he went off without a word to his tent, sat down there, and awaited what was to come, until his forces were all routed and the enemy were assailing his ramparts and fighting with their defenders. Then he came to his senses, as it were, and with this one ejaculation, as they say, “What, even to my quarters?” took off his fighting and general’s dress, put on one suitable for a fugitive, and stole away. What his subsequent fortunes were, and how he delivered himself into the hands of the Egyptians and was murdered, I shall tell in his Life.  

XLVI. But Caesar, when he reached Pompey’s ramparts and saw those of the enemy who were already lying dead there and those who were still falling, said with a groan: “They would have it so; they brought me to such a pass that if I, Caius Caesar, after waging successfully the greatest wars, had dismissed my forces, I should have been condemned in their courts.” Asinius Pollio says that these words, which Caesar afterwards wrote down in Greek, were uttered by him in Latin at the time; he also says that most of the slain were servants who were killed at the taking of the camp, and that not more than six thousand soldiers fell. Most of those who were taken alive Caesar incorporated in his legions, and to many men of prominence he granted immunity. One of these was Brutus, who afterwards slew him. Caesar was distressed, we are told, when  

1 Chapters lxxvii.—lxxx.  
2 Hoc voluerunt; tantis rebus gestis Gaius Caesar condemnatus esset, nisi ab exercitu auxilium petisset (Suetonius, Div. Jul. 30).
μένω μὲν ἀγωνιᾶσαι, σωθέντος δὲ καὶ παραγενέμουν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦσθήναι διαφερόντως.

XLVII. Σημειών δὲ πολλῶν γενομένων τῆς νίκης ἐπιφανέστατον ἵστορεῖται τὸ περὶ Τράλλεις.

ἐν γὰρ ίερῷ Νίκης ἀνδριάς εἰσῆλθε Καῖσαρος, καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτῷ χωρίον αὐτὸ τε στερεὸν φύσει καὶ λίθῳ σκληρῷ κατεστρωμένον ἦν ἀνωθεν ἐκ τούτου λέγουσιν ἀνατεῖλεν φοίνικα παρὰ τὴν βάσιν τοῦ ἀνδριάντος. ἐν δὲ Παταβίῳ Γάϊος Κορνήλιος, ἀνὴρ εὐδόκιμος ἐπὶ μαντική, Δίβιον τοῦ συγγραφέως πολίτης καὶ γνώριμος, ἑτύχανεν ἐπὶ ὀλονοΐς καθήμενοι ἐκεῖνην τὴν ἡμέραν. καὶ πρὸτον μὲν, ὡς Δίβιος φησί, τὸν καιρὸν ἐγνώ τῆς μάχης, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας εἶπεν ὅτι καὶ δὴ περαιώτερον τὸ χρῆμα καὶ συνίασιν εἰς ἔργοιν οἱ ἀνδρείς. αὐθίς δὲ πρὸς τῇ θέα γενόμενος καὶ τὰ σημεῖα κατιδὼν ἀνήλατο μετ᾽ ἐνθουσιασμοῦ βοῶν, "Νικᾶς, ὅ Καῖσαρ." ἔκπλαγότων δὲ τῶν παρατυχόντων περιελὼν τὸν στέφανον ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐνωμότως ἐφι μὴ πρὶν ἐπιθήσεσθαι πάλιν ἢ τῇ τέχνῃ μαρτυρῆσαι τὸ ἔργον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ Δίβιος οὖν πῆς γενέσθαι καταβεβαιοῦται.

XLVIII. Καῖσαρ δὲ τῷ Θεσταλῶν ἔθινε τὴν ἑλευθερίαν ἀναθεῖς νικητηρίου ἐδίωκε Πομπηίου· ἀγάμενος δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας Κυνίδους τε Θεοπόμπῳ τῷ συναγαγόντι τοὺς μέθοις χαριζόμενος ἠλευθέρωσε, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικοῦσι 2 τὸ τρίτον τῶν φόρων ἀνήκεν. εἰς δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐπὶ Πομπηίῳ τεθνηκότι καταχθεὶς Θεόδοτον μὲν ἀπεστράφη τὴν Πομπηίου κεφαλήν προσφέροντα, τὴν δὲ σφραγίδα δεξάμενος τοῦ
Brutus was not to be found, but when he was brought into his presence safe and sound, was pleased beyond measure.

XLVII. There were many portents of the victory, but the most remarkable one on record is that which was seen at Tralles. In that city's temple of Victory there stood a statue of Caesar, and the ground around it was itself naturally firm, and was paved with hard stone; yet from this it is said that a palm-tree shot up at the base of the statue. Moreover, at Patavium, Caius Cornelius, a man in repute as a seer, a fellow citizen and acquaintance of Livy the historian, chanced that day to be sitting in the place of augury. And to begin with, according to Livy, he discerned the time of the battle, and said to those present that even then the event was in progress and the men were going into action. And when he looked again and observed the signs, he sprang up in a rapture crying: "Thou art victorious, O Caesar!" The bystanders being amazed, he took the chaplet from his head and declared with an oath that he would not put it on again until the event had borne witness to his art. At any rate, Livy insists that this was so.

XLVIII. Caesar gave the Thessalians their freedom, to commemorate his victory, and then pursued Pompey; when he reached Asia he made the Cnidians also free, to please Theopompus the collector of fables, and for all the inhabitants of Asia remitted a third of their taxes. Arriving at Alexandria just after Pompey's death, he turned away in horror from Theodotus as he presented the head of Pompey, but he accepted Pompey's seal-ring, and shed tears over

---

1 Cf. Caesar B.C. iii 105 ad fin.
2 In Book exi, which is lost.
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

ἀνδρὸς κατεδάκρυσεν· ὤσοι δὲ τῶν ἑταῖρων αὐτοῦ καὶ συνήθων πλανώμενοι κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐαλῶ-κεσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, πάντας ἐνεργήτησε καὶ προσηγάγετο. τοῖς δὲ φίλοις εἰς Ῥώμην ἐγραφεν ὅτι τῆς νίκης ἀπολαύοι τοῦτο μέγιστον καὶ ἡδίστον, τὸ σώζειν τινὰς ἀεὶ τῶν πεπολεμηκότων πολιτῶν αὐτῶ.

3. Τὸν δὲ αὐτόθι πόλεμον οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον. ἀλλ’ ἔρωτι Κλεοπάτρας ἀδοξον αὐτῷ καὶ κινδυ-νώδη γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς βασιλικοὺς αἰτιῶνται, καὶ μάλιστα τὸν εὐνούχον Ποθείνον, άς πλείστον δυνάμενος καὶ Πομπήιον μὲν ἀνη-ρηκός ἐναγχος, ἐκβεβληκός δὲ Κλεοπάτραν, κρύφα μὲν ἐπεβούλευε τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φασὶν αὐτὸν ἀρξάμενον ἔκτοτε διανυκτερεύειν ἐν τοῖς πότοις ἐνεκα φυλακῆς τοῦ σώματος· φανερῶς δὲ οὐκ ἦν ἀνεκτός ἐπίθεσιν πολλὰ καὶ πρὸς ὑβριν εἰς τὸν Καίσαρα λέγων καὶ πράττων.

4. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ στρατιώτας τὸν κάκιστον μετρουμέ-νους καὶ παλαιότατον σῖτον ἐκέλευσεν ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ στέργειν, ἐσθίοντας τὰ ἀλλότρια, πρὸς δὲ τὰ δείπνα σκεῦεσιν ἔχριτο ἐξιλιώνις καὶ κεραμεῖς, ὥσ τὰ χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρὰ πάντα Καίσαρος ἔχοντος 731 εἰς τὶ χρέως. ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ τὸν βασιλεύοντος τὸτε πατὴρ Καίσαρι χιλίας ἐπτακοσίας πεντῆ-κοντα μυριάδας, διὸ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἀνήκε τοῖς παισὶν αὐτῶν πρότερον ὁ Καίσαρ, τὰς δὲ χιλίας

1 Cf. the Pompey, lxxx. 5.
2 See the Pompey, lxxvii. 2.
it. Moreover, all the companions and intimates of Pompey who had been captured by the king as they wandered over the country, he treated with kindness and attached them to himself. And to his friends in Rome he wrote that this was the greatest and sweetest pleasure that he derived from his victory, namely, from time to time to save the lives of fellow citizens who had fought against him.

As for the war in Egypt, some say that it was not necessary, but due to Caesar’s passion for Cleopatra, and that it was inglorious and full of peril for him. But others blame the king’s party for it, and especially the eunuch Potheinus, who had most influence at court, and had recently killed Pompey; he had also driven Cleopatra from the country, and was now secretly plotting against Caesar. On this account they say that from this time on Caesar passed whole nights at drinking parties in order to protect himself. But in his open acts also Potheinus was unbearable, since he said and did many things that were invidious and insulting to Caesar. For instance, when the soldiers had the oldest and worst grain measured out to them, he bade them put up with it and be content, since they were eating what belonged to others; and at the state suppers he used wooden and earthen dishes, on the ground that Caesar had taken all the gold and silver ware in payment of a debt. For the father of the present king owed Caesar seventeen million five hundred thousand drachmas, of which Caesar had formerly remitted a part to his children, but now demanded payment of ten millions for the

During Caesar’s consulship (59 B.C.) Ptolemy Auletes was declared a friend and ally of the Romans. To secure this honour he both gave and promised money to the state.
5 ἦξιον τότε λαβὼν διαθέσαι τὸ στράτευμα. τοῦ δὲ Ποθεινοῦ νῦν μὲν αὐτὸν ἀπίεναι καὶ τῶν μεγάλων ἔχεσθαι πραγμάτων κελεύοντος, ὥστερον δὲ κομιεῖσθαι μετὰ χάριτος, εἰπὼν ὡς Αἰγυπτίων ἐλάχιστα δέοιτο συμβούλων, κρύφα τὴν Κλεοπάτραν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας μετεπέμπετο.

XLI. Κάκεινη παραλαβοῦσα τῶν φίλων Ἀπολλόδωρον τὸν Σικελιώτην μόνον, εἰς ἀκάτιον μικρὸν ἐμβάσα τοῖς μὲν βασιλείοις προσέσχεν ἦδη συσκοτάζοντος· ἀπόρου δὲ τοῦ λαθείν ὁντος ἄλλως, ἢ μὲν εἰς στρωματόδεσμον ἐνδύσα προτείνει μακρὰν ἐαυτὴν, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἴμαντι συνήθεις τῶν στρωματόδεσμον εἰσκομίζει διὰ

2 θυρῶν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα. καὶ τούτῳ τε πρώτῳ λέγεται τῷ τεχνήματι τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἀλώνια, λαμυρὰς φανείσης, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ὀμίλιας καὶ χάριτος ἢπτων γενόμενος διαλλάξαι πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὡς συμβασιλεύσουσαν. ἔπειτα δὲ ἐν ταῖς διαλλαγαῖς ἐστιωμένων ἀπάντων οἰκέτης Καίσαρος κουρεύσι, διὰ δειλίαν, ἢ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὑπερβαλεν, οὐδὲν ἐδών ἀνεξάστων, ἀλλ' ἀπακουστὸν καὶ πολυπραγμόνων, συνήκεν ἐπι- βουλὴν Καίσαρι πραττομένην ὑπ’ Ἀχιλλὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ Ποθεινοῦ τοῦ εὖνοχοῦ. φωράσας δὲ ὁ Καίσαρ φιουρὰν μὲν περιέστησε τῷ ἀνδρῶν, τοῦ δὲ Ποθεινοῦ ἀνεῖλεν· ὁ δὲ Ἀχιλλᾶς φυγὼν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον περιύστησιν αὐτῷ βαρῦν καὶ δυσμεταχείριστον πόλεμον, ὀλιγοστὸ τοσαυτὴν ἀμυνόμενον πόλιν καὶ δύναμιν. ἐν τῷ πρῶτον μὲν ἐκινδυνεύσειν ὑδατὸς ἀποκλεισθεὶς· ἀἱ γὰρ διώρυχες ἀπωκοδομήθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων· δεύτερον δὲ περικοπτόμενος τὸν στόλον ἁμαγκάσθη

558
support of his army. When, however, Potheinus bade him go away now and attend to his great affairs, assuring him that later he would get his money with thanks, Caesar replied that he had no need whatever of Egyptians as advisers, and secretly sent for Cleopatra from the country.

XLIX. So Cleopatra, taking only Apollodorus the Sicilian from among her friends, embarked in a little skiff and landed at the palace when it was already getting dark; and as it was impossible to escape notice otherwise, she stretched herself at full length inside a bed-sack, while Apollodorus tied the bed-sack up with a cord and carried it indoors to Caesar. It was by this device of Cleopatra’s, it is said, that Caesar was first captivated, for she showed herself to be a bold coquette, and succumbing to the charm of further intercourse with her, he reconciled her to her brother on the basis of a joint share with him in the royal power. Then, as everybody was feasting to celebrate the reconciliation, a slave of Caesar’s, his barber, who left nothing unscrutinized, owing to a timidity in which he had no equal, but kept his ears open and was here, there, and everywhere, perceived that Achillas the general and Potheinus the eunuch were hatching a plot against Caesar. After Caesar had found them out, he set a guard about the banquet hall, and put Potheinus to death; Achillas, however, escaped to his camp, and raised about Caesar a war grievous and difficult for one who was defending himself with so few followers against so large a city and army. In this war, to begin with, Caesar encountered the peril of being shut off from water, since the canals were dammed up by the enemy; in the second place, when the enemy tried to cut off his fleet, he
διὰ πυρὸς ἀπώσασθαι τὸν κίνδυνον, δὲ καὶ τὴν μεγάλην βιβλιοθήκην ἐκ τῶν νεωρῶν ἐπινεμόμενον διέφθειρε τρίτον δὲ περὶ τῇ Φάρῳ μάχης συνεστώσης κατεπίθησε μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ χώματος εἰς ἀκάτιον καὶ παρεβοήθη τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις, ἐπιπλεόντων δὲ πολλαχόθεν αὐτῶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ρίψας ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἅπενήξατο μόλις καὶ χαλεπῶς. ὄτε καὶ λέγεται βιβλίδια κρατῶν πολλὰ μὴ προέσθαι βαλλόμενοι καὶ βαπτιζόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἄνεχων ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑθαλάσσης τὰ βιβλίδια τῇ ἐτέρᾳ χειρὶ νῆχοθαν τὸ δὲ ἀκάτιον εὔθυς ἐβυθίσθη. τέλος δὲ, τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀποχωρήσαντος, ἐπελθὼν καὶ συνάψας μάχην ἐνίκησε, πολλῶν πεσόντων αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ βασιλέως ἄφανος γενομένου. καταλιπτῶν δὲ τὴν Κλεοπάτραν βασιλεύουσαν Αἰγύπτου καὶ μικρὸν ὦστερον εἴς αὐτοῦ τεκούσαν ύφόν, ὃν Ἀλεξανδρείς Καίσαρίωνα προσηγόρευον, ὄρμησεν ἐπὶ Συρίας.

1. Κάκειθεν ἐπιδὼν τὴν 'Ασίαν ἐπυνθάνετο Δομήτιον μὲν ὑπὸ Φαρνάκου τοῦ Μιθριδάτου παιδὸς ἤττημένον ἐκ Πόντου πεφυγότοι σὺν ὅλιγοις, Φαρνάκην δὲ τῇ νίκῃ χρώμενον ἀπλήστως καὶ Βιθυνίαιν ἔχοντα καὶ Καππαδοκίαν Ἀρμενίας ἐφίεσθαι τῇς μικρᾶς καλομένης, καὶ πάντας ἀνιστάναι τοὺς ταύτῃ βασιλείς καὶ τετράρχας.

2 εὐθὺς οὖν ἔπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα τρισὶν ἔλαυνε τάγμασι, καὶ περὶ πόλιν Ζήλαν μάχην μεγάλην συνάψας αὐτῶν μὲν ἔξεβαλε τοῦ Πόντου φεύγοντα, τὴν δὲ

---

1 In the Museum, founded by the first Ptolemy (ob. 283 B.C.). The destruction of the library can have been only partial.

560
was forced to repel the danger by using fire, and this spread from the dockyards and destroyed the great library; and thirdly, when a battle arose at Pharos, he sprang from the mole into a small boat and tried to go to the aid of his men in their struggle, but the Egyptians sailed up against him from every side, so that he threw himself into the sea and with great difficulty escaped by swimming. At this time, too, it is said that he was holding many papers in his hand and would not let them go, though missiles were flying at him and he was immersed in the sea, but held them above water with one hand and swam with the other; his little boat had been sunk at the outset.

But finally, after the king had gone away to the enemy, he marched against him and conquered him in a battle where many fell and the king himself disappeared. Then, leaving Cleopatra on the throne of Egypt (a little later she had a son by him whom the Alexandrians called Caesarion), he set out for Syria.

L. On leaving that country and traversing Asia, he learned that Domitius had been defeated by Pharnaces the son of Mithridates and had fled from Pontus with a few followers; also that Pharnaces, using his victory without stint, and occupying Bithynia and Cappadocia, was aiming to secure the country called Lesser Armenia, and was rousing to revolt all the princes and tetrarchs there. At once, therefore, Caesar marched against him with three legions, fought a great battle with him near the city of Zela, drove him in flight out of Pontus, and

2 An island off Alexandria, connected with the mainland by a mole, or causeway, which divided the harbour into two parts.

3 Cf. Dio Cassius, xlii. 40. 4 In July of 47 B.C.
Veni, vidi, vici. According to Suetonius (Div. Jul. 37), the words were displayed in Caesar's Pontic triumph.
annihilated his army. In announcing the swiftness and fierceness of this battle to one of his friends at Rome, Amantius, Caesar wrote three words: "Came, saw, conquered." In Latin, however, the words have the same inflectional ending, and so a brevity which is most impressive.

LI. After this, he crossed to Italy and went up to Rome, at the close of the year for which he had a second time been chosen dictator, though that office had never before been for a whole year; then for the following year he was proclaimed consul. Men spoke ill of him because, after his soldiers had mutinied and killed two men of praetorian rank, Galba and Cosconius, he censured them only so far as to call them "citizens" when he addressed them, instead of "soldiers," and then gave each man a thousand drachmas and much allotted land in Italy. He was also calumniated for the madness of Dolabella, the greed of Amantius, the drunkenness of Antony, and for the fact that Corfinius built over and refurnished the house of Pompey on the ground that it was not good enough for him. For at all these things the Romans were displeased. But owing to the political situation, though Caesar was not ignorant of these things and did not like them, he was compelled to make use of such assistants.

LII. After the battle at Pharsalus, Cato and Scipio made their escape to Africa, and there, with the aid of King Juba, collected considerable forces. Caesar therefore resolved to make an expedition against them. So, about the time of the winter solstice, he

2 The senate named Caesar Dictator for the year 47 immediately after the battle at Pharsalus.

3 Cf. Appian, B.C. ii. 93.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

diαβάς εἰς Σικελίαν, καὶ βουλόμενος εὕθυς ἀποκόψαι τὸν περὶ αὐτὸν ἡγεμόνων ἀπασαν ἐλπίδα μελλήσεως καὶ διατριβῆς, ἔπει τοῦ κλύσματος ἐπηξε τὴν ἔαυτον σκηνήν· καὶ γενομένου πνεύματος ἐμβάς ἀνήχθη μετὰ τρισχιλίων πεζῶν καὶ 2 ἵππεων ὀλίγων. ἀποβιβάσας δὲ τούτους λαθῶν ἀνήχθη πάλιν, ὑπὲρ τῆς μείζονος ὀρωδῶν δυνάμεως· καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν οὕσιν ἦδη προστυχῶν καθήγαγεν ἀπαντάς εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

Πυθανόμενος δὲ χρησμῷ τινι παλαιῷ θαρρεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους, ὡς προσήκον ἄει τῷ Σκηπτώνων γένει κρατεῖν ἐν Διβύῃ, χαλεπὸν εἰπεῖν εἶτε φλαυρίζων ἐν παιδιᾷ τινὶ τὸν Σκηπτώνα στρατηγοῦντα 3 τὸν πολεμίων, εἶτε καὶ σπουδῆ τὸν οἰωνὸν οἰκειοῦμενος, ἢν γὰρ καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ τις ἀνθρωπὸς ἄλλος μὲν εὐκαταφρόνητος καὶ παρημελημένος, οἰκίας δὲ τῆς Ἀφρικανῶν (Σκηπτῶν ἐκαλεῖτο Σαλλουστίων), τούτον ἐν ταῖς μάχαις προετάττειν ὥσπερ ἡγεμόνα τῆς στρατιᾶς, ἀναγκαζόμενος πολλάκις 4 ἐξυπτεσθαί τῶν πολεμίων καὶ φιλομαχεῖν. ἢν γὰρ οὐτε σίτος τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἄφθονοι οὕτε ὑποξυγίος χιλός, ἄλλα βρύοις ἡγαγκάζοντο θαλαττίοις, ἀποπλυθείσης τῆς ἀλμυρίδος, ὀλίγην ἀγρωστὶν ὥσπερ ἢδυσμα παραμυγνύντες ἐπάγειν τοὺς ἵππους. οἱ γὰρ Νομάδες ἐπιφαινόμενοι πολλοὶ καὶ ταχεῖς ἐκάστοτε κατείχον τὴν χώραν· καὶ ποτε τῶν Καίσαρος ἵππεων σχολὴν ἀγόντων 5 (ἐντυχε γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀνὴρ Δίβυς επιδεικνύμενος ὀρχησίν ἁμα καὶ μοναυλῶν θαύματος ἄξιος, οἱ δὲ τερτόμενοι καθήμεν τοῖς παισὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἐπιτρέψαντες), ἐξαίφνης περιελθόντες ἐμβάλλουσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ κτείνουσι, τοῖς δὲ
crossed into Sicily, and wishing to cut off at once in the minds of his officers all hope of delaying there and wasting time, he pitched his own tent on the sea-beach. When a favouring wind arose, he embarked and put to sea with three thousand infantry and a few horsemen. Then, after landing these unobserved, he put to sea again, being full of fears for the larger part of his force, and meeting them after they were already at sea, he conducted all into camp.

On learning that the enemy were emboldened by an ancient oracle to the effect that it was always the prerogative of the family of the Scipios to conquer in Africa, he either flouted in pleasantry the Scipio who commanded the enemy, or else tried in good earnest to appropriate to himself the omen, it is hard to say which. He had under him, namely, a man who otherwise was a contemptible nobody, but belonged to the family of the Africani, and was called Scipio Sallustio. This man Caesar put in the forefront of his battles as if commander of the army, being compelled to attack the enemy frequently and to force the fighting. For there was neither sufficient food for his men nor fodder for his beasts of burden, nay, they were forced to feed their horses on sea-weed, which they washed free of its salt and mixed with a little grass to sweeten it. For the Numidians showed themselves everywhere in great numbers and speedy, and controlled the country. Indeed, while Caesar’s horsemen were once off duty (a Libyan was showing them how he could dance and play the flute at the same time in an astonishing manner, and they had committed their horses to the slaves and were sitting delighted on the ground), the enemy suddenly surrounded and attacked them, killed some of them,
eis to stratōpēdon protropotádhen elanuoménois
6 synneisēpeson. ei de μη Kaisar autòs, ama de
Kaisar Polliwοn 'Astrinioi botheountes ek tou
χάρακος ἐσχον τὴν φυγήν, διεπέρακτ' ἀν τὸ πό-
λεμος. ēsti δ' ὅτε καὶ καθ' εὗραν μάχην ἐπλε-
ουέκτησαν oi poleimoi sumplokhēs genomēnes, en
η Kaisar tov ēstofōron feúgonta lēgetai kata-
schōn ek tou αὐχένος ἀναστρέψαι kai eipēn:
"Ενταῦθα εἰσίν οἱ poleimoi."

LIII. Toútois mēntoi tois protetermasin ēp' ērōi
Skeπlōn mákhi kriθniāi kai katalipōn χωρίς
mēn 'Afrainion, χωρίς de 'Iōbaīn di' olign σтратο-
pedēouνtas, autōs ēteixiēzen ūper lîmνης ēruma τῷ
stratopèdō peri πόλιν Θάψου, ωσ εἰη πάσιν ēpi
2 tihn mákhēn ormhētirion kai katafugē. pounou-
méνω de autō peri taúta Kaisar ulōdeis tōpous
kai prosoθolàs āfrastos tōs ἐχουται āmikhāνο tά-
χει dieleðōn tous mēn ekuklyōto, tois de prose-
βαλλε kата stōma. trēψamēnos de toutous
ēxrēto tō kairō kai tē rūμη tῆs tūχhēs, ὕφ' ἦς
autoboei mēn ērhe tō 'Afrainion stratopèdon,
autoboei de feúgontos 'Iōba dīespōrthei tō tōn
Nomādōn. ūmēras de mias mēre mikrō triōn
stratopèdon ēgkraτhēs genouw kai penteikismu-
rīou τῶn poleimōn ānērhēkōs oude penteikontα
tōn idīon ἀπέβαλεν.

3 Oi mēn taútα peri tihn mákhēs ēkeínēs ānagγελ-
lousin o de ou fasisi autōn en tō ēργω γενέσθαι,
syntattontos de tihn stratian kai diakosμουντος
ἀφασθαί tō σύνθεσα νόσημα tōn de evthūs aisθo-
menon āρχομένου, πρὶν ēktaράττεσθαι kai kata-
and followed hard upon the heels of the rest as they were driven headlong into camp. And if Caesar himself, and with him Asinius Pollio, had not come from the ramparts to their aid and checked their flight, the war would have been at an end. On one occasion, too, in another battle, the enemy got the advantage in the encounter, and here it is said that Caesar seized by the neck the fugitive standard-bearer, faced him about, and said: "Yonder is the enemy."

III. However, Scipio was encouraged by these advantages to hazard a decisive battle: so, leaving Afranius and Juba encamped separately at a short distance apart, he himself began fortifying a camp beyond a lake near the city of Thapsus, that it might serve the whole army as a place from which to sally out to the battle, and as a place of refuge. But while he was busy with this project, Caesar made his way with inconceivable speed through woody regions which afforded unknown access to the spot, outflanked some of the enemy, and attacked others in front. Then, after routing these, he took advantage of the favourable instant and of the impetus of fortune, and thereby captured the camp of Afranius at the first onset, and at the first onset sacked the camp of the Numidians, from which Juba fled. Thus in a brief portion of one day he made himself master of three camps and slew fifty thousand of the enemy, without losing as many as fifty of his own men.¹

This is the account which some give of the battle; others, however, say that Caesar himself was not in the action, but that, as he was marshalling and arraying his army, his usual sickness laid hold of him, and he, at once aware that it was beginning, before his

¹ In April of 46 B.C.
λαμβάνεσθαι παντάπασιν ύπο τοῦ πάθους τήν αἰσθήσιν ἦδη σεισμένην, εἰς τινα τῶν πλησίων πύργων κομισθήναι καὶ διαγαγεῖν ἐν ἁσυχία. τῶν δὲ πεφυγότων ἐκ τῆς μάχης ὑπατικῶν καὶ στρατηγικῶν ἀνδρῶν οἱ μὲν ἕαυτος διέφθειραν ἀλησκόμενοι, συνχοῦσι δὲ Καίσαρ ἔκτεινεν ἄλοντας.

LIV. Κάτωνα δὲ λαβεῖν ζώντα φιλοτιμούμενος ἐσπευδὸς πρὸς Ἰτύκην ἐκείνῃ γὰρ παραφυλάττον τὴν πόλιν οὐ μετέσχε τοῦ ἁγῶνος. πυθόμενος δὲ ὡς ἔαυτὸν ὁ ἀνήρ διεργάσατο, δήλος μὲν ἦν δηχθείς, ἐφ' ὦ δὲ ἀδηλον. ἐπ' ὦν: "Ὡς Κάτων, φθονῶ σοι τοῦ θανάτου καὶ γὰρ σὺ μοι τῆς σωτηρίας ἐφθόνησας." ὁ μὲν οὖν μετὰ ταῦτα γραφεῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς Κάτωνα τεθνεότα λόγος οὐ δοκεῖ πράσως ἔχοντος οὐδὲ εὑρισκόμενος σημεῖον εἶναι. πῶς γὰρ ἄν ἐφείσατο ζώντος εἰς 2 ἀναίσθητον ἐκχέας ὁργὴν τοσάυτην; τῇ δὲ πρὸς Κικέρωνα καὶ Βροῦτον αὐτοῦ καὶ μυρίους ἄλλους τῶν πεπολεμηκότων ἐπιεικεῖα τεκμαίρονται καὶ τὸν λόγον ἐκεῖνον οὐκ ἐξ ἀπεχθείας, ἀλλὰ φιλοτιμίᾳ πολιτικῇ συντετάχθαι διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν. ἔγραψε Κικέρων ἐγκώμιον Κάτωνος, ὅνομα τῷ λόγῳ θέμενος Κάτωνα: καὶ πολλοῖς ὁ λόγος ἦν διὰ σπουδῆς, ὡς εἰκός, ὑπὸ τοῦ δεινοτάτου τῶν ῥητόρων εἰς τὴν καλλίστην πεποιημένος ὑπόθετε.

3 συν. τοῦτο ἤνια Καίσαρα, κατηγορίαν αὐτοῦ νομίζοντα τὸν τοῦ τεθυρκότος δι' αὐτὸν ἔπαινον. ἔγραψεν οὖν πολλὰς τινὰς κατὰ τοῦ Κάτωνος αἰτίας συναγαγῶν· τὸ δὲ βιβλίον 'Ἀντικάτων ἐπιγράφαν, καὶ σπουδαστὰς ἔχει τῶν λόγων ἐκάτερος διὰ Καίσαρα καὶ Κάτωνα πολλοὺς.
already wavering senses were altogether confounded and overpowered by the malady, was carried to a neighbouring tower, where he stayed quietly during the battle. Of the men of consular and praetorial rank who escaped from the battle, some slew themselves at the moment of their capture, and others were put to death by Caesar after capture.

LIV. Being eager to take Cato alive, Caesar hastened towards Utica, for Cato was guarding that city, and took no part in the battle. But he learned that Cato had made away with himself, and he was clearly annoyed, though for what reason is uncertain. At any rate, he said: “Cato, I begrudge thee thy death; for thou didst begrudge me the preservation of thy life.” Now, the treatise which Caesar afterwards wrote against Cato when he was dead, does not seem to prove that he was in a gentle or reconcilable mood. For how could he have spared Cato alive, when he poured out against him after death so great a cup of wrath? And yet from his considerate treatment of Cicero and Brutus and thousands more who had fought against him, it is inferred that even this treatise was not composed out of hatred, but from political ambition, for reasons which follow. Cicero had written an encomium on Cato which he entitled “Cato”; and the discourse was eagerly read by many, as was natural, since it was composed by the ablest of orators on the noblest of themes. This annoyed Caesar, who thought that Cicero’s praise of the dead Cato was a denunciation of Caesar himself. Accordingly, he wrote a treatise in which he got together countless charges against Cato; and the work is entitled “Anti-Cato.” Both treatises have many eager readers, as well on account of Caesar as of Cato.

1 See the Cato Minor lxv.
LV. Ἄλλα γὰρ ὡς ἐπαυήλθεν εἰς Ὑψηλον ἀπὸ Διβύσης, πρῶτον μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς νίκης ἐμεγαλυ-γόρησε πρὸς τὸν δήμουν, ὡς τοσαυτὴν κεχειρω-μένος χώραν ὁσ παρέξει καθ’ ἐκαστὸν ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον σίτου μὲν εἰκοσι μυριάδας Ἀττι-κῶν μεδίμνων, ἐλαίου δὲ λιτρῶν μυριάδας τριακοσίας. ἔπειτα θριάμβους κατήγαγε τὸν Ἀἰγυ-πτιακὸν, τὸν Ποντικὸν, τὸν Διβυκὸν, οὐκ ἀπὸ Σκηπίωνος, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ Ίόβα δῆθεν τοῦ βασιλέως.

2 τότε καὶ Ἰόβας νῦν ὃν ἐκείνου κομιδὴ νῆσιος ἐν τῷ θριάμβῳ παρήχθη, μακαριωτάτην ἄλους ἄλω-σιν, ἐκ βαρβάρου καὶ Νομάδος Ἑλλήνην τοῖς πολυμαθεστάτοις ἐναρίθμων γενέσθαι συγγρα-φεύσει. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς θριάμβους στρατιώταις τε μεγάλας δωρεὰς ἐδίδον καὶ τὸν δήμον ἀνελάμ-βανεν ἐστιάσει καὶ θέασι, ἐστιάσας μὲν ἐν δισ-μυρίοις καὶ δισχιλίοις τρικλίνοις ὁμοί σύμπαν-τας, θέας δὲ καὶ μονομάχων καὶ ναυμάχων ἀνδρῶν παρασχὼν ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ Ἰουλίᾳ πάλαι τε-θυεόση.

3 Μετὰ δὲ τὰς θέας γενομένων τιμήσεως ἀντὶ τῶν προτέρων δυεὶν καὶ τριάκοντα μυριάδων ἔξητά-σθησαν αἱ πᾶσαι πεντεκαίδεκα. τηλικαύτην ἡ στάσις ἀπειργάσατο συμφορὰν καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀπανάλωσε τοῦ δήμου μέρος, ἔξω λόγου τιθεμέ-νοις τὰ κατασχῶντα τὴν ἄλλην Ἡταλίαν ἀτυχή-ματα καὶ τὰς ἑπαρχίας.

LV. Συντελεσθέντων δὲ τούτων ὑπατός ἀπο-δειχθεῖς τὸ τέταρτον εἰς Ἰβηρίαν ἐστράτευσεν

570
CAESAR, LV. I-LVI. I

LV. But to resume, when Caesar came back to Rome from Africa, to begin with, he made a boastful speech to the people concerning his victory, asserting that he had subdued a country large enough to furnish annually for the public treasury two hundred thousand Attic bushels of grain, and three million pounds of olive oil. Next, he celebrated triumphs, an Egyptian, a Pontic, and an African, the last not for his victory over Scipio, but ostensibly over Juba the king. On this occasion, too, Juba, a son of the king, a mere infant, was carried along in the triumphal procession, the most fortunate captive ever taken, since from being a Barbarian and a Numidian, he came to be enrolled among the most learned historians of Hellas. After the triumphs, Caesar gave his soldiers large gifts and entertained the people with banquets and spectacles, feasting them all at one time on twenty thousand dining-couches, and furnishing spectacles of gladiatorial and naval combats in honour of his daughter Julia, long since dead.

After the spectacles, a census of the people was taken,¹ and instead of the three hundred and twenty thousand of the preceding lists there were enrolled only one hundred and fifty thousand. So great was the calamity which the civil wars had wrought, and so large a portion of the people of Rome had they consumed away, to say nothing of the misfortunes that possessed the rest of Italy and the provinces.

LVI. After these matters had been finished and he had been declared consul for the fourth time, Caesar made an expedition into Spain against the

¹ According to Suetonius (Div. Jul. 41), this was not a census of all the people, but a revision of the number of poorer citizens entitled to receive allowances of grain from the state.
επὶ τοὺς Πομπηίου παῖδας, νέους μὲν οὖντας ἔτι, θαυμαστὴν δὲ τῷ πλήθει στρατιάν συνειλοχότας καὶ τόλμαν ὀποδεικνυμένους ἀξίοχρεων πρὸς ἱγεμονίαν, ὥστε κύνδυνον τῷ Καίσαρι περιστῆσαι

2 τοῦ ἐσχατον. ἢ δὲ μεγάλη μάχη περὶ πόλιν συνεστή Μοῦνδαν, ἐν ἢ Καίσαρ ἐκθλιβομένους ὁρῶν τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ κακῶς ἀντέχοντας ἐβάζα, διὰ τῶν ὁπλῶν καὶ τῶν τάξεων διαθέου, εἰ μηδὲν αἰδοῦντας λαβόντες αὐτὸν ἐγχειρίσαι τοῖς παιδαρίοις. μόλις δὲ προθυμία πολλῆ τοὺς πολεμίους ὀφάμενοι ἐκείνων μὲν ὑπὲρ τρισμυρίους διεθειρε, τῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ χιλίους ἀπώλεσε τοὺς ἀριστοὺς ἀπίγόντων δε μετα τὴν μάχην πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰτεν ὡς πολλάκις μὲν ἀγωνίσατο περὶ νίκης, νῦν δὲ πρῶτον περὶ ψυχῆς. ταύτην τὴν μάχην ἐνίκησε τῇ τῶν Διονυσίων ἑορτῇ, καθ' ἢν λέγεται καὶ Πομπηίος Μάγνος ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἑξελθείν διὰ μέσου δὲ χρόνος ἐνιαυτῶν τεσσάρων διήλθε. τῶν δὲ Πομπηίου παῖδων ὁ μὲν νεώτερος διέσυγε, τοῦ δὲ πρεσβυτέρου μεθ' ἡμέρας ὀλίγας Δείδιος ἀνήιμνηκε τὴν κεφαλήν. 3

4 Τούτον ἐσχατον Καίσαρ ἐπολεμήσε τὸν πόλεμον. ὁ δὲ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ καταχθεῖς θρίαμβος ὡς οὔδὲν ἄλλο Ῥωμαίους ἦνίασεν. οὐ γὰρ ἀλλοφύλους ἤγεμονας οὐδὲ βαρβάρους βασιλείας κατηγωνισμένου, ἀνδρὸς δὲ Ῥωμαίων κρατίστου τύχαι κεχρημένου παῖδας καὶ γένος ἀρδήν ἀνηρηκότα ταῖς τῆς πατρίδος ἐπιπομπεύειν συμφοραῖς οὐ καλῶς εἰχεν, ἀγαλλόμενον ἐπὶ τούτοις ὃν μία καὶ πρὸς θεοὺς καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἀπολογία τὸ μετ’ ἀνάγκης πεπράχθαι, καὶ ταῦτα πρὸτερον μήτε ἀγγελοῦ μήτε γράμματα δημοσία πέμψαντα 572
sons of Pompey. These were still young, but had collected an army of amazing numbers and displayed a boldness which justified their claims to leadership, so that they beset Caesar with the greatest peril. The great battle was joined near the city of Munda, and here Caesar, seeing his own men hard pressed and making a feeble resistance, asked in a loud voice as he ran through the armed ranks whether they felt no shame to take him and put him in the hands of those boys. With difficulty and after much strenuous effort he repulsed the enemy and slew over thirty thousand of them, but he lost one thousand of his own men, and those the very best. As he was going away after the battle he said to his friends that he had often striven for victory, but now first for his life. He fought this victorious battle on the day of the festival of Bacchus,¹ on which day also it is said that Pompey the Great had gone forth to the war; a period of four years intervened. As for Pompey’s sons, the younger made his escape, but after a few days the head of the elder was brought in by Deidius.

This was the last war that Caesar waged; and the triumph that was celebrated for it vexed the Romans as nothing else had done. For it commemorated no victory over foreign commanders or barbarian kings, but the utter annihilation of the sons and the family of the mightiest of the Romans, who had fallen upon misfortune; and it was not meet for Caesar to celebrate a triumph for the calamities of his country, priding himself upon actions which had no defence before gods or men except that they had been done under necessity, and that too although previously he had sent neither messenger nor letters to announce

¹ March 17, 45 B.C.
περὶ νίκης ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων, ἀλλὰ ἀπωσάμενον αἰσχύνη τὴν δόξαν.

LVII. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν τύχην τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐγκεκλικότες καὶ δεδεμένοι τὸν χαλινὸν, καὶ τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων καὶ κακῶν ἀνατυχημένῳ ἠγούμενοι τὴν μοναρχίαν, δικτάτορα μέν αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξαν διὰ βίου· τοῦτο δ' ἦν ὁμολογουμένη τυραννίς, τὸ ἀνυπενθύνω τῆς μοναρχίας τὸ ἀκατά-

2 πανοτόν προσλαβοῦσις· τιμᾶς δὲ τὰς πρώτας Κικέρωνος εἰς τὴν βουλήν γράψαντος, ὅτι ἄμοι γέ πως ἀνθρώπινον ἦν τὸ μέγεθος, ἐτεροί προσ-

tιθέντες ὑπερβολάς καὶ διαμιλλόμενοι πρὸς ἀλ-

λήλους ἐξειργάσαντο καὶ τοῖς πρατότατοι ἐπαχθῇ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ λυπηρὸν γενέσθαι διὰ τὸν ὁγκὸν καὶ τὴν ἀτοπίαν τῶν ψηφιζομένων, οἷς οὔδεν ἦπτον οἴονται συναγωνίσασθαι τῶν κολακευόντων

3 Καῖσαρα τοὺς μισοῦντας, ὅπως ὅτι πλείστας κατ' αὐτοῦ προφάσεις ἔχωσι καὶ μετὰ μεγίστων ἐγκλημάτων ἐπιχειρεῖν δοκῶσιν. ἐπεὶ τὰ γε ἄλλα, τῶν ἐμφυλίων αὐτῷ πολέμων πέρας ἐσχη-

κότων, ἀνέγκλητον ἐαυτὸν 1 παρεῖχε· καὶ τὸ γε

τῆς Ἐπιεικείας ἱερὸν οὐκ ἀπὸ τροποῦ δοκοῦσι

χαριστήριον ἐπὶ τῇ πρόοτῃ ψηφίσασθαι. καὶ

γὰρ ἀφήκε πολλοὺς τῶν πεπολεμηκότων πρὸς

αὐτὸν, ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ τιμᾶς, ὥς Βροῦτῳ

καὶ Κασίῳ, προσέθηκεν· ἐστρατήγουν γὰρ ἀμ-

4 φότεροι. καὶ τὰς Πομπηίου καταβεβλημένας

eἰκόνας οὐ περιέδειν, ἀλλ' ἀνέστησεν, ἐφ' ὦν καὶ

Κικέρων εἶπεν ὅτι Καῖσαρ τοὺς Πομπηίου στῆσας

ἀνδριάντας τοὺς ἰδίους ἐπηξε. τῶν δὲ φίλων

1 ἀνέγκλητον ἐαυτὸν Coraës and Bekker, after Reiske: ἀνέγκλητον.

574
to the people a victory in the civil wars, but had scrupulously put from him the fame arising therefrom.

LVII. However, the Romans gave way before the good fortune of the man and accepted the bit, and regarding the monarchy as a respite from the evils of the civil wars, they appointed him dictator for life. This was confessedly a tyranny, since the monarchy, besides the element of irresponsibility, now took on that of permanence. It was Cicero who proposed the first honours for him in the senate, and their magnitude was, after all, not too great for a man; but others added excessive honours and vied with one another in proposing them, thus rendering Caesar odious and obnoxious even to the mildest citizens because of the pretension and extravagance of what was decreed for him. It is thought, too, that the enemies of Caesar no less than his flatterers helped to force these measures through, in order that they might have as many pretexts as possible against him and might be thought to have the best reasons for attempting his life. For in all other ways, at least, after the civil wars were over, he showed himself blameless; and certainly it is thought not inappropriate that the temple of Clemency was decreed as a thank-offering in view of his mildness. For he pardoned many of those who had fought against him, and to some he even gave honours and offices besides, as to Brutus and Cassius, both of whom were now praetors. The statues of Pompey, too, which had been thrown down, he would not suffer to remain so, but set them up again, at which Cicero said that in setting up Pompey’s statues Caesar firmly fixed his own.¹ When his friends thought it

¹ Cf. Cicero, xl. 4, p. 186.
καὶ Πολλῶν ἐπὶ τούτο παρεχόντων ἐαυτοῦς οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν, εἰπὼν ὡς βέλτιον ἐστὶν ἀπαξ ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ἂν προσδο-
καν. τὴν δ' εὖνοιαν ὡς κάλλιστον ἅμα καὶ βε-
bαιότατον ἑαυτῷ περιβαλλόμενος φυλακτήριον, αὖθις ἀνελάμβανε τὸν δήμον ἐστιάσει καὶ σιτι-
ρεσίοις, τὸ δὲ στρατιωτικὸν ἀποικίας, ὥς ἐπί-
φανέστατα χάριν καὶ Κόρινθος ἦσαν, αἷς καὶ πρότερον τὴν ἀλώσιν καὶ τότε τὴν ἀνάληψιν ἅμα καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἀμφότεραις γενε-
σθαι συνέτυχε.

LVIII. Τῶν δὲ δυνατῶν τοῖς μὲν ὑπατείας καὶ
στρατηγίας εἰς τούπιον ἐπηγγέλλετο, τοὺς δ' ἀλλαὶ τὸν ἐξουσίας καὶ τιμαῖς παρεμπυκότοι, πᾶσι δὲ ἐπίτειοι ἐνεδίδουν, μυστερίουμαν ἁρχεῖν ἐκόμων, ὡς καὶ Μαξίμου τοῦ ὑπάτου τελευτή-
σαντος εἰς τὴν περιούσαν ἐτὶ τῆς ἁρχῆς μίαν
ημέραν ὑπατον ἀποδείξαι Καυνίου Ρεβίλιον.
πρὸς δὲν, ὡς ἐοίκε, πολλῶν δεξιώσασθαι καὶ προ-
τέμψαι βαδίζοντων ὥς Κικέρων, "Σπεύδωμεν,
ἐφη, "πρὶν φθάσῃ τῆς ὑπατείας ἐξελθὼν ὁ ἀν-
θρώπος.

2 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ φύσει μεγαλουργὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ
φιλότιμον αἰ πολλαὶ κατορθώσεις οὐ πρὸς ἁπό-
λαυσίν ἐτρεπτον τῶν πεποιημένων, ἀλλ' ὑπέκ-
καυμα καὶ θάρσος οὐσαί πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα
μειζόνων ἐνστικτὸν ἐπινοίας πραγμάτων καὶ
καυνίς ἐρώτα δόξης ὡς ἀποκεχρημένῳ τῇ
παροῦσῃ, τὸ μὲν πάθος οὐδέν ἢν ἐτεροῦ ἢ ξῆλος
αὐτοῦ καθάπερ ἄλλου καὶ φιλονεικία τις ὑπὲρ
3 τῶν μέλλοντων πρὸς τὰ πεπραγμένα, παρασκευὴ
best that he should have a body-guard, and many of them volunteered for this service, he would not consent, saying that it was better to die once for all than to be always expecting death. And in the effort to surround himself with men's good will as the fairest and at the same time the securest protection, he again courted the people with banquets and distributions of grain, and his soldiers with newly planted colonies, the most conspicuous of which were Carthage and Corinth. The earlier capture of both these cities, as well as their present restoration, chanced to fall at one and the same time.¹

LVIII. As for the nobles, to some of them he promised consulships and praetorships in the future, others he appeased with sundry other powers and honours, and in all he implanted hopes, since he ardently desired to rule over willing subjects. Therefore, when Maximus the consul died, he appointed Caninius Revilius consul for the one day still remaining of the term of office. To him, as we are told, many were going with congratulations and offers of escort, whereupon Cicero said: "Let us make haste, or else the man's consulship will have expired."

Caesar's many successes, however, did not divert his natural spirit of enterprise and ambition to the enjoyment of what he had laboriously achieved, but served as fuel and incentive for future achievements, and begat in him plans for greater deeds and a passion for fresh glory, as though he had used up what he already had. What he felt was therefore nothing else than emulation of himself, as if he had been another man, and a sort of rivalry between what he had done and what he purposed to do. For he

¹ Both cities were captured in 146 B.C., and both were restored in 44 B.C.
δὲ καὶ γνώμη στρατεύειν μὲν ἐπὶ Πάρθους, καταστρεψαμένῳ δὲ τούτους, καὶ δὴ Τρκανίας παρὰ τὴν Κασπίαν θάλασσαν καὶ τὸν Καύκασον ἐκπεριελθόντι τὸν Πόντον, εἰς τὴν Σκυθικὴν ἐμ-βαλεῖν, καὶ τὰ περίχωρα Γερμανοῖς καὶ Γερ-μανίαν αὐτὴν ἐπιδραμοῦντι διὰ Κελτῶν ἐπανελθείν εἰς Ἰταλίαν, καὶ συνάψαι τῶν κύκλων τούτου τῆς ἤγερονίας τῷ παινταχόθεν Ὁκεανῷ περιορισθεῖ-σης. διὰ μέσου δὲ τῆς στρατείας τὸν τε Κορώ-θιον Ἰσθμὸν ἐπεχείρει διασκάπτειν, Ἀνιηνὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ προχειρισμένος, καὶ τὸν Τίβεριν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ὑπολαβὼν διώρυχι βύθεια καὶ περικλάσας ἐπὶ τὸ Κιρκαίον ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν πρὸς Ταρρακίνη θάλατταν, ἀσφάλειαν ἀμα καὶ ῥαστώνυν τοῖς δὲ ἐμπορίας φοιτῶσιν εἰς Ῥώμην

5 μηχανώμενος· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὰ μὲν ἐλη τὰ περὶ Πωμεντίνου καὶ Σητίαν ἐκτρέψας πεδίον ἀποδείξας πολλαῖς ἐνεργὸν ἀνθρώπων μυριάσιν, τῇ δὲ ἐγγυστα τῆς Ῥώμης θαλάσσῃ κλείδρα διὰ χωμάτων ἐπαγαγῶν, καὶ τὰ τυφλὰ καὶ δύσορμα τῆς Ῥωμαίης ἱόνος ἀνακαθηράμενος, λιμένας ἐμποιήσασθαι καὶ ναύλοχα πρὸς τοσαύτην ἁξιόπιστα ναυτιλίαν. καὶ ταύτα μὲν ἐν παρα-σκευαίς ἤν.

LIX. Ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἡμερολογίου διάθεσις καὶ διόρ-θωσις τῆς περὶ τὸν χρόνον ἀνωμαλίας φιλοσο-φηθείσα χαρέντως ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ τέλος λαβοῦσα γλαφυρωτάτην παρέσχε χρείαν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς πάνυ χρόνοις τεταραγμέναις ἐχρῶντο Ῥωμαῖοι ταῖς τῶν μηνῶν πρὸς τὸν ἐνυ-αυτὸν περιόδοις, ὅστε τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς ἔορτας ὑποφερομένας κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς ἑναντίας ἐκπεπτω-
planned and prepared to make an expedition against the Parthians; and after subduing these and marching around the Euxine by way of Hyrcania, the Caspian sea, and the Caucasus, to invade Scythia; and after overrunning the countries bordering on Germany and Germany itself, to come back by way of Gaul to Italy, and so to complete this circuit of his empire, which would then be bounded on all sides by the ocean. During this expedition, moreover, he intended to dig through the isthmus of Corinth, and had already put Anienus in charge of this work; he intended also to divert the Tiber just below the city into a deep channel, give it a bend towards Circeium, and make it empty into the sea at Terracina, thus contriving for merchantmen a safe as well as an easy passage to Rome; and besides this, to convert the marshes about Pomentinum and Setia into a plain which many thousands of men could cultivate; and further, to build mole which should barricade the sea where it was nearest to Rome, to clear away the hidden dangers on the shore of Ostia, and then construct harbours and roadsteads sufficient for the great fleets that would visit them. And all these things were in preparation.

LIX. The adjustment of the calendar, however, and the correction of the irregularity in the computation of time, were not only studied scientifically by him, but also brought to completion, and proved to be of the highest utility. For not only in very ancient times was the relation of the lunar to the solar year in great confusion among the Romans, so that the sacrificial feasts and festivals, diverging gradually, at last fell in opposite seasons of the year,
2 Κέναι τοῖς χρόνοις ὤρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τὴν τότε οὖσαν ἡλιακὴν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι παντάπασι τούτων ἀσυνιλλογίστως εἶχον, οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς μόνοι τῶν καίρον εἴδότες ἐξαίφνης καὶ προηοσθημένου μηδενὸς τῶν ἐμβόλιμον προσέγραφον μῆνα, Μερκηδόνιον ὁνομάζοντες, ὃν Νομᾶς ὁ βασιλεὺς πρῶτος ἐμβαλεὶν λέγεται, μικρὰν καὶ διατείνουσαν οὐ πόρρω βοήθειαν ἐξευρωῦν τῆς περὶ τὰς ἀποκαταστάσεις πλημμελείας, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γέγραπται.

3 Καίσαρ δὲ τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ μαθηματικῶν τὸ πρόβλημα προθέες ἐκ τῶν ὑποκειμένων ἡδὴ μεθόδου ἐμίξειν ἰδίαι τινὰ καὶ διηκριβωμένην μᾶλλον ἐπανόρθωσιν, ἢ χρώμενοι μέχρι νῦν Ῥωμαίοι δοκοῦσιν ἢττον ἐτέρων σφάλματε περὶ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς βασκαίνουσι καὶ βαρυνομένοις τὴν δύναμιν αἰτίας παρεῖχε. Κικέρων γοῦν ὁ ῥήτωρ, ὡς ἐοίκε, φήσαντός τινος αὐρίον ἐπιτέλλειν Δύραν, "Ναι," εἶπεν, "ἐκ διατάγματος," ὡς καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς ἀνάγκην τῶν ἀνθρώπων δεχομένων.

LX. Τὸ δὲ ἐμφανὲς μάλιστα μίσος καὶ θανατηφόρον ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὁ τῆς βασιλείας ἔρως ἐξειρημφατόται, τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς αἰτία πρώτη, τοῖς δὲ ὑπούλοις πάλαι πρόφασις εὐπρεπεστάτη γενομένη. καίτοι καὶ λόγον τινὰ κατέσπειραν εἰς τὸν δήμον οἱ ταύτην Καίσαρι τὴν τιμὴν προξενόυντες, ὡς ἐκ γραμμάτων Σιβυλλεῖων ἀλώσιμα 736 τὰ Πάρθων φαινοῖτο Ῥωμαιοῖς σὺν βασιλεῖ
but also at this time people generally had no way of computing the actual solar year;¹ the priests alone knew the proper time, and would suddenly and to everybody's surprise insert the intercalary month called Mercedonius. Numa the king is said to have been the first to intercalate this month, thus devising a slight and short-lived remedy for the error in regard to the sidereal and solar cycles, as I have said in his Life.² But Caesar laid the problem before the best philosophers and mathematicians, and out of the methods of correction which were already at hand compounded one of his own which was more accurate than any. This the Romans use down to the present time, and are thought to be less in error than other peoples as regards the inequality between the lunar and solar years. However, even this furnished occasion for blame to those who envied Caesar and disliked his power. At any rate, Cicero the orator, we are told, when some one remarked that Lyra would rise on the morrow, said: “Yes, by decree,” implying that men were compelled to accept even this dispensation.

LX. But the most open and deadly hatred towards him was produced by his passion for the royal power. For the multitude this was a first cause of hatred, and for those who had long smothered their hate, a most specious pretext for it. And yet those who were advocating this honour for Caesar actually spread abroad among the people a report that from the Sibyline books it appeared that Parthia could be taken if the Romans went up against it with a king,

¹ At this time the Roman calendar was more than two months ahead of the solar year. Caesar's reform went into effect in 46 B.C. ² Chapter xviii.
στρατευομένοις ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰς ἀνέφικτα ἰντα·

2 καὶ καταβαίνοντος ἐξ Ἀλβης Καίσαρος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐτόλμησαν αὐτὸν ἁσπάζασθαι βασιλέα. τοῦ δὲ δήμου διαταραχθέντος ἀχθεσθεὶς ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἐφή βασιλεύς, ἀλλὰ Καίσαρ καλεῖσθαι καὶ γενομένης πρὸς τοῦτο πάντων σιωπῆς οὐ πάνυ

3 φανερὸς οὐδ' εὐμενὴς παρῆλθεν. ἐν δὲ συγκλήτῳ τιμάς τινας ὑπερφυεῖς αὐτῷ ψηφισαμένων ἔτυχε μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμβόλων καθεξόμενος, προσιόντων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἀμα δὲ καὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπάσης ἐπομένης, οὐχ ὑπεξαναστάς, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἰδιώταις τισὶ χρηματίζων, ἀπεκρίνατο συστολής μᾶλλον ἡ προσθέσεως τὰς τιμὰς δείσθαι. καὶ τοῦτο οὐ μόνον ἦνασε τὴν βουλήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν δήμον, ὡς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ τῆς πόλεως προπηλακιζομένης, καὶ μετὰ δεινῆς κατηφείας

4 ἀπῆλθον εὐθὺς οἷς ἔξην μὴ παραμένειν, ὡστε κα- κεῖνον ἐννοῆσαιν παραχρῆμα μὲν οἴκαδε τρα- πέσθαι καὶ βοᾶν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, ἀπαγαγόντα τοῦ τραχήλου τὸ ἱμάτιον, ὡς ἐτοιμὸς εἰς τῷ βου- λομένῳ τῆς σφαγής παρέχειν, ὑστερὸν δὲ προφα- σίζεσθαι τὴν νόσου· οὐ γὰρ ἐθέλειν τὴν αἴσθησιν ἀπεμεῖν τῶν οὕτως ἐχόντων, ὅταν ἑστάμενοι δια- λέγωνται πρὸς ὁχλον, ἀλλὰ σεισμένη ταχὺ καὶ περιφερομένην ἰλίγγους ἐπιστάσθαι καὶ κατα- λαμβάνεσθαι. τὸ δὲ οὐκ εἴχεν οὕτως, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ βουλόμενον αὐτὸν ὑπεξαναστήναι τῇ βουλῇ λέγουσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν φίλων, μᾶλλον δὲ κολάκων, Κορνηλίου Βάλβου, κατασχεθήναι φήσαντος: "Οὗ μεμνήση Καίσαρ ὁν, οὐδὲ ἀξιώσεις ὡς κρείττονα θεραπεύεσθαι σεαυτὸν;"

582
but otherwise could not be assailed; and as Caesar was coming down from Alba into the city they ventured to hail him as king. But at this the people were confounded, and Caesar, disturbed in mind, said that his name was not King, but Caesar, and seeing that his words produced an universal silence, he passed on with no very cheerful or contented looks. Moreover, after sundry extravagant honours had been voted him in the senate, it chanced that he was sitting above the rostra, and as the praetors and consuls drew near, with the whole senate following them, he did not rise to receive them, but as if he were dealing with mere private persons, replied that his honours needed curtailment rather than enlargement. This vexed not only the senate, but also the people, who felt that in the persons of the senators the state was insulted, and in a terrible dejection they went away at once, all who were not obliged to remain, so that Caesar too, when he was aware of his mistake, immediately turned to go home, and drawing back his toga from his neck, cried in loud tones to his friends that he was ready to offer his throat to any one who wished to kill him. But afterwards he made his disease an excuse for his behaviour, saying that the senses of those who are thus afflicted do not usually remain steady when they address a multitude standing, but are speedily shaken and whirled about, bringing on giddiness and insensibility. However, what he said was not true; on the contrary, he was very desirous of rising to receive the senate; but one of his friends, as they say, or rather one of his flatterers, Cornelius Balbus, restrained him, saying: "Remember that thou art Caesar, and permit thyself to be courted as a superior."
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ ΛΙΒΕΣ

Λ.ΧΙ. 'Επιγίνεται τούτοις τοῖς προσκρούσμασιν ὃ τῶν δημάρχων προτηλακισμοῖς. ἢν μὲν γὰρ ἡ τῶν Δουσπερκαλίων ἕορτή, περὶ ἡς πολλοὶ γράφουσιν ὡς ποιμένων τὸ παλαιόν εὖ, καὶ τι καὶ 2 προσήκει τοῖς Ἀρκαδικοῖς Λυκαίοις. τῶν δὲ εὐγενῶν νεανίσκων καὶ ἀρχόντων πολλοὶ διαθέουσιν ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν γυμνοὶ, σκύτσι λασίοις τοὺς ἐμποδῶν ἐπὶ παιδιὰ καὶ γέλωτι παιόντες πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει γυναικῶν ἐπίτηδες ὑπαντῶσαι παρέχουσιν ὡσπερ ἐν διδασκάλοι τῷ χείρε ταῖς πληγαῖς, πεπεισμέναι πρὸς ἐυτοκίαν κυνουσαι, ἀγόνοις δὲ πρὸς κύσιν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι.

3 ταῦτα Καίσαρ ἑθεάτο καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμβόλων ἐπὶ δίφρον χρυσοῦ, θριαμβικὸ κόσμῳ κεκοσμημένος. Ἀντώνιος δὲ τῶν θεότων τὸν ἱέρον δρόμον εἰς ἑν καὶ γὰρ ὑπάτευν. ὡς οὖν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐνέβαλε καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῷ διέστη, φέρων διάδημα στεφάνω δάφνης περιπεπλεγμένον ὠρέζε τῶ Καίσαρι καὶ γίνεται κρότος οὐ λαμπρός, ἀλλ' ὀλίγος ἐκ παρασκευῆς. ἀπωσαμένου δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἅπασα ὁ δήμος ἀνεκρότησεν αὕτης δὲ προσφέροντος ὀλίγοι, καὶ μὴ δεξαμένου πάλιν ἀπαντεῖ. οὕτω δὲ τῆς πείρας ἐξελεγχομένης Καίσαρ μὲν ἀνίσταται, τὸν στέφανον εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀπενεχθήναι κελεύσας, ὧφθησαν δὲ ἀνδριάντες αὐτοῦ διαδήμασιν ἀναδεδεμένοι βασιλικοῖς. καὶ τῶν δημάρχων δύο, Φλαούίος καὶ Μάρυλλος, ἐπελθόντες ἀπέσπασαν, καὶ τοὺς ἀσπασαμένους βασιλέα τὸν Καίσαρα πρώτους ἔξευρόντες ἀπῆγγον εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον. ὁ δὲ δήμος εἴπετο κροτῶν, καὶ Βρούτους ἀπεκάλει τοὺς ἀνδρας, ὅτι Βρούτος ἢν ὁ καταλύσας τὴν τῶν 584
LXI. There was added to these causes of offence his insult to the tribunes. It was, namely, the festival of the Lupercalia, of which many write that it was anciently celebrated by shepherds, and has also some connection with the Arcadian Lycaea. At this time many of the noble youths and of the magistrates run up and down through the city naked, for sport and laughter striking those they meet with shaggy thongs. And many women of rank also purposely get in their way, and like children at school present their hands to be struck, believing that the pregnant will thus be helped to an easy delivery, and the barren to pregnancy. These ceremonies Caesar was witnessing, seated upon the rostra on a golden throne, arrayed in triumphal attire. And Antony was one of the runners in the sacred race; for he was consul. Accordingly, after he had dashed into the forum and the crowd had made way for him, he carried a diadem, round which a wreath of laurel was tied, and held it out to Caesar. Then there was applause, not loud, but slight and preconcerted. But when Caesar pushed away the diadem, all the people applauded; and when Antony offered it again, few, and when Caesar declined it again, all, applauded. The experiment having thus failed, Caesar rose from his seat, after ordering the wreath to be carried up to the Capitol; but then his statues were seen to have been decked with royal diadems. So two of the tribunes, Flavius and Marullus, went up to them and pulled off the diadems, and after discovering those who had first hailed Caesar as king, led them off to prison. Moreover, the people followed the tribunes with applause and called them Brutuses, because Brutus was the man who put
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

βασιλέων διαδοχήν καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς Βουλήν καὶ δὴ μοναρχίας καταστήσας. ἔτι τούτῳ Καίσαρ παροξυνθείς τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἀφείλετο τῶν περὶ τὸν Μάριλλον, ἐν δὲ τῷ κατηγορεῖν αὐτῶν ἁμα καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐφυβρίζων πολλάκις Βρούτους τε καὶ Κυμαιόν ἀπεκάλει τοὺς ἄνδρας.

LXII. Οὕτω δὴ τρέπονται πρὸς Μάρκον Βρούτον οἱ πολλοὶ, γένος μὲν ἐκεῖθεν εἶναι δοκοῦντα πρὸς πατέρων, καὶ τὸ πρὸς μητρὸς ἰπτὸ Σερούλιῳν, οὐκίας ἐτέρας ἐπιφανοὺς, γαμβρὸν δὲ καὶ ἀδελφιδοὺν Κάτωνος. τοῦτον ἐξ ἐαυτοῦ μὲν ὀρμῆσαι πρὸς κατάλυσιν τῆς μοναρχίας ἡμβλυνον

2 αἱ παρὰ Καίσαρος τιμαὶ καὶ χάριτες. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐσσόθη περὶ Φάρσαλον ἀπὸ τῆς Πωμπηίδου φυγῆς, οὐδὲ πολλοὺς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἔσωσεν ἐξαιτησάμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πίστιν εἰχε μεγάλην παρ' αὐτῷ. καὶ στρατηγίαν μὲν ἐν τοῖς τότε τῆν ἐπιφανεστάτην ἔλαβεν, ὑπατεύειν δὲ ἐμελλέν εἰς τέταρτον ἔτος, ἐρίσαντος Κασσίου προτιμηθεῖς. λέγεται γὰρ ο Καίσαρ εἰπείν ὡς δικαιότερα μὲν λέγοι Κάσσιος, αὐτὸς μέντοι Βρούτον οὐκ ἄν

3 παρέλθοι. καὶ ποτε καὶ διαβάλλοντων τινῶν τὸν ἄνδρα, πραττομένης ὡδη τῆς συνωμοσίας, οὐ προσέσχεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ σώματος τῇ χειρὶ θιγών ἐφὶ πρὸς τοὺς διαβάλλοντας. "Αναμενεῖ τοῦτο τὸ δέρμα Βρούτος;" ὡς ἄξιον μὲν ὁντα τῆς ἀρχῆς δι' ἀρετῆν, διὰ δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἄν ἀχάριστον καὶ πονηρὸν γενόμενον. οὐ δὲ τῆς μεταβολῆς

1 See the Publicola, i.—ix.
2 The word "brutus" in Latin signified stupid (cf. the Publicola, iii. 4); and the people of Cymé, in Asia Minor, were celebrated for stupidity (Strabo, p. 622).
an end to the royal succession and brought the power into the hands of the senate and people instead of a sole ruler. At this, Caesar was greatly vexed, and deprived Maryllus and Flavius of their office, while in his denunciation of them, although he at the same time insulted the people, he called them repeatedly Brutes and Cymaeans.

LXII. Under these circumstances the multitude turned their thoughts towards Marcus Brutus, who was thought to be a descendant of the elder Brutus on his father's side, on his mother's side belonged to the Servilii, another illustrious house, and was a son-in-law and nephew of Cato. The desires which Brutus felt to attempt of his own accord the abolition of the monarchy were blunted by the favours and honours that he had received from Caesar. For not only had his life been spared at Pharsalus after Pompey's flight, and the lives of many of his friends at his entreaty, but also he had great credit with Caesar. He had received the most honourable of the praetorships for the current year, and was to be consul three years later, having been preferred to Cassius, who was a rival candidate. For Caesar, as we are told, said that Cassius urged the juster claims to the office, but that for his own part he could not pass Brutus by. Once, too, when certain persons were actually accusing Brutus to him, the conspiracy being already on foot, Caesar would not heed them, but laying his hand upon his body said to the accusers: "Brutus will wait for this shrivelled skin," implying that Brutus was worthy to rule because of his virtue, but that for the sake of ruling he would not become a thankless villain. Those, however, who

3 Cf. the Brutus, vii. 1-3.
4 Cf. the Brutus chapters viii., ix.

LXIII. ἈΛΛ’ ἔοικεν οὐχ οὕτως ἀπροσδόκητον ὡς ἀφύλακτον εἶναι τὸ πεπρωμένον, ἐπεὶ καὶ σημεῖα θαυμαστὰ καὶ φάσματα φανήναι λέγουσι. σέλα μὲν οὐν οὐράνια καὶ κτύπους νῦκτωρ πολλαχοῦ διαφερομένους καὶ καταίροντας εἰς ἀγορὰν ἐρήμους ὀρνιθας οὐκ ἂξιον ἵσως ἐπὶ πάθει τηλικοῦτῳ μνημονεύσαι. Στράβων δὲ ὁ φιλόσοφος ἱστορεὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπους διαπύρους ἐπιφερομένους φανήναι, στρατιώτον δὲ ἀνδρὸς οἰκετὴν ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς ἐκβαλεῖν πολλὴν φλόγα καὶ δοκεῖν καίεσθαι τοῖς ὀρῶσιν, ός δὲ ἐπαύσατο, μηδὲν ἔχειν κακὸν τὸν ἀνθρωπον. αὐτῷ δὲ Καί-588
were eager for the change, and fixed their eyes on Brutus alone, or on him first, did not venture to talk with him directly, but by night they covered his praetorial tribune and chair with writings, most of which were of this sort: "Thou art asleep, Brutus," or, "Thou art not Brutus." When Cassius perceived that the ambition of Brutus was somewhat stirred by these things, he was more urgent with him than before, and pricked him on, having himself also some private grounds for hating Caesar; these I have mentioned in the Life of Brutus. Moreover, Caesar actually suspected him, so that he once said to his friends: "What, think ye, doth Cassius want? I like him not over much, for he is much too pale." And again, we are told that when Antony and Dolabella were accused to him of plotting revolution, Caesar said: "I am not much in fear of these fat, long-haired fellows, but rather of those pale, thin ones," meaning Brutus and Cassius.

LXIII. But destiny, it would seem, is not so much unexpected as it is unavoidable, since they say that amazing signs and apparitions were seen. Now, as for lights in the heavens, crashing sounds borne all about by night, and birds of omen coming down into the forum, it is perhaps not worth while to mention these precursors of so great an event; but Strabo the philosopher says that multitudes of men all on fire were seen rushing up, and a soldier's slave threw from his hand a copious flame and seemed to the spectators to be burning, but when the flame ceased the man was uninjured; he says, more-

1 Cf. the *Brutus*, chapters viii., ix.
2 Probably in the "Historical Commentaries" cited in the *Lucullus*, xxviii. 7.
σαρι θύντι τήν καρδιάν ἀφανὴ γενέσθαι τοῦ ἱερείου καὶ δεινὸν εἶναι τὸ τέρας: οὐ γὰρ ἂν φύσει 3 γε συντήραι ξύδων ἀκάρδιον. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα πολλῶν ἀκούσαι διεξούσων, ὥς τις αὐτῷ μάντις ἦμέρα Μαρτίου μηνὸς, ἡν Εἴδος Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι, προείποι μέγαν φυλάττεσθαι κίνδυνον ἐλθοῦσας δε τῆς ἦμερας προῖον ὁ Καίσαρ εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον ἀσπασάμενος προσπαίξειε τῷ μάντει φάμενος: "Αἱ μὲν δὴ Μάρτιαι Εἴδοι πάρεσιν," ὁ δὲ ἡσυχὴ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶποι: "Ναὶ πάρεσιν, ἀλλ' 4 οὐ παρεληλύθασι." πρὸ μιᾶς δὲ ἦμερας Μάρκου Δεσπόδου δειπνίζοντος αὐτὸν ἐπιχεὶ μὲν ἐπιστολαὶ ὑπογράφουν, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, κατακείμενος: ἐμπεσόντος δὲ λόγου ποῖος ἀρὰ τῶν θανάτων ἀριστος, ἀπαντᾶς φθάσας ἐξεβόησεν: "Ὁ ἀπροσδόκητος." 5 μετὰ ταῦτα κοιμώμενος, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, παρὰ τῇ γυναικί, πασῶν ἀμα τῶν θυρῶν τοῦ δωματίου καὶ τῶν θυρίδων ἀναπετανυμένων, διαταραχθεῖς ἀμα τῷ κτύπῳ καὶ τῷ φωτὶ καταλαμποῦσης τῆς σελήνης, ἔσθετο τῇ Καλπουρνίαν βαθέως μὲν καθεύδουσαν, ἀσαφεῖς δὲ φωνᾶς καὶ στεναγμοῦς ἀνάρθρους ἀναπέμπουσαν ἐκ τῶν ὑπνων ἐδόκει δὲ ἀρὰ κλαίειν ἐκεῖνον ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀγκάλαις ἔχουσα κατεσφαγμένον. 6 Οἱ δὲ οὐ φασὶ τῇ γυναικὶ ταῦτην γενέσθαι τὴν ὁψιν: ἀλλὰ ἂν γὰρ τῇ Καίσαρος οἴκια προσκείμενον οἴον ἐπὶ κόσμῳ καὶ σεμνότητι τῆς Βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης ἀκρωτηρίου, ὡς Λίβιος ἱστορεῖ, τοῦτο ὃναρ ἡ Καλπουρνία θεασμένη καταρρημύμενον ἔδοξε ποτιάσθαι καὶ δακρύειν, ἦμέρας δὲ οὖν γενομένης ἐδείτο τοῦ Καίσαρος,
over, that when Caesar himself was sacrificing, the heart of the victim was not to be found, and the prodigy caused fear, since in the course of nature, certainly, an animal without a heart could not exist. The following story, too, is told by many. A certain seer warned Caesar to be on his guard against a great peril on the day of the month of March which the Romans call the Ides; and when the day had come and Caesar was on his way to the senate-house, he greeted the seer with a jest and said: "Well, the Ides of March are come," and the seer said to him softly: "Aye, they are come, but they are not gone." Moreover, on the day before, when Marcus Lepidus was entertaining him at supper, Caesar chanced to be signing letters, as his custom was, while reclining at table, and the discourse turned suddenly upon the question what sort of death was the best; before any one else could answer Caesar cried out: "That which is unexpected." After this, while he was sleeping as usual by the side of his wife, all the windows and doors of the chamber flew open at once, and Caesar, confounded by the noise and the light of the moon shining down upon him, noticed that Calpurnia was in a deep slumber, but was uttering indistinct words and inarticulate groans in her sleep; for she dreamed, as it proved, that she was holding her murdered husband in her arms and bewailing him.

Some, however, say that this was not the vision which the woman had; but that there was attached to Caesar's house to give it adornment and distinction, by vote of the senate, a gable-ornament, as Livy says, and it was this which Calpurnia in her dreams saw torn down, and therefore, as she thought, wailed and wept. At all events, when day came, she begged Caesar,
προελθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀναβαλέσθαι τὴν σύγκλητον εἰ δὲ τῶν ἐκείνης ὑπερήφων ἐλάχιστα φροντίζει, σκέψασθαι διὰ μαντικῆς ἄλλης καὶ ἱερῶν περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος. ἐίχε δὲ τις, ὡς ἔοικε, κάκεινον ὑποψία καὶ φόβος. οὐδένα γάρ γυναικισμὸν ἐν δεισιδαμονίᾳ πρότερον κατεγνω-κεί τῆς Καλπουρνίας, τότε δὲ ἐώρα περιπαθοῦσαν. ὡς δὲ καὶ πολλὰ καταθύσαντες οἱ μάντεις ἔφρασαν αὐτῷ δυστερεῖν, ἐγνὼ πέμψας Ἀντώνιον ἀφείναι τὴν σύγκλητον.

LXIV. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Δέκιμος Βροῦτος ἐπικλήσειν Ἀλβίνος, πιστεύομενος μὲν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος, ὡςτε καὶ δεύτερος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κληρονόμος γεγράθαι, τοῖς δὲ περὶ Βροῦτον τὸν ἔτερον καὶ Κάσσιον μετέχων τῆς συνωμοσίας, φοβηθεὶς μὴ τὴν ἥμεραν ἐκείνην διακρούσασθαι τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐκπυστος ἡ πράξις γένηται, τοὺς τε μάντεις ἐχλεύαζε καὶ καθήττετο τοῦ Καίσαρος,

καὶ διαβολᾶς εαυτῷ κτωμένον πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἐντυφάσθαι δοκοῦσαν ἥκειν μὲν γὰρ αὐτὴν κελεύσαντος ἐκεῖνον, καὶ προθύμους εἶναι ψηφίζεσθαι πάντας ὅπως τῶν ἐκτὸς Ἰταλίας ἐπαρχίων βασιλεὺς ἀναγορεύοιτο καὶ φοροὶ διά-

δήμα τὴν ἄλλην ἑπίων γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν εἰ δὲ φράσει τις αὐτοῖς καθεξομένους νῦν μὲν ἀπαλλάτ-
tesθαι, παρεῖναι δὲ αὖθις όταν ἐντύχῃ βελτίωσιν ὅνειρος Καλπουρνία, τίνας ἐσεθαί λόγους παρὰ τῶν φθονοῦντων; ἣ τίνα τῶν φίλων ἀνέξεσθαι διδασκόντων ὡς οὐχὶ δουλεία ταύτα καὶ τυραννικῶς ἔστιν; ἀλλ' εἰ δοκεῖ πάντως, ἐφ', τῇ ἥμερᾳ ἀφοσιώσασθαι, βέλτιον αὐτὸν παρελθόντα καὶ

προσαγορεύσαντα τὴν Βουλήν ὑπερθέσθαι. ταῦθ'
if it was possible, not to go out, but to postpone the meeting of the senate; if, however, he had no concern at all for her dreams, she besought him to enquire by other modes of divination and by sacrifices concerning the future. And Caesar also, as it would appear, was in some suspicion and fear. For never before had he perceived in Calpurnia any womanish superstition, but now he saw that she was in great distress. And when the seers also, after many sacrifices, told him that the omens were unfavourable, he resolved to send Antony and dismiss the senate.

LXIV. But at this juncture Decimus Brutus, surnamed Albinus, who was so trusted by Caesar that he was entered in his will as his second heir, but was partner in the conspiracy of the other Brutus and Cassius, fearing that if Caesar should elude that day, their undertaking would become known, ridiculed the seers and chided Caesar for laying himself open to malicious charges on the part of the senators, who would think themselves mocked at; for they had met at his bidding, and were ready and willing to vote as one man that he should be declared king of the provinces outside of Italy, and might wear a diadem when he went anywhere else by land or sea; but if some one should tell them at their session to be gone now, but to come back again when Calpurnia should have better dreams, what speeches would be made by his enemies, or who would listen to his friends when they tried to show that this was not slavery and tyranny? But if he was fully resolved (Albinus said) to regard the day as inauspicious, it was better that he should go in person and address the senate, and then postpone its business. While
άμα λέγων ὁ Βροῦτος ἤγε τῆς χειρὸς λαβόμενος τοῦ Καίσαρα, καὶ μικρὸν μὲν αὐτῶ προελθόντι τῶν θυρῶν οἰκήτης ἀλλοτριος ἐνυχεῖν προθυμούμενος, ὡς ἤττατο τοῦ περὶ ἐκείνου ἡθισμοῦ καὶ πλήθους, βιασάμενος εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν παρέδωκεν ἕαυτὸν τῇ Καλπουρνίᾳ, φυλάττειν κελεύσας ἀχρὶ ἀν ἐπανέλθῃ Καίσαρ, ὡς ἔχων μεγάλα πράγματα κατευπεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν.

LXV. Ἀρτεμίδωρος δὲ Κυίδιος τὸ γένος, Ἑλληνικῶν λόγων σοφιστῆς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γεγονὼς εἶναις συνήθης τῶν περὶ Βροῦτον, ὡστε καὶ γνώναι τὰ πλείστα τῶν πραττομένων, ἤκε μὲν ἐν βιβλιδῶ κομίζων ἀπερ ἐμελλὲ μηνύειν, ὅρῳ δὲ τῶν Καίσαρα τῶν βιβλιδῶν ἐκαστὸν δεχόμενος καὶ παραδίδοντα τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ὑπηρέταις, ἔγγυς σφόδρα προσελθόν, "Τοῦτο," ἡφη, "Καίσαρ, ἀνάγνωσθι μόνος καὶ ταχέως γέγραπται γὰρ ὑπὲρ πραγμάτων μεγάλων καὶ σοι διαφερόντον." 2 δεξάμενος οὖν ὁ Καίσαρ ἀναγινώσκει μὲν ὑπὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐντυχανόντων ἐκολούθη, καὶ περὶ ὀρμήσας πολλάκις, ἐν δὲ τῇ χειρὶ κατέχων καὶ φυλάττων μόνον ἐκείνῳ παρῆλθεν εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον. ἐνοὶ δὲ φασίν ἄλλον ἐπιδιόναι τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο, τὸν δ᾽ Ἀρτεμίδωρον οὐδὲ ὅλως προσελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἐκθελιβὴν παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ὀδὸν.

LXVI. Ἀλλὰ ταύτα μὲν ἢδη ποὺ φέρει καὶ τὸ αὐτόματον ὁ δὲ δεξάμενος τὸν φόνον ἐκείνων καὶ τὸν ἄγωνα χῶρος, εἰς δὲν ἡ σύγκλητος ἡθοῦσθη τότε, Πομπηίου μὲν εἰκόνα κειμένην ἔχων, Πομπηίου δὲ ἀνάθημα γεγονὸς τῶν προσκεκοσμη-
saying these things Brutus took Caesar by the hand and began to lead him along. And he had gone but a little way from his door when a slave belonging to some one else, eager to get at Caesar, but unable to do so for the press of numbers about him, forced his way into the house, gave himself into the hands of Calpurnia, and bade her keep him secure until Caesar came back, since he had important matters to report to him.

LXV. Furthermore, Artemidorus, a Cnidian by birth, a teacher of Greek philosophy, and on this account brought into intimacy with some of the followers of Brutus, so that he also knew most of what they were doing, came bringing to Caesar in a small roll the disclosures which he was going to make; but seeing that Caesar took all such rolls and handed them to his attendants, he came quite near, and said: "Read this, Caesar, by thyself, and speedily; for it contains matters of importance and of concern to thee." Accordingly, Caesar took the roll and would have read it, but was prevented by the multitude of people who engaged his attention, although he set out to do so many times, and holding in his hand and retaining that roll alone, he passed on into the senate. Some, however, say that another person gave him this roll, and that Artemidorus did not get to him at all, but was crowded away all along the route.

LXVI. So far, perhaps, these things may have happened of their own accord; the place, however, which was the scene of that struggle and murder, and in which the senate was then assembled, since it contained a statue of Pompey and had been dedicated by Pompey as an additional ornament to his
These discouraged belief in superhuman powers.
theatre, made it wholly clear that it was the work of some heavenly power which was calling and guiding the action thither. Indeed, it is also said that Cassius, turning his eyes toward the statue of Pompey before the attack began, invoked it silently, although he was much addicted to the doctrines of Epicurus; but the crisis, as it would seem, when the dreadful attempt was now close at hand, replaced his former cool calculations with divinely inspired emotion.

Well, then, Antony, who was a friend of Caesar's and a robust man, was detained outside by Brutus Albinus,2 who purposely engaged him in a lengthy conversation; but Caesar went in, and the senate rose in his honour. Some of the partisans of Brutus took their places round the back of Caesar's chair, while others went to meet him, as though they would support the petition which Tillius Cimber presented to Caesar in behalf of his exiled brother, and they joined their entreaties to his and accompanied Caesar up to his chair. But when, after taking his seat, Caesar continued to repulse their petitions, and, as they pressed upon him with greater importunity, began to show anger towards one and another of them, Tillius seized his toga with both hands and pulled it down from his neck. This was the signal for the assault. It was Casca who gave him the first blow with his dagger, in the neck, not a mortal wound, nor even a deep one, for which he was too much confused, as was natural at the beginning of a deed of great daring; so that Caesar turned about, grasped the knife, and held it fast.

2 By Caius Trebonius, rather, as Plutarch says in the Brutus, xvii. 1. Cf. Appian, B.C. ii. 117; Cicero, ad fam. x. 28.
βέσθαι καὶ κατασχεῖν. ἂμα δε πως ἐξεφώνησαν ὁ μὲν πληγεὶς Ῥωμαῖστι· “Μιαρώτατε Κάσκα, τί ποιεῖς;” ὁ δὲ πλήξας Ἐλληνιστὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄδειφον ἂ “Ἀδελφέ, βοήθει.”

Τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς γενομένης τοὺς μὲν οὐδὲν συνειδότας ἐκπλήξεις εἰχὲ καὶ φρίκη πρὸς τὰ δρόμενα, μήτε φεύγειν μήτε ἀμύνειν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ φονῆν εἰκβάλλειν τολμῶντας. τὸν δὲ παρεσκευασμένων ἐπὶ τὸν φόνον ἐκάστου γυμνοῦ ἀπο- δείξαντος τὸ ξίφος, ἐν κύκλῳ περιεχόμενοι καὶ πρὸς ὅ τι τρέψειε τὴν ὅψιν πληγαίς ἀπαντῶν καὶ σιδήρῳ φερομένῳ καὶ κατὰ προσώπου καὶ κατ' ὀφθαλμῶν διελαυνόμενος ὁσπέρ θηρίων ἐνει- λεῖτο ταῖς πάντων χερσίν· ἀπαντας γὰρ ἔδει κατάρξασθαι καὶ γεύσασθαι τοῦ φόνου. διὸ καὶ Βρούτος αὐτῷ πληγήν ἐνέβαλε μίαν εἰς τὸν βουβώνα. λέγεται δὲ ὑπὸ τινῶν ὡς ἀρα πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπομαχόμενος καὶ διαφέρων δεύρῳ κάκει τὸ σῶμα καὶ κεκραγός, ὅτε Βρούτον εἰδὲν ἐσπασμένον τὸ ξίφος, ἐφελκύσατο κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὸ ἱμάτιον καὶ παρῆκεν ἑαυτὸν, εἶτε ἀπὸ τύχης εἴτε ὑπὸ τῶν κτεινοτῶν ἀπωσθέεις, πρὸς τὴν βάσιν ἐφ' ὃς ὁ Πομπηῖον βέβηκεν ἀνδριάς. καὶ πολὺ καθήμαζεν αὐτὴν ὁ φόνος, ώς δοκεῖν αὐτὸν ἔφεστάναι τῇ τιμωρίᾳ τοῦ πολεμίου Πομ- πηίου ὑπὸ πόδας κεκλιμένου καὶ περισπαίροντος ὑπὸ πλήθους τραυμάτων. εἰκοσὶ γὰρ καὶ τρία λαβέειν λέγεται· καὶ πολλοὶ κατετρωθήσαν ὑπ' ἄλληλων, εἰς ἐν ἀπερειδόμενοι σῶμα πληγὰς τοσάτας.

LXVII. Κατειργασμένου δὲ τοῦ άνδρός ἡ μὲν γερουσία, καίπερ εἰς μέσον ἐλθόντος Βρούτου ὃς 598
At almost the same instant both cried out, the smitten man in Latin: "Accursed Casca, what doest thou?" and the smiter, in Greek, to his brother: "Brother, help!"

So the affair began, and those who were not privy to the plot were filled with consternation and horror at what was going on; they dared not fly, nor go to Caesar's help, nay, nor even utter a word. But those who had prepared themselves for the murder bared each of them his dagger, and Caesar, hemmed in on all sides, whichever way he turned confronting blows of weapons aimed at his face and eyes, driven hither and thither like a wild beast, was entangled in the hands of all; for all had to take part in the sacrifice and taste of the slaughter. Therefore Brutus also gave him one blow in the groin. And it is said by some writers that although Caesar defended himself against the rest and darted this way and that and cried aloud, when he saw that Brutus had drawn his dagger, he pulled his toga down over his head and sank, either by chance or because pushed there by his murderers, against the pedestal on which the statue of Pompey stood. And the pedestal was drenched with his blood, so that one might have thought that Pompey himself was presiding over this vengeance upon his enemy, who now lay prostrate at his feet, quivering from a multitude of wounds. For it is said that he received twenty-three; and many of the conspirators were wounded by one another, as they struggled to plant all those blows in one body.

LXVII. Caesar thus done to death, the senators, although Brutus came forward as if to say something
τι περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐρώτητος, οὐκ ἀνασχομένη διὰ θυρών ἔξεπττε καὶ φεύγουσα κατέπλησε ταραχῆς καὶ δέους ἀπόρου τὸν δήμον, ὡστε τοὺς μὲν οἰκίας κλείειν, τοὺς δὲ ἀπολείπειν τραπέζας καὶ χρηματιστήρια, δρόμῳ δὲ χωρεῖν τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ὄψομένου τὸ πάθος, τοὺς δὲ ἐκείθεν ἴσωρακότας. Ἀντώνιος δὲ καὶ Δείδας οἱ μάλιστα φίλοι Καίσαρος ὑπεκδύτησε εἰς οἰκίας ετέρας κατέφυγον. οἱ δὲ περὶ Βρούτου, ὡσπερ ἦσαν ἐτί θερμοὶ τῷ φόνῳ, γυμνὰ τὰ ξίφη δεικνύτες, ἀμα πάντες ἀπὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου συστραφέντες ἐξώρουν εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, οὐ φεύγουσιν οἰκότες, ἀλλὰ μάλα φαιδροὶ καὶ θαρραλεοὶ, παρακαλοῦντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τὸ πλήθος καὶ προσδεχόμενοι τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν ἐνυγχανόντων. ένιοι δὲ καὶ συνανέβαλον αὐτοὺς καὶ κατεμίγνυσαν ἑαυτοὺς ὡς μετεσχηκότες τοῦ ἔργου καὶ προσεποιοῦντο τὴν δόξαν, ἢν ἦν καὶ Γαίος Ὀκταύιος καὶ Δέντλος Σπινθήρ. οὐτοὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἀλαξονείας δίκην ἐδώκαν ὕστερον ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου καὶ τοῦ νέου Καίσαρος ἀναρεθέντες καὶ μηδὲ τῆς δόξης, ἢν ἀπέθεντο σκον, ἀπολαύσαντες ἀπιστία τῶν ἄλλων. οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ κολάξοντες αὐτοὺς τῆς πράξεως, ἀλλὰ τῆς βουλήσεως τὴν δίκην ἔλαβον.

4 Μεθ' ἡμέραν δὲ τῶν περὶ Βρούτου κατελθόντων καὶ ποιησαμένων λόγως, ὁ μὲν δήμος οὔτε δυσχεράνων οὔτε ὡς ἐπαινῶν τὰ πεπραγμένα τοῖς λεγομένοις προσέχειν, ἀλλ' ὑπεδήλου τῇ πολλῇ σιωτῇ Καίσαρα μὲν οἰκτείρων, αἰδούμενος δὲ Βρούτου, ἦ δὲ σύγκλητος ἀμνηστίας τινὰς καὶ
about what had been done, would not wait to hear him, but burst out of doors and fled, thus filling the people with confusion and helpless fear, so that some of them closed their houses, while others left their counters and places of business and ran, first to the place to see what had happened, then away from the place when they had seen. Antony and Lepidus, the chief friends of Caesar, stole away and took refuge in the houses of others. But Brutus and his partisans, just as they were, still warm from the slaughter, displaying their daggers bare, went all in a body out of the senate-house and marched to the Capitol, not like fugitives, but with glad faces and full of confidence, summoning the multitude to freedom, and welcoming into their ranks the most distinguished of those who met them. Some also joined their number and went up with them as though they had shared in the deed, and laid claim to the glory of it, of whom were Caius Octavius and Lentulus Spinther. These men, then, paid the penalty for their imposture later, when they were put to death by Antony and the young Caesar, without even enjoying the fame for the sake of which they died, owing to the disbelief of their fellow men. For even those who punished them did not exact a penalty for what they did, but for what they wished they had done.

On the next day Brutus came down and held a discourse, and the people listened to what was said without either expressing resentment at what had been done or appearing to approve of it; they showed, however, by their deep silence, that while they pitied Caesar, they respected Brutus. The senate, too, trying to make a general amnesty and
συμβάσεις πράττουσα πάσι Καίσαρα μὲν ὡς θεὸν τιμᾶν ἐψηφίσατο καὶ κινεῖν μηδὲ τὸ µικρότατον ὃν ἐκείνος ἄρχων ἐβούλευσε, τοῖς δὲ περὶ Βρούτου ἐπαρχίας τε διενείμε καὶ τιµᾶς ἀπέδωκε πρεπούσας, ὥστε πάντας οἷς θαί τὰ πράγματα κατάστασιν ἔχειν καὶ σύγκρασιν ἀπειληφέναι τὴν ἀρίστην.

LXVIII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν διαθηκῶν τῶν Καίσαρος ἀνοιχθείσων εὐρέθη δεδοµένη Ἄρωµαίων ἐκάστῳ δόσις ἀξίωλογος, καὶ τὸ σῶµα κοµιζόµενον διὰ ἄγορᾶς ἑθεάσαντο ταῖς πληγαῖς διαλεκτικῆµένων, οὐκέτι κόσµον εἶχεν οὐδὲ τάξιν αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος, ἀλλὰ τῷ µὲν νεκρῷ περισσωρεύσαντες ἐξ ἄγορᾶς βάθρα καὶ κιγκλίδας καὶ τραπέζιας ὑφῆσαν αὐτὸν καὶ κατέκαυσαν, ἀράμενοι δὲ δαλοὺς διαπύρων ἔθεν ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας τῶν ἀνηρηκότων ὡς καταφλέξοντες, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐφοίτων πανταχόσε τῆς πόλεως συνλαβεῖν καὶ διαστάσασθαι τοὺς ἀνδρὰς 2 ξητούντες. ὡς ἐκεῖνων μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀπήµτησεν, ἀλλὰ εὖ πεφραγµένοι πάντες ἦσαν. Κίννας δὲ τὶς τῶν Καίσαρος ἑταίρων ἦττυχε µὲν, ὡς φασί, τῆς παροχηµένης νυκτὸς ὅψιν ἐφρακὼς ἀτοπον' ἐδόκει γὰρ ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐπὶ δεῦµνον καλείσθαι, παραιτούµενος δὲ ἀγεσθαι τῆς χειρὸς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ µὴ θυσίαν οἰκόµενος, ἀλλ' ἀντιτείνων. ὡς δ' ἦκονσεν ἐν ἄγορὰ τὸ σῶµα καίσθαι τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἀναιστάς ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ τιµῇ, καίτερ ὑφορώµενός τε 3 τὴν ὅψιν ἀμα καὶ πυρέττων. καὶ τὶς ὁφθέντος αὐτοῦ τῶν πολλῶν ἐφρασεν ἐτέρῳ τούνοµα πυν-
reconciliation, voted to give Caesar divine honours and not to disturb even the most insignificant measure which he had adopted when in power; while to Brutus and his partisans it distributed provinces and gave suitable honours, so that everybody thought that matters were decided and settled in the best possible manner.

LXVIII. But when the will of Caesar was opened and it was found that he had given every Roman citizen a considerable gift, and when the multitude saw his body carried through the forum all disfigured with its wounds, they no longer kept themselves within the restraints of order and discipline, but after heaping round the body benches, railings, and tables from the forum, they set fire to them and burned it there; then, lifting blazing brands on high, they ran to the houses of the murderers with intent to burn them down, while others went every whither through the city seeking to seize the men themselves and tear them to pieces. Not one of these came in their way, but all were well barricaded. There was a certain Cinna, however, one of the friends of Caesar, who chanced, as they say, to have seen during the previous night a strange vision. He dreamed, that is, that he was invited to supper by Caesar, and that when he excused himself, Caesar led him along by the hand, although he did not wish to go, but resisted. Now, when he heard that they were burning the body of Caesar in the forum, he rose up and went thither out of respect, although he had misgivings arising from his vision, and was at the same time in a fever. At sight of him, one of the multitude told his name to another who asked him
Λξιχ. Ὁ τετηκόκτονα καὶ ἕξις, Πομπηίων δὲ ἐπιβίωσαν οὐ πολὺ πλέον ἔτων τεσσάρων, ἂν δὲ τῷ βίῳ παντὶ ἄρχην καὶ δυναστείαν διὰ κινδύνων τοσούτων διώκον μόλις κατειργάσατο, ταύτης οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ τούνομα μόνον καὶ τὴν ἐπίθεσιν
καρπωσάμενος δόξαν παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν. ὁ μέντοι μέγας αὐτοῦ δαίμων, ὁ παρὰ τῶν βίων ἐχρήσατο, καὶ τελευτήσαντος ἐπηκολουθήσε τιμωρός τοῦ φόνου, διὰ τε γῆς πάσης καὶ θαλάττης ἐλαύνων καὶ ἀνιχνεύων ἄχρι τοῦ μηδένα λιπεὶν τῶν ἀπεκτονῶν, ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς καθ’ ὤτιον ἡ χειρὶ τοῦ ἔργου θυγοῦτας ἡ γνώμης μετασχόντας ἐπεξ-ελθεῖν.
3 Θαυμασιώτατον δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀνθρωπίνων τὸ περὶ Κάσσιον ἡπτηθείς γὰρ ἐν Φιλίπποις ἐκεῖνος τῷ ξιφιδίῳ διέθειρεν ἐαυτὸν ὡς κατὰ Καίσαρος ἐχρίσατο· τῶν δὲ θείων ὁ τε μέγας κομήτης ἐφάνη γὰρ ἐπὶ νύκτας ἐπτὰ μετὰ τὴν Καίσαρος 604
what it was, and he to another, and at once word ran through the whole throng that this man was one of the murderers of Caesar. For there was among the conspirators a man who bore this same name of Cinna, and assuming that this man was he, the crowd rushed upon him and tore him in pieces among them.¹ This more than anything else made Brutus and Cassius afraid, and not many days afterwards they withdrew from the city. What they did and suffered before they died, has been told in the Life of Brutus.

LXIX. At the time of his death Caesar was fully fifty-six years old, but he had survived Pompey not much more than four years, while of the power and dominion which he had sought all his life at so great risks, and barely achieved at last, of this he had reaped no fruit but the name of it only, and a glory which had awakened envy on the part of his fellow citizens. However, the great guardian-genius of the man, whose help he had enjoyed through life, followed upon him even after death as an avenger of his murder, driving and tracking down his slayers over every land and sea until not one of them was left, but even those who in any way soever either put hand to the deed or took part in the plot were punished.

Among events of man's ordering, the most amazing was that which befell Cassius; for after his defeat at Philippi he slew himself with that very dagger which he had used against Caesar; and among events of divine ordering, there was the great comet, which showed itself in great splendour for seven nights

¹ Cf. the Brutus, xx. 5 f.
σφαγήν διαπρεπής, εἶτα ἡφανίσθη) καὶ τὸ περὶ 741
4 τὸν ἰλιον ἀμαύρωμα τῆς αὐγῆς. ὅλον γὰρ ἐκεί-


νον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ὕχος μὲν ὁ κύκλος καὶ μαρμα-


ρυγάς οὐκ ἔχων ἀνέτελλεν, ἄδρανες δὲ καὶ λεπτὸν


ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ κατηχεῖ τὸ θερμόν, ὡστε τὸν μὲν ἀέρα

dυσοφέρον καὶ βαρὺν ἀσθενεία τῆς διακρινοῦσης


αὐτοῦ ἄλεας ἐπιφέρεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ καρποὺς ἡμι-


πέπτους καὶ ἀτελείς ἀπαυθήσαι καὶ παρακάμασαι


5 διὰ τὴν ψυχρότητα τοῦ περιέχοντος. μάλιστα

de τὸ Βροῦτῳ γενόμενον φάσμα τὴν Καῖσαρος ἔδη-


λωσε σφαγὴν οὐ γενομένην θεοῖς ἀρεστήν· ἦν δὲ


tοιόνδε. μέλλων τοῦ στρατὸν ἐξ Ἀβύδου διαβι-


βάζειν εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν ἥπειρον ἀνεπαύετο νυκτὸς,


ὡσπερ εἰώθη, κατὰ σκηνῆν, οὐ καθεύδων, ἀλλὰ


φροντίζων περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος. λέγεται γὰρ οὔτος


ἀνήρ ἦκιστα δὴ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὑπνώδης γενέ-


σθαι καὶ πλείστον ἐαυτῷ χρόνον ἐγχηγοροτό χρή-


6 σθαι πεφυκὼς· ψόφου δὲ τινος αἰσθέσθαι περὶ


τὴν θύραν ἐδοξὲ, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ λύχνου φῶς ἦδη


καταφερομένου σκέψαμενος ὦψιν εἴδε φοβερὰν


ἀνδρὸς ἐκφύλου τὸ μέγεθος καὶ χαλεποῦ τὸ ἐίδος.


ἐκπλαγεῖς δὲ τὸ πρῶτον, ώς ἐώρα μήτε πράπτοντά


tι μήτε φθεγγόμενον, ἀλλὰ ἐστώτα σιγῆ παρὰ


7 τὴν κλίνην, ἡρώτα ὅστις ἐστίν. ἀποκρίνεται δ' αὐτῷ τὸ φάσμα: "Ὁ σῶς, ὁ Βροῦτε, δαίμων


κακὸς· ὅψει δὲ με περὶ Φιλίππους." τότε μὲν


οὗν ὁ Βροῦτος εὐθαρσῶς, "Οὐγομαι," εἶπε· καὶ


τὸ δ' ἰκνον-


μένῳ χρόνῳ περὶ τοὺς Φιλίππους ἀντιταχθεὶς


Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ Καῖσαρι τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ μάχῃ κρα-


τήσας τὸ καθ' ἐαυτὸν ἐτρέψατο καὶ διεξήλασε


8 πορθῶν τὸ Καῖσαρος στρατόπεδον, τὴν δὲ δευτε-


606
after Caesar’s murder, and then disappeared; also, the obscurcation of the sun’s rays. For during all that year its orb rose pale and without radiance, while the heat that came down from it was slight and ineffectual, so that the air in its circulation was dark and heavy owing to the feebleness of the warmth that penetrated it, and the fruits, imperfect and half ripe, withered away and shrivelled up on account of the coldness of the atmosphere. But more than anything else the phantom that appeared to Brutus showed that the murder of Caesar was not pleasing to the gods; and it was on this wise. As he was about to take his army across from Abydos to the other continent, he was lying down at night, as his custom was, in his tent, not sleeping, but thinking of the future; for it is said that of all generals Brutus was least given to sleep, and that he naturally remained awake a longer time than anybody else. And now he thought he heard a noise at the door, and looking towards the light of the lamp, which was slowly going out, he saw a fearful vision of a man of unnatural size and harsh aspect. At first he was terrified, but when he saw that the visitor neither did nor said anything, but stood in silence by his couch, he asked him who he was. Then the phantom answered him: “I am thy evil genius, Brutus, and thou shalt see me at Philippi.” At the time, then, Brutus said courageously: “I shall see thee;” and the heavenly visitor at once went away. Subsequently, however, when arrayed against Antony and Caesar at Philippi, in the first battle he conquered the enemy in his front, routed and scattered them, and sacked the camp of Caesar; but as he was about to fight the second
παν αὐτῷ μᾶχεσθαι μέλλοντι φοιτᾶ τὸ αὐτὸ φάσμα τῆς νυκτὸς αὕθις, οὐχ ὡστε τι προσεπεῖν, ἀλλὰ συνεῖς ὁ Βροῦτος τὸ πεπρωμένον ἔρριψε φέρων ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸν κίνδυνον. οὐ μὴν ἔπεσεν ἀγωνιζόμενος, ἀλλὰ τῆς τροπῆς γενομένης ἀναφυγὼν πρὸς τὶ κρημνῶδες καὶ τῷ ξίφει γυμνῷ προσβαλὼν τὸ στέρνον, ἀμα καὶ φίλου τινὸς, ὦς φασί, συνεπιρρώσαντος τὴν πληγήν, ἀπέθανεν.
battle, the same phantom visited him again at night, and though it said nothing to him, Brutus understood his fate, and plunged headlong into danger. He did not fall in battle, however, but after the rout retired to a crest of ground, put his naked sword to his breast (while a certain friend, as they say, helped to drive the blow home), and so died.¹

¹ Cf. the Brutus, xxxvi.; xlviii.; lii.
A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES
A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

A

Achillas, 559, one of the guardians of Ptolemy XII. (Dionysus), and commander of his troops when Caesar came to Egypt. See the Pompey, lxxvii.-lxxx.

Afranius, 531, 543, 567, Lucius A., a warm partisan of Pompey, and one of his legates in Spain during the war with Sertorius, as well as in Asia during the Mithridatic war. He was consul in 60 B.C. He was killed after the battle of Thapsus (46 B.C.)

Agrippa, 215, Marcus Vipsanius A., fellow student of Octavius Caesar at Apollonia, and an intimate friend. He was one of the prominent and powerful men of the Augustan age. He lived 63-12 B.C.

Alcetas, 383, a brother of Perdiccas, whom he supported after Alexander’s death. After the murder of Perdiccas in 321 B.C., Alcetas forsok Eumenes, and was joined by Attalus, the brother-in-law of Perdiccas. They were defeated by Antigonos in 320, and Alcetas slew himself rather than fall into the hands of his enemy.

Alcidas, 13, of Elea in Asia Minor, a popular rhetorician of the school of Gorgias, who resided at Athens 431-411 B.C.

Anaxarchus, 245, 307, 375 f., of Abdera, a philosopher who accompanied Alexander on his campaigns in Asia and won his favour by flattery. After the death of Alexander, Anaxarchus fell into the hands of Nicocreon, king of Salamis in Cyprus, whom he had offended, and was cruelly put to death.

Anaximenes, 71, 215, of Lampsacus, a rhetorician and historian, who lived circa 390-320 B.C.

Androcottus, 401 f., or Sandrocottus, an Indian prince who achieved the conquest of northern India after Alexander’s death. Seleucus waged unsuccessful war upon him.

Anticleides, 357, of Athens, author of a history of Alexander about which nothing further is known.

Antigenes, 357, otherwise unknown.

Antigonos, 437, surnamed the One-eyed, king of Asia, and father of Demetrius Poliorcetes.

Antiochus of Ascalon, 89 f., called the founder of the Fifth Academy. Cicero speaks of him in the highest and most appreciative terms (Brutus, 91, 315.)

Antipater, 67-79, 219-437, regent of Macedonia during Alexander’s absence, and of Alexander’s empire after the murder of Perdiccas in 321 B.C. He died in 319.

Antiphanes, 11, 25, of Rhodes, a poet of the Middle Comedy, who began his career in 383 B.C.

Antonius, 109 f., 121, 137, Caius A., uncle of Mark Antony the triumvir. He served under Sulla
in the Mithridatic war, and was expelled from the senate for plundering the allies and wasting his substance. After the events here described, he went to his province of Macedon, and in 59 B.C. was convicted of extortion there, in spite of the defence of his conduct by Cicero.

Apollonia, 195, 533 f., an ancient Greek city of Illyria. Towards the end of the Roman republic, it became a famous seat of learning.

Apollonius, 91 f., 447, son of Molon, and sometimes called Molon, a native of Alabanda in Caria, and a distinguished rhetorician. Cf. Cicero, Brutus, 90, 312; 91, 316.

Aristander of Telmessus, 227, 261, 295 f., 317, 323, 369, 375, the chief soothsayer of Alexander, and probably the author of a work "On Prodigies" referred to by Pliny and Lucian.

Aristobulus, of Cassandreia, 57, 261, 269, 273, 285, 357, 433, accompanied Alexander on his expedition and wrote a history of his campaigns, of which we know most from Arrian's Anabasis.

Ariston, the Chian, 25, 75, a Stoic philosopher who flourished about 260 B.C.

Aristoxenus, 233, a pupil of Aristotle, and a philosopher of the Peripatetic school. Only fragments of his musical treatises have come down to us.

Arrhidaeus, 249, 437, a bastard son of Philip of Macedon. He was put to death by order of Olympias in 317 B.C.

Artemidorus, 595, of Chalcedon, a teacher of rhetoric at Rome, and a friend of Caesar.

Artemisius, 265, see Daesius.

Attalus (1), 247, 251, one of Philip's generals. After Philip's death he was assassinated by order of Alexander.

Attalus (2), 383, one of Alexander's chief officers, and the brother-in-law of Perdiccas. After the murder of Perdiccas, Attalus joined Alcetas, and was defeated and taken prisoner by Antigonus. See Alcetas.

B

Balbus, 583, Lucius Cornelius B., a native of Gades in Spain, who came to Rome at the end of the war with Sertorius (72 B.C.). He served under Caesar both in Gaul and during the civil war, and was the manager of Caesar's property. After Caesar's death Balbus was high in favour with Octavius. For the incident here noted, cf. Suetonius, Div. Jul. 78.

Bessus, 349, 353, satrap of Bactria under Dareius III., and commander of the Persian left wing at the battle of Arbela.

Bestia, 139, Lucius Calpurnius B., one of the conspirators with Catiline. Cicero was afterwards reconciled with him, and defended him unsuccessfully when accused of bribery in his candidacy for the praetorship in 57 B.C.


Boedromion, 69, 317, the Attic month corresponding to parts of our September and October.

Brandium, 181 f., 529, 533, 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 the chief naval station of the Romans in the Adriatic.

Brutus, 503, 597, Decimus Junius B., surnamed Albinus, was widely employed, highly esteemed, fully trusted, and richly rewarded by Julius Caesar, and
yet joined his murderers. He was put to death by order of Antony in 43 B.C.

C

Caecilius, 7, Caecilius Calactinus, a native of Sicily, a distinguished rhetorician at Rome in the time of Augustus.

Calanus, 409, 417, one of the Indian philosophers called gymnosophists.

Calenus, 545, Quintus Ennius C., tribune of the people in 61 B.C., and praetor in 59 through Caesar's influence, whom he ever afterwards faithfully served, holding high commands under him in Gaul and during the civil war. He died in 41 B.C.

Callias the Syracusan, 13, otherwise unknown.

Callisthenes, 303, 323, 327, 375–385, of Olynthus, a philosopher and historian, who accompanied Alexander on his expedition in the East until put to death by him in 328 B.C. Besides an account of Alexander's expedition, he wrote a history of Greece from 387 to 357 B.C.

Callistratus, 11, 13, 33, a distinguished orator and statesman at Athens, who flourished from about 380 to about 361 B.C., when he was condemned to death and fled the city.

Carneades, 89, of Cyrene, 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. See the Cato Major, xxii.

Casca, 597 f., Publius Servilius C., at this time tribune of the people. He fought in the battle of Philippi, and died soon afterwards. His brother, Caius Servilius Casca, had also been a friend of Caesar, and was a fellow conspirator.

Cassander, 33, 429, f., a son of Antipater the regent of Macedonia. He was master of Athens from 318 to 307 B.C., when Demetrius Poliorcetes took possession of the city. He died in 297 B.C.

Catulus, Quintus Lutatus C., 83., 133, 157, 455 ff., a leading aristocrat of the nobler sort, consul in 78 B.C., censor in 65, died in 60.

Chares (1), 215, a famous Athenian general, prominent from 367 to 334 B.C.


Cicero, 503 Quintus Tullius C., younger brother of the orator, served as legate under Caesar in Gaul, but went over to Pompey in the civil war. He fell a victim to the proscription of the triumvirs in 43 B.C.

Cimber, 597, Lucius Tillius C., had been a warm supporter of Caesar and was rewarded by him with the province of Bithynia, to which he retired after Caesar's murder, and co-operated with Brutus and Cassius.

Cinna, 603 f., Caius Helvia C., see the Brutus, xx. 5 f., and the Dict. of Proper Names for Vol. vi.

Cithaeron, 57, the mountain range between Attica and Boeotia.

Citium, Citieans, 323, a city of Cyprus.

Cleitarchus, 357, a historian who accompanied Alexander on his expedition to the East, and wrote a highly rhetorical account of it. He was the son of Deinon of Colophon, who was author of a history of Persia.

Cleitomachus, 87, 91, a Carthaginian by birth, and a teacher of philosophy at Athens from about 146 B.C. to about 111. In 129 he succeeded Carneades as head of the New Academy.

Cleitus, 259, 267, 369–375, was commander of one of the two
companies of the "companion" cavalry, and at the time of his death had been made satrap of Bactria by Alexander.

Cleopatra (1), 247, 251, 297, 415, soon after this put to cruel death by Olympias, together with her infant child, who was regarded as a rival of Alexander.

Cleopatra (2), 557 ff., queen of Egypt. See the Antony, xxv. ff.

Clodius. 151-171, 463-467, Publius Claudius (Clodius) Pulcher, youngest son of the Appius Claudius mentioned in the Sulla, xxix. 3. He helped to demoralise the soldiers of Lucullus (Lucullus, xxxiv.), and became a venomous foe of Cicero.

Coenus, 397, son-in-law of Parmenio, and one of the ablest of Alexander's officers. He died shortly after the army had begun its return from India.

Collytus, 29, an Attic deme, or township.

Cornificius, 545 (Corninus), Quintus C., a quaestor under Caesar in 48 B.C., and a friend of Cicero. In 45 Caesar made him governor of Syria, and in 44 he had the province of Africa, where he fought against the second triumvirate, and fell in battle.

Craterus, 345-383, one of the ablest of Alexander's officers, and a man of noble character. He fell in battle against Eumenes in 321 B.C. See the Eumenes, v. ff.

Cratippus, the Peripatetic, 143, of Mitylene, a contemporary and intimate friend of Cicero, and a teacher of Cicero's son. See the Brutus, xxiv. 1 f.

Ctesibius, 13, perhaps the Cynic philosopher of Chalcis in Euboea, who was the instructor of Antigonus Doson, king of Macedonia (229-221 B.C.).

Curio, 461, 515-519, Caius Scribonius C., an able orator, but reckless and profligate. He was tribune of the people in 50 B.C., and sold his support to Caesar, who made him praetor in Sicily in 49. Thence he crossed into Africa to attack the Pompeians there, but was defeated and slain (Caesar, Bell. Civ., ii, 23-44.)

D

Daesius, 265, 433, a Macedonian month answering to the Attic Thargelion, i.e. May-June. It followed Artemisius.

Dareius, 263 ff., Dareius III., surnamed Codomannus, came to the throne of Persia in 336 B.C.

Deinon, 333, of Colophon, see Cleitarchus.

Demaratus the Corinthian, 247 f., 337, 385, known only from these incidents.

Demetrius (1), 33, Demetrius Poliorcetes, son of Antigonus (cf. Plutarch's Demetrius, ix.).

Demetrius (2), the Phalerean, 23-27 35, 71, a celebrated rhetorician and orator (346-283 B.C.). He was guardian, or regent, of Athens for Cassander from 318 to 307.

Demetrius (3), surnamed Pheido, 333, son of Pythonax, one of the "companion" cavalry (Arrian, Anab., i.v. 12, 5).

Demetrius (4), the Magnesian, 39, 69, a Greek grammarian contemporary with Cicero.

Diogenes of Sinope, 259, 409, a Cynic philosopher, born 412 B.C. He became a pupil of Antisthenes the Socratic at Athens, and changed from a dissolute to a most austere life. He died at Corinth in 323, according to Plutarch (Morals, p. 717 c) on the same day as Alexander the Great.


Diopithes, 215, an Athenian general, father of the poet Menander. He was arraigned by the Macedonian party at
Eratosthenes, 23, 75, 229, 317, of Cyrené, librarian at Alexandria, most distinguished as geographer and chronologist, a writer also on philosophy and ethics, 275–194 B.C.

Ergiú, 251, of Mitylené, an officer in Alexander's army. He fell in battle 328 B.C.

F

Favonius, 497, 525, 543, Marcus F., called the "Ape of Cato," was aedile in 52 B.C., and praetor in 49. He joined Pompey in the East, notwithstanding personal enmity to him, and accompanied him in his flight from Pharsalus (cf. the Pompey, lxxiii. 6 f.). He was put to death by order of Octavius Caesar after the battle of Philippi (42 B.C.)

G

Gabinius, 157, 161, Aulus G., tribune of the people in 66 B.C., praetor in 61, consul with Piso in 58, the year during which Cicero was exiled. He was recalled from his province of Syria in 55, prosecuted for taking bribes, and exiled. He died in 48.

Granicus, 263 f., a river in the Troad emptying into the Propontis.

H

Hagnon, the Teian, 343, 383, afterwards admiral under Antigonus. Harpalus, 61 f., 243, 251, 333, 347, Alexander's faithless treasurer. Antipater demanded his surrender by the Athenians, who put him in prison, whence he escaped and went to Crete. Here he was assassinated.

Hecataeus, of Eretria, 357, known only from this citation.

Hegesias, the Magnesian, 231, a rhetorician and historian who flourished in the early part of the third century B.C., and was noted for his inane conceits.

Helicon, 323, son of Acesas, of Salamis in Cyprus. Father and son were famous weavers of embroidered textures, probably in the latter part of the fifth century B.C.
Heracleides, 299, of Alexandria, a historian who flourished under Ptolemy IV. (222–205 B.C.)
Hermioné, 333, a city in southern Argolis.
Hermippus, 13, 27, 71, 75, 381, of Smyrna, a distinguished philosopher and biographer who was active in the second half of the third century B.C.
I
Idomeneus, 39, 57, of Lampsacus, a pupil and friend of Epicurus (342–270 B.C.) author of biographical works entitled “The Socraticus” and “The Demagogues.”
Iolas, 429, 437, the time and manner of his death are unknown. He is last mentioned in connection with the marriage of his sister to Perdiccas, in 322 B.C.
Ion, 7, of Chios, a popular poet at Athens between 452 and 421 B.C., and author of a prose work entitled “Sojourns,” in which he recounted his experiences with famous men of his time.
Isaeus, 13, a professional writer of speeches for the law-courts 420–350 B.C., and numbered among the ten great Attic orators.
Isauricus, 457, 533, Publius Servilius Vatia I., deserted the aristocratic party to support Caesar, but after Caesar’s death returned to his former allegiance. He tried with more or less success to hold a middle course as between Antony and Octavius Caesar.
Isocrates, 13, 215, the celebrated Attic orator and rhetorician, 436–338 B.C.
Ister, 357, a slave, and afterwards a friend of Callimachus the Alexandrian grammarian and poet (250–220 B.C.), a voluminous writer, whose works are all lost.
L
Labienus, 181, 487, 527, fled to Africa after the battle of Pharsalus, and after the battle of Thapsus (46 B.C.), to Spain, where he was the immediate cause of the defeat of the Pompeians at Munda, and was slain (45 B.C.).
Lacritus, the rhetorician, 71, of Phaselis in Pamphylia, a pupil of Isocrates about 350 B.C.
Laelius, 219, perhaps the Laelius Declinus who was prominent during the civil war as a partisan of Pompey, and held military command under him.
Lentulus (1), 513, 519, 525, Lucius Cornelius L. Crus, on the outbreak of civil war joined Pompey in the East, fled with him from Pharsalus, and was put to death in Egypt. See the Pompey, Ixxx. 4.
Lentulus (2), 167, 179 (cf. Caesar, B.C. iii. 83), 545, 601, Lucius Cornelius L. Spinther, consul in 57 B.C. through Caesar’s influence, but took the field for Pompey at the outbreak of civil war in 49. He also, like Lentulus Crus, fled with Pompey to Egypt, but got safe to Rhodes.
Lentulus (3), 123–127, 135 f., 141, 459, Publius Cornelius L., sunnamed Sura, was consul in 71 B.C., but in the following year was expelled from the senate. This led him to join the conspirators with Catiline.
Lentulus (4), 189, the name by which Dolabella was sometimes called after his adoption into the plebeian family of Gneius Lentulus in order that he might
become a candidate for the tribuneship. Dolabella was Tullia's third husband. See Tullia.

Marcellus, 283, 343, 405, one of Alexander's most distinguished officers. He fell in 322 B.C., while attempting to relieve Antipater at Lamia.

Leosthenes, 67, 215, an Athenian, general of the league for expelling the Macedonians from Greece after the death of Alexander. He died during the siege of Lamia.

Lepidus, 201, 591, 601, Marcus Aemilius L., joined the party of Caesar in 49 B.C., was Caesar's magister equitum in 47 and 45, and his consular colleague in 46. After Caesar's murder he sided with Antony, and as member of the second triumvirate received Spain as his province, then, in 40, Africa. Here he remained till 36, when he was deposed from the triumvirate. He lived till 13 B.C.

Lucullus, 449, Marcus Licinius L., younger brother of the great Lucullus, also called by adoption M. Terentius Varro Lucullus, consul in 73 B.C., and afterwards a warm friend of Cicero. He died before the civil war.

Lysimachus, 357, 583, an officer of Alexander, not prominent during Alexander's life, but afterwards king of Thrace. He fell in battle with Seleucus, 281 B.C.

quietly and timidly in Italy, and was finally pardoned by Caesar. As husband of Octavia, the sister of Octavius Caesar, he had considerable influence. He is last heard of about 41 B.C.

Marsyas 43, of Pella in Macedonia, author of a history of his own country from earliest times down to 332 B.C.

Mazaeus, 321, 343, a Persian officer under Dareius III., afterwards made satrap of Babylon by Alexander.

Megabyzus, 349, probably a priest or keeper of the temple of Artemis at Ephesus.

Menippus, the Carian, 91, the most accomplished rhetorician of his time in Asia. Cf. Cicero, Brutus, 91. 315.

Metellus (1), 119, 155, Quintus Caecilius M. Celer, consul in 60 B.C., and an influential aristocrat. He was a violent opponent of Caesar during the latter's consulship in 59, in which year he died.

Metellus (2) 529 f., Lucius Caecilius M. Creticus, little known apart from the incident here narrated.

Metellus (3), 139, 147, f., Quintus M. Nepos, a brother of Metellus Celer, a partisan of Pompey, and for a time a violent opponent of Cicero. As consul, however, in 57 B.C., he did not oppose the recall of Cicero from banishment. He died in 55.

Metellus (4), 479, Quintus Metellus Pius, consul with Sulla in 80 B.C., and one of Sulla's most successful generals. Against Sertorius in Spain he was less fortunate. He died about 63.

Murena, 117, 171, 213, Lucius Licinius M., had been quaeasor, aedile, and praetor, and had served under Lucullus against Mithridates (Lucullus, xix. 7). He was accused of bribery in his canvass for the consulship, was defended by Hortensius and Cicero, and acquitted.
O

Nearchus, 251, 411, 415, 427, 433 f., the trusted admiral of Alexander.
Nicocreon, 309, king of Salamis in Cyprus. After the death of Alexander he took sides with Ptolemy of Egypt.
Nonacris, 437, a town in Arcadia, near which the water of the river Styx descended from a cliff.

O

Ochus, 417, Dareius II., 424-404 B.C.
Olympias, 227 f., 237, 247, 251, 297, 341, 415, 437, 439, Alexander's mother. She was put to death in 316 B.C., by order of Cassander.
Onesicritus, 243, 261, 357, 395, 399, 409, 411, a Greek who accompanied Alexander in Asia and wrote an account of his campaigns. His work contained valuable information, but was full of exaggerations and falsehoods.
Oppius, 485, Caius O., an intimate friend of Caesar, and author (probably) of Lives of Marius, Pompey, and Caesar.
Oricum, 533, a town on the coast of Epirus, north of Apollonia.
Oxyartes, 389, a Bactrian prince, father of Roxana. Alexander made him satrap of northern India. He supported Eumenes until the death of that officer, and then came to terms with Antigonus.

P

Panatetus, the philosopher, 33, chief founder of the Stoic school at Rome, flourishing between 150 and 110 B.C.
Pappus, 75, otherwise unknown.
Parmenio, 231, 249, 265, 277, 285 f., 311, 317 f., 327, 343, 361 f., 309, an able and trusted commander under both Philip and Alexander.
Pasicrates, 309, king of Soli in Cyprus.
Patavium, 555, an ancient and important city of Venetia, the modern Padua.
Paulus, 515, Lucius Aemilius P., consul in 50 B.C. with Claudius Marcellus. He had been a violent opponent of Caesar. Cf. the Pompey, Iviii. 1.
Pelops, of Byzantium, 143, not otherwise known.
Perdiccas, 79, 263, 347, 437, the officer to whom the dying Alexander is said to have given his signet-ring, and who was regent for the royal successors of Alexander till 321 B.C.
Peucestas, 347 f., 405, a distinguished officer of Alexander, and satrap of Persia. It was chiefly due to him that Eumenes met with disaster in 316 B.C. See the Eumenes, xiv. ff.
Pharmacusa, 445, a small island off the coast of Caria, about 120 furlongs south of Miletus.
Philip (1), 195, Lucius Marcius Philippus, consul in 56 B.C., married Atia, the widow of Calius Octavius, thus becoming the stepfather of Octavius Caesar. He remained neutral during the civil wars.
Philip (2), 399, made satrap of India by Alexander in 327 B.C. In the following year he was assassinated by his mercenaries.
Philip (3), the Chalcidian, 357, known only from this citation.
Philip (4), of Theangela (in Caria), 357, author of a history of Caria which is cited by Athenaeus and Strabo.
Philistus, 243, the Syracusan, an eyewitness of the events of the Athenian siege of Syracuse, which he described thirty years later in a history of Sicily.
Philo, the Theban, 357, known only from this citation.
Philon, the Academic, 87, 91, a native of Larissa in Thessaly,

Philotas, 249, 255, 317, 343, 361-369, the son of Parmenio.

Philothenus, 243, of Cythera, one of the most distinguished dithyrambic poets of Greece (435-380 B.C.), resident at Athens and Syracuse.

Phylarchus, 67, an Athenian historian, author of a history of Greece from 272 to 220 B.C. Plutarch is heavily indebted to him in his Agis and Cleomenes, and Pyrrhus.

Piso (1), 127, 457, Caius Calpurnius P., consul in 67 B.C., and a violent aristocrat. As pro-consul he plundered his province of Gallia Narbonensis. He must have died before the civil war.

Piso (2), 157, 475, 531, Lucius Calpurnius P., father-in-law of Julius Caesar. He plundered his province of Macedonia shamelessly, and was recalled in 55 B.C. He is covered with invective in Cicero's oration de Provinc. Cons. He took no part in the civil war that followed.

Piso (3), 161, 189, Caius Calpurnius P. Frugi, married Cicero's daughter Tullia in 63 B.C. He was quaestor in 58, and used every endeavour to secure the recall of Cicero from exile, but died before his father-in-law's return. Cicero mentions him often with gratitude.

Pollio, 523, 553, 567, Caius Asinius P., a famous orator, poet, and historian, 76 B.C.-4 A.D. He was an intimate friend of Julius Caesar, fought under him in Spain and Africa, and after Caesar's death supported Octavius Caesar. After 29, he devoted himself entirely to literature, and was a patron of Vergil and Horace. None of his works are extant.

Polycletus, 357, of Larissa in Thessaly, one of the numerous historians of Alexander, of uncertain date.

Poseidonius, 91, of Apamela in Syria, a Stoic philosopher, pupil of Panaitius of Athens, contemporary with Cicero, who often speaks of him and occasionally corresponded with him. Cf. Cicero, de Natura Deorum, 1, 3, 6.

Potamon, the Lesbian, 399, a rhetorician who enjoyed the favour of the emperor Tiberius (14-37 A.D.), and was an authority on the career of Alexander.

Potheinus, 557f., one of the guardians of the young Ptolemy when Caesar came to Egypt.

Ptolemy, 251, 337, 357, one of the ablest of Alexander's officers, and afterwards king of Egypt. He wrote a history of Alexander's campaigns which is the chief authority for Arrian.

Pyaneption, 71, 77, the Athenian month corresponding to parts of October and November.

Python (or Pithon), 435, son of Craterus, one of the seven select officers forming the immediate bodyguard of Alexander. After the death of Alexander he supported Perdiccas, but went over to Antigonus and Seleucus when they made war upon Eumenes.

R

Roxana, 359, 437, daughter of Oxyartes the Bactrian prince. With her son by Alexander she was taken to Macedonia by Antipater. Mother and son were put to death in 311 B.C. by order of Cassander.

S

Samothrace, 227, a large island in the northern Aegean sea, about forty miles south of the Thracian coast.
Scaurus, 83, Marcus Aemilius S. Father and son of this name were prominent in the Roman aristocracy from 126 to 52 B.C., the former having been consul in 115. Both were venal, but the first was often highly praised, and the second was defended, by Cicero. Scipio (1), 470, Publius Cornelius S. Africanus Major, the conqueror of Hannibal, 234-183 B.C.

Scipio (2), 481, 517, 519, 541, 545, 549, 563f., 571, Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica, adopted by Metellus Pius, and therefore often called Metellus Scipio, was Pompey's colleague in the consulship for the latter part of the year 52 B.C., and a determined foe of Caesar. He killed himself after the battle of Thapsus. Though a Scipio by birth, a Metellus by adoption, and a father-in-law of Pompey, he was rapacious and profligate.

Seleucus, 349, 401, 435, founder of the Seleucid dynasty in Syria.

Silanus, 117, 127, 131f., Decimus Junius S., stepfather of Marcus Brutus, had been aedile in 70 B.C.

Sotion, 399, a native of Alexandria, who lived in the first part of the first century A.D.

Stateira, 419, 437, daughter of Dareius III., and wife of Alexander. Stateira was also her mother's name (pp. 311ff.).

commanding a crossing of the Euphrates, east of Upper Syria.

Theodectes, 273, a distinguished rhetorician and tragic poet, a pupil of Isocrates, Plato, and Aristotle, and an imitator of Euripides. He flourished in the time of Philip of Macedon, and lived for the most part at Athens.

Theodotus, 555, a rhetorician of Chios (or Samos), put to death by Brutus. See the Pompey, lxxxvii. 2; lxxx. 6.

Theophillus, 323, an artist in metal work, not otherwise known.

Theophrastus, 25, 41, 141, 233, the most famous pupil of Aristotle, and his successor as head of the Peripatetic school of philosophy at Athens. He was born at Eresos in Lesbos, and died at Athens in 287 B.C., at the age of eighty-five.

Theopompus, 9, 31, 35, 43, 51, 63, of Chios, a fellow-pupil of Isocrates with Ephorus, wrote anti-Athenian histories of Greece from 411 to 394 B.C., and of Philip of Macedon from 360 to 336.

Theramenes, 183, a brilliant Athenian naval commander who cooperated successfully with Alcibiades during the closing years of the Peloponnesian war. He was one of the Thirty Tyrants, and favoured a moderate course, but fell a victim to the jealousy and hatred of Critias.

Thurii, 71, a colony of Athens in Lucania, Italy, founded under Pericles.

Tralles, 555, a large and flourishing city in north-western Caria.

Tullia, 189, daughter of Cicero and Terentia, married Calus Calpurnius Piso in 63 B.C., was a widow in 57, married Furius Crassipes in 56, from whom she was soon divorced. In 50 she married Dolabella (Lentulus) from whom she was divorced in 46. She bore him a son in 45, but died soon after at her father's house in Tusculum.
Varro, 531, the most learned Roman scholar, the most voluminous Roman author, and yet no literary recluse. He held high command under Pompey in the war against the pirates, the Mithridatic war, and in Spain with Afranius. After the campaign in Spain he joined Pompey in Greece, but after the battle at Pharsalus threw himself on Caesar's mercy, was pardoned by him, and restored to literary activity. He was at this time nearly seventy years old.

Xenocrates, 245, of Chalcedon, 396-314 B.C., an associate of Aeschines the Socratic and Plato, and head of the Academy at Athens for twenty-five years.
Printed in Great Britain by
Richard Clay (The Chaucer Press), Ltd.,
Bungay, Suffolk
THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

VOLUMES ALREADY PUBLISHED

Latin Authors

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS. Translated by J. C. Rolfe. 3 Vols.


ST. AUGUSTINE, SELECT LETTERS. J. H. Baxter.

AUSONIUS. H. G. Evelyn White. 2 Vols.

Bede. J. E. King. 2 Vols.


CAESAR: ALEXANDRIAN, AFRICAN and SPANISH WARS. A. G. Way.

CAESAR: CIVIL WARS. A. G. Peskett.


CATULLUS. F. W. Cornish; TIBULLUS. J. B. Postgate; PERVIGILIUM VENERIS. J. W. Mackail.

CELSUS: DE MEDICINA. W. G. Spencer. 3 Vols.

CICERO: BRUTUS, and ORATOR. G. L. Hendrickson and H. M. Hubbell.

[CICERO]: AD HERENNIUM. H. Caplan.


CICERO: DE FINIBUS. H. Rackham.

CICERO: DE INVENTIONE, etc. H. M. Hubbell.

CICERO: DE NATURA DEORUM and ACADEMICA. H. Rackham.

CICERO: DE OFFICIIS. Walter Miller.

CICERO: DE REPUBLICA and DE LEGIBUS; SOMNIUM SCIPIONIS. Clinton W. Keyes.
CICERO: De Senectute, De Amicitia, De Divinatione. W. A. Falconer.
CICERO: In Catilinam, Pro Flacco, Pro Murena, Pro Sulla. Louis E. Lord.
CICERO: Letters to Atticus. E. O. Winstedt. 3 Vols.
CICERO: Letters to His Friends. W. Glynn Williams. 3 Vols.
CICERO: Pro Caecina, Pro Lege Manilia, Pro Cluentio, Pro Rabirio. H. Grose Hodge.
CICERO: Pro Quinctio, Pro Roscio Amerino, Pro Roscio Comoedo, Contra Rullum. J. H. Fraese.
CICERO: Tusculan Disputations. J. E. King.
CLAUDIAN. M. Platnauer. 2 Vols.
FLORUS. E. S. Forster; and Cornelius Nepos. J. C. Rolfe.
FRONTO: Correspondence. C. R. Haines. 2 Vols.
GELLIUS, J. C. Rolfe. 3 Vols.
HORACE: Odes and Epodes. C. E. Bennett.
JEROME: Selected Letters. F. A. Wright.
JUVENAL and PERSIUS. G. G. Ramsay.
LUCAN. J. D. Duff.
LUcretius. W. H. D. Rouse.
MARTIAL. W. C. A. Ker. 2 Vols.
OVID: Heroides and Amores. Grant Showerman.
OVID: Metamorphoses. F. J. Miller. 2 Vols.
OVID: Tristia and Ex Ponto. A. L. Wheeler.
Petronius. M. Heseltine; Seneca; Apologetics. W. H. D. Rouse.
Phaedrus and Babrius (Greek). B. E. Perry.
Plautus. Paul Nixon. 5 Vols.
Propertius. H. E. Butler.
Quintilian. H. E. Butler. 4 Vols.
Sallust. J. C. Rolfe.
Scriptores Historiae Augustae. D. Magie. 3 Vols.
Seneca: Tragedies. F. J. Miller. 2 Vols.
Silius Italicus. J. D. Duff. 2 Vols.
Suetonius. J. C. Rolfe. 2 Vols.
Terence. John Sargeaunt. 2 Vols.
Minucius Felix. G. H. Rendall.
Valerius Flaccus. J. H. Mozley.
Varro: De Lingua Latina. R. G. Kent. 2 Vols.
Virgil. H. R. Fairclough. 2 Vols.
Vitruvius: De Architectura. F. Granger. 2 Vols.
Greek Authors

Achilles Tatius. S. Gaselee.
Aeneas Tacticus, Asclepiodotus and Onasander. The Illinois Greek Club.
Aeschines. C. D. Adams.
Aeschylus. H. Weir Smyth. 2 Vols.
Andocides, Antiphon, Cf. Minor Attic Orators.
Apollodorus. Sir James G. Frazer. 2 Vols.
Apollonius Rhodius. R. C. Seaton.
Appian: Roman History. Horace White. 4 Vols.
Aristotle: Nicomachean Ethics. H. Rackham.
Aristotle: Posterior Analytics, Topics. H. Tredennick and E. S. Forster.
Aristotle: Parts of Animals. A. L. Peck; Motion and Progression of Animals. E. S. Forster.
ARISTOTLE: Poetics and Longinus. W. Hamilton Fyfe; Demetrius on Style. W. Rhys Roberts.
ARISTOTLE: Politics. H. Rackham.
Babrius and Phaedrus (Latin). B. E. Perry.
Daphnis and Chloe. Thornley’s Translation revised by J. M. Edmonds; and Parthenius. S. Gaselee.
Demosthenes II.: De Corona and De Falsa Legatione. C. A. Vince and J. H. Vince.
Dio Cassius: Roman History. E. Cary. 9 Vols.
Diogenes Laertius. R. D. Hicks. 2 Vols.
Dionysius of Halicarnassus: Roman Antiquities. Spelman’s translation revised by E. Cary. 7 Vols.
The Greek Anthology. W. R. Paton. 5 Vols.
Greek Elegy and Iambus with the Anacreontea. J. M. Edmonds. 2 Vols.
THE GREEK BUCOLIC POETS (Theocritus, Bion, Moschus).
J. M. Edmonds.
GREEK MATHEMATICAL WORKS. Ivor Thomas. 2 Vols.
HERODES. Cf. Theophrastus: Characters.
HERODOTUS. A. D. Godley. 4 Vols.
HIPPOCRATES and the FRAGMENTS OF HERACLEITUS. W. H. S. Jones and E. T. Withington. 4 Vols.
ISAETES. E. W. Forster.
ISOCRATES. George Norlin and LaRue Van Hook. 3 Vols.
JULIAN. Wilmer Cave Wright. 3 Vols.
LYCOPHRON. Cf. CALLIMACHUS.
LYRA GRAECA. J. M. Edmonds. 3 Vols.
LYSIAS. W. R. M. Lamb.
MARCUS AURELIUS. C. R. Haines.
MENANDER. F. G. Allinson.
NONNOS: DIONYSIACA. W. H. D. Rouse. 3 Vols.
OPPIAN, COLLUTHUS, TRYPHIODORUS. A. W. Mair.
PARTHENIUS. Cf. DAPHNIS AND CHLOE.
PHILO: two supplementary Vols. (Translation only.) Ralph Marcus.
PHILOSTRATUS: IMAGINES; CALLISTRATUS: DESCRIPTIONS. A. Fairbanks.
PHILOSTRATUS and EUNAPIUS: LIVES OF THE SOPHISTS. Wilmer Cave Wright.
PINDAR. Sir J. E. Sandys.
PLATO: CHATYLUS, Parmenides, GREATER HIPPIAS, LESSER HIPPIAS. H. N. Fowler.
PLATO: EUthyPIRO, Apology, Crito, PHAEdo, PHAEDRus. H. N. Fowler.
PLATO: LACHES, PROTAGORAS, MENo, EUthyDEMUS. W. R. M. Lamb.
PLATO: THEAETETUS and SOPHIST. H. N. Fowler.
POLYBIUS. W. R. Paton. 6 Vols.
Ptolemy: Tetrabiblos. Cf. MANETHO.
STRAbo: GeOGRAPHY. Horace L. Jones. 8 Vols.
Theophrastus: Enquiry INTO plants. Sir Arthur Hort, Bart. 2 Vols.
THUCYDides. C. F. Smith. 4 Vols.
TryPhiodorus. Cf. OPPIAN.
Xenophon: Cyropaedia. Walter Miller. 2 Vols.
Xenophon: Memorabilia and Oeconomicus. E. C. Marchant.
DESCRIPTIVE PROSPECTUS ON APPLICATION

London
Cambridge, Mass.

WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
Other biographers in the
Loeb Series

SUETONIUS
CORNELIUS NEPOS
DIOGENES LAERTIUS