Plutarch's Lives

Plutarch, Bernadotte Perrin
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PLUTARCH'S LIVES
VIII
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Volume I.
Theseus and Romulus.
Lycurgus and Numa.
Solon and Publicola.

Volume II.
Themistocles and Camillus.
Aristides and Cato Major.
Cimon and Lucullus.

Volume III.
Pericles and Fabius Maximus.
Nicias and Crassus.

Volume IV.
Alcibiades and Coriolanus.
Lysander and Sulla.

Volume V.
 Agesilaüs and Pompey.
Pelopidas and Marcellus.

Volume VI.
Dion and Brutus.
Timoleon and Aemilius Paulus.

Volume VII.
Demosthenes and Cicero.
Alexander and Caesar.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
BERNADOTTE PERRIN

IN ELEVEN VOLUMES
VIII

SERTORIUS AND EUMENES
PHOCION AND CATO THE YOUNGER

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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 best manuscripts—the Codex Sangermanensis (S*) 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). No attempt has been made, naturally, to furnish either a diplomatic text or a 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
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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 Sertorius and Cato by Professor Long.

B. PERRIN.

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SERTORIUS
ΣΕΡΤΩΡΙΟΣ

1. Ὁ συμμαστὸν μὲν ἵσως οὖν ἔστιν, ἐν ἀπείρῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς τύχης ἀλλοτε ἄλλως ἰδρύσης, ἐπὶ ταῦτα συμπτώματα πολλάκις καταφέρεσθαι τὸ αὐτόματον. εἰτε γὰρ οὖν ἔστι τῶν ὑποκειμένων ὀρισμένον τὸ πλῆθος, ἀφθονον ἔχει τῆς τῶν ἀποτελουμένων ὁμοίωσης χορηγὸν ἡ τύχη τῆς τῆς ἔλθεν εὑπορίαν, εἰτ' ἐκ τινῶν ὑρισμένων ἄρρημφο συμπλέκεται τὰ πράγματα, πολλάκις ἀνάγκη ταῦτα γίνεσθαι διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν περαινό-

2 μενα. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀγαπῶντες ἐνοικι τὰ τοιαύτα συνάγωσιν ἰστορία καὶ ἀκοή τῶν κατὰ τύχην γεγονότων ὡς λογισμοῦ καὶ προνοίας ἐργοῖς ξοικεύ, οἷον ὅτι δυνεὶν 'Αττεων γεγομένων ἐμφανῶν, τοῦ μὲν Σύρου, τοῦ δὲ 'Αρκάδος, ἐκάτερος ὑπὸ συνὸ ἀπόλεστο, δυνεὶν δὲ 'Ακταιώνων, ὁ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν κυνῶν, ὁ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἑραστῶν διεσπάσθη, δυνεὶν δὲ Σκηπτηώνων, ὑφ' οὗ μὲν ἐνικήθησαν Καρχηδόνιοι πρότερον, ὑφ' οὗ δὲ ὑστερον ἀρδὴν ἀνηρεύθησαν,

3 ἐάλοι δὲ τὸ *Ἰλιον ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους διὰ τὰς Δασομέ-

2 δοντος ὑπους καὶ ὑπὸ Ἄγαμεμνόνος διὰ τοῦ δουρείου προσαγορευθέντος ὑπ' οὗ, τρίτον δ' ὑπὸ

1 The story of a Lydian Attis who was killed by a wild boar is told by Pausanias, vii. 17, 5; that of the Arcadian Attis is unknown.
2 The Actaeon, son of Aristaeus, who saw Artemis bathing,
SERTORIUS

I. It is perhaps not to be wondered at, since fortune is ever changing her course and time is infinite, that the same incidents should occur many times, spontaneously. For, if the multitude of elements is unlimited, fortune has in the abundance of her material an ample provider of coincidences; and if, on the other hand, there is a limited number of elements from which events are interwoven, the same things must happen many times, being brought to pass by the same agencies. Now, there are some who delight to collect, from reading and hearsay, such accidental happenings as look like works of calculation and forethought. They note, for example, that there were two celebrated persons called Attis, one a Syrian, the other an Arcadian, and that both were killed by a wild boar; that there were two Actaeons, one of whom was torn in pieces by his dogs, the other by his lovers; that there were two Scipios, by one of whom the Carthaginians were conquered in an earlier war, and by the other, in a later war, were destroyed root and branch; that Ilium was taken by Heracles on account of the horses of Laomedon, by Agamemnon by means of what is called the wooden was changed by the goddess into a stag and devoured by his own dogs. An Actaeon, son of Melissus, was beloved by Archias of Corinth, who sought to take him away by violence. The friends of Actaeon resisted, and in the struggle Actaeon was torn to death (Plutarch, *Morals*, p. 772).
Χαριδήμου, ταῖς πύλαις ἵππου τινὸς ἐμπεσόντος ἀποκλείσαι ταχὺ τῶν Ἰλιέων μὴ δυνηθέντων, δυεῖν δὲ ὁμονύμω ταῖς ευωδεστάτοις φυτοῖς πόλεων, Ἰοῦ καὶ Σιμώνης, τὸν ποιητὴν Ὄμηρον ἐν ἥ μὲν γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, ἐν ἥ δὲ ἀποθανεῖν, φέρει καὶ τούτῳ πέραθεμεν αὐτοῖς, ὦτι καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν οἱ πολεμικῶτατοι καὶ πλείστα δόλῳ κατεργασάμενοι μετὰ δεινότητος ἐτερόθαλμοι γεγόνασι. Φίλιππος, Ἀντίγονος, Ἀννίβας καὶ περὶ οὐ ἤδε τὸ σύγγραμμα Σερτώριος, ὃν Φίλιππον μὲν ἄν τις ἀποφαίνοιτο σωφρονέστερον περὶ τὰς γυναίκας, Ἀντίγονον δὲ πιστότερον περὶ φίλους, Ἀννίβου δὲ ἡμερώτερον πρὸς πολεμίους, λειπόμενον δὲ συνέσει μὲν οὐδενὸς τούτων, τύχῃ δὲ πάντων, ἣ πολὺ τῶν ἐμφανῶν πολεμίων χαλεπωτέρα περὶ πάντα χρησάμενος ἐπανίσσωσεν ἑαυτὸν ἐμπερίᾳ μὲν τῇ Μετέλλου, τόλμῃ δὲ τῇ Πομπηίου, τύχῃ δὲ τῇ Σύλλα, δυνάμει δὲ τῇ Ῥωμαίων, φυγάς καὶ βαρβάρων ἔτηλυς ἄρχων ἀντιταξάμενος.

6. Τούτω δὴ μάλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸν Καρδιανὸν ὁμοίομενον Εὐμένην ἀμφότεροι γὰρ ἄρχοντες καὶ σὺν δόλῳ πολεμικοί, καὶ τῆς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀποξενωθέντες ἠγησάμενοι δὲ ἄλλοτε ὄν, τύχῃ δὲ χρησάμενοι βιαῖω καὶ ἀδίκῳ περὶ τὴν τελευτήν ἐπιβουλευθέντες γὰρ ἄμφοτεροι, μεθ’ ὧν τοὺς πολεμίους ἐνίκησαν, ὑπὸ τούτων ἀνηρέθησαν.

II. Κοίντορ Σερτώριῳ γένος ἦν οὐκ ἀσημόταιτον ἐν πόλει Νοῦσσοις τῆς Σαβίνων ὑπερεῖς δὲ
SERTORIUS

horse, and a third time by Charidemus, because a horse fell in the gateway and prevented the Ilians from closing the gate quickly enough; that there are two cities which have the same name as the most fragrant plants, Ios and Smyrna,¹ in one of which the poet Homer is said to have been born, and in the other to have died. I will therefore make this addition to their collection. The most warlike of generals, and those who achieved most by a mixture of craft and ability, have been one-eyed men,—Philip, Antigonus, Hannibal, and the subject of this Life, Sertorius; of whom one might say that he was more continent with women than Philip, more faithful to his friends than Antigonus, more merciful towards his enemies than Hannibal, and inferior to none of them in understanding, though in fortune to them all. Fortune he ever found harder to deal with than his open foes, and yet he made himself her equal when he arrayed himself against the experience of Metellus, the daring of Pompey, the fortune of Sulla, and the power of Rome, though he was an exile and a stranger in command of Barbarians.

With him we may best compare, among the Greeks, Eumenes of Cardia. Both were born to command and given to wars of stratagem; both were exiled from their own countries, commanded foreign soldiers, and in their deaths experienced a fortune that was harsh and unjust; for both were the victims of plots, and were slain by the very men with whom they were conquering their foes.

II. Quintus Sertorius belonged to a family of some prominence in Nussia,² a city of the Sabines. Having

¹ Violet and Myrrh.
² Nursia, in Latin writers, and in Amyot.
κοσμίως ὑπὸ μητρὶ χήρᾳ πατρὸς ὀρφανὸς ὑπερφυῶς δοκεῖ φιλομήτωρ γενέσθαι. ὄνομα τῆς μητρὸς Ῥέαν λέγουσιν. ἦσκητο μὲν οὖν καὶ περὶ δίκας ἰκανῶς, καὶ τίνα καὶ δύναμιν ἐν τῇ πόλει μειράκιον ἄν ἀπὸ τοῦ λέγειν ἔσχεν· οἶ δὲ περὶ τὰ στρατιωτικὰ λαμπρότητες αὐτοῦ καὶ κατορθώσεις ἐνταῦθα τὴν φιλοτιμίαν μετέστησαν.

III. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν Κίμβρων καὶ Τευτόνων ἐμβεβληκότων εἰς Γαλατίαν στρατευόμενος ὑπὸ Καιπίων, κακῶς ἀγωνισμένων τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ τροπῆς γενομένης ἀποβεβληκός τὸν ὑπὸν καὶ κατατετρωμένος τὸ σῶμα τὸν Ῥοδανοῦ διεπερασεν, αὐτῷ τῇ ὥραι καὶ θυρεὸν πρὸς ἐναντίον ρέμα πολὺ νηχόμενος· οὖτο τὸ σῶμα ῥωμαλέον ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ διάπονον τῇ ἀσκήσει.

2 δεύτερον δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπερχομένων μυράσι πολλαίς καὶ δευναὶς ἀπειλαίς, ὡστε καὶ τὸ μένειν ἄνδρα Ῥωμαίον ἐν τάξει τότε καὶ τὸ πείθεσθαι τῷ στρατηγῷ μέγα ἔργον εἶναι. Μάριος μὲν ἡγεῖτο, Σερτώριος δὲ κατασκοπὴν ὑπέστη τῶν πολεμίων. ἐσθήτι δὲ Καλτική σκευασάμενος καὶ τὰ κοινότατα τῆς διαλέκτου πρὸς ἐντεύξιν ἔπλε καιροῦ παραλαβών, ἀναμίγνυται τοῖς βαρβάρους· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἰδόν, τὰ δὲ ἄκοι πυθόμενος τῶν ἐπει-

3 γόντων ἐπανήλθε πρὸς Μάριον. τότε μὲν οὖν ἀριστείων ἐτυχεν· ἐν δὲ τῇ λοιπῇ στρατείᾳ πολλὰ καὶ συνέσεως ἔργα καὶ τόλμης ἀποδειξάμενος εἰς ὄνομα καὶ πίστιν ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ προήχθη· μετὰ δὲ τὸν Κίμβρων καὶ Τευτόνων πόλεμον εκπεμφθείς ὑπὸ Δειδὼν στρατηγῷ χιλιάρχως ἐπὶ Ἰβηρίας ἐν τῇ πόλει Καστλών.
lost his father, he was properly reared by a widowed mother, of whom he appears to have been excessively fond. His mother’s name, we are told, was Rhea. As a result of his training he was sufficiently versed in judicial procedure, and acquired some influence also at Rome from his eloquence, although a mere youth; but his brilliant successes in war turned his ambition in this direction.

III. To begin with, when the Cimbri and Teutones invaded Gaul, he served under Caepio, and after the Romans had been defeated and put to flight, though he had lost his horse and had been wounded in the body, he made his way across the Rhone, swimming, shield and breastplate and all, against a strongly adverse current; so sturdy was his body and so inured to hardships by training. In the next place, when the same enemies were coming up with many myriads of men and dreadful threats, so that for a Roman even to hold his post at such a time and obey his general was a great matter, while Marius was in command, Sertorius undertook to spy out the enemy. So, putting on a Celtic dress and acquiring the commonest expressions of that language for such conversation as might be necessary, he mingled with the Barbarians; and after seeing or hearing what was of importance, he came back to Marius. At the time, then, he received a prize for valour; and since, during the rest of the campaign, he performed many deeds which showed both judgement and daring, he was advanced by his general to positions of honour and trust. After the war with the Cimbri and Teutones, he was sent out as military tribune by Didius the praetor to Spain, and spent the winter in Castulo,

1 In 105 B.C.  
2 In 102 B.C.  
3 In 97 B.C. Didius was then pro-consul.
παρεχείμαζε τῆς Κελτιβήρων. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐν ἀφθόνοις ύβριζόντων καὶ τὰ πολλὰ μεθύοντων καταφρονήσαντες οἱ βάρβαροι μετεπέμψαντο νυκτὸς ἐπικουρίαν παρὰ τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων Ὡριτανῶν καὶ κατ’ οἰκίας ἐπίοντες ἐκτεινοῦσαν αὐτούς, ὑπεκδύος ὁ Σερτόριος μετ’ ὠλίγων καὶ τοὺς ἐκπίπτοντας συναγαγὼν κύκλῳ τὴν πόλιν περιήλθε· καὶ καθ’ ἄδ ποὺ βάρβαροι πύλας ἐλαθον παρεισπεσόντες ἀνεφημένας εὐράν, οὐ ταὐτὸν ἐκείνοις ἐπαθεῖν, ἀλλὰ φρουρᾶς ἐπιστήμασι καὶ καταλαβὼν πανταχοῦν τὴν πόλιν ἐκτεινε τοὺς ἐν ἠλικίᾳ πάντας. ὡς δὲ ἀνηρέθησαν, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς στρατιώτας πάντας τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ὅπλα καὶ τὴν ἔσθητα καταθέσαι, τοῖς δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐνσκευασμένους ἐπέσθαι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην ἐξ ἡς ἀπεστάλησαν οἱ νύκτωρ ἐπιπεσόντες αὐτοῖ. ἰσευσάμενος δὲ τῇ τῶν ὅπλων ὅσοι τοὺς βαρβάρους τάς τε πύλας ἀνεφημένας εὔρε καὶ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἐλαβεν οἰομένων ἀπαντῶν εὖ πεπραχός φίλοις καὶ πολίταις. διὸ πλεῖστοι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ᾿Ρωμαίων ἐσφάττοντο περὶ τὰς πύλας, οὶ δὲ λοιποὶ παραδόντες ἐαυτοὺς ἐπράθησαν.

IV. Ἐκ τούτῳ Σερτόριος ἐν τῇ ᾿Ιβηρίᾳ διεβοήθη καὶ ὅτε πρῶτον ἐπανῆκεν εἰς ᾿Ρώμην, ταμίας ἀποδείκνυε τῆς περὶ Πάδου Γαλατίας, ἐν δέοντι. τοῦ γὰρ Μαρσικοῦ πολέμου συνισταμένου, στρατιώτας τα προσταχθέν οὕτω καταλέγειν καὶ ὅπλα ποιεῖσθαι, στουδὴν καὶ τάχος
SERTORIUS

city of the Celtiberians. Here the soldiers shook off all discipline in the midst of plenty, and were drunk most of the time, so that the Barbarians came to despise them, and one night sent for aid from their neighbours, the Osritanians, and falling upon the Romans in their quarters began to kill them. But Sertorius with a few others slipped out, and assembled the soldiers who were making their escape, and surrounded the city. He found the gate open by which the Barbarians had stolen in, but did not repeat their mistake; instead, he set a guard there, and then, taking possession of all quarters of the city, slew all the men who were of age to bear arms. Then, when the slaughter was ended, he ordered all his soldiers to lay aside their own armour and clothing, to array themselves in those of the Barbarians, and then to follow him to the city from which the men came who had fallen upon them in the night. Having thus deceived the Barbarians by means of the armour which they saw, he found the gate of the city open, and caught a multitude of men who supposed they were coming forth to meet a successful party of friends and fellow citizens. Therefore most of the inhabitants were slaughtered by the Romans at the gate; the rest surrendered and were sold into slavery.

IV. In consequence of this exploit the name of Sertorius was noised abroad in Spain; and as soon as he returned to Rome he was appointed quaestor of Cisalpine Gaul, and at a critical time. For the Marsic war¹ was threatening, and he was ordered to levy troops and procure arms; to which task he brought such earnestness and celerity, as compared with the

¹ Or Social War, 90–88 B.C.
προσθεσθε τῷ ἔργῳ παρὰ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων νέων βραδυτῆτα καὶ μαλακίαν ἄνδρος ἐμπράκτως βιω-2 σομένου δόξαν ἐσχεν. οὗ μὴν ὑφήκατο τῆς στρατιωτικῆς τόλμης εἰς ἀξίωμα προεληνθὼς ἤγεμόνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ χειρὸς ἐπιδεικνύμενος ἔργα θαυμαστὰ καὶ τὸ σώμα τοῖς ἀγώσιν ἁφειδῶς ἐπιδίδοις, τῶν ὅψεων ἀπέβαλε τὴν ἔτεραν ἐκ-κοπεῖσαν. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ καὶ καλλωπιζόμενος ἀεὶ διετέλει. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλους οὐκ ἀεὶ τὰ μαρτύρια τῶν ἁριστείων περιφέρειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποτίθεσθαι στρεπτὰ καὶ δόρατα καὶ στεφάνους, αὐτῷ δὲ τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας παραμένειν τὰ γνωρί-σματα, τοὺς αὐτούς ἔχοντι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἁμα καὶ 3 τῆς συμφορᾶς θεατάς. ἀπέδωκε δὲ καὶ ὁ δήμος αὐτῷ τιμὴν πρέπουσαν. εἰσελθόντα γὰρ εἰς θεα-τρον ἐξεδέξαντό τε κρότῳ καὶ κατευθήμησαν, ὃν οὔδε τοῖς πάνυ προήκουσιν ἥλικια τε καὶ δόξη τυχεῖν ἢν ράδιον. δημαρχίαν μέντοι μετιῶν Σύλλα καταστασιάσαντος αὐτὸν ἐξέπεσε· διὸ 570 4 καὶ δοκεῖ γενέσθαι μισοσύλλας. ἐπεὶ δὲ Μάριος μὲν ὑπὸ Σύλλα κρατηθεὶς ἔφευγε, Σύλλας δὲ Μιθριδάτη πολέμησον ἀπήρα, τῶν δὲ ὑπάτων Ὀκτάβιος μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς Σύλλα προαιρέσεως ἔμενε, Κίννας δὲ νεοτερίξι οὕτοις ὑποφερομένην ἀνεκαλεῖτο τὴν Μαρίου στάσιν, τούτῳ προσένεμεν αὐτὸν ὁ Σερτώριος, ἅλλως τε καὶ τὸν Ὀκτάβιον ὁρῶν αὐτὸν μὲν ἀμβλύτερον ὄντα, τοῖς δὲ Μαρίου 5 φίλοις ἀπιστοῦντα. γενομένης δὲ τοῖς ὑπάτοις
SERTORIUS

slowness and indolence of the other young men, that he got the reputation of a man whose life would be one of great achievement. However, he did not remit the activities of a daring soldier after he had advanced to the dignity of a commander, but displayed astonishing deeds of prowess and exposed his person unsparingly in battle, in consequence of which he got a blow that cost him one of his eyes. But on this he actually prided himself at all times. Others, he said, could not always carry about with them the evidences of their brave deeds, but must lay aside their necklaces, spears, and wreaths; in his own case, on the contrary, the marks of his bravery remained with him, and when men saw what he had lost, they saw at the same time a proof of his valour. The people also paid him fitting honours. For, when he came into the theatre, they received him with clapping of hands and shouts of welcome, testimonials which even those who were far advanced in years and honours could not easily obtain. Notwithstanding this, when he stood for the tribuneship, Sulla formed a party against him, and he lost the election; for which reason, apparently, he became an opponent of Sulla. And so when Marius was overwhelmed by Sulla and went into exile,¹ and Sulla had set out to wage war against Mithridates,² and one of the consuls, Octavius, adhered to the party of Sulla, while the other, Cinna, who aimed at a revolution, tried to revive the drooping faction of Marius, Sertorius attached himself to Cinna, especially as he saw that Octavius was rather sluggish himself and distrustful of the friends of Marius. A great battle was fought in the

¹ In 88 B.C.
² In 87 B.C. Cf. the Marius, xli. 1.
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ἐν ἁγορᾷ μάχης μεγάλης Ὀκτάβιος μὲν ἑκράτησε, Κίννας δὲ καὶ Σερτώριος οὐ πολλῷ ἐλάττους τῶν μυρίων ἀποβαλόντες ἐφυγοῦ καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐτὶ διεσπαρμένων στρατοπέδων προσαγόμενοι τὰ πλείστα πειθοὶ ταχὺ κατέστησαν ἄξιόμαχοι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ὀκτάβιον.

V. Μαρίου δὲ καταπλεύσαντος ἐκ Διβύης καὶ τῷ Κίννῳ προστιθέντος ἔκαστον ὡς ἰδιώτην ὑπάτῳ, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἔδοκε δέχεσθαι, Σερτώριος δὲ ἀπηγόρευεν, εἶτε τὸν Κίνναν ἢττον οἴόμενος ἕαυτῷ προσέξειν ἄνδρος ἡγεμονικωτέρον παρόντος, εἶτε τὴν βαρυτήτα τοῦ Μαρίου δεδοκὼς, μὴ πάντα τὰ πράγματα συγχέει θυμῷ μέτρον οὐκ ἔχοντι, πέρα δίκης ἐν τῷ κρατεῖν προερχόμενος.

2 ἔλεγεν οὖν μικρὸν εἶναι τὸ ὑπολειπόμενον ἔργον αὐτοῦ ἢ ἕκαστος ἐξαντία, δεξιαμένων δὲ τὸν Μάριον τὸ σύμπαν οἴσεσθαι τῆς δόξης ἐκείνων καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως, χαλεπῶν ὁντα πρὸς κοινωνίαν ἀρχῆς καὶ ἀπιστῶν. εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Κίννα ταύτα μὲν ὁρθῶς ὑπολογίζεσθαι τὸν Σερτώριον, αἰδεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ διαπορείν ὅπως ἀπώσταται τὸν Μάριον αὐτὸς ἐπὶ κοινωνίᾳ πραγμάτων κεκληκὼς, ὑπο-

3 λαβῶν ὁ Σερτώριος εἶπεν: “'Αλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν αὐτὸν ἄφ' ἐαυτοῦ Μάριον ἦκειν νομίζων εἰς Ἰταλίαν τὸ συμφέρον ἐσκόπον: σοὶ δὲ τῇ ἀρχῇ οὐδὲ βουλεύεσθαι καλῶς εἰχεν ἥκιστος διὸ αὐτὸς ἑλθείν ἥξιωσας, ἀλλὰ χρήσθαι καὶ δέχεσθαι, τῆς πί-
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forum between the consuls, in which Octavius was victorious, and Cinna and Sertorius took to flight, after losing almost ten thousand men; and then, winning over to their side most of the troops still scattered about Italy, they soon made themselves able to cope with Octavius.¹

V. And when Marius sailed home from Libya ² and was proposing to serve under Cinna as a private citizen under a consul, the rest thought that his offer should be accepted, but Sertorius declared against it, either because he thought that Cinna would pay less attention to him when a man of greater military experience was at hand, or because he was afraid of the harshness of Marius, and feared that he would throw everything into confusion by a passion which knew no limits, and exceed the bounds of justice in the hour of victory. Accordingly, he said that little remained for them to do, now that they were already victorious, and that if they received Marius he would appropriate to himself all the glory and the power, since he found it hard to share authority and was not to be trusted. Cinna replied that these considerations of Sertorius were sound, but that for his part he had perplexing scruples about rejecting Marius after having himself invited him to join their cause. To this Sertorius answered: “Indeed, I for my part thought that Marius was come of his own accord into Italy, and so I was trying to discover what was advantageous in the matter; but in thy case it was not well to deliberate at all after the arrival of one whom thou thyself didst ask to come; nay, thou shouldst have received and employed him,

¹ In 87 B.C. Cf. the Marius, xli. 1.
² Cf. the Marius, xli. 2 ff.
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στεως μηδενι λογισμο χωραν διδουσης." ουτως
μεταπεμπται τον Μαριον Κίννας και τρεχη της
dυναμεως διανεμηθεις ήρχον οι τρεις.

4 Διαπολεμηθεντος δε του πολεμου και των περι
tου Κίνναν και Μαριον εμφορουμενων υβερως τε
cαι πικριας απασης, ωστε χρυσων αποδειξαι
Ρωμαιος τα του πολεμου κακα, Σερτωριος λε
γεται μονος ουτε αποκτειναι τινα προς οργη
ουτε ενυβρισαι κρατων, αλλα και το Μαριω
δυσχεραινει και τον Κίνναν εντυγχανων ιδια και

5 δεομενος μετριωτερον ποιειν. τελος δε των δου
λων, ους Μαριος συμμαχους μεν εν τω πολεμω
dωρυφορους δε της τυραννιδος εχουν ισχυρους και
πλουσιους εποιησε, τα μεν εκεινων διδοντος και
cελευνοντος, τα δε και βια παρανομουντων εις τους
dεσποτας, σφαστοντων μεν αυτους, ταις δε δεο-
ποιαις πλησιαζοντων και βιαζομενων τους παι-
δας, ουκ ανασχετα ποιομενους ο Σερτωριος απα
τας εν ταυτω στρατοπεδουντας κατηκοντισειν,
ουκ ελαττους τετρακισχιλιων οντας.

VI. 'Επει δε Μαριος μεν έτελεύτησε και Κί
νας ανηρεθη μικρον υστερον, δε νεανιας Μαριος
ακοντος αυτου παρα τους νομους υπατειαν έλαβε,
Καρβωνες δε και Νωρβανοι και Σκηπτωνες επι
οντι Συλλα κακως επολεμουν, και τα μεν άναιδρια
και μαλακια των στρατεγων εφθειρετο, τα δε οι

2 προδιδοντες απωλλυσαν, έργον δε ουδεν ήν αυτου
παροντος τωσ πραγμασι μοχθηρως υποφερομε
νοις δια το χειρον φρονειν τους μαλλον δυναμε

1 That is, when the party of Sulla and the senate ceased to resist and Rome had surrendered.
2 Cf. the Marius, xliiv. 6.
3 In 86 B.C.
since a pledge leaves room for no discussion." So Cinna sent for Marius, the army was divided into three parts, and the three men held command.

When the war had been brought to an end,¹ Cinna and Marius were filled with insolence and all bitterness, and made the evils of war appear as gold to the Romans; Sertorius alone, as we are told, neither killed any one to gratify his anger, nor waxed insolent with victory, but actually rebuked Marius, and by private interviews and entreaties made Cinna more moderate. And finally, there were the slaves whom Marius had used as allies during the war and as body-guards of his tyranny. They had thus become powerful and rich, partly by the permission and under the orders of Marius, and partly through their lawless and violent treatment of their masters, whom they would slay, and then lie with their masters’ wives, and outrage their masters’ children. Such a state of things Sertorius felt to be unendurable, and therefore when the slaves were all encamped together he had them shot down with javelins, and they were as many as four thousand in number.²

VI. But presently Marius died;³ and shortly afterwards Cinna was murdered;⁴ and the younger Marius, against the wishes of Sertorius and contrary to the laws, assumed the consulship;⁵ and such men as Carbo, Norbanus, and Scipio were unsuccessfully opposing Sulla’s advance upon Rome; and the cause of the popular party was being ruined and lost, partly through the cowardice and weakness of its generals, and partly by treachery; and there was no reason why Sertorius should remain to see matters go from bad to worse owing to the inferior judgement of those

⁴ In 84 B.C. Cf. the Pompey, chapter v. ⁵ In 82 B.C.
νους, τέλος δὲ Σύλλας Σκηπίωνι παραστρατοπε- 
δεύσας καὶ φιλοφρονούμενος, ὡς εἰρήνης ἐσομένης, 
dιέφθειρε τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ ταῦτα προλέγων 
Σκηπίωνι καὶ διδάσκων Σερτώριος ὑπὲρέθε, 
pαντάπασιν ἀπογνώσει τὴν πόλιν ὄρμησεν εἰς 
Ἰβηρίαν, ὡς, εἰ φθάσει τὴν ἐκεί κρατινάμενος 
ἀρχήν, καταφυγῇ τοῖς πταίσοντι ἐνταῦθα τῶν 571 
φίλων ἐσομένων.

3 Χειμῶσι δὲ χαλεποὶς χρησάμενος ἐν χωρίοις 
ἀρείνοις ὕπο βαρβάρων ἐπράττετο τέλη καὶ 
μισθοὺς τοῖς παρελθεῖν τὴν ὁδόν. ἀγανακτούν-
tων δὲ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ, καὶ δεινολογούμενων εἰ 
Ῥωμαίων ἀνθύπατος τέλη καταβαλεὶ βαρβάροις 
ἄλοθροις, μικρὰ φροντίσας τοῦ δοκοῦντος αἰσχροῦ, 
καὶ καὶ πολὺ ὄνεισθαι φήσας, οὐ σπανιώτερον οὐ-
δὲν ἄνδρι μεγάλων ἐφιεμένως, τῶν μὲν βαρβάρους 
ἐθεράπευσε χρήμασι, τὴν δὲ Ἰβηρίαν ἐπειράθηεις

4 κατέσχε. παραλαβῶν δὲ ἐθνή πλήθει μὲν καὶ 
ἡλικία ἀκμάζοντα, πλεονεξία δὲ καὶ ὑβρεὶ τῶν 
πεμπτομένων ἐκάστοτε στρατηγῶν πρὸς ὅλην 
κακῶς διακέιμενα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἀνελάμβανεν 
ἔμπλοι τοὺς δυνατοὺς καὶ φόρους ἀνέσει τοὺς 
πολλούς. μάλιστα δὲ τῶν ἐπισταθμῶν ἀπαλ-
λάξας ἡγαθήθη τοὺς γὰρ στρατιώτας ἡνάγκαζεν 
ἐν τοῖς προαστείοις χειμάδια πήγενσθαι, πρῶτος 
5 αὐτὸς οὐτὸ κατασκηνῶν. οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν 
βαρβάρων εὐνοία τοῦ πᾶν ἐποιήσατο, Ῥωμαίων δὲ
who had superior power. And finally, Sulla encamped near Scipio and made friendly overtures, assuming that peace was to be made, and proceeded to corrupt his army.¹ Sertorius warned Scipio of this plainly, but could not persuade him. At last, therefore, altogether despairing of the city, he set out for Spain, in order that, in case he should succeed in firmly establishing his power there, he might afford a refuge to those of his friends who were worsted at Rome.

After encountering grievous storms in mountainous regions, he was asked by the Barbarians to pay them tribute and purchase his passage. His companions were indignant, and considered it a terrible thing for a Roman pro-consul to render tribute to pestilent Barbarians; but Sertorius made light of what they thought a disgrace, and with the remark that he was purchasing time, than which nothing is more precious to a man bent on great achievements, he pacified the Barbarians with money, and then hastened on and took possession of Spain. He found its peoples strong in numbers and in fighting men, and since the rapacity and insolence of the Roman officials sent thither from time to time had made them hostile to the empire in all its aspects, he tried to win them over, the chiefs by his personal intercourse with them, the masses by a remission of taxes. His greatest popularity, however, was won by ridding them of the necessity of furnishing quarters for soldiers; for he compelled his soldiers to fix their winter-quarters in the suburbs of the cities, and he himself was first to pitch his tent there. However, he did not rely wholly on the goodwill of the Barbarians, but he armed all the

¹ Cf. the Sulla, xxviii. 1-3.
τῶν αὐτοθε ἐποικούντων τοὺς ἐν ἧλικίᾳ καθοπλί-
σας, μηχανᾶς τε παντοδαπᾶς καὶ ναυπηγίας
τριήρων ὑποβαλόμενος, διὰ χειρὸς εἰς τὰς πό-
λεις, ἦμερος μὲν ὄν ἐν ταῖς εἰρηνικαῖς χρείαις,
φοβερὸς δὲ τῇ παρασκευῇ κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων
φαινόμενοι.

VII. Ὡς δὲ Σύλλαν μὲν ἐπυνθάνετο τῆς Ῥώ-
μης κρατεῖν, ἔρρειν δὲ τὴν Μαρίου καὶ Κάρβωνος
στάσιν, αὐτίκα προσδοκῶν στρατιῶν διαπολεμή-
σουσαν αὐτῷ μεθ' ἡγεμόνοις ἀφίξεσθαι φράγνυται
τὰ Πυρηναῖα ὄρη διὰ Ἰούλιου Σαλυνάτορος ἔξακυ-
σχίλιοι ὀπλίται ἔχοντος. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ
Γάιος Ἀννιος ἐκπεμφθείς ὑπὸ Σύλλα καὶ τὸν
Ἰούλιον ἀπρόσμαχον ὄρῳ ἐν ἀπόρῳ καθῆστο
2 παρὰ ταῖς ὑπορείαις. Καλπουρνίου δὲ τινος
ἐπίκλησιν Δαναρίου δολοφονήσαντο τῶν Ἰού-
λιον καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὰ ἀκρα τῆς Πυρήνης
ἐκλιπόντων, ὑπερβαλῶν Ἀννιος ἔπηε χειρὶ μεγά-
λῃ τοῦς ἐμποδῶν ἀνιστάς. Σερτώριος δὲ οὖν ὁ
ἀξίομαχος μετὰ τρισχίλιοι εἰς Καρχηδόνα τὴν
νέαν καταφυγῶν, κἀκεῖθεν ἐπιβὰς τῶν νεών καὶ
dιαπεράσας τὸ πέλαγος, Διβύη κατὰ τὴν Μαυ-
3 ροσίαν προσέσχεν. ἀφυλάκτως δὲ τῶι στρα-
τιῶταις ὑδρευμένοις τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιπεσόντων,
συχνοὺς ἀποβαλῶν αὐθίς εἰς Ἰβηρίαι ἀπέπλευ
cαὶ ταύτης μὲν ἀποκρύψαι, Κηλισσῶν δὲ ἀρτρί-
δων αὐτῷ προσγενομένων Πιτυνύσσῃ νῆσῳ προσέ-
βαλε, καὶ ἀπέβη τὴν παρ' Ἀννίου φρουρὰν βια-
sάμενος. Ἀννιος δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺ παρῆν ναυσί
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Roman settlers of the country who were of military age, and by undertaking the construction of all sorts of engines of war and the building of triremes, kept the cities well in hand, being mild in the affairs of peace, but showing himself formidable by the preparations which he made against his enemies.

VII. When he learned that Sulla was master of Rome,¹ and that the party of Marius and Carbo was on the way to ruin, he expected that an army with a commander would come at once to fight the issue out with him. He therefore sent Julius Salinator with six thousand men-at-arms to bar the passage of the Pyrenees. And not long afterwards Caius Annius was sent out by Sulla, and seeing that Julius could not be assailed, he knew not what to do, and sat idly down at the base of the mountains. But a certain Calpurnius, surnamed Lanarius, treacherously killed Julius, whose soldiers then abandoned the heights of the Pyrenees; whereupon Annius crossed over and advanced with a large force, routing all opposition. Sertorius, not being able to cope with him, took refuge with three thousand men in New Carthage; there he embarked his forces, crossed the sea, and landed in the country of the Maurusii, in Africa. But while his soldiers were getting water and were off their guard, the Barbarians fell upon them, and after losing many men, Sertorius sailed back again to Spain. From this shore too he was repulsed, but after being joined by some Cilician piratical vessels he attacked the island of Pityussa, overpowered the guard which Annius had set there, and effected a landing. After a short time, however, Annius came

¹ In 82 B.C.
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te pollaís kai peutakioshileís óptitaís, prós ón ëpecheiríse mév dianaumháneí, kaíper ëlahroís kai prós táchos, ou prós álkhí, pepeoiménois 4 skáfesís chrómenos, zexúrfh de laumtró tòu pelá-
gous ánistasame nó kai tà pollá tòw tòu Sért-
toríon ploíwn úpto koufóhtos plágià tais raxías peribálloanton, autós ólýgas vausí tís mév thalássosis úpto tòu xevamónos eirghómenos, tís dé gísis úpto tón polémíon, hýmeras déka xaleúwn prós énavtíon kúma kai klúðwma traxhón épito-
nos diekartérsean.

VIII. 'Evthótos dé tòu pnevúmatos ferómenos
ýsous tisón énvaullízetai sporaís wnón úndroís ká-
keíden áras kai diekbalów tòw Gadeiráion porb-
mów én deziá tòis ektoús epibálle tís 'Ihíria, múkrón úpér tón tòu Baitios ekbolón, dé eis tìn 'Atlanánikhn ekferómenos thálattan ónoma tì perí autón 'Ihíria paréschon.

2 'Evtaudha vàutaí tines éntugkánouvín autó-
vén ék tòn 'Atlanánikwvn ýsówwn vàpapeklewótes, aí dúo mév eísi lepttw pantaapasi porbwmó diair-
roúmenai, múríous dé ápéxousi Lebías stadión
kai ónomažontai Makárwos. òmbrous dé chrómewnai 572 metrióys spánwos, tà dé pleiýsta pnevúsási malak-
koís kai drósoboloiws, ou mónon árónn kai fynitéin
paréxousin áagnh kai píona xóran, allá kai
karpon autófuõ ferousin ápochrónta plhthi kai
ylikúttith bóskein ánnev pónnwn kai pragmatéas
3 scholážonta dìmov. áh de álutos órfwn te krá-
with numerous ships and five thousand men-at-arms, and with him Sertorius attempted to fight a decisive naval battle, although the vessels which he had were light and built for speed rather than for fighting. But the sea ran high with a strong west wind, and the greater part of the vessels of Sertorius, owing to their lightness, were driven aslant upon the rocky shore, while he himself, with a few ships, excluded from the open sea by the storm, and from the land by the enemy, was tossed about for ten days in a battle with adverse waves and fierce surges, and with difficulty held his own.

VIII. But the wind subsided and he was borne along to certain scattered and waterless islands, where he spent the night; then, setting out from there, and passing through the strait of Cadiz, he kept the outer coast of Spain on the right and landed a little above the mouths of the river Baetis, which empties into the Atlantic sea and has given its name to the adjacent parts of Spain.

Here he fell in with some sailors who had recently come back from the Atlantic Islands.¹ These are two in number, separated by a very narrow strait; they are ten thousand furlongs distant from Africa, and are called the Islands of the Blest. They enjoy moderate rains at long intervals, and winds which for the most part are soft and precipitate dews, so that the islands not only have a rich soil which is excellent for plowing and planting, but also produce a natural fruit that is plentiful and wholesome enough to feed, without toil or trouble, a leisure folk. Moreover, an

¹ Perhaps Madeira and Porto Santo, though these are forty miles apart. Features of the Canary Islands have doubtless crept into the description.
σει καὶ μεταβολῆς μετριότητι κατέχει τὰς νήσους. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐνθέντε τής γῆς ἀποπνέουστες ἔξω βορείαι καὶ ἀπηλώται διὰ μῆκος ἑκπεσόντες εἰς τόπον ἄχανή διασπείρονται καὶ προαπολείπουσι, πελάγιοι δὲ περιρρέοντες ἀργέσται καὶ ξέφυροι βληθροῦσι μὲν ύετούς καὶ σποράδας ἐκ θαλάττης ἐπάγωντες, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ νοτεραῖς αἰθρίαις ἔπιψύχοντες ἴσυνχτρέφουσιν, ὡστε μέχρι τῶν βαρβάρων διάχθαι πίστιν ἵσχυρὰν αὐτῷ τὸ Ῥήκυσιον εἶναι πεδίον καὶ τὴν τῶν εὐδαιμόνων οἰκήσιν, ἴνα Ὁμήρος ὑμνήσῃ.

IX. Ταῦθ’ ο Σερτώριος ἀκούσας ἔρωτα θαυμαστὸν ἔσχεν οἰκήσαι τὰς νήσους καὶ ζῆν ἐν ἴσυνχίᾳ, τυραννίδος ἀπαλλαγεῖς καὶ πολέμων ἀπαύστων, αἰσθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Κίλικες, οὐθὲν εἰρήνης δεόμενοι καὶ σχολῆς, ἡλία πλοῦτον καὶ λαφύρων, εἰς Διβύην ἀπέπλευσαν, Ἀσκαλίων τὸν Ἰφθα κατὰ-2 ἔσυντες ἐπὶ τὴν Μαυρουσίων βασιλείαν. οὐ μὴν ἀπέκαμεν ο Σερτώριος, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πρὸς τὸν Ἀσκαλίων διαπολεμούσιν ἔγνω βοηθεῖν, ὡς οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ κανόνας ἑπιδών ἄρχην καὶ πράξεων ἐτέρων ὑπόθεσιν μὴ διαλυθεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορίας. ἀσμένοις δὲ τοὺς Μαυρουσίους ἀφικόμενος εἰχετὸ ἔργον, καὶ καταμαχεσάμενος τὸν 3 Ἀσκαλίων ἐπολιορκεῖ. Σύλλα δὲ Πακκιανοῦ ἐκπέμψαντος βοηθῆσαι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀσκαλίων μετὰ δυνάμεως, συμβαλῶν ο Σερτώριος τὸν μὲν Πακκιανὸν ἀπέκτεινε, τὴν δὲ στρατιάν κρατήσας 22
SERTORIUS

air that is salubrious, owing to the climate and the moderate changes in the seasons, prevails on the islands. For the north and east winds which blow out from our part of the world plunge into fathomless space, and, owing to the distance, dissipate themselves and lose their power before they reach the islands; while the south and west winds that envelope the islands from the sea sometimes bring in their train soft and intermittent showers, but for the most part cool them with moist breezes and gently nourish the soil. Therefore a firm belief has made its way, even to the Barbarians, that here is the Elysian Field and the abode of the blessed, of which Homer sang.¹

IX. When Sertorius heard this tale, he was seized with an amazing desire to dwell in the islands and live in quiet, freed from tyranny and wars that would never end. The Cilicians, however, who did not want peace or leisure, but wealth and spoils, when they were aware of his desire, sailed away to Africa, to restore Ascalis the son of Iphtha to the throne of Maurusia. Nevertheless Sertorius did not despair, but resolved to go to the aid of those who were fighting against Ascalis, in order that his followers might get some fresh ground for hope and occasion for new enterprise, and so might remain together in spite of their difficulties. The Maurusians were glad to have him come, and he set himself to work, defeated Ascalis in battle, and laid siege to him. Moreover, when Sulla sent out Paccianus with an army to give aid to Ascalis, Sertorius joined battle with Paccianus and slew him, won over his soldiers after their defeat,

¹ Odyssey, iv. 563–568.
προσηγάγετο, καὶ τὴν Τίγγην, εἰς ἢν ὁ Ἀσκαλῆς συνέφυγε μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ἐξεπολιόρκησεν.

Ἐνταῦθα τῶν Ἀνταίων οἱ Δίβνες ἱστοροῦσι κείσθαι· καὶ τὸν τάφον αὐτοῦ Σερτώριος διέσκαψε τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀπιστῶν διὰ μέγεθος. ἐνυχῶν δὲ τῷ σώματι πηχῶν ἐξήκοντα μῆκος, ὡς φασί, κατεπλάγη, καὶ σφάγιον ἐντεμὼν συνεχῶσε τὸ μυῆμα, καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ τιμήν τε καὶ 4 φήμην συνηύξησε. Τιγγαῖοι δὲ μυθολογοῦσιν Ἀνταῖον τελευτήσαντος τὴν γυναίκα Τίγγην Ἡρακλεῖς συνέλθειν, Σόφακα δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν γενόμενον βασιλεύσα τῆς χώρας καὶ πόλιν ἐπώνυμον τῆς μητρὸς ἀποδείξει, Σόφακος δὲ παίδα γενέσθαι Διόδωρον, φ' πολλὰ τῶν Διβυκῶν ἑθυνόν υπῆκουσεν Ἑλληνικῶν ἔχοντι στρατευμα τῶν αὐτῶν κατφικισμένων ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους Ὀλβιανῶν καὶ 5 Μυκηναίων. ἀλλ' ταῦτα μὲν ἀνακείσθω τῇ Ἰὸβα χάριτι, τοῦ πάντων ἱστορικωτάτου βασιλέως· ἐκείνου γὰρ ἱστοροῦσι τοὺς προγόνους Διοδώρου καὶ Σόφακους ἀπογόνους εἶναι.

Σερτώριος δὲ πάντων ἐγκρατής γενόμενος τοὺς δεσπότας αὐτοῦ καὶ πιστεύσαντας οὐκ ἡδίκησεν, ἀλλ' καὶ χρήματα καὶ πόλεις καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπέδωκεν αὐτοῖς, ὡς καλῶς ἐλέει δεξάμενος διδόντων.

Χ. Ἐντεῦθεν ὅποι χρῆ τραπέσσαι βουλεύομεν έκάλουν Δυσιτανοὶ πρέσβεις πέμψαντες ἐφ' ἡγεμονία, πάντως μὲν ἀρχοντος ἀξίωμα μέγα καὶ ἐμπειρίαν ἔχοντος δεόμενοι πρὸς τὸν ἀπὸ

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and forced to a surrender the city of Tingis, into which Ascalis and his brethren had fled for refuge.

In this city the Libyans say that Antaeus is buried; and Sertorius had his tomb dug open, the great size of which made him disbelieve the Barbarians. But when he came upon the body and found it to be sixty cubits long, as they tell us, he was dumbfounded, and after performing a sacrifice filled up the tomb again, and joined in magnifying its traditions and honours. Now, the people of Tingis have a myth that after the death of Antaeus, his wife, Tinga, consorted with Heracles, and that Sophax was the fruit of this union, who became king of the country and named a city which he founded after his mother; also that Sophax had a son, Diodorus, to whom many of the Libyan peoples became subject, since he had a Greek army composed of the Olbianians and Myceenaens who were settled in those parts by Heracles. But this tale must be ascribed to a desire to gratify Juba, of all kings the most devoted to historical enquiry; for his ancestors are said to have been descendants of Sophax and Diodorus.

Sertorius, then, having made himself master of the whole country, did no wrong to those who were his suppliants and put their trust in him, but restored to them both property and cities and government, receiving only what was right and fair in free gifts from them.

X. As he was deliberating whither to turn his efforts next, the Lusitanians sent ambassadors and invited him to be their leader. They were altogether lacking in a commander of great reputation and experience as they faced the terror of the Roman arms,
Ῥωμαίων φόβον ἐκείνῳ δὲ πιστεύουσε αὐτούς μόνῳ πυθανόμενοι παρὰ τῶν συγγεγονότων τὸ 2 ἡδὸς αὐτοῦ. Λέγεται δὲ ὁ Σερτώριος οὔτε ὑφ’ ἡδονῆς οὔτε ὑπὸ δέους εὐάλωτος γενέσθαι, φύσει δὲ ἀνέκπληκτος ὅπως παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ μέτριος εὐ- τυχίαν ἐνεγκείνη καὶ πρὸς μὲν εὐθυμαχίαν συνενοός ἀπολμότερος τῶν καθ’ ἐαυτὸν ἡγεμόνων, ὥσα δὲ κλωπεῖας ἐν πολέμωι ἔργα καὶ πλεονεξίας περὶ τόπους ἐχυροῦσα καὶ διαβάσεις τάχους δεσμένας ἀπάτης τε καὶ ψευδών ἐν δέοντι, σοφιστὴς δεινό- 3 τατος. ἦν δὲ ταῖς τιμαῖς τῶν ἀνθραγαθημάτων δαψιλῆς φαινόμενος, περὶ τὰς τιμωρίας ἐμετρίαζε τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων. καὶ τοῦ δοκεῖ περὶ τὸν ἔσχα- τον αὐτοῦ βίον ὑμότητος καὶ βαρυθύμιας τὸ περὶ τούς ὁμήρους πρακτέχθην ἐργὸν ἐπίδειξα ἡ τῆς φύσις ὁυκ οὕσαν ἡμερον, ἀλλ’ ἐπαμπεχομένη λογισμῶ 4 διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην. ἐμοί δὲ ἀρετὴν μὲν εἰλικρίνη καὶ κατὰ λόγον συνεστῶσαν οὐκ ἀν ποτὲ δοκεῖ τύχη τις ἑκατησαῖ πρὸς τουναντίο, ἀλλὰς δὲ προαιρέ- σείς καὶ φύσεις χρηστὰς ὑπὸ συμφορῶν μεγάλων παρ’ ἄξιαν κακόθείσας οὐκ ἁδύνατο τῷ δαίμονι συμμεταβαλεῖν τὸ ἡδός. ὦ καὶ Σερτώριον οίμαι παθεῖν ἦδη τῆς τύχης αὐτοῦ ἐπιλειπότης, ἐκτρα- χυνόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων γινομένων πονη- ρῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἀδικούντας.

XI. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τότε γε τῶν Δυστιανῶν καλούντων ἀπῆρεν ἐκ Διβύς. καὶ τούτους συνε- ταττεν εὖθυς αὐτοκράτωρ στρατηγὸς, καὶ τὴν ἐγγὺς Ἰβηρίαν ὑπήκουον ἐποιεῖτο, τῶν πλείστων

1 δὲ Coraës and Bekker read γὰρ with one (inferior) MS.
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and they entrusted themselves to him, and to him alone, when they learned about his character from those who had been with him. And it is said that Sertorius was no easy victim either of pleasure or of fear, but that he was naturally untiried in the face of danger, and bore prosperity with moderation; in straightforward fighting he was as bold as any commander of his time, while in all military activities demanding stealth and the power to seize an advantage in securing strong positions or in crossing rivers, where speed, deceit, and, if necessary, falsehood are required, he was an expert of the highest ability. Moreover, while he showed himself generous in rewarding deeds of valour, he used moderation in punishing transgressions. And yet, in the last part of his life, the savage and vindictive treatment which he bestowed upon his hostages\(^1\) would seem to show that his mildness was not natural to him, but was worn as a garment, from calculation, as necessity required. In my opinion, however, a virtue that is sincere and based upon reason can never by any fortune be converted into its opposite, although it is true that excellent principles and natures, when impaired by great and undeserved calamities, may possibly change their character as the guiding genius changes. And this, I think, was the case with Sertorius when fortune at last began to forsake him; as his cause grew hopeless he became harsh toward those who did him wrong.

XI. However, at the time of which I speak he set out from Africa on the invitation of the Lusitanians. These he proceeded to organize at once, acting as their general with full powers, and he brought the neighbouring parts of Spain into subjection. Most

\(^1\) See chapter xxv. 4.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ἐκουσίως προστιθεμένων, μάλιστα μὲν διὰ τὸ πρᾶον αὐτοῦ καὶ δραστήριον, ἔστι δὲ ἃ καὶ σοφιστικῶς αὐτὸς εἰς ἀπάτην καὶ κήλησιν ἐμηχανάτο. καὶ πρῶτον γε πάντων τὸ περὶ τὴν ἑλαφον. ἦν δὲ τοιόνδε.

2 Ἡπανὸς ἀνὴρ δημότης τῶν ἐπὶ χώρας βιοῦντων ἑλάφῳ νεοτόκῳ φευγούσῃ κυνηγέτας ἐπιτυχῶν αὐτῆς μὲν ἀπελεύθη, τὴν δὲ νεβρόν, ἐκπλαγεὶς τῇ καυνότητι τῆς χρόας (λευκὴ γὰρ ἦν πᾶσα), λαμβάνει διώξας. κατὰ τύχην δὲ Σερτορίου τοῖς τόποις ἐναυλισμένου, καὶ πάν ὁ τὶς ἕξ ἄγρας ἡ γεωργίας ἦκοι κομίζων δῶρον ἀσμένως δεχομένου, καὶ φιλοφρόνως ἀμειβομένου τοὺς θεραπεύοντας, ἐγχειρίζει φέρων αὐτῷ τὴν νεβρόν. ὁ δὲ δεξαμενος αὐτίκα μὲν ἣσθη μετρίως· χρόνῳ δὲ ποιησάμενος τιθασὸν οὕτῳ καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ὡστε καὶ καλοῦντος ἀκούειν, καὶ βαδίζοντι ποι παρακολουθεῖν, ὅχλου τε καὶ θρόμβου παντὸς ἀνέχεσθαι στρατιωτικοῦ, κατὰ μικρὸν ἐξεθείαζε φάσκων Ἀρτέμιδος δώρον τὴν ἑλαφον εἶναι, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἄδηλων ἐπεφήμιζεν αὐτῷ δηλοῦν, γινώσκων εὐάλωτον εἰς δεισιδαιμονίαν εἶναι φύσει

3 τὸ βαρβαρικόν. ὁ δὲ καὶ προσετεχνάτῳ τοιάδε· γνοὺς γὰρ ἀν κρύφα τοὺς πολεμίους ἐμβεβληκότας ποι τῆς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ χώρας ἢ πόλιν ἀφιστάντας, προσεποιεῖτο τὴν ἑλαφον αὐτῷ κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνοὺς διειλέχθαι, κελεύοντας ἐν ἔτοιμῳ τὰς δυνάμεις ἔχειν. αὖθις δὲ νίκην τινὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ στρατη-

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of the people joined him of their own accord, owing chiefly to his mildness and efficiency; but sometimes he also betook himself to cunning devices of his own for deceiving and charming them. The chief one of these, certainly, was the device of the doe, which was as follows.

Spanus, a plebeian who lived in the country, came upon a doe which had newly yeaned and was trying to escape the hunters. The mother he could not overtake, but the fawn—and he was struck with its unusual colour, for it was entirely white—he pursued and caught. And since, as it chanced, Sertorius had taken up his quarters in that region, and gladly received everything in the way of game or produce that was brought him as a gift, and made kindly returns to those who did him such favours, Spanus brought the fawn and gave it to him. Sertorius accepted it, and at the moment felt only the ordinary pleasure in a gift; but in time, after he had made the animal so tame and gentle that it obeyed his call, accompanied him on his walks, and did not mind the crowds and all the uproar of camp life, he gradually tried to give the doe a religious importance by declaring that she was a gift of Diana, and solemnly alleged that she revealed many hidden things to him, knowing that the Barbarians were naturally an easy prey to superstition. He also added such devices as these. Whenever he had secret intelligence that the enemy had made an incursion into the territory which he commanded, or were trying to bring a city to revolt from him, he would pretend that the doe had conversed with him in his dreams, bidding him hold his forces in readiness. Again, when he got tidings of some victory won by his generals, he would hide the
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γόν ἀκούσας τὸν μὲν ἄγγελον ἔκρυπτε, τὴν δὲ ἔλαφον ἐστεφανωμένην ἐπὶ εὐαγγελίων προῆγεν, εὐθυμεῖσθαι παρακαλῶν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς θύειν ὡς ἀγαθὸν τι πενσομένους.

XII. Οὔτω δὲ χειροθέεις πτυσσάμενος αύτοῖς ἔχριτο πρὸς ἀπαντά μετριωτέροις, οὐχ ὑπ’ ἄνδρος ἄλλων λογισμῶν, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ θεοῦ στρατηγεῖσθαι πεθομένους, ἀμα καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιμαρτυροῦντων τῷ παρὰ λόγον τὴν δύναμιν

2 αὐξάνεσθαι. δισχίλιοι γὰρ ἔχακοσίοις οὐς ὑνόμαζε Ἦρωμαῖος, συμμίκτοις δὲ ἔπτακοσίοις Διβύων εἰς Δυσσιναίαν αὐτῷ συνδιαβᾶσι πελταστάς τετρακισελίδους Δυσσινανων καὶ ἱππεῖσ ἔπτακοσίοις προσλαβὼν ἐπολέμηε τέταρτοι Ἦρω-

3 μαίων στρατηγοίς, υφ’ οίς ἦσαν πεζῶν μὲν δῶ- 

deka μυριάδες, ἱππεῖσ δὲ ἔξακισχίλιοι, τοξόται δὲ καὶ σφενδονῆται δισχίλιοι, πόλεις δὲ ἀναρίθμητοι 

τὸ πλῆθος, αὐτὸς εἶκος τὰς πάσας ἐν ἀρχῇ

κεκτημένοις. ἅλλ’ ὄμως ἀσθενὴς οὔτω καὶ μικρὸς ἄρξάμενος οὐ μόνον ἔθνων ἔκράτησε μεγάλων καὶ 

πόλεις εἰλε πολλάς, ἅλλα καὶ τῶν ἀντιστρατη-

γαν Κότταν μὲν ἐν τῷ περὶ τὴν Μελλαρίαν 

πορθμῷ κατενανάχησε, Φοῦφδιον δὲ τὸν ἀρ-

χοντα τῆς Βαύτικης περὶ τὸν Βαύτιν ἐτρέψατο 574 

dισχίλιους ἀποκτείνας Ἦρωμαῖον, Δομέτιον ὑπὸ 

Δεύκιον ἀνθύπατον ὄντα τῆς ἐτέρας Ἰβηρίας 

διὰ τοῦ ταμίου καταγωγισάμενος, καὶ Ὀωράιον, 

ἀλλον ἡγεμόνα τῶν ὑπὸ Μετέλλου πεμφθέντων 

μετὰ δυνάμεως, ἀνείλεν, αὐτὸν τε τὸν Μετέλλου,

1 Δεύκιον the conjecture of Sint.², after Amyot, for the MS. 

καὶ Λουσίων; Reiske, followed by Sint.¹ and Bekker, read 

Καλουσίων.

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messenger, and bring forth the doe wearing garlands for the receipt of glad tidings, exhorting his men to be of good cheer and to sacrifice to the gods, assured that they were to learn of some good fortune.

XII. By these devices he made the people tractable, and so found them more serviceable for all his plans; they believed that they were led, not by the mortal wisdom of a foreigner, but by a god. At the same time events also brought witness to this belief by reason of the extraordinary growth of the power of Sertorius. For with the twenty-six hundred men whom he called Romans, and a motley band of seven hundred Libyans who crossed over into Lusitania with him, to whom he added four thousand Lusitanian targeteers and seven hundred horsemen, he waged war with four Roman generals, under whom were a hundred and twenty thousand footmen, six thousand horsemen, two thousand bowmen and slingers, and an untold number of cities, while he himself had at first only twenty all told. But nevertheless, from so weak and slender a beginning, he not only subdued great nations and took many cities, but was also victorious over the generals sent against him: Cotta he defeated in a sea-fight in the straits near Mellaria; Fufidius, the governor of Baetica, he routed on the banks of the Baetis with the slaughter of two thousand Roman soldiers; Lucius Domitius, who was pro-consul of the other Spain,¹ was defeated at the hands of his quaestor; Thoranius, another of the commanders sent out by Metellus with an army, he slew; and on Metellus himself, the greatest Roman

¹ Spain was divided into two provinces, Hispania Citerior (Hither) and Hispania Ulterior (Further), or Eastern and Western Spain. Fufidius was pro-consul of Western Spain.
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ἀνδρα Ῥωμαίων ἐν τοῖς τότε μέγιστον καὶ δοκι-
μώτατον, οὐκ ὀλίγοις σφάλμασι περιβαλῶν εἰς
τοσαύτην ὕποριαν κατέστησεν ὡστε Δεύκιον μὲν
Μάλλιον ἐκ τῆς περὶ Ναρβώνα Γαλατίας ἐξεῖν
άυτῷ βοηθόν, Πομπήιον δὲ Μάγνον ἐκ Ῥώμης
κατὰ τάχος ἀποσταλήναι μετὰ δυνάμεως.

5 Ὡν γὰρ εἰχεν ὁ Μέτελλος ὁ τι χρήσατο προσ-
πολεμών ἀνδρὶ τολμητῇ πάσῃ ἐξαναδυομένῳ
φανερᾷ μάχῃ, πάσαν δὲ μεταβαλλομένῳ μετα-
βολῇ εὐσταλείᾳ καὶ κουφότητι τῆς Ἰβηρικῆς
στρατιάς, αὐτὸς ὑπελυτικῶν καὶ νομίμων ἁσκητῆς
γεγονὸς ἀγώνων καὶ στρατηγὸς ἐμβριθοῦς καὶ
μοῦμον φάλαγγος, ὠσασθαὶ μὲν εἰς χείρας
ἐλθόντας πολεμίους καὶ καταβαλεῖν ἄριστα
γεγυμνασμένης, ὄρειβατεῖν δὲ καὶ συνηρτήσαί
διώξει καὶ φυγαίς ἀπαύστοις ἀνθρώπων ὑπη-
νεμίων καὶ λιμῶν ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ δύναται ἄμφων
καὶ ἀσκηνν, ὡστερ ἐκεῖνοι, μὴ δυναμένης.

XIII. Ὡτὶ δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν ἡδῆ προσβύτερος ἦν
καὶ τι καὶ πρὸς ἀνειμένην ἡδῆ καὶ τρυφερὰν δι-
αίταν ἐκ πολλῶν ἀγώνων καὶ μεγάλων ἐνδεδωκώς,
τῷ δὲ Σερτωρίῳ συνειστήκει πνεύματος ἀκμαίον
γέμοντι καὶ κατεσκευασμένον ἔχοντι θαυμασίως
2 τὸ σώμα ῥώμη καὶ τάχει καὶ λατότητι. μέθης
μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ βαθυμῶν ἔπετο, πόνου δὲ μεγά-
λους καὶ μακρᾶς ὀδοιπορίας καὶ συμπειραματικῆς
ἀγρυ-
πνίας ὀλίγοις εὐθιστὸ καὶ φαύλους ἀρκούμενοι
σιτίοις διαφέρειν, πλάνοις δὲ χρώμενος ὑεὶ καὶ
κυνηγεῖσις ὑπότε σχολάζοι, πάσης διεκδύσεως

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of the time and held in highest repute, he inflicted many defeats and reduced him to so great straits that Lucius Manlius came from Gallia Narbonensis to help him, and Pompey the Great was hurriedly dispatched from Rome with an army.

For Metellus was at his wits' end. He was carrying on war with a man of daring who evaded every kind of open fighting, and who made all manner of shifts and changes, owing to the light equipment and agility of his Iberian soldiers; whereas he himself had been trained in regular contests of heavy-armed troops, and was wont to command a ponderous and immobile phalanx, which, for repelling and overpowering an enemy at close quarters, was most excellently trained, but for climbing mountains, for dealing with the incessant pursuits and flights of men as light as the winds, and for enduring hunger and a life without fire or tent, as their enemies did, it was worthless.

XIII. Besides this, Metellus was now getting on in years, and was somewhat inclined also, by this time, to an easy and luxurious mode of life after his many and great contests; whereas his opponent, Sertorius, was full of mature vigour, and had a body which was wonderfully constituted for strength, speed, and plain living. For in excessive drinking he would not indulge even in his hours of ease, and he was wont to endure great toils, long marches, and continuous wakefulness, content with meagre and indifferent food; moreover, since he was always wandering about or hunting when he had leisure for it, he obtained an acquaintance with every way

1 Cf. the Pompey, xvii. 2.
γενώντες καὶ διώκοντες κυκλώσεως ἀβάτων τε καὶ βασιμῶν τόπων ἐμπειρίαν προσείληφει. διὸ τῷ μὲν εἰργομένῳ μάχης ὡσα νικόμενοι πάσχουσιν ἀνθρώποι βλάπτεσθαι συνέβαινεν, ὅ δὲ τῷ φεύ-

3 γεν ἐίχε τὰ τῶν διωκόντων. καὶ γὰρ ὑδρείας ἀπέκοπτε καὶ σιτιολογίας εἰργάς, καὶ προϊόντι μὲν ἐκποδών ἦν, ἐκύνει δὲ ἱδρυθέντα, πολιορκοῦντι δὲ ἄλλους ἐπιφανόμενος ἀντετούλορκει ταῖς τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπορίαις, ὡστε τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπαγορεύειν, καὶ τοῦ Σερτωρίου μονομαχῆσαι προκαλούμενον τὸν Μέτελλον, βοᾶν καὶ κελεύειν μάχεσθαι στρατηγὸν στρατηγῷ καὶ Ῥωμαιόν.

4 Ῥωμαίῳ, ἀναδυόμενον δὲ χλευάζειν. ὅ δὲ τούτων μὲν, εὖ ποιῶν, κατεγέλαστά στρατηγοῦ γάρ, ὡς ἐφή Θεόφραστος, δεῖ θάνατον ἀποθνήσκειν τὸν στρατηγόν, οὗ πελταστοῦ τοῦ τυχόντος. ὅρων δὲ τοὺς Λαγγοβρίτας οὐ μικρὰ τῷ Σερτωρίῳ συλλαμβανομένους, δίψῃ δὲ οὕνις εὐαλώτους (ἐν γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς φρέαρ ἐν τῇ πόλει, τῶν δ’ ἐν τοῖς προστελεῖσαν καὶ παρὰ τὰ τείχη ναμάτων ὁ πολιορκῶν ἐπικρατεῖν ἐμελλεῖν), ἤκειν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ὡς ἡμέραις δυσὶ συναιρήσων τὴν πολιορκίαν, ὑδατος οὐκ ἀντος. διὸ καὶ πέντε ἡμερῶν ἐπιφέρεθαι συτίς μόνον προείρητο τοῖς στρατιώταις.

5 ὁ Σερτωρίος δ’ ἄξεσις βοσθήσας ἐκέλευσε δισχίλιους ἄσκους ὑδατος ἐμπλήσαι, καθ’ ἐκαστὸν ἀσκόν ἄργυριον συχνὸν τάξας. καὶ πολλῶν μὲν Ἰβηρων, πολλῶν δὲ Μαυρουσίων ὕφισταμένων τὸ ἄργον, ἐπιλεξάμενος ἄνδρας εὐρώστους ἀμα καὶ
of escape for a fugitive, or of surrounding an enemy under pursuit, in places both accessible and inaccessible. The result was, therefore, that Metellus, by being kept from fighting, suffered all the harm which visits men who are defeated; while Sertorius, by flying, had the advantages of men who pursue. For he would cut off his opponent's supply of water and prevent his foraging; if the Romans advanced, he would get out of their way, and if they settled down in camp, he would harass them; if they besieged a place, he would come up and put them under siege in their turn by depriving them of supplies. At last the Roman soldiers were in despair, and when Sertorius challenged Metellus to single combat, they cried aloud and bade him fight, general with general, and Roman with Roman, and when he declined, they mocked at him. But Metellus laughed at all this, and he was right; for a general, as Theophrastus says, should die the death of a general, not that of a common targeteer. Then, seeing that the Langobritae were giving no slight assistance to Sertorius, and that their city could easily be taken for lack of water (since they had but one well in the city, and the streams in the suburbs and along the walls would be in the power of any besieger), Metellus came against the city, intending to complete the siege in two days, since there was no water there. On this account, too, he had given orders to his soldiers to take along provisions for only five days. But Sertorius quickly came to the rescue and ordered two thousand skins to be filled with water, offering for each skin a considerable sum of money. Many Iberians and many Maurusians volunteered for the work, and after selecting men who were both sturdy and swift of foot, he sent them
ποδώκεις ἐπεμψε διὰ τῆς ὀρεινῆς, κελεύσας, ὡταν παραδώσῃ τοὺς ἁγκοὺς τοῖς ἐν τῇ πολεί, τὸν ἀχρηστὸν ὑπεξαγαγεῖν ὄχλου, ὅπως ἐξαρκῇ τοῖς ἅμυνομένοις τὸ ποτόν. ἐκπύστωσε δὲ τούτου γενομένου πρὸς τὸν Μέτελλου, ἤχθετο μὲν ἣδη τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὑπαναλωκότων, ἐξε-πεμψε δὲ ἐπὶ σιτιολογίαν Ἀκυίου ἐξαισχειλῶν ἠγούμενον. αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὁ Σερτώριος καὶ προ- λοχίσας τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπανερχομένφ τῷ Ἀκυίῳ τρισχιλίους ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν συζιών χαράδρας ἐπανίστησιν, αὐτὸς δὲ κατὰ στόμα προσβαλὼν τρέπεται, καὶ τοὺς μὲν διαφθείρει, τοὺς δὲ λαμβάνει ἵνα ταῦτα. Ἀκυίου δὲ μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τῶν ἰππον ἀποβεβληκότα δεξίμενος Μέτελλος αἰσχρῶς ἀπήκει, πολλὰ χλειναξόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰβήρων.

XIV. Ἔκ τε δὴ τούτων θαυμαξόμενος ἡγαπάτο παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις ὁ Σερτώριος, καὶ ὅτι Ἡρωμαίοις ὀπλισμοῖς καὶ τάξει καὶ συνθήμασιν ἀφαιρῶν τὸ μανικὸν καὶ θηρίωδες αὐτῶν τῆς ἀλήθεις ἀντὶ ἁγιστρίου μεγάλου στρατοῦ ἐποιεῖτο τὴν δύναμιν. ἔτι δ’ ἀργύρῳ χρώμενος ἀφεδῶς καὶ χρυσῷ κράνη τε κατεκόσμη καὶ θυρεοὺς αὐτῶν διποίκιλλε, καὶ χλαμύσιν ἀνθώνας καὶ χιτώνι κρήσθαι διάδακτον καὶ χορηγῶν εἰς ταῦτα καὶ συμφιλοκαλῶν ἐδημαγώγησε. μάλιστα δὲ εἶλεν αὐτοὺς τὰ τῶν παιδῶν. τοὺς γὰρ εὐγενεστάτους ἀπὸ τῶν ἔθνων συναγαγὼν εἰς Ὀσκαν, πόλιν μεγάλην, διδασκάλους ἐπιστήσας Ἔλλη-
SERVITUS

by a route through the mountains, with orders that when they had delivered the skins to the people in the city, they should secretly convey away the unserviceable mass of the population, in order that the water might suffice for the actual defenders of the city. When Metellus learned that this had been done, he was annoyed, since his soldiers had already consumed their provisions, and sent out Aquinus, at the head of six thousand men, to forage. But Sertorius learned of this and set an ambush of three thousand men in the road by which Aquinus was to return. These salilled forth from a shady ravine and attacked Aquinus in the rear, while Sertorius himself assailed him in front, routed him, slew some of his men, and took some of them prisoners. Aquinus, after losing both his armour and his horse, got back to Metellus, who then retired disgracefully, much flouted by the Iberians.

XIV. In consequence of these successes Sertorius was admired and loved by the Barbarians, and especially because by introducing Roman arms and formations and signals he did away with their frenzied and furious displays of courage, and converted their forces into an army, instead of a huge band of robbers. Still further, he used gold and silver without stint for the decoration of their helmets and the ornamentation of their shields, and by teaching them to wear flowered cloaks and tunics, and furnishing them with the means to do this, and sharing their love of beautiful array, he won the hearts of all. But most of all were they captivated by what he did with their boys. Those of the highest birth, namely, he collected together from the various peoples, at Osca, a large city, and set over them teachers of Greek and
νικῶν τε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις μαθημάτων ἔργῳ μὲν ἐξωμηρεύσατο, λόγῳ δὲ ἐπαύδευεν, ὡς ἀνδράσι γενομένοις πολιτείας τε μεταδόσσων καὶ ἀρχῆς. 3 οἷς δὲ πατέρες ἠδοντο θαυμαστῶς τοὺς παῖδας ἐν περιπορφύροις ὄροιντες μάλα κοσμίως φοιτώντας εἰς τὰ διδασκαλεῖα, καὶ τὸν Σερτώριον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μισθοῦς τελοῦντα, καὶ πολλάκις ἀποδείξεις λαμβάνοντα, καὶ γέρα τοῖς ἄξιοις νέμοντα, καὶ τὰ χρυσὰ περιδέραια δωρούμενον ἆ Ῥωμαῖοι 4 βούλλας καλοῦσιν. ἔθους δ᾽ ὄντος Ἰβηρικοῦ τοὺς περὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα τεταγμένους συναποθνῄσκειν αὐτῶν πεσόντι, καὶ τούτῳ τῶν ἐκεὶ βαρβάρων κατάσπευσιν ὄνομαξοντων, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἤγε- μόσιν ὅληγοι τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων, Σερτωρίῳ δὲ πολλαὶ μυριάδες ἀνθρώπων κατε- 5 σπεικότων ἐαυτοὺς ἱκολούθουν. λέγεται δὲ πρὸς τινὶ πόλει τροπῆς γενομένης καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπικειμένων τοὺς Ἰβηριας ἀμελήσαντας αὐτῶν τὸν Σερτώριον σώζειν καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίως ἐπαραμένους ἄλλους πρὸ ἄλλων ἀνακούφισαι πρὸς τὰ τείχη, γενομένου δ᾽ ἐν ἀσφαλεί τοῦ ἄρχοντος, οὕτω τρέπεσθαι πρὸς φυγὴν ἔκαστον αὐτῶν.

XV. Οὐ μόνον δὲ τοῖς Ἰβηρισιν ἴνα ποθεινός, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐξ Ἰταλίας στρατευομένοις. Περ- πέννα γοῦν Οὐέντων ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς Σερτωρίῳ στάσεως εἰς Ἰβηρίαν παραγενομένου μετὰ χρη- μάτων πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλης δυνάμεως, ἱδία δὲ καθ’ εαυτῶν ἐγγυκότος πολεμεῖν πρὸς τὸν Μέτελ- λον, ἐδυσχέραινοι οἱ στρατιώται, καὶ πολὺς ἦν τοῦ Σερτωρίου λόγος ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, τὸν Περπένναν ἀνιόνες εὐγενεία καὶ πλούτῳ τετυφω- 2 μένον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεὶ Πομπήιος ἐγγέλλετο
SERATORUUS

Roman learning; thus in reality he made hostages of them, while ostensibly he was educating them, with the assurance that when they became men he would give them a share in administration and authority. So the fathers were wonderfully pleased to see their sons, in purple-bordered togas, very decorously going to their schools, and Sertorius paying their fees for them, holding frequent examinations, distributing prizes to the deserving, and presenting them with the golden necklaces which the Romans call "bullae." It was the custom among the Iberians for those who were stationed about their leader to die with him if he fell, and the Barbarians in those parts call this a "consecration." Now, the other commanders had few such shield-bearers and companions, but Sertorius was attended by many thousands of men who had thus consecrated themselves to death. And we are told that when his army had been defeated at a certain city and the enemy were pressing upon them, the Iberians, careless of themselves, rescued Sertorius, and taking him on their shoulders one after another, carried him to the walls, and only when their leader was in safety, did they betake themselves to flight, each man for himself.

XV. And not only were the Iberians eager to serve under him, but also the soldiers who came from Italy. At any rate, when Perpenna Vento, who belonged to the same party as Sertorius, came to Spain with much money and a large force, and was determined to wage war on his own account against Metellus, his soldiers were displeased, and there was much talk in the camp about Sertorius, to the annoyance of Perpenna, who was puffed up over his high birth and his wealth. However, when word
τὴν Πυρήνην ὑπερβάλλων, ἀναλαβόντες οἱ στρατιῶται τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ σημεία τῶν τάξεων ἀναρπάσαντες κατεβόησαν τοῦ Περπέννα, κελεύοντες ὡς τὸν Σερτώριον ἄγειν αὐτούς· εἰ δὲ μὴ, καταλαυπόντες ἐκεῖνον ἦτείλουν αὐτοὶ βαδιεῖσθαι πρὸς ἄνδρα σώζεσθαι καὶ σώζειν δυνάμενον. συγχωρήσας δὲ ὁ Περπέννας ἤγαγεν αὐτούς, καὶ συνέμειξε τῷ Σερτωρίῳ πεντήκοντα καὶ τρεῖς ἔχων σπείρας.

XVI. Σερτώριος δὲ, τῶν ἐντὸς Ἰβηριος αὐτῷ ποταμῷ πάντων ὅμοι τι προστιθεμένων, πλήθει μὲν ἦν μέγας· ἐπέρρεον γὰρ ἀεὶ καὶ συνεφέροντο πανταχόθεν πρὸς αὐτὸν· ἄταξίᾳ δὲ βαρβαρικῇ καὶ θρασύτητι ταραττόμενος ἐπιχειρεῖν τὸς πολέμιος βοώντων καὶ τὴν τριβὴν δυσανασχετούντων ἐπειράτο παραμυθεῖσθαι διὰ λόγων. ὡς δὲ ἔωρα χαλεπαίνοντας καὶ βιαζομένους ἀκαίρως, προήκατο καὶ περείδει συμπλεκομένους τοὺς πολέμιους ἐν οἷς οὐ παντελῶς συντριβέντας, ἄλλα πληγᾶς λαβόντας ἠλπίζει πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ καθηκόντος μᾶλλον ἔξειν. δὲ δὲ εἰκαζε γενομένων, ἐπιβοηθήσας ἀνέλαβε τε φεύγοντας αὐτοὺς καὶ κατέστησεν ἀσφαλῶς εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. Βουλόμενος δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀθυμίαν ἄφελεῖν, μεθ' ἡμέρας ολίγας πάνθημοι ἐκκλησίαν ἀθροίσας ὑπ'ποιος εἰσῆγαγε δῶς, τὸν μὲν ἀσθενή τελέως καὶ πρεσβύτερον ἡδη, τὸν δὲ ἐτερον εὐμεγέθη μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ ἱσχυρὸν, θαυμαστὴν δὲ πυκνότητι καὶ κάλλες τριχῶν ὦλραν ἔχοντα. παρειστήκει δὲ τῷ μὲν ἀσθενεῖ μέγας
SERTORIUS

came that Pompey was crossing the Pyrenees, the soldiers caught up their arms and snatched up their standards and made an outcry against Perpenna, ordering him to lead them to Sertorius, and threaten- ing, if he did not, to abandon him and go by them- selves to a man who was able to save himself and save those under him. So Perpenna yielded and led them off, and joined Sertorius with fifty-three cohorts.

XVI. Sertorius, then, since all the peoples within the river Ebro were unitedly taking up his cause, had an army of great numbers, for men were all the while coming to him in streams from every quarter; but he was troubled by their barbaric lack of discipline and their overconfidence, since they called loudly upon him to attack the enemy and were impatient at his delay, and he therefore tried to pacify them by arguments. But when he saw that they were impatient and inclined to force their wishes upon him unseasonably, he let them take their way and permitted them to have an engagement with the enemy in which he hoped that they would not be altogether crushed, but would be severely handled, and so made more obedient for the future. Matters turning out as he expected, he came to their aid, gave them refuge in their flight, and brought them safely back to their camp. And now he wished to take away their dejection. So after a few days he called a general assembly and introduced before it two horses, one utterly weak and already quite old, the other large-sized and strong, with a tail that was astonishing for the thickness and beauty of its hair. By the side of the feeble horse stood a
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ἀνήρ καὶ ρωμαλέος, τῷ δὲ ἴσχυρῷ μικρὸς ἐπερος καὶ τὴν ὄψιν εὐκαταφρόνητος. σημείου δὲ δο-θέντος αὐτοῖς ὁ μὲν ἴσχυρὸς ἄμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσὶ τοῦ ὑπού τὴν κέρκον ὡς ἀπορρήξῳ ἐλκέ βία πρὸς αὐτόν, ὃ δὲ ἀσθενής τοῦ ἴσχυροῦ κατὰ 4 μίαν τῶν τριχῶν ἔξετελλεν. ἔπει δὲ ὁ μὲν οὐκ ὀλίγα πράγματα μάτην ἔαυτῷ καὶ πολὺν γέλωτα τοῖς θεωμένοις παρασχῶν ἀπείπεν, ὃ δὲ ἀσθενής ἀκάρει καὶ σὺν οúdeνι πόνῳ ψιλῆν τρι-
χῶν ἀπέδειξε τὴν οὐράν, ἀναστὰς ὁ Σερτώριος, "Ὅρατε," εἶπεν, "ἂνδρες σύμμαχοι, τὴν ἐπιμονὴν ἄνυσιμωτέραν τῆς βίας οὐσαν, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἀθρώως ἀλήπτων ἐνδιὸντα τῷ κατὰ μικρόν. 5 ἄμαχον γὰρ τὸ ἐνδελεχές, φι πᾶσαν ἐπιῶν ὁ χρόνος αἴρει καὶ κατεργάζεται δύναμιν, εὐμενὴς ὁν σύμ-
μαχος τοῖς δεχομένοις λογισμῷ τὸν καιρὸν αὐτοῦ, τοῖς δὲ ἀκαίρωσ ἐπενεγομένοις πολεμιώτατος." τοιαῦτα μὲν ὁ Σερτώριος ἐκάστοτε πλέκων παραμύθια τοῖς βαρβάροις διεπαιδαγώγει τὸν καιρόν.

XVII. Οὐδενὸς δὲ ἦττον αὐτοῦ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐργῶν ἐθαυμάσθη τὸ περὶ τοὺς λεγομένους Χαρα-
kιανοῦς. εἰσὶ δὲ δήμος ὑπὲρ τὸν Ταγώνινου ποταμὸν, οὐκ ἄστεσιν οὔδὲ κώμαις ἐνοικοῦντες, ἀλλὰ λόφος ἑστὶν εὐμεγέθης καὶ ύψηλὸς ἄντρα καὶ κοιλώματα πετρῶν βλέποντα πρὸς Βορέαν περιέχων. ἡ δ’ ὑποκειμένη πᾶσα χώρα πὴλῶν ἄργιλώδη καὶ γῆν ὑπὸ χαυνότητος εὐθρυπτῶν 42
SERTORIUS

man who was tall and robust, and by the side of the powerful horse another man, small and of a contemptible appearance. At a signal given them, the strong man seized the tail of his horse with both hands and tried to pull it towards him with all his might, as though he would tear it off; but the weak man began to pluck out the hairs in the tail of the strong horse one by one. The strong man gave himself no end of trouble to no purpose, made the spectators laugh a good deal, and then gave up his attempt; but the weak man, in a trice and with no trouble, stripped his horse's tail of its hair. Then Sertorius rose up and said: "Ye see, men of my allies, that perseverance is more efficacious than violence, and that many things which cannot be mastered when they stand together yield when one masters them little by little. For irresistible is the force of continuity, by virtue of which advancing Time subdues and captures every power; and Time is a kindly ally for all who judiciously accept the opportunities which he offers, but a most bitter enemy for all who urge matters on unseasonably." ¹ By contriving from time to time such exhortations for the Barbarians, Sertorius taught them to watch for their opportunities.

XVII. But of all his military exploits that which he performed in dealing with the people called Characitani is admired as much as any. They are a people beyond the river Tagonius, and they do not dwell in cities or villages, but on a large and lofty hill containing caves and hollows in the cliffs which look towards the north. The whole country at the base of the hill abounds in white clay and a soil that

¹ The story is told also in Valerius Maximus, vii. 3, 6.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ἀναδίδωσιν, οὔτε τοὺς ἐπιβαίνοντας ἀνέχεσθαι καρτεράν, καὶ μικρὸν ἀψαμένων, ὡσπερ ἄσβεστον

2 ἢ τέφραν, ἐπὶ πολὺ διαχειμένην. τῶν οὖν βαρβάρων, ὀσάκες φόβῳ πολέμου καταδύντες εἰς τὰ στπήλαια καὶ τὴν λείαν εἰσῳ συναγαγόντες ἀτρεμοίεν, ὄντων ἀλήπτων ὑπὸ βίας, τὸν δὲ Σερτώριον τότε διακεκριμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ Μετέλλου καὶ καταστρατοπέδευσαντα παρὰ τὸν λόφον ὑπερφρονούντων ὡς κεκρατημένουν, εἰτε ὑπ’ ὀργῆς ἐκείνου εἰτε μὴ δοκεῖν φεύγειν βουλόμενος ἀμὴ ἡμέρα προσε- 

3 λάσας κατεσκέπτετο τοῦ τόπου. οὐδαμόθεν δὲ προσβολὴν ἔχοντος, ἀλλὰς ἀλώνω καὶ κεναῖς χρώμενος ἀπειλαῖς ὧρᾳ τῆς γῆς ἐκείνης κονιορτὸν ἀνω πολὺν ὕπε πνεύματος ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς φερόμενον.

τέτραπται μὲν γάρ, ὡς ἔφην, τὰ στπήλαια πρὸς βορέαν, ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρκτοῦ πνεῶν ἁνέμος,

Καιδίαν ἔνιοι καλοῦσιν, ἐπέχει μάλιστα καὶ πλειστός ἐστι τῶν ἐκεὶ πνευμάτων, ἐξ ὑγρῶν πεδίων καὶ νυφοβόλων συμφυσώμενος ὅρῳν τότε δὲ καὶ θέρους ἀκμάζωντος ἰσχύων καὶ τρεφόμενος τῇ τῶν υπαρκτίων ἀνέσει πάγων ἡσιώτος ἐπέπνευ καὶ κατείχεν αὐτοὺς τε καὶ βοτά δι’ ἡμέρας ἀνα-

4 ψύχων. ταῦτα δὴ συλλογιζόμενος ὁ Σερτώριος καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἀκούον, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς στρατιώτας τῆς ἀραιαίς καὶ τεφρώδους γῆς ἐκείνης ἀποσπάστας καὶ παραφέροντας καταντικρύ τοῦ λόφου θύνα ποιεῖν, ὡς ὁ βάρβαρος χώματος ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς εἶναι κατασκευήν ὑπονοοῦντες ἐχλευάζον.

5 τότε μὲν οὖν ἐργασαμένους τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀχρι

1 πνεῶν Van Herwerden: ἰέων.
is porous and crumbly; it is not firm enough to bear the tread of man, and spreads far about if only slightly stirred, like unslaked lime or ashes. These Barbarians, then, whenever they were afraid of war, would hide themselves in their caves, take all their plunder in with them, and keep quiet, for they could not be taken by force; and at the time of which I speak, when Sertorius had retired before Metellus and encamped at the base of their hill, they thought scornfully of him as a vanquished man, and he, either out of anger, or because he did not wish to be thought a fugitive, at break of day rode up to the place and inspected it. There was no attacking it anywhere, but as he was wandering about to no purpose and indulging in empty threats, he saw that dust from the soil which I have described was being carried up against the Barbarians in great quantities by the wind. For the caves, as I have said, faced the north, and the wind which blows from that quarter (some call it Caecias) is the most prevalent and the strongest of the winds in that country, being a confluent of winds from watery plains and snow-covered mountains; and at this time particularly, which was the height of summer, it was strong, was fed by the melting snows of northern regions, and blew most delightfully with continual refreshment for man and beast all day. So, reflecting on these things and getting information about them from the natives of the country, Sertorius ordered his soldiers to take some of the loose and ashy soil that I have described, carry it directly opposite the hill, and make a heap of it there. This the Barbarians conjectured to be a mound raised for assaulting them, and jeered at their enemy. On that day, then, the soldiers of Sertorius worked until night, and were
νυκτὸς ἀπῆγαγεν· ἀμα δ’ ἡμέρα πρῶτον μὲν αὖρα μαλακὴ προσπέπνευ διακινοῦσα τῆς συμπεφορ- 
μένης γῆς τὸ λειῶτατον ὡσπερ ἄχυρη σκιδνάμενον,
ἐπειτα σοβαρὸν τοῦ Καίκιον πρὸς τὸν ἤλιον ἐκ- 
χεομένου καὶ τῶν λόφων κοινωμένων ἐπιστάντες
οἱ στρατιώται τὸν τε χοῦν ἀνέτρεπον διὰ βάθους
καὶ τὸν στίλον ἔκοπτον, ἐνοι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἵππους
ἄνω καὶ κάτω διεξῆλθασαν ἀνιστάντες τὸ χαῦνωμα
καὶ τῇ πυὸ μετέφρων παραδίδοντες. ἡ δ’ ὑπο-
λαμβάνουσα πάν τοῦ θρυπτόμενον καὶ κυνόμενον
ἀνώ προσέβαλε τοῖς οἰκήμασι τῶν βαρβάρων,
kατὰ θύρας δέχομενος τοῦ Καίκιαν. οἱ δὲ, ἀτε
δὴ τῶν σπηλαίων μίαν ἐκείνην ἀναπνοὴν ἔχοντων
ἡ τὸ πνεῦμα προσέπιπτε, ταχὺ μὲν ἀπεσκοτοῦντο
τὰς ὁψεῖς, ταχὺ δ’ ἀνεπείπλαντο πυγώδους
ἀσθματος, τραχὺν ἀέρα καὶ πολλὴ κόνει συμ-
πεφυμένου ἐλκοντες. ὄθεν ἡμέρας δύο μόλις
ἀνασχόμενοι τῇ τρίτῃ παρέδωκαν εαυτοὺς, οὐ
tοσοῦτον Σερτωρίῳ δυνάμεως ὅσον δόξης προσ-
θέντες, ὥς τὰ δὲ ὅπλων ἀνάλωτα σοφία κατεργα-
σαμένῳ.

XVIII. Μέχρι μὲν οὖν τοῖς περὶ Μέτελλου
ἐπολέμει, τὰ πλεῖστα κατεντυχεῖν ἐδόκει, γῆρα
καὶ φυσικὴ βραδυτητὴ τοῦ Μέτελλον πρὸς ἄλλα
τολμητὴν καὶ ληστρικὴς μᾶλλον ἡ στρατιωτικῆς
ἡγούμενον δυνάμεως οὐκ ἀναφέροντος· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ
Πομπηῖοι τὴν Πυρήνην ύπερβαλόντι παραστρατο-
πεδεύσας, καὶ πᾶσαν ἄμα μὲν δίδους, ἄμα δὲ
λαμβάνων στρατηγικῶν παλαισμάτων πείρας,
ἀντιτεχνώμενός τε καὶ φυλαττόμενος πλεῖον εἴχε,
κομηθῇ διεβοήθη μέχρι Ρώμης ὡς δεινότατος ὢν
then led back to camp. But when the next day came, at first a gentle breeze arose, stirring up the lightest portions of the gathered soil and scattering them like chaff; then, when Caecias was blowing strong with the mounting of the sun and covering the hills with dust, the soldiers came and stirred up the mound of earth to the bottom and broke up the lumps, while some actually drove their horses back and forth through it, throwing up the loosened earth and giving it to the wind to carry. Then the wind caught up all the earth thus broken and stirred and threw it up against the dwellings of the Barbarians, which opened so as to admit Caecias. And the Barbarians, since their caves had no other inlet for air than that against which the wind was dashing, were quickly blinded, and quickly choked, too, as they tried to inhale an air that was harsh and mingled with great quantities of dust. Therefore, after holding out with difficulty for two days, on the third day they surrendered, thereby adding not so much to the power as to the fame of Sertorius, since by his skill he had subdued what could not be taken by arms.

XVIII. Well, then, as long as he carried on the war with Metellus as his antagonist, he was thought to be successful for the most part because, owing to great age and natural slowness, Metellus could not cope with a man who was bold and headed a force composed of robbers rather than soldiers; but when Pompey also crossed the Pyrenees and became his antagonist, and each of them had offered and accepted every test of a general's powers, and Sertorius had the advantage in counter-planning and watchfulness, then indeed it was noised abroad as far

1 In 76 B.C.
πόλεμον μεταχειρίσασθαι τῶν τότε στρατηγῶν.
2 οὔ γάρ τι μικρῶν ἦν τὸ Πομπήιον κλέος, ἀλλ' ἦνθει τότε μάλιστα πρὸς δόξαν ἐκ τῶν ἔργα Σύλλαν ἀνδραγαθημάτων, ἡφ' οἶς καὶ Μάγνος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, τούτεστι μέγας, ἐπωνομάσθη τιμῶν τε θριαμβικῶν οὖπω γενειών ἐτυχεν. οδέν καὶ ἐκ πολλαὶ τῶν ὑπὸ Σερτώριφ πόλεων ἄποβλέψασαι πρὸς αὐτοῦ ὁρμὴν μεταβολῆς ἔσχον, εἶτα ἐπαύσαντο, τοῦ περὶ Λαύρωνα πάθους παρὰ πᾶσαν ἔλπιδα συμβάντος.
3 Σερτώριον γὰρ πολιορκοῦντος αὐτοὺς ἦκε Πομπήιος παυσαριστὰ βοηθήσων: εἶτα ὁ μὲν λόφον εὖ δοκοῦντα πεφυκέναι κατὰ τῆς πόλεως προληψόμενος, ὃ δὲ τούτῳ κωλύσων ἤπειγετο. τοῦ δὲ Σερτώριον φθάσαντος ἐπιστήσας τὸν στρατὸν ὁ Πομπήιος ἔχαρι τῇ συντυχίᾳ, νομίζων ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ στρατιᾶς ἀπειλήφθαι τὸν Σερτώριον καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Λαύρωνίτας εἰσῆπεμψε θαρρεῖν κελεύων καὶ καθῆσθαι περὶ τὰ 4 τείχη θεωμένους πολιορκοῦμενον Σερτώριον. ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἀκούσας ἐγέλασε, καὶ τὸν Σύλλα μαθητὴν (οὔτω γὰρ τὸν Πομπήιον ἐπισκόπτων προσηγόρευν) αὐτὸς ἔφη διδάξειν ὅτι δεῖ τὸν στρατηγὸν κατόπιν μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ πρόσωπον βλέπειν. ταῦτα δὲ λέγων ἀμα τοῖς πολιορκομένοις ἐπεδείκνυεν ἐξακισχίλιος ὁπλίτας ὕπ' αὐτοῦ καταλευμένους ἐπὶ τοῦ προτέρου χάρακος, οδέν ὑμηθεῖς κατειλήφει τὸν λόφον, ὅπως ἔπλη σφᾶς.
as Rome that he was the ablest general of his time in the conduct of a war. For the fame of Pompey was by no means inconsiderable, nay, at this time his reputation was in most vigorous flower in consequence of the valiant deeds which he performed in the cause of Sulla, deeds for which he was given the surname of "Magnus" (that is, Great) by Sulla, and received the honours of a triumph while he was still beardless. Therefore, too, many of the cities which were subject to Sertorius turned their eyes towards Pompey and felt inclined to change their allegiance; they ceased to do this, however, after the disaster at Lauron, which happened contrary to all expectation.

For Sertorius was besieging that city, and Pompey came to its assistance with all his forces. Now there was a hill which was thought to afford a good command of the city, and this hill Sertorius strove to seize in advance, while Pompey sought to prevent him. But Sertorius got there first, whereupon Pompey, taking position with his army, was delighted with the way things had turned out, believing that Sertorius was caught between the city and his adversary's forces; he also sent a messenger in to the people of Lauron bidding them be of good cheer and take seats along their walls for the spectacle of Sertorius undergoing siege. When Sertorius heard of this, he gave a laugh, and said that to Sulla's pupil (for thus he was wont to style Pompey in jest) he himself would give a lesson, namely, that a general must look behind him rather than in front of him. As he said this, he pointed out to his beleaguered troops six thousand men-at-arms whom he had left behind at their former camp, from which he had sallied forth to seize the hill; these, in case Pompey moved
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trépoméne tò Pòmpaìw kàtà vàtòn prospésoiev. 6 ó dè kai Pòmpaìwos òpsi màla syµfronìsas èpipikeireiv ìnèn ðì ñétharreì kúklwswi dedoukòsw, àptōlπìèn ðì xìchünto kíndunewnìtas ànthròpouw, pàrapò dè kai kàthìmenos ñagakáseto ðràñ àptolúmènou's àptegynwswan ãàp àntoûs òì bárrbarou kai tò Sèrtwòrìf pàrèdowkan. ó dè tòw mêw swmátwò efeiòswò kai pântas àfìke, tìn dè pòlw kàtéprìsevn, oux ùpì ðrëgës òudì ñóptomètòs, èlàxìsta ãàp dòkeî ðìwmò ñarìsatìswi twò stratìtìgyèn òntròs ànìrì, ãlì èpì aïsgùnì kai kàthìfìa mètw tòv tèthamakòtòv Pòmpaìw, ìnà ì lógosè èn tòv bárbárióv òti pàrapò èngusw kai ìnuôn ñerìmìnuvòmenos tòv pèrì tòw swymáwov òù pròsthìmenwv.

XIX. öttai mèw ònì tò Sèrtwòrìf plèiônes synébaïnov, àntòv mêw ìnìttìtòv àeì ðìfylàttòntì kai tòus kàb' àntòv, ðraumòmëwò dè pèrì tòw ìllòus ðìgerìnov-èk dè èn àntì ðìpanorboûto tòs ìttas màllò ðèthamakèseto ìnikòntwòtòv ànti-stratìtìgyèn, ènòv èn tì pèrì Swòkròwì màxhì pròs Pòmpaìw, kai pàlwè èn tì pèrì Tòurìan 1 pèrò

2 te tòtòv ìmòw kai Mètelllòw. òì mèw ònì pèrì Swòkròwì màxhì lègeta ðìfìnovtòv tòv Pòmpaìw kàtepìxantòs, ìsì ðì métaçkòwì tòs níkèws Mètelllòw. ó dè Sèrtwòrìwos èbòylètò mêw tòv Pòmpaìw, pròn èpèlthèìv tòv Mètelllòw, diàgowìßàthìw, pàràgàwòv dè èștrèras ðìðì synèbaïnov, ìòìmuènov ðènov ènèi kai ìnìttìsì twòw ñorìwòtòv tàs ñòlêmuwò tàs skòtòs èsèstìw kai ðìfìgòuìw èmòdîwìw

1 Tòurìan Sìntènìs, after Ùkert; Sìntènìs, Coraës and Bekker have Tòurìan. The MSS. reading is uncertain.

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against the occupants of the hill, were to fall upon his rear. Pompey also became aware of this all too late, and did not venture to attack Sertorius for fear of being surrounded, but he was ashamed to go away and leave the people of the city in their peril, and so was compelled to sit there quietly and see them ruined; for the Barbarians gave up all hope and surrendered to Sertorius. Sertorius spared their lives and let them all go, but he burned down their city,¹ not because he was angry or cruel, for he appears to have given way to passion less than any other general, but to put to shame and confusion the admirers of Pompey, in order that it might be said among the Barbarians that though he was near at hand and all but warming himself at the flames of an allied city, he did not come to its relief.

XIX. It is true that Sertorius suffered several defeats, and yet he always kept himself and his own forces undefeated, and got his crushing blows where other generals than he were in command; and from the way in which he repaired his defeats he was more admired than the victorious generals opposed to him, as, for instance, in the battle on the Sucro against Pompey, and, again, in the battle near Turia against both Pompey and Metellus. Now, the battle on the Sucro² is said to have been precipitated by Pompey, in order that Metellus might not share in the victory. Sertorius, too, wished to fight the issue out with Pompey before Metellus came up, and therefore drew out his forces when evening was already at hand, and began the engagement, thinking that, since his enemies were strangers and unacquainted with the region, darkness would be a hindrance to

¹ Cf. the Pompey, xviii. 3.
² Cf. the Pompey, chapter xix.

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3 καὶ διώκουσι. γενομένης δὲ τῆς μάχης ἐν χερσὶν ἔτυχε μὲν οὐ πρὸς Πομπῆίου αὐτὸς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Ἀφράνιου ἐν ἄρχῃ συνεστηκὼς ἔχοντα τὸ ἀριστερὸν, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ τεταγμένος. ἀκούσας δὲ τῷ Πομπῆίῳ τοὺς συνεστῶτας ὑποχωρεῖν ἐγκειμένῳ καὶ κρατείσθαι, τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν ἐπὶ ἄλλοις ἐποιήσατο στρατηγοῖς, πρὸς δὲ ἐκεῖνο τὸ νυκῶμενον αὐτὸς ἐβοηθόμει. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἡδὶ τρεπομένους τοὺς δὲ ἔτι μένοντας ἐν τάξει συναγαγοῦν καὶ ἀναθαρρύνας, ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἐνέβαλε τῷ Πομπῆίῳ διώκοντι, καὶ φυγὴν ἐποιήσατο πολλὴν, ὅτε καὶ Πομπῆίος ἐγγὺς ἐλθὼν ἀποβαίνει καὶ τραυματισθεὶς παραλόγως διέφυγεν. οἱ γὰρ μετὰ Σερτώριου Δίβνεσ, ὃς ἐλαβὼν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἱππὸν χρυσῷ κεκοσμημένον καὶ φαλάρως ἀνάπλεων πολυτελῶν, ἐν τῷ διανέμεσθαι καὶ διαφέρεσθαι πρὸς ἄλληλους προῆκαντο τὴν δίοξιν. Ἀφράνιος δὲ τοὺς ἀνθεστῶτας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄμα τῷ Σερτώριον ἀπελθείν ἐπὶ θάτερα βοηθοῦντα τρεψάμενος εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον κατήραξε· καὶ συνεισπέσων ἐπόρθει σκότους ἢδη δυνότος, μὴ τὴν Πομπηίου φυγὴν εἰδὼς μὴ τοὺς στρατιώτας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς ἐπισχεῖν δυνάμενος. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Σερτώριος ἀνέστρεψε τὸ καθ’ αὐτὸν νεκρῆς καὶ τοὺς Ἀφράνιον δι’ ἀταξίαν παρασομένους ἐπιπέσσ᾽ πολλοὺς διέ-
6 φθειρε. πρωτὶ δὲ αὐθιν ἐξοπλισθεὶς ἐπὶ μάχην κατέβαινεν, εἶτα Μέτελλον αἰσθόμενος ἐγνὺς εἶναι λύσας τὴν τάξιν ἀνέξευζεν, εἰπὼν ἃ ‘‘Ἀλλ’ ἐγὼ γε τὸν παίδα τοῦτον, εἰ μὴ παρῆν ἡ γραῦς
them either in flight or in pursuit. When the fight-
ing was at close quarters, it happened that Sertorius
was not himself engaged with Pompey at first, but
with Afranius, who commanded Pompey's left, while
Sertorius himself was stationed on the right. Hearing,
however, that those of his men who were engaged
with Pompey were yielding before his onset and be-
ing worsted, he put his right wing in command of other
generals, and hastened himself to the help of the
wing that was suffering defeat. Those of his men
who were already in retreat he rallied, those who
were still keeping their ranks he encouraged, then
charged anew upon Pompey, who was pursuing, and
put his men to a great rout, in which Pompey also
came near being killed, was actually wounded, and
had a marvellous escape. For the Libyans with
Sertorius, after getting Pompey's horse, which had
golden decorations and was covered with costly
trappings, were so busy distributing the booty and
quarrelling with one another over it, that they
neglected the pursuit. Afranius, however, as soon as
Sertorius had gone off to the other wing with aid and
succour, routed his opponents and drove them head-
long into their camp; and dashing in with the fugi-
tives, it being now dark, he began to plunder, knowing
nothing of Pompey's flight and having no power to
keep his soldiers from their pillaging. But mean-
while Sertorius came back from his victory on the
other wing, and falling upon the straggling and con-
fused soldiers of Afranius, slew great numbers of
them. In the morning, moreover, he armed his
troops and came out for battle; then, learning that
Metellus was near, he broke up his array and
decamped, saying: "But as for this boy, if that old
ἐκείνη, πληγάς ἀν νοσθήσας εἰς Ρώμην ἀπεστάλκειν."  

XX. Ἡθύμει δὲ δεινῶς διὰ τὸ μηδαμοῦ φανερὰν τὴν ἐλαφον ἐκείνην εἶναι μηχανῆς γὰρ ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐστέρητο θαυμαστῆς, τότε δὴ μάλιστα παραμυθία δεομένως, εἶτα μέντοι νυκτὸς ἄλλως πλανώμενοι τινες ἐπιτυγχάνουσιν αὐτῇ, καὶ 2 γνωρίσαντες ἀπὸ τῆς χρόας λαμβάνουσιν. ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Σερτώριος ἐκείνους μὲν ὁμολόγησεν, ἀν μηδενὶ φράσωσι, χρήματα πολλὰ δόσειν, ἀποκρύψας δὲ τὴν ἐλαφον καὶ διαλυτῶν ὀλίγας ἡμέρας προῆε μάλα φαινότας ἀπ' ὁψεως ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, διηγούμενος τοῖς ἤγεμοις τῶν βαρβάρων ὡς ἁγαθὸν τι μέγα τοῦ θεοῦ προμηθύνοντος αὐτῷ κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνοὺς· εἶτα ἀναβάς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα τοῖς 3 ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἔχρημάτιζεν. ἥ δὲ ἐλαφος ὑπὸ τῶν φυλαττόντων αὐτὴν ἐγγὺς ἀφεθεῖσα καὶ κατεδούσα τὸν Σερτώριον ἐχώρει δρόμῳ περιχαρῆς πρὸς τὸ βῆμα, καὶ παραστάσα τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔπεθηκε ταῖς γόνασιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ στόματι τῆς δεξιᾶς ἔψαυεν, εἰθισμένη καὶ πρότερον τοῦτο ποιεῖν. ἀντιφιλοφρονομένου δὲ τοῦ Σερτώριον πιθανῶς καὶ τι καὶ δικρύσατος, ἐκπληξὶς εἴχε τοὺς παρόντας τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτα κρότῳ καὶ βοή τοῦ Σερτώριον ὡς δαιμόνιον ἄνδρα καὶ θεοῖς φίλον οἶκαδε προσέμψαντες ἐν εὐθυμίαις καὶ χρησταῖς ἐξπίσιν ἦσαν.  

XXI. Ἔν δὲ τοὺς τῶν Σαγουντίων πεδίους εἰς τὰς ἐσχάτας ἀπορίας κατακεκλεικός τοὺς πολεμίους, ἡγαγόθη συμβαλεῖν αὐτοῖς καταβαίνουσιν ἐφ' ἀρπαγὴν καὶ σιτολογίαν. ἡγωνίσθη δὲ λαμπρῶς παρ' ἀμφοτέρων. καὶ Μέμμιος μὲν ὁ 579 54
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woman had not come up, I should have given him a sound beating and sent him back to Rome."

XX. He was now greatly disheartened because that doe of his\textsuperscript{1} was nowhere to be found; for he was thus deprived of a wonderful contrivance for influencing the Barbarians, who at this time particularly stood in need of encouragement. Soon, however, some men who were roaming about at night on other errands came upon the doe, recognized her by her colour, and caught her. When Sertorius heard of it he promised to give the men a large sum of money if they would tell no one of the capture, and after concealing the doe and allowing several days to pass, he came forth with a glad countenance and proceeded to the tribunal, telling the leaders of the Barbarians that the Deity was foretelling him in his dreams some great good fortune. Then he ascended the tribunal and began to deal with the applicants. And now the doe was released by her keepers at a point close by, spied Sertorius, and bounded joyfully towards the tribunal, and standing by his side put her head in his lap and licked his hand, as she had been wont to do before. Sertorius returned her caresses appropriately and even shed a few tears, whereupon the bystanders were struck with amazement at first, and then, convinced that Sertorius was a marvellous man and dear to the gods, escorted him with shouts and clapping of hands to his home, and were full of confidence and good hopes.

XXI. In the plains of Saguntum, after he had reduced his enemies to the greatest straits, he was forced to give them battle when they came out for plunder and forage. Both sides fought splendidly. Memmius, the most capable of Pompey's generals,

\textsuperscript{1} Cf. chapter xi.
τῶν ὑπὸ Πομπηίῳ στρατηγῶν ἥγεμονικώτατος ἐν τῷ καρτερωτάτῳ τῆς μάχης ἔπεσεν, ἐκράτει δὲ Σερτώριος καὶ φόνῳ πολλῷ τῶν ἐτὶ συμεστῶ-2 τῶν ἐσθεῖτο πρὸς αὐτὸν Μέτελλου. ὁ δὲ παρ᾿ ἡλικίᾳ ὑποστὰς καὶ περιφανῶς ἀγωνιζόμενος παῖεται δόρατι. τοῦτο τοὺς μὲν ἵδον τῶν Ἄρμαίων, τοὺς δὲ ἀκούσαντας αἰδώς ἔσχεν ἐγκαταλιπτέων τὸν ἡγεμόνα, καὶ θυμός ἀμα πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους παρέστη. προθέμενοι δὲ τοὺς θυρεοὺς καὶ συνεξενεγκόντες εὐρώστως ἔξωθοῦσι 3 τοὺς Ἰβηραῖος καὶ γενομένης οὗτῳ παλιντρόπου τῆς νίκης, ὁ Σερτώριος ἐκείνους τε φυγάς ἀδεείς μηχανώμενος καὶ τεχνάζων ἔτεραν αὐτῷ δύναμιν συνελθεῖν ἐφ᾿ ἡσυχίας, εἰς πόλιν ὁρεινὴν καὶ καρπηρὰν ἀναφυγὼν ἐφράγνυτο τὰ τείχη καὶ τὰς πύλας ὠχυροῦτο, πάντα μᾶλλον ἡ πολιορκίαιαν 4 ὑπομένειν διανοούμενος. ἀλλ᾿ ἐξηπάτα τοὺς πο-λεμίους· ἐκείνῳ γὰρ προσκαθεξόμενοι καὶ τὸ χωρίον οὐ χαλεπῶς λήψεσθαι προσδοκῶντες, τοὺς τε φεύγοντας τῶν θραρμῶν προέπετο καὶ τῆς ἄθροιζομένης αὐθίς τῷ Σερτώρῳ δυνάμεως ἠμέλησαν. ἡθροίζετο δὲ, πέμψαντος ἡγεμόνας ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτοῦ, καὶ κελεύοντος ὅταν ἡδη πολλοὺς ἔχωσιν, ἀγγελον ἀποστείλαι πρὸς αὐτόν. 5 ἔπει δὲ ἀπέστειλαν, σὺν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ διεκπαισά-μενος τοὺς πολέμιους συνεμίξε τοῖς ἑαυτῷ· καὶ πάλιν ἐπῆει πολὺς γεγονός καὶ περιέκοπτεν αὐτῶν τὴν μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς εὐπορίαν ἐνέδρας καὶ κυκλώσει καὶ τῷ πανταχόσε φοιτᾶν ὑς ἐπιών,
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fell in the thickest of the battle, and Sertorius was carrying all before him, and, with great slaughter of the enemy who still held together, was forcing his way towards Metellus himself. Then Metellus, who was holding his ground with a vigour that belied his years, and fighting gloriously, was struck by a spear. All the Romans who saw or heard of this were seized with shame at the thought of deserting their commander, and at the same time were filled with rage against the enemy. So, after they had covered Metellus with their shields and carried him out of danger, they stoutly drove the Iberians back. Victory had now changed sides, and therefore Sertorius, contriving a safe retreat for his men and devising the quiet assembly of another force for himself, took refuge in a strong city among the mountains, and there began to repair the walls and strengthen the gates, although his purpose was anything rather than to stand a siege. But he completely deceived his enemies; for they sat down to invest him and expected to take the place without difficulty, and thus suffered the Barbarians who were in flight to escape, and took no heed of the force that was being collected anew for Sertorius. And collected it was, after Sertorius had sent officers to the cities, with orders that as soon as they had a large body of troops, they should send a messenger to him. Then, when the cities sent their messengers, he cut his way through the enemy with no trouble and effected a junction with his new troops; and so once more he advanced upon the enemy with large reinforcements and began to cut off their land supplies by means of ambuscades, flank movements, and swift marches in
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tά δ' ἐκ θαλάττης ληστρικοῖς σκάφεσι κατέχων τὴν παραλίαν, ὅστε ἡγαγκάσθησαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ διαλυθέντες ὁ μὲν εἰς Γαλατίαν ἀπελθεῖν, Πομπῆιος δὲ περὶ Βακκαίους διαχειμάσας μοχθηρῶς ὑπὸ ἀχρηματίας, γράφων πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ὡς ἀπάξει τὸν στρατόν, εἰ μὴ πέμποιεν ἀργύριον αὐτῷ· καταναλωκέναι γὰρ ἦδη τὰ αὐτοῦ προ-6 πολεμῶν τῆς Ἰταλίας. καὶ πολὺς ἦν οὖτος ἐν ὉῬώμη λόγος, ὡς Πομπηίου πρότερος εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἀφίξοιτο Σερτώριος· εἰς τοσοῦτον τοὺς πρῶτους καὶ δυνατωτάτους τῶν τότε στρατηγῶν ἡ Σερτώ-ρίου δεινότητα κατέστησεν.

XXII. Ἐξηλώσε δὲ καὶ Μέτελλος ἐκπεπληγμένος τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ μέγαν ἡγούμενος. ἐπεκήρυξε γὰρ, εἰ τις αὐτῶν ἀνέλοι ὉῬώμηος, ἐκατόν ἀργυρίου τάλαντα δώσειν καὶ πλέθρα δισμύρια γῆς· εἰ δὲ φυγός, κάθοδον εἰς ὉῬώμην, ὡς ἀπογνώσει φανερᾶς ἁμύνης ἀνοίμενος τὸν ἄνδρα διὰ προδο-2 σίας. ἔτι δὲ νικήσας ποτὲ μάχῃ τῶν Σερτώριον οὐτώς ἐπήρθη καὶ τὴν εὐτυχίαν ἡγάπησεν ὡστε αὐτοκράτωρ ἀναγορευθήναι, θυσίας δ' αὐτῶν αἱ τόλεις ἐπιφοιτῶντα καὶ βωμοῖς ἐδέχοντο. λέγε-ται δὲ καὶ στεφάνων ἀναδέσεις προσέσθαι καὶ δεῖπνων σοβαρωτέρων ὑποδοχάς, ἐν οἷς ἔσθήτα θριαμβικὴν ἕχων ἔπινε, καὶ Νίκαι πεποιημέναι δι' ὁργάνων ἐπιδρόμων χρύσεα τρόπαια καὶ στεφάνους διαφέρουσι κατήγοντο, καὶ χοροὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν ἐπινικίους ὕμνους ἦδου εἰς αὐτῶν. 3 ἐφ' οἷς εἰκότως ἦν καταγέλαστος, εἰ δραπέτην

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every direction, and their maritime supplies by besetting the coast with piratical craft; so that the Roman generals were compelled to separate, Metellus retiring into Gaul, and Pompey spending the winter among the Vaccaei. Here he suffered much from lack of supplies, and wrote to the senate that he would bring his army home unless they sent him money, since he had already exhausted his own resources in his war for the defence of Italy. Indeed, this story was prevalent in Rome, that Sertorius would come back to Italy before Pompey did. To such straits were the first and ablest generals of the time reduced by the skill of Sertorius.

XXII. And Metellus also made it clear that he was afraid of Sertorius and considered him a great leader. For he made proclamation that to any Roman who should kill Sertorius he would give a hundred talents of silver and twenty thousand acres of land, and to any exile, freedom to return to Rome; implying his despair of openly defeating the man by this attempt to purchase his betrayal. Moreover, after a victory which he once won over Sertorius he was so elated and delighted with his success that his soldiers saluted him as Imperator and the cities celebrated his visits to them with altars and sacrifices. Nay, it is said that he suffered wreaths to be bound upon his head and accepted invitations to stately banquets, at which he wore a triumphal robe as he drank his wine, while Victories, made to move by machinery, descended and distributed golden trophies and wreaths, and choirs of boys and women sang hymns of victory in his praise. For this it was natural that men should laugh at him, since, while calling

1 Cf. the Pompey, xx. 1.
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Σύλλα καὶ λείψανον τῆς Κάρβωνος φυγῆς ἀποκαλὸν τὸν Σερτώριον οὐτοὶ κεχαύνωται καὶ περιχαρῆς γέγονεν, ὑποχωρήσαντος αὐτοῦ περιγενέμενος.

Μεγαλοφροσύνης δὲ τοῦ Σερτώριον πρῶτον μὲν τὸ τοὺς φεύγοντας ἀπὸ 'Ῥώμης βουλευτᾶς καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ διατρίβοντας σύγκλητον ἀναγορεύσαι,

4 ταμίας τε καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἐξ ἐκείνων ἀποδεικνύ

ναι, καὶ πάντα τοὺς πατρίοις νόμοις τὰ τοιαῦτα κοσμεῖν· ἔπειτα τὸ χρώμενον ὅπλοις καὶ χρημασὶ καὶ πόλεσι ταῖς Ἰβηρίων μηδ' ἀρχὴ λόγου τῆς ἀκρας ἐξουσίας υφίσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς, Ὀω-

5 μαίους δὲ καθιστάναι στρατηγοὺς καὶ ἄρχοντας αὐτῶν, ὡς Ῥωμαίοις ἀνακτῶμεν τὴν ἑλευθερίαν,

οὐκ ἐκείνους αὐξοντα κατὰ Ῥωμαίων. καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἀνήρ φιλόπατρις καὶ πολὺν ἐχὼν ἱμερὸν τοῦ κατελθεῖν· ἄλλα δυσπραγῶν μὲν ἰδραγάθει καὶ ταπεινῶν οὐδὲν ἔπραττε πρὸς τοὺς πολέμιους, ἐν

δὲ ταῖς νίκαις διεπέμπετο πρὸς Μέτελλον καὶ

πρὸς Πομπήιον ἐτοιμὸς ὄν τὰ ὑπὰ καταθέθαι καὶ βιοῦν ἰδιωτὴς καθόδου τυχών· μᾶλλον γὰρ ἔθελεν ἀσημότατος ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολιτῆς ἢ φεύγων
tὴν ἕαυτον πάντων ὁμοῦ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοκράτωρ

ἀναγορεύσατο.

6 Δέγεται δὲ ὁ χρηστὸ τῆς πατρίδος ἐπιθυμεῖν
diὰ τὴν μητέρα, τραφείς ὀρφανὸς ὑπ' αὐτῇ καὶ τὸ σύμπαν ἀνακείμενος ἐκείνη. καλούντων δὲ τῶν

περὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν φίλων αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ἡγεμονία,
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Sertorius a runaway slave of Sulla and a remnant of the routed party of Carbo, he was so puffed up with pride and overjoyed merely because he had won an advantage over Sertorius and Sertorius had retired before him.

But the magnanimity of Sertorius showed itself, firstly, in his giving the name of senate to the senators who fled from Rome and joined his cause, appointing quaestors and praetors from their number, and making all such arrangements in accordance with the customs of his country; and, secondly, in his using the arms, wealth, and cities of the Iberians without even pretending to yield to the Iberians themselves a portion of the supreme power, but selecting Roman generals and commanders over them, feeling that he was recovering freedom for the Romans, and not strengthening the inhabitants against the Romans. For he was a man who loved his country and had a strong desire to return home from exile. And yet in his misfortunes he played a brave man’s part and would not humble himself at all before his enemies; while as a victor he would send to Metellus and Pompey expressing his readiness to lay down his arms and lead the life of a private citizen if he could get the privilege of returning home, since, as he said, he preferred to live in Rome as her meanest citizen rather than to live in exile from his country and be called supreme ruler of all the rest of the world together.

We are told that his desire for his native country was due in large measure to his attachment to his mother, by whom he was reared after his father’s death, and to whom he was entirely devoted.¹ When his friends in Spain were inviting him to take the

¹ Cf. chapter ii. 1.
πυθόμενος τήν τελευτήν τῆς μητρὸς ὀλίγον ἐξε- λαβεῖν ὑπὸ λύπης προέσθαι τοῦ βίου. ἔπτα γὰρ ἡμέρας οὕτε σύνθημα δοὺς οὕτε ὠφθείς των τῶν φίλων ἔκειτο, καὶ μόλις οἱ συστράτηγοι καὶ ὁμό- τιμοι τήν σκηνήν περιστάντες ἴνα γιγαντασκεύασαν αὐτῶν προελθόντα τῷ στρατιώταις ἐντυχεῖν καὶ τῶν 7 πραγμάτων εὐ φερομένων ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι. διὸ καὶ πολλοῖς ἐδοξεῖν ἡμερος ἀνὴρ φύσει γεγονὼς καὶ πρὸς ἴσον ἕχον ἐπιεικῶς δὲ αἰτίας παρὰ γνώμην ταῖς στρατηγικαῖς ἀρχαῖς χρήσθαι, καὶ μὴ τυχικῶν ἀδείας, ἀλλὰ συνελαυνόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἑχθρῶν εἰς τὰ ὑπὸ φθινοπάν ἀναγκαίαν τοῦ σώματος περιβάλλεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον.

XXIII. Ἡν δὲ καὶ τὰ πρὸς Μιθριδάτην αὐτοῦ πολιτεύματα μεγαλοφροσύνης. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Σύλλαν σφάλματος ὁ Μιθριδάτης ὀσπερ εἰς πάλαισμα δεύτερον ἀνιστάμενος αὐθίς ἐπεχεί- ρησε τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, μέγα δὲ ἢδη τὸ Σερτωρίου κλέος ἐφοίτα πανταχόσε καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγων ὀσπερ φορτίων ξενικῶν οἱ πλέοντες ἀπὸ τῆς 2 ἐσπέρας ἀναπτεπλήκεσαν τὸν Πόντον, ὁρμητο διαπρεσβεύεσθαι πρὸς αὐτοῦ, ἐπηρμένος μάλιστα ταῖς τῶν κολάκων ἀλαξονείαις, οἱ τῶν μὲν Σερτώ- ριον Ἀννίβα, τὸν δὲ Μιθριδάτην Πύρρῳ παρείκα- ξοντες οὐκ ἂν ἔφασαν Ῥωμαῖους πρὸς τηλικαύτας ὀμοῦ φύσεις τε καὶ δυνάμεις ἐπιχειρουμένους διχόθεν ἀντισχείν, τοῦ δεινοτάτου στρατηγοῦ τῷ 3 μεγίστῳ τῶν βασιλέων προσγενομένου. πέμπει δὴ πρέσβεις ὁ Μιθριδάτης εἰς Ἰβηρίαν γράμ-

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leadership there, he learned of the death of his mother, and almost died of grief. For seven days he lay prostrate in his tent without giving out a watchword or being seen by any of his friends, and it was only with difficulty that his fellow-generals and the men of like rank with him who surrounded his tent could force him to come forth and meet the soldiers and take part in their enterprises, which were moving on well. Therefore many people were led to think that he was a man of gentle temper and naturally disposed to a quiet life, but was practically forced against his wishes into the career of a soldier, where, not achieving safety, but being driven by his enemies to have recourse to arms, he encompassed himself with war as a necessary protection to his person.

XXIII. His negotiations with Mithridates also gave proof of his magnanimity. For Mithridates, after the fall which Sulla gave him, rose up, as it were, for another wrestling bout and tried once more to get the province of Asia into his power. At this time, too, the fame of Sertorius was already great and was travelling every whither, and sailors from the west had filled the kingdom of Pontus full of the tales about him, like so many foreign wares. Mithridates was therefore eager to send an embassy to him, and was incited thereto most of all by the foolish exaggerations of his flatterers. These likened Sertorius to Hannibal and Mithridates to Pyrrhus, and declared that the Romans, attacked on both sides, could not hold out against two such natures and forces combined, when the ablest of generals was in alliance with the greatest of kings. So Mithridates sent envoys to Iberia carrying letters
ματα Σερτώριφ και λόγους κομίζοντας, δι’ ὅνιν
αὐτὸς μὲν ἔπηγγέλθετο χρήματα καὶ ναῦς παρέ-
ξειν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, ὑπ’ ἐκείνου δὲ ἡξίου τὴν
’Ασίαν αὐτῷ βεβαιοῦσθαι πάσαν, ἢ ὑπεχώρησε
Ῥωμαίοις κατὰ τὰς πρὸς Σύλλαν γενομένας συν-
θήκαις. ἀθροίσαντος δὲ Σερτώριου βουλήν, ἦν
σύγκλητον ὁνόμαξε, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δέχεσθαι τὰς
προκλήσεις καὶ ἀγαπᾶν κελεύντων (ὅνομα γὰρ
καὶ γράμμα κενὸν αἰτουμένους ἥπερ τῶν οὐκ
ὀντων ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς, ἀντὶ τούτων λαμβάνειν δὲν
μάλιστα δεόμενοι τυγχάνουσιν), οὐκ ἴνεσχετο ὁ
Σερτώριος, ἀλλὰ Βιθυνίαν μὲν ἔφη καὶ Καππα-
δοκίαν λαμβάνοντι Μιθριδάτη μὴ φθονεῖν, ἐθνῆ
βασιλευόμενα καὶ μηδὲν προσήκοντα Ῥωμαίοις,
5 ἦν δὲ τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ πρόσφῳ Ῥωμαίων κεκτημέ-
νων ἐπαρχίαν ἀφελόμενος καὶ κατασχῶν πολε-
μῶν μὲν ἐξέπεσεν ὑπὸ Φιμβρίου, ὀπενδόμενος δὲ
πρὸς Σύλλαν ἀφήκε, ταύτην οὐκ ἔφη περιόψεσθαι
πάλιν ὑπ’ ἐκείνω γενομένην· δεῖν γὰρ αὐξεῖσθαι
tὴν πόλιν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ κρατοῦντος, οὐκ ἔλαττώσει
τῶν ἐκείνης κρατεῖν αὐτῶν· γενναίῳ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ
μετὰ τοῦ καλοῦ νικῶν αἰρετόν, αἰσχρῶς δὲ οὐδὲ
σώζεσθαι.

XXIV. Ταύτα ἀπαγγελθέντα Μιθριδάτης διὰ 581
θάμβος ἐποιεῖτο· καὶ λέγεται μὲν εἰπεῖν πρὸς
τοὺς φίλους. "Τὸ δὴτα προστάξει Σερτώριος ἐν
Παλατίῳ καθεζόμενος, εἰ νῦν εἰς τὴν Ἀτλαντικὴν
ἐξεωσμένος θάλασσαν ὅρους ἤμων τῇ βασιλείᾳ
τίθησι καὶ πειρωμένους Ἀσίας ἀπειλεῖ πόλεμον;"
and oral propositions to Sertorius, the purport of which was that Mithridates for his part promised to furnish money and ships for the war, but demanded that Sertorius confirm him in the possession of the whole of Asia, which he had yielded to the Romans by virtue of the treaties made with Sulla. Sertorius assembled a council, which he called a senate, and here the rest urged him to accept the king's proposals and be well content with them; for they were asked to grant a name and an empty title to what was not in their possession, and would receive therefore that of which they stood most in need. Sertorius, however, would not consent to this. He said he had no objection to Mithridates taking Bithynia and Cappadocia, countries used to kings and of no concern whatever to the Romans; but a province which Mithridates had taken away and held when it belonged in the justest manner to the Romans, from which he had been driven by Fimbria in war, and which he had renounced by treaty with Sulla,—this province Sertorius said he would not suffer to become the king's again; for the Roman state must be increased by his exercise of power, and he must not exercise power at the expense of the state. For to a man of noble spirit victory is to be desired if it comes with honour, but with shame not even life itself.

XXIV. When this was reported to Mithridates he acted like one amazed; and we are told that he said to his friends: "What terms, pray, will Sertorius impose when he is seated on the Palatine, if now, after he has been driven forth to the Atlantic sea, he sets bounds to our kingdom and threatens us with war if
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2 οὐ μὴν ἄλλα γίνονται γε συνθῆκαι καὶ ὅρκοι, Καππαδοκίαν καὶ Βιθυνίαν ἔχειν Μιθριδάτην Σερτώριον στρατηγὸν αὐτῷ καὶ στρατιώτας πέμπτονς, Σερτώριον δὲ παρὰ Μιθριδάτου λαβεῖν

3 τρισχίλια τάλαντα καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ναὺς. πέμπτει δὲ καὶ στρατηγὸς εἰς Ἀσίαν ὑπὸ Σερτώριον τῶν ἀπὸ Βουλής πεφευγότων πρὸς αὐτὸν Μάρκος Μάριος, ὃς συνεξελθὼν τινὰς πόλεις τῶν Ἐσσιάδων ὃ Μιθριδάτης εἰσελαύνοντι μετὰ βάσδων καὶ πελέκεσων αὐτὸς εἰπετο δευτέραν τάξιν

4 καὶ σχῆμα θεραπεύοντος ἐκουσίως ἀνειληφώς. ὃ δὲ τάς μὲν ἠλευθέρουν, ταῖς δὲ ἀπέλειαν γράφων χάριτι Σερτώριον κατηγγέλεν, ἀστε τὴν Ἀσίαν αὐθίς ἐνοχλομένην μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν τελωνῶν, βαρυνομένην δὲ ταῖς πλεονεξίαις καὶ ὑπερηφανίαις τῶν ἐπισκήνων, ἀναπτοθῆναι πρὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα καὶ ποθεῖν τὴν προσδοκομένην μεταβολὴν τῆς ἥγεμονιας.

XXV. Ἐν δὲ Ἰβηρία τῶν περὶ Σερτώριον συγκλητικῶν καὶ ἀστοίμων, ὡς πρῶτον εἰς ἀντίπαλον ἐλπίδα κατέστησαν, ἐπανέντος τοῦ φόβου, φθόνος ἦπτετο καὶ ξῆλος ἀνόητος τῆς ἐκείνου δυνάμεως. ἐνῆγε δὲ Περπέννας δὴ εὐγένειαν ἐπαιρόμενος φρονήματι κενῷ πρὸς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, καὶ λόγους μοχθηροὺς διεδίδον κρύφα τοῖς ἐπιτηδεί-2 οίς: "Τίς ἀρα πονηρὸς ἡμᾶς ὑπολαβὼν ἐκ κακῶν εἰς χείρονα φέρει δαίμων, οὗ Σύλλα μὲν ὁμοῦ τι συμπάσης ἄρχοντι γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ποιεῖν τὸ προστατόμενον οὐκ ἠξιούμενοι οἰκοῦ μένοντες, δεύρο δὲ φθαρέντες ὡς ἔλευθεροι βιωσόμενοι
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we try to get Asia?” However, a treaty was actually made and ratified with oaths. Mithridates was to have Cappadocia and Bithynia, Sertorius sending him a general and soldiers, while Sertorius was to receive from Mithridates three thousand talents and forty ships. Accordingly, a general was sent to Asia by Sertorius, one of the senators who had taken refuge with him, Marcus Marius.¹ He was assisted by Mithridates in the capture of certain cities of Asia, and when he entered them with fasces and axes, Mithridates would follow him in person, voluntarily assuming second rank and the position of a vassal. Marius gave some of the cities their freedom, and wrote to others announcing their exemption from taxation by grace of Sertorius, so that Asia, which was once more harassed by the revenue-farmers and oppressed by the rapacity and arrogance of the soldiers quartered there, was all of a flutter with new hopes and yearned for the expected change of supremacy.

XXV. But in Spain, as soon as the senators and men of equal rank about Sertorius felt confident that they were a match for their enemies and dismissed their fears, they were seized with envy and foolish jealousy of their leader. They were encouraged in these feelings by Perpenna, whose high birth filled him with vain aspirations for the chief command, and he would hold malevolent discourses in secret among his associates: “What evil genius, pray, has seized us and is hurrying us from bad to worse? We would not consent to remain at home and do the bidding of Sulla when he was lord of all the earth and sea together, but we came to this land of destruction with the idea of living like freemen, and are now

¹ Cf. the Lucullus, viii. 5.
δουλεύομεν ἑκουσίως τὴν Σερτώριου δορυφορούντες φυγήν, ὅνωμα χλευαζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκουόντων, σύγκλητος, ὄντες, ὑβρεῖς δὲ καὶ προστάγματα καὶ πόνους οὐκ ἐλάττονας Ἰβήρων καὶ

3 Δυσιτανῶν ὑπομένουτες;" τοιούτων ἀναπιμπλάμενοι λόγων οἱ πολλοὶ φανερῶς μὲν οὐκ ἀφίσταις, δεδοικότες αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν, κρύφα δὲ τὰς τε πράξεις ἐλυμαίνοντο, καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐκάκουν κολάζοντες πικρῶς καὶ δασμολογοῦντες, ὡς Σερτώριον κελεύοντος. ἐξ ὧν ἀποστάσεις

4 ἑγίνοντο καὶ ταραχαὶ περὶ τὰς πόλεις. οἱ δὲ πεμπόμενοι ταῦτα θεραπεύειν καὶ ἀποπραφεῖν ἑπανήχοιτο πλείονας ἐξειργασμένοι πολέμους καὶ τὰς ὑπαρχοῦσας νῆσικότες ἀπειθείαις, ὡστε τὸν Σερτώριον ἐκ τής προτέρας ἐπιεικείας καὶ πραότητος μεταβαλόντα περὶ τοὺς ἐν Ὀσκή 

τρεφομένους παρανομῆσαι παῖδας τῶν Ἰβήρων, τοὺς μὲν ἀνελόντα, τοὺς δὲ ἀποδόμενουν.

XXVI. Ὁ δὲ οὖν Περπέννως πλείονας ἐνωμοτοὺς ἔχων πρὸς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν προσάγεται καὶ Μάλλιον, ἦν τῶν ἐφ' ἡγεμονίας. οὕτως ἐρῶν τινος τῶν ἐν ὠρᾶ μειρακίων καὶ φιλοφρονούμενος πρὸς αὐτὸ φράζει τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, κελεύων ἀμελήσαντα τῶν ἀλλῶν ἐραστῶν αὐτῷ μόνῳ προσέχειν ὡς ἐντὸς ἡμερῶν ὅλγων μεγάλῳ γενησομένῳ. τὸ δὲ μειράκιον ἐτέρῳ τινὶ τῶν ἐραστῶν Αὐφίδῳ

2 μάλλων προσπεπονθὸς ἐκφέρει τὸν λόγον. ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Αὐφίδιος ἐξεπλάγη καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς μετέιχε τῆς ἐπὶ Σερτώριον συνωμοσίας, οὐ μέντοι τοῦ Μάλλιον ἐγίνωσκε μετέχοντα. Περπέννων δὲ καὶ Γρακίνου καὶ τινὰς ἄλλους, ὃν αὐτὸς ἤδει
voluntarily slaves in the body-guard of Sertorius the exile, being a senate, a name jeered at by all who hear it, and submitting to no lesser insults, injunctions, and toils than Iberians and Lusitanians." Most of his hearers, their minds infected with such sentiments as these, did not, indeed, openly desert Sertorius, because they were in fear of his power; but they secretly tried to vitiate his enterprises, and abused the Barbarians with severe punishments and exactions, on the plea that Sertorius thus ordered. Consequently there were revolts and disturbances among the cities. And those who were sent to assuage and cure these disorders brought more wars to pass before they returned, and increased the existing insubordination, so that Sertorius laid aside his former clemency and mildness and wrought injustice upon the sons of the Iberians who were being educated at Osca, killing some, and selling others into slavery.

XXVI. Perpenna, accordingly, having now more accomplices in his attempt upon Sertorius, brought into their number Manlius also, one of those in high command. This Manlius was enamoured of a beautiful boy, and as a mark of his affection for him told him of the conspiracy, bidding him neglect his other lovers and devote himself to him alone, since within a few days he was to be a great personage. But the boy carried the tale to another one of his lovers, Aufidius, to whom he was more devoted. And Aufidius, on hearing the story, was astounded; for though he himself was a party to the conspiracy against Sertorius, he did not know that Manlius was. But since the boy mentioned by name Perpenna, Gracinus, and sundry others of those whom Aufidius knew to

1 Cf. chapter xiv. 2 f.
συνωμοτῶν, ὄνομάζοντος τοῦ μειρακίου, διαταραχθεὶς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἐξεφλαύριζε τὸν λόγον, καὶ παρεκάλει τοῦ Μαλλίου καταφρονεῖν ὡς κενοῦ καὶ ἀλαζόνος, αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς τὸν Περφένναν πορευεῖς καὶ φράσας τὴν ὀξύτητα τοῦ καιροῦ 3 καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον ἔκλεισεν ἐπίχειρεῖν. οί δὲ ἐπείθοντο, καὶ παρασκευάσαντες ἀνθρωπον γράμματα κομίζοντα τῷ Σερτωρίῳ προσήγαγον. ἐδήλου δὲ τὰ γράμματα νίκην τινὸς τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτὸν στρατηγῶν καὶ φόνον πολὺ τῶν πολεμίων. ἐφ’ οί δὲ τοῦ Σερτωρίου περιχαροῦς ὄντος καὶ θύντος εὐσεβεία, Περφέννας ἐστάσεις αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς παροῦσι φίλοις (οὕτω δὲ ἦσαν ἐκ τῆς συνωμοσίας) ἐπηγγέλλετο, καὶ πολλὰ λαπαρήσας ἐπεισεν ἐλθεῖν.

4 Ἅλη μὲν οὖν τὰ μετὰ Σερτωρίου δεῦτεν πολλὴν εἰχεν αἰδό καὶ κόσμου, οὔτε ὅραν τι τῶν αἰσχρῶν οὔτε ἄκοιειν ὑπομένοντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς συνόντας εὐτάκτοις καὶ ἀνυβρίστοις παιδίας χρήσατο καὶ φιλοφροσύναις ἐθίζοντος· τότε δὲ τοῦ πότου μεσοῦντος, ἀρχὴν ἀγμαχίας ζητοῦντες ἀναφανῶν ἁκολότοις ἔχρωντο ῥήματι, καὶ πολλὰ προσποιούμενοι μεθύειν ἠσέλγαιον ὡς παροξυνοῦντες ἐκεῖνον. οὐ δὲ εἶτε δυσχεραίνων τὴν ἁκοςμίαν, εἶτε τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν τῇ θρασύτητι τῆς καλιᾶς καὶ τῇ πάρα τὸ εἰώθος ὀλυγωρία συμφορήσας, μετέβαλε τὸ σχῆμα τῆς κλησίας, ὑπείπεν ἀνείς ἐαυτοῦ, ὡς οὔτε προσέχον ὀὔτε κατακούον. ἔπει δὲ ὁ Περφέννας φιάλην τινὰ λαβὼν ἀκράτους μεταξὺ πίνον ἀφήκεν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν καὶ ψόφον ἐποίησεν, ὅπερ ἦν αὐτοῖς σύμ.
be among the conspirators, Aufidius was confounded, and after making light of the story to the boy and exhorting him to despise Manlius as an empty brag-gart, he himself went to Perpenna, told him of the sharpness of the crisis and of their peril, and urged him to attempt the deed. The conspirators were persuaded, and after providing a man to act as the bearer of letters, they introduced him to Sertorius. His letters made known a victory of one of the generals serving under Sertorius, and a great slaughter of the enemy. At this Sertorius was overjoyed and offered a sacrifice of glad tidings, during which Perpenna proposed a banquet for him and his friends who were present (and these were of the conspiracy), and after much entreaty persuaded him to come.

Now, the suppers at which Sertorius was present were always marked by restraint and decorum, since he would not consent to see or hear anything that was disgraceful, but held his associates to the practice of indulging only in mirth and merriment that was decorous and restrained. On this occasion, however, when the drinking was well under way, the guests, seeking occasion for a quarrel, openly indulged in dissolute language, and, pretending to be drunk, committed many indecencies, with the hope of angering Sertorius. But he, either because he was vexed at their disorderly conduct, or because he had become aware of their purpose from the boldness of their talk and their unwonted contempt for his wishes, changed his posture on the couch and threw himself upon his back, as though he neither heard nor regarded them. But when Perpenna, after taking a cup of wine in his hands, dropped it as he was drinking and made a clatter with it, which was
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

βολον, Ἦπερκατακείμενος παίει τῷ
τῆν πληγήν ἔκείνου καὶ συνεξανισταμένου, περι-
πεσὼν εἰς τὸ στήθος κατέλαβε τὰς χεῖρας ἀμφο-
τέρας, ὥστε μηδὲ ἀμυνόμενον πολλῶν παῖοντων
ἀποθανεῖν.

XXVII. Οἱ μὲν οὖν πλείστοι τῶν Ἰβήρων
εὐθὺς ἠχοντο καὶ παρέδωκαν ἕαυτος ἑτπρε-
σβευσάμενοι τοὺς περὶ Πομπηίου καὶ Μέτελλον-
τοὺς δὲ συμμείναντας ὁ Περπέννας ἀναλαβὼν
ἐπεχεῖρε τι πράττειν. χρησάμενος δὲ ταῖς Σερ-
τωρίου παρασκευαῖς ὅσον ἐνασχημονήσαι καὶ
φανερὸς γενέσθαι μήτε ἄρχειν μήτε ἄρχεσθαι
2 πεφυκὼς, Πομπηίῳ προσέβαλε· καὶ ταχύς συν-
τριβείς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ γενόμενος αἰχμάλωτος οὕτω
τῇ ἑσχάτῃ ὑπέμεινε συμφοράν ἡγεμονικῶς,
ἀλλὰ τῶν Σερτωρίου γραμμάτων κύριος γεγονὼς
ὑπεχείτο Πομπηίῳ δείξειν ὑπατικῶν ἀνδρῶν
καὶ μέγιστον ἐν Ὁ ρώμη δυναμένων αὐτογράφους
ἐπιστολάς, καλούντων Σερτωρίου εἰς Ἰταλίαν,
ὡς πολλῶν ποθοῦντων τὰ παρόντα κινῆσαι καὶ
3 μεταβαλεῖν τὴν πολιτείαν. ἔργον οὖν ὁ Πομπη-
ihanna, ὁ νέος φρενός, ἀλλ’ εὖ μάλα βεβηκώνας καὶ
κατηρτυμένης ἐργασάμενος μεγάλων ἀπήλλαξε
tὴν Ὁ ρώμη φόβων καὶ νεωτερισμῶν. τὰς μὲν
γάρ ἐπιστολὰς ἐκείνας καὶ ἡ γράμματα τοῦ
Σερτωρίου συναγαγών ἀπαντά κατέκαυσεν οὔτε
αὐτὸς ἀναγνώριος ὁ οὔτε ἐάσας ἐτερος· αὐτὸν δὲ τῶν
Περπέννων κατὰ τάχος ἄνειλε, φοβηθεὶς μὴ τῶν
ὁνομάτων ἐξενεχθέντων πρὸς τινὰς ἀποστάσεις
καὶ ταραχὰ γέωνται.

1 αὐτὸς ἀναγνώριος Naber: ἀναγνώριος.
their signal, Antonius, who reclined above Sertorius on the couch, smote him with his sword. Sertorius turned at the blow and would have risen with his assailant, but Antonius fell upon his chest and seized both his hands, so that he could make no defence even, and died from the blows of many.

XXVII. Well, then, most of the Iberians immediately went away, sent ambassadors to Pompey and Metellus, and delivered themselves up to them; but those who remained Perpenna took under his command and attempted to do something. After using the materials provided by Sertorius just enough to cut a sorry figure and make it clear that he was fitted by nature neither to command nor to obey, he attacked Pompey; and having been quickly crushed by him and taken prisoner, he did not even endure this extreme misfortune as a leader should, but, being in possession of the papers of Sertorius, he promised to show Pompey autograph letters from men of consular rank and of the highest influence in Rome, in which they invited Sertorius to come to Italy, assuring him that there were many there who desired eagerly to stir up a revolution and change the constitution. Pompey, then, did not act in this emergency like a young man, but like one whose understanding was right well matured and disciplined, and so freed Rome from revolutionary terrors. For he got together those letters and all the papers of Sertorius and burned them, without reading them himself or suffering anyone else to do so; and Perpenna himself he speedily put to death, through fear that seditions and disturbances might arise if the names of the correspondents of Sertorius were communicated to anybody.¹

¹ Cf. the Pompey, xx. 4.
Τῶν δὲ τῷ Περπέννᾳ συνομοσσαμένων οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Πομπήιον ἀναχθέντες διεφθάρησαν, οἱ δὲ φεύγοντες εἰς Ἀιμήν ὑπὸ Μαυρουσίων κατηκουσθήσαν. διέφυγε δὲ οὐδεὶς πλὴν Αὐφίδιος ὁ τοῦ Μαλλίου ἀντεραστής· οὗτος δὲ ἢ λαθὼν ἢ παραμεληθεὶς ἐν τινὶ βαρβάρῳ κὼμῃ πενόμενος καὶ μισούμενος κατεγίρασεν.
SERtorius

Of Perpenna's fellow conspirators, some were brought to Pompey and put to death, others fled to Africa and fell victims to the spears of the Maurusians. Not one escaped, except Aufidius, the rival of Manlius; he, either because men did not notice him or because they did not heed him, came to old age in a barbarian village, a poor and hated man.
EUMENES
ΕΥΜΕΝΗΣ

I. Ευμένη δὲ τῶν Καρδιανῶν ἵστορεῖ Δούρις 583 πατρὸς μὲν ἀμαξεύοντος ἐν Χερρονήσῳ διὰ πενίαιν γενέσθαι, τραφήμα δὲ ἐλευθερίως ἐν γράμμασι καὶ περὶ παλαίστραν ἔτι δὲ παιδὸς ὄντος αὐτοῦ Φιλίππου παρεπιδημοῦντα καὶ σχολὴν ἁγοντα τὰ τῶν Καρδιανῶν θεάσασθαι παγκράτια μειρακίων καὶ παλαίσματα παίδων, ἐν ὀἷς εὐημερήσαντα τὸν Ευμένη καὶ φανέρα συνετὸν καὶ ἀνδρείον ἀρέσαι τῷ Φιλίππῳ καὶ ἀναληψθῆναι.

2 δοκοῦσι δὲ εἰκότα λέγειν μᾶλλον οἱ διὰ ξενίαν καὶ φιλίαν πατρῴαν τὸν Ευμένη λέγοντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου προσχθῆναι. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἑκείνου τελευτὴν οὐτὲ συνέστη τινὸς οὔτε πίστει λεῖπεσθαί δοκῶν τῶν περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκαλεῖτο μὲν ἀρχιγραμματεύς, τιμῆς δὲ ὠσπέρ οἱ μάλιστα φίλοι καὶ συνήθεις ἐτύγχανει, ὡστε καὶ στρατηγὸς ἀποσταλῆται κατὰ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ μετὰ δυνάμεως, καὶ τὴν Περδίκκου παραλαβεῖν ἵππαρχίαν, ὅτε Περδίκκας ἀποθανόντος Ἰθαῖ-3 στίώνος, εἰς τὴν ἑκείνου προῆλθε τάξιν. διὸ καὶ Νεοπτολέμου τοῦ ἀρχινομαστικοῦ μετὰ τὴν 78
EUMENES

I. Eumenes of Cardia, according to Duris, was the son of a man whom poverty drove to be a waggoner, in the Thracian Chersonesus, but received a liberal education in literature and athletics. While he was still a boy, Duris says further, Philip, who was sojourning in the place and had an hour of leisure, came to see the young men and boys of Cardia exercising in the pancratium and in wrestling, among whom Eumenes had such success and gave such proofs of intelligence and bravery that he pleased Philip and was taken into his following. But in my opinion those historians tell a more probable story who say that a tie of guest-friendship with his father led Philip to give advancement to Eumenes. After Philip’s death Eumenes was thought to be inferior to none of Alexander’s followers in sagacity and fidelity, and though he had only the title of chief secretary, he was held in as much honour as the king’s principal friends and intimates, so that on the Indian expedition he was actually sent out as general with a force under his own orders, and received the command in the cavalry which Perdiccas had held, when Perdiccas, after Hephaestion’s death, was advanced to that officer’s position. Therefore when Neoptolemus, the commander of the Shield-bearers, after Alexander’s

1 A mixture of wrestling and boxing.
2 Cf. Arrian, Anab. v. 24, 6 f.
'Αλεξάνδρου τελευτήν λέγοντος ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν ἀσπίδα καὶ λόγχην, Εὐμένης δὲ γραφεῖον ἔχον καὶ πινακίδιον ἡκολούθει, κατεγέλων οἱ Μακεδόνες, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καλῶν τὸν Εὐμένη καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸν γάμον οἰκεῖοτητος ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰδότες ἄξιωθέντα. Βασιλίσση γὰρ τὴν Ἀρταβάζου πρώτην ἐν Ἀσίᾳ γυναῖκα ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρος, ἦς ἦσυχος Ἡρακλέα, τῶν ταύτης ἄδελφῶν Πτολεμαίων μὲν Ἀπάμαν, Εὐμένει δὲ Βασιλίσσῃ ἤξειδοκεν, ὅτε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας Περσίδας διένειμε καὶ συνφόκησε τοὺς ἐταίρους.

Π. Οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ προσέκρουσε πολλάκις Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, καὶ παρεκκινδύνευσε δι’ Ἡφαιστίωνα. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ Εὐίφ τῷ αὐλητῇ τοῦ Ἡφαιστίωνος οἰκίαν κατανείμαντος ἢν οἱ παιδεῖς έτυχον τῷ Εὐμένει προκατειληφότες, ἐλθὼν ὑπὸ ὀργῆς πρὸς τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρον ὁ Εὐμένης ἔβοα μετὰ Μέντωρος ὡς αὐλειν εἰς κράτισσον ἣ τραγῳδεῖν τὰ ὅπλα ῥύσατο ἕκ τῶν χειρῶν, ὡστε Ἀλεξάνδρον αὐτῷ συναγανακτεῖν καὶ λοιποίς οὐκ ἡμεῖς τῷ Ἡφαιστίωνι. ταχὺ μέντοι μεταπεσόν ἄθικο εἴχε τὸν Εὐμένη δι’ ῥήγης, ὡς ὑβρεί μᾶλλον πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἢ παρρησία πρὸς Ἡφαιστίωνα χρησάμενον.

'Επειτα Νέαρχον ἐπτέμπων μετὰ νεῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔξω θάλασσαν ἦτει χρήματα τοὺς φίλους· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ. τοῦ δ’ Εὐμένους αἰτηθέντος μὲν τρικόσια τάλαντα, δόντος δὲ ἐκατόν μόνα, καὶ ταύτα γλίσχρως καὶ μόλις αὐτῷ συνειλέχθαι 80
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dearth, said that he had followed the king with shield and spear, but Eumenes with pen and paper, the Macedonians laughed him to scorn; they knew that, besides his other honours, Eumenes had been deemed worthy by the king of relationship in marriage. For Barsiné the daughter of Artabazus, the first woman whom Alexander knew in Asia, and by whom he had a son, Heracles, had two sisters; of these Alexander gave one, Apama, to Ptolemy, and the other, also called Barsiné,¹ to Eumenes. This was at the time when he distributed the other Persian women as consorts among his companions.²

II. However, Eumenes was often in collision with Alexander, and he got himself into danger through Hephaestion. In the first place, for instance, when Hephaestion assigned to Euius the flute-player the quarters which his servants had already taken up for Eumenes, Eumenes, accompanied by Mentor, came in a passion to Alexander and cried out that it was best for him to throw away his arms and be a flute-player or a tragic actor. The immediate result was that Alexander shared his indignation and heaped abuse upon Hephaestion. Soon, however, he changed his mind and was angry with Eumenes, feeling that he had indulged in insolence towards himself more than in bold words against Hephaestion.

Again, when Alexander was sending out Nearchus with a fleet to explore the outer sea, he asked money of his friends, since the royal treasury was empty. Eumenes was asked for three hundred talents, but gave only a hundred, and said that even these had been slowly and with difficulty collected for him by

¹ In Arrian, Anab. vii. 4, 6, the names of the sisters are Artacama and Artonis, respectively.
² Cf. the Alexander, lxx. 2.
διὰ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων φάσκωντος, οὐδὲν ἐγκαλέσας
οὐδὲ δεξάμενος ἐκέλευσε τοὺς παῖδας κρύφα τῇ
σκηνῇ τοῦ Εὐμένους πῦρ ἐνεῖναι, βουλόμενος ἐκ-
κομιζομένων τῶν χρημάτων λαβεῖν ἐπὶ αὐτοφόροι
ψευδόμενον. ἔφθη δὲ ἡ σκηνὴ καταφλεξθεῖσα,
καὶ μετενόησε τῶν γραμμάτων διαφθαρέντων ὁ
Ἀλέξανδρος. τὸ δὲ συγχυθὲν χρυσίον καὶ ἀργύ-
ριον ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀνευρέθη πλεῖον ἢ χιλίων
tαλάντων. ἔλαβε δὲ οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γράφας
τοῖς πανταχοῦ σατράπαις καὶ στρατηγοῖς ἀντί-
γραφα τῶν διεφθαρμένων ἀποστέλλει πάντα 584
παραλαμβάνειν ἐκέλευσε τὸν Εὐμένην.

4 Πάλιν δὲ περὶ δωρεᾶς τινος εἰς διαφορὰν κατα-
στάς πρὸς τὸν Ἡφαιστίωνα, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν
άκοψας κακῶς, πολλὰ δὲ εἰπών, τότε μὲν οὐκ
ἐλαττον ἔσχε· μετὸς δὲ τελευτῆσαντος
Ἡφαιστίωνος περιπαθῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ πάσιν
οὐς ἐδόκει ξώντι μὲν ἐκεῖνῳ φθονεῖν ἐπιχαίρειν δὲ
tεθνηκότι τραχέως ὁμιλῶν καὶ χαλεπῶς ὁν, μά-
λιστα τὸν Εὐμένην δι’ ὑπνοίας εἶθε, καὶ προὔφερε
5 πολλάκις τάς διαφοράς καὶ λοιδορίας ἐκείνας. ὁ
dὲ πανοῦργος ὄν καὶ πιθανός ἐπεχείρησεν οἷς
ἀπώλυε τοσοῦτον ἐαυτῶν. κατέφυγε γὰρ εἰς τὴν
πρὸς Ἡφαιστίωνα φιλοτιμίαν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ
χάριν, ὑφηγούμενός τε τιμῶς αἰ μάλιστα κοσμεῖν
ἐμελέλοι τοῦ τεθνηκότα, καὶ χρήματα τελῶν εἰς
τὴν τοῦ τάφου κατασκευὴν ἀφειδῶς καὶ προθύμως.
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his stewards. Alexander made no reproaches, nor did he take the money, but ordered his servants secretly to set fire to the tent of Eumenes, wishing to take its owner in a manifest lie when the treasure was carried out of it. But before that could be done the tent was consumed, and the destruction of his papers made Alexander repent him of his orders. Still, the gold and silver that was melted down by the fire was found to be more than a thousand talents' worth. Alexander took none of it, however, but actually wrote to his satraps and generals everywhere to send copies of the documents that had been destroyed, and ordered Eumenes to take them all in charge.

And still again, Eumenes had a quarrel with Hephaestion about a certain gift, and much abusive language passed between them. At the time, indeed, Eumenes was no less in favour than before; but a little while afterwards Hephaestion died, and the king, in his bitter sorrow, dealt harshly and was severe with all who, as he thought, had been jealous of his favourite while he lived and now rejoiced at his death. Eumenes, in particular, he suspected of such feelings, and often reproached him for his former quarrels with Hephaestion and his abusive language towards him. But Eumenes, who was wily and persuasive, tried to make what threatened his ruin conduce to his salvation. He sought refuge, namely, in Alexander's ardent gratitude towards Hephaestion, suggesting honours which were most likely to adorn the memory of the deceased, and contributing money for the construction of his tomb lavishly and readily.
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

III. Ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῆς φάλαγγος διεστώσης πρὸς τοὺς ἐταίρους, τῇ μὲν γνώμῃ τούτων προσένειμεν ἑαυτὸν ὁ Ἐὐμένης, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ κοινὸς τις ἦν πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους καὶ ἰδιωτικός, ὡς οὖν ἀυτῷ προσήκουν ξένῳ ὑπὲρ πολυπραγμονεῖν ἐν ταῖς Ἔμακδόνων διαφοραῖς. καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐταίρων ἐκ Βασιλέως ἀνασκευασμένων ἀυτῶν ὑπολείφθεις ἐν τῇ πόλει κατεπράψανε πολλοὺς τῶν πεζῶν καὶ πρὸς τὰς διαλύσεις ἡδί2 οὐς ἐποίησεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀναμιχθέντες ἀλλήλοις οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ καταστάντες ἐκ τῶν πρῶτων ταραχῶν διενέμοντο σατραπείας καὶ στρατηγίας, Ἐυμένης λαμβάνει Καππαδοκίαν καὶ Παφλαγονίαν καὶ τὴν ὑποκειμένην τῇ Ποντικῇ βαλάττῃ μέχρι Τραπεζοῦντος, ὁπως τότε Μακεδόνων οὖσαν, Ἀριαράθης γὰρ οὕτως ἐβασίλευεν, ἄλλο ἔδει Λεοννάτον καὶ Ἀντίγονον χειρὶ μεγάλῃ τὸν Ἐυμένην κατάγοντας ἀποδείξας τῆς χώρας σατράπην.

Ἀντίγονος μὲν οὖν οὐ προσέχει τοῖς γραφείοις ὑπὸ Περδίκκου, μετέωρος ὄν ἦδη καὶ περιφρονῶν ἀπάντων, Λεοννάτος δὲ κατέβη μὲν ἀνωθὲν εἰς Φρυγίαν ἀναδεξόμενος Εὐμένει τὴν στρατείαν Ἐκαταίου δὲ τοῦ Καρδιανῶν τυράννου συμμίξαν-
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III. When Alexander was dead\(^1\) and a quarrel had arisen between the Macedonian men-at-arms and his principal officers, or companions,\(^2\) Eumenes sided with the latter in his opinions, but in what he said he was a kind of common friend to both and held himself aloof from the quarrel, on the ground that it was no business of his, since he was a stranger, to meddle in disputes of Macedonians. Moreover, when the rest of the principal officers had withdrawn from Babylon, he remained behind in the city and mollified many of the men-at-arms and made them more disposed towards a settlement of the quarrel. And when the officers, having conferred with one another, brought their first tumultuous proceedings to an end, and were distributing satrapies and commands, Eumenes received Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, and the southern coast of the Euxine sea as far as Trapezus. It is true that at the time this territory was not yet subject to the Macedonians, for Ariarathes held royal sway over it; but Leonnatus and Antigonus, with a great army, were to conduct Eumenes thither and declare him satrap of the country.

Now, Antigonus paid no heed to the edicts of Perdiccas, being already lifted up in his ambitions and scorning all his associates; but Leonnatus came down from the interior into Phrygia in order to undertake the expedition in behalf of Eumenes. Here, however, Hecataeus the tyrant of Cardia joined him and be-

Alexander, if it should be a son, and that Perdiccas should be regent in the meantime; the infantry demanded that Arrhidaeus, the bastard brother of Alexander, should at once be proclaimed king. In the end a compromise was effected, and Perdiccas became chief in command under Arrhidaeus, with whom Alexander’s son, when born, was to be joint king. Cf. the *Alexander*, lxxvii. 5.

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tos autō kai deumēnu bothein malleon 'Antipatroph kai Makedōnon tois en Lamia poliorkoumenous, wrome to diabasînein kai ton Euynēn parakealai kai
4 dihlatte prois ton 'Ekataion. hē gan autōs patrickh tis ek politikon diaphorōn upofia prois allhlous kai pollakiai o Euynēs enegonoi fatherōs kathgorōn ton 'Ekataion turaunonotos kai parakalou 'Alexandron apodouina tois Karδiana
νοις tin elveuthria. did kai toti ton Euynous paraitoumenon tin eti tois 'Ellhnas strateian, kai dediēnai faskontos 'Antipatrom, mitous
'Ekataiou xarizomenein kai palai mikōn autōn anēle, pisteusas o Leovnatos oudēn oin ephroin
5 prois autōn apkekryvato. lógos mev gan h botheia kai profasias, egwkek de diabas eubhvs
antipoiesazai Makedonias kai twas epistolados edeiδe Kleopatras metapepomenein auton eis
Pellon ws gamismenein. o de Euynēs, eti ton
'Antipatrom dedoikws eti ton Leovnaton eumplη-
kton ontai kai foras meston abebaiou kai exia
apognous, nuktωr anēxeixe tin eautou labon
uposkevhn. exhe de triakosious mev ipteis, dia-
kosious de twn paidow oploforoues, en de chrusois
6 eis arghriou logon talanta penteaktoschila. phi-
gw de ouτos prois Perdiκkav kai ta Leovnaton
bouleumata katetwn eubhvs mev ʻșxhe mega par
autō kai tov synedriou meteixein, olygon de ʻșste-
ron eis Kappadokian kathxh th metα dynamaeow,

1 On the death of Alexander the Greeks had revolted from Macedonia, and had driven Antipater and his army into Lamia, a city of southern Thessaly.
2 The sister of Alexander, widow, since 326 B.C., of the
sought him to go rather to the assistance of Antipater and the Macedonians besieged in Lamia. Leonnatus therefore determined to cross over to Greece, invited Eumenes to go with him, and tried to reconcile him with Hecataeus. For they had a hereditary distrust of one another arising from political differences; and frequently Eumenes had been known to denounce Hecataeus as a tyrant and to exhort Alexander to restore its freedom to Cardia. Therefore at this time also Eumenes declined to go on the expedition against the Greeks, saying he was afraid that Antipater, who had long hated him, would kill him to please Hecataeus. Then Leonnatus took him into his confidence and revealed to him all his purposes. Assistance to Antipater, namely, was what he alleged as a pretext for his expedition, but he really meant, as soon as he had crossed into Europe, to lay claim to Macedonia; and he showed certain letters from Cleopatra in which she invited him to come to Pella and promised to marry him. But Eumenes, either because he was afraid of Antipater, or because he despaired of Leonnatus as a capricious man full of uncertain and rash impulses, took his own equipment and decamped by night. And he had three hundred horsemen, two hundred armed camp-followers, and in gold what would amount to five thousand talents of money. With this equipment he fled to Perdiccas, and by telling him of the designs of Leonnatus at once enjoyed great influence with him and was made a member of his council. Moreover, a little while after he was conducted into Cappadocia with an army king of Epeirus. No less than six of Alexander's generals sought her hand in marriage.

3 According to Nepos (Eumenes, ii. 4), Leonnatus, failing to persuade Eumenes, tried to kill him.
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αὐτοῦ Περδίκκου παρόντος καὶ στρατηγοῦντος. 585 Ἄριαράθου δὲ ληφθέντος αἰχμαλώτου καὶ τῆς χώρας ὑποχειρίου γενομένης ἀποδείκνυται σατρά-7 πης. καὶ τὰς μὲν πόλεις τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ φίλους παρέδωκε, καὶ φρουράρχους ἐγκατέστησε καὶ δι-καστὰς ἀπέλιπε καὶ διοικητὰς οὓς ἐβούλετο, τοῦ Περδίκκου μηδὲν ἐν τούτοις πολυπραγμονοῦντος, αὐτὸς δὲ συνανέζευξεν ἐκείνου τε θεραπεύων καὶ τῶν βασιλέων ἀπολείπετο σὲ μὴ βούλομενος.

IV. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὁ Περδίκκας ἐφ' ἀ μὲν ὀρμητο πιστεύων δὲ αὐτοῦ προσάξεσθαι, τά δὲ ὑπολειπόμενα δείγησθαι καὶ δραστηρίου τι καὶ πιστοῦ φύλακος οἴόμενος, ἀπέπεμψεν ἐκ Κελικίας τοῦ Εὐμένη, λόγῳ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σατραπείαν, ἔργῳ δὲ τὴν ὁμοροῦν Ἀρμενίαν τεταραγμένην ὑπὸ Νεοπτο-2 λέμον διὰ χειρὸς ἔξοιτα. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ὁ Εὐ-μένης, καίτερον ὅγκῳ τινὶ καὶ φρονήματι κενὸς διεθθαρμένον, ἐπειρᾶτο ταῖς ὁμιλίαις κατέχενεν· αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐπηρμένην καὶ θρασείαν εὐρών, ὡσπερ ἀντίταγμα κατεσκεύαζεν αὐτῇ δύναμιν ἱππικῆν, τῶν μὲν ἐγχοριῶν τοῖς ἐπιπεδεῖν δυναμένοις ἀνεισφόριας διδύστ οι 3 ἀτελείας, τῶν δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς μάλιστα ἐπίστευεν ὑπηρετοὺς διανέμων ἱπποὺς, φιλοτιμότερος τε καὶ ὁμοροῦ καὶ τροφήματι παροξύνων καὶ τὰ σώματα κινήσει καὶ μελέταις διαπονών, ὡστε τοὺς μὲν ἐκπλαγάναι, τοὺς δὲ θαρρήσαι τῶν Μακεδόνων, ὀργώντας ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ περὶ αὐτῶν ἠθροισμένους

1 Arrhidaeus and the infant son of Alexander, both under the guardianship of Perdiccas. Eumenes thus ranged himself with the legitimists.
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which Perdiccas commanded in person. There Ariarathes was taken prisoner, the country was brought into subjection, and Eumenes was proclaimed satrap. He entrusted the cities of the country to his own friends, appointed commanders of garrisons, left behind him such judges and administrators as he wished, Perdiccas not at all interfering in these matters, and then marched away with Perdiccas, desiring to pay court to that general, and not wishing to be separated from the kings.¹

IV. However, Perdiccas felt confident of carrying out his projects by himself, and thought that the country they had left behind them needed an efficient and faithful guardian, and therefore sent Eumenes back from Cilicia, ostensibly to his own satrapy, but really to reduce to obedience the adjacent country of Armenia, which had been thrown into confusion by Neoptolemus.² Accordingly, although Neoptolemus was a victim of ostentation and empty pride, Eumenes tried to constrain him by personal intercourse; then, finding that the Macedonian men-at-arms were conceited and bold, he raised a force of cavalry as a counterpoise to them, by offering the natives of the country who were able to serve as horsemen immunity from contributions and tributes, and by distributing horses that he had bought among those of his followers in whom he placed most confidence; the spirits of these men, too, he incited by honours and gifts, and developed their bodies by exercise and discipline; so that a part of the Macedonians were amazed, and a part emboldened, when they saw that in a short time

¹ One of the principal officers of Alexander, to whom Armenia had been assigned as a province. Cf. chapter i. 3.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΣΙΩΝ

ίππεις ουκ ἐλάττους ἐξακισχιλίων καὶ τριακο-
σίων.

V. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κρατερὸς καὶ Ἀντίπατρος τῶν Ἐλλήνων περιγενόμενοι διέβαινον εἰς Ἀσίαν τὴν Περδίκκαν καταλύσοντες ἄρχὴν, καὶ προσηγγέλ-
λοντο μέλλοντες ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς Καππαδοκίαν, ὁ Περδίκκας αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Πτολεμαῖον στρατεύον ἀπέ-
δειξε τὸν Εὐμένη τῶν ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ καὶ Καππα-
2 δοκία δυνάμεων αὐτοκράτορα στρατηγὸν καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐπιστολὰς ἐπεμψεν. Ἀλκέτας μὲν καὶ Νεοπτόλεμον Ἐμένει προσέχειν κελεύσας, Εὐμένη ἔδει χρῆσθαι τοῖς πράγμασιν ὅπως αὐτὸς ἐγφανείν. Ἀλκέτας μὲν ὁ μὲν ἀντικριν ἀπείπατο τὴν στρατείαν, ὡς τῶν ὑπ᾽ αὐτὸν Μακεδόνων Ἀντιπάτρῳ μὲν αἴδουμένων μάχεσθαι, Κρατερὸν δὲ καὶ δέχεσθαι δι᾽ εὐνοιαν ἐτοίμων ὅτων. Νεο-
πτόλεμος δὲ βουλεύων μὲν ἐπ᾽ Ἐμένει προδοσίαν οὐκ ἔλαβε, καλοῦμένος δὲ οὐχ ὑπήκουεν, ἀλλὰ
3 παρέταττε τὴν δύναμιν. ἔνθα πρῶτον ὁ Εὐμένης ἀπέλαυσε τῆς ἐαυτοῦ προνοίας καὶ παρασκευὴς ἡπτώμενος γὰρ ἦν καὶ τὸ πεζὸν ἐπέφαν τοῖς ἱππεύσι τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον καὶ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἔλαβεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ητὶ φαλαγγὶ διεσπαρμένη περὶ τὴν δίωξιν ἄθροις ἐπελάσας ἤνάγκασε τὰ ὀπλα θέσεθα καὶ δόντας καὶ λαβόντας ὅρκους αὐτῷ συστρατεύειν.

4 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Νεοπτόλεμος ὀλίγους τινὰς συνα-
γαγὼν ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς ἐφυγε πρὸς Κρατερὸν καὶ

1 One of the ablest of Alexander’s officers, who, in the division of the empire that followed Alexander’s death, was made ruler, in common with Antipater, of Macedonia and Greece.
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he had assembled about him no fewer than sixty-three hundred horsemen.

V. And when Craterus\(^1\) and Antipater, after overpowering the Greeks,\(^2\) were crossing into Asia\(^3\) to overthrow the power of Perdiccas, and were reported to be planning an invasion of Cappadocia, Perdiccas, who was himself heading an expedition against Ptolemy,\(^4\) appointed Eumenes commander of the forces in Armenia and Cappadocia with plenary powers. He also sent letters on the subject, in which he commanded Alcetas\(^5\) and Neoptolemus to look to Eumenes for orders, and Eumenes to manage matters as he thought best. Alcetas, then, flatly refused to serve in the campaign, on the ground that the Macedonians under him were ashamed to fight Antipater, and were so well disposed to Craterus that they were ready to receive him with open arms. Neoptolemus, however, plotting treachery against Eumenes, was detected, and when he was summoned would not obey, but drew up his forces in battle array. Here first did Eumenes reap the fruit of his forethought and preparation; for when his infantry had already been defeated, he routed Neoptolemus with his cavalry, and captured his baggage, and when the men-at-arms of Neoptolemus were scattered in pursuit of their enemies, charged upon them with his entire body of horse and compelled them to lay down their arms and make oath with him to serve under him.

Neoptolemus, then, collected a few of his men from the rout and fled to Craterus and Antipater.

\(^1\) In the battle of Crannon, Aug. 7, 322, which put an end to the revolt of the Greeks and the war called the "Lamian" war.
\(^2\) In 321 B.C.
\(^3\) Now governor of Egypt.
\(^4\) A brother of Perdiccas.

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'Αντίπατρον. παρ' ἐκείνων δὲ ἀπέσταλτο πρεσβεία πρὸς Εὐμένη παρακαλοῦσα μεταθέσθαι πρὸς αὐτούς, καρπούμενον μὲν ἄς εἰχε σατραπείας, προσλαβόντα δὲ στρατιὰν καὶ χώραν παρ' αὐτῶν, 'Αντιπάτρῳ μὲν ἄντε ἑχθροῦ φίλον γενόμενου, Κρατερῷ δὲ μὴ γενόμενον ἐκ φίλου πολέμου. ταῦτα ὁ Εὐμένης ἀκούσας ᾠντίπατρῷ μὲν οὐκ ἀν ἑφη παλαιὸς διὸ ἑχθρός νῦν γενέσθαι φίλος, ὅτε αὐτὸν ὅρα τοῖς φίλοις ὡς ἑχθροῖς χρώμενον, Κρατερὸν δὲ Περδίκκα διαλάττειν ξείμος εἶναι καὶ συνάγειν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱσοὺς καὶ δικαίους· ἄρχοντος δὲ πλεονεξίας τῷ ἀδικουμένῳ βοηθήσεων μέχρι ἔμπνευς, καὶ μᾶλλον τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸν βίον ἡ τὴν πίστιν προσέστησαι.

VI. Οἱ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον πυθόμενοι ταῦτα κατὰ σχολὴν ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ τῶν ὅλων, ὁ Νεοπτόλεμος δὲ μετὰ τὴν φυγὴν ἀφικόμενος πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν τε μάχην ἀπήγγελλε καὶ παρεκάλει βοήθειαν, μάλιστα μὲν ἀμφοτέρους, πάντως δὲ Κρατερὸν ποθεῖσθαι γὰρ ὑπερφυῶς ἐκείνον ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων, καὶ μόνον ἤδωσι τὴν καυσίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἀκούσωσι, μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων 2 ἤξειν φερομένους. καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὅντος ὅνομα τοῦ Κρατεροῦ μέγα, καὶ μετὰ τὴν Ἀλέξανδρου τελευταῖαν τούτον ἐπόθησαν οἱ πολλοί, μυθομούντες τι καὶ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀνεδέξατο πολλάκις ἀπεχθείας πολλάς, ὑποφερομένου πρὸς τὸν Περσικὸν ζηλῶν ἀντιλαμβανόμενος, καὶ τοῖς πατρίοις ἀμύων διὰ τρυφῆ καὶ ὅγκον ἦδη περιν-βριθομένοις.

3 Τὸτε δ' οὖν ὁ Κρατερὸς τὸν μὲν Ἀντίπατρον
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But they had already sent an embassy to Eumenes inviting him to come over to their side; he would enjoy possession of his present satrapies, would receive additional troops and territory from them, would become a friend to Antipater instead of an enemy, and would not become an enemy to Craterus instead of a friend. On hearing this proposition Eumenes replied that he had been Antipater's enemy from of old and could not now become his friend, when he saw him treating his friends as enemies, but that he was ready to reconcile Craterus with Perdiccas and bring the two together on just and equal terms; if, however, either undertook to overreach the other he would give aid to the injured party as long as he had breath, and would rather lose his life than his honour.

VI. Craterus and Antipater, then, after getting this answer, were taking deliberate counsel about the whole situation, when Neoptolemus came to them after his flight, told them about the battle he had lost, and urged them to come to his aid, both of them if possible, but at any rate Craterus; for the Macedonians longed for him exceedingly, and if they should only see his cap and hear his voice, they would come to him with a rush, arms and all. And indeed the name of Craterus was really great among them, and after the death of Alexander most of them had longed for him as their commander. They remembered that he had many times incurred the strong displeasure of Alexander himself in their behalf, by opposing his gradually increasing desire to adopt Persian customs, and by defending the manners of their country, which, thanks to the spread of luxury and pomp, were already being treated with contempt.

At the time of which I speak, then, Craterus sent
eis Κηλικίαν ἀπέστειλεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀναλαβὼν πολὺ μέρος ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐμένην μετὰ τοῦ Νεοπτόλεμον προῆγεν, οἶμένοις οὐ προσδεχομένως καὶ μετὰ πρόσφατον νίκην ἐν ἀταξίᾳ καὶ περὶ πότος ἔχοντι τὴν δύναμιν ἐπιπεσεῖσθαι. τὸ μὲν οὖν προαισθέσθαι τῇ ἐφοδοῦν αὐτὸν τὸν Εὐμένην καὶ προπαρασκευάσθαι νηφούσης ἃν τις ἤγεμονίας, οὐ μὴν ἄκρας θείῃ δεινότητος· τὸ δὲ μὴ μόνον τοὺς πολεμίους ἀ μὴ καλῶς εἰχὲν αἰσθᾶσθαι διαφυγένω, ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατευόμενος ἀγνοούντας ὃ μαχοῦσιν προευθυνόσι τῷ Κρατερῷ καὶ ἀποκρύψαι τὸν ἀντιστράτηγον, ἰδίων δοκεῖ τούτῳ τοῦ ἰδίου πλούτου εὐρυχθείν. διεδώκε μὲν οὖν λόγον ὡς Νεοπτόλεμος ἀθίστως ἐπίλοι καὶ Πύρης, ἔχοντες ἑπτεῖς καὶ Καππαδόκων καὶ Παφλαγώνων. νυκτὸς δὲ ἀναζεύχατο βουλόμενος, εἰτα καταδρόθων ὅψιν εἶδεν ἄλλοκτον. ἐδόκει γὰρ ὅραν Ἀλεξάνδρου δύο παρασκευαζόμενους ἀλλήλους μάχεσθαι, μᾶς ἔκατερον ἤγομενον φάλαγγος· εἰτα τῷ μὲν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, τῷ δὲ τὴν Δήμητραν βοηθοῦσαν ἔλθεῖν, γευμένου δὲ ἄγωνος ἰαχυροῦ κρατηθῆναι τὸν μετὰ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, τῷ δὲ νικῶσι σταχύων δραπετεύσῃ τῇ Δήμητραν συμπλέκειν στέφανον.

6 Αὐτόθεν μὲν οὖν τὴν ὅψιν εἴκαζεν εἶναι πρὸς αὐτοῦ, μαχομένου περὶ γῆς ἀρίστης καὶ τότε πολὺ καὶ καλῶς ἔχοισθας ἐν κάλυκι στάχυν ἀπασα γάρ κατέσπαστο καὶ παρείχεν εἰρήνη

1 Antipater, Craterus and Ptolemy had declared war against Perdiccas. The destruction of Perdiccas’ ally, Eumenes, was a side issue. Perdiccas, taking with him Arrhidæus and Roxana and her infant son, had already invaded
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Antipater into Cilicia,\(^1\) while he himself with a large part of the forces advanced with Neoptolemus against Eumenes. He thought that he should fall upon him when he was off his guard, and when, after their recent victory, his soldiers were in revelry and disorder. Now, that Eumenes should learn beforehand of his approach and get himself ready for it in advance, one might consider a mark of sober generalship, though not of superlative ability; but that he should keep his enemies from getting any knowledge that would work him harm, and, besides this, that he should hurl his soldiers upon Craterus before they knew with whom they were fighting, and conceal from them the name of the opposing general, seems to me to have been an exploit peculiar to this commander. He gave out word, then, that Neoptolemus was once more coming against him, with Pigres, and that they had a force of Paphlagonian and Cappadocian cavalry. One night he was planning to decamp and then fell asleep and had a strange vision. He dreamed, namely, that he saw two Alexanders ready to give each other battle, each at the head of a phalanx; then Athena came to help the one, and Demeter the other, and after a fierce struggle the one who had Athena for a helper was beaten, and Demeter, culling ears of grain, wove them into a wreath for the victor.

At once, then, he conjectured that the vision was in his favour, since he was fighting for a country that was most fertile and had at that time an abundance of fine young grain in the ear; for the land had everywhere been sown and bespoke a time of peace, Egypt in an attempt to destroy Ptolemy. Antipater was hastening to the aid of Ptolemy.
πρέπουσαν ὄψιν, ἀμφιλαφῶς τῶν πεδίων κομώντων μᾶλλον δὲ ἐπερρώσθη πυθόμενος σύνθημα τοῖς πολεμίωις Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον εἶναι. Δὴμητραν δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔδιδον σύνθημα καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀναδείσθαι τε πάντας ἐκέλευε καὶ καταστέφειν τὰ ὀπλά τῶν σταχύνων λαμβάνοντας. 7 ὀρμήσας δὲ πολλάκις ἐξαγορεύσας καὶ φράσαι τοῖς περὶ αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνι καὶ στρατηγοῖς πρὸς ὃν ἐμελλεν ὁ ἀγών ἑσσεθαι, καὶ μὴ μόνος ἐν αὐτῷ θέμενος ἀποκρύψας καὶ κατασχεῖν ἀπόρρητον οὕτως ἀναγκαῖον, ὁμος ἐνέμεινε τοῖς λογισμοῖς καὶ διεπίστευσε τῇ γνώμῃ τῶν κινδύνων.

VII. Ἀντέταξε δὲ Κρατερῷ Μακεδόνων μὲν οὐδένα, διὸ δὲ ἱππαρχίας ἔμεινας, διὸν Φαρνάβαζος ὁ Ἀρταβάζου καὶ Φοῖνιξ ὁ Τενέδιος ἔγινοντο, διακελευσάμενος ὡφθέντων τῶν πολεμίων ἐλαύνειν κατὰ τάχος καὶ συμπλέκεσθαι, μὴ διδόντας ἀναστροφὴν μηδὲ φωνὴν, μηδὲ κῆρυκα πεμπόμενον προσιεμένους. ἔδειξε γὰρ ἰσχυρὸς τοὺς Μακεδόνας, μὴ γυνωρίζαντες τὸν Κρατερὸν οἶχοντωσ 2 μεταβαλόμενοι πρὸς ἐκεῖνοι. αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐρρωμενεστάτους ἱππεῖς τριακοσίους εἰς ἄγνημα συντάξας καὶ παρελάσας ἐπὶ τὸ δεξίον ἐμελλε τοῖς περὶ Νεοπτόλεμον ἐπιχειρεῖν. ὡς δὲ τὸν ἐν μέσῳ λόφον ὑπερβαλόντως ὡφθησαν ὡξείαν καὶ μεθ’ ὀρμής σφοδροτέρας ποιούμενοι τὴν ἔφοδον, ἐκπλαγεῖς ὁ Κρατερὸς καὶ πολλὰ λοιπορήσας τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον ὡς ἐξηπατημένος ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς τῶν Μακεδόνων μεταβολῆς, ἐγκεκελευσάμενος 587 ἀνδραγαθεῖν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἡγεμόνι ἄντεξη-λασε.

3 Γενομένης δὲ τῆς πρώτης συρράξεως βαρείας 96
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now that its plains were covered with a luxuriant growth; and he was all the more strengthened in his belief when he learned that the enemy's watchword was "Athena and Alexander." Accordingly, he too gave out a watchword, namely, "Demeter and Alexander," and ordered all his men to crown themselves and wreathe their arms with ears of grain. But though he often felt an impulse to speak out and tell his principal officers who it was against whom their struggle was to be, and not to keep hidden away in his own breast alone a secret so important, nevertheless he abode by his first resolution and made his judgment surety for the peril.

VII. However, he arrayed against Craterus not a single Macedonian, but two troops of foreign horse commanded by Pharnabazus the son of Artabazus and Phoenix of Tenedos, who had strict orders to charge at full speed when the enemy came into view and engage them at close quarters, without giving them a chance to withdraw or say anything, and without receiving any herald they might send. For he had strong fears that his Macedonians, if they recognized Craterus, would go over to him. He himself, with a division of his best horsemen, three hundred in number, rode along to the right wing, where he purposed to attack Neoptolemus. When the forces of Eumenes had crossed the intervening hill and were seen coming on to the attack with a swift and impetuous dash, Craterus was dumbfounded and heaped much abuse upon Neoptolemus for having deceived him about the Macedonians changing sides; but he exhorted his officers to act like brave men, and charged upon the enemy.

The first collision was severe, the spears were
καὶ τῶν δοράτων ταχὺ συντριβέντων, τοῦ δὲ ἄγωνος ἐν τοῖς ξίφεσιν ὄντος, οὓς κατασχύνας ὁ Κρατερὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς μὲν καταβαλῶν, πολλάκις δὲ τρεφάμενος τοὺς ἀντιτεταγμένους, τέλος δὲ πληγεῖς ὑπὸ Ὀρακὸς ἕκ πλαγίων προσελάσαντος ἀπερρύη τοῦ ἱπποῦ.

4 πεσόντα δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι παρῆλασαν ἄγωνοντες, Γοργίας δὲ τῶν Εὐμένους στρατηγῶν έγνω τε καὶ καταβὰς περιέστησε φουραν τῷ σώματι κακῶς ἡδὶ διακειμένου καὶ δυσθανατοῦντος. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Νεοπτόλεμος Εὐμένεως συνήρχετο. μισοῦντες γὰρ ἄλληλους πάλαι καὶ δὲ ὀργῆσιν ἔχοντες ἐν μὲν δυσὶν ἀναστροφαῖς οὐ κατεῖδον, ἐν δὲ τῇ τρίτῃ γνωρίσαντες εὐθὺς ἦλανον,

5 σπασάμενοι τὰ ἐγχειρίδια καὶ βοῶντες. τῶν θ' ἱππῶν εὖ ἐναντίας βλα συμπεσόντων ὄσπερ τριήρων, τὰς ἡνίας ἀφέντες ἄλληλους ἐπεδρά- ξαντο ταῖς χερσὶ, τὰ τε κράνη περισπώντες καὶ περιρρηγώντες ἐκ τῶν ἑπωμίδων τοὺς θώρακας. πρὸς δὲ τὸν σπαραγμὸν ὑπεκδραμόντων ἁμα τῶν ἱππῶν, ἀπορρεύντες εἰς γῆν καὶ περιπεσόντες

6 ἄλληλοις ἐν λαβαίς ἦσαν καὶ διεπάλαιον. εἶτα ο μὲν Εὐμένης τοῦ Νεοπτόλεμοι προεξανισταμένον τὴν οὐγναὶν ὑπέκοψεν αὐτὸς εἰς ὀρθὸν φθάσας καταστήματι, ὁ δὲ Νεοπτόλεμος εἰς θάτερον ἐρεισάμενος γόνυ, θάτερον δὲ πεπηρωμένος, ἡμύνετο μὲν εὐρώστως κάτωθεν, οὐ θανατίσμους δὲ πληγὰς ὑποφέρων, πληγεῖς δὲ παρὰ τὸν τράχηλον ἔπεσε

7 καὶ παρεῖθη. τοῦ δὲ Εὐμένους δὲ ὀργῆν καὶ μίσος παλαιόν τά τε ὅπλα περιποίητος αὐτοῦ

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quickly shattered, and the fighting was done with the swords. Here Craterus did not disgrace Alexander, but slew many foes, and frequently routed the opposing arrays. At last, however, he was wounded by a Thracian who attacked him from the side, and fell from his horse. As he lay prostrate there all his enemies rode past him, not knowing who he was, except Gorgias, one of the officers of Eumenes; he recognized him, dismounted from his horse, and stood guard over his body, for he was now in an evil plight and struggling with death. In the meantime Neoptolemus also was engaged with Eumenes. They had long hated one another with a deadly hatred, but in two onsets neither had caught sight of the other; in the third, however, they recognized each other, and at once drew their swords and with loud cries rode to the attack. Their horses dashed together with the violence of colliding triremes, and dropping the reins they clutched one another with their hands, each trying to tear off the other's helmet and strip the breastplate from his shoulders. While they were struggling, their horses ran from under them and they fell to the ground, where they closed with one another and wrestled for the mastery. Then Eumenes, as Neoptolemus sought to rise first, gave him an undercut in the ham, and himself got to his feet before his adversary did; but Neoptolemus, supporting himself on one knee, and wounded in the other, defended himself vigorously from underneath. He could not, however, inflict fatal wounds, but was himself wounded in the neck, fell to the ground, and lay there prostrate. His sword, however, he still retained, and while Eumenes, transported with rage and ancient hatred, was stripping off his armour and
καὶ κακῶς λέγοντος, ἔτι τὸ ἕῖφος ἔχων ἔλαθεν ὑπὸ τὸν θώρακα τρώσας, ἢ παρέψαυσε τοῦ βουβώνος ἀποβάς. ἢ δὲ πληγῇ μᾶλλον ἐφόβησεν ἢ ἔβλαψε τὸν Εὐμένην, δι’ ἀσθένειαν ἀμυδρὰ γενομένη.

Σκυλεύσας δὲ τὸν νεκρὸν εἶχε μὲν χαλεπῶς ὑπὸ τραυμάτων μηροὺς καὶ βραχίονας διακεκομμένους, ὃμως δὲ ἀναβλήθεις ἐπὶ τὸν ἱπποῦν ἐδίωκε πρὸς θάτερον κέρας, ὡς ἦτο συνεστώτων τῶν 8 πολεμίων. πυθόμενος δὲ τὴν Κρατεροῦ τελευτήν καὶ προσελάσας, ὡς εἶδεν ἐμπνέοντα καὶ συνίεντα, καταβᾶς ἀπεδάκρυσε καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν ἐνέβαλε, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐλοιόδρομε τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον, πολλὰ δὲ ἐκείνου μὲν ἔκτισατο τῆς τύχης, αὐτὸν δὲ τῆς ἀνάγκης, δι’ ἦν ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ καὶ συνήθει ταῦτα πεισόμενος ἢ δράσων συνηνέχθη.

VIII. Ταύτην τὴν μάχην Εὐμένης ἥμερας δέκα σχεδὸν τι μετὰ τὴν προτέραν ἐνίκησε· καὶ δόξῃ μὲν ἡρθη μέγας ἀπ’ αὐτῆς, ὡς τὰ μὲν σοφία, τὰ δὲ ἀνδρεία κατειργασμένως, φθόνον δὲ πολύν ἐσχε καὶ μίσος ὀμαλῶς παρά τοὺς συμμάχους καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ὡς ἐπηλύς ἄνηρ καὶ ξένος ὄπλους καὶ χερσὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων τὸν πρῶτον αὐτῶν καὶ 2 δοκιμώτατον ἄνηρηκώς. ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν ἐφθῇ Περδίκκας πυθόμενος τὴν Κρατεροῦ τελευτήν, οὐκ ἀν ἄλλος ἐπρώτευσε Μακεδόνων· νυνὶ δὲ ἀνηρημένου Περδίκκου κατὰ στάσιν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δύσλυ ἥμεραις πρότερον ἦκεν οὔτος ὁ περὶ τῆς μάχης.
reviling him, Neoptolemus surprised him with a wound under the breastplate, where it reached the groin. But the blow gave Eumenes more fright than harm, since lack of strength made it feeble.

After stripping the dead body, weak as he was from wounds received in legs and arms, Eumenes nevertheless had himself put upon his horse and hastened to the other wing, supposing that the enemy were still resisting. But when he learned of the fate of Craterus and had ridden up to where he lay, and saw that he was still alive and conscious, he dismounted, wept bitterly, clasped his hand, and had many words of abuse for Neoptolemus, and many words of pity for Craterus in his evil fortune, and for himself in the necessity which had brought him into a conflict with a friend and comrade, where he must do or suffer this harm.¹

VIII. This battle was won by Eumenes about ten days after the former.² It lifted his reputation high, and he was thought to have accomplished his task alike with wisdom and bravery; but it got him much envy and hatred as well among his allies as among his enemies. They felt that he, an alien and a stranger, had used the arms and might of the Macedonians for slaying the foremost and most approved of them. Now, if Perdiccas could have learned in time of the death of Craterus, no one else would have had chief place among Macedonians; but as it was, he was slain in a mutiny of his soldiers in Egypt³ two days before this report of the battle.

¹ According to Nepos (Eumenes, iv. 4), Eumenes gave Craterus worthy funeral rites, and sent his remains to his wife and children in Macedonia.
² Cf. chapter v. 3. ³ See the note on chapter vi. 3.
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λόγος εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ πρὸς ὀργηὴν εὐθὺς ὁ Μακεδόνας βάνατον τοῦ Εὐμένους κατέγρωσαν. ἀπεδείχθη δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀντίγονος μετὰ Ἀντίπατροῦ στρατηγὸς.

3 Ἐπεὶ δὲ Εὐμένης τοῖς βασιλικοῖς ἱπποφορβίοις περὶ τὴν Ἰδὴν νεομένους ἑπιτυχῶς καὶ λαβὼν ἱπποὺς ἄσων ἐχρησίζε τοῖς ἐπιμεληταῖς τὴν γραφὴν ἐπετίθη, λέγεται γελᾶσαι τὸν Ἀντίπατρον καὶ εἰπὼν ὦτι βαυμάζει τὸν Εὐμένη τῆς προνοίας, ἑπτίζοντα λόγον αὐτοῖς ἀποδώσειν τῶν βασιλικῶν ἡ λήψεσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν. περὶ δὲ τὰς Σάρδεις ἐβούλετο μὲν ἱπποκράτων ὁ Εὐμένης τοῖς Λυδοῖς ἐναγονίσασθαι πεδίοις, ἀμα καὶ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ τὴν δύναμιν ἐπιδείξει πιστικούς· αὐτῆς δὲ ἐκεῖνης δεξθεί̄σης (ἐφοβέρετο γὰρ αἰτίαν τινὰ λαβεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον) ἐξήλασεν εἰς τὴν ἀνω Φρυγίαν καὶ διεχέομαι οὖν ἐν Κελαιναῖς· ὅπου τῶν μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἀλκέταν καὶ Πολέμωνα καὶ Δόκιμον ὑπὲρ ἡγεμονίας διαφιλοτιμούμενον πρὸς αὐτόν, "Τοῦτο ἦν," ἐφη, "τὸ λεγόμενον, ὁ Ὀλέθρου δ᾽ οὐθεὶς λόγος." τοῖς δὲ στρατιώταις ὑποσχόμενος ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις τὸν μισθὸν ἀποδώσειν ἐπιτράπηκεν αὐτοῖς τὰς κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐπαύλεις καὶ τετραπυργίας σωμάτων καὶ βοσκήματων γεμούσας. ὃ δὲ πριάμενος ἡγεμῶν τάγματος ἡ ἑυαγγεία ὀργανα καὶ μηχανὰς τοῦ Εὐμένους παρέχοντος ἐξεπολύορκει· καὶ πρὸς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον μισθὸν οἱ στρατιώται διενέμοντο τῶν

6 ἀληθομενῶν ἐκαστοῦ, ἐκ δὴ τοῦτον πάλιν ὁ Εὐμένης ἡγαπάτο· καὶ ποτὲ γραμμάτων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ φανέρων ἀ διερρήσαν οἱ τῶν πολε-
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came to his camp, and his Macedonians, in a rage, at once condemned Eumenes to death. Moreover, Antigonus was appointed to conduct the war against him, in conjunction with Antipater.

When Eumenes fell in with the royal herds of horse that were pasturing about Mount Ida, he took as many horses as he wanted and sent a written statement of the number to the overseers. At this, we are told, Antipater laughed and said that he admired Eumenes for his forethought, since he evidently expected to give an account of the royal properties to them, or to receive one from them. Because he was superior in cavalry, Eumenes wished to give battle in the plains of Lydia about Sardis, and at the same time he was ambitious to make a display of his forces before Cleopatra\(^1\); but at the request of that princess, who was afraid to give Antipater any cause for complaint, he marched away into upper Phrygia and wintered at Celaenae. Here Alcetas, Polemon, and Docimus strove emulously with him for the chief command, whereupon he said: "This bears out the saying, 'Of perdition no account is made.'" Moreover, having promised to give his soldiers their pay within three days, he sold them the homesteads and castles about the country, which were full of slaves and flocks. Then every captain in the phalanx or commander of mercenaries who had bought a place was supplied by Eumenes with implements and engines of war and took it by siege; and thus every soldier received the pay that was due him, in a distribution of the captured properties. In consequence of this, Eumenes was again in high favour; and once when letters were found in his camp which the leaders of the enemy

\(^1\) See the note on chapter iii. 5.
μῶν ἡγεμόνες, ἐκατὸν τάλαντα καὶ τιμᾶς διδόντες τῷ κτείναντι τὸν Εὐμένην, σφόδρα παρωξύνθησαν οἱ Μακεδόνες, καὶ δόγμα ποιοῦνται χιλίους τῶν ἡγεμονικῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀεὶ δορυφοροῦντας εἶναι καὶ φυλάττειν ἐν περιόδῳ καὶ παρανυκτερεύειν.

7 οἱ δὲ ἐπείθοντο, καὶ τιμᾶς ἡγάπων παρ' αὐτοῦ λαμβάνοντες ὡς οἱ φίλοι παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων. ἐξῆν γὰρ Εὐμένει καὶ καυσίας ἀλουργεῖς καὶ χλαμύδας διανέμειν, ἢτις ἦν δωρεὰ βασιλικωτάτη παρὰ Μακεδόνι.

IX. Τὸ μὲν οὖν εὐτυχεῖν καὶ τοὺς φύσει μικροὺς συνεπικουφίζει τοῖς φρονήμασιν, ὡστε φαῖνεσθαι τι μέγεθος περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅγκον ἐκ πραγμάτων ὑπερεχόντων ἀποβλεπομένους; ὅ δὲ ἀληθῶς μεγαλόφρων καὶ βέβαιος ἐν τοῖς σφάλμασιν μᾶλλον καὶ ταῖς δυσημερίαις ἀναφέρων 2 γίνεται κατάδηλος, ὡσπερ Εὐμένης. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐν Ὁρκυνίοις τῆς Καππαδοκίας ὕπτηθεις ὑπὸ Ἀρτιγόνου διὰ προδοσίας καὶ διωκόμενος οὐ παρῆκε τὸν προδότην ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς διατεσεῖν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀλλὰ συλλαβῶν εκρέμασε. φεύγων δὲ τὴν ἐναντίαν ὅδον τοῖς διώκοις μετέβαλε λαθῶν, καὶ παραλλάξας, ὡς ἦλθεν ὑπὶ τὸν τόπον οὗ τὴν μάχην συνέβη γενέσθαι, κατεστράτοπέδευσε, καὶ συναγάγω τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ τῶν ἐν κύκλῳ κομίῳ τὰ θυρώματα κατασχίσας ἔκασεν ἴδια πὲν ἡγεμόνας, ἴδια δὲ τοὺς πολλούς, καὶ πολυάνδρια χῶσας ἀπῆλθεν, ὡστε καὶ τὸν

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1 Early in 320 B.C.  
2 Antigonus had corrupted Apollonides, commander of a division of cavalry under Eumenes, and he went over to the
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had caused to be scattered there, wherein they offered a hundred talents and honours to any one who should kill Eumenes, his Macedonians were highly incensed and made a decree that a thousand of the leading soldiers should serve him continually as a body-guard, watching over him when he went abroad and spending the night at his door. These carried out the decree, and were delighted to receive from Eumenes such honours as kings bestow upon their friends. For he was empowered to distribute purple caps and military cloaks, and this was a special gift of royalty among Macedonians.

IX. Now, prosperity lifts even men of inferior natures to higher thoughts, so that they appear to be invested with a certain greatness and majesty as they look down from their lofty state; but the truly magnanimous and constant soul reveals itself rather in its behaviour under disasters and misfortunes. And so it was with Eumenes. For, to begin with, he was defeated by Antigonus¹ at Orcynii in Cappadocia through treachery,² and yet, though in flight, he did not suffer the traitor to make his escape out of the rout to the enemy, but seized and hanged him. Then, taking the opposite route in his flight to that of his pursuers, he changed his course before they knew it, and, passing along by them, came to the place where the battle had been fought. Here he encamped, collected the bodies of the dead, and burned them on pyres made from the doors of the neighbouring villages, which he had split into billets. He burned the bodies of the officers on one pyre, those of the common soldiers on another, heaped great mounds of earth over the ashes, and enemy in the midst of the battle, with his division. Cf. Diodorus, xviii. 40, 5–8.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΗΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ

Αὐτίγονον ὑστερον ἐπελθόντα θαυμάζειν τὸ θάρσος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν εὐσταθείαν.

3 Ἐπειτα ταῖς ἀποσκευαῖς τοῦ Ἀντίγονου περιπεσὼν, καὶ λαβεῖν ῥάδιως δυνάμενος πολλὰ μὲν ἐλεύθερα σώματα, πολλὴν δὲ θεραπείαν καὶ πλούτου ἐκ πολέμων τοσοῦτον καὶ λεησσὶῶν ἡθροισμένον, ἔδεισε μὴ καταπλησθεῖντες ὕφελειας καὶ λαφύρων οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ βαρεῖς γένονται πρὸς τὴν φυγήν, καὶ μαλακῶτεροι τὰς πλάνας ὑπομένειν καὶ τὸν χρόνον, ἐν δὲ μάλιστα τοῦ πολέμου τὰς ἑλπίδας εἶχεν, ὡς ἀποστρέψων τὸν Ἀντίγονον. ἔπει δὲ ἀντικρὺς χαλεπὸν ἢ ἀποτρέπειν Μακεδόνας χρημάτων ἐν ἐφικτῷ παρόντων, ἐκέλευσε θεραπεύσαντας αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἱπποὺς χειλῶν ἐμβαλόντας ὑστῶ βαδίζειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμους. αὐτὸς δὲ πέμπτει κρύφα πρὸς τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀποσκευῆς τῶν πολεμίων Μένανδρον, ὡς κηδόμενος αὐτοῦ φίλου γεγονότος καὶ συνήθους, φυλάξασθαι παραινῶν καὶ ἀναχωρῆσαι τὴν ταχύτητα ἐκ τῶν ἐπιδρόμων καὶ ταπεινῶν πρὸς τὴν ἐγγύτης ὑπώρειαν ἀφιππὸν οὕταν καὶ κυκλώσεις ὑστερειν. τοῦ δὲ Μένανδρου ταχὺ συμφρονήσαντος τὸν κίνδυνον καὶ ἀνασκευασμένον, κατασκόπους ἐπεμπεῖν ὁ Εὐμένης φανερῶς, καὶ παρήγγειλε τοῖς στρατιώταις ὅπλαξεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἱπποὺς ἐγχαλινῶν ὡς προσάξων τοὺς πολέμους. τῶν δὲ κατασκόπων ἀπαγγειλάντων ὅτι παντάπασιν ὁ Μένανδρος ἀλητὸς εἰς καταπεφυγῶς εἰς τόπους χαλεποὺς, ἀχθεῖσθαι προσποιούμενος ὁ Εὐμένης ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατιάν.

5 καὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐπαίτησε.
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departed, so that even Antigonus, when he came up later, admired his boldness and constancy.

Again, when he came upon the baggage of Antigonus, and could easily have captured many free-men, many slaves, and wealth amassed from so many wars and plunderings, he was afraid that his men, if loaded down with booty and spoils, would become too heavy for flight, and too luxurious to endure wanderings and lapse of time. In lapse of time, however, he placed his chief hopes for ending the war, feeling that he could thus cause Antigonus to turn back. But since it was quite a difficult matter to deflect his Macedonians from good things which were within their reach, he ordered them to refresh themselves and bait their horses before advancing upon the enemy. He himself, however, sent a secret message to Menander, who was in charge of the enemy's baggage, implying that he was concerned for him as an old time friend and comrade, and advising him to be on his guard and withdraw as quickly as possible from his low-lying and accessible position to the foot-hills near by, which could not be reached by cavalry or surrounded. Menander speedily comprehended his peril and decamped, and then Eumenes openly sent out scouts and ordered his soldiers to arm themselves and bridle their horses, as he was going to lead them against the enemy. But when the scouts brought word that Menander was altogether safe from capture now that he had taken refuge in a difficult region, Eumenes pretended to be vexed, and led his forces away. And it is said that when Menander bore witness of these things to Antigonus, and the Macedonians began to praise Eumenes and felt more
νούντων τὸν Εὐμένη καὶ φιλανθρωπότερον δια-
tεθέντων, ὅτι καὶ παῖδας αὐτῶν ἀνδραποδίσασθαι
καὶ γυναῖκας αἰσχύναι παρὸν ἐφείσατο καὶ παρῆ-
κεν, "Ἀλλ' ἐκείνος γε," φάναι τὸν Ἀντίγονον,
"οὔχ ὑμῶν, ὃ μακάριοι, κηδόμενος παρῆκεν, ἀλλ'
αὐτῷ φεύγοντι δεδιώς περιθείναι πέδας τοσαύ-
tας."  

X. Ἐκ τούτου πλανόμενος ὁ Εὐμένης καὶ
ὑποφεύγων ἐπείσε τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν
ἀπελθεῖν, εἶτε κηδόμενος αὐτῶν εἶτε ἐφέλκεσθαι
μὴ βουλόμενος ἐλάττονας μὲν τοῦ μάχεσθαι,
πλείονας δὲ τοῦ λανθάνειν ὄντας. καταφυγὼν
δὲ εἰς Νῶρα, χωρίον ἐν μεθορίῳ Δυκαονίας καὶ
Καππαδοκίας, μετὰ πεντακοσίων ἰππέων καὶ
διακοσίων ὀπλιτῶν, καντεῦθεν αὖθις, ὡς τῶν
φίλων ἐδείησαν ἀφεθήναι τοῦ χωρίου τὴν χαλε-
pότητα καὶ τῆς διαίτης τὴν ἀνάγκην οὐ φέροντες,
pάντας ἀσπασάμενος καὶ φιλοφρονηθεὶς ἀπέ-
2 πεμψεν. ὡς δὲ ἐπελθὼν ὁ Ἀντίγονος εἰς λόγους
αὐτῶν ἐκάλει πρὸ τῆς πολιορκίας, ἀπεκρίνατο
πολλοὺς εἶναι τοὺς Ἀντιγόνου φίλους καὶ μετὰ
Ἀντίγονον ἡγεμόνας, ὡς δὲ αὐτῶς προπολεμεῖ μη-
dένα λείπεσθαι μετ' αὐτῶν· ὁμήρους δὲ πέμπειν
ἐκέλευσεν, εἰ χρῆσαι διὰ λόγων αὐτῷ γενέσθαι.
τοῦ δὲ Ἀντιγόνου κελεύοντος ὡς κρείττουι λαλεῖν,
"Οὐδένα," εἶπεν, "ἐμαυτοῦ κρείττου νομίζω,
3 μέχρι ᾧ τοῦ ἑφος κύριος." ὡμοὶ δὲ πέμ-
ψαντος τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου τὸν ἀδελφίδιον Πτολε-
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kindly towards him, because, when it was in his power to enslave their children and outrage their wives, he had spared them and let them go, Antigonus said: “Nay, my good men, that fellow did not let them go out of regard for you, but because he was afraid to put such fetters on himself in his flight.”

X. After this, as he wandered about and sought to elude his enemies, Eumenes persuaded most of his soldiers to leave him, either out of regard for them, or because he was unwilling to trail after him a body of men too small to give battle, and too large to escape the enemy’s notice. Moreover, after he had taken refuge in Nora, a stronghold on the confines of Lycaonia and Cappadocia, with five hundred horsemen and two hundred men-at-arms, even there again, whatsoever friends asked to be dismissed because they could not endure the asperities of the place and the constraint in diet, all these he sent away, after bestowing upon them tokens of affection and kindness. And when Antigonus came up and invited him to a conference before the siege began, he replied that the friends of Antigonus and officers to succeed Antigonus in command were many, whereas those in whose behalf he was fighting had no one left to command them after him; and he bade Antigonus to send hostages if he wanted to have a conference with him. Moreover, when Antigonus demanded to be addressed by him as a superior, Eumenes replied: “I regard no man as my superior so long as I am master of my sword.” Nevertheless, after Antigonus had sent his nephew Ptolemy

1 Many deserted to Antigonus, according to Diodorus (xviii. 41, 1).
μαῖον εἰς τὸ χωρίον, ὦσπερ ἤξιωσεν ὁ Εὐμένης, κατέβη, καὶ περιβαλόντες ἄλληλοις ἡσπάσαντο φιλικῶς καὶ οἶκείως, ἀτε ὅλληλοις κεχρημένοι πολλὰ καὶ συνήθεις γεγονότες. λόγων δὲ γενομένων πολλῶν καὶ τοῦ Εὐμένους οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἁσφαλείας μεμνημένου καὶ διαλύσεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς σατραπείας ἀξιούντος αὐτῷ βεβαιοῦσθαι καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς ἀποδίδοσθαι, θαύμα τοὺς παρόντας εἶχε τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν εὐτολμίαν ἁγαμέμνονος. ἀμα δὲ πολλοὶ συνέτρεχον τῶν Μακεδόνων ἰδεῖν ὅστις ἐστὶ τὸν Εὐμένη ποθοῦντες: οὐ γὰρ ἔτερον λόγον ἦν τοσοῦτος ἐν τῷ στρατῷ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Κρατεροῦ τελευτήν. δεῖσας δὲ ὁ Ἀντέγονος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, μὴ τι πάθθη βίαιον, πρὸ τοῦ μὲν ἀπηγόρευε μὴ προσέναι βοῶν καὶ τοῖς λίθοις ἑξαλλὰ τοὺς ἐπιφερομένους, τέλος δὲ ταῖς χεριῖ τῶν Εὐμένη περιβαλὼν καὶ τὸν ὄχλον ἀπερūκώ τοῖς δορυφόροις μόλις εἰς τὸ ἁσφαλὲς ἀποκατέστησε.

ΧΙ. Τούντεύθεν ὁ μὲν περιτειχίσας τὰ Νῶρα καὶ φρουρὰν καταλιπὼν ἀνέζευξεν. Εὐμένης δὲ πολυρκούμενος ἐγκρατῶς, τοῦ χωρίου σῖτον καὶ ὕδωρ ἀφθονον καὶ ἄλας καὶ ἄλλο μηδὲν ἔχοντος ἐδώδιμον μηδὲ ἤδυσμα πρὸς τὸν σῖτον, ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ὃς κατεσκεύαζε τοῖς συνούσιοι ἱλαρῶν τὴν διάιταν, ἐν μὲρει τε παραλαμβάνων πάντας ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τράπεζαν, καὶ τὸ συσσίτιον ὁμίλει 2 χάριν ἔχουση καὶ φιλοφροσύνη ἐφηδύνων. ἡν δὲ καὶ τὸ εἴδος ἦδυς, οὐ πολεμικῷ καὶ τετριμμένῳ δι’ ὁπλῶν ἐοικώς, ἀλλὰ γλαφυρῷ καὶ νεοπρεπῇς, καὶ πᾶν τὸ σῶμα διηρθρωμένος ὡς ὑπὸ τέχνης ἀκριβῶς τοῖς μέλεσι θαυμαστὴν συμμετρίαν ἐχοῦ-
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into the fortress, as Eumenes had demanded, Eumenes went down to meet him, and they embraced one another with greetings of friendship and affection, since they had formerly been close associates and intimate companions. A long conference was held, in which Eumenes made no mention of his own safety or of peace, but actually demanded that he should be confirmed in the possession of his satrapies, and that what was his by gift should be restored to him. At this the bystanders were amazed, and they admired his lofty spirit and confidence. But meanwhile many of the Macedonians came running together in their eagerness to see what sort of a man Eumenes was; for no one else had been so much talked about in the army since the death of Craterus. Then Antigonus, afraid that Eumenes might suffer some violence, first loudly forbade the soldiers to approach, and pelted with stones those who were hurrying up, but finally threw his arms about Eumenes and, keeping off the throng with his bodyguards, with much ado removed him to a place of safety.

XI. After this, Antigonus built a wall round Nora, left troops to guard it, and retired; Eumenes, however, although closely besieged in a stronghold which had grain, water in abundance, and salt, but no other edible, not even a relish to go with the grain, nevertheless, with what he had, managed to render the life of his associates cheerful, inviting them all by turns to his own table, and seasoning the meal thus shared with conversation which had charm and friendliness. For he had a pleasant face, not like that of a war-worn veteran, but delicate and youthful, and all his body had, as it were, artistic proportions, with limbs of astonishing symmetry; and
3 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ πολιορκουμένους ἡ στενοχωρία μάλιστα πάντων ἐβλαττεν, ἐν οἰκή-μασὶ μικροὶς καὶ τόπῳ δυναῖς σταδίοις ἔχοντι τὴν περίμετρον ἁναστρεφόμενοι, τροφὴν δὲ ἀγυμνά-στους μὲν αὐτοὺς λαμβάνοντας, ἄργοις δὲ τοῖς Ἰπποῖς προσφέροντας, οὐ μόνον τὸν ἄλλον αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπραξίας μαρακομένοιν ἀπαλλάξαι βουλόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς φυγήν, εἰ παραπέσοι
4 καιρός, ἀμῶς γέ τως ἡσκημένοις χρήσασθαι, τοῖς μὲν ἀνθρώπων σώκων, διὸ τὴν μέγιστος ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ, δεκατεσσάρων πηχῶν τὸ μῆκος, ἀπεδείξει περίπα-τον, κατὰ μικρὸν ἐπετείνει τὴν κύνησιν κελεύων, τῶν δὲ Ἰππῶν ἐκαστὸν ὑμνῆσας μεγάλοις εἰς τὴν ὀροφὴν ἀναδεδεμένοις ὑποξώσας ἐκ τῶν περὶ τῶν αὐχένα μερών ἐμετεώριζε καὶ παρήηερε διὰ τροχιλίας, ὡστε τοῖς μὲν ὀπισθίοις σκέλεσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐρείδεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ ἐμπροσθίοις ποσὶν
5 ἀκρωνύχους ἐπιφανεῖν. οὗτοι δὲ ἀνηρτημένοι οἱ Ἰπποκόμοι παρεστῶτες ἀμα ταῖς τε κρανγαῖσ καὶ ταῖς μάστιξιν ἐπηρέθιζον· οἱ δὲ πιμπλάμενοι θυμοῦ καὶ ὅργης τοῖς μὲν ὀπισθίοις ἐνήλλοντο καὶ διεσκίρτων σκέλεσι, τοῖς δὲ μετεώροις ἐφιέ-μενοι στηρίσασθαι καὶ κροτοῦντες τὸ ἐδαφὸς κατετείνοντο πάν τὸ σώμα καὶ πολὺν ἄθεσαν ἵδρωτα καὶ σταλαγμὸν, οὕτω πρὸς τάχος οὕτε πρὸς ῥώμην γυμναζόμενοι κακῷς. τὰς δὲ κριθὰς ἐνέβαλλον αὐτοῖς ἐπιτισμένας, ἵνα κατεργάζονται θάττον καὶ πέττωσι βέλτιον.

Χ. 'Ἡδη δὲ τῆς πολυρκίας χρόνον λαμ-
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though he was not a powerful speaker, still he was insinuating and persuasive, as one may gather from his letters.

But most of all detrimental to his forces thus besieged was their narrow quarters, since their movements were confined to small houses and a place only two furlongs in circumference, so that neither men nor horses could get exercise before eating or being fed. Therefore, wishing to remove the weakness and languor with which their inactivity afflicted them, and, more than that, to have them somehow or other in training for flight, if opportunity should offer, he assigned the men a house, the largest in the place, fourteen cubits long, as a place to walk, ordering them little by little to increase their pace. And as for the horses, he had them all girt round the neck with great straps fastened to the roof, and raised them partly up into the air by means of pulleys, so that, while with their hind legs they rested firmly upon the ground, they just touched it with the tips of their fore hoofs. Then, while they were thus suspended, the grooms would stand at their sides and stir them up with shouts and strokes of the goad; and the horses, full of rage and fury, would dance and leap about on their hind legs, while with their swinging fore feet they would strike the ground and try to get a footing there, thus exerting their whole bodies and covering themselves with sweat and foam,—no bad exercise either for speed or strength. Then their barley would be thrown to them boiled, that they might the sooner dispatch and the better digest it.

XII. But presently, as the siege dragged along,

1 This device of Eumenes is described also in Diodorus, xviii. 42, 3 f., and in Nepos, Eumenes, v. 4 f.
3 In 320 B.C. After the death of Perdiccas the supreme regency devolved upon Antipater, and he retired into Macedonia with the two kings. On his death he left the regency
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Antigonus learned that Antipater had died in Macedonia, and that matters were in confusion owing to the dissension between Cassander and Polysperchon. He therefore cherished no longer an inferior hope, but embraced the whole empire in his scheme, and desired to have Eumenes as friend and helper in his undertakings. Accordingly, he sent Hieronymus to make a treaty with Eumenes, and proposed an oath for him to take. This oath Eumenes corrected and then submitted it to the Macedonians who were besieging him, requesting them to decide which was the juster form. Antigonus, namely, for form's sake, had mentioned the kings at the beginning of the oath, and then had made the rest of it refer to himself; but Eumenes wrote at the head of the oath the names of Olympias and the kings, and proposed to swear fealty, not to Antigonus alone, but also to Olympias and the kings, and to have the same enemies and friends as they. This was thought to be more just, and the Macedonians accordingly administered this oath to Eumenes, raised the siege, and sent to Antigonus, that he too, on his part, might take the oath to Eumenes.

Meanwhile, however, Eumenes gave back all the Cappadocian hostages whom he was holding in Nora, and received from those who came for them horses, beasts of burden, and tents. He also collected all the soldiers who had become scattered by his flight and were now wandering about the country, so that he had a force of almost a thousand horsemen. With
to Polysperchon, a distinguished officer of Alexander, to the exclusion of his own son Cassander.

* See the notes on chapter iii. 1 and 7. Olympias was the queen-mother, the widow of Philip, mother of Alexander.
ἐφυγεν, ὅρθως φοβηθεὶς τὸν Ἀντίγονον. οὗ γὰρ μόνον ἐκεῖνον ἐκέλευσε πολιορκεῖν αὕτης περιτεχνίσαντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας πικρῶς ἀντεγραφεὶ δεξαμένους τοῦ ὅρκου τὴν διόρθωσιν.

XIII. Φεύγουντι δὲ Εύμενει γράμματα κομίζεται παρὰ τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τὴν Ἀντιγόνου δεδοκότων αὐξησιν, Ὄλυμπιάδος μὲν παρακλοῦσης ἐλθόντα τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου παιδίων παραλαβεῖν καὶ τρέφειν ὡς ἐπιβουλεύομενον, Πολυσπέρχοντος δὲ καὶ Φιλίππου τοῦ βασιλέως κελευνοῦν Ἀντιγόνῳ πολεμεῖν τῆς ἐν Καππαδοκία δυναμέως ἀρχοῦντα, καὶ τῶν ἐν Κοινδοὺς χρημάτων πεντακόσια μὲν τάλαντα λαβεῖν εἰς τὴν τῶν ἱδίων ἐπανόρθωσιν, εἰς δὲ τῶν πόλεων ὑπόσως βουλείται χρήσθαι. περὶ δὲ τούτων καὶ Ἀντιγένει καὶ Τευτάμῳ τοὺς τῶν ἀργυραστίδων ἠγούμενος ἐγεγράφεσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ λαβόντες 591 ἐκεῖνοι τὰ γράμματα τῷ μὲν λόγῳ φιλανθρώπως ἐδέξαντο τὸν Εὐμένην, φθόνον δὲ καὶ φιλονεικίας ἐφαίνοντο μεστοί, δευτερεύειν ἀπαξιώνοντες ἐκείνῳ, τοῦ μὲν φθόνον ὁ Ἑυμένης ἐθεράπευε τῷ τὰ 3 χρήματα μὴ λαβεῖν ὡς οὐδὲν δεόμενος, ταῖς δὲ φιλονεικίαις καὶ φιλαρχίαις αὐτῶν μὴτε ἡγείσθαι δυναμείων μὴτε ἐπεσθαί βουλομένων ἐπήγε δεισιδαιμονίαν.

"Εφη γὰρ Ἀλεξάνδρον αὐτῷ κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνοὺς φανήναι, καὶ δειξαὶ τινα σκηνὴν κατεσκευασμένην βασιλικός καὶ θρόνον ἐν αὐτῇ κείμενον ἐπὶ εἰπεῖν ὡς ἑνταῦθα συνεδρεύουσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ χρηματίζουσιν αὐτὸς παρέσται καὶ συνεφάσται

1 Philip Arrhidaeus (see the note on chapter iii. 1).
these he set out in flight, being rightly in fear of Antigonus. For Antigonus not only ordered his Macedonians to wall him in again and besiege him, but also wrote back bitter reproaches to them for accepting the correction of the oath.

XIII. While Eumenes was in flight, letters were brought to him from those in Macedonia who feared the growing power of Antigonus. Olympias invited him to come and take charge of Alexander's little son and rear him, feeling that plots were laid against his life; Polysperchon and Philip the king ordered him, as commander of the forces in Cappadocia, to wage war upon Antigonus, to take five hundred talents of the treasure at Quinda in reparation of his own losses, and to use as much of it as he wished for the war. They had also written concerning these matters to Antigones and Teutamus, the commanders of the Silver-shields. These men, on receiving their letters, ostensibly treated Eumenes with friendliness, but were plainly full of envy and contentiousness, disdaining to be second to him. Eumenes therefore allayed their envy by not taking the money, alleging that he had no need of it; while upon their love of contention and love of command, seeing that they were as unable to lead as they were unwilling to follow, he brought superstition to bear.

He said, namely, that Alexander had appeared to him in a dream, had shown him a tent arrayed in royal fashion with a throne standing in it, and had then said that if they held their councils and transacted their business there, he himself would be

2 Or Cyinda, better known as Anazarbus, a stronghold in Cilicia, whither Antigones and Teutamus had brought the royal treasure from Susa.
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βουλής τε πάσης καὶ πράξεως ἀρχομένους ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. ταῦτα ῥᾴδιως ἔπεισε τὸν Ἀντιγένη καὶ τὸν Τεῦταμον, οὕτε ἐκείνων ἐπὶ θύρας ἑτέρων ἐφιτεῖ σκηνήν βασιλικήν καὶ θρόνον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καταπεφημισμένον ἐκεὶ συνεπορεύοντο βουλευόμενοι περὶ τῶν μεγίστων.

'Επεὶ δὲ προϊόνθησαν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν ἀνω χώραν ὁ Πενκέστας μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων σατραπῶν ἀπήντησε φίλος ὦν καὶ συνεμίζαντο τὰς δυνάμεις, πλήθει μὲν ὅπλων καὶ λαμπρότητι παρασκευής ἐπέρρωσαν τοὺς Μακεδόνας, αὐτοῖς δὲ ἀνάγωγοι ταῖς εξουσίαις καὶ μαλακοὶ ταῖς διαίταις γεγονότες μετὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτήν, καὶ φρονήματα τυραννικὰ καὶ τεθραμμένα βαρβαρικὰ ἀλαζονεῖαι ἐπὶ ταῦτα συνενεγκάμενοι, πρὸς μὲν ἄλληλοις βαρεῖς ἦσαν καὶ δυσαρμοστοί, τοὺς δὲ Μακεδόνας κολακεύοντες ἐκκεχυμένοις καὶ καταχρησιμοῖς εἰς δείπνα καὶ θυσίας ὠλίγον χρόνον τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀσωτίας πανηγυριζόντης καταγώγων ἐποίησαν καὶ δημαγωγοῦμεν ἐπὶ αἱρέσει στρατηγῶν ὁχλοῦ, ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις.

6 αἰσθάνομεν τοῖς Εὐμενίδῃς αὐτοῖς ἄλληλων μὲν καταφρονοῦντας, αὐτοῖς δὲ φοβουμένους καὶ παραφυλάττοντας ἄνελεῖν, εἶ γένοιτο καιρός, ἐσκήψατο χρημάτων δεῖσθαι καὶ συνεδανείατο τάλαντα πολλὰ παρὰ τῶν μάλιστα μισοῦντων αὐτοῦ, ἵνα καὶ πιστεύσω καὶ ἀπέχωμαι περὶ

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1 In 317 B.C., against Antigonus, who was in Mesopotamia. He had received the satrapy of Susiana.
2 One of the most distinguished officers of Alexander,
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present and would assist them in every plan and enterprise which they undertook in his name. Eumenes easily convinced Antigones and Teutamus that this was true. They were unwilling to go to him, and he himself thought it undignified to be seen at the doors of others. So they erected a royal tent, and a throne in it which they called the throne of Alexander, and there they met for deliberation on matters of highest importance.

And now, as they advanced into the interior of the country, Peucestas, who was a friend of Eumenes, met them with the other satraps, and they joined their forces, so that the number of their men and the splendour of their equipment raised the spirits of the Macedonians. But the leaders themselves had been made unmanageable by their exercise of power, and effeminate by their mode of life, after the death of Alexander, and they brought into collision spirits that were tyrannical and fed on barbaric arrogance, so that they were harsh towards one another and hard to reconcile. Moreover, by flattering the Macedonian soldiery extravagantly and lavishing money upon them for banquets and sacrifices, in a short time they made the camp a hostelry of festal prodigality, and the army a mob to be cajoled into the election of its generals, as in a democracy. Eumenes, however, perceiving that, while they despised one another, they feared him and were on the watch for an opportunity to kill him, pretended to be in need of money, and got together many talents by borrowing from those who hated him most, in order that they might put confidence in him and refrain from killing him out of regard for the money who had been made satrap of Persia during Alexander's lifetime.

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τῶν δανείων ἀγωνιώτες· ὥστε συνέβη τὸν ἀλλότριον πλοῦτον αὐτῷ φύλακα τοῦ σώματος ἔχειν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπὶ σωτηρία διδόντων, μόνον ἐκ τοῦ λαβείν κτῆσισθαι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν.

XIV. Οὗ μὴν ἂλλ' οἱ Μακεδόνες ἀδείας μὲν οὔσης ἐφθείροντο πρὸς τοὺς διδόντας, καὶ τὰς ἐκείνων θύρας ἐθεράπευον, δορυφορομένους καὶ στρατηγικῶν· ἔπει δὲ ἀντίγονος αὐτοῖς παρεστρατοπέδευσε μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τὰ πράγματα φοινὴν ἀφίεντα τὸν ἄληθινὸν ἐκάλει στρατηγόν, οὗ μόνον οἱ στρατεύομενοι τῷ Εὐμένει προσεῖχον, ἄλλα καὶ τῶν ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ τρυφῇ μεγάλων ἐκείνων ἐκατός ἐνέδωκε καὶ παρεῖχεν ἑαυτὸν σιωπῇ τὴν δοθεῖσαν φυλάττοντα.

2 τάξιν. καὶ γὰρ τοι περὶ τὸν Πασιτίγριν ποταμὸν ἐπιχειρήσαντα διαβαίνειν τὸν Ἀντίγονον οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι παραφυλάττοντες οὐδὲ ἤσθοντο, μόνος δὲ Εὐμένης ὑπέστη, καὶ συνάψας μάχην πολλοὺς μὲν κατέβαλε καὶ νεκρῶν ἐνέπλησε τὸ ρέθρον, ἐλαβε δὲ τετρακισχίλιοις αἰχμαλώτους. μάλιστα δὲ οἱ Μακεδόνες περὶ τὴν συμβάσας ἀρρωστίαν αὐτῷ καταφανεῖς ἐγένοντο τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐστιάν λαμπρῶς καὶ πανηγυρίζειν, ἄρχειν δὲ καὶ πολεμεῖν δυνατὸν ἥγουμενοι μόνον ἐκεῖνον.

3 ο μὲν γὰρ Πενεκέστας ἐν τῇ Περσίδι λαμπρῶς αὐτοὺς ἐστιάσας καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα διαδοὺς ίερεῖον εἰς θυσίαν ἠλπίζειν εἶναι μέγιστος· ὀλγαί δὲ ἱστερον ἥμεραις τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους βαδίζοντων, ἐτύγχανεν ὁ Εὐμένης ἐκ νόσου των ἐπισφαλοῦς ἐν φορέω κομιζόμενος ἐξω τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ διὰ τὰς ἀγρυπνίας.
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they had lent him. The consequence was that the wealth of others was his body-guard, and that, whereas men generally preserve their lives by giving, he alone won safety by receiving.

XIV. The Macedonians, however, while there was no danger, continued to take gifts from their corrupters, and hung about the doors of these men, who now had body-guards and wanted to be generals. But when Antigonus encamped near them with a large force and the situation called aloud for a real general, not only did the common soldiers attach themselves to Eumenes, but also those who were great only when peace and luxury prevailed, every man of them, gave in to him and consented without a murmur to hold the post which he gave them. And, indeed, when Antigonus tried to cross the river Pasiligris, none of the other commanders who were watching his movements was even aware of it, but Eumenes, and he alone, withstood him, joined battle with him, slew many of his men and filled the stream with dead bodies, and took four thousand prisoners. But most of all in connection with the sickness that befell him did the Macedonians make it clear that they considered the others able to feast them splendidly and hold high festival, but him alone capable of wielding command and waging war. For Peucetas, having feasted them splendidly in Persis, and having given every man a victim for sacrifice, was expecting to be chief in command; and a few days afterwards, as the soldiers were marching against the enemy, it chanced that Eumenes, in consequence of a dangerous illness, was being carried along in a litter outside the ranks, where it was quiet and his sleep would not be broken. But after they had
μικρὸν δὲ προελθοῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἄφων λόφους τινὰς 592 ύπερβάλλοντες ἐξεφάνησαν οἱ πολέμιοι, κατα- υπερβάλλοντες ἐξεφάνησαν οἱ πολέμιοι, κατα- 4 βαίνοντες εἰς τὸ πεδίον. ὡς οὖν αἳ τε τῶν χρυ- σῶν ὄπλων αὐγαὶ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον ἐξέλαμψαν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκρῶν τοῦ ἀγκίματος ἐν τάξει πορευομένων, καὶ τῶν θηρίων τοὺς πύργους ἀνώ καὶ τὰς πορ- φύρας εἶδον, ὡσπερ ἂν αὐτοῖς κόσμος εἰς μάχην ἀγομένως, ἐπιστῆσαντες οἱ πρῶτοι τὴν πορείαν ἐβόων Εὐμένη καλεῖν αὐτοῖς, οὐ γὰρ ἂν προελθεῖν ἐκείνου μὴ στρατηγοῦντος, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἐρείσαντες ἀλλήλοις μένειν διεκελεύοντο, καὶ τοὺς ὁγεμόσιν ἰσχυόν ἔχειν, καὶ χωρὶς Εὐμένους μὴ μάχεσθαι μηδὲ κινδυνεύειν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμί- ους. ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Εὐμένης Ἰκεῖ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁδὸμα τοὺς κομίζοντας ἐπιταχύνας, καὶ τοῦ φορείου τὰς ἐκατέρωθεν αὐλαιας ἀνακαλύψας προὔτευε τὴν δεξιὰν γεγηθῶς. οἱ δὲ ὡς εἶδον, εὐθὺς ἀσπασάμενοι Μακεδονιστὶ τῇ φωνῇ τὰς τε ἀσπίδας ἀνείλοντο καὶ ταῖς σαρίσαις ἐπιδοντῆ- σαντες ἤλαλαζαν, προκαλούμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους ὡς τοῦ ὁγεμόνος αὐτοῖς παροῦντος.

XV. Ἀντίγονος δὲ παρὰ τῶν ἀλισκομένων ἀκούσας τοῦ Εὐμένη γνώσει καὶ κομίζεσθαι κακῶς διακείμενον, οὐ μέγα ἔργον ἤγειτο συντρίψας τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκείνου νοσοῦντος. διὸ καὶ σπεύ- 2 δὼν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην προσήγει. ὡς δὲ τῶν πολε- μίων εἰς τάξιν καθισταμένων παρελάσας καταίδε τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὴν διακόσμησιν, ἐκπλαγεῖς ἐπέστη πλεῖω χρόνου ἐγία ὀφθη τὸ φορεῖον ἀπὸ θατέ- ρου κέρως ἐπὶ θάτερου διαφερόμενου. γελάσας οὖν ὁ Ἀντίγονος, ὡσπερ εἰσώθει, μέγα, καὶ πρὸς
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advanced a little way, suddenly the enemy were seen passing over some hills and descending into the plain. The gleams of their golden armour in the sun flashed down from the heights as they marched along in close formation, and on the backs of the elephants the towers and purple trappings were seen, which was their array when going into battle. Accordingly, the foremost Macedonians halted in their march and called with loud cries for Eumenes, declaring that they would not go forward unless he was in command of them; and grounding their arms they passed word to one another to wait, and to their leaders to keep still, and without Eumenes not to give battle or run any hazard even with the enemy. When Eumenes heard of this, he quickened the pace of his bearers to a run and came to them, and lifting up the curtains of his litter on either side, stretched forth his hand in delight. And when the soldiers saw him, they hailed him at once in their Macedonian speech, caught up their shields, beat upon them with their spears, and raised their battle-cry, challenging the enemy to fight in the assurance that their leader was at hand.

XV. Now Antigonus, hearing from his prisoners that Eumenes was sick and in such wretched plight as to be borne along in a litter, thought it no great task to crush the other commanders if Eumenes was sick. He therefore hastened to lead his army to battle. But when, as the enemy were forming in battle order, he had ridden past their lines and observed their shape and disposition, he was amazed, and paused for some time; then the litter was seen as it was carried from one wing to the other. At this, Antigonus gave a loud laugh, as was his wont,
τούς φίλους εἰπὼν, “Τούτο ἦν τὸ φορεῖον, ὡς ἔοικε, τὸ ἀντιπαραταττόμενον ἡμῖν,” εὐθὺς ἀπήγγει
tὴν δύναμιν ὑπίσω καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευεν.

3 Οἱ δὲ μικρὸν ἀναπνεύσαντες αὐθίς ἐδημαγω-
γοῦντο, καὶ τοῖς ἤγεμόσι ἐντυρφώντες σχεδὸν
όλην εἰς τὰ χειμάδια κατενείμαντο τὴν Γαβήνων,
ὥστε τοὺς ἐσχάτους τῶν πρώτων ἀποσκηνοῦν
όμοι τὶ χιλίους στάδιοι. ταῦτα γνοὺς ὁ ’Αντι-
γόνος ὀρμήσεις ἐξαίφνησε ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ὑποστρέφεις
χαλεπὴν ὁδὸν καὶ ἀνυδρον, σύντομοι δὲ καὶ
βραχείαν, ἐλπίζων, εἰ διεσπαρμένοι ἐπιπέδοι
περὶ τὰ χειμάδια, μηδὲ ἀν συνελθεῖν ἔτι τὸ πλῆ-
θος ῥαδίως εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. ἐμβα-
λόντι δὲ εἰς γῆν ἀοίκητον αὐτὸς πνευμάτα
tε δεινα καὶ κρίμη μεγάλα διελαμβανέτο τὴν
πορείαν

4 ἐνοχλουμένου τοῦ στρατεύματος. ἦν οὖν ἀναγ-
καία βοήθεια πυρὰ πολλὰ καίειν· ὅθεν οὐκ ἔλαβε
τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀλλὰ τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ τὰ
βλέποντα πρὸς τὴν ἀοίκητον ὄρη νεμόμενοι
θαυμάσαντες τὸ τῶν πυρῶν πλῆθος ἔπεμψαν
ἰππαστρίαις καμήλοις ἀγγέλους πρὸς Πευκέσταν.
ὁ δὲ ὃς ἤκουσεν, αὐτὸς τε παντάπασιν ἔκφρων
ὑπὸ δεόνς γενόμενος καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὁρῶν ὀμοίως
ἐξοντας ὀρμητὸ φεύγειν, ἀναστήσας τοὺς καθ’
ⲟδὸν ὑντας αὐτοῖς máλιστα τῶν στρατιωτῶν.

5 Εὐμένης δὲ τὴν ταραχὴν ἀφῆρε καὶ τὸν φόβον,
ὕπισχυόμενοι ἐπιστήσειν τῶν πολεμίων τὸ
τάχος, ὥστε τρισίν ύστερον ἡμέραις ἡ προσδο-
κώντα παραγενέσθαι. πεσθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν
ἀμα μὲν ἀγγέλους περιέπεμπτε τὰς δυνάμεις ἐκ

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and after saying to his friends, "This litter, it would seem, is what is arrayed against us," immediately retired with his forces and pitched his camp.¹

But the Macedonians opposed to him, after getting a little respite, once more acted like a capricious mob, and, mocking at their leaders, distributed themselves in winter quarters over almost the whole of Gabene, so that the rear was separated from the van by almost a thousand furlongs. When Antigonus became aware of this, he set out suddenly against them, taking this time a road that was difficult and without water, but direct and short, hoping that, in case he fell upon them when they were scattered about in their winter quarters, it would no longer be easy for the mass of them to join their generals. But after he had entered an uninhabited country, dire winds and severe frosts gave trouble to his army and impeded their march. The only help, therefore, was to burn many fires, and this was what revealed his presence to the enemy. For the Barbarians living on the mountains which overlooked the uninhabited tract, amazed at the number of fires, sent messengers on dromedaries to Peucetas. And he, when he heard the news, being himself quite out of his mind with fear and seeing that the other officers were in a like state, set out to fly, after rousing up those of their soldiers especially who were quartered along the route. But Eumenes tried to put a stop to their confusion and panic fear, by promising so to check the speed of the enemy that they would come up three days later than they were expected. And when his hearers were persuaded, he sent round

¹ These events are more fully and very differently described by Diodorus (xix. 24–32).
τῶν χειμαδίων καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀθροίζεσθαι κατὰ τάχος κελεύων, ἀμα δὲ αὐτὸς ἐξιππασάμενος μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἤγεμόνων, καὶ τόπον ἔξ ἀπόπτου καταφανὴ τοῖς ὑδεύουσι τὴν ἔρημον περιβαλόμενος καὶ διαμετρήσας, ἐκέλευε πυρὰ πολλὰ καίειν ἐν διαστήμασιν, ὡσπερ οἱ στρατοπεδεύ-6 οιντες. γενομένου δὲ τούτου καὶ τῶν πυρῶν τοῖς περὶ Ἀντίγονον ἔκ τῆς ὀρεινῆς καταφανέντων, ἄχθος ἐρχει καὶ δυσθυμιά τῶν Ἀντίγονον, οἰόμενον ἡσθημένους ἐκπαλαὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπαντᾶν. ἵν' οὖν μὴ κατάκοπος καὶ τετραμένος ἐκ πορείας ἀναγκάζηται μάχεσθαι πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἐτοίμους καὶ καλως κεχειμακότας, προεμένους τὴν σύντομον 593 ήγε διὰ κωμῶν καὶ πόλεων, καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἀνα-7 λαμβάνων τὸ στράτευμα. μηδενὸς δὲ ἐμποδῶν ὄντος, ὡσπερ εἴωθεν ἀντικαθημένων πολεμίων, τῶν δὲ περιχώρων λεγόντων στράτευμα μηδὲν ὁφθαι, πυρῶν δὲ κεκαυμένων μεστῶν οἶναι τὸν τόπον, ἡσθετο κατεστρατηγημένος ὑπὸ Εὐμένους, καὶ βαρέως φέρων προσήγειν ὡς φανερὰ μάχη κριθησόμενος.

XVI. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως περὶ τὸν Εὐμένη τὸ πλείστον ἡθροισμένον ἐθαύμαζε τὴν σύνεσιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ μόνον ἐκέλευεν ἄρχειν. ἐφ' ὧν λυπούμενοι καὶ φθονοῦντες οἱ τῶν ἁγιασμώ-δων ἤγεμόνες, Ἀντιγένης καὶ Τεύταμος, ἐπεβού-λευν αὐτῷ, καὶ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν τε σατραπῶν καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν συναγάγοντες ἔβουλευόντο πότε χρῆ καὶ πῶς τὸν Εὐμένη διαφθεῖραι. 2 συνδόξαν δὲ πᾶσιν ἀποχρήσασθαι πρὸς τὴν μάχην αὐτῷ, μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην εὐθὺς ἀνελεῖν

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messengers with orders that the forces in winter quarters and elsewhere should assemble with all speed; at the same time, too, he himself rode forth with the other commanders, took possession of a place which could be seen at a distance by such as traversed the desert, measured it off, and ordered many fires to be made at intervals, as in an encampment. This was done, and when Antigonus saw these fires on the mountains, he was distressed and disheartened, supposing that his enemies had long been aware of his approach and were coming to meet him. In order, therefore, that he might not be forced to fight, when his men were worn and weary from their march, against those who had spent a comfortable winter and were ready for the conflict, he forsook the direct road and led his army through villages and cities, taking time to refresh it. But when no one tried to obstruct his progress, the thing which usually happens when enemies are facing one another, and when the people round about said they had seen no army, but that the place was full of lighted fires, Antigonus perceived that he had been outgeneraled by Eumenes, and in deep resentment led his forces forward to try the issue in open battle.

XVI. But meanwhile most of the forces with Eumenes had assembled, and, admiring his sagacity, demanded that he should be sole commander. At this, Antigenes and Teutamus, the leaders of the Silver-shields, were filled with vexation and jealousy, so that they plotted against the life of Eumenes, and, assembling most of the satraps and generals, deliberated when and how they might put him out of the way. They were unanimous in the decision to make every use of him in the ensuing battle, and after the battle
Εὐδαμος ὁ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἠγεμὼν καὶ Φαίδιμος ἔξαγγέλλουσι κρύφα τῷ Ἐγμένει τὰ δεδομένα, δι' εὖνοιαν μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἢ χάριν, εὐλαβούμενοι δὲ μὴ τῶν χρημάτων, ἃ δεδανείκεσαν αὐτῶ, στερηθῶσιν. Ἐγμένης δὲ τούτους μὲν ἐπήνεσεν, εἰς δὲ τὴν σκηνὴν ἀπελθὼν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰπὼν ὡς ἐν πανηγύρει θηρίων ἀναστρέφοιτο, διαθήκας ἐγραψε καὶ τὰ γραμματεῖα κατέχισε καὶ διέφθειρεν, οὐ βουλόμενος αὐτοῦ τελευτήσαντος ἐκ τῶν ἀπορρήτων αἰτίας καὶ συκοφαντήματα 3 τοῖς γράψαις γενέσθαι. ταῦτα διουκησάμενος ἐβουλεύετο τὴν νίκην παρεῖναι τοῖς ἐναυτίοις, ἡ φυγὼν διὰ Μηδίας καὶ Ἀρμενίας ἐμβαλείν εἰς Καππαδοκίαν. οὐδὲν δὲ κυρώσας τῶν φίλων παρόντων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πολλὰ τῇ γνώμῃ πολυτρόπῳ παρὰ τὰς τύχας οὐσίας κινήσας αὐτῶν, ἐξέτατε τὴν δύναμιν, τοὺς μὲν Ἐλλήνας καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους παρομῶν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς φάλαγγος καὶ τῶν ἄργυρωπίδων αὐτῶς παρακαλούμενος θαρρεῖν, 4 ὃς οὐ δεξομένων τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν περὶ Φίλιππον καὶ Ἀλέξανδρου, διὸπερ άθληται πολέμων ἱμῖττουτο καὶ ἀπτώτες εἰς ἐκείνον χρόνον, πολλοὶ μὲν ἐβδομήκοντα ἐτη γεγονότες, νεώτερος δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐξήκονταετούς. διὸ καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἐπιόντες ἐβόων “Ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας ἀμαρτάνετε, ὥς κακαὶ κεφαλάι.” καὶ μετ' ὀργῆς ἐμπεσόντες ὅλην ὁμοῦ τὴν φάλαγγα συνετρίψαν, οὐδενὸς ὑποστάντος αὐτοῦς, τῶν δὲ πλείστων ἐν χερσὶ διαφθαρέντων.
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to kill him at once. But Eudamus, the master of the elephants, and Phaedimus, secretly brought word to Eumenes of this decision; not that they were moved by any goodwill or kindness, but because they were anxious not to lose the money they had lent him.¹ These men Eumenes commended, and then went off to his tent, where he said to his friends that he was living in a great herd of wild beasts. Then he made his will, and tore up and destroyed his papers; he did not wish that after his death, in consequence of the secrets contained in these documents, accusations and calumnies should be brought against his correspondents. After this business had been finished, he deliberated whether to give over the victory to the enemy, or to take flight through Media and Armenia and invade Cappadocia. He came to no decision while his friends were with him, but after considering many expedients with a mind which was as versatile as his fortunes were changeable, he proceeded to draw up his forces, urging on the Greeks and the Barbarians, and himself exhorted by the phalanx and the Silver-shields to be of good courage, since, as they felt sure, the enemy would not withstand their attack. And indeed they were the oldest soldiers of Philip and Alexander, war’s athletes as it were, without a defeat or a fall up to that time, many of them now seventy years old, and not a man younger than sixty. And so, when they charged upon the forces of Antigonus, they shouted: “It is against your fathers that ye sin, ye miscreants;” and falling upon them in a rage they crushed their whole phalanx at once, not a man withstanding them, and most of their opponents being cut to pieces at close quarters.

¹ Cf. chapter xiii. 6.

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5 Ταύτη μὲν οὖν ὁ 'Αντίγονος ἠττᾶτο κατὰ κράτος, τοῖς δ' ἱππεύσιν ἐπεκράτει τοὺς δὲ Πευκεστοῦ παντάπασιν ἐκλευμένος καὶ ἀγεννῶς ἀγωνισμένου καὶ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἔλαβε πᾶσαν, αὐτῷ τε νήφοντι χρησάμενος παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ τοῦ τόπου συνεργοῦντος. ἄχανες γὰρ ἦν τὸ πεδίον, οὐτε βαθύτερον οὐτε ἀπόκροτον καὶ στερεύον, ἀλλὰ θινώδες καὶ μεστὸν ἀλμυρίδος αὐχμηρᾶς, ἢ τοσοῦτον μὲν ἵππων τοσοῦτων δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἐξαινομένη δρόμοις ὑπὸ τὸν τῆς μάχης καρπὸς ἐξήγερε κόνων ὠσπέρ ἀσβεστοῦ, ἀπολευκαίνουσαν τὸν άέρα καὶ τὰς ὃψεις διαθολοῦσαν. ἢ καὶ ράδιον λαθῶν ὁ 'Αντίγονος τῆς ἀποσκευῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἐκράτησε.

ΧVII. Παυσαμένης δὲ τῆς μάχης εὐθὺς οἱ περὶ τὸν Τεύταμον ἐπρεσβεύοντο περὶ τῆς ἀποσκευῆς. Ἀντιγόνου δὲ καὶ ταύτην ἀποδώσειν ὑπισχυομένου τοῖς ἁργυράσπισι καὶ τάλλα χρήσεσθαι φιλανθρώπως, εἰ παραλάβοι τὸν Εύμενη, βούλευμα δεινὸν οἱ ἁργυράσπιδες ἔβουλεύσαντο, ἐγχειρίσατο ζώντα τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸν 2 ἀνδρα. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀνυπόπτως προσεπέλαζον αὐτῷ καὶ παρεφύλαττον, οἱ μὲν ἀποδυρόμενοι περὶ τῆς ἀποσκευῆς, οἱ δὲ θαρρεῦν ὡς νεικηκότα κελεύοντες, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων κατηγοροῦντες. ἔπειτα προσπεσόντες ἐξηρπασαν τὸ 594 ἐγχειρίδιον αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ ζώῃ τὰς χεῖρας ἀποστρέφαντες ἔδησαν. ἔπει δὲ ὑπὸ Ἁντιγόνου Νικάνωρ ἐπέμφθη παραληψόμενος αὐτῶν, ἐδείτο λόγου τυχεῖν ἀγόμενος διὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων, οὐκ εἰς δέχεσθαι ἡ παραίτησιν, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς περὶ τῶν ἐκείνως συμφερόντων διαλεξόμενος.

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At this point, then, Antigonus was defeated overwhelmingly, but with his cavalry he got the upper hand; for Peucetas fought in a way that was altogether lax and ignoble, and Antigonus captured all the baggage. He was a man who kept cool in the presence of danger, and he was aided by the ground. For the plain were they fought was vast, and its soil was neither deep nor trodden hard, but sandy and full of a dry and saline substance, which, loosened up by the trampling of so many horses and men during the battle, issued forth in a dust like lime, and this made the air all white and obscured the vision. Therefore it was easy for Antigonus to capture the enemy’s baggage unobserved.

XVII. After the battle was over, Teutamus at once sent an embassy to treat for the baggage. And when Antigonus promised not only to give this back to the Silver-shields but also to treat them kindly in other ways, provided they would deliver up Eumenes to him, the Silver-shields formed a dire design to put the man alive into the hands of his enemies. So, to begin with, they drew near him, without awakening his suspicions, and kept him in ward, some making complaints about their baggage, others bidding him to be of good courage, since he was victorious, and others still denouncing the other commanders. Then they fell upon him, snatched his sword away from him, and tied his hands fast with his girdle. And when Nicanor had been sent by Antigonus to receive him and he was being led along through the Macedonians, he begged for leave to speak to them, not with a view to supplication or entreaty, but in order to set forth what was for their advantage.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΛΙΒΕΩΝ

3 Ζευκιμένης δὲ σιωπής ἐν ψηλῷ τινι καταστὰς καὶ τὰς χεῖρας δεδεμένας προτείνας, "Ποίον," εἶπεν, "ὡς κάκιστοι Μακεδόνων, τρόπαιον Ἀντί- γονος ἑθελήσας ἀν ἐστησε καθ' ύμων, οἷον ύμεῖς καθ' αὐτῶν ἀνώστατε τὸν στρατηγὸν αἰχμάλωτον ἐκδιδόντες; οὐκ ἄρα δεινὸν ἦν κρατοῦντας ύμᾶς ἦταν ἐξομολογεῖσθαι διὰ τὰς ἀποσκευὰς, ὡς ἐν τοῖς χρήμασιν, οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ὁπλοῖς τοῦ κρατεῖν ὄντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἴγκομινα πέμπετε λύτρων τῆς ἀποσκευῆς. ἔγω μὲν οὖν ἀντίτητος ἀγομαί, υικῶν τοὺς πολεμίους, ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἀπολλύμενον· ύμεῖς δὲ, πρὸς Διὸς στρατιῶν καὶ θεῶν ὀρκίων, ἐνταῦθα μὲ δι' αὐτῶν κτείνατε. πάντως κάκει κτεινόμενον ὑμέτερον ἔργον εἰμί. μέμψεται δὲ οὐδὲν Ἀντίγονος· νεκρὸν γὰρ Ἐυμένους δεῖται καὶ οὐ ξώντος. εἰ δὲ φείδεσθε τῶν χειρῶν, ἀρκέσει 5 τῶν ἐμῶν ἡ ἐτέρα λυθεῖσα πρᾶξαι τὸ ἔργον. εἰ δὲ οὐ πιστεύετε μοι ξίφος, ὑπορρίψατε τοὺς θηρίους δεδεμένου. καὶ τάντα πράξαντας ύμᾶς ἀφίημι τῆς ἐπ' ἐμοὶ δίκης ὡς ἀνδρας ὀσιωτάτους καὶ δικαιο- τάτους περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν στρατηγῶν γευμένους."

XVIII. Ταύτα τοῦ Ἐυμένους λέγοντος τὸ μὲν ἄλλο πλῆθος ἄχθει κατείχετο καὶ κλαυθμὸς ἦν, οἱ δὲ ἀγυρμάστιδες ἄγειν ἐβῶν καὶ μὴ φυλα- ρουῦντι προσέχεν· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι δεινὸν εἰ Χερρο- νήσιτος ὀλεθρὸς οἰμώξεται μυρίοις γυμνάζας πολέμοις Μακεδόνας, ἀλλ' εἰ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Φιλίππου στρατιωτῶν οἱ κράτιστοι τοσάντα

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Silence was made, and standing on an eminence he stretched forth his hands, bound as they were, and said: “What trophy, O ye basest of Macedonians, could Antigonus have so much desired to set up over your defeat, as this which ye yourselves are now erecting by delivering up your general as a prisoner? It is not a dreadful thing, then, that in the hour of your victory ye should acknowledge yourselves defeated for the sake of your baggage, implying that victory lies in your possessions and not in your arms, but ye must also send your leader as a ransom for that baggage. As for me, then, ye lead me away undefeated, a victor over my enemies, a victim of my fellow-soldiers; but as for you, by Zeus the god of armies and by the gods who hallow oaths, I bid you slay me here with your own hands. Even should I be slain yonder, it will be wholly your work. Nor will Antigonus find any fault; for he wants a dead and not a living Eumenes. And if ye would spare your own hands, one of mine, if released, will suffice to do the business. And if ye cannot trust me with a sword, cast me to the wild beasts, all bound as I am. If ye do this, I will absolve you from your guilt towards me, holding that ye have shown yourselves most just and righteous in your dealings with your own general.”

XVIII. As Eumenes said this, the rest of the throng was overwhelmed with sorrow, and some wept, but the Silver-shields shouted to lead him along and pay no attention to his babbling; for it was not so dreadful a thing, they said, that a pest from the Chersonesus should come to grief for having harassed Macedonians with infinite wars, as that the best of the soldiers of Philip and Alexander,
καμώντες ἐν γῆρα στέρονται τῶν ἐπάθλων καὶ τροφῆν παρ’ ἐτέρων λαμβάνουσιν, αἰ ὤγυναίκες αὐτῶν ἦδη τρίτην νύκτα τοῖς πολεμίων συγκα-
θεύδοντι. ἀμα δὲ ἦγον αὐτὸν ἐπιταχύνοντες.

2 Ἀντίγονος δὲ δείσας τὸν χόλον (ἀπελείψθη γὰρ
οὐδεὶς ἐν τῷ σтратοπέδῳ) δέκα τοὺς κρατιστεύ-
οντας ἐλέφαντας ἐξέπεμψε καὶ λογχοφόρους συχνοὺς Μήδους καὶ Παρθενιῶν διακρόουσι-
μένους τὸ πλῆθος. εἰτ’ αὐτοῖς μὲν ἰδεῖν οἷς ὑπὲ-
μεινε τὸν Εὐμένη διὰ τὴν προγεγενημένην φιλίαν καὶ συνῆθειαν, πυκνανομένων δὲ τῶν παρεἰληφό-
των τὸ σώμα πῶς φυλάξουσιν, “Οὐτως,” εἶπεν,

3 “ὡς ἐλέφαντα ἢ ὡς λέοντα.” μετὰ μικρὸν δὲ
συμπαθῆς γενόμενος τῶν τε δεσμῶν τοὺς βαρεῖς
ἐκέλευσεν ἀφελεῖν καὶ παίδα παραδέξασθαι τῶν
συνήθων, ὅπως ἀλείψατο, καὶ τῶν φίλων ἐφήκε
τῷ βουλομένῳ συνυδημερεύειν καὶ κομίζειν τὰ
ἐπιτήδεια. βουλευόμενος δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ πλείονας
ήμερας προσιτοὶ καὶ λόγους καὶ ὑποσχέσεις,
Νεάρχου τε τοῦ Κρητῆς καὶ Δημητρίου τοῦ νῦν
φιλοτιμομένου τῶν Εὐμένη σῶσαι, τῶν δὲ ἀλλῶν
ὁμοὶ τι πάντων ἐνισταμένων καὶ κελευόντων ἀν-
αιρεῖν.

4 Λέγεται δὲ τὸν Εὐμένη τοῦ φυλάσσοντος αὐ-
tὸς Ὀνομάρχου πυθέσθαι τί δήποτε Ἀντίγονος
ἐχθρὸν ἄνδρα καὶ πολέμιον λαβὼν ὑποχείριον
οὐτε ἀποκτίνωσι ταχέως οὔτε εὐγενῶς ἀφίσι.
tοῦ δὲ Ὁνομάρχου πρὸς ὑβριν εἰπόντος ὡς οὐ
νῦν, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τῆς μάχης ἐδει πρὸς θάνατον ἔχειν
εὐθαρσῶς, “Ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δία,” φαίνει τὸν Εὐμένη,
“καὶ τότε εἰχον ἔροι δὲ τοὺς εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθόν-
tας· ἀλλ’ οὐδεὶ κρείττοι προστυχών οἶδα.” καὶ

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after all their toils, should in their old age be robbed of their rewards and get their support from others, and that their wives should be spending the third night now in the arms of their enemies. At the same time they led him along at a quickened pace.

But Antigonus, fearing their multitude (since no one had been left behind in the camp), sent out ten of his strongest elephants and a great number of Median and Parthian spearmen to drive away the throng. He himself could not endure to see Eumenes, by reason of their former intimate friendship, and when those who had received him asked how they should guard his person, he said: "Just as ye would an elephant or a lion." But after a little while he became compassionate and ordered the keepers to remove the prisoner's heavy fetters and admit one of his personal servants to anoint him, and permitted any one of his friends who wished to spend the day with him and bring him what he needed. Then he deliberated many days what to do with him, and considered various arguments and suggestions, Demetrius his son and Nearchus the Cretan being eager to save the life of Eumenes, while the rest, almost all of them, were insistent in urging that he be put to death.

We are told, also, that Eumenes asked his keeper, Onomarchus, why in the world Antigonus, now that he had got a hated enemy in his hands, neither killed him speedily nor generously set him free; and when Onomarchus insolently told him it was not now, but on the field of battle, that he should have faced death boldly, "Yea, by Zeus," said Eumenes, "then, too, I did so; ask the men who fought with me; I know that none I met was a
τὸν Ὅνομαρχον, "Οὐκοῦν ἐπεὶ νῦν," φανεῖ, "τὸν κρείττονα εὐρήκας, τί οὐκ ἀναμένεις τὸν ἐκείνου καίρον;"

XIX. Ὡς δ' οὖν ἔδοξε τῷ Ἀντιγόνῳ τὸν Εὐ-μένην κτείνειν, ἔκελευσεν αὐτοῦ τὴν τροφὴν ἀφε-λεῖν. καὶ δύο μὲν ἡμέρας ἥ τρεῖς ἁσίτος οὕτω προσήγετο πρὸς τὴν τελευτήν. αἰφνίδιον δὲ ἀνα-ξυγής γευμένης εἰσπέμψατες ἀνθρωπον ἀπο-σφάττουσιν αὐτῶν. τὸ δὲ σῶμα τοῖς φίλοις παραδόσει ὁ Ἀντίγονος ἐπέτρεψε καῦσαι καὶ τὰ λείψανα συνθέντας εἰς ἀργυραίν ὕδωρ κομίζειν, ἀποδοθησόμενα τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς παισίν.

2 Οὖν δὲ ἀποδεικνύω τοὺς Εὐμένους οὐκ ἔτει ἄλλῳ τινί τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐποίησατο τῶν προδότων αὐ-τῶν ἡγεμόνων καὶ στρατιωτῶν τὸ δαιμόνιον, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς Ἀντίγονος προβαλλόμενος ὡς ἀσεβείς καὶ θηριώδεις τοὺς ἀργυρόσπιδας παρέδωκε Σιβυρτίῳ τῷ διοικοῦντι τὴν Ἀραχωβίαν, πάντα τρόπου ἐκτρίψαι καὶ καταφθείραι κελεύσας, ὅπως μὴ δεῖ αὐτῶν εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἀπεισι μηδὲ ὑψηται τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν θάλατταν.

ΣΕΡΤΩΡΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

1. Ταῦτα ἐστιν ἀ περὶ Εὐμένους καὶ Σερτωρίου μνήμης ἄξια παρειλήφαμεν. ἐν δὲ τῇ συγκρίσει κοινῶν μὲν ἀμφοτέρων ὑπάρχει τὸ ξένους καὶ ἀλλοδαπούς καὶ φυγάδας ὃντας ἐθνῶν τε παντο-

1 According to Nepos (Eumenes, xii. 4), Eumenes was
better man." "Well, then," said Onomarchus, "since now thou hast found thy better, why canst thou not bide his time?"

XIX. When, then, Antigonus had decided to kill Eumenes, he gave orders to deprive him of food. And so, after two or three days of fasting, the prisoner began to draw nigh his end. But camp was suddenly broken and a man was sent to dispatch him.¹ His body, however, was delivered to his friends by Antigonus, who permitted them to burn it and collect the ashes and place them in a silver urn, that they might be returned to his wife and children.

Eumenes thus slain, on no other man than Antigonus did Heaven devolve the punishment of the soldiers and commanders who betrayed him, but he himself, regarding the Silver-shields as impious and bestial men, put them into the service of Sibyrtius the governor of Arachosia, ordering him to wear them out and destroy them in every possible way, that not a man of them might ever return to Macedonia or behold the Grecian sea.

COMPARISON OF SERTORIUS AND EUemenES

I. Such are the memorable things in the careers of Eumenes and Sertorius which have come down to us. And now, as we compare the men, we find this common to both, that although they were strangers, aliens, and exiles, they were continually strangled by his keepers, without the knowledge of Antigonus.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

dαπών καὶ στρατευμάτων μαχίμων τε καὶ μεγάλων ἡγουμένους διατελεῖν, ἵδιον δὲ Σερτωρίω μὲν τὸ παρὰ πάντων τῶν συμμάχων δεδομένην ἔχειν διὰ τὸ άξίωμα τὴν ἀρχὴν, Εὐμένεις δὲ τὸ πολλῶν διαφερομένων περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν πράξεων λαμβάνειν τὸ πρωτείον· καὶ τῷ μὲν ἀρχεσθαι βουλόμενοι δικαίως εἴποντο, τῷ δὲ ἀρχεῖν μὴ δυνάμενοι πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον ὑπῆκονον.

2 καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν Ἰβήρων καὶ Δυσιτανῶν Ῥωμαίος, οἶ δὲ Χερρωνησίτης Μακεδόνων ἥρχεν, ὥν οἱ μὲν ἐκπαλαί Ῥωμαίοις ἐδούλευον, οἰ δὲ τότε πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐδουλώντο. καὶ Σερτώριος μὲν ἀπὸ βουλής καὶ στρατηγίας θαυμαζόμενος, Εὐμένης δὲ διὰ τὴν γραμματείαν καταφρονούμενος ἐφ ἡγεμονίαν προῆλθεν. οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἐλάττοσι πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφορμαίς, ἀλλὰ καὶ μείζονι πρὸς τὴν αὐξήσιν ἐχρήσατο κολύμασιν Εὐμένης. καὶ γὰρ ἀντικροὺν τοὺς ἐνισταμένους καὶ κρύφα τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας εἰ χεὶ σπόλλους, οὐχ ὡσπερ τῷ ἐτέρῳ φανερῶς μὲν οὐδεὶς, λάβαρα δὲ ύστερον καὶ ὑλοίς τῶν συμμάχων ἐπανεστησάν. διὸ τῷ μὲν ἐν πέρας τοῦ κινδυνεύου τὸ νικάν τοὺς πολέμιους, τῷ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ νικάν ὁ κίνδυνος ὑπὸ τῶν φθονοῦντων.

3 τὴν αὐξήσιν ἐχρήσατο κολύμασιν Εὐμένης. καὶ γὰρ ἀντικροὺν τοὺς ἐνισταμένους καὶ κρύφα τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας εἰ χεὶ σπόλλους, οὐχ ὡσπερ τῷ ἐτέρῳ φανερῶς μὲν οὐδεὶς, λάβαρα δὲ ύστερον καὶ ὑλοίς τῶν συμμάχων ἐπανεστησάν. διὸ τῷ μὲν ἐν πέρας τοῦ κινδυνεύου τὸ νικάν τοὺς πολέμιους, τῷ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ νικάν ὁ κίνδυνος ὑπὸ τῶν φθονοῦντων.

II. Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἑφαμίλλα καὶ παράλληλα· τῷ δὲ ἀλλῷ τρόπῳ φιλοπόλεμοι μὲν ὁ Εὐμένης καὶ φιλόνεικος, ἡσυχίας δὲ καὶ προσφέρειος οἰκεῖος ὁ Σερτώριος. οἷον γὰρ, ἀσφα-

1 μεγάλων with Bekker: μεγάλων δυνάμεων.
SERTORIUS AND EUMENES COMPARED

in command of all sorts of peoples and of armies that were large and warlike; but it was peculiar to Sertorius that he held a command which was given him by all his confederates because of his reputation, and to Eumenes that many contended with him for the leadership, and yet he took the highest place in consequence of his achievements. Furthermore, the one was followed by those who wished to be under a just command; while the other was obeyed by those who were incapable of command and sought their own advantage. For the one, a Roman, commanded Iberians and Lusitanians, who had long been in subjection to Rome; the other, a Chersonesian, commanded Macedonians, who at that time were holding the whole world in subjection. Besides, Sertorius rose to leadership when a career in senate and field had brought him admiration; but Eumenes when his post as secretary had brought him contempt. Eumenes, therefore, not only had fewer advantages at the outset, but also greater hindrances as he advanced in his career. For there were many who directly opposed him and secretly plotted against him; whereas Sertorius was openly opposed by no one, and secretly only in the latter part of his career, when a few of his confederates rose up against him. For this reason Sertorius could put an end to his peril by a victory over his enemies; while Eumenes, in consequence of his victories, was in peril at the hands of those who envied him.

II. In their capacities as commanders, then, they were very much alike; but in their general dispositions Eumenes was fond of war and fond of strife, while Sertorius was a lover of peace and tranquillity. For the one, though it was in his power to
λός καὶ μετὰ τιμῆς βιοῦν ἐξίων ἐκποδῶν γενομένως τοῖς πρώτοις, μαχόμενος καὶ κατυνεών διετέλεσε, τῷ δὲ οὐδὲν δεομένῳ πραγμάτων ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἁσφαλείας πρὸς οὐκ ἔστατας εἰρήνην ἀγείν ἢν ὁ πόλεμος. Εὐμένει μὲν γὰρ Ἀντίγονος ἐκστάντι τῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πρωτεύειν ἀγώνων ἡδέως ἄν ἔχριτο τὴν μετ’ αὐτὸν ἀγαπώντι τάξιν, Σερτωρίῳ δὲ οἱ περὶ Πομπήιον οὐδὲ ζῆν ἀπραγμόνως ἔπετρετον. διὸ τῷ μὲν ἐκοινωνεῖσθαι συνέβανε πολεμεῖν ἐπ’ ἀρχῆ, τῷ δὲ ἀκουσίοις ἀρχεῖν διὰ τὸ πολεμεῖσθαι. φιλοπόλεμος μὲν οὖν ὁ τῆς ἁσφαλείας τὴν πλεονεξίαν προτιμῶν, πολεμικὸς δὲ οὗ τὸ πολέμῳ κτώμενος τὴν ἁσφαλείαν.

Καὶ μὴν θανεῖν γε συνέβη τῷ μὲν οὐ προαισθομένῳ, τῷ δὲ καὶ προσδεχομένῳ τῇ τελευτῇ, ἦν τὸ μὲν ἐπιεικείας, φίλοις γὰρ ἐδόκει πιστεῦειν, τὸ δὲ ἁσθενείας, βουλόμενος γὰρ φυγεῖν συνελήφθη. καὶ τοῦ μὲν οὐ κατήχυνε τὸν βίον ὁ θάνατος, πάσχοντος ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων καὶ τῶν πολέμιων αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς ἐποίησεν· ὁ δὲ φεύγειν μὲν πρὸ 596 αἰχμαλωσιὰς μὴ δυνηθεῖς, ζῆν δὲ μετ’ αἰχμαλωσιῶν βουληθείς, οὔτε ἐφυλάξατο καλῶς τῇ τελευτῇ οὐθ’ ὑπέμεινεν, ἀλλὰ προσπλαγιῶν καὶ δεόμενος τοῦ σώματος μόνου κρατεῖν δοκοῦντα τὸν πολέμιον καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ κύριον ἐποίησεν.
SERTORIUS AND EUMENES COMPARED

live in safety and with honour if he kept out of the way of the leading Macedonians, was continually fighting them at the risk of his life; whereas the other, though he craved no participation in affairs, had to wage war for his very life against those who would not suffer him to be at peace. For if Eumenes had stood aside from the struggles for the primacy and been satisfied with the second place, Antigonus would gladly have given him that; whereas Sertorius could not get permission from Pompey to live, even though in retirement. Therefore the one was ever waging war of his own accord for the sake of power; while the other held power against his wishes because war was waged upon him. Now, that man is fond of war who sets greed above safety; but that man is warlike who by war wins safety.

And further, the one met his death when he had no anticipation of it, the other when he was expecting the end. In the one case, death resulted from the man's goodness of heart, since he appeared to trust his friends; in the other, from weakness, since he wished to fly, but was arrested. Moreover, death brought no stain upon the life of Sertorius, since he suffered at the hands of confederates what none of his enemies could inflict upon him; Eumenes, however, who was unable to fly before being taken prisoner, but was willing to live after being taken prisoner, neither took good precautions against death, nor faced it well, but by supplicating and entreating the foe who was known to have power over his body only, he made him lord and master of his spirit also.
PHOCION
ΦΩΚΙΩΝ

1. Δημάδης ο ρήτωρ ισχύων μὲν ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις διὰ τὸ πρὸς χάριν πολιτευόμεθα Μακεδόνων καὶ Ἀντιπάτρου, πολλὰ δὲ γράφειν καὶ λέγειν ἄναγκαζόμενος παρὰ τὸ ἄξιωμα τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὸ ἥθος, ἐλεγε συγγνώμης ἂξιος εἶναι πολιτευόμενος τὰ ναυάγια τῆς πόλεως. τούτῳ δὲ εἰ καὶ τῷ ρήτορι θρασύτερον εἰρήται, δόξειεν ἀν ἀληθεῖς εἶναι μετενέχθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Φωκίωνος πολιτείαν.

2. Δημάδης μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἦν ναυάγιον τῆς πόλεως, οὕτως ἁσελγῶς βιώσας καὶ πολιτευόμενος ὡστε Ἀντιπάτρον εἴπειν ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ, γέροντος ἢδη γεγονότος, ὅτι καθάπερ ἱερείου διαπεραγμένοι γλῶσσα καὶ κοιλία μόνον ἀπολείπεται· τὴν δὲ Φωκίωνος ἅρετήν, ὡσπερ ἀνταγωνιστὴ βαρεῖ καὶ βιαῖω καιρῷ συλλαχόοσαν, αἱ τύχαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄμαρτᾶν καὶ ἀλαμπὴ πρὸς δόξαν ἐποίησαν.

3. οὐ γὰρ Σοφοκλῆς γε προσεκτέον ἀσθενή ποιοῦντι 742 τὴν ἅρετήν ἐν ὦς φήσιν. 1

'Ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ, ἄναξ, οὐδ' ὅς ἄν βλάστη μένει νοῦς τοῖς κακῶς πράξασιν, ἀλλ' ἐξίσταται·

τοσοῦτον δὲ τῇ τύχῃ δοτέον ἀντιτατομένη πρὸς τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἀνδρας ἰσχύειν, ὡςον ἀντὶ τῆς ἄξιας τιμῆς καὶ χάριτος ἐνίοις ψόγους πονηροὺς καὶ

1 Antigone, 563 f. (οὐ γὰρ ποτ', ἄναξ, κτλ.).

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I. Demades the orator, who was powerful at Athens because he conducted affairs so as to please Antipater and the Macedonians, and was forced to propose and favour many measures which were at variance with the dignity and character of the city, used to say that he was excusable because he was in command of a shipwrecked state. This may have been too hardy an utterance for the orator, but it would seem to be true when transferred to the administration of Phocion. Demades, indeed, was himself but wreckage of the state, since his life and administration were so outrageous that Antipater said of him, when he was now grown old, that he was like a victim when the sacrifice was over—nothing left but tongue and guts. But the fame of Phocion's virtue, which may be said to have found an antagonist in a grievous and violent time, the fortunes of Greece rendered obscure and dim. Surely we must not follow Sophocles in making virtue weak, as when he says:

"Indeed, O King, what reason nature may have given
Abides not with the unfortunate, but goes astray";

yet thus much power must be granted to Fortune in her conflicts with good men: instead of the honour and gratitude which are their due, she brings base
διαβολάς ἐπιφέρουσαν τὴν πίστιν ἀσθενεστέρας
ποιεῖν τῆς ἀρετῆς.

II. Καίτοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ δήμοι μᾶλλον εἰς τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἐξυβρίζειν ὅταν εὐτυχῶσιν, ὑπὸ πραγμάτων μεγάλων καὶ δυνάμεως ἐπαιρόμενοι συμβαίνει δὲ τοῦναντίον. αἱ γὰρ συμφορά πικρὰ μὲν τὰ ἡθοὶ καὶ μικρόλυπα καὶ ἀκροσφαλῆ πρὸς ὀργὰς ποιοῦσι, δύσκολον δὲ τὴν ἀκοῆν καὶ τραχείαν, ὑπὸ παντὸς λόγου καὶ ῥήματος τόνον ἐχοντος ἐνοχλομένην· ὁ δὲ ἐπιτιμῶν τοῖς ἔξαμαρτανομένοις ἐξονείδιζει τὰ δυστυχήματα

2 δοκεῖ, καὶ καταφρονεῖν ὁ παρρησιαζόμενος. καὶ καθάπερ τὸ μέλι λυπεῖ τὰ τετρωμένα καὶ ἠλκωμένα μέρη τοῦ σώματος, οὕτως πολλάκις οἱ ἀληθινοὶ καὶ νοῦν ἐχοντες λόγοι δάκνουσι καὶ παροξύνουσι τοὺς κακοὺς πράττοντας, ἐὰν μὴ προσηνεῖς ὅσι καὶ συνείκοντες, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει τὸ ἡδομένω τῆς ψυχῆς ὑπείκον καὶ μὴ μαχόμενον

3 μηδ' ἀντιτυποῦν. καὶ γὰρ ὃμμα φλεγμαῖνον ἡδιστα τοῖς σκιεροῖς καὶ ἀλαμπέσων ἐνδιατρίβει χρώμασι, τὰ δὲ αὐγὴν ἐχοντα καὶ φῶς ἀποστρέφεται, καὶ πόλις ἐν τῦχαις ἄβουλήτοις γενομένη ψοφοδεῖς καὶ τρυφερὸν ἐστι δι' ἀσθένειαν ἀνέχεσθαι παρρησίας, ὅτε μάλιστα δεῖται, τῶν πραγμάτων ἀναφοράν ἀμαρτήματος οὐκ ἐχόντων. διὸ πάντῃ σφαλερὸν ἡ τοιαύτη πολιτεία· συν-

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censure and calumny upon some, and so weakens the world's confidence in their virtue.

II. And yet it is commonly held that a people is more apt to wreak its insolence upon good men when it is prosperous, being then lifted up by grandeur and power; but the reverse is often the case. For calamities make men's dispositions bitter, irritable, and prone to wrath, so that no one can say anything to please or soften them, but they are annoyed by every speech or word that has vigour. He who censures them for their transgressions is thought to abuse them for their misfortunes, and he who is outspoken with them, to despise them. And just as honey irritates wounded and ulcerated parts of the body, so often words of truth and soberness sting and exasperate those who are in an evil plight, unless uttered with kindness and complaisance; and therefore, doubtless, the poet calls that which is pleasant "menoeikes," on the ground that it yields to that part of the soul which experiences pleasure, and does not fight with it or resist it.1 An eye that is inflamed dwells most gratefully on colours which are dark and lustreless, but shuns those which are radiant and bright; and so a city that has fallen on desperate fortunes is made by its weakness too sensitive and delicate to endure frank speaking, and that at a time when it needs it most of all, since the situation allows no shifting of the blame for the mistakes that have been made. Therefore the conduct of affairs in such a city is altogether dangerous; for

1 As often, Plutarch's etymology is amiably wrong. Homer uses "μενοεικές" as a stock epithet of good things in such abundance as to be spirit-suiting, or satisfying.
απόλλυσι γὰρ τὸν πρὸς χάριν λέγοντα καὶ προ-
apóllusí tón prós xáriν légonta kai pró-
απόλλυσι τὸν μὴ χαριζόμενον.

4 ὡσπερ οὖν τὸν ἡλίουν οἱ μαθηματικοὶ λέγουσι
μήτε τὴν αὐτὴν τῷ οὐρανῷ φερόμενον φορὰν μήτε
ἀντικρυς ἐναντίαν καὶ ἀντιβατικὴν, ἀλλὰ λοξῷ
cai parraygekeklímewn poreías skhmati chróменon
υγράν καὶ εὐκαμπτῆ καὶ περιελιπτομένην ἠλικα
pouiein, ἤ σώζεται πάντα καὶ λαμβάνει τὴν
ἀρίστην κράσιν, οὕτως ἄρα τῆς πολιτείας ὁ μὲν
ὁρθίος ἁγαν καὶ πρὸς ἀπαντὰ τῶν δήμοσίων ἡ
ἀντιβαίνων τόνος ἀπηνής καὶ σκληρός, ὁσπερ αὐ
pálen épisphalēs kai káptantes to συνεφελκό-
menon ois ámarťánουσιν oι polloi kai synepier-
répou, ἡ δὲ ἀνθυπείκουσα πειθομένουσι kai didóúsa
to prós χάριν, εἶτα ἀπαίτουσα to συμφέρον ἐπι-
στασία kai kuvbérhēsis anθrōpōn pollla prāos
kai χρησίμως ὑποργούντων, eί μὴ pántha de-
sptotikōs kai biaíwos ἁγουντο, σωτήριος, ἐργώδης
dε kai χαλεπῆ kai to seμwν ἔχουσα тῷ ἐπιεικεῖ
δύσμικτον· εάν δὲ μιχθῇ, τούτο ἐστιν ἡ πάντων
mēn rυθμῶν, pαsōn dē áρμονιών ἐμμελεστάτη kai
μουσικώτατη κράσις, ἦ καὶ τὸν κόσμον οἱ θεοὶ
légetai didokein, οὐ βιαιζόμενος, ἀλλὰ πειθοὶ kai
lógoi pαράγων την ἀνάγκην.

III. Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Κάτων τῷ νέῳ συνέβη. kai
tau'ta de kai Kátōv tō neō suñeβh.
kal γὰρ οὕτως οὐ πιθανὸν ἐσχεν οὐδὲ προσφιλῆς
ὀχλοι τὸ ἥθος, οὐδὲ ἤμθησεν εν τῇ πολιτείᾳ πρὸς

1 δήμοσιος Bekker has δήμοις, after Coraës.
she brings to ruin with herself the man who speaks but to win her favour, and she brings to ruin before herself the man who will not court her favour.

Now, the sun, as mathematicians tell us, has neither the same motion as the heavens, nor one that is directly opposite and contrary, but takes a slanting course with a slight inclination,¹ and describes a winding spiral of soft and gentle curves, thus preserving all things and giving them the best temperature. And so in the administration of a city, the course which is too straight, and opposed in all things to the popular desires, is harsh and cruel, just as, on the other hand, it is highly dangerous to tolerate or yield perforce to the mistakes of the populace. But that wise guidance and government of men which yields to them in return for their obedience and grants them what will please them, and then demands from them in payment what will advantage the state,—and men will give docile and profitable service in many ways, provided they are not treated despastically and harshly all the time,—conduces to safety, although it is laborious and difficult and must have that mixture of austerity and reasonableness which is so hard to attain. But if the mixture be attained, that is the most concordant and musical blending of all rhythms and all harmonies; and this is the way, we are told, in which God regulates the universe, not using compulsion, but making persuasion and reason introduce that which must be.

III. These principles found an illustration in Cato the Younger also. For his manners were not winning, nor pleasing to the populace, nor was he eminent in

¹ i.e. to the plane of the ecliptic.
χάριν ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Κικέρων φησίν αὐτὸν ὁσπερ ἐν τῇ Πλάτωνος πολιτείᾳ καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῇ Ῥωμύλου πολιτευόμενον ὑποστάθηκε τῆς ὑπατείας ἐκπεσεῖν, ἐμοὶ δὲ ταύτῳ δοκεῖ παθεῖν τοῖς μη καθ' ὦραν 2 ἐκφανεῖσα καρποῖς. ὡς γὰρ ἐκείνους ἠδὲ ὅρων τε καὶ θαυμάζοντες οὐ χρόνον, οὗτως ἡ Κάτω νος ἀρχαιοτροπία διὰ χρόνων πολλῶν ἐπιγενομένη βίοις διεφθορόσι καὶ πονηροῖς ἔθεσι δόξαν μὲν εἰκε μεγάλην καὶ κλέος, οὐκ ἐνήρμοσε δὲ ταῖς χρείαις διὰ βάρος καὶ μέγεθος τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀσύμ. 3 μετρον τοῖς καθεστώσι καιροῖς. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς οὐ κεκλιμένης μὲν ἡδὴ τῆς πατρίδος, ὁσπερ ὁ 743 Φωκίων, πολὺν δὲ χειμῶνα καὶ σάλον ἐχούσης, οὖν ἱστίων καὶ κάλων ἐπιλαβέσθαι καὶ παραστήναι τοῖς πλέον δυναμένοις πολιτευόμενοι, οἰάκων δὲ καὶ κυβερνήσεως ἄπωσθείς, ὁμοῖος μέγαν ἀγώνα τῇ τύχῃ περιέστησεν. εἰλε μὲν γὰρ καὶ κατέβαλε τῇ πολιτείᾳ δι' ἄλλους, μόλις δὲ καὶ βραδέως καὶ χρόνῳ πολλῷ καὶ παρὰ μικρὸν ἐλθοῦσαν περιγενέσθαι διὰ Κάτωνα καὶ τὴν 4 Κάτωνος ἀρετήν. ἡ παραβάλλομεν τῇ Φωκίω νος, οὐ κατὰ κοινὰς ὁμοιότητας, ὡς ἄγαθῶν καὶ πολιτικῶν ἄνδρῶν ἔστι γὰρ ἀμέλει καὶ ἀνδρείας διαφορὰ πρὸς ἄνδρειαν, ὡς τῆς Ἀλκιβιάδου πρὸς τὴν Ἐπαμεινώνδου, καὶ φρονήσεως πρὸς φρόνη-

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1 Cicero, *Att. ii. 1, 8*, where, however, there is no allusion to Cato's loss of the consulship. *Dicit enim*
PHOCION

his public career for popularity. Indeed, Cicero says it was because he acted as if he lived in Plato’s commonwealth, and not among the dregs of Romulus, that he was defeated when he stood for the consulship;¹ but I think he fared just as fruits do which make their appearance out of season. For, as we look upon these with delight and admiration, but do not use them, so the old-fashioned character of Cato, which, after a long lapse of time, made its appearance among lives that were corrupted and customs that were debased, enjoyed great repute and fame, but was not suited to the needs of men because of the weight and grandeur of its virtue, which were out of all proportion to the immediate times. For his native city was not already prostrate, like that of Phocion, but struggling with great tempest and surge, and though he could only serve her by putting hand to sails and ropes and by supporting men of greater influence, but was repulsed from rudder-sweeps and pilotage, he nevertheless gave Fortune a hard contest. She did, indeed, seize and overthrow the commonwealth by means of other men, but with difficulty, slowly, after a long time, and when it had almost won the day through Cato and the virtue of Cato. And with this virtue we compare that of Phocion, though not for their general resemblances, but on the ground that both were good men and devoted to the state. For there is surely a difference between the bravery of one man and that of another, as, for instance, between that of Alcibiades and that of Epaminondas; between the wisdom of one man and that of another, as,

tamquam in Platonis πολιτεία, non tamquam in Romuli faece, sententiam.

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σω, ὡς τῆς Θεμιστοκλέους πρὸς τὴν Ἀριστείδου, καὶ δικαίοσύνης πρὸς δικαίοσύνην, ὡς τῆς Νομᾶ
5 πρὸς τὴν Ἀγησιλάου. τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν αἱ ἀρεταὶ μέχρι τῶν τελευταίων καὶ ἀτόμων διαφορῶν ἐνα χαρακτήρα καὶ μορφῆν καὶ χρώμα κοινῶν ἂνθους ἐγκεκραμένου ἐκφέρονσιν, ὡσπερ ἵστορ μέτρον μεμιγμένον πρὸς τὸ αὐστηρὸν τοῦ φιλανθρώπου καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς τοῦ ἀνδρείου, καὶ τῆς ύπερ ἄλλων μὲν κηδεμονίας, ύπερ αὐτῶν δὲ ἱφθαλας, καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὸ αἰσχρὸν εὐλαβείας, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δικαίων εὐτυχίας συνημμοσμένης ὁμοίως: ὅστε λεπτοὶ πάνυ λόγου δεῖσθαι καθὰ
περ ὁργάνῳ πρὸς διάκρισιν καὶ ἀνεύρεσιν τῶν διαφερόντων.

IV. Τὸ μὲν οὖν Κάτωνος ὁμολογηται γένος ἐκ λαμπρῶν ὑπάρχειν, ὡς λεχθήσεται. Φωκίωνα δὲ τεκμαίρομαι μὴ παντάπασιν εἶναι γένους ἄτιμου καὶ καταπεπτωκότος. εἰ γὰρ ἦν, ὡς φησίν Ἰδο-
μενεύσ, δοιδυκοποιοῦ πατρός, οὐκ ἂν ἐν τῷ λόγῳ Πλαῦκτος ὁ Ἐπερείδου μυρία συνειλοχῶς καὶ εἰρήκως κατ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν δυσγένειαν παρῆ-
κεν, οὔτ' ἂν οὕτως ἔλευθερον βίον καὶ σώφρωνος παιδείας μετέσχετο γὰρ τῆς Πλάτωνος ἔτη μειρά-
κιον ὅτι, ύστερον δὲ τῆς Ἐνοκράτους διατριβῆς, ἐν Ἀκαδημεία μετασχεῖν, καὶ τῶν ἀρίστων ἐξ
2 ἀρχῆς ἐπιτηδευμάτων ζηλωτῆς γενέσθαι. Φωκί-
ωνα γὰρ οὔτε γελάσαντά τις οὔτε κλαύσαντα ῥάδιος Ἀθηναίων εἶδεν, οὔτ' ἐν βαλανείῳ δημοσι-
εύοντι λουσάμενον, ὡς ἵστορηκε Δοῦρος, οὔτ' ἐκτὸς ἔχοντα τὴν χείρα τῆς περιβολῆς, ὧτε τὰ τάρτον περιβεβλημένος. ἐπεὶ κατὰ γε τὴν χώραν καὶ
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between that of Themistocles and that of Aristides; between the justice of one man and that of another, as, between that of Numa and that of Agesilaüs. But the virtues of these men, even down to their ultimate and minute differences, show that their natures had one and the same stamp, shape, and general colour; they were an equal blend, so to speak, of severity and kindness, of caution and bravery, of solicitude for others and fearlessness for themselves, of the careful avoidance of baseness and, in like degree, the eager pursuit of justice. Therefore we shall need a very subtle instrument of reasoning, as it were, for the discovery and determination of their differences.

IV. That Cato's lineage, then, was illustrious, is generally admitted, as will be said later; but Phocion's, as I judge, was not altogether ignoble or lowly. For had he been the son of a pestle-maker, as Idomeneus says, then Glaucippus the son of Hypereides, in the speech wherein he collected countless evil things to say against him, would not have omitted his mean birth; nor would Phocion have lived on so high a plane or enjoyed so sound an education as to have been a pupil of Plato when he was still a stripling, and later a pupil of Xenocrates, in the Academy, and to have cultivated the noblest behaviour from the very beginning. For hardly any Athenian ever saw Phocion in laughter or in tears, or making use of a public bath, as Duris tells us, or holding his hand outside his cloak,—when he wore a cloak. Since in the country, at least, and on his
τὰς στρατείας ἀνυπόδητος ἀεὶ καὶ γυμνὸς ἐβά-
διζεν, εἰ μὴ ψύχος ὑπερβάλλου εἰὴ καὶ δυσκαρ-
τέρητον, ὡστε καὶ πάλιντας ἤδη τοὺς στρατευ-
μένους σύμβολον μεγάλον ποιεῖσθαι χειμώνος
ἐνδεδυμένον Φωκίων.

V. Τῷ δὲ ἦθει προσηνέστατος ὁν καὶ φιλαν-
θρωπότατος ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου δυσξύμβολος
ἐφαίνετο καὶ σκυθρωπός, ὡστε μὴ βαδίσῃς ἂν τινα
μόνον ἐντυχείν αὐτῷ τῶν ἀσυνήθων. διὸ καὶ
Χάρητι ποτὲ πρὸς τὰς ὁφρύς αὐτοῦ λέγοντι τῶν
'Αθηναίων ἐπιγελώντων, "Οὔδεν," εἶπεν, "αὐτὴ
ὑμᾶς λεύπηκεν ἡ ὁφρύς· ὦ δὲ τούτων γέλως
2 πολλὰ κλαῦσαι τὴν πόλιν πεποίηκεν." ὁμοίως
dὲ πως τοῦ Φωκίωνος καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν ἐπὶ χρη-
στοῖς εὐνυχήμασι καὶ διανοήμασι σωτηρίων,
προστακτικήν τινα καὶ αὐστηράν καὶ ἀνήδυντον
ἐχών βραχυλογίαν. ὡς γὰρ ὁ Ζήνων ἔλεγεν ὅτι
dεῖ τοῦ φιλόσοφον εἰς νοῦν ἀποβάπτοντα προφέ-
ρεσθαι τὴν λέξιν, οὕτως ὁ Φωκίωνος λόγος πλει-
στον ἐν ἑλαχίστῃ λέξει νοῦν εἶχε. καὶ πρὸς
tοῦτο ἔοικεν ἄπιθανον ὁ Σφήττιος Πολύευκτος
eἶπείν ὅτι ῥήτωρ μὲν ἄριστος εἰη Δημοσθένης,
3 εἰπείν δὲ δεινότατος ὁ Φωκίων. ὡς γὰρ ἦ τοῦ
νομίσματος ἀξία πλείστην ἐν οὐκ ἐβαριστάτῳ
dύναμιν ἔχει, οὕτως λόγων δεινότητι ἐδόκει πολλὰ
σημαίνειν ἀπ' ἀλγίαν. καὶ μέντοι καὶ αὐτὸν
ποτὲ τὸν Φωκίωνα φασὶ πληρουμένου τοῦ θεά-
τρου περιπατεῖν ὑπὸ σκηνὴν αὐτῶν ὁντα πρὸς
74 ἕαυτῷ τὴν διάνοιαν· εἰπόντος δὲ τινος τῶν φίλων,
"Σκέπτομένῳ, Φωκίων, ἐοικας," "Ναὶ μὰ τὸν
Δία," φάναι, "σκέπτομαι εἰ τι δύναμαι τοῦ λό-
γου ἀφελεῖν ὁν μέλλω λέγειν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους."
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campaigns, he always walked without shoes or outer garment, unless the cold was excessive and hard to bear, so that presently his soldiers used to say in jest that it was a sign of severe winter when Phocion wore a cloak.

V. Though his nature was most gentle and most kind, his countenance made him seem forbidding and sullen, so that hardly any one of those who were not on intimate terms cared to converse with him alone. Therefore, when Chares once made the Athenians laugh by speaking of Phocion's frowning brows, "No harm," said Phocion, "has come to you from this brow of mine; but these men's laughter has cost the city many a tear." And in like manner Phocion's language, also, was salutary in its excellent inventions and happy conceits, although it had a brevity which was rather imperious, severe, and unpleasant. For, as Zeno used to say that a philosopher should immerse his words in meaning before he utters them, so Phocion's language had most meaning in fewest words. And this is probably what Polyeuctus the Sphettian had in mind when he said that Demosthenes was a most excellent orator, but Phocion a most powerful speaker. For, as a valuable coin has greatest worth in smallest bulk, so effective speech would seem to indicate much with few words. Indeed, it is said that once upon a time, when the theatre was filling up with people, Phocion himself was walking about behind the scenes lost in thought, and that when one of his friends remarked: "You seem to be considering, Phocion," he replied: "Yes, indeed, I am considering whether I can shorten the speech which I am to deliver to the Athenians." And
4 ο δὲ Δημοσθένης τῶν μὲν ἄλλων κατεφρόνει πολὺ ῥητόρων, ἀνισταμένου δὲ Φωκίωνος εἰώθει λέγειν ἀτρέμα πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, "Ἡ τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων κοτίς πάρεστιν." ἀλλὰ τούτο μὲν ἵσως πρὸς τὸ ἰθὺς ἀνοιστέων· ἐπεὶ καὶ ῥῆμα καὶ νεῦμα μόνων ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ μυρίως ἐνθυμήμασι καὶ περιόδοις ἀντίρροπον ἔχει πίστιν.

VI. Νέος δὲ ὁν Χαβρία προσέμεξεν ἐαυτὸν τῷ στρατηγῷ καὶ παρεῖπτε, πολλὰ μὲν εἰς ἐμπειρίαν τῶν πολέμικῶν ὕφελομενος, ἔστι δὲ ἐν οἷς ἐπανορθούμενος τὴν ἐκείνου φύσιν ἀνώμαλον οὕσαν καὶ ἀκρατοὺς. νωθρός γὰρ ὃν ὁ Χαβρίας καὶ δυσκίνητος ἄλλως ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀγώσιν ὄργα καὶ διεπερυττώ ὁ βυμῷ καὶ συνεξεπιπτε τοῖς θρασύτατοις παραβολῶτερον, ὃςπερ ἀμέλεις καὶ κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον ἐν Χέω πρῶτος εἰσελάσας τῇ τρίηρει καὶ βιαζόμενος πρὸς τὴν ἀπό.

2 Βασιν. ἁσφαλὴς ὁν ἁμα καὶ δραστήριος ὁ Φωκίων φαινόμενος τὴν τε μέλλησιν ἀνεθέρμανε τοῦ Χαβρίου, καὶ πάλιν ἀφήρει τὴν ἀκαίριον ὀξύτητα τῆς ὀρμῆς. ὅθεν εὑμενὴς ὃν ὁ Χαβρίας καὶ χρηστός, ἡγάπα καὶ προῆγεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πράξεις καὶ ἡγεμονίας, γνώριμον ποιῶν τοῖς Ἐλλησι, καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα ἄξια σπουδῆς ἐκείνῳ χρώμενος. κἀκ τῆς περὶ Νάξου ναυμαχίας ὑνομα καὶ δόξαν ὁμμα Φωκίωνοι περιεποίησε. τοῦ γὰρ εὑρώντωμον κέρως ἀπέδωκεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, καθ' ὃ καὶ τὴν μάχην ὀξείαν εἴχειν ἐν ᾗ ἀγὼ καὶ κρίσιν 3 ἐποίησε ταχεῖαν. πρώτην ὑν ἔκειν ναυμαχίαν

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1 Cf. the Demosthenes, x. 2.

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Demosthenes, who held the other orators in great contempt, when Phocion rose to speak, was wont to say quietly to his friends: "Here comes the pruning-knife of my speeches." But perhaps this must be referred to Phocion's character; since a word or a nod merely from a good man is of more convincing weight than any number of elaborate periods.

VI. When he was a young man, Phocion attached himself to Chabrias the general as a close follower, profiting much thereby in military experience, and sometimes also rectifying that general's temperament, which was uneven and violent. For though Chabrias was sluggish and hard to move at other times, in actual battle his spirit was excited and all on fire, and he would rush on with the boldest at too great a hazard, just as, without doubt, he actually threw away his life at Chios by being the first to drive his trireme to shore and trying to force a landing. So then Phocion, who showed himself at once safe and active, would put ardour into Chabrias when he delayed, and again would take away the unseasonable intensity of his efforts. Wherefore Chabrias, who was a good-natured and worthy man, made much of him and advanced him to enterprises and commands, making him known to the Greeks, and employing him in most affairs of moment. Especially in the sea-fight off Naxos he conferred no little name and fame upon Phocion; for he gave him command of the left wing, and here the battle raged hotly and the issue was speedily decided. Accordingly, as this was the first sea-fight which the

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8 In 357 B.C. Chios, Rhodes, and Byzantium had revolted from Athens.
9 In 376 B.C. The Athenians defeated the Lacedaemonian fleet and regained the mastery of the sea.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

η πόλις αυτή δι' αυτῆς ἀγωνισμένη τοῖς Ἐλλησι
μετὰ τὴν ἀλωσίαν, καὶ κατατυχόσα, τὸν τε Χα-
βρίαν ύπερηγάπησε καὶ τοῦ Φωκίωνος ὡς ἄνδρὸς
ήγεμονικοῦ λόγον ἔσχεν. ἐνίκων δὲ μεγάλωις
μυστηρίωις καὶ παρεῖχεν οἰνοχόμα Χαβρίας
'Αθηναίοις καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τῇ ἑκτῇ ἐπὶ
dέκα τοῦ Βοιδρομιῶνος.

VII. Ἡκ τούτων λέγεται πέμποντος αὐτῶν ἔπι
tὰς νησιωτικὰς συντάξεις τοῦ Χαβρίου καὶ ναὸς
εἰκοσὶ διδόντος εἰπεῖν, εἰ μὲν ὡς πολεμήσων πέμ-
ποιτο, μεῖζονος δὲιν δυνάμεως, εἰ δὲ ὡς πρὸς
συμμάχους, ἀρκεῖν ναὸν μίαν καὶ πλεύσαντα τῇ
αὐτοῦ τρηῆρε καὶ διαλεχθέντα ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ
συγγενόμενον τοῖς ἀρχούσιν ἐπιεικῶς καὶ ἀφελῶς
καταπλεύσαι μετὰ πολλῶν νεῶν, ὃς ἀπέστειλαν
οἱ σύμμαχοι τὰ χρήματα τοῖς 'Αθηναίοις κομι-
2 ζόοςας. οὐ μόνον δὲ ζῶντα τὸν Χαβρίαν θερα-
pεύσων διετέλει καὶ τιμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τελευτήσαντος
αὐτοῦ τῶν προσηκόντων καλῶς ἐπεμελεῖτο, καὶ
tὸν παίδα Κτήσιππον ἔβουλετο μὲν ἄνδρα ποιεῖν
ἀγαθόν, ἐμπλήκτον δὲ ὅρων καὶ ἀνάγχων ὅρως
οὐκ ἀπείπεν ἐπανορθόμενον καὶ ἀποκρύπτων τὰ
αἰσχρά. πλὴν ἀπαξ λέγεται, παρενεχλοῦντος ἐν
στρατείᾳ τινὶ τοῦ νεανίσκου καὶ κόπτοντος αὐτῶν
ἔρωτήμασιν ἀκαίροις καὶ συμβουλίας οἴον ἐπαν-
ορθομένου καὶ παραστρατηγοῦντος, εἰπεῖν:
"Ὡς Χαβρία, Χαβρία, μεγάλην γέ σοι χάριν
ἐκτίνω τῆς φιλίας ὑπομένων σου τὸν νιόν."
PHOCION

Athenians had fought with the Greeks on their own account since the capture of their city,¹ and as it had succeeded, they made exceeding much of Chabrias, and came to look upon Phocion as a man fit for command. They won the victory during the celebration of the great mysteries; and therefore Chabrias used to furnish the Athenians with wine for the festival every year on the sixteenth of the month Boëdromion.

VII. Afterwards, we are told, when Chabrias sent him to get their contributions from the islanders and offered him twenty ships, Phocion said that if he was sent to wage war, he needed a larger force, but if to confer with allies, one ship was enough; and after sailing out with his own trireme and discussing matters with the cities and dealing with the magistrates considerately and in a straightforward manner, he returned with many ships, which the allies sent off with money for the Athenians. And not only while Chabrias was alive did Phocion continue to show him attention and honour, but also after his death he took good care of his relatives, and especially of his son Ctesippus, whom he wished to make a good man; and although he saw that the youth was capricious and intractable, he nevertheless persisted in correcting and covering up his disgraceful conduct. Once, however, we are told, when the young man was troublesome to him on an expedition, and plied him with unseasonable questions and advice, like one making corrections and sharing in the command, he cried: "O Chabrias, Chabrias, surely I make thee a large return for thy friendship in enduring thy son."

¹ At the close of the Peloponnesian war (404 B.C.).

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3 Ὀρῶν δὲ τοὺς τὰ κοινὰ πράσσοντας τότε διηρμένους ὅσπερ ἀπὸ κλήρου τὸ στρατήγιον καὶ τὸ βῆμα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν λέγοντας ἐν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ γράφοντας μόνον, ὥν Ἐὔβοιλος ἦν καὶ Ἀριστοφῶν καὶ Δημοσθένης καὶ Δυκούργος καὶ Τιβερίδης, Διοπείδης δὲ καὶ Μενεσθέα καὶ Δεωσθένη καὶ Χάρητα τῷ στρατηγείῳ καὶ πολεμεῖν αὐξόντας έαυτοὺς, ἔβούλετο τὴν Περικλέους καὶ Ἀριστείδου καὶ Σόλωνος πολιτείαν ὅσπερ ὀλόκληρον καὶ διηρμοσμένην ἐν ἁμφοῖν ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ ἀποδούναι καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων ἐκαστος 745 ἐφαίνετο κατὰ τὸν Ἀρχίλοχον,

Ἀμφότεροι, θεράπων μὲν Ἐνναλίοιο θεοῦ, καὶ Μούσεων ἐρατὰν δόρου ἐπιστάμενος καὶ τὴν θεῶν ἑώρα πολεμικὴν τε ἁμα καὶ πολιτικὴν οὐσαν καὶ προσαγορευμένην.

VIII. Οὕτω δὲ συντάξας έαυτὸν ἐπολιτεύετο μὲν ἀεὶ πρὸς εἰρήνην καὶ ἁσυχίαν, ἐστρατηγησε δὲ πλείστος οὐ μόνον τῶν καθ' έαυτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ στρατηγίας, οὐ παραγγέλλων οὐδὲ μετιών, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ φεύγων οὐδὲ ἀποδιδράσκων τῆς πόλεως καλούσης. ὡμολογεῖται γὰρ ὅτι πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντά στρατηγίας ἔλαβεν οὕδ' ἀπαξ ἀρχαιοεύς παρατυχώ, ἀλλ' ἀπόντα μεταπεμ-2 πομένων αὐτῶν ἀεὶ καὶ χειροτονοῦντων, ὡστε θαυμάζειν τοὺς οὕκ εὐ φρονοῦντας τῶν δήμων ὅτι, πλείστα τοῦ Φώκιωνος ἀντικρούντος αὐτῷ καὶ μηδὲν εἰπόντος πῶς τοτε μηδὲ πράξαντος πρὸς χάριν, ὅσπερ ἀξιοῦσι τοὺς Βασιλείας τοὺς κόλαξι

1 Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graeci, ii.4, p. 383 (εἰμι δ' ἐγὼ θεράπων...

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He saw that the public men of his day had distributed among themselves as if by lot the work of the general and the orator. Some of them merely spoke before the people and introduced measures,—men like Eubulus, Aristophon, Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and Hypereides; while such men as Diopeithes, Menestheus, Leosthenes, and Chabrias advanced themselves by holding the office of general and waging war. He therefore wished to resume and restore the public service rendered by Pericles, Aristides, and Solon, which was equally apportioned in both fields of action. For each of those men showed himself to be, in the words of Archilochus,

"As well a squire of Enyalius god of war,
As versed in the lovely Muses' gifts."

He also saw that the goddess Athena was a goddess of war as well as of statecraft, and was so addressed.

VIII. Having taken this stand, his civil policies were always in favour of peace and quiet; and yet he held the office of general more frequently than any man, and I speak not only of the men of his own time, but also of those who came before him. He did not seek the office or canvass for it; nor, on the other hand, did he flee or run away when his city called him. It is generally admitted, indeed, that he held the office of general forty-five times, although he was not even once present at the election, but was always absent when the people summoned and chose him. Therefore men of little understanding are amazed at the conduct of the Athenian people. For Phocion opposed them more than anybody else, and never said or did anything to win their favour; and yet, just as kings are
χρησκωνι μετὰ τὸ κατὰ χειρὸς υδώρ, ἐχρήτο σύνος
tούς μὲν κομψοτέροις καὶ ἱλαροῖς ἐν παιδίας
μέρει δημαγωγοῖς, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς αἰεὶ νήφων καὶ
σπουδάζων τῶν αὐστηράτων καὶ φρονιμώτατον
ἐκάλει τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ μόνον ἡ μάλλον ταῖς
βουλήσεσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅρμαις ἀντιτασσόμενον.

3 χρήσμοι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ Δελφῶν ἀναγνωσθέντος ὁτι,
tῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων ὅμοφρονούντων, εἰς ἀνήρ
ἐναντία φρονοίη τῇ πόλει, παρελθὼν ὁ Φωκίων
ἀμελείν ἐκέλευσεν, ὡς αὐτὸς ὅν ὁ ζητούμενος
μόνον γὰρ αὐτῷ μηδὲν ἀρέσκειν τῶν πραττομένων.
ἐπεὶ δὲ λέγων ποτὲ γνώμην πρὸς τὸν δήμον εὐ-
δοκίμει καὶ πάντας ὁμαλῶς ἐώρα τὸν λόγον ἀπο-
δεχομένους, ἐπιστραφεῖς πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἶπεν:
"Οὐ δὴ ποῦ τι κακὸν λέγων ἐμαυτὸν λέληθα;

IX. Πρὸς δὲ θυσίαν τινὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων αὐ-
tούντων ἐπιδόσεις, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιδιόντων,
κληθεὶς πολλάκις ἐφη: "Τούτους αἰτεῖτε τοὺς
πλουσίους· ἐγὼ δὲ ἀἰσχυνοῦμην ἂν, εἰ τούτῳ μὴ
ἀποδιδοὺς ύμῖν ἐπιδοθήν, “ δείξας Καλλικλέα τὸν
dανειστήν. ὡς δ' οὖν ἔπαινοντο κεκραγότες καὶ
2 καταβοῦντες, λόγον εἶπεν αὐτοῖς τούτον: "Ἀνὴρ
δειλὸς ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἔξης, φθεγχαμένων δὲ κορά-
κων τὰ ὅπλα θεὶς ἥσυχαζεν· ἐίτα ἀναλαβόν
αὕτης ἔξης; καὶ φθεγγομένων πάλιν ὑπέστη, καὶ
tέλος εἶπεν: "Τμεῖς κεκράξεσθε μὲν μέγιστον ὅσ
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supposed to listen to their flatterers after dinner has begun, so the Athenians made use of their more elegant and sprightly leaders by way of diversion, but when they wanted a commander they were always sober and serious, and called upon the severest and most sensible citizen, one who alone, or more than the rest, arrayed himself against their desires and impulses. Indeed, when an oracle from Delphi was read out in the assembly, declaring that when the rest of the Athenians were of like mind, one man had a mind at variance with the city, Phocion came forward and bade them seek no further, since he himself was the man in question; for there was no one but he who disliked everything they did. And when, as he was once delivering an opinion to the people, he met with their approval, and saw that all alike accepted his argument, he turned to his friends and said: "Can it possibly be that I am making a bad argument without knowing it?"

IX. The Athenians were once asking contributions\(^1\) for a public sacrifice, and the rest were contributing, but Phocion, after being many times asked to give, said: "Ask from these rich men; for I should be ashamed to make a contribution to you before I have paid my debt to this man here," pointing to Callicles the money-lender. And once when his audience would not cease shouting and crying him down, he told them this fable. "A coward was going forth to war, but when some ravens croaked, he laid down his arms and kept quiet; then he picked them up and was going forth again, and when the ravens croaked once more, he stopped, and said at last: 'You may croak with all

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\(^1\) Cf. the Alcibiades, x. 1.
your might, but you shall not get a taste of me.'"

And at another time, when the Athenians urged him to lead forth against the enemy, and called him an unmanly coward because he did not wish to do so, he said: "Ye cannot make me bold, nor can I make you cowards. However, we know one another."

And again, in a time of peril, when the people were behaving very harshly towards him and demanding that he render up accounts of his generalship, "My good friends," said he, "make sure of your safety first." Again, when they had been humble and timorous during a war, but then, after peace had been made, were getting bold and denouncing Phocion on the ground that he had robbed them of the victory, "Ye are fortunate," said he, "in having a general who knows you; since otherwise ye had long ago perished." Once, too, when the people were unwilling to adjudge with the Boeotians a question of territory, but wanted to go to war about it, he counselled them to fight with words, in which they were superior, and not with arms, in which they were inferior. Again, when he was speaking and they would not heed or even consent to hear him, he said: "Ye can force me to act against my wishes, but ye shall not compel me to speak against my judgement." And when Demostenes, one of the orators in opposition to him, said to him, "The Athenians will kill thee, Phocion, should they go crazy," he replied: "But they will kill thee, should they come to their senses." Again, when he saw Polyeuctus the Sphettian, on a hot day, counselling the Athenians to go to war with Philip, and then, from much panting and sweating, since he was really very corpulent, frequently gulp-
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ροφοῦντα τοῦ ὕδατος "Ἄξιον," ἔφη, "τούτῳ πιστεύσαντας ὑμᾶς ψηφίσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον, δυν \[\text{ότε} \] ὦσθε νοήσειν ἐν τῷ θώρακι καὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι, τῶν πολεμίων ἐγγὺς ὄντων, ὥστε λέγων πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπεκπετταί κινδυνεύει πυγήματε;" τοῦ δὲ Δυκούργου πολλὰ βλάσφημα πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ πρὸς ἀπασίν ὤτι, δέκα τῶν πολεμιών ἐξαιτουντος Ἀλεξάνδρου, συνεβούλευεν ἐκδούναι, ἐπεὶ "Πολλὰ ἐγὼ συμβεβούλευκα καλὰ καὶ συμφέροντα τούτοις, ἀλλ’ οὗ πείθονται μοι." Χ. Ἡν δὲ τις Ἀρχιβιάδης ἐπικαλούμενος Δακοωστής, πώγωνα τις καθεμένος ὑπερφυὴ μεγέθει καὶ τρίβωνα φορῶν ἀεὶ καὶ σκυθρωπάξων τούτων ἐν βουλῇ θορυβούμενος ὁ Φωκίων ἐπεκαλεῖτο τῷ λόγῳ μάρτυν ἀμα καὶ θωσθον. ὥσ ὦν ἀναστὰς ἐκεῖνος ὦ πρὸς χάριν ἣν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις συνεβούλευεν, ἀφάμενος αὐτῷ τῶν γενείων. "Ὁ Ἀρχιβιάδη," ἐπεί, "τί οὖν οὐκ ἀπεκείρω;" ἡ Ἀριστογείτωνος δὲ τοῦ συκοφάντου πολεμικοῦ μὲν ὄντος ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καὶ παροξύνοντος ἐπὶ τὰς πράξεις τῶν δήμων, ἐν δὲ τῷ καταλόγῳ προσελθόντος ἐπὶ βακτηρία τῶν σκέλη καταδέμενον, πόρρωθεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἰδὼν ὁ Φωκίων ἀνέκραγε. "Γράφε καὶ Ἀριστογείτωνα χωλὸν καὶ ποηρὸν." ὡστε θαυμάζειν ὡτις καὶ ὀπόθεν τραχὺς οὐτῶς ἀνήρ καὶ σκυθρωπός ἐκτήσας τὴν τοῦ χρηστοῦ προσηγορίαν. ἔστι δὲ, οἶμαι, χαλεπόν, οὐ μὴν ἄδυνατον, 166
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ing down water, Phocion said: "It is meet that ye should be persuaded by this man to go to war; for what do ye think he would do under breastplate and shield, when the enemy were near, if, in making you a premeditated speech, he is in danger of choking to death?" At another time Lycurgus heaped much abuse upon him in the assembly, and above all because, when Alexander demanded ten of the citizens of Athens, Phocion counselled their surrender; Phocion, however, merely said: "I have given this people much good and profitable counsel, but they will not listen to me."

X. There was a certain Archibiades, nicknamed Laconistes, because, in imitation of the Spartans, he let his beard grow to an extravagant size, always wore a short cloak, and had a scowl on his face. Phocion was once stormily interrupted in the council, and called upon this man for testimony and support in what he said. But when the man rose up and gave such counsel as was pleasing to the Athenians, Phocion seized him by the beard and said: "O Archibiades, why, then, didst thou not shave thyself?" Again, when Aristogeiton the public informer, who was always warlike in the assemblies and tried to urge the people on to action, came to the place of muster leaning on a staff and with both legs bandaged, Phocion spied him from the tribunal when he was afar off, and cried out: "Put down Aristogeiton, too, as lame and worthless." So that one might wonder how and why a man so harsh and stern got the surname of The Good.

But though it is difficult, it is not impossible, I

1 Cf. chapter xvii. 2 ff.
ὁσπερ οἶνον, καὶ ἀνθρωπον τὸν αὐτὸν ἢδύν ἅμα καὶ αὐστηρὸν εἶναι: καθάπερ ἔτεροι πάλιν, φανό-
μενοι γλυκεῖς, ἀρδέστατοι τοῖς χρωμένοις εἰσὶ καὶ ἑλαβερότατοι. καίτιοι φασίν ὅπερ ἔδεην
ποτε εἴπειν πρὸς τὸν δήμον, "Ἀνδρεσ Ἀθηναίοι,
μὴ σκοπείτε μόνον εἰ πικρός, ἀλλ' εἰ προϊκά εἴμι
πικρός," ὡσπερ τῇ πλεονεξίᾳ μόνον ἐπαχθεῖς καὶ
λυπηροὺς ζύντας, οὐχὶ μᾶλλον, ὅσοι πρὸς ὦβριν καὶ
φθόνον ἢ ὦργην ἢ φιλονεικίαν τυάχρωντα
τῷ δύνασθαι, τούτους δεδιότων καὶ προβάλλομεν
νων τῶν πολλῶν. Φωκίων τοῖς ἐχθρα ἡμῶν
οὐδένα τῶν πολιτῶν κακῶς ἐποίησθεν, οὐδὲ ἐνό-
μεξεν ἐχθρῶν ἀλλ' ὅσον ἔδει μόνον τῶν ἐνισταμέ-
νων οἰς ἐπραττεν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος κατεξανα-
στήναι τραχύς ὦν καὶ δυσεκβιάστος καὶ ἀπαραῖ-
τητος, εἰς τὸν ἄλλον βίον εὔμενη πάσι καὶ κοινῶν
καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἑαυτοῦ παρείχεν, ὡστε καὶ
πταίσασι βοηθεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύουσι συνεξετάζε-
σθαί τοῖς διαφόροις. ἐγκαλούντων δὲ τῶν φίλων
ὅτι πονηρῷ τινὶ κρινομένῳ συνείπε, τοὺς χρη-
στοὺς ἔφη μὴ δείσθαι βοηθείας. Ἀριστογείτονος
dὲ τοῦ συκοφάντου μετὰ τὴν καταδίκην πέμψαν-
tος καὶ δεήθεντος ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὑπακούσας
ἐβάδιζεν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον· οὐκ ἐώντων δὲ τῶν
φίλων, "Ἐάστε," εἶπεν, "ὁ μακάριοι· ποῦ γὰρ
ἀν τῆς ὣδιον Ἀριστογείτονοι συμβάλοι;"

XI. Καὶ μὴν οὐ γε σύμμαχοι καὶ οἱ νησίωται
tοὺς Ἀθῆνας ἀποστόλους ἐτέρου μὲν ἐκπλέου-
tος στρατηγοῦ πολεμίους νομίζοντες ἐφράγμωντο
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think, for the same man, like the same wine, to be at once pleasant and austere; just as others, on the contrary, appear to be sweet, but are most unpleasant to those who use them, and most injurious. And yet we are told that Hypereides once said to the people: "Do not ask, men of Athens, merely whether I am bitter, but whether I am paid for being bitter," as if the multitude were led by their avarice to fear and attack those only who are troublesome and vexatious, and not rather all who use their power to gratify their insolence or envy or wrath or contentiousness. Phocion, then, wrought no injury to any one of his fellow citizens out of enmity, nor did he regard any one of them as his enemy; but he was harsh, obstinate, and inexorable only so far as was necessary to struggle successfully against those who opposed his efforts in behalf of the country, and in other relations of life showed himself well-disposed to all, accessible, and humane, so that he even gave aid to his adversaries when they were in trouble or in danger of being brought to account. When his friends chided him for pleading the cause of some worthless man, he said that good men needed no aid. Again, when Aristogeiton the public informer, who was under condemnation, sent and asked him to come to him, he obeyed the summons and set out for the prison; and when his friends sought to prevent him, he said: "Let me go, my good men; for where could one take greater pleasure in meeting Aristogeiton?"

XI. And certainly the allies and the islanders regarded envoys from Athens under the conduct of any other general as enemies, barricading their
τείχη καὶ λιμένας ἀπεχώρυσαν καὶ κατεκόμμεζον ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας εἰς τὰς πόλεις βοσκῆματα καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ γυναίκας καὶ παιδᾶς· εἰ δὲ Φωκίων ἡγοῖτο, πόρρῳ ναυσίν ἱδίας ἀπαντώντες ἐστε-φανωμένοι καὶ χαίροντες ὡς αὐτοὺς κατήγγον.

XII. Παραδυνμένου δὲ εἰς τὴν Εὐβοίαν τοῦ Φιλίττου καὶ δύναμιν ἐκ Μακεδονίας διαβιβά-ξουτος καὶ τὰς πόλεις οἰκειουμένου διὰ τυράννων, Πλούταρχον δὲ τοῦ Ἐρετρίεως καλοῦντος τοῦς 747 Ἀθηναίους καὶ δεομένου τὴν νήσου ἐξελέσθαι καταλαμβανομένην ὑπὸ τοῦ Μακεδόνος, ἀπεστά-λη στρατηγὸς ο Φωκίων ἔχων δύναμιν οὐ πολλὴν, ὡς τῶν ἐκεῖ συστησομένων ἐτοίμως πρὸς αὐτῶν. 2 εἰρῶν δὲ προδοτῶν ἀπαντὰ μεστὰ καὶ νοσοῦντα καὶ διορωγομένα δωροδοκίαις εἰς κίνδυνον μέγαν κατέστη καὶ τινα λόφον χαράδρα βαθεία τῶν περὶ τὰς Ταμύνας ἐπιπέδων ἀποκρυπτόμενον καταλαβὼν συνείχεν ἐν τούτῳ καὶ συνεκράτει τὸ 3 μαχιμώτατον τῆς δυνάμεως. τῶν δὲ ἀτάκτων καὶ λάλων καὶ πονηρῶν διαδιδρασκόντων ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ ἀποχωροῦντων ἔκελευσαν ἀμε-λεῖν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας· καὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα δυσχρή-στους ὑπὸ ἀταξίας ἐσέσθαι καὶ βλαβεροὺς τοῖς μαχομένοις, κάκει τοιαύτα συνειδότας αὐτοῖς ἢττον αὐτοῦ καταβοήσεσθαι καὶ μὴ πάνυ συκο-φαντήσειν.

XIII. Ὡς δὲ ἐπῆσαν οἱ πολέμωι, κελεύσας ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀπερεμεῖν ἄχρι ἂν αὐτὸς σφαγίασηται, πλείω διέτριβε χρόνου ἢ δυσερῶν ἢ βουλόμενος ἐγγυτέρω τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιστάσασθαι. διὸ πρῶτον μὲν ὁ Πλούταρχος οἴμενος ἀποδειλιάν

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gates, obstructing their harbours, and bringing into their cities from the country their herds, slaves, women and children; but whenever Phocion was the leader, they went far out to meet him in their own ships, wearing garlands and rejoicing, and conducted him to their homes themselves.

XII. When Philip was stealing into Euboea and bringing a force across from Macedonia and making the cities his own by means of tyrants, and when Plutarch the Eretrian called upon the Athenians and begged them to rescue the island from its occupation by the Macedonian, Phocion was sent out as general with a small force,¹ in the belief that the people of the island would rally readily to his aid. But he found the whole island full of traitors, disaffected, and honeycombed with bribery, and was therefore in a position of great peril. So he took possession of a crest of ground which was separated by a deep ravine from the plains about Tamynae, and on this assembled and held together the best fighting men of his force. To the disorderly and worthless triflers who ran away from the camp and made their way home he bade his officers give no heed, for in the camp their lack of discipline would make them useless and harmful to the fighting men, while at home their accusing consciences would make them less liable to cry down their commander, and would keep them entirely from malicious accusations.

XIII. When the enemy came up against him, he ordered his men to remain quietly under arms until he should have finished sacrificing, and then waited a considerable time, either because the omens were bad, or because he wished to draw the enemy nearer. Therefore, to begin with, Plutarch, who

¹ In 350 B.C.
καὶ κατοκνεῖν ἐκείνον ἐξέδραμε μετὰ τῶν ξένων ἐπείτα τοῦτον ἱδόντες οἱ ἱππεῖς οὐκ ἐκαρτέρησαν, ἀλλ' ἠλαυνοῦν εὐθὺς εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀσύντακτοι καὶ σποράδες ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου προσφερόμενοι. 2 μὲν υικωμένων δὲ τῶν πρῶτων ἀπαντεῖ ἐσκεδάσθησαν καὶ ὁ Πλούταρχος ἔφυγε ἀλλ' ὁ χάρακι προσμέχαντες ἔνιοι τῶν πολεμίων ἐκκοπτεῖν ἐπειρώντο καὶ διασπάν ὡς ἀπάντων κεκρατήκτες. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν γενομένων, τοὺς μὲν εὐθὺς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου προσπεσόντες οἱ Ἀθηναίοι τρέποντο καὶ καταβάλλουσι τοὺς πλείστους περὶ τοὺς ἐρύμασι φεύγοντας, ὁ δὲ Φωκίων τὴν μὲν φάλαγγα προσέταξεν ἐφεδρεύειν ἀναλαμβάνουσαν ἄμα καὶ προσδεχομένην τοὺς ἐν τῇ φυγῇ πρὸτερον διασπαρέντας, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους ἔχον ἐνέβαλε τοῖς πολεμίοις.

3 καὶ μάχης καρτερᾶς γενομένης πάντες μὲν ἐκθύμοις ἡγούνσαντο καὶ ἀφείδοις, Θάλλος δὲ ὁ Κινέων καὶ Γλαῦκος ὁ Πολυμήδος περὶ αὐτὸν τεταγμένου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἥριστευσαν. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ Κλεοφάνης ἄξιον πλείστου παρέσχεν ἑαυτὸν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ μάχῃ. τοὺς γὰρ ἰππεῖς ἀνακαλούμενος ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς καὶ βοῶν καὶ διακελεύμονος κυνδυνεύοντι τῷ στρατηγῷ βοηθεῖν, ἐποίησεν ἀναστρέφαντας ἐπιρρώπαι τὸ νίκημα τῶν ὀπλιτῶν.

4 Ἐκ τούτου τὸν τε Πλούταρχον ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς Ἑρετρίας, καὶ Ζάρητρα φρούριον ἐλὼν ἐπικαίροτα, η μάλιστα συγελαύνεται τὸ πλάτος εἰς βραχὺ διάξωμα τῆς νῆσου σφιγγομένης ἐκατέρωθεν ταῖς θαλάσσαις, ὄσους ἐλαβεὶ αἴχμαλωτος Ἔλληνας ἀφῆκε, φοβηθεῖς τοὺς ῥήτορας τῶν Ἀθηναίων, μὴ πρὸς οργῆν τε βιάσωνται τὸν δῆμον ἀγνωμονήσαι περὶ αὐτοὺς. 172
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thought that Phocion's delay was due to cowardice, sallied forth with his mercenaries. Next, the horsemen, catching sight of Plutarch, could not restrain themselves, but rode at once into the enemy, hurrying out of the camp in a disorderly and scattered fashion. The foremost of them were conquered, and then all of them dispersed and Plutarch took to flight, while some of the enemy gained the ramparts and tried to cut them away and destroy them, supposing themselves to be entirely victorious. But at this point the sacrifices were completed, and the Athenians, bursting out of their camp, routed their assailants and slew most of them as they fled among the entrenchments. Then Phocion ordered his phalanx to halt for the reception and support of the troops which had been scattered in the previous flight, while he himself with his picked men fell upon the main body of the enemy. A fierce battle ensued, in which all the Athenians fought with spirit and gallantry; but Thallus the son of Cineas and Glaucus the son of Polymedes, whose post was at their general's side, bore away the palm. However, Cleophanes also did most valuable service in that battle. For, by calling back the cavalry from their flight and exhorting them with loud cries to succour their general in his peril, he made them turn back and confirm the victory of the men-at-arms.

After this, Phocion expelled Plutarch from Eretria, took possession of Zaretra, a fortress most advantageously situated where the island is reduced to its narrowest width by the sea, which hems it in on both sides, and released all the Greeks whom he had taken prisoners. For he was afraid that the orators at Athens might drive the people, in some fit of anger, to treat them with cruelty.
ΧΙΒ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἀπεπλευσεν ὁ Φωκίων, ταχὺ μὲν ἐπόθησαν οἱ σύμμαχοι τὴν χρηστότητα καὶ δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ, ταχὺ δὲ ἐγνώσαν οἱ Ἀθηναίοι τὴν ἐμπειρίαν καὶ ῥώμην τοῦ ἀνδρός. ὦ γὰρ μετ’ ἐκείνων ἔλθων ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα Μολοσσὸς οὔτως ἐπολέμησεν ὡστε καὶ ξῶν αὐτὸς ὑποχέριος γενέσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις.

2 ἐπεὶ δὲ μεγάλα ταῖς ἐπίσης περινοῦν ὁ Φίλιππος εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον ἠλθεὶ μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως, ὡς Χερρόνησον ἐν ταύτῳ καὶ Πέρινθον ἔξων καὶ Βυζάντιον, ὀρμημένων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων βοηθείας οἱ ῥήτορες ἤγωνυσαντο τὸν Χάριητα στρατηγὸν ἀποσταλῆναι, καὶ πλεύσας ἐκεῖνος οὐδὲν ἢξον τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπράττεν, οὐδὲ αἱ πόλεις ἐδέχοντο τὸν στόλον, ἀλλ’ ὑποττος ὧν πᾶσιν ἐπλανάτο χρηματιζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων καὶ κατα-

3 φρονούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ὥς δὴ δῆμος ὑπὸ τῶν ῥητόρων παραβαλλόμενος ἠγανάκτη ἐκεῖ καὶ μετε- νόει τοῖς Βυζάντιοις πέμψας τὴν βοήθειαν, ἀνα-

στὰς ὁ Φωκίων ἐπεὶ ὁ ἐν τοῖς ἀπιστοῦσιν ὀργίζεσθαι τῶν συμμάχων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀπιστοῦ-

μένοις τῶν στρατηγῶν. “Οὔτοι γὰρ ὑμᾶς ποιοῦσι φοβεροὺς καὶ τοῖς χωρίς ὑμῶν σώζεσθαι μὴ δυναμένοις.”

Κανθήσω σοιν ὁ δῆμος ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου καὶ μετα-

πεσὼν ἐκείνων αὐτοῦ ἐκείνων ἐτέραν προσα-

βόντα δύναμιν βοηθείν τοῖς συμμάχοις εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον· ἦ μεγάλῃν ῥοπὴν ἐποίησε πρὸς

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XIV. After these things had been accomplished, Phocion sailed back home, and then the allies speedily felt the absence of his probity and justice, and speedily did the Athenians recognize the experience and vigour which had been shown by him. For his successor in command, Molossus, conducted the war in such a way as actually to fall alive into the hands of the enemy. And now Philip, cherishing great anticipations, went to the Hellespont with all his forces, expecting to get the Chersonesus, and at the same time Perinthus and Byzantium, into his power. The Athenians were eager to give aid to their allies, but their orators strove successfully to have Chares sent out as commander, and he, after sailing thither, did nothing worthy of the force under his orders, nor would the cities even receive his armament into their harbours. On the contrary, he was held in suspicion by all of them, and wandered about exacting money from the allies and despised by the enemy, so that the people of Athens, instigated by their orators, were incensed at him, and repented of having sent aid to the Byzantians. Then Phocion rose in the assembly and declared that they must not be angry at their allies who showed distrust, but at their generals who were distrusted; "For these," said he, "make you to be feared even by those who can be saved only by your help."

Accordingly, moved by his words, the people changed their minds again and ordered him to take another force and go himself to the help of their allies on the Hellespont; a commission which contributed more than anything else to the salvation of

1 In 340 B.C.  
2 In 339 B.C.
4 τὸ σωθήναι τὸ Βυζάντιον. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἡ δοξα τοῦ Φωκίωνος. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Λέων, ἀνὴρ Βυζαντίων πρῶτος ἀρετή καὶ τῷ Φωκίωνι γεγονως ἐν Ἁκαδημείᾳ συνήθης, ἀνεδέξατο τὴν πίστιν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, οὐκ εἰςαν ἔξω στρατοπεδεύσαι Βουλόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἀνοίξαντες τὰς πύλας ἐδέξαντο καὶ κατέμιξαν εαυτοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων, οὐ μόνον ἀνεγκλήτους ταῖς διαίταις καὶ σώφρονας, ἀλλὰ καὶ προθυμοτότους ἐν τοῖς ἀγώνις διὰ τὴν πίστιν γενομένους. οὗτω μὲν οἱ Φίλιππος ἐξέπεσε τοῦ Ἐλλησπόντου τότε καὶ κατεφρονήθη, δοκῶν ἄμαχός τις εἴναι καὶ ἀνατα-γώνιστος, ὁ δὲ Φωκίων καὶ ναύς τινας εἴλεν αὐτοῦ καὶ φρουρομένας πόλεις ἀνέλαβε, καὶ πολλαχόθι τῆς χώρας ἀποβάσεις ποιούμενος ἐπόρθιε καὶ κατέτρεχε, μέχρι οὗ τραύματα λαβὼν ὑπὸ τῶν προσβοηθοῦντων ἀπέπλευσε.

XV. Τῶν δὲ Μεγαρέων ἐπικαλομένων κρύφα, φροβούμενος ὁ Φωκίων τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς μὴ προαισθόμενοι φθάσωσι τὴν βοήθειαν, ἐκκλησίαν συνήγαγεν ἑωθεν, καὶ προσαγγείλας τὰ παρὰ τῶν Μεγαρέων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὡς ἐπεψηφίσαντο, τῇ σάλπιγγι σημήνας εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἢγεν αὐτοὺς τὰ ὑπλα λαβόντας. δεξαμένων δὲ τῶν Μεγαρέων προθύμως τὴν τε Νίσαιαν ἐτείχισε, καὶ διὰ μέσου σκέλη δύο πρὸς τὸ ἐπίνειον

1 καὶ Λέων Sintenis' correction of the MSS. Κλέων; Bekker has Λέων, the correction of Wachsmuth.

1 See the Nicias, xxii. 3.
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Byzantium. For already Phocion was held in high repute there; and when Leon¹ also, a man who was first among the Byzantians for virtue, and had been a familiar companion of Phocion in the Academy, went surety for him with the city, they would not suffer him to go into camp outside the city, as he wished, but threw open their gates and received the Athenians into close companionship with themselves. This mark of confidence caused the Athenians to be not only discreet and blameless in their general conduct, but also most spirited in the struggles for the city's defence. In this way Philip was expelled from the Hellespont at this time and brought into contempt, although men had thought there was no fighting or contending with him at all; moreover, Phocion captured some of his ships and recovered cities which he had garrisoned. He also landed in many parts of Philip's territory and plundered and overran it, until he was wounded by those who rallied to its defence, and sailed back home.

XV. The people of Megara once made a secret appeal to Athens for help,² and Phocion, fearing that the Boeotians might get early knowledge of the appeal and anticipate Athens in sending help, called an assembly early in the morning and announced to the Athenians the message received from Megara. Then, as soon as the requisite decree had been passed, he ordered the trumpeter to give the signal and led them, under arms, directly from the assembly. The Megarians received him eagerly, and he enclosed Nisaea³ with a wall, built two long walls

² Against a faction in the city which would have delivered it into the power of Philip. The date of these events is uncertain (perhaps 344–343 B.C.).
³ The sea-port of Megara, about a mile away.
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ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀστεοῦ ἐνέβαλε, καὶ συνῆψε τῇ θαλάττῃ τῆν πόλιν, ὡστε τῶν κατὰ γῆν πολεμῶν ὄλγον ἣδη φροντίζουσαν ἐξηρτῆσαι τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

XVI. 'Ἡδη δὲ πρὸς Φίλιππον ἐκπεπολεμώμενων παντάπασι, καὶ στρατηγῶν αὐτοῦ μὴ παρόντος ἐτέρων ἢπὶ τῶν πόλεμον ἤρημένων, ὡς κατεπλευσαν ἀπὸ τῶν νῆσων, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπειθε τῶν δήμου εἰρηνικῶς ἔχοντος τοῦ Φίλιππον καὶ φοβομένου τῶν κίνδυνων ἵσχυρῶς δέχεσθαι τὰς διαλύσεις· καὶ τίνος ἀντικρούσαντος αὐτῷ τῶν εἰωθότων κυλινδεῖσαι περὶ τὴν Ἡλιαίαν καὶ συκοφαντεῖν, καὶ εἰπόντος, "Σὺ δὲ τολμᾶς, ὦ Φωκίω, ἀποτρέπειν Ἀθηναίους ἣδη τὰ ὀπλα διὰ χειρῶν ἔχοντας;" ""Εγώγε, εἶπε, "καὶ ταύτα εἰδὼς ὅτι πολέμοι μὲν ὄντος ἐγὼ σοῦ, εἰρήνης δὲ γενομένης σὺ ἐμοῦ ἀρξείς." ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐπείθεν, ἀλλ' ὁ Δημοσθένης ἐκράτει κελεύων ὡς πορρωτάτω τῆς Ἀττικῆς θέσθαι μάχην τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ""Ω τάν," ἐφη, "μὴ ποῦ μαχώμεθα σκοπῶμεν, ἀλλὰ πῶς νικήσωμεν. οὔτω γὰρ ἔσται μακρὰν ὁ πόλεμος, ἦττωμένοις δὲ πᾶν ἂεὶ δεινὸν ἐγγὺς πάρεστι." γενομένης δὲ τῆς ἦττης ἕν τῶν θυρυβοποιών καὶ νεωτεριστῶν ἐν ἄστει ὁ Χαρίδημον ἐλκόντων ἢπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ στρατηγεῖν ἄξιοντων, ἐφοβῆθησαν οἱ βέλτιστοι· καὶ τὴν εξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλήν ἔχοντες ἐν τῷ δήμῳ δεό-

1 τῆς ἦττης Bekker, with Cf.: ἦττης.
2 ἐν ἄστει Coraës and Bekker have τῶν ἐν ἄστει, after Stephanus.

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down to the sea-port from Megara, and thus united the city with the sea, so that she need now pay little heed to enemies on land and could be in close connection with Athens by sea.

XVI. Presently\(^1\) the relations between Athens and Philip were altogether hostile, and, in Phocion's absence, other generals were chosen to conduct the war. But when Phocion returned with his fleet from the islands, to begin with, he tried to persuade the people, since Philip was peaceably inclined and greatly feared the peril of war, to accept the terms of settlement which he offered. And when one of those who haunted the law-courts in the capacity of public informer opposed him, and said, "Canst thou dare, O Phocion, to divert the Athenians from war when they are already under arms?" "I can," said he, "and that, too, though I know that while there is war thou wilt be under my orders, but when peace has been made I shall be under thine." When, however, he could not prevail, but Demosthenes carried the day and was urging the Athenians to join battle with Philip as far from Attica as possible, "My good Sir," said Phocion, "let us not ask where we can fight, but how we shall be victorious. For in that case the war will be at a long remove; but wherever men are defeated every terror is close at hand." But when the defeat came,\(^2\) and the turbulent and revolutionary spirits in the city dragged Chari- demus to the tribunal and demanded that he be made general, the best citizens were filled with fear; and with the aid of the council of the Areiopagus in the assembly, by dint of entreaties and tears,

\(^1\) In 340 B.C.
\(^2\) In 338 B.C., at Chaeroneia, where Philip defeated the allied Greeks and put an end to their independence.
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μενοι καὶ δακρύοντες μόλις ἔπεισαν ἐπιτρέψαι τῷ Φωκίωι τὴν πόλιν.

4 Ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν ἄλλην τοῦ Φιλίππου πολιτείαν καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν φέτο δεῖν προσδέχεσθαι. Δημάδου δὲ γράφαντος ὡς ἡ πόλις μετέχοι τῆς κοινῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τοῦ συνεδρίου τοῖς Ἑλλησίων, οὐκ εἶνα πρὸ τοῦ γρῶναι τίνα Φιλίππου αὐτῷ ἄνωτέρω οὖν διὰ τὸν ἄλλην ἄξιόσει κρατήθεις 749 ἀντέ γὰρ ἂν ἄλλην κινήσεις ἐκεῖνος μεταμελομένους, ὃτι καὶ τρήρεις ἐδει παρέχει τῷ Φιλίππῳ καὶ ἵππεῖς, "Ταύτα," ἐφη, "φοβοῦμενος ἡμαντίομην· ἐπεὶ δὲ συνέθεσθε, δεῖ μὴ βαρέως φέρειν μηδὲ ἄθυμεν, μεμημένους ὅτι καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι ποτὲ μὲν ἄρχοντες, ποτὲ δὲ ἀρχόμενοι, καλῶς δὲ ἀμφότερα ταύτα ποιοῦντες καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔσωσαν καὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας." Φιλίππου δὲ ἀποθανόντος ἐναγγέλαθον τὸν δήμον οὖν εἶναι καὶ γὰρ ἄγεννες εἶναι ἐπιχαίρειν, καὶ τὴν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ παραταξάμενην πρὸς αὐτῶν δύναμιν ἐνί σώματι μόνον ἐλαττῶς γενέσθαι.

XVII. Δημοσθένους δὲ λοιδοροῦντος τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἣδη προσάγοντα ταῖς Θῆβαις ἐφη:

"Σχέτως, τίπτε ἐθέλεις ἑρεθιζέμενον ἄγριον ἄνδρα καὶ δόξης μεγάλης ὀρεγόμενον; ἡ βούλει πυρκαίας τηλικαύτης οὐσίς ἐγγύς ῥυπίσαι 1 τὴν πόλιν;

1 ῥυπίσαι Bryan’s correction of the MSS. ῥήσαι (to hurl), which Coraës and Bekker retain.

1 The congress of Greek states summoned by Philip to meet at Corinth. It voted for war against Persia under the leadership of Philip.

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they persuaded them at last to entrust the city to the guidance of Phocion.

In general, Phocion thought that the policy and kindly overtures of Philip should be accepted by the Athenians; but when Demades brought in a motion that the city should participate with the Greeks in the common peace and in the congress,¹ Phocion would not favour it before they found out what demands Philip was going to make upon the Greeks. His opinion did not prevail, owing to the crisis, and yet as soon as he saw that the Athenians were repenting of their course, because they were required to furnish Philip with triremes and horsemen, "This is what I feared," said he, "when I opposed your action; but since you agreed upon it, you must not repine or be dejected, remembering that our ancestors also were sometimes in command, and sometimes under command, but by doing well in both these positions saved both their city and the Greeks." And on the death of Philip,² he was opposed to the people's offering sacrifices of glad tidings; for it was an ignoble thing, he said, to rejoice thereat, and the force which had been arrayed against them at Chaeroneia was diminished by only one person.

XVII. Again, when Demosthenes was heaping abuse upon Alexander, who was already advancing against Thebes, Phocion said: "'Rash one, why dost thou seek to provoke a man who is savage,'³ and is reaching out after great glory? Canst thou wish, when so great a conflagration is near, to fan the city into flame? But I, who am bearing

¹ In 336 B.C. See the Demosthenes, chapter xxii.
² Odyssey, ix. 494, Odysseus, to a companion, of Polyphemus the Cyclops.
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ἀλλ’ ἦμεις οὐδὲ βουλομένοις ἀπολέσθαι τούτοις ἐπιτρέψομεν, οἱ δὲ τούτο στρατηγεῖν ὑπομένοντες. ὡς δὲ ἀπωλώλεισαν αἱ Θῆβαι καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐξήπτευτο τοὺς περὶ Δημοσθένην καὶ Δυσκόρογον καὶ Ἡπερείδην καὶ Χαρίδημον, ἢ δὲ ἐκκλησία πρὸς ἐκείνου ἀπέβλεπεν, ὅνομαστὶ πολλάκις καλοῦμενοι ἀνέστι· καὶ τῶν φίλων ἐνα παραστησάμενος, ὃ μάλιστα χρώμενος διετέλει καὶ πιστεύων καὶ ἀγαπῶν, "Εἰς τοιαῦτα," ἔφη, "τὴν πόλιν οὗτοι παραγρήχασιν ὅστ’ ἔγγυς, κἂν Νικοκλέα τις τούτων ἐξαιτηθείς, διδόναι κελεύσω." 3 τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀπαντῶν ἀποθανεῖν εὐτυχίαν ἄν ἐμαυτοῦ θέμην. ἔλεω δέ," ἐπεν, "ἀνδρεῖς Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Θῆβων δεύρο πεθευγότας, ἀρκεῖ δὲ τὰς Θῆβας κλαίειν τοῖς Ἐλλησι. διὸ βέλτιόν ἔστω ὑπὲρ ἁμφότεροι πείθειν καὶ παρατείσχαι τοὺς κρατοῦντας ἡ μάχεσθαι." 4 Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ψῆφισμα λέγεται τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ὡς ἔλαβε, ῦλησὶ καὶ φυγεῖν ἀποστραφέντα τοὺς πρέσβεις· τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ἐδέξατο, κομισθέν ὑπὸ Φωκίωνος, τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀκούσαν ὅτι καὶ Φιλίππος ἑθαύμαζε τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον καὶ οὐ μόνον τὴν ἐντευξιν ὑπέμειναι αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν δέησιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμβουλεύοντος ἤκουσε. συνεβούλευσε δ’ ὁ Φωκίων, εἰ μὲν ἴσης ὑπάκουει, θέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον· εἰ δὲ δόξης, μεταθέσθαι, πρὸς τοὺς Βαρβάρους ἀπὸ τῶν Ἐλλήνων τραπόμενον. καὶ πολλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν 182
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the burdens of command with this object in view, will not suffer these fellow citizens of mine to perish even if that is their desire." And when Thebes had been destroyed\(^1\) and Alexander was demanding the surrender of Demosthenes, Lycurgus, Hypereides, Charidemus, and others, and the assembly turned their eyes upon Phocion and called upon him many times by name, he rose up, and drawing to his side one of his friends, whom he always cherished, trusted, and loved most of all, he said: "These men have brought the city to such a pass that I, for my part, even if this Nicocles should be demanded, would urge you to give him up. For if I might die myself in behalf of you all, I should deem it a piece of good fortune for me. And I feel pity," said he, "men of Athens, for those also who have fled hither from Thebes; but it is enough that the Greeks should have the fate of Thebes to mourn. Therefore it is better to supplicate and try to persuade the victors for both you and them, and not to fight."

Well, then, we are told that when Alexander got the first decree which the Athenians passed, he cast it from him and ran with averted face from the envoys; the second, however, he accepted, because it was brought by Phocion, and because he heard from the older Macedonians that Philip also used to admire this man. And he not only consented to meet Phocion and hear his petition, but actually listened to his counsels. And Phocion counselled him, if he sought quiet, to make an end of the war; but if glory, to transfer the war, and turn his arms away from Greece against the Barbarians. And

\(^{1}\) In 335 B.C.
'Αλεξάνδρου φύσιν καὶ βούλησιν εὐστόχως εἰπὼν
οὕτω μετέβαλε καὶ κατεπράμυνεν αὐτὸν ὅστε
eἰπεῖν ὅπως προσέξουσι τὸν νοῦν Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς
πράγμασιν, ὡς, εἰ τι γένοιτο περὶ αὐτὸν, ἐκείνοις
ἀρχεῖν προσήκον. ἰδία δὲ τὸν Φωκίωνα ποιησά-
μενος αὐτὸν φίλον καὶ ξένον, εἰς τοσαύτην ἥθετο
6 τιμῆν ὅσην εἰχον ὀλίγοι τῶν ἀεὶ συνόντων. ὃ
γοῦν Δοῦρις εἰρήκεν ὡς μέγας γενόμενος καὶ
Δαρείου κρατήσας ἀφείλε τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τὸ
χαίρειν πλὴν ἐν ὅσαις ἔγραφε Φωκίων. τοῦτον
dὲ μόνον, ὡσπερ Ἀντίπατρον, μετὰ τοῦ χαίρειν
προσηγόρευε. τούτο δὲ καὶ Χάρης ἱστόρηκε.

XVIII. Τὸ μέντοι περὶ τῶν χρημάτων ὁμολο-
γούμενον ἐστιν, ὅτι δωρεὰν αὐτῷ κατέπεμψεν
ἐκατὸν τάλαντα. τούτων κομισθέντων εἰς Ἀθή-
νας, ἠρώτησεν ὁ Φωκίων τοὺς φέροντας τὸ δὴ
pοτὲ πολλῶν ὄντων Ἀθηναίων αὐτῷ μόνῳ τοσαῦ-
stα δίδωσιν Ἀλέξανδρος. εἰπόντων δὲ ἐκείνων,
""Οτι σὲ κρίνει μόνον ἄνδρα καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν,"" 
"Οὐκοῦν," εἶπεν ὁ Φωκίων, "ἐσάστω με καὶ
2 δοκεῖν ἀεὶ καὶ εἶναι τοιοῦτον." ὃς δὲ ἀκολο-
θήσαντες εἰς οἶκον αὐτῷ πολλὴν ἐώρων εὐτέλειαν,
tὴν μὲν γυναῖκα μάττουσαν, ὁ δὲ Φωκίων αὐτὸς
ἀνυμήσας ὑδρὶ ἐκ τοῦ φρέατος ἀπενίππτετο τοὺς
πόδας, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐνέκειντο καὶ ἡγανάκτουν, 750
deinὸν εἶναι λέγοντες εἰ φίλος ὃν τοῦ βασιλέως

1 Cf. the Alexander, xiii. 2.
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by saying many things that suited well with Alexander's nature and desires he so far changed and softened his feelings that he advised the Athenians to give close attention to their affairs, since, if anything should happen to him, the leadership of Greece would properly fall to them. In private, too, he made Phocion his friend and guest, and showed him greater honour than most of his constant associates enjoyed. At any rate, Duris writes that after Alexander had become great and had conquered Dareius, he dropped from his letters the word of salutation, "chairein," except whenever he was writing to Phocion; him alone, like Antipater, he used to address with the word "chairein." This is the testimony of Chares also.

XVIII. The story about the money, indeed, is generally admitted, namely, that Alexander sent him a present of a hundred talents. When this was brought to Athens, Phocion asked the bearers why in the world, when there were so many Athenians, Alexander offered such a sum to him alone. They replied: "Because Alexander judges that thou alone art a man of honour and worth." "In that case," said Phocion, "let him suffer me to be and be thought such always." But when the messengers accompanied him to his home and saw there a great simplicity,—his wife kneading bread, while Phocion with his own hands drew water from the well and washed his feet,—they were indignant, and pressed the money upon him still more urgently, declaring it an intolerable thing that he, though a friend of

2 The talent was equivalent to about £235, or $1,200, with four or five times the purchasing power of modern money.
οὔτω διαιτήσεται πονηρώς. ἵδιν οὖν ὁ Φωκίων πέντα πρεσβύτην ἐν τριβωνίῳ ῥυπαρῷ πορευό-
μενον, ἥρωτησεν εἰ τούτου χείρονα νομίζουσιν
3 αὐτῶν. εὑρημείν δὲ ἐκείνων δεομένων, "Καὶ μὴν
οὗτος," εἶπεν, "ἀπ’ ἐλαττώνων ἐμοῦ ξῆ καὶ ἀρκεῖ-
tαι. τὸ δὲ ὁλον ἡ μὴ χρώμενος," ἐφη, "μάτην
ἐξω τοσοῦτον χρυσίον, ἡ χρώμενος ἐμαυτὸν ἀμα
κάκεινον διαβαλῶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν." οὔτω μὲν
ἐπανήλθε πάλιν τὰ χρήματα ἐξ Ἄθηνῶν, ἐπιδεί-
ξαντα τοῖς "Ἐλλησι πλουσιώτερον τοῦ δεδώντος
4 τοσαύτα τὸν μὴ δεόμενον. ἔπει δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος
ἡγανάκτησε καὶ πάλιν ἐγραψε τῷ Φωκίωνι φιλ-
λοὺς μὴ νομίζεσιν τοὺς μηδὲν αὐτῶν δεομένους,
χρήματα μὲν οὖν ὡς Φωκίων ἐλαβεν, ἀφεθήμεναι
de ἥξιοστὸν τὸν σοφιστὴν Ἐχεκρατίδην καὶ τὸν
"Ἰμβριον Ἀθηνόδωρον καὶ Ῥοδίους δύο, Δημά-
ρατον καὶ Σπάρτωνα, συνειλημένους ἐπ’ αἰτίαις
5 τις καὶ καθειργμένους ἐν Σάρδησι. τούτους μὲν
οὖν εὐθὺς ἀπέλυσεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, Κρατερὸν δὲ
ἀποστέλλων εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἐκέλευσε τεττάρων
πόλεων ἐν Ἀσίᾳ, Κίου, Γεργίθου, Μυλάσων,
Ἐλαίας, μίαν, ἢν ἂν αἱρῆται, παραδοῦναι τῷ
Φωκίωνι, διατεινάμενος ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ὡς χαλεπανεὶ
μὴ λαβόντος. ἀλλ’ οὔτε Φωκίων ἐλαβεν, ὡς τῷ
Ἀλέξανδρος ταχέως ἀπέθανεν. ἦ δὲ οἰκία τοῦ
Φωκίωνος ἐτὶ νῦν ἐν Μελίτῃ δεῖκνυται, χαλκαῖς
λεπίστι κεκοσμημένη, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα λιτή καὶ
ἀφελής.

1 In 324 B.C., when Craterus was commissioned to lead the
veteran soldiers of Alexander back to Macedonia. See the
Alexander, chapter lxxi.
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the king, should live in such poverty. Phocion, accordingly, seeing a poor old man walking the street in a dirty cloak, asked them if they considered him inferior to this man. "Heaven forbid!" they cried. "And yet this man," said Phocion, "has less to live upon than I, and finds it sufficient. And, in a word," said he, "if I make no use of this great sum of money, it will do me no good to have it; or, if I use it, I shall bring myself, and the king as well, under the calumnies of the citizens." So the treasure went back again from Athens, after it had showed the Greeks that the man who did not want so great a sum was richer than the man who offered it. Alexander was vexed and wrote back to Phocion that he could not regard as his friends those who wanted nothing of him. But not even then would Phocion take the money; he did, however, ask for the release of Echevatides the sophist, Athenodorus of Imbros, and two men of Rhodes, Demaratus and Sparton, who had been arrested upon sundry charges and imprisoned in Sardis. These men, then, Alexander set free at once, and at a later time,¹ when he sent Craterus back into Macedonia, he ordered him to turn over to Phocion the revenues from whichever one of four cities in Asia he might select,—either Cius, Gergithus, Mylasa, or Elaea,—insisting still more strongly than before that he would be angry if Phocion did not take them. But Phocion would not take them, and very soon Alexander died. And even to the present day Phocion's house is pointed out in Melite,² adorned with bronze disks, but otherwise plain and simple.

¹ A deme, or ward, in the S.W. part of Athens. See the Themistocles, xxii. 2.
XIX. Τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν ἃς ἔγγεμε, περὶ τῆς προτέρας οὕτων ἱστορεῖται, πλὴν ὅτι Κηφισόδοτος ἦν ὁ πλάστης ἀδελφὸς αὐτῆς, τῆς δὲ δευτέρας οὖν ἐλάττων ἐπὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ ἀφελεία λόγος ἦν παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἢ Φωκίωνος ἐπὶ 2 χρηστότητι. καὶ ποτε θεωμένων καινοὺς τραγῳδοὺς Ἀθηναίων, ὁ μὲν τραγῳδὸς εἰσὶνε μέλλων βασιλίδος πρὸς ὁποιον ὤτει κεκοσμημένας πολλὰς ὀπαδοὺς πολυτελῶς τῶν χορηγῶν καὶ μὴ παρέχοντος ἡγανάκτει καὶ κατείχε τὸ θέατρον οὐ βουλόμενος προελθεῖν. ὁ δὲ χορηγὸς Μελάνθιος ὥθων αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ μέσον ἐβόα ὡς Ἐμοί δὲ, ἐφ᾽ ἡμῖν, "κόσμος ἐστὶ Φωκίων εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἡδονή στρατηγῶν Ἀθηναίων."

XX. Φώκω δὲ τῷ νῦν βουλομένῳ ἀγωνίσασθαι Παναθηναίοις ἀποβάτην ἑφήκεν, οὐχὶ τῆς νίκης ὀρεγόμενος, ἀλλ′ ὅπως ἐπιμεληθείς καὶ ἀσκήσας τὸ σῶμα βελτίων ἐσοιτο, καὶ γὰρ ἢν ἄλλως φιλοπότης καὶ ἀτακτὸς ὁ νεανίσκος. νικήσαντος δὲ καὶ πολλῶν αἰτουμένων ἐστιναι τὰ νικητήρια, τοὺς ἄλλους Φωκίων παραίτησάμενος ἐνὶ τὴν 2 φιλοτιμίαν ταύτην συνεχῶρησεν. ὁς δὲ ἔλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ δείπνον ἀλλήν τε σοβαρὰν ἐώρα παρα-

1 Φώκω ... βουλόμενῳ ... ἑφήκεν with Coraës, Sintenis1, and Bekker, after Fā: Φώκω βουλόμενον ... ἑφήκεν.
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XIX. As for his wives, nothing is told us about the first, except that she was a sister of Cephasodotus the sculptor; but the reputation which the second had among the Athenians for sobriety and simplicity was not less than that of Phocion for probity. And once when the Athenians were witnessing an exhibition of new tragedies, the actor who was to take the part of a queen asked the choregus to furnish him with a great number of attendant women in expensive array; and when he could not get them, he was indignant, and kept the audience waiting by his refusal to come out. But the choregus, Melanthius, pushed him before the spectators, crying: "Dost thou not see that Phocion's wife always goes out with one maid-servant? Thy vanity will be the undoing of our women-folk." His words were plainly heard by the audience, and were received with tumultuous applause. And this very wife, when an Ionian woman who was her guest displayed ornaments of gold and precious stones worked into collars and necklaces, said: "My ornament is Phocion, who is now for the twentieth year a general of Athens."

XX. When Phocus his son wished to compete at the Panathenaic festival as a vaulting rider of horses, Phocion permitted it, not because he was ambitious for the victory, but in order that care and training of the body might make his son a better man; for in general the youth was fond of wine and irregular in his habits. The youth was victorious, and many asked him to their houses for the victor's banquet; but Phocion declined the other invitations and granted the coveted honour to one host only. And when he went to the banquet and saw the general 189
σκευήν καὶ ποδανιπτήρας οίνου δὲ ἀρωμάτων
προσφερομένους τοῖς εἰσιοῦσιν, καλέσας τὸν υῖόν,
"Οὐ παύσεις," ἐφη, "τὸν ἑταίρον, ὁ Φῶκε, δια-
φθείροντά σου τὴν νίκην;" βουλόμενος δὲ καὶ
καθόλου μεταστήσαι τὸ μειράκιον ἐκ τῆς διαίτης
ἐκείνης, ἀπήγαγεν εἰς Δακεδαίμονα καὶ κατέμιξε
τοῖς ἄγομένοις τὴν λεγομένην ἀγωγὴν νεανίσκοις.

καὶ τοῦτο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐλύσησεν, ὡς ὑπερ-
ορῶντος καὶ ὑπερφρονοῦντος τὰ οἰκεῖα τοῦ Φωκίω-
νος. εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Δημάδου πρὸς αὐτὸν, "Τί
οὖ πείθομεν, ὁ Φωκίων, Ἀθηναίοις τὴν Δακω-
νικήν προσδέξασθαι πολιτείαν; εὰν γὰρ σὺ κε-
λεύς, ἐγὼ γράφειν καὶ λέγειν ἐτοιμὸς εἰμι,"
"Πάνω γοῦν," ἐφη, "πρέψειν ἂν σοὶ μῦρον
τοσοῦτον ὄξοντι καὶ χλανίδα τοιαύτην φοροῖντι
συμβουλεύειν Ἀθηναίοις περὶ φιλιτῶν καὶ τὸν
Δυκοῦργον ἑπαίνειν."

XXI. Γράψαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου περὶ
tριήρων, ὡς ἀποστεῖλωσιν αὐτῶ, καὶ τῶν ῥη-
tόρων ἐνισταμένων, τῆς δὲ βουλῆς τὸν Φωκίωνα
λέγειν κελευόσης, "Δέγω τοῖς ὑμῖν," εἶπεν,
"ἡ τοῖς ὑπλοῖς κρατεῖν ἢ τοῖς κρατοῦσι φίλοις
eῖναι." πρὸς δὲ Πυθέαν ἀρχόμενον τὸτε πρῶτον
ἐντυγχάνειν Ἀθηναίοις, ἥδη δὲ λάλον ὅτα καὶ
θρασύς, "Οὐ σιωπῆσεις," ἐφη, "καὶ ταῦτα νεώ-
νητός ὧν τῷ δήμῳ;" ἐπεὶ δὲ "Ἀρπαλὸς μετὰ
χρημάτων πολλῶν ἀποδρᾶς Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκ τῆς
Ἀσίας τῇ Ἀττικῇ προσέβαλε, καὶ τῶν εἰσθότων

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magnificence of the preparations, and particularly
the foot-basins of spiced wine that were brought to
the guests as they entered, he called his son and
said: "Phocus, do not let thy companion ruin thy
victory." Moreover, wishing to remove the young
man entirely from that style of living, he took him
off to Sparta and put him among the youths who
were following the course of discipline called
"agoge."¹ This vexed the Athenians, who thought
that Phocion despised and looked down upon the
native customs. And once Demades said to him:
"Phocion, why shouldn't we try to persuade the
Athenians to adopt the Spartan polity?" For if thou
sayest the word, I am ready to introduce and support
the requisite law." But Phocion replied: "Indeed
it would very well become thee, with so strong a
scent of ointment upon thee, and wearing such a
mantle as thine, to recommend to the Athenians
the public mess-halls of the Spartans, and to extol
Lycurgus."

XXI. When Alexander wrote asking the Athen-
ians to send him triremes, and the orators opposed
the request, and the council bade Phocion speak
upon the matter, "I tell you, then," he said, "either
to be superior in arms or to be friends with those
who are superior." To Pytheas, who at that time
was just beginning to address the Athenians, but
was already loquacious and bold, Phocion said:
"Hold thy peace, thou who art but a newly bought
slave of the people!" And when Harpalus, who
had run away from Alexander out of Asia with great
sums of money, landed in Attica,² and those who

¹ See the Agesilaus, i. 1.
² See the Demosthenes, chapter xxv.
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ἀπὸ τοῦ βῆματος χρηματίζεσθαι δρόμος ἦν καὶ ἀμυλλα φθειρομένων πρὸς αὐτόν, τούτοις μὲν ἀπὸ πολλῶν μικρὰ δελεάζων προήκατο καὶ διέρριψε, τῷ δὲ Φωκίων προσέπεμψε δίδους ἐπτακώσια τάλαντα, καὶ τάλλα πάντα, καὶ μετὰ πάντων 3 ἐαυτὸν ἐκεῖνῳ 1 μόνῳ παρακατατιθέμενος. ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τραχέως τοῦ Φωκίωνος οἰμώξεσθαι τὸν "Ἀρπαλον, εἰ μὴ παύσεται διαφθείρων τὴν πόλιν, τότε μὲν συσταλείς ἀπέστη, μετ' ὅλων δὲ βουλευομένων 'Ἀθηναίων ἐώρα τοὺς μὲν εἰληφότας τὰ χρήματα παρ' αὐτοῦ μεταβαλλομένους καὶ κατηγοροῦντας, ἵνα μὴ φανεροὶ γένωνται, Φωκίωνα δὲ τὸν μηδὲν λαβόντα μετὰ τοῦ κοινὸν συμφέροντος ἄμα καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου σωτηρίαν ἐν 4 τινι λόγῳ τιθέμενον. πάλιν οὖν ἐνεχθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸ θεραπεύειν ἐκεῖνον, αὐτὸν μὲν ὡς ἔρυμα πανταχόθεν ἀνάλωτον ὑπὸ τοῦ χρυσοῦ περιοδεύων ἐώρα, Χαρικλέα δὲ τὸν γαμβρὸν αὐτοῦ ποιησάμενος συνήθη καὶ φίλον, ἀνέπλησε δόξης πονηρᾶς, πάντα πιστεύων καὶ πάντα χρώμενος ἐκεῖνῳ.

XXII. Καὶ δὴ καὶ Πυθονίκης τῆς ἑταίρας ἀποθανούσης, ἦν εἶχεν ὁ "Ἀρπαλος ἔρων καὶ θυγατρίον πατήρ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἑγόνει, μνημείον ἀπὸ χρημάτων πολλῶν ἐπιτελέσαι θελήσας προσέ-2 ταξέ τῷ Χαρικλεί τῇ ἐπιμέλειαν. οὐσαν δὲ τῆς ὑπουργίας ταύτην ἀγεννῆ προσκατήχυνεν ὁ τάφος συντελεσθεὶς. διαμένει γὰρ ἐτὶ γὰρ ἐν 1 ἐκεῖνῳ with Coraës and Bekker: ἐπ' ἐκεῖνῳ.
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were wont to make merchandise of their influence as orators came running to him at breakneck speed, to these men he dropped and scattered small morsels of his wealth by way of bait; but he sent to Phocion and offered him seven hundred talents, and everything else that he had, and put himself with all his possessions at the sole disposition of Phocion. But Phocion answered sharply that Harpalus would rue it if he did not cease trying to corrupt the city, and for the time being the traitor was abashed and desisted from his efforts. After a little, however, when the Athenians were deliberating upon his case, he found that those who had taken money from him were changing sides and denouncing him, that they might not be discovered; while Phocion, who would take nothing, was now giving some consideration to the safety of Harpalus as well as to the public interests. Again, therefore, he was led to pay court to Phocion, but after all his efforts to bribe him found that he was impregnable on all sides like a fortress. Of Charicles, however, Phocion's son-in-law, Harpalus made an intimate associate and friend, trusting him in everything and using him in everything, and thus covered him with infamy.

XXII. For instance, on the death of Pythonice the courtesan, who was the passionately loved mistress of Harpalus and had borne him a daughter, Harpalus resolved to build her a very expensive monument, and committed the care of the work to Charicles. This service was an ignoble one in itself, but it acquired additional disgrace from the completed tomb. For this is still to be seen in Hermus,
'Ερμει, ἢ βαδίζομεν ἐξ ἄστεος εἰς Ὑλευσίνα, μηδὲν ἔχων τῶν τριάκοντα ταλάντων ἄξιον, ὡσα τῷ Ἀρτάλῳ λογισθήναι φασίν εἰς τὸ ἔργον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡρικλέους. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ τὸ παιδόριον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡρικλέους καὶ τοῦ Φοκίωνος ἀναληθεύει ετύγχανε πάσης ἐπιμελείας. 3 κρυνομένοι μέντοι τοῦ Ἡρικλέους ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἄρταλεῖοις, καὶ δεμένον βοηθείν αὐτῷ τὸν Φοκίωνα καὶ συνεισελθεῖν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, οὐκ ἡθέλησεν, εἰπών: "Ἐγώ σε, ὃ Ἡρικλεῖς, ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς δικαίοις γαμβρόν ἐποιησάμην."

Πρώτον δὲ Ἀθηναίοις Ἀσκληπιιάδου τοῦ Ἴππιάρχου τεθνάναι προσαγγείλαντος Ἀλέξανδρον, ο μὲν Δημάδης ἐκέλευσεν μὴ προσέχειν: πάλαι γὰρ ἄν ὅλην ὄξειν νεκροῦ τὴν οἰκουμένην ὁ δὲ Φοκίων ἐπηρμένον ὃς πρὸς τὸ νεωτερίζειν τὸν δήμον 4 ἐπειρᾶτο παρηγορεῖν καὶ κατέχειν. ἀναπηδώντων δὲ πολλῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βήμα, καὶ βοώντων ἀληθὴ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιιάδην ἀπαγγέλλειν καὶ τεθνάναι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, "Οὐκοῦν," εἶπεν, "εἰ σήμερον τέθνηκε, καὶ αὐριον ἔσται καὶ εἰς τρίτην τεθνηκός, ὡστε ἡμᾶς ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ βουλεύσασθαι, μᾶλλον δὲ 2 μετὰ ἁσφαλείας."

XXIII. Ὡς δὲ φέρων ἐνέσεισεν ὁ Δεσσαθένης τῆς τόλμης εἰς τὸν Λαμιακὸν 3 πόλεμον, καὶ τοῦ Φοκίωνος δυσχεραίνοντος ἥρωτα καταγελῶν τί

1 "Ερμεῖ, Bekker, after Coraës: 'Ερμείω.
2 δὲ Bekker, after Coraës, corrects to καί.
3 Λαμιακὸν Coraës and Bekker, after Xylander: 'Ελληνικὸν.

1 See Pausanias, i. 37, 5, with Frazer's notes. Pausanias speaks of it as "the best worth seeing of all ancient Greek tombs."
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on the road from Athens to Eleusis, and it has nothing worthy of the large sum of thirty talents which Charicles is said to have charged Harpalus for the work. And yet after the death of Harpalus himself, his daughter was taken up by Charicles and Phocion and educated with every care. However, when Charicles was brought to trial for his dealings with Harpalus, and begged Phocion to help him and go with him into the court-room, Phocion refused, saying: "I made thee my son-in-law, Charicles, for none but just purposes."

Asclepiades the son of Hipparchus was the first one to bring to the Athenians the tidings that Alexander was dead. Thereupon Demades urged them to pay no heed to the report, since, had it been true, the whole earth would long ago have been filled with the stench of the body. But Phocion, who saw that the people were bent on revolution, tried to dissuade them and restrain them. And when many of them sprang towards the bema, and shouted that the tidings brought by Asclepiades were true and that Alexander was dead, "Well, then," said Phocion, "if he is dead to-day, he will be dead to-morrow and the day after. Therefore we can deliberate in quiet, and with greater safety."

XXIII. Leosthenes, who had plunged the city into the Lamian war much to Phocion's displeasure, once asked him derisively what good he had done

2 Antipater demanded his surrender by the Athenians, and Harpalus fled to Crete, where he was assassinated.
3 323–322 B.C. So named because the confederate Greeks held Antipater and his forces for some time besieged in Lamia, a city of S.E. Thessaly (§ 4).

3 Θσυμαζοντων δὲ πολλῶν τὴν ὕπο τοῦ Δεωσθένους συνηγμένην δύναμιν, καὶ τοῦ Φωκίωνος πυθαθομένων πῶς τί 1 παρεσκευάσθαι δοκούσιν αὐτῷ, “Καλῶς,” ἔφη, “πρὸς τὸ στάδιον τὸν δὲ δόλιχον τοῦ πολέμου φοβοῦμαι, μήτε χρήματα τῆς πόλεως ἑτέρα μὴτε ναῦς μήτε ὀπλῖτας ἕχοντας.” ἐμαρτύρει δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ ἔργα. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ὁ Δεωσθένης λαμπρὸς ἥρωθα ταῖς πράξεις, τῶν τε Βοιωτῶν μάχη κρατήσας καὶ τῶν Ἀντιπατρῶν εἰς Δάμους συνελάσας· ὅτε καὶ φασὶ τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐλπίδος 2 μεγάλης γενομένην ἑορτάζειν εὐαγγέλια συμεχῶς καὶ θύειν τοῖς θεοῖς, τὸν δὲ Φωκίωνα πρὸς τοὺς ἑλέγχειν αὐτὸν οἰομένους, καὶ πυθαθομένους εἰ ταῦτα οὔκ ἂν ἔθελεν αὐτῷ πεπράγθαι, “Πάνυ μὲν οὖν,” ἔφη, “βεβούλευσθαι δὲ ἐκεῖνα.” καὶ πάλιν ἄλλων ἐτ’ ἄλλους εὐαγγελίων γραφομένους καὶ φερομένους ἀπὸ

1 πῶς τί Bekker, after Coraës, corrects to πῶς.
2 ἐλπίδος Bekker, after Coraës, corrects to ἐτ’ ἐλπίδος.

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the city during the many years in which he had been general. "No slight good," said Phocion, "in that its citizens are buried in their own sepulchres." Again, when Leosthenes was talking very boldly and boastfully in the assembly, Phocion said: "Thy speeches, young man, are like cypress-trees, which are large and towering, but bear no fruit." And when Hypereides confronted him with the question, "When, then, O Phocion, wilt thou counsel the Athenians to go to war?" "Whenever," said Phocion, "I see the young men willing to hold their places in the ranks, the rich to make contributions, and the orators to keep their thievish hands away from the public moneys."

When many were admiring the force got together by Leosthenes, and were asking Phocion what he thought of the city's preparations, "They are good," said he, "for the short course;¹ but it is the long course which I fear in the war, since the city has no other moneys, or ships, or men-at-arms." And events justified his fear. For at first Leosthenes achieved brilliant successes, conquering the Boeotians in battle, and driving Antipater into Lamia. Then, too, they say that the city came to cherish high hopes, and was continuously holding festivals and making sacrifices of glad tidings. Phocion, however, when men thought to convict him of error and asked him if he would not have been glad to have performed these exploits, replied: "By all means; but I am glad to have given the advice I did." And again, when glad tidings came in quick succession by letter and messenger from the

¹ The short course in the foot-races was straight away, the length of the stadium; the long course was ten times back and forth.
στρατοπέδου, “Πότε ἄρα,” φάναι, “παυσόμεθα νικώντες;”

XXIV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ Δεωσθένου ἀποθανόντος οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν �uations, μὴ στρατηγὸς ἐκ-
πεμφθεὶς καταλύῃ τῶν πόλεμον, ἀνθρωπὸν τινα
τῶν οὐκ ἐπιφανῶν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ παρεσκεύασαι
ἀναστάντα λέγειν ὅτι φίλος ἄν τοῦ Ἑωκίωνος καὶ
συμπεφοιτηκός παραίνει φείδεσθαι τοῦ ἄνδρος
καὶ φυλάσσει, ὡς ἄλλον ὤμοιον οὐκ ἔχοντας,
ἐκπέμπειν δὲ 'Ἀντίφιλον ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ
tαῦτα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις συνεδόκει, παρελθὼν ὁ
Φοκίων ἔλεγε μήτε συμπεφοιτηκέναι ποτὲ τῷ
ἀνθρώπῳ μήτε ἄλλος γεγονέναι γυνώρμοι ή συνή-
2 θης: “Ἀλλὰ νῦν,” εἶπεν, “ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον
ημέρας καὶ φίλον σε ποιοῦμαι καὶ οἴκειον ἅ γὰρ
ἡν ἐμοὶ συμφέροντα συμβεβούλευκας.”

Ωρμημένων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ τοὺς Βου-
tοὺς στρατεύειν πρῶτον μὲν ἀντεἰχε καὶ τῶν
φίλων λεγόντων ὡς ἀποθανεῖται προσκρούσιν τοῖς
Ἀθηναίοις, “Ἀδίκως,” εἶπεν, “ἀν ποῦ τὸ συμ-
3 φέρον ἃν δὲ παραβαίνω, δικαίως.” ἐπεὶ δὲ
ὄρων οὐκ ἀνίεντας, ἀλλὰ βοῶντας, ἐκέλευσε τὸν
κήρυκα ἀνειπεῖν Ἀθηναίων τοὺς ἀχρί ἐξήκοντα
ἐτῶν ἀφ’ ἡβης πέντε ἡμερῶν σιτία λαβόντας
evθύς ἀκολούθειν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, θορύβου
πολλοῦ γεγομένου καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων βοῶντων
καὶ ἀναπηδώντων, “Οὐδέν,” ἐφη, “δεινόν ἐγὼ
γάρ ὁ στρατηγὸς ὁ γοδοκιστῶν ἔχων ἔτος ἑσομαι
μεθ’ ὑμῶν.” καὶ τότε μὲν οὔτως κατέπαυσεν
αὐτοὺς καὶ μετέβαλε.

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camp, "When, pray," said he, "will our victories cease?"

XXIV. But Leosthenes was killed, and then those who feared that Phocion, if he were sent out as general, would put a stop to the war, arranged with a certain obscure person to rise in the assembly and say that he was a friend and intimate associate of Phocion, and therefore advised the people to spare him and keep him in reserve, since they had none other like him, and to send out Antiphilus to the army. This course was approved by the Athenians, whereupon Phocion came forward and said that he had never been intimately associated with the person, nor in any way familiar or acquainted with him; "But now," said he, "from this very day I make thee a friend and close companion, for thou hast counselled what was for my advantage."

Again, when the Athenians were bent on making an expedition against the Boeotians, at first he opposed it; and when his friends told him that he would be put to death by the Athenians if he offended them, "That will be unjust," said he, "if I act for their advantage; but if I play them false, it will be just." Afterwards, however, seeing that they would not desist, but continued their clamour, he ordered the herald to make proclamation that every man in Athens under sixty years of age should take provisions for five days and follow him at once from the assembly. Thereupon a great tumult arose, the elderly men leaping to their feet and shouting their dissent. "It is no hardship," said Phocion, "for I who am to be your general am in my eightieth year." For the time being this checked them and changed their purpose.
XXV. Πορθομένης δὲ τῆς παραλίας ὑπὸ Μικώνος συνήχεις Μακεδόνι καὶ μισθοφόροις ἀποβεβηκότος εἰς Ῥαμνούντα καὶ κατατρέχοντος τὴν χώραν, ἔζηγαν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπ’ αὐτὸν. ὡς δὲ προστρέχοντες ἀλλαχόθεν ἄλλος διεστρατήγησαν καὶ συνεβούλευσαν αὐτοῦ τὸν λόφον καταλαβεῖν, ἐκεῖ περιπέμψαν τοὺς ἱππέας, ἐνταῦθα παρεμβάλειν, ""Ὡς Ἡράκλεις," εἶπεν, "ὡς πολλοὺς ὁρῶ στρατηγοὺς, ὀλίγους δὲ στρατιώτας." 2 ἔπει δὲ παρατάξαντος αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὀπλίτας εἰς πολὺ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων προῆλθεν, εἶτα δεῖσας ἀντιστάντος ἀνδρὸς πολεμίου πάλιν εἰς τὴν τάξιν ἀνεχώρησεν, ""Ὡς μειράκιον," εἶπεν, "οὐκ αἰδὴν δύο τάξεως ἀπολελοιπῶς, ἂν ἐτάχθης ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ πάλιν ἕφ’ ἴνα σεαυτὸν ἑταξας;" ἐμβαλὼν δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ κατὰ κράτος τρεψάμενος, αὐτὸν τε τὸν Μικώνα καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους 3 ἀπέκτεινε. τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ στρατευμα, συμμέχαντος Ἀντιπάτρῳ Δεομάτου καὶ τῶν Ἑ Ἀσίας Μακεδόνων, ἕνικα μαχόμενον καὶ Δεομάτους ἐπέσει, ἥγουμένου τῆς μὲν χάλαγγος Ἀντιφίλου, τῶν δὲ ἱππέων τοῦ Θεσσαλοῦ Μένωνος.

XXVI. Ὁλίγος δὲ ύστερον χρόνῳ Κρατεροῦ διαβάντος ἐξ Ἀσίας μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως καὶ γενομένης πάλιν ἐν Κραννώνι παρατάξεως, ἥττηθησαν μὲν οἱ "Ἑλληνες οὕτε μεγάλην ἢ ταῖν οὕτε πολλῶν πεσόντων, ἀπειθεῖα δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐπιεικεῖς καὶ νέους ὄντας, καὶ ἀμα τὰς πό- 200
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XXV. However, when their sea-coast was being devastated by Micion, who landed at Rhamnus with a horde of Macedonians and mercenaries and overran the adjacent territory, Phocion led the Athenians out against him. And as they marched, men would run up to their general from all sides and show him what to do. He was advised to seize a hill here, to send his horsemen around thither, or to make his attack upon the enemy there. "O Heracles," said Phocion, "how many generals I see, and how few soldiers!" Again, after he had drawn up his men-at-arms, one of them went out far in advance of the rest, and then was stricken with fear when an enemy advanced to meet him, and went back again to his post. "Shame on thee, young man," said Phocion, "for having abandoned two posts, the one which was given thee by thy general, and the one which thou didst give thyself." However, he attacked the enemy, routed them utterly, and slew Micion himself together with many others. The Greek army in Thessaly, also, although Leonnatus and his Macedonians from Asia had joined Antipater, was victorious in battle, and Leonnatus fell; the Greek men-at-arms were led by Antiphilus, their cavalry by Menon the Thessalian.

XXVI. But a short time afterwards Craterus crossed from Asia with a large force,1 and there was another pitched battle at Crannon. Here the Greeks were defeated. Their defeat was not severe, nor did many of them fall, but owing to their lack of obedience to their commanders, who were young and soft-hearted, and because at the same time

1 Cf. chapter xviii. 5.
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λεις αὐτῶν πειρώντος Ἀντιπάτρου, διαρρέοντες
2 αἰσχιστα προήκαντο τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. εὐθὺς οὖν
ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἄγοντος τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου τὴν
dύναμιν οἱ μὲν περὶ Δημοσθένην καὶ Τπερείδην
ἀπηλλάγησαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, Δημάδης δὲ, μηθὲν
μέρος ὁν ὄφειλε χρημάτων ἐπὶ ταῖς καταδίκαις
ἐκτίσαι τῇ πόλει δυνάμενος (ἦλοκει γὰρ ἐπὶ
γραφὰς παρανόμων καὶ γεγονός ἀτίμος ἐξείρ-
γετο τοῦ λέγειν), ἀδειαν ἐυρόμενος τότε, γράφει
ψήφισμα ἐκπέμπειν 1 πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον ὑπὲρ
3 εἰρήνης πρέσβεις αὐτοκράτορας. φοβούμενον δὲ
tοῦ δήμου καὶ καλούντος Φωκίωνα, καὶ μόνῳ
πιστεύειν ἔκειν λέγοντος, "Ἀλλ' εἰγε ἐπιστευό-
μην," εἶπεν, "ἐγὼ συμβουλεύσω ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἂν νῦν
ἐβουλεύομεθα περὶ πραγμάτων τοιούτων." οὕτω
δὲ τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἐπικυρωθέντος ἀπεστάλη
πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον ἐν τῇ Καδμείᾳ στρατοπεδεύ-
οντα καὶ παρασκευαζόμενον εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν Ἀττυ-
κὴν βαδίζειν. καὶ τούτῳ πρῶτον ἦτε, τὸ μένοντα
4 κατὰ χώραν ποιήσασθαι τὰς διαλύσεις. τοῦ δὲ
Κρατεροῦ λέγοντος ὅσ οὐ δίκαια πείθει Φωκίων
ἡμᾶς, τὴν τῶν συμμάχων καὶ φίλων καθημένους
χώραν κακῶν ποιεῖν δυναμένους ἐκ τῆς τῶν
πολεμιῶν ὄφειλοσθαι, λαβόμενος αὐτοῦ τῆς δεξιᾶς
ὁ Ἀντίπατρος, "Δοτέον," εἶπε, "Φωκίων ταῦτῃ
τὴν χάριν." περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκείλευν αὐτοῖς
ἐπιτρέπειν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὡσπερ ἐν Λαμίᾳ
Λεωσθένης ἐκείνον.

1 ἐκπέμπειν with Doehner; the MSS. have καὶ πέμπει, which
Bekker retains: πέμπειν, after Coraës.
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Antipater made tempting overtures to their several cities, their army melted away and most shamefully abandoned the cause of freedom. At once, therefore, Antipater led his forces against Athens, and Demosthenes and Hypereides left the city. Demades, however, though he was unable to pay any portion of the fines which had been imposed upon him by the city (he had been seven times convicted of introducing illegal measures, had lost his civic rights, and was therefore debarred from speaking in the assembly), obtained immunity at this time, and brought in a bill for sending to Antipater ambassadors plenipotentiary to treat for peace. But the people were fearful, and called upon Phocion, declaring that he was the only man whom they could trust. "But if I had been trusted," said he, "when I gave you counsel, we should not now be deliberating on such matters." And when the bill had thus been passed, he was sent off to Antipater, who was encamped in the Cadmeia,¹ and was making preparations to march into Attica at once. And this was the first request that Phocion made, namely, that Antipater should remain where he was and make the treaty. And when Craterus declared that it was not fair in Phocion to try to persuade them to remain in the territory of their friends and allies and ravage it, when they had it in their power to get booty from that of their enemies, Antipater took him by the hand and said: "We must grant Phocion this favour." But as for the other terms of the peace, he ordered the Athenians to leave them to the conquerors, just as, at Lamia, he had been ordered to do by Leosthenes.

¹ The citadel of Thebes.
XXVII. Ὑς οὖν ἐπανήλθεν ὁ Φωκίων εἰς τὸ ἀστυ καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ταῦτα ἐδοξέων ὑπ’ ἀλάγ-κης, αὖθις εἰς Θήβας ἐβάδιζε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πρέσβεων, Ξενοκράτην τὸν φιλόσοφον τῶν Ἀθη-ναίων προσελομένων. τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἦν ἀξίωμα τῆς ἅρετῆς τοῦ Ξενοκράτους καὶ δόξα καὶ λόγος παρὰ πᾶσιν ὦστε οἴεσθαι μήτε ἥβρων εἶναι μήτε ἡμότητα μήτε θυμῶν ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῃ ψυχῇ φυόμε-
νον, ὃ Ξενοκράτους μόνον ὄφθεντος ὄρκὸν ἀν αἰδοῦς 2 τι καὶ τιμῆς ἐγγένειοτο πρὸς αὐτὸν. ἀπέβη δὲ τὸνυαντίον ἀγωνισμόν τινι καὶ μισάγαθια τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οὔκ ὁσπάσατο τὸν Ξενοκράτην τὸν ἄλλους δεξιωσάμενοι· ἐφ’ ὃ φασὶν εἰπεῖν ἑκείνον ὡς Ἀντίπατρος καλῶς ποιεῖ 
μόνον αὐτὸν αἰσχυνόμενοι ἐφ’ οἷς ἀγωνισμοῖς μέλλει πρὸς τὴν πόλιν· ἐπειτὰ λέγειν ἀρξάμενον 
οὐχ ὑπομένων, ἀλλ’ ἀντικρούν καὶ δυσκολαίων 3 ἐποίησεν ἀποσιωπῆσαι. τόν δὲ περὶ τὸν Φω-
κίων διαλεγέντων ἄπεκρίνατο φιλίαν ἐσεσθαι 
τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ συμμαχίαν ἐκδοῦσι μὲν τοὺς 
περὶ Δημοσθένην καὶ Ῥπερείδην, πολιτευομένοις 
δὲ τὴν πάτριον ἀπὸ τιμήματος 1 πολιτείαν, δεξα-
μένους δὲ φρουράν εἰς τὴν Μονυχίαν, ἔτι δὲ 
χρῆμα τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ξημίαν προσεκτίσασιν.
4 Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι πρέσβεις ἡγάτησαν ὡς 
φιλανθρώπους τὰς διαλύσεις, πλὴν τοῦ Ξενοκρά-
tους· ἐφ’ γὰρ ὡς μὲν δούλοις μετρίως κεχρῆσθαι

1 ἀπὸ τιμήματος Coraës and Bekker, with most MSS.: ἀπὸ 
tιμημάτων.

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XXVII. Accordingly, Phocion returned to Athens with these demands, and the Athenians acceded to them, under the necessity that was upon them. Then Phocion went once more to Thebes, with the other ambassadors, to whom the Athenians had added Xenocrates the philosopher. For so high an estimate was set upon the virtue of Xenocrates, and so great was his reputation and fame in the eyes of all, that it was supposed the human heart could harbour no insolence or cruelty or wrath which the mere sight of the man would not infuse with reverence and a desire to do him honour. But the result in this case was the opposite, owing to a certain ruthlessness and hatred of goodness in Antipater. For, in the first place, he would not salute Xenocrates, although he greeted the other ambassadors; at which Xenocrates is said to have remarked: "Antipater does well to feel shame before me alone of his ruthless designs against our city." And again, when the philosopher began to speak, Antipater would not listen to him, but angrily contradicted him and forced him into silence. But when Phocion had made his plea, Antipater replied that the Athenians could be his friends and allies on condition that they delivered up Demosthenes and Hypereides, reverted to their earlier constitution with its basis of property qualification, received a garrison into Munychia,¹ and, in addition, paid the costs of the war and a fine.

The rest of the ambassadors were satisfied with these terms and considered them humane, with the exception of Xenocrates, who said that Antipater dealt with them moderately if he held them to be

¹ The acropolis of Peiraeus.
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tōn Ἀντίπατρον, ὡς δὲ ἐλευθέρους βαρέως. τού δὲ Φωκίωνος παρατουμένου τὴν φρουρὰν καὶ δεομένου λέγεται τῶν Ἀντίπατρον εἶπεῖν “Ὅ Φωκίων, ἥμεις πάντα σοι χαρίζεσθαι βούλομεθα 7545 πλὴν τῶν καὶ σὲ ἀπολούντων καὶ ἡμᾶς.” οἱ δὲ οὔχ οὕτως φασίν, ἀλλὰ ἐρωτήσαν τὸν Ἀντίπατρον εἰ τῇ φρουρᾷ ἀνέντος αὐτοῦ τούς Ἀθηναίους ὁ Φωκίων ἐγγυᾶται τὴν πόλιν ἐμμενεῖν τῇ εἰρήνῃ καὶ μηθὲν πολυπραγμονήσειν· σιωπῶντος δὲ ἐκείνου καὶ διαμέλλοντος, ἀνατηθήσαντα Καλλιμέδοντα τὸν Κάραβον, ἀνδρα θρασύν καὶ μισόδημον, εἶπεῖν. “Ἐὰν δὲ οὕτως, ὦ Ἀντίπατρε, φλυαρῆ, σὺ πιστεύεις καὶ οὐ πράξεις ἃ διέγυνος.”

XXVIII. Οὕτω μὲν ἐδέξαντο φρουρὰν Μακεδόνων Ἀθηναίοι καὶ Μένυλλον ἡγεμόνα, τῶν ἐπιεικῶν τινα καὶ τοῦ Φωκίωνος ἐπιτηδείων. ἐφάνη δὲ ὑπερήφανον τὸ πρόσταγμα, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξουσίας ὑβρεῖ χρωμένης ἐπίδειξις ἢ πραγμάτων ἐνεκα γνωσμοῦν κατάληψις. οὐ μικρὸν δὲ τῷ πάθει προσέθηκεν ὁ καίρος. εἰκάδι γὰρ ἦ φρουρὰ Βοηθρομίδων εἰσήχθη, μυστηρίων ὄντων, ἢ τῶν Ἰακχον ἐξ ἀστεος Ἀλευσίναδε πέμπτοις, ὥστε τῆς τελετῆς συγχυθείσης ἀναλογίζεσθαι τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ τὰ πρεσβύτερα τῶν θείων καὶ 2 τὰ πρόσφατα. πάλαι μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἀρίστοις1 εὐτυχήμασι τὰς μυστικὰς ὁψεις καὶ φωνὰς παρα-

1 ἀρίστοι Bekker adopts G. Hermann’s conjecture of ἀπίστοι (incredible).

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slaves, but severely if he held them to be freemen. Phocion, however, besought Antipater to spare them the garrison, to which Antipater, as we are told, replied: "O Phocion, we wish to gratify thee in all things, except those which will ruin thee and us." But some tell a different story, and say that Antipater asked whether, in case he indulged the Athenians in the matter of the garrison, Phocion would go surety that his city would abide by the peace and stir up no trouble; and that when Phocion was silent and delayed his answer, Callimedes, surnamed Carabus,\(^1\) an arrogant man and a hater of democracy, sprang to his feet and cried: "But even if the fellow should prate such nonsense, Antipater, wilt thou trust him and give up what thou hast planned to do?"

XXVIII. Thus the Athenians were obliged to receive a Macedonian garrison, which was under the command of Menyllus, an equitable man and a friend of Phocion. But the measure was held to be an arrogant one, and rather a display of power which delighted in insolence than an occupation due to stress of circumstance. And it came at a time which added not a little to the distress of the people. For the garrison was introduced on the twentieth of the month Boëdromion, while the celebration of the mysteries was in progress, on the day when the god Iacchus is conducted from the city to Eleusis, so that the disturbance of the sacred rite led most men to reflect upon the attitude of the heavenly powers in earlier times and at the present day. For of old the mystic shapes and voices were vouchsafed to them in the midst of their most glorious successes,

\(^1\) Stag-beetle.
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γενέσθαι σὲν ἐκπλήξει καὶ θάμβει τῶν πολεμίων, νῦν δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἱεροῖς τὰ δυσχερότατα πάθη τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπισκόπευν τοὺς θεοὺς, καὶ καθυβρίζεσθαι τὸν ἀγιώτατον τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἥδιστον αὐτοῖς, ἐπόνυμον τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν γενόμενον. πρότερον μὲν οὖν ὀλίγοις ἔτεσι χρησμὸν ἐξήνεγκαν αἱ Δωδώνιδες τῇ πόλει "τὰ ἀκρωτήρια τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος φυλάσσειν," ὅπως ἄλλοι μὴ λαβωσι τὸτε δὲ περὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκεῖνας αἱ ταινίαι μὲν, αἷς περιελλόττουσι τὰς μυστικὰς κοίτας, βαπτόμεναι θάψινοι ἀντὶ φοινικοῦ χρῶμα καὶ νεκρῶδεις ἀνήνεγκαν ὃ δὲ μεῖζον ἦν, τὰ παραβαπτόμενα τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν πάντα τὸ προσήκον ἄνθος ἑσχε. μύστην δὲ λούοντα χοιρίδιον ἐν Κανθάρῳ λιμένι κῆτος συνέλαβε καὶ τὰ κάτω μέρη τοῦ σώματος ἅρι τῆς κοιλίας κατέπιε, προδεικύνοντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ προφανῶς ὅτι τῶν κάτω καὶ πρὸς θαλάσσῃ στερηθέντες τὴν ἀνω πόλιν διαφυλάξουσι.

4 Η μὲν οὖν φρουρὰ διὰ Μένυλλον οὐδὲν ἰνίασε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· τῶν δὲ ἀποψηφισθέντων τοῦ πολιτεύματος διὰ πενθὰν ὑπὲρ μυρίων καὶ διασχίλίων γενομένων οἱ τε μένοντες ἐδόκουν σχέτως καὶ ἄτιμα πᾶσχειν, οἱ τε διὰ τούτο τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπόντες καὶ μεταστάντες εἰς Ὁρίκην, 'Αυτιπά-

1 See the Themistocles, xv. 1.
2 Artemis was the patron goddess of Munychia.

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and brought consternation and affright upon their enemies; but now, while the same sacred ceremonies were in progress, the gods looked down with indifference upon the most grievous woes of Hellas, and the profanation of the season which had been most sweet and holy in their eyes made it for the future give its name to their greatest evils. Indeed, a few years before this the Athenians had received an oracle from Dodona bidding them "guard the summits of Artemis," that strangers might not seize them; and now, during the days of the festival, when the fillets with which they entwine the mystic chests were dyed, instead of purple they showed a sallow and deathly colour, and, what was more significant still, all the articles for common use which were dyed along with the fillets took the natural hue. Moreover, as a mystic initiate was washing a pig in the harbour of Cantharus, a great fish seized the offering which he held and devoured the lower parts of its body as far as the belly, by which Heaven clearly indicated to them in advance that they would be deprived of the lower parts of the city which adjoined the sea, but would retain the upper city.

Now, the garrison, owing to the influence of Mennyllus, did no harm to the inhabitants; but the citizens who were deprived of their franchise because of their poverty numbered more than twelve thousand, and those of them who remained at home appeared to be suffering grievous and undeserved wrongs, while those who on this account forsook the city and migrated to Thrace, where Antipater

\* Part of the harbour of Peiraeus.
\* Intended for Demeter, the chief divinity of the mysteries.
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τρού γῆν καὶ πόλιν αὐτοῖς παρασχόντος, ἐκπεπολυροχημένους ἐφόκεσαν.

XXIX. ‘Ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένεως ἐν Καλαυρίᾳ καὶ Τπερείδου πρὸς Κλεωναῖος θάνατος, περὶ ὁν ἐν ἄλλοις γέγραπται, μονονοῦκ ἔρωτα καὶ πόθον Ἀθηναίοις Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Φιλίππου παρίστη. καὶ τοῦτο ὁπερ ὑστερον, ἀναιρεθέντος 'Ἀντιγόνου καὶ τῶν ἀνελόντων ἑκείνων ἀρξαμένου βίαξεθαι καὶ λυπεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἀνὴρ ἀγροικὸς ἐν Φρυγίᾳ χωρίων ὀρύττων πυθομένου τινὸς, "Τί ποιεῖς;" στενάξας, "Ἀντιγόνου, εἶπε, "ζητῶ." 2 τοῦτο πολλοῖς ἐπήει λέγειν διαμιμημονεύουσι τὸν ἑκείνων τῶν βασιλέων θυμόν, ὡς τὸ μέγα καὶ γενναίον εὐπαραίτητον εἶχον, ὁμίχ ὡσπερ Ἀντίπατρος ἱδιώτου προσώπῳ καὶ φαυλότητι χλαμυδίᾳ καὶ διαίτῃς εὐτελείᾳ κατειρωνεύόμενος τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐπαχθέστερος ἣν τοῖς πάσχουσι κακῶς 3 δεσπότης καὶ τύραννος. ὁμοὶ δὲ οὖν ὁ Φωκίων καὶ φυγῆς ἀπῆλλαξε πολλοὺς δεσπότας τοῦ Ἀντίπατρου, καὶ φεύγουσι διεπράξατο μὴ καθάπερ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν μεθισταμένων ὑπὲρ τὰ Κεραύνια ὄρη καὶ τὸν Ταύναρον ἐκπεσείν τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἀλλὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ κατοικεῖν, δὲ καὶ Ἀγρωνίδης ἦν ὁ 4 συκοφάντης. ἐπιμελόμενος δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πράξεις καὶ νομίμως τοὺς μὲν ἀστείους καὶ 755 χαρίστας ἐν ταῖς ἄρχαις αἰεί συνεῖχε, τοὺς δὲ πολυπράγμωνας καὶ νεωτεριστὰς, αὐτῷ τῷ μὴ

1 τοῦτο retained in both places by Bekker; the first is deleted by Coraës, after Reiske; the second is corrected to τότε by Sintenis².
furnished them with land and a city, were like men driven from a captured city.

XXIX. Moreover, the death of Demosthenes in Calauria, and that of Hypereides at Cleonae, about which I have written elsewhere,1 made the Athenians yearn almost passionately for Philip and Alexander. At a later time, after Antigonus had been slain,2 and those who slew him began to oppress and vex the people, a peasant in Phrygia who was digging on his farm was asked by someone what he was doing, and answered: "I am looking for Antigonus." So now many were moved to speak, as they called to mind how the greatness and generosity of those illustrious kings made their wrath easy to appease; whereas Antipater, although he tried to conceal his power under the mask of a common man of mean attire and simple mode of life, was really a more burdensome tyrant and master to those who were in trouble. But nevertheless Phocion successfully pleaded with Antipater for the exemption of many from exile, and for those who went into exile he obtained the privilege of residing in Peloponnesus, instead of being driven out of Hellas beyond the Ceraunian mountains and the promontory of Taenarum like other men in banishment. Of this number was Hagnonides the public informer. Furthermore, by managing the affairs of the city with mildness and according to the laws, he kept the men of education and culture always in office, while the busybodies and innovators, who withered into insignificance from the very fact that they held no office and

1 See the Demosthenes, chapters xxviii.–xxx.
2 Antigonus was defeated by Seleucus and Lysimachus at Ipsus, in Phrygia, in 301 B.C., and fell in the battle.
ΠΛΗΤΣΑΡΧΗΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ

ἀρχεῖν μηδὲ θορυβεῖν ἀπομαραμομένους, ἐδίδαξε
φιλοχωρεῖν καὶ ἁγαπᾶν γεωργοῦντας. ὅρων δὲ
tὸν Ξενοκράτην τελοῦντα τὸ μετοίκιον ἐβούλετο
γράψαι πολίτην ὑπὸ ἀπεῖπε, φήσας οὐκ ἂν
μετασχεῖν ταύτῃ τῆς πολιτείας περὶ ἃς ἐπρέπο-
σβενεν ἦνα μὴ γένηται.

XXX. Τοῦ δὲ Μενύλλου δωρεὰν αὐτῷ καὶ
χρήματα διδόντος, ἀπεκρίνατο μήτ’ ἐκεῖνον Ἀλε-
ξάνδρου βελτίωνα εἶναι μήτε κρείττονα τὴν αὐτίαν
έφ’ ἢ λήψεται νῦν ὁ τότε μὴ δεξάμενος. ἀλλὰ
Φώκω γε τῷ παιδὶ λαβεῖν δεσμένου τοῦ Μενύλ-
λου, "Φώκω μέν," εἶπεν, "ἐὰν μὲν σωφρονῆ
μεταβαλὸμενος, ἀρκέσει τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς· ὡς δ’
έχει νῦν, οὐδέν ἰκανόν ἐστιν." Ἀντίπατρῷ δὲ
τραχύτερον ἀπεκρίνατο βουλομένῳ τι γενέσθαι
dι’ αὐτοῦ τῶν μὴ πρεπόντων. "Οὐ δύναις γὰρ,"
eἶπεν, "Ἀντίπατρος ἃμα μοι καὶ φίλω καὶ
2 κόλακι χρήσθαι." τὸν δὲ Ἀντίπατρον αὐτὸν
eἰπεῖν λέγουσιν ὡς δεινὰ αὐτῷ φίλων Ἀθηναῖων
ὀντων, Φωκίωνος καὶ Δημάδου, τὸν μὲν λαβεῖν
οὐ πέπεικε, τὸν δὲ δεδοῦς οὐκ ἔμπεπθηκε. καὶ
μέντοι Φωκίων μὲν ὡς ἀρετὴν ἐπεδείκνυτο τὴν
πενίαν, ἐν ἡ τοσαυτάκις Ἀθηναίων στρατηγησίας
καὶ βασιλεὺς φίλων χρησάμενος ἐγκατεγράσε, Δημάδης
dὲ τῷ πλοῦτῳ καὶ παρανομών ἐκαλλω-
3 πίξετο. νόμον γὰρ ὄντος Ἀθηναίων τότε μὴ
χορεύειν ξένου ἡ χιλίας ἀποτίνειν τῶν χορηγῶν,
ἀπαντᾶς εἰσαγαγῶν ξένους τοὺς χορεύοντας
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raised no uproars, were taught by him to be fond of home and to delight in tilling the soil. When he saw that Xenocrates paid the resident alien tax, he offered to enrol him as a citizen; but the philosopher refused, saying that he could not take part in an administration for the prevention of which he had served on an embassy.¹

XXX. When Menyllus offered Phocion a gift of money, he replied that neither was Menyllus better than Alexander,² nor was there any stronger reason why the man who would not accept it then should take it now. Menyllus, however, begged him to take the money for his son Phocus at least, whereupon Phocion said: “For Phocus, should he be converted to sobriety of life, his patrimony will be enough; but as he is now, nothing is sufficient.” Again, when Antipater desired him to do something that was not seemly, he gave him a sharper answer, saying: “Antipater cannot have from me the services of friend and flatterer at once.” And Antipater himself once said, as we are told, that he had two friends at Athens, Phocion and Demades; one he could never persuade to take anything, the other he could never satisfy with his gifts. And verily Phocion displayed as a virtue the poverty in which, though he had been so many times a general of Athens and had enjoyed the friendship of kings, he had come to old age; whereas Demades made a great parade of his wealth, even though he was violating the laws to do so. For instance, there was a law of Athens at this time forbidding a choregos to have a foreigner in his chorus, under penalty of a thousand drachmas; but Demades presented a chorus of a hundred members

¹ Cf. chapter xxvii.  ² Cf. chapter xviii.
ἐκατὸν ὄντας ἁμα καὶ τὴν ξημίαν ἀνὰ χιλίας ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου εἰσήγηκεν εἰς τὸ θέατρον. Δημέα ἔργον τῷ νῦν νύμφην ἀγόμενος, "Ἐμοῦ μὲν," εἶπεν, "οἱ παῖ, τὴν σήν μητέρα γαμοῦντος οὐδὲ ὁ γείτων ἡσθετο· τοῖς δὲ σοὶς γάμοις καὶ βασιλεῖς καὶ δυνάσται συγχορηγοῦν." 

4 Ἐνοχλούντων δὲ τῷ Φωκίων τῶν Ἄθηναίων ὁπως ἀπαλλάξῃ τὴν ψυχράν πείσῃς τὸν Ἀντίπατρον, εἰτε μὴ προσδοκῶν πείσειν εἰτε μᾶλλον ὅρων σωφρονοῦντα τὸν δήμον καὶ πολιτεύομενον εὐτάκτως διὰ τὸν φόβον, ἐκείνην μὲν ἄει διωθεῖτο τὴν προσβείαν, τὰ δὲ χρήματα μὴ πράττειν, ἄλλα μέλλειν καὶ ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὸν Ἀντίπατρον ἐπεισε. μεταβάντες οὖν Δημάδην παρεκάλουν.

5 ὁ δὲ προθύμως ὑπέστη καὶ τὸν νῦν ἔχων ἀπήρευν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, ὑπὸ δαίμονος τινος, ὡς ἔοικεν, εἰς τὸν καιρὸν κομισθεὶς εἰν ὃ κατείχετο μὲν Ἀντίπατρος ἑκτὸς νόσῳ, Κάσσανδρος δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐγκρατῆς γεγονὼς εὑρεν ἐπιστολὴν Δημάδου γεγραμμένην πρὸς Ἀντίγονον εἰς Ἀσίαν, παρακαλοῦντος αὐτὸν ἐπιφανῆναι τοῖς περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ Μακεδονίαν, ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ σαπροῦ κρεμαμένοις στήμονος, τὸν Ἀντίπατρον οὕτω σκώψαντος. ὡς οὖν εἶδεν αὐτὸν ἀφιγμένον ὁ Κάσσανδρος, συνελαβε, καὶ πρότα μὲν τῶν νῦν ἅγγυς προσαγαγὼν ἀπέσφαξεν, ὡστε καταδέξασθαι τοῖς κόλποις τὸ αἶμα τοῦ πατέρα καὶ καταπληθῆναι τοῦ φόνου, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ εἰς ἀχαριστίαν αὐτὸν καὶ προδοσίαν πολλὰ λοιδορήσας καὶ καθυβρίσας ἀπέκτεινεν.
all of whom were foreigners, and at the same time brought into the theatre his fine of a thousand drachmas for each one of them. Again, when he was bringing home a wife for his son Demeas, he said to him: "When I married thy mother, my son, not even a neighbour noticed it; but to thy nuptials kings and potentates are contributing."

When the Athenians importuned Phocion to go and persuade Antipater to remove the garrison, whether it was because he despaired of persuading him, or because he saw that the people were more sensible and conducted public affairs with more decorum when they were thus under the influence of fear, he continually rejected that mission; he did, however, persuade Antipater not to exact the moneys due from the city, but to delay, and postpone their payment. The people, accordingly, transferred their importunities to Demades. He readily undertook the mission, and taking his son with him set out for Macedonia. He arrived there, as some heavenly power, doubtless, would have it, precisely at the time when Antipater was already afflicted with sickness, and when Cassander, who had assumed control of affairs, had found a letter which Demades had written to Antigonus in Asia, beseeching him to present himself suddenly in Greece and Macedonia, which hung by an old and rotten thread, as he facetiously called Antipater. When, therefore, Cassander saw Demades after his arrival, he arrested him, and first slaughtered his son, whom he had brought so near that the folds of his father's robe caught the blood of his murder and were filled with it, and then, after heaping much insult and abuse upon him for his ingratitude and treachery, slew the father too.
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XXXI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀντίπατρος ἀποδείξας Πολυσπέρχοντα στρατηγόν, Κάσανδρον δὲ χιλιάρχον, ἐξέλιπτεν εὐθὺς διαναστὰς ὁ Κάσανδρος καὶ προκαταλαμβάνων τὰ πράγματα πέμπτει κατὰ τάχος Νικάνορα τῷ Μενύλλῳ διάδοχον τῆς φρουραρχίας, πρὶν ἐκδηλῶν τὸν Ἀντιπάτρον θάνατον γενέσθαι κελεύσας τὴν Μουννχίαν παρα-2 λαβεῖν. γενομένου δὲ τούτου, καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέρας ὀλίγας πυθομένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἵ τε θένηκεν ὁ Ἀντίπατρος, ἐν αἰτίας ὁ Φωκίων ἦν καὶ κακῶς 756 ἦκονεν ὡς προαισθόμενος καὶ κατασιωπήσας χάριτι τοῦ Νικάνορος. ὁ δὲ τούτων μὲν οὐκ ἐφροντίζειν, ἐντυγχάνων δὲ τῷ Νικάνορι καὶ δια-λεγόμενος εἰς τε τᾶλλα τόσο Ἀθηναίοις πραγμα τούτων καὶ κεχαρισμένον παρεῖχε, καὶ φιλοτιμίας τινὰς ἔπεισε καὶ δαπάνας ὑποστήναι γενομένων ἁγωνιθέτην.

XXXII. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Πολυσπέρχων, τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχων ὡς ἐαυτῷ καὶ καταπολιτευόμενος τὸν Κάσανδρον, ἐπεμψεν ἐπιστόλην τοῖς ἐν ἀστεὶ γεγραμμένην, ὡς τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποδιδόντος αὐτοῖς τὴν δημοκρατίαν καὶ πολιτεύεσθαι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια πάντας Ἀθη-2 ναίους κελεύοντος. ἦν δὲ τούτῳ κατὰ τοῦ Φωκίω-νος ἐπιβουλή. συσκευαζόμενος γὰρ εἰς ἑαυτὸν, ὡς μικρὸν ὑστερον ἔδειξε τοῖς ἐργοῖς, ὁ Πολυσπέρ-χων τὴν πόλιν, οὐδὲν ἦλπιζε περαινεῖν μὴ τοῦ Φωκίωνος ἐκπεσόντος· ἐκπεσεῖσθαι δὲ ἐκεῖνων

1 Not to be taken in its literal meaning of commander of a thousand, but in the general sense of lieutenant-general, second in command. Antipater vainly sought to deprive his son of the succession.

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XXXI. And when Antipater died, after appointing Polysperchon general-in-chief, and Cassander chiliarch,\(^1\) Cassander at once became rebellious, promptly took the government into his own hands, and sent Nicanor with all speed to relieve Menyllus from the command of the garrison at Athens, bidding him take over Munychia before Antipater’s death became known. This was done, and when, after a few days, the Athenians learned that Antipater was dead,\(^2\) they blamed Phocion severely, alleging that he had known about it before and had held his peace as a favour to Nicanor. Phocion, however, paid no heed to these charges, but by interviews and discussions with Nicanor rendered him in general mild and gracious to the Athenians, and, in particular, persuaded him to undertake sundry expensive exhibitions as director of games.

XXXII. In the meantime, too, Polysperchon, who had the king\(^3\) in his own personal charge and was seeking to thwart the schemes of Cassander, sent a letter to the citizens of Athens, announcing that the king restored to them their democracy and ordered that all Athenians should take part in the administration of the city according to their earlier polity. This was a plot against Phocion. For Polysperchon was scheming (as he plainly showed a little later) to dispose the city in his own interests, and had no hope of succeeding unless Phocion was banished; he was sure, however, that Phocion would be banished if the

\(^1\) In 319 B.C.

\(^2\) The imbecile Philip Arrhidaeus, half-brother of Alexander. The other king, the little son of Alexander by Roxana, was in Epeirus with Olympias, the mother of Alexander. See the Eumenes, iii. 1 and 7, with the notes.
3 'Τοποθητεύεσθαι δὲ πρὸς ταύτα τῶν Ἀθηναίων, Βουλώμενος ἐντυχείν αὐτοῖς ὁ Νικάνορ, ἐν Πειραιαῖ βουλής γενομένης, παρῆλθε, τῷ Φωκίων ἐμπιστεύσας τὸ σῶμα. Δερκύλλου δὲ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας στρατηγοῦ συνλαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπιχειρήσαντος, ἐκεῖνος μὲν προαισθόμενος ἐξεπήδησε, καὶ φαινόμεν ὡς εὐθὺς ἀμυνούμενος τὴν πόλιν, ὁ δὲ Φωκίων ἐπὶ τῷ προέσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ μὴ κατασχεῖν ἐγκαλοῦμενος ἐφη πιστεύειν μὲν τῷ Νικάνορι καὶ μηδὲν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ προσδοκᾶν δεινόν· εἰ δὲ μῆ, μᾶλλον θέλειν ἄδικούμενος ἢ ἄδικων
4 φαινόμεν γενέσθαι. τούτῳ δὲ ύπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὲν ἄν των σκοποῦντι δοκοῖ ταλακαγαθικῶς λελέχθαι καὶ γενναίως· ὁ δὲ εἰς πατρίδος ἀποκινδυνεύων σωτηρίαν, καὶ ταύτα στρατηγὸς καὶ ἄρχων, οὔκ οίδα μὴ μεῖζον τα παραβαίνει καὶ πρεσβύτερον τὸ πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας δίκαιον. οὔδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνο ἐστὶν εἰπέιν, ὅτι φοβούμενος μὲν εἰς πόλεμον ἐμβαλεῖν τὴν πόλιν ὁ Φωκίων ἀπέσχετο τοῦ Νικάνορος, ἄλλως δὲ προεβάλλετο τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὸ δίκαιον, ὅπως αὐτῷ πλοῦσι τὸν ἄνδρα ὁ Νικάνορ ἐγινόμενος ἀδικήτως καὶ μὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἀλλ’ ὄντως ἔσοικεν ἱσχυρὰ τις αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦ Νικάνορος ἐγινόμενος πίστις, ὅν γε πολλῶν προδιαβάλλοντων

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disfranchised citizens overwhelmed the administration, and the tribunal was again at the mercy of demagogues and public informers.

Since the Athenians were somewhat stirred by these communications, Nicanor wished to address them,¹ and after a council had been convened in Peiraeus, he came before it, relying upon Phocion for the safety of his person. But Dercyllus, the Athenian general in command of the district, made an attempt to arrest him, whereupon Nicanor, who became aware of the attempt in time, dashed away, and was clearly about to inflict speedy punishment upon the city. Phocion, however, when assailed for letting Nicanor go and not detaining him, said that he had confidence in Nicanor and expected no evil at his hands; but in any case, he would rather be found suffering wrong than doing wrong. Now, such an utterance as this might seem honourable and noble in one who had regard to his own interests alone; but he who endangers his country's safety, and that, too, when he is her commanding general, transgresses, I suspect, a larger and more venerable obligation of justice towards his fellow citizens. For it cannot even be said that it was the fear of plunging the city into war which made Phocion refrain from seizing Nicanor, but that he sought to excuse himself on other grounds by protestations of good faith and justice, in order that Nicanor might respect these obligations and keep the peace and do the Athenians no wrong; nay, it would seem that he really had too strong a confidence in Nicanor. For though many gave warning against that officer and

¹ Nicanor, acting in the interests of Cassander, wished to expose to the Athenians the designs of Polysperchon.
καὶ κατηγοροῦντων ἐπιτίθεσθαι τῷ Πειραιεῖ καὶ διαβιβάζειν εἰς Σαλαμίνα ξένους καὶ διαφθείρειν τινὰς τῶν ἐν Πειραιεῖ κατοικοῦντων, οὐ προσήκοται τὸν λόγον οὐδ’ ἐπίστευσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Φίλομήλου τοῦ Δαμπτρέως ψήφισμα γράφαντος Ἀθηναίους ἀπάντας ἐν τοῖς ὁπλοῖς εἶναι καὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ Φωκίων προσέχειν, ἡμέλησεν, ἀχρι οὗ προσάγων ὁ Νικάνωρ ἐκ τῆς Μουνυχίας τὰ ὀπλα τὸν Πειραιᾶ περιετάφρευσε.

XXXIII. Πραττομένων δὲ τούτων ὁ μὲν Φωκίων ἔθρουγετό καὶ κατεφρονεῖτο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐξάγειν βουλόμενος, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ Πολυστέρχροντος ὤδος ἦκε μετὰ δυνάμεως, λόγῳ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν Νικάνορα τοῖς ἐν ἄστει βοηθήσων, ἔργῳ δὲ τὴν πόλιν, εἰ δύνατο, καταληψόμενος αὐτὴν ἑαυτῇ

2 περιπέτει γενομένη. οὗ τε γὰρ φυγάδες αὐτῷ συνεισβαλόντες εὐθὺς ἦσαν ἐν ἄστει, καὶ τῶν ξένων ἄμα καὶ τῶν ἀτίμων πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰσδραμόντων ἐκκλησία παμμηχὴς ἤθροίσθη καὶ ἄτακτος, ἐν ἧ τῶν Φωκίων τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπολύσαντες ἐτέρους εἶλοντο στρατηγοὺς. εἰ δὲ μὴ συνιῶν εἰς λόγους ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τῷ Νικάνορι μόνος παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος ὄφθη, καὶ τοῦτο ποιοῦντες πολλάκις ὑποφίλαν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις παρέσχουν, οὐκ ἄν ἦ

3 πόλεις διέφυγε τῶν κίνδυνον. ἔπει δὲ Ἀγνωνίδης ὁ ρήτωρ εὐθὺς ἐπεφύετο τοῖς περὶ τὸν Φωκίωνα καὶ κατηγόρει προδοσίας, οἱ μὲν περὶ Καλλιμέδουντα καὶ Χαρικλέα φοβηθέντες ἀπῆλθον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ὁ δὲ Φωκίων καὶ μετ’ αὐτοῦ τῶν φίλων

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accused him of hostile designs against the Peiræus, in that he was sending mercenaries across to Salamis, and tampering with some of the residents in Peiræus, Phocion would not give heed to the story nor believe it at all. Indeed, even after Philomelus of Lamptrae brought in a decree that all Athenians should stand under arms and await orders from Phocion their general, he paid no attention to the matter, until Nicanor led his troops forth from Munychia and began to run trenches around the Peiræus.

XXXIII. In this state of affairs, Phocion, who now wished to lead the Athenians forth to battle, was stormed at and held in derision, and Alexander the son of Polysperchon came with an armed force. His ostensible design was to bring aid to the citizens against Nicanor, but he really wished to seize the city, if he could, now that she was ruinously divided against herself. For the exiles who had burst into the country with him were at once in the city, strangers and disfranchised citizens ran in to join them, and a motley and turbulent assembly was gathered together, in which Phocion was deposed from his command and other generals were chosen. And had not Alexander been seen in close conference with Nicanor near the walls, and had not their interview, which was often repeated, rendered the Athenians suspicious, the city would not have escaped its peril. Moreover, Hagnonides the orator¹ at once assailed Phocion and denounced him as a traitor, whereupon Callimédon and Charicles² took fright and left the city, while Phocion, and with him those

¹ The same as the public informer of xxix. 3.
² Prominent partisans of Antipater, who had transferred their allegiance to Cassander, the son of Antipater, rather than to Polysperchon, the successor of Antipater.
οἱ παραμείναντες φόρουν πρὸς Πολυστέρχοντα, καὶ συνεξήλθον αὐτοῖς χάριτι τοῦ Φωκίωνος ὁ Πλαταίεως Σόλων καὶ Δείναρχος ὁ Κορίνθιος, ἐπιτήδειοι τοῦ Πολυστέρχοντος εἶναι δοκοῦντες καὶ συνήθεις. ἀρρωστία δὲ χρησαμένου τοῦ Δείναρχου συχνὰς ἡμέρας ἐν Ἑλατείᾳ διέτριψαν, ἐν αἷς Ἀγωνίδου πεῖσαντος, Ἀρχεστράτου δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα γράψαντος, ἔπεμπτε προσβείαν ὁ δῆμος καθηγορήσοντα τοῦ Φωκίωνος. ἀμα δὲ καὶ συνέμειαν ἀμφότεροι τῷ Πολυστέρχοντι μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως πορευομένῳ περὶ κόμην τινὰ τῆς Φωκίδος, Φαρύγας, κειμένην ὕπο τὸ Ἀκρούριον ὄρος, ὁ νῦν Γαλάτης καλοῦσιν.

5 Ἐνταῦθα δὴ θεὶς ὁ Πολυστέρχων τῶν χρυσῶν οὐρανίσκοι, καὶ καθίσας ὑπ’ αὐτῷ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τῶν φίλους, τῶν μὲν Δείναρχον εὐθὺς ἐκ προόδου λαβεῖν ἐκέλευσε καὶ στρεβλώσαντας ἀποκτείνας, τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις ἀπέδωκε λόγον. ὡς δὲ θόρυβον καὶ κραυγὴν ἐποίουν ἀντικατηγορούντες ἄλληλον ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ, καὶ προσελθὼν ὁ Ἀγωνίδης εἶπεν, "Ἅπαντας ἡμᾶς εἰς μίαν ἐμβαλόντες γαλαέγραν Ἀθηναίοις ἀναπήμ.

6 ψατε λόγον υφέξοντας," ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἐγέλασεν, οἱ δὲ περιεστῶτες τῷ συνεδρίῳ Μακεδόνες καὶ ξένοι σχολήν ἄγουτες ἐπεθύμουν ἀκοῦειν, καὶ τοὺς προσβείεις παρεκάλουν ἀπὸ νεύματος ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖσθαι τὴν καθηγορίαν. ἦν δὲ οὐδὲν ἤσον, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν Φωκίωνι πολλάκις ἀντέκρουσεν ὁ Πολυστέρχων λέγοντι, μέχρι οὗ τῇ βακτηρίᾳ

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of his friends who remained faithful, set out to go to Polysperchon. There went forth with them also, out of regard for Phocion, Solon of Plataea and Deinarchus of Corinth, who were reputed to be intimate friends of Polysperchon. But Deinarchus fell sick, and the party therefore tarried many days in Elateia, during which time the people of Athens, in accordance with a decree brought in by Arche-stratus and supported by Hagnonides, sent an embassy to denounce Phocion. Both the parties fell in with Polysperchon at the same time, as he was marching with the king near Pharygae, a village of Phocis lying at the foot of Mount Acrurium, which is now called Galata.

Here, then, Polysperchon, after setting up the golden canopy and seating beneath it the king and his friends, as soon as Deinarchus came forward, ordered him to be seized, tortured, and put to death, and then gave audience to the Athenians. But they raised a tumultuous shouting with their denunciations of one another in the council, and at last Hagnonides came forward and said: “Throw us all into one cage and send us back to Athens to render an account.” At this, the king burst out laughing; but the Macedonians and foreigners who were gathered about the council, having nothing else to do, were eager to listen, and nodded to the ambassadors to make their denunciation there. But there was no fairness in the conduct of the case, since, when Phocion tried to speak, he was frequently interrupted by Polysperchon, and at last, smiting the ground with

1 Antipater’s chief agent in Peloponnesus.
2 In order to maintain himself in power, Polysperchon was forced to treat Antipater’s friends as his own enemies.
ПАΤΑΞΑΣ ΤΗΝ ΓΗΝ ἈΠΕΣΤΗ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΕΣΙΩΠΗΣΕΝ.

7 Ἡγήμονος δὲ φήσαντος ὅτι μάρτυς αὐτῷ τῆς πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εὐνοία; Πολυσπέρχων ἔστι, καὶ τοῦ Πολυσπέρχων ἀποκριναμένου πρὸς ὅργην, "Παῦσαι μου πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καταψευδώμενος," ἀναπηδήσας ὁ βασιλεὺς ὄρμησε λόγχη τὸν Ἡγήμονα πατάξαι. ταχὺ δὲ τοῦ Πολυσπέρχων περιλαβόντος αὐτῶν οὕτω διελύθη τὸ συνέδριον.

XXXIV. Τὸν δὲ Φωκίωνα καὶ τοὺς μετ’ αὐτοῦ φυλακῆς περιεχούσης, ὅσοι τῶν ἐταῖρων ἐτυχοῦν οὐκ ἔγγυς ἑστῶτες, ὡς τούτο εἶδον, ἐγκαλυψάμενοι καὶ διαφυγόντες ἐσώθησαν. ἐκείνους δὲ Κλείτων εἰς Ἀθῆνας ἀνήγγει λόγῳ μὲν κριθησομένους, ἐργῷ δὲ ἀποθανεῖν κατακεκριμένους. καὶ προσῆν τὸ σχῆμα τῇ κομιδῇ λυπηρόν, ἐφ’ ἀμάξας κομιζομένων αὐτῶν διὰ τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ πρὸς τὸ θέατρον ἐκεῖ γὰρ αὐτῶς προσαγαγὼν ὁ Κλείτων συνείχεν, ἄχρι ὅτι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπλήρωσαν οἱ ἀρχόντες, οὐ δοῦλον, οὐ ξένον, οὐκ ἀτιμον ἀποκρίναντες, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις ἀναπετπαμένον τὸ βῆμα καὶ τὸ θέατρον παρασχόντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦ τ’ ἐπιστόλῃ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀνεγνώσθη, λέγοντος αὐτῷ μὲν ἐγνώσθαι προδότας γεγονέναι τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἐκείνοις δὲ διδόναι τὴν κρίσιν ἐλευθέροις τε δὴ καὶ αὐτοῦμοις οὕσι, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ὁ Κλείτων εἰσήγαγεν, οἱ μὲν βέλτιστοι τῶν πολιτῶν ὀφθέντος τοῦ Φωκίωνος ἐνεκαλύφαντο καὶ κάτω κύψαντες ἐδάκρυνον, εἰς 224
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his staff, he retired and held his peace. Moreover, when Hegemon\(^1\) said that Polysperchon could bear witness to his good will towards the people, and Polysperchon replied in wrath, “Cease telling lies against me in the presence of the king,” the king sprang to his feet and would have smitten Hegemon with a spear. But Polysperchon quickly threw his arms about the king, and thus the council was dissolved.

XXXIV. A guard was now placed about Phocion and his associates, and at sight of this all of his friends who were standing at some remove covered up their faces and sought safety in flight. Phocion and his party, however, were taken back to Athens by Cleitus, ostensibly to be tried, but really under sentence of death. And besides, the manner of their return to the city was shameful, for they were carried on waggons through the Cerameicus to the theatre. For thither Cleitus brought them and there he kept them, until the magistrates had made up an assembly, from which they excluded neither slave, foreigner, nor disfranchised person, but allowed all alike, both men and women, free access to theatre and tribunal. After the letter of the king had been read aloud, in which he said that according to his judgement the men were traitors, but that their fellow citizens, who were freemen and self-governing, should pronounce sentence upon them, Cleitus led the men in. Then the best of the citizens, at sight of Phocion, covered their faces, bent their heads, and wept. One of them, however, rose up

\(^{1}\) One of Phocion's party, and, like him, under accusation of treachery, i.e. of favouring Cassander rather than Polysperchon.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES


XXXV. Ἀναγυωσθέντος δὲ τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἡξίουν τινὲς προσγράφειν ὅπως καὶ στρεβλωθεῖς Φωκίων ἀποθάνοι, καὶ τὸν τροχὸν εἰσφέρειν καὶ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας καλεῖν προσέταττον. ὁ δὲ Ἀγνωνίδης καὶ τὸν Κλέιτον ὅρων δυσχεραίνοντα καὶ τὸ πράγμα βαρβαρικὸν εἶναι καὶ μιαρὸν ἱγούμενος, ""Ὅταν," ἔφη, "Καλλιμέδουντα τὸν μαστι-

1 In cases where the penalty was not fixed by law, the accuser proposed a penalty, and the accused had the right to
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and had the courage to say that, since the king had put a case of such importance into the hands of the people, it were well that slaves and foreigners should leave the assembly. This the multitude would not tolerate, but cried out to stone the oligarchs and haters of the people. Therefore no one else undertook to speak in behalf of Phocion, but he himself, with great difficulty, at last made himself heard, saying: "Do ye wish to put us to death unjustly or justly?" And when some answered, "Justly," he said: "And how will ye determine this without hearing me?" But they were not a whit more willing to hear him, and therefore, drawing nearer, he said: "I admit my own guilt, and I assign death as the penalty for my political conduct; but these men with me, men of Athens, are not guilty at all, and why will ye put them to death?" "Because they are thy friends," answered many, whereat Phocion retired and held his peace. But Hagnonides read aloud an edict which he had prepared, in accordance with which the people were to vote by show of hands whether they thought the men to be guilty, and the men, if the show of hands was against them, were to be put to death.

XXXV. After the edict had been read aloud, some demanded an additional clause providing that Phocion should be tortured before he was put to death, and insisted that the rack should be brought in and the executioners summoned. But Hagnonides, who saw that Cleitus was displeased at this, and considered the measure abominable and barbarous, said: "Whenever we catch that rascally Callimedes, men of Athens, propose a counter-penalty. The court then chose between the two penalties. Phocion waived all the advantage of this right, as Socrates, in a different way, had done.

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"γίαν λάβωμεν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, στρεβλώσομεν· περὶ δὲ Φωκίωνος οὐδὲν ἔγω γράφω τοιοῦτον." ἐνταῦθα τῶν ἐπιεικῶν τις ὑπεφώνησεν. "Ὅρθως γε σὺ ποιῶν· ἂν γὰρ Φωκίωνα βασανίσωμεν, σὲ τὶ ποιήσομεν;" ἐπικυρωθέντος δὲ τοῦ ψηφίσματος καὶ τῆς χειροτονίας ἀποδοθείσης, οὔδεις καθήμενος, ἄλλα πάντες ἔξαναστε, οἱ δὲ πλείστοι καὶ στεφανωσάμενοι, κατεχειροτόνησαν αὐτῶν θάνατον. ἦσαν δὲ σὺν τῷ Φωκίωνι Νικοκλῆς, Θουδίππος, Ἡγήμων, Πυθοκλῆς· Δημητρίου δὲ τοῦ Φαληρέως καὶ Καλλιμέδουντος καὶ Χαρικλέους καὶ τινῶν ἄλλων ἀπόντων κατεψηφίσθη θάνατος.

XXXVI. Ὡς οὖν διαλύσαντες τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἦγον εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον τούς ἄνδρας, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι, περιπλεκόμενοι τῶν φίλων αὐτοῖς καὶ οἰκείων, ὀδυρόμενοι καὶ καταθησάντες ἐβάδιζον, τὸ δὲ Φωκίωνος πρόσωπον οἷον ὅτε στρατηγῶν ἀπ’ ἐκκλησίας προὔπεμπετο βλέποντες, ἐθαυμαζόντων τὴν ἀπάθειαν καὶ μεγαλοψυχίαν τούτου ἄνδρός. οἱ δὲ ἔχθροι κακῶς ἔλεγον παρατρέχοντες· εἰς δὲ καὶ προσεπτυσεν ἐξεναντίας προσελθόντων, ὅτε καὶ τὸν Φωκίωνα λέγεται βλέψαντα πρὸς τούς ἄρχοντας εἰπεῖν: "Οὐ παύσει τις ἀσχημονοῦντα τούτον;" ἐπεὶ δὲ Θουδίππος ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ γενόμενος καὶ τὸ κώνειον ὅριον τριβόμενον ἡγανάκτει καὶ κατέκλαι τὴν συμφοράν, ὡς οὖν προσηκόντως τῷ Φωκίωνι συναπολύμενος, "Εἴτε οὐκ ἁγαπᾶς," εἰπεν, "ὅτι μετὰ τὰ 3 Φωκίωνος ἀποδυνάσκεις;" ἔρωμένου δὲ τινος τῶν φίλων εἰ τι πρὸς Φῶκον λέγει τὸν νῦν, "Πάνυ
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we will put him to the torture; but I cannot make any such motion in the case of Phocion.” Here some decent fellow called out in response: “Right thou art; for if we should torture Phocion, what would be left for us to do to thee?” So the form of the edict was approved, and when the show of hands was taken, no one keeping his seat, but all rising to their feet, and most of them wreathing themselves with garlands, they condemned the men to death. Now, there were with Phocion, Nicocles, Thudippus, Hegemon, and Pythocles; and Demetrius of Phalerum, Callimedon, Charicles, and sundry others, were condemned to death in absentia.

XXXVI. When, accordingly, the assembly had been dissolved and the men were being led to the prison, the rest of them, as their friends and relatives clung about them, walked along lamenting and shedding tears; but the countenance of Phocion was the same as it used to be when he was escorted from the assembly as general, and when men saw it, they were amazed at the man's calmness and at his grandeur of spirit. His enemies, however, ran along by his side and reviled him; and one of them actually came up and spat in his face. At this, as we are told, Phocion looked towards the magistrates and said: “Will not someone stop this fellow's unseemly behaviour?” Again, when Thudippus, on entering the prison and seeing the executioner bruising the hemlock, grew angry and bewailed his hard fate, declaring it not fitting that he should perish with Phocion, “Is it no satisfaction to thee, then,” said Phocion, “that thou art put to death in company with Phocion?” And when one of his friends asked him if he had any message for his son Phocus,

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XXXVII. Ἡν δὲ ἡμέρα μηνὸς Μουνυχιῶν ἔνατη ἐπὶ δέκα, καὶ τῷ Διὶ τὴν πομπὴν πέμποντες οἱ ἱππεῖς παρεξῆσαν. δὲν οἱ μὲν ἀφείλουντο τοὺς στεφάνους, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὰς θύρας δεδακρυμένου τῆς εἰρκτῆς ἀπέβλεψαν. ἐφάγη δὲ τοῖς μὴ παντάπασιν ὁμοίως καὶ διεφθαρμένοις ὑπὸ ὀργῆς καὶ φθόνον τὴν ψυχὴν, ἀνοσιώτατον γεγονέναι τὸ μήδε ἐπισχεῖν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην, μηδὲ καθαρεύ-2 ικ δημοσίου φόνου τὴν πόλιν ἐστραξόσαν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλά ὡσπερ ἐνδεέστερον ἡγούνισμένοις τοῖς ἔχθροῖς ἔδοξε καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Φωκίωνος ἐξορίσαι καὶ μηδὲ πῦρ ἐναύσαι μηδένα πρὸς τὴν ταφὴν Ἀθηναίων. διὸ φίλος μὲν οὔδεις ἐτόλμησεν ἄψασθαι τοῦ σώματος, Κωνωπίων δὲ τις, υπουρ-γείν εἰθισμένος τὰ τοιαῦτα μισθοῦ, κομισθέντα 759 230
"Certainly," said he; "my message is that he cherish no resentment against the Athenians." Again, when Nicocles, his most faithful friend, begged the privilege of drinking the drug first, "O Nicocles," he said, "thy request is grievous to me and painful; but since I have never in all my life denied thee any other favour, I grant thee this one also." But when all the rest had drunk of it, the drug ran short, and the executioner refused to bruise another portion unless he were paid twelve drachmas, which was the price of the weight required. However, after a delay of some length, Phocion called one of his friends, and, asking if a man could not even die at Athens without paying for the privilege, bade him give the executioner his money.

XXXVII. It was the nineteenth day of the month Munychion,¹ and the horsemen conducting the procession in honour of Zeus were passing by the prison. Some of them took off their garlands, and others gazed at the door of the prison with tears in their eyes. And it was thought by all those whose souls were not wholly savage and debauched by rage and jealousy, that an impious thing had been done in not waiting over that day, and so keeping the city pure from a public execution when it was holding festival. However, his enemies, as if their triumph were incomplete, got a decree passed that the body of Phocion should be carried beyond the boundary of the country, and that no Athenian should light a fire for his obsequies. Therefore no friend of his ventured to touch his body, but a certain Conopion, who was wont to perform such services for hire,

¹ Early in May, 318 B.C.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

τὸν νεκρὸν ὑπὲρ τὴν 'Ελευσίνα, πῦρ λαβὼν ἐκ 3 τῆς Μεγαρικῆς, ἐκαυσεν. ἦ δὲ γυνὴ παροῦσα μετὰ τῶν θεραπαινίδων ἔχωσε μὲν αὐτῶθι χῶμα κενὸν καὶ κατέστεισεν, ἐνθεμένη δὲ τῷ κόλπῳ τὰ ὅστὰ καὶ κομίσασα νῦκτορ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν κατώ- ῥυξὲ παρὰ τὴν ἕστιαν, εἰποῦσα· "Σοὶ, ὁ φίλη ἔστια, παρακατατίθημαι ταῦτα ἀνδρὸς ἀγάθου λείψανα· σὺ δὲ αὐτὰ τοῖς πατρῴοις ἀπόδοσ ̣ ἥριοις, ὅταν Ἄθηναιοι σωφρονήσωσι."  

XXXVIII. Καὶ μέντοι χρόνον βραχέος δια- 

γενομένου, καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων διδασκόντων οἶον ἐπιστάτην καὶ φύλακα σωφροσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύ- 

νης ὁ δήμος ἀπώλεσεν, ἀνδριάντα μὲν αὐτὸν χαλκὸν ἀνέστησαν, ἐθαγαν δὲ δημοσίοις τέλεσι 

τὰ ὅστὰ. τῶν δὲ κατηγόρων Ἀγωνίδην μὲν αὐτοῦ 

θάνατον καταχειροτονήσαντες ἀπέκτειναν, Ἐπί- 

κουρον δὲ καὶ Δημόφιλον ἀποδράντας ἐκ τῆς πό- 

λεος ἀνευρόν ὁ τοῦ Φωκίωνος οἶδε ἑτιμωρήσατο.

2 Τούτων οὔτε τάλλα σπουδαῖον ἀνδρα γενεσθαι 

φασί, καὶ παιδίσκης ἐρωτα παρὰ πορνοβοσκῷ 

τρεφομένης κατὰ τύχην Θεοδώρῳ τῷ ἁθέφ παρα- 

γενέσθαι λόγον ἐν Δυκεῖῳ διαλεγομένῳ τοιούτῳ· 

"Εἰ τὸ φίλον λύσασθαι μὴ αἰσχρῶν ἐστίν, οὐδὲ 

tὸ φίλην ὁμοίως· εἰ δὲ μὴ τὸ ἔταίρον, οὐδὲ τὸ ἔταίραν" θέμενον οὖν ἐαυτῷ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν 

τὸν λόγον ὥς εὐ ἐχοῦντα, λύσασθαι τὴν ἔταίραν. 

'Αλλὰ τὰ μὲν περὶ Φωκίωνα πραξθέντα τῶν 

περὶ Σωκράτην πάλιν ἀνέμνησε τοὺς Ἐλληνας, 

ὡς ὀμοιοτάτης ἐκείνη τῆς ἀμαρτίας ταύτης καὶ 

dυστυχίας τῇ πόλει γενομένης.

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1 Cf. chapter xix.

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carried the body beyond Eleusis, took fire from the Megarian territory, and burned it. The wife of Phocion,\textsuperscript{1} however, who was present with her maid-servants, heaped up a cenotaph on the spot and poured libations upon it; then, putting the bones in her bosom and carrying them by night to her dwelling, she buried them by the hearth, saying: “To thee, dear Hearth, I entrust these remains of a noble man; but do thou restore them to the sepulchre of his fathers, when the Athenians shall have come to their senses.”

XXXVIII. And indeed, after a short time had passed, and when the course of events was teaching them what a patron and guardian of moderation and justice the people had lost, they set up a statue of him in bronze, and gave his bones a public burial. Moreover, as regards his accusers, the people themselves condemned Hagnonides and put him to death; while Epicurus and Demophilus, who had run away from the city, were found out by Phocion’s son and visited with his vengeance.

This son of Phocion,\textsuperscript{2} we are told, turned out to be a man of no worth in general, and once, being enamoured of a girl who was kept in a brothel, chanced to hear Theodorus the Atheist discourse in the Lyceium as follows: “If there is no disgrace in ransoming a man beloved, the same is true of a woman loved; what is true of a comrade, is true also of a mistress.” Accordingly, his passion leading him to think the argument sound, he ransomed his mistress.

But Phocion’s fate reminded the Greeks anew of that of Socrates;\textsuperscript{3} they felt that the sin and misfortune of Athens were alike in both cases.

\textsuperscript{2} Cf. chapters xx. and xxx. 1. \textsuperscript{3} In 399 B.C.
CATO THE YOUNGER
ΚΑΤΩΝ

1. Κάτωνι δὲ τὸ μὲν γένος ἀρχὴν ἐπιφανείας ἔλαβε καὶ δόξης ἀπὸ τοῦ προπάππου Κάτωνος, ἀνδρὸς ἐν δόξῃ καὶ δυνάμει μάλιστα Ῥωμαίων γενομένου δι’ ἀρετῆν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκεῖνον γέγραπται, κατελείφθη δὲ γονέων ὥρφανος μετ’ ἀδελφοῦ Καπίωνος 1 καὶ Πορκίας ἀδελφῆς. ἦν δὲ καὶ Σερβιλία Κάτωνος ὁμομήτριος ἀδελφή. καὶ πάντες οὕτω παρὰ Διβίω Δρούσῳ τροφὴν καὶ δίαιταν εἶχον, θείῳ μὲν δύνατι πρὸς 2 μητρός, ἀγοντι δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν τότε καὶ γὰρ εἰπεῖν δεινότατος ἦν, καὶ τὰλα σώφρων ἄνηρ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα, καὶ φρονήματος οὐδενὶ Ῥωμαίων ύψιεμένοις.

2 Δέγεταί δὲ Κάτων εὕθως ἐκ παιδίου τῇ τε φωνῇ καὶ τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ ταῖς περὶ τῶν παιδιῶν διατριβαῖς ἢδος ὑποφαίνειν ἀτρεπτούν καὶ ἀπαθεῖς καὶ βέβαιον ἐν πάσιν. ἵσχυν τε γὰρ εἶχον αὐτοῦ παρ’ ἡλικίαν τελειούργην αἱ ὀρμαῖ, καὶ τοῖς κολακεύουσι τραχὺς δὲ καὶ προσάντης, ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ἐκράτει τῶν ἐκφοβοῦντων. ἦν δὲ καὶ πρὸς γέλωτα κομιδὴ δυσκίνητος, ἀχρὶ μειδία- ματος σπανίως τῷ προσώπῳ διαχεομένος, καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν οὗ ταχὺς οὐδὲ ὀλισθηρὸς, ὀργισθεὶς δὲ δυσπαράειτος.

1 Καπίωνος with Coraës and Bekker: Καπίωνος.
2 πρὸς with Coraës and Bekker, after Xylander: τῆς

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CATO THE YOUNGER

I. Cato's family got its first lustre and fame from his great-grandfather Cato (a man whose virtue gained him the greatest reputation and influence among the Romans, as has been written in his Life), but the death of both parents left him an orphan, together with his brother Caepio and his sister Porcia. Cato had also a half-sister, Servilia, the daughter of his mother.¹ All these children were brought up in the home of Livius Drusus, their uncle on the mother's side, who at that time was a leader in the conduct of public affairs; for he was a most powerful speaker, in general a man of the greatest discretion, and yielded to no Roman in dignity of purpose.

We are told that from his very childhood Cato displayed, in speech, in countenance, and in his childish sports, a nature that was inflexible, imper- turbable, and altogether steadfast. He set out to accomplish his purposes with a vigour beyond his years, and while he was harsh and repellent to those who would flatter him, he was still more masterful towards those who tried to frighten him. It was altogether difficult to make him laugh, although once in a while he relaxed his features so far as to smile; and he was not quickly nor easily moved to anger, though once angered he was inexorable.

¹ By her second husband, Q. Servilius Caepio, who was also the father of Cato's half-brother Caepio.
3 Ὁς οὖν εἰς τὸ μανθάνειν ἦκε, νωθρὸς ἦν ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ βραδύς, ἀναλαβὼν δὲ κάτοχος καὶ μνημονικός. δὲ δὲ καὶ πέφυκεν ἄλλως, τοὺς μὲν εὐφυεῖς ἀναμνηστικοὺς μᾶλλον εἶναι, μνημονικοὺς δὲ τοὺς μετὰ πόνον καὶ πραγματείας παραδεχομένους· γίνεται γὰρ οἷον ἐγκαύμα τῆς ψυχῆς τῶν 4 μαθημάτων ἔκαστον. ἔσικε δὲ καὶ τὸ δύσπειστον τῷ Κάτωνι ποιεῖν ἐργωδεστέραν τὴν μάθησιν· πάσχειν γὰρ τι τὸ μανθάνειν ἀτεχνῶς ἔστι, καὶ τὸ πείθεσθαι ταχὺ τοῖς ἤπτον ἀντέχειν δυναμένοις συμβέβηκε. διὸ πείθονται μᾶλλον νέοι γερόντων καὶ νοσοῦντες ὑγιαινόντων, καὶ ὅλως ἐν ὀἷς τὸ ἀποροῦν ἀσθενεστάτον ἔστι, ῥᾴστερον τὸ 5 προστιθέμενον. τῷ μέντοι παιδαγωγῷ τῶν Κάτωνα πείθεσθαι μὲν λέγουσι καὶ ποιεῖν ἄπαν τὸ προστατόμενον, ἐκάστου δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν ἀπαίτειν καὶ τὸ διὰ τί πυνθάνεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἦν χαρίεις ὁ παιδαγωγὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ λόγον ἔχων τοῦ κοινὸν προχειρότερον, ὅνομα Σαρπηδών.

II. „Ετι δὲ παιδὸς τοῦ Κάτωνος ὅτες ἔπραττον οἱ σύμμαχοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὡς μεθέξουσι τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολιτείας· καὶ τὰς Πομπαίδους Σίλλων, ἀνὴρ πολεμικός καὶ μέγιστον ἔχων ἀξίωμα, τοῦ δὲ Δρούσου φίλος, κατέλυσε παρ’ αὐτῷ πλείονας ἡμέρας, ἐν αἷς γεγονὼς τῶς παιδίως συνήθης, „Ἀγε,” εἶπεν, „ὡς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν δεῖ· σεσθε τοῦ θείου συναγωνίσασθαι περὶ τῆς πολι- 2 τείας.” ο μὲν οὖν Καπίων διαμειδίσας ἐπέ- 760 238
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When, accordingly, he came to study, he was sluggish of comprehension and slow, but what he comprehended he held fast in his memory. And this is generally the way of nature: those who are well endowed are more apt to recall things to mind, but those retain things in their memory who acquire them with toil and trouble;¹ for everything they learn becomes branded, as it were, upon their minds. It would appear, too, that Cato's reluctance to be persuaded made his learning anything more laborious. For, to learn is simply to allow something to be done to you, and to be quickly persuaded is natural for those who are less able to offer resistance. Therefore young men are more easily persuaded than old men, and sick folk, than those who are well, and, in a word, where the power to raise objections is weakest, the act of submission is easiest. However, we are told that Cato was obedient to his tutor, and did everything that was enjoined upon him, although in each case he demanded the reason and wanted to know the why and wherefore. And, indeed, his tutor was a man of culture, and more ready to reason with a pupil than to thrash him. His name was Sarpedon.

II. While Cato was still a boy, the Italian allies of the Romans were making efforts to obtain Roman citizenship. One of their number, Pompaedius Silo,² a man of experience in war and of the highest position, was a friend of Drusus, and lodged at his house for several days. During this time he became familiar with the children, and said to them once: "Come, beg your uncle to help us in our struggle for citizenship." Caepio, accordingly, consented with a

¹ Cf. Aristotle, De Mem. i. 1, 2, 24.
² ERRONEOUSLY called Publius Silo in the Marius, xxxiii. 2.
νευσε, τού δὲ Κάτωνος οὐδὲν ἀποκριναμένου καὶ βλέποντος εἰς τοὺς ξένους ἀτενές καὶ βλοσυρόν, ὁ Πομπαϊός, "Σὺ δὲ," εἶπεν, "ἡμῖν, ὦ νεανία, τί λέγεις; οὐχ οἶδο εἰ τοὺς ξένους συλλαμβάνεις πρὸς τὸν θείον, ὦσπερ ὁ ἄδελφός," μὴ φθεγγομένου δὲ τοῦ Κάτωνος, ἀλλὰ τῇ σιωπῇ καὶ τῷ προσώπῳ δοκοῦντος ἀπολέγεσθαι τὴν δέησιν, ἀράμενοι αὐτὸν ὁ Πομπαϊός ὑπὲρ θυρίδος ὡς ὑφήις ὁμολογεῖν ἐκέλευεν ἢ ρίψειν ἐφασκεν, ἀμα τῇ τε φωνῇ τραχυτέρᾳ χρόμενος καὶ ταῖς χερσίν ἀπηρτημένον τὸ σῶμα πολλάκις ὑπὲρ τῆς θυρίδος κραδαίνων. ἔπει δὲ πολὺν χρόνον οὕτω διεκαρτήσθησεν ὁ Κάτων ἀνέκπληκτος καὶ ἀδείς, καταθέμενος αὐτὸν Πομπαϊῶν διψηχ σὺδ σὺ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἶπεν "Οἶον εὐτύχιμα τῆς Ἰταλίας ὅτι παῖς οὐτός ἔστιν ἐι δὲ ἀνὴρ ἢν, μίαν οὐκ ἂν οἶμαι ψήφον ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ γίνεσθαι.

Πάλιν δὲ συνεγενοῦς τινος ἐν γενεθλίοις καλέσαντος ἐπὶ δείπνου ἄλλους τε παῖδας καὶ τοὺς περὶ Κάτωνα, σχολὴν ἁγοντες ἐν την μέρει τῆς οἰκίας ἐπαίξον αὐτοῖ καθ' ἐαυτῶς ἀναμεμνημένοι νεώτεροι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι, τὸ δὲ παιξόμενον ἦν δίκαι καὶ κατηγορίαι καὶ ἀνωγαί τῶν ἀλισκο-μένων. εἰς οὖν τῶν ἐαλωκότων παίδων οὐσθησις τὴν ὁψίν ὑπὸ πρεσβυτέρου παῖδος ἀχθεῖς εἰς τε δωμάτιον καὶ εἰρχθεῖς ἐπεκαλεῖτο τὸν Κάτωνα. ταχύ δὴ τὸ γινόμενον συνεις ἢκεν ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας ὁ Κάτων, καὶ διωσάμενος τοὺς προεστῶτας καὶ διακωλύοντας ἐξήγαγε τὸν παῖδα· καὶ μετ' ὀργῆς

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smile, but Cato made no reply and gazed fixedly and fiercely upon the strangers. Then Pompaedius said: "But thou, young man, what sayest thou to us? Canst thou not take the part of the strangers with thy uncle, like thy brother?" And when Cato said not a word, but by his silence and the look on his face seemed to refuse the request, Pompaedius lifted him up through a window, as if he would cast him out, and ordered him to consent, or he would throw him down, at the same time making the tone of his voice harsher, and frequently shaking the boy as he held his body out at the window. But when Cato had endured this treatment for a long time without showing fright or fear, Pompaedius put him down, saying quietly to his friends: "What a piece of good fortune it is for Italy that he is a boy; for if he were a man, I do not think we could get a single vote among the people."  

At another time a relation of his who was celebrating a birthday, invited Cato and other boys to supper, and the company were diverting themselves at play in a separate part of the house, older and younger together, their play being actions at law, accusations, and the conducting of the condemned persons to prison. Accordingly, one of those thus condemned, a boy of comely looks, was led off by an older boy and shut into a chamber, where he called upon Cato for help. Then Cato, when he understood what was going on, quickly came to the door, pushed aside the boys who stood before it and tried to stop him, led forth the prisoner, and went

1 This incident must have happened, if at all, in 91 B.C., when Cato was four years old; but it need not be inferred that he had already formed an opinion on public affairs. The story is told also in Valerius Maximus, iii. 1, 2.

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ἐχών ἀπῆλθεν οῖκαδε, καὶ παῖδες ἔτεροι συνηκολούθησαν.

ΠΙ. Οὕτω δ' ἦν περιβόητος ὅστ', ἐπειδή Σύλλας τὴν παιδικὴν καὶ ίερὰν ἱπποδρομίαν, ἦν καλοῦσι Τροίαν, ἐπὶ θέα διδάσκων καὶ συναγαγόν τοὺς εὐγενεῖς παῖδας ἀπέδειξεν ἡγεμόνας δύο, τὸν μὲν ἔτερον οἱ παῖδες ἐδέξαντο διὰ τὴν μητέρα (Μετέλλης γὰρ ἦν νιός, τῆς Σύλλας γυναικὸς), τὸν δὲ ἔτερον, ἀδελφιδοὺν δυτικαὶ Πομπηίου, Σέξτου, οὐκ εἰὼν οὐδὲ ἐβούλοντο μελετᾶν οὐδὲ ἐπεσθαί, πυθανόμενου δὲ τοῦ Σύλλα τίνα βούλοντο, πάντες ἐβόησαν "Κάτωνα," καὶ ὁ γε Σέξτος αὐτὸς εἶχας παρῆκεν ὡς κρείττον τὴν φιλοτιμίαν.

2 Ἐτυχε δὲ καὶ φίλος ἄνω οἱ Σύλλας πατρικὸς αὐτοῖς, καὶ ποτε καὶ προσηγάγετο καὶ προσωμιλεσε, ὀλγοις πάνυ νέμων τὴν τοιαύτην φιλοφροσύνην, διὰ βάρος καὶ δακρον ἡς εἰχεν ἀρχής καὶ δυνάμεως. μέγα δὴ ποιούμενος ὁ Σαρπιδὼν τοῦτο πρὸς τιμὴν ἄμα καὶ ἀσφάλειαν, ἦγεν ἀστασόμενον τὸν Κάτωνα συνεχῶς εἰς τὴν οἰκία τοῦ Σύλλα, μηδὲν τότε προσιδεῖν ἁσβῶν χώρου διαφέρουσαν, ὑπὸ πλῆθους τῶν ἀγομένων καὶ στρεβλουμένων. ἦν μὲν οὖν ἔτος ἐκεῖνο τῷ Κάτωνι τεσσαρεσκαιδέκατον ἤδων δὲ κεφαλὰς ἐπιφανῶν ἄνδρων λεγομένων ἐκκομιζομένας, καὶ κρύφα τοὺς παρόντας ἐπιστέννοισ, ἥρωτησε τὸν παιδαγωγὸν ὁ τι δὴ τοῦτο τὸν ἀνθρωπον οὐδεὶς ἀποκτίννωσιν. εἰπώντως δὲ ἐκείνου, "Φοβοῦνται γὰρ αὐτῶν, ὁ παῖ, μᾶλλον, ἡ μμοῦσι," "Τι οὖν," εἶπεν, "οὐκ ἐμοὶ ξίφος ἔδωκας, ἵνα αὐτὸν ἀνελῶν

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off home with him in a passion, followed by other boys also.

III. He was so celebrated that, when Sulla was preparing for exhibition the sacred equestrian game for boys\(^1\) which is called "Troja," and, after assembling the boys of good birth, appointed two leaders for them, the boys accepted one of them for his mother's sake (he was a son of Metella, Sulla's wife), but would not tolerate the other (who was a nephew of Pompey, named Sextus), and refused to rehearse under him or obey him; and when Sulla asked them whom they would have, they all cried "Cato," and Sextus himself gave way and yielded the honour to a confessed superior.

Now, Sulla was friendly to Cato and his brother\(^2\) on their father's account, and sometimes actually asked them to see him and conversed with them, a kindness which he showed to very few, by reason of the weight and majesty of his authority and power. So Sarpedon, thinking that this conduced greatly to the honour and safety of his charge, was continually bringing Cato to wait upon Sulla at his house, which, at that time, looked exactly like an Inferno, owing to the multitude of those who were brought thither and put to torture. Now, Cato was in his fourteenth year; and when he saw heads of men reputed to be eminent carried forth, and heard the smothered groans of the bystanders, he asked his tutor why no one slew this man. "Because, my child," said the tutor, "men fear him more than they hate him." "Why, then," said Cato, "didst thou not give me a


\(^2\) Both here, and in i. 1, Plutarch carelessly speaks as though Caepio were own brother, and not half-brother, of Cato.
4 ἀπήλλαξα δουλείας τὴν πατρίδα;" τούτων τῶν λόγων ἄκουσας ὁ Σαρπηδών, ἀμα δὲ καὶ τὸ βλέμμα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πιμπλάμενον ὀργής καὶ μένους κατιδών, οὔτως ἔδεισεν ὅστε τὸ λοιπὸν ἦδη προσέχειν ἀκριβῶς καὶ παραφυλάττειν, μὴ τι τολμήσῃ παραβολώτερον.

5 Ἐτι μὲν οὖν παιδάριον ὅψιν μικρόν, ἀπεκρίνατο τοῖς ἐρωτώσι τίνα φιλεῖ μάλιστα, τὸν ἀδελφόν· ἵνα δεύτερον, ὁμοίως τὸν ἀδελφόν, καὶ τρίτον, ἵνα πολλάκις λέγοντος ἀπείπεν ὁ ἐρωτῶν. γενόμενος δὲ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ μᾶλλον ἐβεβαιῶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν εὐνοιαν. ἦτο γὰρ εἰκοσὶ γεγονός χωρὶς Καπτίωνος οὐκ ἐδείπνησεν, οὐκ ἀπεδημήσεν, εἰς ἄγορὰν οὐ προῆλθε. μύρον δὲ ἐκείνου λαμβάνοντος αὐτὸς παρητέιτο καὶ τάλλα τὰ περὶ τὴν δίαιταν ἵνα ἀκριβῆς καὶ σύντονος. ὁ γοῦν Καπτίων ἐπὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ μετριότητι θαυμαζόμενος ὁμολόγησε τοιοῦτος εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἔξεταξόμενος, "Ἄλλα ὅταν," ἔφη, "ἐπαρα τὸν Κάτωνος βίον παραβάλλω τὸν ἐμὸν, οὐδὲν ἐμαυτῷ φαῖνομαι Σιππίου διαφέρειν," τῶν ἐπὶ τροφῆς τινα καὶ μαλακίας περίβοτην όνομάσας.

IV. Ὅ δὲ Κάτων ἔπειδὴ τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἔλαβε τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, μετοικήσας καὶ νειμάμενοι μοιραντίων πατρῴων ἐκκοισά συλύντων γενομένη, τὴν μὲν δίαιταν ἐτί μᾶλλον συνάκουας, Ἀρτιπατρων δὲ Τύριων τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς στοάς σιλοσόφων προσεταιρισάμενος, τοῖς ἡβίκοις μάλιστα καὶ πολιτικοῖς ἐνεφύετο δόγμασι, περὶ πάσαν μὲν ἀρετὴν ὡσπερ ἐπιποιεῖ τινι κατάσχετος γεγονός, διαφόρως δὲ τοῦ καλοῦ τὸ περὶ τὴν
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sword, that I might slay him and set my country free from slavery?" When Sarpedon heard this speech, and saw also the look on the boy's face, which was full of rage and fury, he was so frightened that in future he kept him under close watch and ward, lest he should venture on some rash deed.

When he was still a little boy, and was asked whom he loved most, he answered, "My brother"; and to the question whom he loved next, likewise, "My brother"; and so a third time, until, after many such answers from him, his questioner desisted. And when he came to maturity, he maintained all the more firmly this affection for his brother. Indeed, when he was twenty years old, without Caepio he would not take supper, or make a journey, or go out into the forum. But when his brother used perfume, Cato would decline it; and in his habits generally he was severe and strict. At any rate, when Caepio was admired and praised for his discretion and moderation, he would admit that he had those qualities when tested by reference to most men; "But when," he would say, "I compare my life with that of Cato, I seem to myself no better than Sippius,"—mentioning one of those who were celebrated for luxury and effeminacy.

IV. After Cato had been made priest of Apollo, he took a house apart, accepted his share of the patrimony, which amounted to a hundred and twenty talents, and began to live yet more simply than before. He made a close companion of Antipater the Tyrian, a Stoic philosopher, and devoted himself especially to ethical and political doctrines. He was possessed, as it were, with a kind of inspiration for the pursuit of every virtue; but, above all, that
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dikaiosúnyn átevés, kai ákampótov eis épieíkeiav
2 ἡ χάριν, ὑπερηγατηκώς. ἢσκει δὲ καὶ τὸν
ὄργανικὸν εἰς πλήθη λόγου, ἀξιῶν ὢσπερ ἐν
πόλει μεγάλη τῇ πολιτικῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ καὶ μᾶ-
χιμον εἶναι τι παρατρεφόμενον. οὐ μέντοι μεθ'
έτερων ἐποιεῖτο τὰς μελέτας, οὐδ’ ἥκροάσατο
λέγοντος οὔδεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τινὰ τῶν ἐταίρων
eiptónta, “Μέμφονται σου, Κάτων, οἱ ἄνθρωποι
tὴν σιωπήν,” “Μόνον,” ἔφη, “μὴ τὸν βίον.
ἀρξομαι δὲ λέγειν, ὅταν μὴ μέλλω λέγειν ἄξια
σιωπῆς.”

V. Ἡ δὲ καλουμένη Πορκία βασιλικῇ τιμη-
tικῷ ἦν ἀνάθημα τοῦ παλαιοῦ Κάτωνος. εἰ-
ωθότες οὖν ἐκεῖ χρηματίζειν οἱ δήμαρχοι, καὶ
κίνοντος τοῖς δίφροις ἐμποδῶν εἶναι δοκοῦντος,
ἐγνώσαν υφελεῖν αὐτῶν ἡ μεταστήσαι. τούτῳ
Κάτωνα πρῶτον εἰς ἀγορὰν ἄκοντα προῆγαγεν·
ἀντέστη γὰρ αὐτοῖς, καὶ πείραν ἀμα τοῦ λόγου
2 καὶ τοῦ φρονήματος δοὺς ἑθαυμάσθη. καὶ γὰρ ὁ
λόγος νεαρὸν μὲν οὔδὲν οὔδὲ κομψὸν εἶχεν, ἀλλ’
ἡν ὅρθιος καὶ περιπλῆθης καὶ τραχύς. οὐ μὴν
ἀλλὰ καὶ χάρις ἀγωγὸς ἀκοῆς ἑπέτερχε τῇ τραχύ-
tητῃ τῶν νοημάτων, καὶ τὸ ήθος αὐτοῦ καταμι-
γώμενον ἦδονήν τινα καὶ μεδίαμα τῷ σεμνῷ
παρείχεν οὐκ ἀπανθρωπῶν. ἢ δὲ φωνῇ μεγέθει
μὲν ἀποχρώσα καὶ διαρκῆς εἰς τοσοῦτον ἐξικέ-
σθαι δήμου, ἰσχὺν δὲ καὶ τὸν ἄρρηκτον εἴχε καὶ

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form of goodness which consists in rigid justice that will not bend to clemency or favour, was his great delight. He practised also the kind of speaking which is effective with a multitude, deeming it right that in political philosophy, as in a great city, a certain warlike element should also be maintained. However, he did not perform his exercises in company with others, nor did any one ever hear him rehearsing a speech. Indeed, to one of his companions who said, "Men find fault with thee, Cato, for thy silence," he replied: "Only let them not blame my life. I will begin to speak when I am not going to say what were better left unsaid."

V. The Basilica Porcia, as it was called, had been dedicated by the elder Cato while he was censor. Here, then, the tribunes of the people were accustomed to transact their business; and as one of the pillars was thought to be in the way of their seats, they determined to take it down or move it to another place. This brought Cato for the first time, and against his wishes, into the forum; he opposed the tribunes, and was admired for the proof of eloquence and high character which he gave. For his speech had nothing about it that was juvenile or affected, but was straightforward, full of matter, and harsh. However, a charm that captivated the ear was diffused over the harshness of his sentiments, and the mingling of his character with them gave their austerity a smiling graciousness that won men's hearts. His voice was sufficiently loud and penetrating to reach the ears of so large a multitude, and it had a strength and tension which could not

1 Cf. the Cato Major, xix. 2. This was in 182 B.C.
Τότε δ' οὖν κρατήσας τῆς δίκης πάλιν ἐαυτὸν εἰς τὴν σιωπήν καὶ τὴν ἁσκησιν συνέστειλε· καὶ διεπόνει τὸ σῶμα γυμνασίοις ἐνεργοῖς, ἐθιζόμενος ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ καύματα καὶ νιφετὸν ἀκαλύπτω κεφάλη, καὶ βαδίζειν ἐν ταῖς ὀδοῖς πᾶσαν ὅραν ἀτερ ὄχηματος. τῶν δὲ φίλων οἱ συνεκδημοῦντες ἱπποῖς ἐχρώντο, καὶ πολλάκις ἐκαστῳ παρέβαλλεν ὁ Κάτων ἐν μέρει προσδιαλεγόμενος, περιπατῶν αὐτὸς ὄχυμενων. θαυμαστῇ δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰς νόσους ὑπομονῇ μετ' ἐγκρατείας ἐχρήτο· πυρέττων γὰρ μόνον ἐφ' ἕαυτον διημέρευε μηδένα προσιέμενος, ἀχρι οὗ βέβαιον αἴσθοιτο ῥαστώνην καὶ μεταβολὴν τοῦ νοσήματος.

VI. 'Εν δὲ τοῖς δείπνοις ἐκληροῦτο περὶ τῶν μερίδων· εἰ δὲ ἀπολάχοι, πρῶτον αἴρειν τῶν φίλων κελευόντων, ἔλεγε μὴ καλῶς ἔχειν, ἀκούσης τῆς 'Αφροδίτης. καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἀπαξ ἐπιπίων τὸ δείπνον ἀνέλυε, προῖστι δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ μάλιστα προσίετο τὸ πίνειν, ὡστε πολλάκις ἐν 2 οἰνῷ διάγειν εἰς ὀρθρὸν. αἰτίαν δὲ ἔλεγον οἱ φίλοι τούτων τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ τὰ δημόσια πράγματα, πρὸς οἷς ὅλας τὸν Κάτωνα τὰς ἡμέρας ὄντα, καὶ κωλυόμενοι φιλολογεῖν, νύκτωρ καὶ παρὰ πότον συγγίνεσθαι τοῖς φιλοσόφοις. διὸ καὶ Μεμίου τινὸς ἐν συλλόγῳ φήσαντος ὅλας τὸν Κάτωνα μεθύσκεσθαι τὰς νύκτας, ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Κικέρων, "Εκείνῳ δὲ οὐ λέγεις," εἶπεν, "ὅτι καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ὅλας κυβεύει;

3 Καθόλου δὲ τοῖς τότε βίοις καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύ-
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be broken or worn out; for he often spoke all day without getting tired.

At this time, then, after winning his case, he went back again to his silence and his discipline. He built up his body by vigorous exercises, accustoming himself to endure both heat and snow with uncovered head, and to journey on foot at all seasons, without a vehicle. Those of his friends who went abroad with him used horses, and Cato would often join each of them in turn and converse with him, although he walked and they rode. In sickness, he had wonderful patience, as well as self-control; for instance, if he had an ague, he would pass the day alone by himself, admitting no visitor, until he was conscious of lasting relief and the departure of the disease.

VI. At suppers, he would throw dice for the choice of portions; and if he lost, and his friends bade him choose first, he would say it was not right, since Venus\(^1\) was unwilling. At first, also, he would drink once after supper and then leave the table; but as time went on he would allow himself to drink very generously, so that he often tarried at his wine till early morning. His friends used to say that the cause of this was his civic and public activities; he was occupied with these all day, and so prevented from literary pursuits, wherefore he would hold intercourse with the philosophers at night and over the cups. For this reason, too, when a certain Memmius remarked in company that Cato spent his entire nights in drinking, Cicero answered him by saying: "Thou shouldst add that he spends his entire days in throwing dice."

And, in general, Cato thought he ought to take a

\(^{1}\) The highest throw at dice was called the "Venus-throw,"
μασιν ὁ Κάτων τὴν ἐναντίαν ὅδεν οἰόμενος δεῖν βαδίζειν, ὡς οὐσὶ φαύλοις καὶ μεγάλης δεομένοις μεταβολῆς, ἐπεὶ πορφύραν ἔφερα τὴν κατακόρως ἐρυθραν καὶ ὁξειὰς ἄγαπωμένην, αὐτὸς ἐφορεῖ τὴν μέλαιναν. πολλάκις δ’ ἀνυπόδητος καὶ ἀχίτων εἰς τὸ δημόσιον προῆι μετ’ ἀριστον, οὐ δόξαν ἐκ ταύτης τῆς καινότητος θηρώμενος, ἀλλὰ ἐθίξων ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς αἰσχροῖς αἰσχύνεσθαι μόνοις, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἀδόξων καταφρονεῖν. καὶ κληρονομίαν δὲ αὐτῷ προσγενομένην ἀνεψιοῦ Κάτωνος ἔκατον ταλάντων εἰς ἄργυριον συναγαγὼν παρείχεν ἄνευ τόκων χρησθαι τῷ δεομένῳ τῶν φίλων. ἐνιοῦ δὲ καὶ χαρία καὶ θεράποντας αὐτοῦ διδόντος καὶ βεβαιοῦντος ὑπέθεντο πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον.

VII. 'Επεὶ δὲ ὥραν φέτο πρὸς γάμον ἔχειν, οὐ- δεμιὰ γυναικὶ συνεληλυθώς, ἡμόσατο Ἀπείδαν, πρότερον μὲν ἐγγυηθείσαν Σκηπτίων Μετέλλω, τότε δὲ ἀπευπαμένου τοῦ Σκηπτίων καὶ τῆς ἐγ- γύης λυθείσης σχολάζουσαν. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα πρὸ τοῦ γάμου μεταμεληθεῖσα πάλιν ὁ Σκηπτίων καὶ 2 πάντα ποιήσας ἔλαβε τὴν κόρην. ὁ δὲ Κάτων σφόδρα παροξυνθεὶς καὶ διακαεὶς ἐπεχείρησε μὲν ἐπεξελθεῖν διὰ δίκης, ὡς δὲ οἱ φίλοι τοῦτο ἐκώλυ- σαν, ὧργῇ καὶ νεότητι τρέψας ἑαυτὸν εἰς ἰάμβους πολλὰ τὸν Σκηπτίωνα καθύβρισε, τῷ πικρῷ προσ- χρησάμενος τοῦ Ἀρχιλόχου, τὸ δὲ ἀκόλαστον 3 ἄφεις καὶ παιδαριώδες. ἔγινε δὲ 'Ατιλίαν, Σερ- ρανοῦ θυγατέρα, καὶ ταύτῃ πρῶτον συνήλθεν, οὐ
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course directly opposed to the life and practices of the time, feeling that these were bad and in need of great change. For instance, when he saw that a purple which was excessively red and vivid was much in vogue, he himself would wear the dark shade. Again, he would often go out into the streets after breakfast without shoes or tunic. He was not hunting for notoriety by this strange practice, but accustoming himself to be ashamed only of what was really shameful, and to ignore men's low opinion of other things. When an inheritance worth a hundred talents fell to him from his cousin Cato, he turned it into money, and allowed any friend who needed it to have the use of it without interest. And some of his friends actually pledged to the public treasury both lands and slaves which he offered for this purpose himself, and made good his offer.

VII. When he thought that he was old enough to marry,—and up to that time he had consorted with no woman,—he engaged himself to Lepida, who had formerly been betrothed to Metellus Scipio, but was now free, since Scipio had rejected her and the betrothal had been broken. However, before the marriage Scipio changed his mind again, and by dint of every effort got the maid. Cato was greatly exasperated and inflamed by this, and attempted to go to law about it; but his friends prevented this, and so, in his rage and youthful fervour, he betook himself to iambic verse, and heaped much scornful abuse upon Scipio, adopting the bitter tone of Archilochus, but avoiding his license and puerility. And he married Atilia, a daughter of Serranus. She was the first woman with whom he consorted, but not the only
μόνη δὲ, καθάπερ Δαῖμος, ὁ Σκηπτώνος ἔταρας· ἀλλ' εὐτυχέστερος ἔκεινος, ἐν πολλοῖς οἷς ἐβίωσε χρόνοις μίαν ἥν ἔγημεν ἐξ ἀρχής ἄρους γυναίκα.

VIII. Τοῦ δὲ δουλικοῦ πολέμου συνεστῶτος, δυν Σπαρτάκειον ἐκάλουν, Γέλλιος μὲν ἐστρατηγεῖ, Κάτων δὲ τῆς στρατείας μετείχεν ἔθελοντις, διὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐχιλιάρχη τῷ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Καινίων. καὶ χρήσασθαι μὲν εἰς δοσοὶ ἐβούλει τῇ προθυμίᾳ καὶ ἀσκήσει τῆς ἁρετῆς οὐχ ὑπήρξεν αὐτῷ, διὰ τὸ μὴ καλῶς στρατηγεῖσθαι τοῦ πολέμου ἄλλως δέ, παρὰ πολλὴν μαλακίαν καὶ τρυφὴν τῶν ἑκείνου στρατευομένων ἐπιδεικνύμενος εὐταξίαν καὶ ἐγκράτειαν καὶ τὸ βαρβάλεον ἐν πάσι καὶ ξυνείτον, ἐδόκει μηθὲν ἀποδεῖν τοῦ παλαιοῦ Κάτωνος. ο δὲ Γέλλιος ἀριστεῖ καὶ 763 τιμᾶς αὐτῷ διαπρεπεῖς ἔγραψεν, ὡς ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἔλαβεν οὔδὲ προσήκατο, φήσας ἄξιον μηθὲν εἰργάσθαι τιμῶν. ἐκ τε δὴ τοῦτων ἀλλόκοτος ἐδόκει, καὶ νόμον γραφέντος ὅπως τοῖς παραγγέλλουσι εἰς ἀρχὴν δυνατοτοὺς μὴ παρώσι, χιλιάρχην μετιῶν μόνος ἐπείθετο τῷ νόμῳ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ ποιησάμενος ἔργον ἀσπαζόμεθα καὶ προσαγορεύειν τοὺς ἐντυχίαντας, οὔδὲ αὐτοῖς ἀνεπαχθῆς ἢν τοῖς ἐπαινοῦσιν, ὅσον μᾶλλον ἐνόουν τὸ καλὸν ἄν ἐπετήδευε, τὸ δυσμίμητον αὐτῶν βαρυνομένοις.

1 In 73-71 B.C. Cf. the Crassus, viii. ff.
2 Lucius Gellius Publicola, consul in 72 B.C. with Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus. Both consuls were defeated by Spartacus.
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one, as was true of Laelius, the friend of Scipio Africanus; Laelius, indeed, was more fortunate, since in the course of his long life he knew but one woman, the wife of his youth.

VIII. When the servile war was in progress,\textsuperscript{1} which was called the war of Spartacus, Gellius\textsuperscript{2} was commander, while Cato took part in his campaign as a volunteer, for the sake of his brother; for his brother Caepio was a military tribune. Here he had not the opportunity to employ as much as he wished his zeal and discipline in virtue, because the war was not well conducted; but notwithstanding, amidst the great effeminacy and luxury of those who took part in that campaign, he displayed such good discipline, self-control, courage in all emergencies, and sagacity, that men thought him not one whit inferior to the elder Cato. Moreover, Gellius assigned to him prizes of valour and distinguished honours; but Cato would not take them nor allow them, declaring that he had done nothing worthy of honours. And so, in consequence of this, he was thought to be a strange creature. For instance, a law was passed forbidding candidates for office to be attended by nomenclators,\textsuperscript{3} and in his canvass for the military tribuneship he was the only one who obeyed the law. He made it his business to salute and address without help from others those who met him on his rounds, but he did not avoid giving offence even to those who praised his course; for the more clearly they saw the rectitude of his practice, the more distressed were they at the difficulty of imitating it.

\textsuperscript{3} Attendants whose duty it was to tell the candidate the names of those whom he was going to meet, that he might appear to be acquainted with them.
IX. Ἀποδειχθεὶς δὲ χιλιάρχος εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἑπέμπτετο πρὸς Ρούμβριον τὸν στρατηγὸν. ἐνθα δὴ λέγεται τῆς γυναικὸς ἀχθομένης καὶ δακρυούσης ἐνα τῶν φίλων τοῦ Κάτωνος Μουνάτιον εἰπεῖν. "Ὡς Ἀτιλία, θάρσει· τοῦτον ἐγώ σοι φυλάξω." "Πάνω μὲν οὖν," φαναι τὸν Κάτωνα, καὶ προελθόντων μιᾶς ἡμέρας ὃδον, εὐθὺς εἴπειν μετὰ τὸ δείπνον. "Ἀγε, ὦπως, ὦ Μουνάτιε, τῇ Ἀτιλίᾳ τῇ ὑπόσχεσιν ἐμπεδώσεις, μήτε ἡμέρας ἡμέραν ἡμικότος ἀφιστάμενος." ἐκ δὲ τούτου δύο κλίνας εἰς ταὐτὸ δωμάτιον ἐκέλευε τίθεσθαι, καὶ τὸν Μουνάτιον οὕτως ἂει καθεύδειν μετὰ παιδιᾶς φυλασσόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Κάτωνος.

Εἶποντο δὲ αὐτῷ πεντεκαίδεκα μὲν οἰκεῖα, δύο δὲ ἀπελεύθεροι, φίλοι δὲ τέσσαρες. Ὅν ὠρούμενοι ἦπεοι αὐτός ἂει περιπτατῶν ἐκάστῳ παρέβαλλεν ἐν μέρει προσδιαλεγόμενος. ἔπει δὲ ἦκεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, πλείων ταγμάτων ὄντων, ἕνος ἀρχῶν ἀποδειχθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, τῆς μὲν ἴδιας ἀρετῆς, μιᾶς οὐσίας, μικρὸν ἐργον ἤγειτο καὶ οὐκ ἀνύσιμον3 τὴν ἐπίδειξιν, αὐτῷ δὲ ποιήσαι τοὺς ἀρχομένους ὀμοίους μάλιστα φιλοτιμούμενοι οὐ τὸν φόβον ἀφεῖλε τῆς ἔξοψιάς, ἀλλὰ προσέθηκε τοὺς λόγοις. ὃ πείθων περι ἐκάστῳ καὶ διδάσκων, ἐπομένης τιμῆς καὶ κολάσεως, χαλεπῶν ἦν εἴπειν πότερον εἰρηνικοῦς μάλλον ἡ πολεμικοῦς καὶ προθυμοτέρους ἡ δικαιοτέρους παρεσκεύασε τοὺς ἄνδρας· οὕτως ἐφαίνοντο φοβεροὶ μὲν τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἡμεροὶ δὲ τοῖς συμμάχοις, ἀτολ-

1 ἐμπεδώσεις Sintenis, after Cobet; ἐμπεδώσης Sintenis,
Cornaès, Bekker.
2 ἀνύσιμον Sintenis’ correction of the MSS. βασιλικῶν (kingly), adopted by Bekker.

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IX. Appointed military tribune,\(^1\) he was sent to Macedonia, to serve under Rubrius the praetor. At this time, we are told, his wife being full of grief and in tears, one of Cato's friends, Munatius, said to her: "Take heart, Atilia; I will watch over thy husband." "Certainly he will," cried Cato, and after they had gone a day's journey on their way, immediately after supper, he said: "Come, Munatius, see that you keep your promise to Atilia, and forsake me neither by day nor by night." Then he gave orders that two couches be placed in the same chamber for them, and thus Munatius always slept—and that was the joke—watched over by Cato.

He had in his following fifteen slaves, two freedmen, and four friends. These rode on horses, while he himself always went a-foot; and yet he would join each of them in turn and converse with him.\(^2\) And when he reached the camp, where there were several legions, and was appointed to the command of one of them by the general, he thought it a trifling and useless task to make a display of his own virtue, which was that of a single man, but was ambitious above all things to make the men under his command like unto himself. He did not, however, divest his power of the element which inspires fear, but called in the aid of reason; with its help he persuaded and taught his men about everything, while rewards and punishments followed their acts. Consequently, it were hard to say whether he made his men more peaceful or more warlike, more zealous or more just; to such a degree did they show themselves terrible to their enemies but gentle to their allies, without

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\(^1\) About 67 B.C.
\(^2\) Cf. chapter v. 3.
μοι δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἀδικεῖν, φιλότιμοι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς
έπαίνουσ. οὐ δὲ ἦκιστα Κάτων ἐπεμελήθη, τοῦτο
πλείστον ὑπήρχεν αὐτῷ, καὶ δόξα καὶ χάρις καὶ
ὑπερβάλλουσα τιμή καὶ φιλοφροσύνη παρὰ τῶν
στρατιωτῶν. ἂ γὰρ ἑτέρους ἐπέταττεν ἐκουσίως
dιαπονῶν, καὶ στολὴν μὲν καὶ δίαιταν καὶ πορείαν
ἐκεῖνος μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ὑμοιόμενος, ἦθει
dὲ καὶ φρονήματι καὶ λόγῳ πάντας ὑπεραίρων
τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας καὶ στρατηγοὺς προσαγορευο-
μένους, ἔλαβε διὰ τούτων ἀμα τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν
Εὐνοίαν ἐνεργασάμενος τοῖς ἀνδρᾶσιν. ἀρετὴς γὰρ
Ἀλκιθινὸς οὐκ ἐγγίνεται ξίλος ἢ δι᾽ ἀκρας τοῦ
παραδοδῶτος εὐνοίας καὶ τιμῆς· οὐ δὲ ἀνευ τοῦ
φιλεῖν ἐπαινοῦντες τοὺς ἀγάθους αἰδοῦνται τὴν
dόξαν αὐτῶν, οὐ θαυμάζουσι δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν οὐδὲ
μμοῦνται.

Χ. Πυθόμενος δὲ Ἀθηνόδωρον, τὸν ἐπικαλοῦ-
μένου Κορδυλώνα, μεγάλην ἔξειν ἐν τοῖς Στωίκοῖς
λόγοις ἔχοντα, διατρίβειν περὶ Πέργαμον, ἦδη
γηραῖον ὄντα καὶ πάσας ἐρρωμενέστατα ταῖς
ήγεμονικαίς καὶ βασιλικαίς συνθείαις καὶ φιλί-
αις διαμεμαχημένον, οὐδὲν ἤτεο πέμπτων καὶ γρά-
φων περαινεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ ἔχων παρὰ τοῦ
νόμου δεδομένην ἀποδημίαν δυνεῖς μηνῶν ἐπλευσεν
εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἔπλη τὸν ἀνδρα, πιστεύων τοῖς ἐν
2 αὐτῷ καλοῖς μὴ ἄτυχήσειν τῆς ἄγρας. συγγενό-
μενος δὲ καὶ καταγωγισάμενος καὶ μεταστήσας ἐκ
tῆς προαιρέσεως αὐτῶν ἦκεν ἄγων εἰς τὸ στρατό-
pedon, περιχαρῆς καὶ μεγαλοφρονῶν, ὥσ τι καλ-
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courage to do wrong but ambitious to win praise. Moreover, that to which Cato gave least thought was his in greatest measure, namely, esteem, favour, surpassing honour, and kindness, from his soldiers. For he willingly shared the tasks which he imposed upon others, and in his dress, way of living, and conduct on the march, made himself more like a soldier than a commander, while in character, dignity of purpose, and eloquence, he surpassed all those who bore the titles of Imperator and General. In this way, without knowing it, he produced in his men at the same time the feeling of good will towards himself. For a genuine desire to attain virtue arises only in consequence of perfect good will and respect for him who displays virtue; those, on the other hand, who praise good men without loving them may revere their reputation, but they do not admire their virtue or imitate it.

X. On learning that Athenodorus, surnamed Cordylion, who had a large acquaintance with the Stoic philosophy, was living at Pergamum, being now in his old age and having most sturdily resisted all intimacies and friendships with governors and kings, Cato thought it would be useless to send messengers or write letters to him. Instead of this, since he had a furlough of two months allowed him by law, he sailed to Asia to visit the man, relying upon his own good qualities to make him successful in the chase. He held converse with the philosopher, conquered his objections, drew him from his fixed purpose, and took him back to the camp with him. He was overjoyed and in high spirits, feeling that he had made a most noble capture, and one more
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΜΕΘΕΩΡΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΩΝ ΠΟΜΠΗΙΟΝ ΤΟΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΔΕΥΚΟΛΛΟΙΩΝ ΕΘΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΩΝ ΚΑΤΕΣΤΡΕΦΟΝΤΟ ΣΩΝ ΟΠΛΩΝ ΠΕΡΙΟΝΤΕΣ.

XI. ΕΤΙ ΔΕ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΕΙΑΝ ΟΝΤΟΣ Ο ΑΔΕΛΦΟΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ 'ΑΣΙΑΝ. ΒΑΔΙΩΝ ΕΟΝΣΗΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΘΡΑΚΗΝ ΕΝ ΑΙΝΨ. ΚΑΙ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ ΜΕΝ ΕΥΘΥΣ ΗΚΕ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΚΑΤΩΝΑ. ΧΕΙΜΩΝΟΣ ΔΕ ΠΟΛΛΟΥ ΚΑΤΕΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΝΕΩΙΣ ΙΚΑΝΗΣ ΜΕΓΕΘΕΙ ΜΗ ΠΑΡΟΥΣΑΣ, ΕΙΣ ΜΙΚΡΑΝ ΟΛΚΑΔΑ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΔΥΟ ΦΙΛΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΡΕΙΣ ΟΙΚΕΤΑΣ ΑΝΑΛΑΒΩΝ ΕΚ ΘΕΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗΣ

2 ΑΝΗΧΘΗ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡ' ΟΥΔΕΝ ΕΛΘΩΝ ΚΑΤΑΠΟΝΤΩΘΗΝΑΙ, ΤΥΧΗ ΤΩΝ ΠΑΡΑΛΟΥΜ ΣΩΘΕΙΣ ΆΡΤΙ ΤΕΘΗΚΟΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙΠΙΩΝΟΥ, ΕΜΠΑΘΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΕΒΟΘΕΙ Η ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΕΝΕΓΚΕΙΝ ΤΗΝ ΣΥΜΦΟΡΑΝ, ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΚΛΑΙΘΜΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙΠΤΥΞΕΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΝΕΚΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΡΥΤΗΤΙ ΛΥΨΗΣ, ΆΛΛΑ ΚΑΙ ΔΑΠΑΝΗ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΝ ΤΑΦΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΕΙΑΙ ΘΥΜΑΜΑΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΙΜΑΙΩΝ ΠΟΛΥΤΕΛΙΩΝ ΣΥΓΚΑΤΑΚΛΑΝΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΥΣΙΑΤΟΣ ΕΞΕΣΤΟΥ ΛΙΘΩΝ ΘΑΤΙΩΝ ΑΠΟ ΤΑΛΑΝΤΩΝ ΟΚΤΩ ΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΥΑΘΕΝΤΟΣ

3 ΕΝ ΤΗ ΑΙΝΨΩΝ ΑΓΟΡΑΙ. ΤΑΥΤΑ ΓΑΡ ΕΙΝΟΙ ΕΣΥΝΚΟΦΑΝΤΟΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΆΛΛΗΝ ΑΤΥΦΙΑΝ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΩΝΟΥ, ΟΥ ΚΑΘΟΡΩΤΕΣ ΌΣΟΝ ΕΝ ΤΌ ΠΡΟΣ ΉΔΟΝΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΟΒΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΕΗΣΕΙΣ ΑΝΑΙΣΧΥΝΤΩΝ ΆΓΙΑΜΠΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΡΡΩΤΙΟΥ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥ ΕΝΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΣΤΟΡΓΟΥ. ΕΙΣ ΔΕ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΕΙΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΑΣΤΡΑ ΠΟΛΛΑ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΙΜΗΝ ΤΟΥ ΤΕΘΥΝΤΟΣ ΕΠΕΜΠΟΤΟΝ, ΟΥΝ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΥΣ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΑ ΜΕΝ ΠΑΡ' ΟΥΔΕΝΟΣ ΕΘΕΞΑΤΟ, ΘΥΜΑΜΑΤΑ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΣΜΟΝ ΕΛΑΜΒΑΝΕ, ΤΗΝ ΤΙΜΗΝ 1 ΑΠΟΣΙΔΙΟΥΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΕΜΠΟΝΤΟΙ. ΤΗΣ ΔΕ ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΙΑΣ ΕΙΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΘΥΝΑΤΡΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙΠΙΩΝΟΥ ΗΚΟΥΣΗΣ, ΟΥΘΕΝ ΔΥΝ

1 ΤΗΝ ΤΙΜΗΝ Bekker, after Reiske: τιμήν.

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illustrious than the nations and kingdoms which Pompey and Lucullus at that time were subduing with their marching armies.

XI. While Cato was still in military service, his brother, who was on his way to Asia, fell sick at Aenus in Thrace, and a letter came at once to Cato advising him of this. A heavy storm was raging at sea and no ship of sufficient size was at hand, but nevertheless, taking only two friends and three servants with him in a small trading-vessel, he put to sea from Thessalonica. He narrowly escaped drowning, and by some unaccountable good fortune came safe to land, but Caepio had just died. In bearing this affliction Cato was thought to have shown more passion than philosophy, considering not only his lamentations, his embraces of the dead, and the heaviness of his grief, but also his expenditure upon the burial, and the pains that he took to have incense and costly raiment burned with the body, and a monument of polished Thasian marble costing eight talents constructed in the market-place of Aenus. For some people cavilled at these things as inconsistent with Cato's usual freedom from ostentation, not observing how much tenderness and affection was mingled with the man's inflexibility and firmness against pleasures, fears, and shameless entreaties. For the funeral rites, moreover, both cities and dynasts sent him many things for the honour of the dead, from none of whom would he accept money; he did, however, take incense and ornaments, and paid the value of them to the senders. Furthermore, when the inheritance fell to him and Caepio's young daughter, nothing
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άνάλωσε περὶ τῶν τάφων ἀπήτησεν ἐν τῇ νεμήσει. καὶ ταύτα πράξαντος αὐτοῦ καὶ πράττοντος, ἦν ὁ γράφας ὅτι κοσκίνῳ τὴν τέφραν τοῦ νεκροῦ μετέβαλε καὶ διήθησε, χρυσίον ξητῶν κατακεκαμένον. οὖτως οὖ τῷ ξίφει μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ γραφείῳ τὸ ἀνυπεύθυνον καὶ τὸ ἀνυπόδικον ἐπίστευσεν.

XII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τέλος εἶχεν ἡ στρατεία τῷ Κάτωνι, προσεπεμφήθη, οὐκ εὐχαίρις, ὅ κοινῶν ἔστιν οὐδ' ἐπαίνοις, ἀλλὰ δάκρυσι καὶ περιβολαῖς ἀπλήστοις, ὑποτιθέντων τὰ ἱμάτια τοὺς ποσίν ὃ βαδίζοι καὶ καταφθοῦσι τὰς χείρας, ἅ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων ὅλης μόλις ἐποίουν οἱ τότε

2 Ῥωμαῖοι. Βουλήθεις δὲ πρὸ τοῦ πολιτεία προσελθεῖν ἄμα μὲν πλανηθῆναι καθ’ ἱστορίαν τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ γενέσθαι θεατῆς ἡθῶν καὶ βίων καὶ δυνάμεως τῆς περὶ ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν, ἣμα δὲ τῷ Γαλάτῃ Δησιότάρῳ διὰ ἕξειν καὶ φιλίαν πατρῴαν δεομένῳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔλθεῖν μὴ ἀχαριστήσαι, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἀποδημίαν. προῦπεμπεν ἂμ' ἡμέρα τὸν ἀρτοποιοῦ καὶ τὸν μάγειρον

3 ὅπου καταλύσεων ἔμελλεν. ὦ δὲ πάνω κοσμίως καὶ μεθ' ἡσυχίας εἰσελθόντες ἀν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, εἰ μὴ δεῖς τόχον τῷ Κάτωνι φίλος ὅν αὐτόθι πατρῴος ἡ γνώριμος, ἐν πανδοκείῳ τῷ ὑποδοχήν αὐτῷ παρεσκεύαζον, ἐνοχλοῦντες οὐδενί. πανδοκείου δὲ μὴ ὄντος, οὕτως πρὸς τοὺς ἅρχοντας τραπόμενοι ἐξείναν ἐλάμβανον, ἀγαπώντες τὴν

4 δοθείσαι. πολλάκις δὲ ἀπιστούμενοι καὶ περιορώ-
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that he had expended for the funeral was asked back by him in the distribution of the property. And although such was his conduct then and afterwards, there was one 1 who wrote that he passed the ashes of the dead through a sieve, in search of the gold that had been melted down. So confidently did the writer attribute, not only to his sword, but also to his pen, freedom from accountability and punishment.

XII. When the time of Cato's military service came to an end, he was sent on his way, not with blessings, as is common, nor yet with praises, but with tears and insatiable embraces, the soldiers casting their mantles down for him to walk upon, and kissing his hands, things which the Romans of that day rarely did, and only to a few of their emperors. But before applying himself to public affairs he desired to travel about in a study of Asia, and to see with his own eyes the customs and lives and military strength of each province; at the same time he wished to gratify Deiotarus the Galatian, who had been a guest-friend of his father, and now solicited a visit from him. He therefore arranged his journey as follows. At daybreak, he would send forward his baker and his cook to the place where he intended to lodge. These would enter the city with great decorum and little stir, and if Cato had no family friend or acquaintance there, they would prepare a reception for him at an inn, without troubling anybody; or, in case there was no inn, they would apply to the magistrates for hospitality, and gladly accept what was given. But frequently they were distrusted and neglected, because they

1 Julius Caesar, in his "Anti-Cato." See the Caesar, chapter liv.

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μενοι διὰ τὸ μὴ θορύβω συνειλή ταῦτα πράσσειν πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχοντας, ὑπὸ τοῦ Κάτωνος ἀπρακτοὶ κατελαμβάνοντο, καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτὸς ὁ φθείς ὀλυγρεῖτο, καὶ παρείχεν ἐπὶ τῶν φορτίων σιωπῇ καθεξόμενος ὑπόνοιαν ἀνθρώπου ταπεινοῦ καὶ περιδεύοντος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ προσκαλοῦμενος αὐτοὺς εἰώθη λέγειν: “Ω μοχθηροί, μεταβάλεσθε ταῦτα τῆς κακοξενίας. οὐ πάντες ὡμῖν ἀφίζονται Κάτωνες. ἀμβλύνατε ταῖς φιλοφροσύναι τῆν ἐξουσίαν τῶν δεμένων προφάσεως, ἵνα βία λαμβάνωσιν, ὡς παρῄ ἐκόντων μὴ τυγχάνοντες.”

XIII. Ἐν δὲ Συρίᾳ καὶ γελοίον τι λέγεται παθεῖν. Βαδίζων γὰρ εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν εἰδε περὶ τὰς πύλας ἐξο πλήθος ἀνθρώπων ἐκατέρωθεν τῆς ὁδοῦ παρακεκριμένων, ἑν ὀς ἑφηβοὶ μὲν χωρὶς ἐν χλαμύδι καὶ παιδεῖς ἐτέρωθεν κοσμίως εἰστήκεσαν, ἐσθήτας δὲ καθαρὰς ἐνοίκοι καὶ στεφάνους εἴχουν, ἱερεῖς θεῶν οὑτε ἡ ἀρχοντες. πάντων ὁμοί οὐ μᾶλλον οἰηθεῖς ὁ Κάτων αὐτῷ τινα πράττεισαν τιμήν καὶ δεξίωσιν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἀφρίζετο μὲν τὸς προπεμφθείσι τῶν ἱδίων, ὡς μὴ καλυτεσσαί, ἐκελευσε δὲ καταβηκὴ τοὺς φίλους, καὶ πεζὴ προῆι μετά αὐτῶν. ὡς δὲ ἐγγύς ἦσαν, ὁ πάντα διακοσμῶν ἐκεῖνα καὶ τῶν ὄχλων εἰς τὰξιν καθιστάς, ἀνὴρ πρεσβύτερος ἦν, βάδιζον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ καὶ στέφανον κρατῶν, ἀπήνυσε τῷ Κάτωνι πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ μηδὲ ἀσπασάμενος ἡρώτα ποῦ Δημήτριου ἀπολελοίπασι καὶ πηνίκα παρέσται. Πομπηίου δὲ ἦν γεγονώς ὁ Δημήτριος

1 χλαμύδι: MSS. and most editors: χλαλέσι (mantles), after Cobet.

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raised no tumult and made no threats in their dealings with the magistrates. In such a case Cato would find their work not done when he arrived, and he himself would be more despised than his servants when men saw him, and would awaken suspicion, as he sat upon the baggage without saying a word, that he was a man of low condition and very timid. However, he would then call the magistrates to him and say: "Ye miserable wretches, lay aside this inhospitality. Not all men who come to you will be Catos. Blunt by your kind attentions the power of those who only want an excuse for taking by force what they do not get with men's consent."

XIII. In Syria, too, as we are told, he had a laughable experience. As he was walking into Antioch, he saw at the gates outside a multitude of people drawn up on either side of the road, among whom stood, in one group, young men with military cloaks, and in another, boys with gala robes, while some had white raiment and crowns, being priests or magistrates. Cato, accordingly, thinking that this could only be some honourable reception which the city was preparing for him, was angry with his servants who had been sent on in advance, because they had not prevented it; but he ordered his friends to dismount, and went forward on foot with them. When, however, they were near the gate, he who was arranging all these ceremonies and marshalling the crowd, a man now well on in years, holding a wand and a crown in his hand, advanced to meet Cato, and without even greeting him asked where they had left Demetrius and when he would be there. Now, Demetrius had once been
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οἴκετής· τότε δὲ πάντων, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἀνθρώπων εἰς Πομπηίον ἀποβλεπόντων, ἐθεραπεύετο 3 παρ’ ἄξιαν, μέγα παρ’ αὐτῷ δυνάμενος. τοῖς μὲν όυν φίλοις τοῦ Κάτωνος γέλως ἐνέπεσε τοσοῦτος ὅστε ἀναλαβεῖν έαυτοῦς οὐκ ἐδύναντο διὰ τοῦ πλῆθους ἀμα βαδίζοντες, ὁ δὲ Κάτων τότε μὲν ἵσχυρῶς διατραπεῖς, "’Ω τῆς κακοδαίμονος,” ἢ ἔτι, "πόλεως,” ἀλλο δὲ οὐδὲν ἐφθάγατο, χρόνῳ δὲ ὑστερον εἰώθει γελάν καὶ αὐτὸς ἔπι τοῦτῳ, καὶ διηγούμενος καὶ μνημονεύων.

XIV. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ Πομπηίος αὐτὸς ἐπέστρεψε τούς ἀνθρώπους οὕτω πλημμελοῦντας εἰς τὸν Κάτωνα δι’ ἀγνοιαν. ὡς γὰρ εἰς Έφεσον ἐλθὼν ἐπορεύετο πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀσπασόμενος πρεσβύτερον ὄντα, καὶ δόξῃ πολὺ προήκοντα, καὶ δυνάμεως τότε μεγίστων ἤγομενον, ἢδον ο Πομπηίος οὐκ ἐμείνεν, οὐδὲ εἰσε καθεξομένῳ προσελθεῖν, ἀλλ’ ὡς τιν τῶν κρειττόνων ἀναθορδὼν ἀπήντησε, καὶ 2 τὴν δεξιὰν ἐνέβαλε. καὶ πολλὰ μὲν εὕθυς ἐν τῷ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι καὶ ἀσπάζεσθαι παρόντα, πλεῖον δὲ ἐτὶ μεταστάντος ἐγκώμια διήλθεν αὐτὸν τῆς ἀρετῆς, ὅστε πάντας ἐπιστρεφόμενους καὶ προσέχοντας ὑδὴ τῷ Κάτωνι, θαυμάζειν ἐξ ὧν πρότερον κατεφρονεῖτο, καὶ πρόοτητα καὶ μεγαλοψυχίαν ἀναθεωρεῖν. καὶ γὰρ ἢ Πομπηίου σπουδὴ περὶ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐλάνθανε θεραπεύοντος ὀδύσα μᾶλλον ἢ φιλοῦντος, ἀλλ’ ἐγνώσαν ὅτι θαυμάζει μὲν παρ-
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a slave of Pompey, but at this time, when all man-
kind, so to speak, had their eyes fixed upon Pompey,
he was courted beyond his deserts, since he had
great influence with Pompey. Cato's friends accord-
ingly, were seized with such a fit of laughter that
they could not recover themselves even when they
were walking through the crowd; but Cato was
greatly disturbed at the time, and said: "O the
unhappy city!" and not a word besides. In after
times, however, he was wont to laugh at the incident
himself also, both when he told it and when he
called it to mind.¹

XIV. However, Pompey himself put to shame the
men who were thus neglectful of Cato through
ignorance. For when Cato came to Ephesus and
was proceeding to pay his respects to Pompey as an
older man, one who was greatly his superior in
reputation, and then in command of the greatest
forces, Pompey caught sight of him and would not
wait; nor would he suffer Cato to come to him as he
sat, but sprang up as though to honour a superior,
went to meet him, and gave him his hand. He also
passed many encomiums upon his virtue even while
he was present and receiving marks of kindness and
affection, and still more after he had withdrawn.
Therefore all men, being put to shame and now
directing their attention to Cato, admired him for
the traits which before had brought him scorn, and
made a study of his mildness and magnanimity.
And indeed it was no secret that Pompey's attentions
to him were due to self-interest rather than to
friendship; men knew that Pompey admired him
when he was present, but was glad to have him go

¹ This story is told also in the Pompey, xl. 1–3.

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τοὺς γὰρ ἄλλους νέους, ὅσοι παρ’ αὐτὸν ἀφικνοῦτο, φιλοτιμοῦ-
μενος κατεΐχε καὶ ποθῶν αὐτῷ συνείναι, τοῦ δὲ Ἐκ τούτου δόξα καὶ σπουδὴ καὶ ἀμιλλα περὶ
Κάτωνος οὖν ἔδειη τοιοῦτον, ἀλλ’ ὀσπερ οὐκ
ἀνυπεύθυνος ἄρχων ἐκείνου παρόντος ἐξέπεμψεν
ἀσμενος, μόνῃ σχεδὸν ἐκείνῃ τῶν εἰς Ἦληθιν
πλεόντων τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα παρακατα-
θέμενος, ἀλλ’ αὐτῷ προσήκουτα καὶ διὰ συγ-
γένειαν.

Ἐκ τούτου δόξα καὶ σπουδὴ καὶ ἀμιλλα περὶ
αὐτὸν ἂν τῶν πόλεων καὶ δεῖπνα καὶ κλήσεις, ἐν
οἷς τοὺς φίλους ἐκέλευε προσέχειν αὐτῷ, μὴ λάθη
βεβαιώσας τὸν Κουρίωνος λόγον. ὁ γὰρ Κού-
ρίων ἀχθόμενος τῷ αὐστηρῷ τοῦ Κάτωνος, φίλου
καὶ συνήθους ὄντος, ἡρώτησεν αὐτὸν εἰ πρόθυμος
ἐστι μετὰ τὴν στρατείαν γενέσθαι τῆς Ἀσίας
θεατῆς. τοῦ δὲ καὶ πάνυ φήσαντος, “Ἐν λέγεις,”
eἶπεν ὁ Κουρίων, “ سبحانه γὰρ ἐπανήξεις ἐκείθεν
καὶ μᾶλλον θερμοῦ.” οὕτω πως καὶ τῷ ρήματι
χρησάμενος.

ΧV. Δηιόταρος δὲ ὁ Γαλάτης μετεπέμψατο
μὲν τὸν Κάτωνα προσβύτερος δὲν ἥδη παραθέσθαι
τοὺς παιδιὰς αὐτῷ θουλόμενος καὶ τὸν οἶκον, ἔλ-
θόντι δὲ προσφέρων δῶρα παντοδαπὰ καὶ πειρῶν
καὶ δεόμενος πάντα τρόπου οὕτω παρώξυνεν ὡστε,
δεῖλες ἐλθόντα καὶ νυκτερεύσαντα, τῇ ύποτειρίᾳ
2 περὶ τρίτην ὄραν ἀπάραι. προεσθὼν μὲντοι μᾶς

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away. For all the other young men who came to him were retained by Pompey, who showed an eager longing for their companionship; of Cato, on the contrary, he made no such request, but, as if he must render account of his command while Cato was there, he was glad to send him away. And yet Cato was almost the only person among those bound for Rome to whom Pompey commended his wife and children, although it is true that they were relatives of his.

As a consequence of all this, the cities eagerly vied with one another in showing Cato honour, and there were suppers and invitations, at which times he would urge his friends to keep close watch upon him, lest he should unawares confirm the saying of Curio. For Curio, annoyed at the severity of Cato, who was his intimate friend, had asked him whether he was desirous of seeing Asia after his term of service in the army. "Certainly I am," said Cato. "That's right," said Curio, "for you will come back from there a more agreeable man and more tame,"—that is about the meaning of the word he used.1

XV. But Deiotarus the Galatian sent for Cato, being now an old man, and desiring to commend to his protection his children and his family. When Cato arrived, however, Deiotarus offered him gifts of every sort, and by tempting and entertaining him in every way so exasperated him that, although he had arrived late in the day and merely spent the night, on the next day about the third hour he set off. However, after proceeding a day's journey, he found

1 Plutarch is seeking a Greek equivalent for the Latin "mansuetior."
ημέρας οὖν εὑρεν ἐν Πεσσινοῦντι πλείονα τῶν ἐκεί δώρων αὐθίς αὐτῶν ύπομένοντα, καὶ γράμματα τοῦ Γαλάτου δειμένου, λαβεὶν αὐτὸς εἰ μὴ πρόθυμός ἦστιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς φίλους ἑᾶσαι, πάντως μὲν ἀξίους οὖνας εὗ παθεῖν δι' ἐκεῖνον, οὐκ οὖν δὲ τῶν ἱδίων τοῦ Κάτωνος τοσοῦτων.

3 ἀλλ' οὖδε τούτως ἐνέδωκεν ὁ Κάτων, καἱ περ 766 ἐνίους τῶν φίλων μαλασσομένους καὶ ύπομεμφομένους ὁρῶν, ἀλλὰ φήσας ὅτι πᾶσα δωροδοκία προφάσεως ἄν εὑπορήσειν, οἱ δὲ φίλοι μεθέξουσιν ὃν ἂν ἔχῃ καλῶς καὶ δικαίως κητσάμενος, ἀπέπεμψε τὰ δῶρα πρὸς τὸν Δηϊόταρον.

4 Ἐπεὶ δὲ μέλλοντος ἀπαίρειν εἰς τὸ Βρεντέσιον φοντὸ δείν οἱ φίλοι τὰ λείψανα τοῦ Καυτίωνος εἰς ἔτερον θέσθαι πλοῖον, εἰπόν τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς μεθήσεται μᾶλλον ἡ τούτων, ἀνήχη. καὶ μέντοι λέγεται κατὰ τύχην ἐπισφαλέστατα περᾶσαι, τῶν ἄλλων μετρίως κομῳδομένων.

ΧΩ. Ἐπανελθὼν δὲ εἰς 'Ῥώμην τὸν μὲν ἄλλων χρόνων κατ' οἶκον 'Αθηνοδώρῳ συνών, ἥ κατ' ἄγοράν τόις φίλοις παριστάμενος διετέλεσεν. ἐπιβάλλουσαν δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν ταμευτικὴν ἀρχὴν οὐ πρότερον μετῆλθεν ἡ τούς τε νόμους ἀναγνώσαι τοὺς ταμευτικοὺς καὶ διαπυθέσθαι τῶν ἐμπείρων ἐκαστα καὶ τύπῳ τῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς 2 δύναμιν περιλαβεῖν. ὅθεν εὔθυς εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καταστάσας μεγάλην ἐποίησε μεταβολὴν τῶν περὶ

1 συνών supplied by Sintenis².

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at Pessinus more gifts again awaiting him than those he had left behind him, and a letter from the Galatian begging him, if he did not desire to take them himself, at least to permit his friends to do so, since they were in every way worthy to receive benefits on his account, and Cato's private means would not reach so far. But not even to these solicitations did Cato yield, although he saw that some of his friends were beginning to weaken and were disposed to blame him; nay, he declared that every taking of gifts could find plenty of excuse, but that his friends should share in what he had acquired honourably and justly. Then he sent his gifts back to Deiotarus.

As he was about to set sail for Brundisium, his friends thought that the ashes of Caepio should be put aboard another vessel; but Cato declared that he would rather part with his life than with those ashes, and put to sea. And verily we are told that, as chance would have it, he had a very dangerous passage, although the rest made the journey with little trouble.

XVI. After his return to Rome, he spent most of his time at home in the company of Athenodorus,¹ or in the forum assisting his friends. And though the office of quaestor was open to him, he would not become a candidate for it until he had read the laws relating to the quaestorship, learned all the details of the office from those who had had experience in it, and formed a general idea of its power and scope. Therefore, as soon as he had been instated in the office,² he made a great change in the assistants and

¹ Cf. chapter x. ² In 65 B.C.
τὸ ταμείον υπηρετῶν καὶ γραμματέων, οὗ διὰ χειρὸς ἀεὶ τὰ δημόσια γράμματα καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἔχοντες, εἶτα νέοις ἀρχονταῖς παραλαμβάνοντες δι’ ἀπειρίαν καὶ ἀγνοιαν ἀτεχνῶς διδασκάλων ἐτέρων καὶ παιδαγωγῶν δεομένους, οὖχ ὑφίστατο τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐκείνους, ἀλλὰ ἦσαν ἀρχοντες αὐτοί,

3 μέχρι οὗ Κάτων ἐπιστὰς τοὺς πράγμασι νεανικῶς, οὐκ ὄνομα καὶ τιμήν ἔχων ἀρχοντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ νοῦν καὶ φρόνημα καὶ λόγον, ὑπηρέταις, ὅπερ ἦσαν, ἢξιον χρήσθαι τοῖς γραμματεύσι, τὰ μὲν ἐξελέγχων κακουργοῦντας αὐτούς, τὰ δὲ ἀμαρτάνοντας ἀπειρία διδάσκομεν. ὡς δὲ ἦσαν ιταμοὶ καὶ τοὺς ἀλλοὺς ἐθώπευον ὑποτρέχοντες, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἐπολέμουν, τὸν μὲν πρῶτον αὐτῶν καταγγοῦν περὶ πίστιν ἐν κληρονομίᾳ γεγονέναι ποιητῶν ἀπήλασε τὸν ταμείον, δευτέρῳ δὲ τινὶ βαδιουργίας προδήθηκε κρίσιν. ὁ Κάτλος Δουτάτιος ὁ τιμητὴς ἀνέβη βοηθήσων, ἀνὴρ μέγα τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔχων ἄξιομα, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔχων μέγιστον, ὡς πάντων δικαιοσύνη καὶ σωφροσύνη Ῥωμαίων διαφέρων ἢν δὲ καὶ τοῦ Κάτωνος ἐπαινέτης καὶ συνήθης διὰ τὸν βίον. ὡς οὖν ἕττομενος τοὺς δικαίους ἐξηγεῖτο φανερῶς τὸν ἀνθρώπον, οὐκ εἰς ταῦτα ποιεῖν αὐτῶν ὁ Κάτων.

4 ἐτὶ δὲ μᾶλλον προσληπαροῦντος, "Αἰσχρόν," εἶπεν, "ὦ Κάτλε, σε τὸν τιμητὴν καὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους βίους ὀφείλοντα δοκιμάζειν ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμε-

1 ἔχων bracketed by Bekker, after Coraës.
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clers connected with the treasury. These were fully conversant with the public accounts and the laws relative thereto, and so, when they received as their superior officers young men whose inexperience and ignorance made it really needful that others should teach and tutor them, they would not surrender any power to such superiors, but were superiors themselves. Now, however, Cato applied himself with energy to the business, not having merely the name and honour of a superior official, but also intelligence and rational judgment. He thought it best to treat the clerks as assistants, which they really were, sometimes convicting them of their evil practices, and sometimes teaching them if they erred from inexperience. But they were bold fellows, and tried to ingratiate themselves with the other quaestors, while they waged war upon Cato. Therefore the chief among them, whom he found guilty of a breach of trust in the matter of an inheritance, was expelled from the treasury by him, and a second was brought to trial for fraud. This person Catulus Lutatius the censor came forward to defend, a man who had great authority from his office, but most of all from his virtue, being thought to surpass all Romans in justice and discretion; he also commended Cato's way of living and was intimate with him. Accordingly, when Catulus had lost his case on its merits and began to beg openly for the acquittal of his client, Cato tried to stop him from doing this. And when Catulus was all the more importunate, Cato said: "It would be a shameful thing, Catulus, if thou, who art the censor, and shouldst scrutinize our lives, wert put out of
τέρων ὑπηρετῶν ἑκβάλλεσθαι." ταύτην τὴν
φωνὴν ἀφέντος τοῦ Κάτωνος, ὁ Κάτλος προς ἐμὲ
βλέψε μὲν αὐτὸν ὡς ἀμείψψμενος, εἶπε δὲ οὐδὲν,
ἀλλ' εἶτε ὑπ' ὀργὴς εἶτε ὑπ' αἰσχύνης ἀπήλθε
6 σιωπὴ διηπορημένος. οὖ μὴν ἢλω γε ὁ ἀνθρώπος,
ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ μιὰ ψῆφῳ τὰς ἀφιείσσας ὑπερέβαλλον
ἀι καθαιροῦσαι, καὶ Δόλλιος Μάρκος εἰς, συνάρ-
χων τοῦ Κάτωνος, ὑπὸ ἀσθενείας ἀπελέλειπτο
τὴς δίκης, πέμπει πρὸς τοῦτον ὁ Κάτλος δεόμενος
βοηθῆσαι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ. κάκεινος ἐν φορείῳ κομι-
σθεὶς μετὰ τὴν δίκην έθετο τὴν ἀπολύουσαν. οὖ
μὴν ἐχρήσατο γε τῷ γραμματεῖ ὁ Κάτων, οὐδὲ
tὸν μυσθὸν ἀπέδωκεν, οὐδὲ ὅλος ἐνάριθμον τοῦ
Δολλίου τὴν ψῆφου ἔσχεν.

XVII. Οὕτω δὲ τοὺς γραμματεῖς ταπεινώσας
καὶ ποιήσας ὑποχειρίους, καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ὡς
αὐτὸς ἐβούλετο χρώμενος, ὁλίγῳ χρόνῳ τὸ τα-
μεῖον ἀπέδειξη τοῦ βουλευτηρίου σεμνότερον, ὡς
cαὶ λέγει καὶ φρονεῖν ἀπαντᾷς ὃτι Κάτων ὑπα-
2 τείας ἀξίωμα τῇ ταμείᾳ περέθηκε. πρῶτον μὲν
gable εὐρών χρέα παλαί τῷ δημοσίῳ πολλοὺς
ὀφείλοντας καὶ πολλοῖς τῷ δημόσιον, ἀμα τὴν
πόλιν ἑπαυσεν ἀδικουμένην καὶ ἀδικοῦσαν, τοὺς
μὲν εὐτόνους καὶ ἀπαραιτήτως ἀπαιτῶν, τοὺς
dὲ ταχέως ἀποδίδοντας καὶ προθύμως, ὡστε τὸν 767
δὴμον αἰδεύσας τοὺς μὲν οἰομένους ἀποστερῆσειν
ἐκτίνοντας ὁρώντα, τοὺς δὲ ἃ μὴ προσεδόκων
3 ἀπολαμβάνοντας. ἐπείτα γράμματα πολλῶν οὐ
προσηκόντως ἀναφέροντων, καὶ δόγματα ψευδή

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court by our bailiffs." When Cato had uttered these words, Catulus fixed his eyes upon him as if he would make reply; he said nothing, however, but either from anger or from shame went off in silence, much perplexed. However, the man was not convicted, but when the votes for condemnation exceeded those for acquittal by a single ballot, and one Marcus Lollius, a colleague of Cato, was kept by sickness from attending the trial, Catulus sent to him and begged him to help the man. So Lollius was brought in a litter after the trial and cast the vote that acquitted. Notwithstanding this, Cato would not employ the clerk, or give him his pay, or in any way take the vote of Lollius into the reckoning.

XVII. By thus humbling the clerks and making them submissive, and by managing the business as he himself desired, in a little while he brought the quaestorship into greater respect than the senate, so that all men said and thought that Cato had invested the quaestorship with the dignity of the consulship. For, in the first place, when he found that many persons were owing debts of long standing to the public treasury and the treasury to many persons, he made an end at the same time of the state being wronged and wronging others; from its debtors he rigorously and inexorably demanded payment, and to its creditors he promptly and readily made payment, so that the people were filled with respect as they saw men making payments who thought to defraud the state, and men receiving payments which they had ceased to expect. In the next place, though many used improper methods to get writings filed with the quaestors, and though
παραδέχεσθαι χάριτι καὶ δεήσει τῶν προτέρων εἰωθότων, οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ἔλαβε γινόμενον τοιοῦτον, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἑνὸς ποτὲ δόγματος ἐνδοιάσας εἰ κύριον γέγονε, πολλῶν μαρτυροῦντων οὐκ ἐπιστευσεν, οὐδὲ κατέταξε πρότερον ἢ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐπομόσαι 4 παραγενομένους. ὃντων δὲ πολλῶν οἷς Σῶλλας ἔκεινος ἀποκτείνασιν ἄνδρας ἐκ πρωγραφῆς γέρας ἔδωκεν ἀνὰ μυρίας δισχιλίας δραχμάς, ἄπαντες μὲν αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐναγείς καὶ μαροῦς ἐμίσουν, ἀμύνασθαι δὲ οὕδεις ἐτόλμα, Κάτων δὲ προσκαλούμενος ἐκαστὸν ἔχοντα δημόσιον ἀργύριον ἀδίκως ἐξέπραττεν, ἀμα θυμῷ καὶ λόγῳ τὸ τῆς 5 πράξεως ἀνόσιον καὶ παράνομον ἐξονειδίζων. οἱ δὲ τοῦτο παθόντες εὐθὺς ἦσαν ἔνοχοι φόνῳ, καὶ τρόπον τινὰ προηλωκότες ἀπήγοντο πρὸς τοὺς δικαστὰς καὶ δίκας ἔτινος, ἡδομένων πάντων καὶ νομιζόντων συνεξαλείφεσθαι τὴν τότε τυραννίδα καὶ Σῶλλαν αὐτὸν ἐφορᾶν κολαζόμενον.

XVIII. "Ἡρέας δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ τὸ ἐνδελεχές αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐπιμελείας καὶ ἄτρυτον. οὐτε γὰρ πρότερός τις ἀνέβη τῶν συναρχόντων εἰς τὸ ταμεῖον Κάτωνος οὕτε ὑστερος ἀπῆλθεν. ἐκ-κλησίαν δὲ καὶ βουλὴν οὐδεμίαν παρῆκε, δεδὼς καὶ παραφυλάττων τοὺς ἐτοίμως καὶ πρὸς χάριν ὀφλημάτων καὶ τελῶν ἀνέσεις ἦ δόσεις οἷς ἐτυχέν 2 ἐπιψηφιζομένους. ἐπιδεικνύμενος δὲ τὸ ταμεῖον
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previous quaestors had been accustomed to receive false decrees at the request of those whom they wished to please, nothing of this sort could be done now without Cato finding it out. Indeed, on one occasion when he was doubtful whether a certain decree had actually passed the senate, though many testified to the fact, he would not believe them, nor would he file the decree away until the consuls had come and taken oath to its validity. Again, there were many persons whom the famous Sulla had rewarded for killing men under proscription, at the rate of twelve thousand drachmas. All men hated them as accursed and polluted wretches, but no one had the courage to punish them. Cato, however, called each one of these to account for having public money in his possession by unjust means, and made him give it up, at the same time rebuking him with passionate eloquence for his illegal and unholy act. After this experience they were at once charged with murder, were brought before their judges condemned beforehand, one might say, and were punished. At this all men were delighted, and thought that with their deaths the tyranny of that former time was extinguished, and that Sulla himself was punished before men's eyes.

XVIII. Moreover, the multitude were captivated by his continuous and unwearied attention to his duties. For no one of his colleagues came up to the treasury earlier than Cato, and none left it later. Besides, no session of assembly or senate would he fail to attend, since he feared and kept close watch on those who were ready to gratify people by voting remissions of debts and taxes, or promiscuous gifts. And so by exhibiting a treasury which was inacces-
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ἀβατόν τε καὶ καθαρὸν συκοφαντῶν, πληρές δὲ χρημάτων, ἐδίδασκεν ὦτι τῇ πόλει πλούτειν ἐξεστὶ μὴ ἀδικούσῃ. κατ’ ἄρχας δὲ τῶν συναρ-χόντων ἐνίοις ἐπαχθῆς καὶ χαλεπὸς ἐναὶ ὕστερον ἡγαπᾶτο, ταῖς ἐκ τοῦ μὴ χαρίζεσθαι τὰ δημόσια μηδὲ κρίνειν κακῶς ἀπεχθεῖαι ὑποτίθεισ ἐαυτὸν ἀντὶ πάντων, καὶ παρέχων ἀπολογείσθαι πρὸς τοὺς δεομένους καὶ βιαζομένους ἐκείνους, ὡς ἄμηχανον ἔστιν, ἀκοντος Κάτωνος.

3 Τῶν δὲ ἡμερῶν τῇ τελευταίᾳ σχεδὸν ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν πολιτῶν προπεμφθεῖς εἰς οἶκον, ἤκουσεν ὅτι Μάρκελλῳ πολλοῖς συνήθεις καὶ δυνατοὶ προσπεσόντες ἐν τῷ ταμείῳ καὶ περιέχοντες ἐκβιάζονται γράψαι τινὰ δόσιν χρημάτων ὀφει-λομένων. ἦν δὲ ὁ Μάρκελλος ἐκ παιδῶν φίλος τῷ Κάτωνι, καὶ σὺν ἐκείνῳ βέλτιστος ἄρχων, αὐτὸς δὲ καθ’ αὐτὸν ἀγώγημος ὑπ’ αἰδοῦς τοῖς

4 δεομένοις, καὶ κατάντης πρὸς πᾶσαν χάριν. εὐ-θὺς οὖν ὁ Κάτων ἐπιστρέφας καὶ τὸν Μάρκελλον εὐρῶν ἐκβεβιασμένον γράψαι τὴν δόσιν, ἱτησε τὰς δέλτους καὶ ἀπῆλειψεν, αὐτὸς παρεστῶτος σιωπῆς καὶ τοῦτο πράξας κατήγαγεν αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ταμείου καὶ κατέστησεν εἰς γίκον, οὔτε τότε μεμψάμενον οὔτε ὕστερον, ἀλλ’ ἐμμείναντα τῇ συνήθεια καὶ φίλια μέχρι παντὸς.

5 Οὐ μὴν οὖδὲ ἀπαλλαγεῖς τῆς ταμείας ἀφήκε τῆς φρουρᾶς ἐρημοῦ τὸ ταμείον, ἀλλ’ οἰκέται 276
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sible to public informers and free from their taint, but full of money, he taught men that a state can be rich without wronging its citizens. At first some of his colleagues thought him obnoxious and troublesome, but afterwards they were well pleased with him, since he took upon his own shoulders exclusively the burden of the hatreds arising from refusal to give away the public moneys or to make unjust decisions, and furnished them with a defence against people who tried to force requests upon them. They would say, namely, "It is impossible; Cato will not consent."

On the last day of his term of office, after he had been escorted to his house by almost the whole body of citizens, he heard that many friends of Marcellus and men of influence had closely beset him in the treasury, and were trying to force him to register some remission of moneys due. Now, Marcellus had been a friend of Cato from boyhood, and when associated with him had been a most excellent magistrate. When acting by himself, however, he was led by a feeling of deference to be complaisant towards suppliants, and was inclined to grant every favour. At once, then, Cato turned back, and when he found that Marcellus had been forced to register the remission, he asked for the tablets and erased the entry, while Marcellus himself stood by and said nothing. After this had been done, Cato conducted Marcellus away from the treasury and brought him to his house, and Marcellus had no word of blame for him either then or afterwards, but continued his intimate friendship up to the end.

However, not even after he had laid down the quaestorship did Cato leave the treasury destitute of
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µὲν αὐτὸῦ καθ’ ἧμέραν ἀπογραφόμενοι τὰς διοικήσεις παρῆσαν, αὐτὸς δὲ βιβλία λόγους περιέχοντα δημοσίων οἰκονομιῶν ἀπὸ τῶν Σύλλα χρόνων εἰς τὴν ἕαυτοῦ ταμείαν ὡνησάμενος πέντε ταλάντων ἀεὶ διὰ χειρὸς εἶχεν.

XIX. Εἰς δὲ συγκλήτου εἰσῆλθε τε πρῶτος καὶ τελευταῖος ἀπηλλάττετο πολλάκις δὲ τῶν ἀλλων σχολῆς συναγωμένων καθεξόμενος ἀνεγίνωσκεν ἡσυχῇ, τὸ ἴματιον τοῦ βιβλίου προϊσχόμενος. ἀπεδήμησε δὲ οὐδέποτε βουλής γενομένης. 768 ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑστεροῦν οἱ περὶ Πομπηίου ἔφορον¹ αὐτὸν ἐν οἷς ἐστούδαξον ἀδίκως ἀμεταπίστου καὶ δυσεκβίαστον ἀεὶ, διεμηχανόντο φιλικὰς τις συνηγορίας ἡ διαίταις ἡ πραγματείας ἡ περίσταν. συνείς οὖν ταχὺ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν ἀπείπε πάσι καὶ παρετάξατο βουλής ἀγομένης μηδὲν

2 ἀλλο πράττειν. οὔτε γὰρ δόξης χάριν οὔτε πλεονεξίας οὔτε αὐτομάτος καὶ κατὰ τύχην, ὡσπερ ἔτεροι τινες, ἐμπεσόν εἰς τὸ πράττειν τὰ τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἔδων ἐργον ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ τῆς πολιτείας ἐλόμενος, μᾶλλον φετο δεῖν προσέχειν τοῖς κοινοῖς ἡ τῷ κηρῷ τὴν μέλλουν, ὅσ γε καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐπαρχῶν πράγματα καὶ δόγματα καὶ κρίσεις καὶ πράξεις τὰς μεγίστας ἐργον πεποίητο διὰ τῶν ἐκασταχόθι ἔνων καὶ φίλων πέμπεσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν.

3 Ἐνστὰς δὲ ποτε Κλωδίῳ τῷ δημαγωγῷ κυνόντι καὶ ταράττοντι μεγάλων ἀρχῶν νεωτερισμῶν καὶ διαβάλλοντι πρὸς τῶν δήμου ἱερείς καὶ ἱερείας,

¹ ἔφορον Sintenis, with one Paris MS.; Coraës and Bekker have ἄρων, with the other MSS.

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his watchful care, but slaves of his were there every day copying the transactions, and he himself paid five talents for books containing accounts of the public business from the times of Sulla down to his own quaestorship, and always had them in hand.

XIX. He used to be the first to reach the senate and the last to leave it; and often, while the other senators were slowly assembling, he would sit and read quietly, holding his toga in front of the book. He never left the city when the senate was in session. But afterwards, when Pompey and his friends saw that he could never be prevailed upon or forced from his position in any unjust measures which they had at heart, they would contrive to draw him away by sundry legal advocacies for friends, or arbitrations, or business matters. Accordingly, Cato quickly perceived their design and refused all such applications, and made it a rule to have no other business on hand while the senate was in session. For it was neither for the sake of reputation, nor to gain riches, nor accidentally and by chance, like some others, that he threw himself into the management of civic affairs, but he chose a public career as the proper task for a good man, and thought that he ought to be more attentive to the common interests than the bee to its honey. And so he was careful to have the affairs of the provinces and decrees and trials and the most important measures sent to him by his connections and friends in every place.

At one time he opposed Clodius the demagogue, who was raising agitation and confusion as a prelude to great changes, and was calumniating to the people priests and priestesses, among whom Fabia, a sister of
ἐν οἷς καὶ Φαβία Τερεντίας ἀδελφή, τῆς Κικέρωνος γυναικὸς, ἐκινδύνευσε, τὸν μὲν Κλώδιον αἰσχύνη περιβάλλον ἥναγκασεν ὑπεκστήναι τῆς πόλεως, τοῦ δὲ Κικέρωνος εὐχαριστοῦντος, τῇ πόλει δὲν ἔχειν ἐφῄ χάριν αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἐκείνης 4 ἔνεκα πάντα ποιῶν καὶ πολιτεύμενος. ἐκ τούτοι τοῦ μεγάλα δόξα περὶ αὐτοῦ ἦν, ὡστε ῥήτορα μὲν, δίκῃ τινὶ μαρτύρια μᾶς φερομένης, εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς δικαστὰς ὡς ἐνὶ μαρτυροῦντι προσέχειν, οὐδὲ Κάτωνι, καλῶς ἔχει, πολλοὺς δὲ ἤδη περὶ τῶν ἀπιστῶν καὶ παραδόξων, ὡστερ ἐν παροιμίᾳ τινὶ, λέγειν ὅτι τοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲ Κάτωνος 5 λέγοντος πιθανὸν ἔστι. μοχθηροῦ δὲ ἀνθρώπου καὶ πολυτελοῦς λόγον ἐν συγκλήτῳ διαθεμένον πρὸς εὐτελείαν καὶ σωφρονισμὸν ἐπαναστὰς Ἀμναίος, "Ὡς ἀνθρωπε," εἶπε, "τίς ἀνέξεται σοι δειπνοῦντος μὲν ὡς Δευκόλλου, οἰκοδομοῦντος δὲ ὡς Κράσου, δημηγοροῦντος δὲ ἥμιν ὡς Κάτωνος;" καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ τοὺς φαῦλους καὶ ἀκολάστους, τοῖς λόγοις δὲ σεμνοῖς καὶ αὐτηροῖς χλευάζοντες ἐκάλουν Κάτωνας.

XX. Πολλῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ ἑπὶ δημαρχίαν καλοῦντων ὦν φεῖτο καλῶς ἔχειν μεγάλης ἐξουσίας καὶ ἀρχῆς, ὡστερ ἱσχυρὸν φαρμάκον, δύναμιν ἐν πράγμασιν ὦν ἀναγκαῖοις ἐξαναλώσαι. καὶ ἀμα, σχολῆς οὐσίς τῶν δημοσίων, παραλαβῶν βιβλία καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἐβάδιζεν εἰς Δευκάνιαν, ὄχι οὕτω δικτημένος ἔχοντας ὦκ ἀνελευ-

2 θέρους διατριβάς: εἶτα καθ’ ὅδον πολλοῖς τισιν ὑποξυγίωσε καὶ σκεύεσε καὶ ἀκολούθως ἀπαντήσας καὶ πυθόμενος Νέπωτα Μέτελλον εἰς Ἱρώμην ἐπανέρχεσθαι δημαρχίαν ἐμεῖναι παρεσκευα-
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Cicero’s wife Terentia, was in danger of conviction. But Cato put Clodius to such shame that he was forced to steal away from the city; and when Cicero thanked him, Cato told him he ought to be thankful to the city, since it was for her sake that all his public work was done. In consequence of this he was held in high repute, so that an orator, at a trial where the testimony of a single witness was introduced, told the jurors that it was not right to give heed to a single witness, not even if he were Cato; and many already, when speaking of matters that were strange and incredible, would say, as though using a proverb, “This is not to be believed even though Cato says it.” Again, when a corrupt and extravagant man was expatiating in the senate on frugality and self-restraint, Ammaeus sprang to his feet and said: “Who can endure it, my man, when you sup like Lucullus, build like Crassus, and yet harangue us like Cato?” And other men also who were degraded and licentious in their lives, but lofty and severe in their speech, were mockingly called Catos.

XX. Though many invited him to become a tribune of the people he did not think it right to expend the force of a great and powerful magistracy, any more than that of a strong medicine, on matters that did not require it. And at the same time, being at leisure from his public duties, he took books and philosophers with him and set out for Lucania, where he owned lands affording no mean sojourn. Then, meeting on the road many beasts of burden with baggage and attendants, and learning that Metellus Nepos was on his way back to Rome prepared to sue for the tribuneship, he stopped without a word, and

1 Cf. the Lucullus, xl. 3.
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σμένον, ἐπέστη σιωπή, καὶ διαλιπῶν μικρὸν ἐκεῖλευσεν ἀναστρέφειν ὁπίσω τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ. τῶν δὲ φίλων θαυμασάντων, “Οὐκ ἴστε,” εἶπεν, “ὅτε καὶ καθ’ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ ἐμπληξίας φοβερός ἦστι Μέτελλος, καὶ νῦν ἐκ τῆς Πομπηίου γνώμης ἀφιγμένος εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν ἐμπεσεῖται δίκην

3 σκηπτοῦ πάντα πράγματα ταράττων; οὐκ οὖν σχολῆς οὐδὲ ἀποδημίας καιρός, ἀλλὰ δεῖ κρατήσαι τοῦ ἄνδρος, ἢ καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνιζόμενων.” ὡμώς δὲ τῶν φίλων παραινεσάντων ἀφίκετο πρῶτον εἰς τὰ χωρία καὶ διέτριψεν ὅπως πολύν χρόνων, εἴτε ἐπαινήκει εἰς πόλιν. ἐσπέρας δὲ ἐλθὼν εὐθὺς ἔσωθεν εἰς ἀγοράν κατέβαινε δημαρχίαν μετιών, ὡς ἀντιταξόμενος πρὸς τὸν Μέτελλον. τὸ γὰρ ἵσχυρὸν ἢ ἀρχή πρὸς τὸ κωλύειν ἔχει μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς τὸ πράττειν καὶ πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ παρ’ ἑνα ψηφίσωνται, τοῦ μὴ θέλοντος μηδὲ ἔσωτος τὸ κράτος ἔστι.

XXI. Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ὀλίγοι περὶ τὸν Κάτωνα τῶν φίλων ἦσαν φανερὰς δὲ τῆς γνώμης 769 αὐτοῦ γενομένης, ὄλγου χρόνου πάντες οἱ χρηστοὶ καὶ γνώριμοι συνέτρεχον καὶ παρεκάλουν καὶ παρεθάρρυναν αὐτὸν, ὡς οὐ λαμβάνοντα χάριν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μεγίστην διδόντα τῇ πατρίδῃ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιεικεστάτοις τῶν πολιτῶν, ὅτι πολλάκις ἀπραγμόνως ἀρξαί παρόν οὐθελήσας, νῦν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ πολιτείας ἀγωνιούμενον

2 οὐκ ἀκινδύνως κάτεισι. λέγεται δὲ, πολλῶν ὑπὸ σπουδῆς καὶ φιλοσοφούντων ὀδομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἐν κινδύνῳ γενόμενος μόλις ἐξεκέσθαι διὰ πλήθος εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν. ἀποδειχθεὶς δὲ δήμαρχος

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after waiting a little while ordered his company to turn back. His friends were amazed at this, whereupon he said: "Do ye not know that even of himself Metellus is to be feared by reason of his infatuation? And now that he comes by the advice of Pompey he will fall upon the state like a thunderbolt and throw everything into confusion. It is no time, then, for a leisurely sojourn in the country, but we must overpower the man, or die honourably in a struggle for our liberties." Nevertheless, on the advice of his friends, he went first to his estates and tarried there a short time, and then returned to the city.\footnote{In 63 B.C.} It was evening when he arrived, and as soon as day dawned he went down into the forum to sue for a tribuneship, that he might array himself against Metellus. For the strength of that office is negative rather than positive; and if all the tribunes save one should vote for a measure, the power lies with the one who will not give his consent or permission.

XXI. At first, then, Cato had only a few of his friends about him; but when his purpose became known, in a little while all the men of worth and note flocked to him with exhortations and encouragements. They felt that he was not receiving a favour, but conferring the greatest favour on his country and the most reputable of his fellow citizens; for he had often refused the office when he could have had it without trouble, and now sued for it at his peril that he might contend for the liberties of the state. It is said, moreover, that he was in peril from the many who crowded upon him in their zeal and affection, and could hardly make his way through the crowd into the forum. He was declared
σὺν ἔτεροις, καὶ τῷ Μετέλλῳ, τὰς ὑπατικὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας ὅρων ὅνιους οὕσας, ἐπετίμησε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ καταπαύσει τῶν λόγων ἐπώμοσε τοῦ δόντος ἀργύριον, ὡστε ἢ, κατηγορήσειν, ἐνα Σιλανὸν ὑπεξελόμενον δέ οἰκεῖοτητα. Σερβίλιαν

3 γὰρ ἀδελφὴν Κάτωνος ὁ Σιλανὸς εἷχε. διὸ τοῦτον μὲν παρῆκε, Δεύκιον δὲ Μουρῆναν ἐδίωκεν ἀργυρίῳ διαπραξάμενον ἀρχοντα μετὰ τοῦ Σιλανοῦ γενέσθαι. νόμῳ δὲ τινι τοῦ φεύγοντος ἀεὶ φύλακα τῷ κατηγόρῳ διδόντος, ὡστε μὴ λαθεῖν ἰ συνάγει καὶ παρασκευάζεται πρὸς τὴν κατηγορίαν, ὁ τῷ Κάτωνι δοθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Μουρῆνα παρακολουθῶν καὶ παραφυλάττων, ὡς ἑώρα

4 μηθὲν ἐπεβούλως πράττοντα μηδὲ ἀδίκως, ἀλλὰ γενναίως τε καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἀπλήν τινα τῆς κατηγορίας καὶ δικαίαν ὅδον πορεύομενον, οὕτως ἐθαύμαζε τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὸ ἡθος ὡστε κατ’ ἄγορὰν προσιῶν καὶ φοιτῶν ἐπὶ θύρας πυνθάνεσθαι τοῦ Κάτωνος εἰ μέλλει τι σήμερον πραγματεύσασθαι τῶν περὶ τὴν κατηγορίαν εἰ δὲ μὴ φαίη, πιστεύων ἀπῄει.

5 Τῆς δὲ δίκης λεγομένης ὁ Κικέρων, ὑπατος δὲν τότε καὶ τῷ Μουρῆμα συνδικῶν, πολλὰ διὰ τὸν Κάτωνα τοὺς Στωίκους φιλοσόφους καὶ ταῦτα δὴ τὰ παράδοξα καλούμενα δόγματα χλευάζων καὶ παρασκώπτων γέλωτα παρεῖχε τοῖς δικασταῖς.
tribune with others¹ (including Metellus), and see-
ing that the consular elections were attended with
bribery, he berated the people; and in concluding
his speech he swore that he would prosecute the
briber, whoever he might be, making an exception
only of Silanus because of their relationship. For
Silanus was the husband of Cato’s sister Servilia.
For this reason he let Silanus alone, but he pro-
secuted Lucius Murena on the charge of having
secured his election to the consulship with Silanus
by bribery.² Now, there was a law by which the
defendant could set a man to watch the prosecutor,
in order that there might be no secret about the
material which he was collecting and preparing for
the prosecution. Accordingly, the man appointed
by Murena to watch Cato would follow him about
and keep him under observation. When, however,
he saw that Cato was doing nothing insidiously or
unjustly, but was honourably and considerately
following a straightforward and righteous course in
the prosecution, he had such admiration for Cato’s
lofty spirit and noble character that he would come
up to him in the forum or go to his house and ask
him whether he intended that day to attend to any
matters connected with the prosecution; and if
Cato said no, the man would take his word and go
away.

When the trial was held, Cicero, who was consul
at that time and one of Murena’s advocates, took
advantage of Cato’s fondness for the Stoics to rail
and jest at length about those philosophers and
what were called their “paradoxes,” thus making

¹ At this time the number of the popular tribunes was ten.
² Silanus and Murena were consuls in 62 B.C.
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τὸν οὖν Κατωνά φασὶ διαμειδιάσαντα πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας εἶπεῖν. "Ω ἄνδρες, ὡς γελοῖον ὑπά-
6 τον ἔχομεν." ἀποφυγὼν δὲ ὁ Μουρήνας οὐ πονηροῦ πάθος οὐδὲ ἄφρονος ἔπαθεν ἀνθρώπον πρὸς τὸν Κατωνᾶ καὶ γὰρ ὑπατεύων ἐχρήτο συμβούλω τῶν μεγίστων, καὶ τὰλλα τιμῶν καὶ πιστεύων διετέλεσεν. αἰτίοις δὲ ἦν ὁ Κατων ἀν-
τός, ἐπὶ τοῦ βῆματος καὶ τοῦ συνεδρίου χαλεπὸς ὁν καὶ φαβερὸς ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων, εἰτα πᾶσιν εὐνοῖκως καὶ φιλανθρώπως προσφερόμενος.

XXII. Πρὶν δὲ εἰς τὴν δημαρχίαν καθίστα-
σθαι, Κικέρωνος ὑπατεύοντος, ἄλλοις τε πόλλοις ἀγῶσι τὴν ἀρχὴν ὡρθωσεν αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῖς περὶ Κατιλίναν πράξεσι μεγίσταις καὶ καλλίσταις γενομέναις τέλος ἐπέθηκεν. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ὁ Κατιλίνας ὀλέθριον τε καὶ παντελῆ μεταβολὴν ἐπώγων τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις πράγμασι καὶ στάσεις ὁμοῦ καὶ πολέμους ταράττων ἐξελεγχθεῖς ὑπὸ 2 τοῦ Κικέρωνου ἐξεύρεσε τῆς πόλεως, Δεντλος δὲ καὶ Κέθηγος καὶ μετ’ αὐτῶν ἑτεροι συνχοι δεξάμενοι τὴν συνομοσίαν, καὶ τῷ Κατιλίνα δειλίαν καὶ μικρολογίαν τῶν τολμημάτων ἐπικαλοῦντες, αὐτοῖ διενοῦντο τὴν πόλιν ἄρδην ἀναιρεῖν πυρὶ καὶ τὴν ἱγεμονίαν ἐθνῶν ἀποστάσει καὶ πολέμοις 3 ἀλλοφύλους ἀνατρέπειν. φανερὰς δὲ τῆς παρα-
σκευῆς αὐτῶν γενομένης, καὶ Κικέρωνος1 ἐν βουλῇ γνώμην προθέντος, ὁ μὲν πρῶτος εἰπὼν Σιλανὸς ἀπεφήνατο δοκείν αὐτῷ τὰ ἐσχάτα παθεῖν χρῆναι τοὺς ἄνδρας, οἱ δὲ μετ’ αὐτῶν ἐφε-

1 καὶ Κικέρωνος ἐν Sintenis2 for the corrupt MSS. ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ Κικέρωνος γέγραπται; Coraës and Bekker adopt the early anonymous correction καὶ Κικέρωνος, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γέγραπται.

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the jurors laugh. Cato, accordingly, as we are told, said with a smile to the bystanders: "My friends, what a droll fellow our consul is!" And after Murena had been acquitted, he did not feel towards Cato as a base or senseless man might have done; for during his consulship he asked his advice in the most important matters, and in other ways constantly showed him honour and trust. And Cato himself was responsible for this; on the tribunal and in the senate he was severe and terrible in his defence of justice, but afterwards his manner towards all men was benevolent and kindly.

XXII. Before he entered upon his tribuneship, and during the consulship of Cicero,¹ he maintained the authority of that magistrate in many conflicts, and above all in the measures relating to Catiline, which proved the most important and most glorious of all, he brought matters to a successful issue. Catiline himself, namely, who was trying to bring about a complete and destructive change in the Roman state, and was stirring up alike seditions and wars, was convicted by Cicero and fled the city; but Lentulus and Cethegus and many others with them took over the conspiracy, and, charging Catiline with cowardice and pettiness in his designs, were themselves planning to destroy the city utterly with fire, and to subvert the empire with revolts of nations and foreign wars. But their schemes were discovered, and Cicero brought the matter before the senate for deliberation.² The first speaker, Silanus, expressed the opinion that the men ought to suffer the extremest fate, and those who followed him in

¹ 63 B.C.
² Cf. the Caesar, vii. 4–v ii. 2; and the Cicero, x. ff.
4 ξῆς ἠκολούθησαν, ἀχρὶ Καίσαρος. Καίσαρ δὲ ἀναστάς, ἀτε δὴ καὶ δεινὸς εἰπεῖν καὶ πᾶσαν ἐν τῇ πόλει μεταβολὴν καὶ κίνησιν ὀστερ ὕλην ἦν αὐτὸς διενοεῖτο βούλομενος αὕξειν μᾶλλον ἢ σβενυμένην περιορᾶν, ἐπαγωγὰ τολλὰ καὶ φιλανθρωπία διαλεχθεῖσα ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν ἀκρίτους οὐκ εἶν τοὺς ἄνδρας, εἰρχθέντας δὲ τηρεῖν ἐκεῖ-5 λευσεν, οὖτω δὲ τὰς γνώμας μετέστησε τῆς βουλῆς, φοβηθείσης τὸν δήμον, ὡς καὶ Σιλανὸν ἐξαρνον εἶναι καὶ λέγειν ὡς οὐδ' αὐτὸς εἰποί θάνατον, ἀλλὰ εἰργύμον ἐσχατον γὰρ ἄνδρι Ῥωμαίῳ τούτῳ κακῶν ἀπάντων.

XXIII. Γενομένης δὲ τοιαύτης τῆς τροπῆς καὶ ἀπάντων ἐπὶ τὸ προτέρερον ῥυέντων καὶ φιλαν-
θρωπότερον, ὁ Κάτων πρὸς τὴν γνώμην ἀναστάς εὐθὺς ἔτο τῷ λόγῳ μετ' ὀργῆς καὶ πάθους, τὸν τε Σιλανὸν κακίζων τῆς μεταβολῆς, καὶ καθα-
πτόμενος τοῦ Καίσαρος ὡς σχήματι δημοτικῷ καὶ 2 λόγῳ φιλανθρώπῳ τὴν πόλιν ἀνατρέποντος, καὶ 
δεδυττομένου τὴν βουλῆν ἐφ' ὃς αὐτὸν ἐδει δε-
διέαι καὶ ἀγαπᾶν εἰ τῶν γεγονότων ἄθροι 
ἀπαλλάξει καὶ ἀνύπποπτος, οὕτως περιφανῶς καὶ ἱππῶς τοὺς κοινοὺς ἐξαρτάξων πολέμους καὶ 
τὴν παρ' οὐδὲν ἐλθοῦσαν ἀπολέσθαι πατρίδα 
tοιαύτην καὶ τοσαύτην ὀμολογῶν μὴ ἐλεεῖν, ἀλλ' 
οὕς ἐδεί μὴ. γενέσθαι μηδ' φύναι δακρύων καὶ 
ἀνακλαίμενος, εἰ φόνων μεγάλων καὶ κινδύνων 
ἀπαλλάξουσι τὴν πόλιν ἀποθανόντες.

3 Τούτον μόνον ὧν Κάτων ἐπε διασώζεσθαι
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turn were of the same mind, until it came to Caesar. Caesar now rose, and since he was a powerful speaker and wished to increase every change and commotion in the state as so much stuff for his own designs, rather than to allow them to be quenched, he urged many persuasive and humane arguments. He would not hear of the men being put to death without a trial, but favoured their being kept in close custody, and he wrought such a change in the opinions of the senate, which was in fear of the people, that even Silanus recanted and said that he too had not meant death, but imprisonment; for to a Roman this was the "extremest" of all evils.

XXIII. After such a change as this had been wrought and all the senators had hastened to adopt the milder and more humane penalty, Cato rose to give his opinion, and launched at once into a passionate and angry speech, abusing Silanus for his change of opinion, and assailing Caesar. Caesar, he said, under a popular pretext and with humane words, was trying to subvert the state; he was seeking to frighten the senate in a case where he himself had much to fear; and he might be well content if he should come off guiltless of what had been done and free from suspicion, since he was so openly and recklessly trying to rescue the common enemies, while for his country, which had been on the brink of ruin, and was so good and great, he confessed that he had no pity; and yet for men who ought not to have lived or been born even, he was shedding tears and lamenting, although by their deaths they would free the state from great slaughter and perils.

This is the only speech of Cato which has been
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φασὶ τῶν λόγων, Κικέρωνος τοῦ ὑπάτου τοὺς
diaφέροντας ὀξύτητι τῶν γραφέων σημεία προδι-
dάξαντος ἐν μικροῖς καὶ βραχέσι τύποις πολλῶν
γραμμάτων ἔχοντα δύναμιν, εἶτα ἄλλον ἄλλα-
χόσε τοῦ βουλευτηρίου σποράδην ἐμβαλώντος.
οὕτω γὰρ ἦσκουν οὐδ’ ἐκεκτητό τοὺς καλομέ-
νους σημειογράφους, ἀλλὰ τότε πρῶτον εἰς ἢχονς
τι καταστήναι λέγουσιν. ἐκράτησε δ’ οὖν ὁ
Κάτων καὶ μετέστησε τὰς γνώμας, ὥστε θάνατον
καταψηφίσασθαι τῶν ἀνδρῶν.

XXIV. Εἰ δὲ δεῖ μηδὲ τὰ μικρὰ τῶν ἡθῶν
σημεῖα παραλυτεῖν ὡσπερ εἰκόνα ψυχῆς ὑπο-
γραφομένους, λέγεται, τότε πολλὴν ἀμιλλαν καὶ
μέγαν ἀγώνα πρὸς τὸν Κάτωνα τοῦ Καίσαρος
ἔχοντος καὶ τῆς βουλῆς εἰς ἐκείνους ἀνηρτημένης,
δελτάριον τι μικρὸν ἔξωθεν εἰσκομισθῆναι τῷ
Καίσαρι. τοῦ δὲ Κάτωνος εἰς ὑποψίαν ἀγοντος
τὸ πράγμα καὶ διαβάλλοντος εἶναι τινὰς τοὺς
κινουμένους, καὶ κελεύοντος ἀναγινώσκειν τὰ
γεγραμμένα, τὸν Καίσαρα τῷ Κάτωνι προσδούναι

2 τὸ δελτάριον ἐγγὺς ἐστῶτι. τὸν δὲ ἀναγιόντα
Σερβιλίας τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἐπιστόλων ἀκόλαστον
πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα γεγραμμένων, ἔρωσις καὶ
dieφθαρμένης ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, προσρίψατε τῷ Καί-
σαρι καὶ εἶπείν, "Κράτει, μέθυσέ," καὶ πάλιν
οὕτως ἐπὶ τὸν ἢχον λόγον τραπέσθαι.

3 Φαίνεται δὲ ἀλλ’ ἀτύχημα γενέσθαι τοῦ
Κάτωνος ἡ γυναικωνίτις. αὕτη μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ
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preserved, we are told, and its preservation was due to Cicero the consul, who had previously given to those clerks who excelled in rapid writing instruc-
tion in the use of signs, which, in small and short
figures, comprised the force of many letters; these
clerks he had then distributed in various parts of the
senate-house. For up to that time the Romans did
not employ or even possess what are called short-
hand writers, but then for the first time, we are told,
the first steps toward the practice were taken. Be
that as it may, Cato carried the day and changed the
opinions of the senators, so that they condemned
the men to death.

XXIV. Now, since we must not pass over even
the slight tokens of character when we are de-
lineating as it were a likeness of the soul, the story
goes that on this occasion, when Caesar was eagerly
engaged in a great struggle with Cato and the
attention of the senate was fixed upon the two men,
a little note was brought in from outside to Caesar.
Cato tried to fix suspicion upon the matter and
alleged that it had something to do with the con-
spiracy,\(^1\) and bade him read the writing aloud.
Then Caesar handed the note to Cato, who stood
near him. But when Cato had read the note, which
was an unchaste letter from his sister Servilia to
Caesar, with whom she was passionately and guiltily
in love, he threw it to Caesar, saying, “Take it,
thou sot,” and then resumed his speech.

But as regards the women of his household Cato
appears to have been wholly unfortunate. For this

\(^1\) Plutarch's ambiguous words here must be interpreted by
comparison with the Brutus, v. 2 f., where the same story is
told.
Καίσαρει κακώς ἦκουσε· τὰ δὲ τῆς ἐτέρας Σερβιλίας, ἀδελφὴς δὲ Κάτωνος, ἀσχημονεστερα. Δευκόλλω γὰρ γαμηθεῖσα, πρωτεύσαντι Ῥωμαίων κατὰ δόξαν ἄνδρι, καὶ τεκούσα παιδίου ἐξέπεσε τοῦ οἰκίν δι’ ἀκολασίαν· τὸ δὲ αἰσχιστὸν, οὐδ’ ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ Κάτωνος Ἀτιλία τοιούτων ἐκαθάρευσεν ἀμαρτημάτων, ἀλλὰ καθέρ εἰς αὐτῆς δύο παιδία πεποιημένοις ἀνάγκην ἐσχεν ἐκβαλεῖν ἀσχημονοῦσαν.

XXV. Εἰτα ἐγημεθε θυγατέρα Φιλίππου, Μαρκίαν, ἐπιεικῆ δοκούσαν εἶναι γυναίκα, περὶ ἢς ὁ πλεῖστος λόγος· καὶ καθάπερ 1 ἐν δράματι τῷ βίῳ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος προβληματῶδες γέγονε καὶ ἄπορον. ἔπραξθε δὲ τούτον τὸν τρόπον, ως ἵστορεῖ Θρασέας, εἰς Μουνάτιον, ἄνδρα Κάτωνος ἐταίρον καὶ συμβιωτὴν, ἀναφέρων τὴν πίστιν.

2 ἐν πολλοῖς ἔρασται καὶ θαυμαστάς τοῦ Κάτωνος ἦσαν ἐτέρων ἐτερων μᾶλλον ἐκδηλοὶ καὶ διαφανεῖς, δῶν καὶ Κόιντος Ὀρτήσιος, ἀνήρ ἄξιὼ· ματὸς τε λαμπροῦ καὶ τόν τρόπον ἐπιεικῆς. ἐπιθυμῶν οὖν τῷ Κάτωνι μὴ συνήθης εἶναι μηδὲ ἐταίρος μόνον, ἀλλ’ ἀμώς γέ πως εἰς οἰκειότητα καταμῆξαι καὶ κοινωνίαν πάντα τὸν οἰκίν καὶ τὸ γένος, ἐπεχείρησε συμπείθειν ὅπως τήν θυγατέρα Πορκίαν, Βύζλων συνουκούσαν καὶ πεποιημένην ἐκείνης δύο παιδας, αὐτὸ μάλιν ὡσπερ εὐγενῆ.

3 χώρας ἐντεκνώσασθαι παράσχῃ. δόξῃ μὲν γὰρ ἄνθρωπων ἄτοπον εἶναι τὸ τοιούτον, φύσει δὲ καλὸν καὶ πολιτικόν, ἐν ὥρᾳ καὶ άκμή γυναίκα μήτε ἄργειν τὸ γόνιμον ἀποσβέθασαν, μήτε

1 καὶ καθάπερ the kal is supplied by Sintenis; Bekker has καθάπερ γάρ, after Coraës.

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sister was in ill repute for her relations with Caesar; and the conduct of the other Servilla, also a sister of Cato, was still more unseemly. She was the wife of Lucullus, a man of the highest repute in Rome, and had borne him a child, and yet she was banished from his house for unchastity.¹ And what was most disgraceful of all, even Cato's wife Atilia was not free from such transgressions, but although he had two children by her, he was forced to put her away because of her unseemly behaviour.

XXV. Then he married a daughter of Philippus, Marcia, a woman of reputed excellence, about whom there was the most abundant talk; and this part of Cato's life, like a drama, has given rise to dispute and is hard to explain. However, the case was as follows, according to Thrasea, who refers to the authority of Munatius, Cato's companion and intimate associate. Among the many lovers and admirers of Cato there were some who were more conspicuous and illustrious than others. One of these was Quintus Hortensius, a man of splendid reputation and excellent character. This man, then, desiring to be more than a mere associate and companion of Cato, and in some way or other to bring his whole family and line into community of kinship with him, attempted to persuade Cato, whose daughter Porcia was the wife of Bibulus and had borne him two sons, to give her in turn to him as noble soil for the production of children. According to the opinion of men, he argued, such a course was absurd, but according to the law of nature it was honourable and good for the state that a woman in the prime of youth and beauty should neither quench her productive power and lie idle, nor yet, by bear-

¹ See the *Lucullus*, xxxviii. 1.
πλείονα τῶν ἰκανῶν ἔπιτικτουσαν, ἐνοχλεῖν καὶ καταπτωχεύειν οὐδὲν δεόμενον,1 κοινομένους δὲ τὰς διαδοχὰς ἀξίοις ἀνδράσι τὴν τε ἀρετὴν ἀφθονον ποιεῖν καὶ πολύχυτον τοῖς γένεσι, καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀνακεραυνύναι ταῖς οἰκείοτησιν. εἰ δὲ πάντως περιέχοιτο τῆς γυναικὸς ὁ Βύβλος, ἀποδώσεις εὐθὺς τεκοῦσαν, οἰκείοτερος αὐτῷ τε Βύβλῳ καὶ Κάτωνι κοινωνίᾳ παίδων γενόμενος.

4 Ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τοῦ Κάτωνος ὡς Ὀρτήσιον μὲν ἀγατὰ καὶ δοκιμάζει κοινωνὸν οἰκειότητος, ἀτοπον δὲ ἤγεται ποιεῖσθαι λόγου περὶ γάμου θυγατρὸς ἐτέρῳ δεδομένης, μεταβαλῶν ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ὠδυνεῖν ἀποκαλυφάμενος αἰτεῖν τὴν αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα Κάτωνος, νέαν μὲν οὖσαν ἐτὶ πρὸς τὸ τίκτειν, ἐξουτος δὲ τοῦ Κάτωνος ἀποχρώσαν διαδοχήν. καὶ οὐκ ἐστιν εἰπεῖν ὡς ταῦτα ἐπρατ- τεν εἰδὸς οὐ προσέχουτα τῇ Μαρκίᾳ τὸν Κάτωνα. κύουσαν γὰρ αὐτὴν τὸτε τυγχάνειν λέγουσιν. οἱ δ' οὖν Κάτων ὅρων τὴν τοῦ Ὀρτήσιον σπουδὴν καὶ προθυμίαν οὐκ ἀντεῖπεν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' δεῖν καὶ Φίλεππῳ ταῦτα συνδόξαι τῷ πατρὶ τῆς Μαρκίας. οὐς οὖν ὁ Φίλεππος ἐντευχεῖς ἐγὼ τὴν συγχώ- ρησιν, οὐκ ἄλλος ἐνεγύησε τὴν Μαρκίαν ἢ παρόντος τοῦ Κάτωνος αὐτοῦ καὶ συνεγγυνώντος. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν, εἰ καὶ χρόνοις ὑστερον ἐπράξει, μνησθέντι μοι τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν προλαβεῖν ἔδοξε.  

1 δεόμενον Coraës supplies οἶκον.
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...ing more offspring than enough, burden and impoverish a husband who does not want them. Moreover, community in heirs among worthy men would make virtue abundant and widely diffused in their families, and the state would be closely cemented together by their family alliances. And if Bibulus were wholly devoted to his wife, Hortensius said he would give her back after she had borne him a child, and he would thus be more closely connected both with Bibulus himself and with Cato by a community of children.

Cato replied that he loved Hortensius and thought highly of a community of relationship with him, but considered it absurd for him to propose marriage with a daughter who had been given to another. Then Hortensius changed his tactics, threw off the mask, and boldly asked for the wife of Cato himself, since she was still young enough to bear children, and Cato had heirs enough. And it cannot be said that he did this because he knew that Cato neglected Marcia, for she was at that time with child by him, as we are told. However, seeing the earnestness and eager desire of Hortensius, Cato would not refuse, but said that Philippus also, Marcia’s father, must approve of this step. Accordingly, Philippus was consulted and expressed his consent, but he would not give Marcia in marriage until Cato himself was present and joined in giving the bride away.¹ This incident occurred at a later time,² it is true, but since I had taken up the topic of the women of Cato’s household I decided to anticipate it.

¹ It is plain that Cato divorced Marcia; otherwise her father could not have given her in marriage to Hortensius.
² Probably in 56 B.C.
XXVI. Τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Δέντλον ἀναπεθέντων, καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος περὶ δὲν εἰσηγγέλθη καὶ διεβλήθη πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον εἰς τὸν δήμον καταφυγόντος καὶ τὰ πολλὰ νοσοῦντα καὶ διεφθαρμένα τῆς πολυτείας μέρη ταράττοντος καὶ συνάγοντος πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὁ Κάτων φοβηθεὶς ἐπεισε τὴν βουλὴν ἀναλαβεῖν τὸν ἀπόρον καὶ ἀνέμητον δ现行 εἰς τὸ σιτηρέσιον, ἀναλόματος μὲν ὅντος ἐνιαυσίων χιλῶν καὶ διακοσίων καὶ πεντήκοντα ταλάντων, περιφανῶς δὲ τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ ταύτη καὶ χάριτι τῆς ἀπειλῆς ἐκείνης διαλυθεὶσας. ἐντεῦθεν εἰς τὴν δημαρχίαν ἐμπεσὼν ὁ Μέτελλος ἐκκλησίας τε θερυβώδεις συνήγε, καὶ νόμον ἔγραψε Πομπηίου Μάγου ίέναι κατὰ τάχος μετὰ τῶν δυνάμεων εἰς Ἰταλίαν καὶ παραλαβόντα σώζειν τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ὑπὸ Κατιλίνα κινδυνεύονταν. ἦν δὲ τούτῳ λόγος ἐνπρεπὴς, ἔργον δὲ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τέλος ἐγχειρίσαι τὰ πράγματα Πομπηίῳ καὶ παραδοῦναι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. γενομένης δὲ βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ Κάτωνος οὐχ, ὡσπερ εἰδὼς, τῷ Μέτελλῳ σφοδρῷς ἐμπεσόντος, ἀλλ’ ἐπιεικῆ πολλὰ καὶ μέτρια παραινέσαντος, τέλος δὲ καὶ πρὸς δεήσεις τραπεμένου καὶ τὴν Μετέλλων οἰκίαν ἀεὶ γενομένην ἀριστοκρατικὴν ἐπαινέσαντος, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐξαρθεῖς καὶ καταφρονήσας ὁ Μέτελλος ως ἐνδιδώτως αὐτοῦ καὶ πτήσουντος εἰς ὑπερηφάνους ἀπειλᾶς καὶ λόγους θρασεῖς ἐξέπεσεν, ὡς βία πάντα τῆς βουλῆς διαπραξόμενος. οὖτω δὴ μεταβαλὼν ὁ Κάτων καὶ σχῆμα καὶ φωνὴν καὶ λόγου, ἐπειπὼν δὲ πάσι τοῖς ἄλλοις διατηταμένως ὃτι ζῶντος
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XXVI. Lentulus and his associates were executed, and Caesar, in view of the charges and accusations made against him to the senate, took refuge with the people and was stirring up and attaching to himself the numerous diseased and corrupted elements in the commonwealth. Cato was therefore alarmed and persuaded the senate to conciliate the poor and landless multitude by including them in the distribution of grain, the annual expenditure for which was twelve hundred and fifty talents.¹ By this act of humanity and kindness the threatening danger was most successfully dissipated. Then Metellus, who hastened to take up the duties of his tribuneship, began to hold tumultuous assemblies of the people, and proposed a law that Pompey the Great should hasten with his forces to Italy² and undertake the preservation of the city, on the ground that it was imperilled by Catiline. Now, this was a specious proposition; but the end and aim of the law was to put matters in the hands of Pompey and hand over to him the supreme power. The senate met, and Cato did not, as was his custom, attack Metellus with vehemence, but gave him much fitting and moderate advice, and finally, resorting to entreaties, actually praised the family of Metellus for having always been aristocratic in sympathy. Metellus was therefore all the more emboldened, and, despising Cato as a yielding and timorous opponent, broke out in extravagant threats and bold speeches, intending to carry everything through in spite of the senate. So, then, Cato changed his looks and voice and words, and concluded a vehement speech with the declaration

¹ Cf. the Caesar, viii. 4.
² Pompey had just finished his conquest of Mithridates and was on the way home from Asia (62 B.C.).
αὐτοῦ Πομπήιος οὐ παρέσται μεθ’ ὅπλων εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἐκεῖνο τῇ βουλῇ παρέστησεν, ὡς οὐδέτερος μὲν καθέστηκεν οὖδὲ χρήται λογίσμοις ἄσφαλέ-σιν, ἔστι δὲ ἡ μὲν Μετέλλου πολιτεία μανία δι’ ὕπερβολήν κακίας φερομένη πρὸς ὀλέθρου καὶ σύγχυσιν ἀπάντων, ἢ δὲ Κάτωνος ἁρετῆς ἐυθων-σιασμὸς ὑπὲρ τῶν καλῶν καὶ δικαίων ὑγωνιζο-μένης.

XXVII. Ἐστεὶ δὲ τὴν ψήφον ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου φέρειν ὁ δήμος ἐμελλε, Μετέλλῳ μὲν ὅπλα καὶ ξένου καὶ μονομάχου καὶ θεράπουτες ἐπὶ τὴν ἁγορὰν τεταγμένοι παρῆσαν, καὶ τὸ ποθοῦν μεταβολῆς ἐλπίδι Πομπήιον ὑπήρχε τοῦ δήμου μέρος ὅλων, ἂν δὲ μεγάλη καὶ ἀπὸ Καί-2 σαρος ρώμη στρατηγοῦντος τότε, Κάτωνι δὲ οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν πολιτῶν συνηγαγάκτουν καὶ συνε-δικοῦντο μᾶλλον ἡ συνηγωνίζοντο, πολλῇ δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ κατήφεια καὶ φόβος εἶχεν, ὡστε τῶν φίλων ἐνίοτος ἀσίτους διαγρατυγίσαι μετ’ ἄλληλων ἐν ἁπόροις ἀντας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λογίσμοις, καὶ γυναικα καὶ ἀδελφάς ποτνωμένας καὶ δα-3 κρυούσας. αὐτὸς δ’ ἀδεῶς καὶ τεθαρρηκότως ἐντυχὼν πάσι καὶ παρηγορήσας, καὶ γενόμενος περὶ δεῖπνον, ὃσπερ εἰδὼλι, καὶ νυκτερύσας, ὃρ’ ἐνὸς τῶν συναρχῶν, Μυνικίῳ Θέρμου, βαθέως καθεύδων ἐπηγερθή καὶ κατέβησαν εἰς ἁγοράν, ὅλων μὲν αὐτοὺς προτεμότοντι, πολλῶν δὲ ἀπαντώντων καὶ φυλάττεσθαι παρακελευμένων.

4 ὡς οὖν ἐπιστᾶς ο Κάτων κατεῖδε τὸν νεών τῶν Διοσκούρων ὁπλοὶς περιεχόμενον καὶ τὰς ἀναβά-σεις φρουρομένας ὑπὸ μονομάχων, αὐτὸν δὲ καθήμενον ἄνω μετὰ Καίσαρος τὸν Μετέλλον, 298
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that while he lived Pompey should not enter the city with an armed force. The senate was thus led to feel that neither man was in his right mind or using safe arguments, but that the policy of Metellus was madness, which, through excess of wickedness, was leading on to the destruction and confusion of all things, while that of Cato was a wild ebullition of virtue contending in behalf of right and justice.

XXVII. When the people were about to vote on the law, in favour of Metellus there were armed strangers and gladiators and servants drawn up in the forum, and that part of the people which longed for Pompey in their hope of a change was present in large numbers, and there was strong support also from Caesar, who was at that time praetor. In the case of Cato, however, the foremost citizens shared in his displeasure and sense of wrong more than they did in his struggle to resist, and great dejection and fear reigned in his household, so that some of his friends took no food and watched all night with one another in futile discussions on his behalf, while his wife and sisters wailed and wept. He himself, however, conversed fearlessly and confidently with all and comforted them, and after taking supper as usual and passing the night, was roused from a deep sleep by one of his colleagues, Minucius Thermus; and they went down into the forum, only few persons accompanying them, but many meeting them and exhorting them to be on their guard. Accordingly, when Cato paused in the forum and saw the temple of Castor and Pollux surrounded by armed men and its steps guarded by gladiators, and Metellus himself sitting at the top with Caesar, he turned to his friends
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ἐπιστρέψας πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, "encodeURIComponent(Ω θρασέος)," εἶπεν, "ἀνθρώπου καὶ δειλοῦ, ὡς καθ' ἐνὸς ἀνό- πλου καὶ γυμνοῦ τοσοῦτος ἐστρατολόγησεν."

5 ἀμα δ’ εὐθὺς ἐβάδιξε μετὰ τοῦ Θέρμου. καὶ διε- στησαν αὐτοῖς ὁ τὰς ἀναβάσεις κατέχοντες, ἀλλον δὲ οὐδένα παρῆκαν, ἣ μόλις ἐπιπάσας τῆς χειρὸς ὁ Κάτων τὸν Μουνατίου ἀνήγαγε. καὶ βαδίζων εὐθὺς ὡς εἴχε καθίζει μέσον ἐμβαλὼν ἕαυτον τοῦ Μετέλλου καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὡστε 6 διακόψαι τὴν κοινολογίαν. κάκεινοι μὲν διηπό- ρησαν, οἱ δὲ χαρίειντες θεασάμενοι καὶ θαυμά- σαντες τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὸ θάρσος τοῦ Κάτωνος ἐγνυτέρω προσήλθουν, καὶ βοὴ διεκέλευσαν τῷ μὲν Κάτωνι δαρρεῖν, μένειν δὲ ἀλλήλους καὶ συστρέφεσθαι καὶ μὴ προδιδόναι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀγωνιζόμενον.

XXVIII. 'Ενθα δὴ τοῦ υπηρέτου τὸν νόμον προχειρισμένου, τοῦ δὲ Κάτωνος οὐκ ἐξενότος ἀναγινώσκειν, τοῦ δὲ Μετέλλου παραλαβόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀναγινώσκοντος, ὁ μὲν Κάτων ἐξήρ- πασε τὸ βιβλίον, ὁ δὲ Θέρμος ἀπὸ στόματος τοῦ Μετέλλου τὸν νόμον ἐπισταμένου καὶ λέγοντος ἐπέσχε τῇ χειρὶ τὸ στόμα καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἀπέ- 2 κλεισεν, ἀχρ’ οὐ, ἀμαχον ὅρων ἀγώνα τοὺς ἀνδρας ὁ Μετέλλος ἀγωνιζόμενους, καὶ τὸν δήμου ἡττώμενον πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον καὶ τρεπόμενον, ἐκέλευσεν ἀποθεν2 ὀπλίτας μετὰ φόβου καὶ κραυγῆς ἐπιτρέχειν. γενομένου δὲ τούτου καὶ πάντων διασκεδασθέντων ὑποστάντα μόνον τὸν

1 αὐτοῖς followed in the MSS. by ἐκεῖνοι, which Coraës and Bekker delete; Sintenis corrects to ἐκεῖνοι.

2 ἀποθεν Kaltwasser: οἰκοθεν (from his house).
and said: "What a bold man, and what a coward, to levy such an army against a single unarmed and defenceless person!" At the same time he walked straight on with Thermus. Those who were occupying the steps made way for them, but would allow no one else to pass, except that Cato with difficulty drew Munatius along by the hand and brought him up; and walking straight onwards he threw himself just as he was into a seat between Metellus and Caesar, thus cutting off their communication. Caesar and Metellus were disconcerted, but the better citizens, seeing and admiring the countenance, lofty bearing, and courage of Cato, came nearer, and with shouts exhorted him to be of good heart, while they urged one another to stay and band themselves together and not betray their liberty and the man who was striving to defend it.

XXVIII. And now the clerk produced the law, but Cato would not suffer him to read it; and when Metellus took it and began to read it, Cato snatched the document away from him. Then Metellus, who knew the law by heart, began to recite it, but Thermus clapped a hand upon his mouth and shut off his speech. At last, seeing that the men were making a struggle which he could not resist, and that the people were giving way and turning towards the better course, Metellus ordered men-at-arms, who were standing at a distance, to come running up with terrifying shouts. This was done, and all the people dispersed, leaving Cato standing his ground alone.
Κάτωνα καὶ βαλλόμενον λίθοις καὶ ξύλοις ἀνωθεν οὐ περιείδε Μουρήνας ὁ τὴν δίκην φυγὼν 3 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ κατηγορθεὶς, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῇβεννον προσχόμενος καὶ βοῶν ἀνασχεῖν τοῖς βάλλουσι, καὶ τέλος αὐτῶν τὸν Κάτωνα πείθων καὶ περιπτύσσων, εἰς τὸν νεὼν τῶν Διοσκούρων ἀπῆγαγεν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατείδειν ὁ Μέτελλος ἐρημίαν περὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ φυγήν δι’ ἀγορᾶς τῶν ἐναντιουμένων, παντάπασι πεισθεὶς κρατεῖν ἐκέλευσεν ἀπίεναι πάλιν τοὺς ὀπλοφόρους, καὶ προσέδωθων κοσμίως 4 αὐτῶς ἐπεχείρει πράττειν τὰ περὶ τῶν νόμων. οἱ δὲ ἐναντίοις ταχεῖς ἄναλαβόντες ἑαυτοῦς ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς ἐπήσαν αὕθεις ἐμβοηθαίτες μέγα καὶ θαρραλέον, ὥστε τοῖς περὶ τὸν Μέτελλον ἐμπεσεῖν ταραχὴν καὶ δεός οἰομένως ὀπλῶν ποθὲν εὐπορήσαντας αὐτοὺς ἐπιφέρεσθαι, καὶ μηθένα μένειν, ἀλλὰ φεύγειν ἀπανταὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ βῆματος. 5 οὕτω δὴ σκεδασθέντων ἑκείνων, τοῦ δὲ Κάτωνος προσεδώντος καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπαινέσαντος, τὰ δὲ 773 ἐπιρρώσαντος τὸν δήμον, οἵ τε πολλοὶ παρετάξαντο παντὶ τρόπῳ καταλῦσαι τὸν Μέτελλον, ή τε σύγκλητος ἀθροισθείσα παρηγγείλειν ἀρχήθεν βοηθεῖν τῷ Κάτωνι καὶ διαμάχεσθαι πρὸς τῶν νόμων, ὡς στᾶσιν ἐπεισάγοντα τῆ Ἑρώμη καὶ πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον.

XXIX. Ὁ δὲ Μέτελλος αὐτὸς μὲν ἢν ἀτρεπτός καὶ θρασὺς ἤτε, ὅρων δὲ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἐκπεπληγμένους κομιδῇ τὸν Κάτωνα καὶ νομίζοντας 302
and pelted with sticks and stones from above. Here Murena, who had been denounced and brought to trial by him,\(^1\) came to his relief, and holding his toga before him, crying to those who were pelting him to stop, and finally persuading Cato himself and folding him in his arms, he led him away into the temple of Castor and Pollux.

When, however, Metellus saw the space about the tribunal\(^2\) empty and his opponents in flight through the forum, being altogether persuaded that he had won the day, he ordered his armed men to go away again, and coming forward himself in orderly fashion attempted to have the law enacted. But his opponents, quickly recovering from their rout, advanced again upon him with loud and confident shouts, so that his partisans were overwhelmed with confusion and terror. They supposed that their enemies had provided themselves with arms from some place or other in order to assail them, and not a man stood his ground, but all fled away from the tribunal. So, then, when these had dispersed, and when Cato had come forward with commendation and encouragement for the people, the majority of them stood prepared to put down Metellus by any and every means, and the senate in full session announced anew that it would assist Cato and fight to the end against the law, convinced that it would introduce sedition and civil war into Rome.

XXIX. Metellus himself was still unyielding and bold, but since he saw that his followers were completely terrified before Cato and thought him utterly

\(^1\) Cf. chapter xxi. 3–6.
\(^2\) The steps of the temple of Castor led down to a platform, from which the people were often addressed.
άμαχων καὶ δυσεκβίαστον, αἰφνίδιον ἐξεπήδησεν εἰς τὴν ἁγοράν, καὶ συναγαγὼν τὸν δῆμον ἄλλα τε πολλὰ περὶ τοῦ Κάτωνος ἐπίφθονα διήλθε, καὶ φεύγειν τὴν τυραννίδα βοῶν τὴν ἐκείνου καὶ τὴν κατὰ Πομπηίου συνωμοσίαν, ἐφ’ ἡ μετανοήσει ταχῦ τὴν πόλιν ἀτιμάξουσαν ἄνδρα τοσοῦτον, ὄρμησεν εὐθὺς εἰς Ἀσίαν, ὡς ταῦτα πρῶς ἐκείνου κατηγορήσων. ἦν οὖν δόξα μεγάλη τοῦ Κάτωνος ἄχθος οὖ μικρὸν ἀπεσκευασμένον τῆς δημαρχίας, καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τὴν Πομπηίου δύναμιν ἐν Μετέλλῳ καθηρηκότος. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον εὐδοκίμησε τὴν σύγκλητον ὀρμημένην ἀτιμών καὶ ἀποψηφίζεσθαι τὸν Μετέλλου οὐκ ἑάσας, ἀλλ’ ἐναντιωθεὶς καὶ παραιτησάμενος. οὐτ’ ἐνέπολεν καὶ κυρνότητος τὸ μὴ ἐπεμβῆναι τῷ ἐχθρῷ μηδὲ ἐνυβρίσατι κατὰ κράτος περιγενόμενον, τοῖς τε φρούμοις ὀρθῶς ἐφαίνετο καὶ συμφερόντως μὴ παροξύνα τοῦ Πομπηίου.

3 Ἐκ τούτου δὲ Λεύκολλος ἐπανελθὼν ἐκ τῆς στρατείας, ἦς ἐδοξεὶ τὸ τέλος καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀφηρήσας Πομπηίος, εἰς κύνδυνον ἥλθε τοῦ μὴ θριαμβεῦσαι, Γαῖνον Μεμμίον καταστασιαζόντος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ δίκας ἐπάγοντος, εἰς τὴν Πομπηίου χάριν μᾶλλον ἡ κατὰ ἔχθος ἠδιον. ὁ δὲ Κάτων, οἰκειοτήτος τε πρὸς Λεύκολλον αὐτῷ γεγενημένης, ἔχοντα Σερβιλίαν τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ πράγμα δεινὸν ἡγούμενος, ἀντέστη τῷ Μεμμίῳ, καὶ πολλὰς ὑπέμεινε διαβολὰς καὶ 304
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invincible, he suddenly rushed off into the forum, assembled the people, and made a long and invidious speech against Cato; then, crying out that he was fleeing from Cato's tyranny and the conspiracy against Pompey, for which the city would speedily repent in that it was dishonouring so great a man, he set out at once for Asia, intending to lay these accusations before Pompey. Accordingly, Cato was in high repute for having relieved the tribunate of a great burden, and for having in a manner overthrown the power of Pompey in the person of Metellus. But he won still more esteem by not allowing the senate to carry out its purpose of degrading Metellus and deposing him from his office, which course Cato opposed, and brought the senate over to his views. For the multitude considered it a token of humanity and moderation not to trample on his enemy or insult him after prevailing completely over him, and prudent men thought it right and advantageous not to irritate Pompey.

After this, Lucullus, having come back from his expedition,¹ the consummation and glory of which Pompey was thought to have taken away from him, was in danger of losing his triumph, since Caius Memmius raised a successful faction against him among the people and brought legal accusations against him, more to gratify Pompey than out of private enmity. But Cato, being related to Lucullus, who had his sister Servilia to wife, and thinking the attempt a shameful one, opposed Memmius, and thereby exposed himself to many

¹ He came back in 66 B.C., and had to wait three years before being allowed to celebrate a triumph. Cf. the Lucullus, xxxvii.
κατηγορίας. τέλος δὲ, τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκβαλλόμενος ὡς τυραννίδος, τοσοῦτον ἐκρίτησεν ὡστε τῶν Μέμμιον αὐτὸν ἀναγκάσαι τῶν δικῶν ἀποστήναι καὶ φυγεῖν τὸν ἀγώνα. Δεύκολλος μὲν οὖν θριαμβεύσας ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐνεφύετο τῇ φίλᾳ τοῦ Κάτωνος, ἔχων ἐρυμα καὶ πρόβλημα μέγα πρὸς τὴν Πομπηίου δύναμιν.

XXX. Πομπηίος δὲ μέγας ἀπὸ τῆς στρατείας ἐπαινών, καὶ τῆς λαμπρότητι καὶ προθυμία τῆς ὑποδοχῆς πεποιθώς οὐδὲν ἄν δεηθεὶς ἀποτυχεῖν τῶν πολιτῶν, προὔπεμψεν ἄξιῶν τὰς ὑπατικὰς ἀρχαιοεσίας ἀναβαλέσθαι τὴν σύγκλητον, ὅστε ἂν

2 αὐτὸς παρὸν Πείσωνι συναρχαιρεσίας. τῶν δὲ πλείστων ὑπεικόνων, οὐ τὴν ἀναβολὴν μέγιστον ὁ Κάτων ἡγούμενος, ἀλλὰ τὴν πεἰραν ἀποκόψαι καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ Πομπηίου βουλομένους, ἀντεῖπε καὶ μετέστησε τὴν βουλήν, ὡστε ἀποψηφισάσθαι. τούτο τὸν Πομπηίου οὐχ ἱσυχῇ διετάραξε καὶ νομίζων οὐ μικρὰ προσπταίσειν τῷ Κάτωνι μη φίλῳ γενομένῳ, μετεπέμψατο Μουνατίου, ἔταιρον αὐτοῦ καὶ δύο τοῦ Κάτωνος ἀδελφίδας ἐπυγάμους ἔχοντος ἦτε ην τὴν μὲν πρεσβυτέραν ἑαυτῷ γυναῖκα, τὴν δὲ νεωτέραν

3 τῷ νίφ. τινὲς δὲ φασιν οὐ τῶν ἀδελφιδῶν, ἀλλὰ τῶν θυγατέρων τὴν μνηστείαν γενέσθαι. τοῦ δὲ Μουνατίου ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Κάτωνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰς ἀδελφὰς φράσαντος, αἱ μὲν ὑπερηγάπησαν τὴν οἰκειότητα πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος
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slanderous accusations. Finally, however, though he was on the point of being ejected from his office on the ground that he exercised tyrannical power, he so far prevailed as to compel Memmius himself to desist from his accusations and shun the contest. Lucullus, accordingly, celebrated his triumph, and therefore clung still more closely to the friendship of Cato, finding in him a great bulwark of defence against the power of Pompey.

XXX. And now Pompey returned with great prestige from his expedition,¹ and since the splendour and warmth of his reception led him to believe that he could get whatever he wanted from his fellow citizens, he sent forward a demand that the senate postpone the consular elections, in order that he might be present in person and assist Piso in making his canvass. The majority of the senators were inclined to yield. Cato, however, who did not regard the postponement as the chief matter at issue, but wished to cut short the attempt and the expectations of Pompey, opposed the measure and changed the opinions of the senators, so that they rejected it. This disturbed Pompey not a little, and considering that Cato would be a great stumbling-block in his way unless he were made a friend, he sent for Munatius, Cato’s companion, and asked the elder of Cato’s two marriageable nieces to wife for himself, and the younger for his son. Some say, however, that it was not for Cato’s nieces, but for his daughters, that the suit was made. When Munatius brought this proposal to Cato and his wife and sisters, the women were overjoyed at thought of the alliance, in view of the greatness and high repute of

¹ In 62 B.C.
καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, ὁ δὲ Κάτων οὐτ' ἐπισχῶν οὔτε βουλευσάμενος, ἀλλὰ πληγεὶς εὐθὺς 4 εἶπε· "Βάδιζε, Μουνάτιε, βάδιζε, καὶ λέγει πρὸς Πομπήιον ὅσ Κάτων οὐκ ἔστι διὰ τῆς γυναικωνιτίδος ἀλώσιμος, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν εὐνοιαν ἀγαπᾷ, καὶ τὰ δίκαια ποιοῦντι φίλιαν παρέξει πάσης 774 πιστοτέραν ὀικειότητος, ὁμορα δὲ οὐ προῆσται τῇ Πομπήιον δόξῃ κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος."

Επὶ τούτων ἤχθοντο μὲν αἱ γυναῖκες, ἤτιῶτο δὲ οἱ φίλοι τοῦ Κάτωνος ὡς ἀγροικοῦν ἄμα καὶ 5 υπερήφανον τὴν ἀπόκρισιν. εἶτα μεντο πράττων τινὶ τῶν φιλῶν ὑπατεῖαν οἱ Πομπήιοι ἁργύριοι εἰς τὰς φυλὰς ἔπεμπε, καὶ περιβόττος οἱ δεκασμὸς ἦν, ἐν κῆποις ἐκείνου τῶν χρημάτων ἀριθμομένων. εἰπόντος οὖν τοῦ Κάτωνος πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας ὅτι τοιούτων ἦν κοινωνεῖν καὶ ἀναπίπλασθαι πραγμάτων ἀνάγκη Πομπήιοι συναφθέντα δὲ ὀικειότητος, ὁμολόγουν ἐκεῖνα κάλλιον 6 αὐτῶν βεβουλεύσαθαι διακρουσάμενον. εἰ δὲ δεῖ πρὸς τὰ συμβάντα κρίνειν, τοῦ παντὸς οὐκεν οἱ Κάτων ἄμαρτειν τὴν ὀικειότητα μὴ δεξάμενος, ἄλλ' ἐόσας πρὸς Καίσαρα τραπέζῳ καὶ γῆμαι γάμον δὲ τὴν Πομπήιου δύναμιν καὶ Καίσαρος εἰς ταῦτα συνενεγκὼν ὁλίγον τὰ μὲν Ῥωμαίων ἀνέτρεψε πράγματα, τὴν δὲ πολιτείαν ἀνέθεν, ὡν οὐθέν ἄν ἵσως συνέπεσεν, εἰ μὴ Κάτων τὰ μικρὰ τοῦ Πομπήιον φοβηθεὶς ἄμαρτήματα τὸ μέγιστον περείδειν, αὐτὸν ἑτέρῳ δύναμιν προσγενόμενον.

XXXI. Ταῦτα μὲν οὐν ἐμελλεν ἔτι, Δευκόλλου δὲ περὶ τῶν ἐν Πόντῳ διατάξεων στασιά-
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Pompey; Cato, however, without pause or deliberation, but stung to the quick, said at once: "Go, Munatius, go, and tell Pompey that Cato is not to be captured by way of the women's apartments, although he highly prizes Pompey's good will, and if Pompey does justice will grant him a friendship more to be relied upon than any marriage connection; but he will not give hostages for the glory of Pompey to the detriment of his country."

At these words the women were vexed, and Cato's friends blamed his answer as both rude and overbearing. Afterwards, however, in trying to secure the consulship for one of his friends, Pompey sent money to the tribes, and the bribery was notorious, since the sums for it were counted out in his gardens. Accordingly, when Cato told the women that he must of necessity have shared in the disgrace of such transactions, had he been connected with Pompey by marriage, they admitted that he had taken better counsel in rejecting the alliance. However, if we are to judge by the results, it would seem that Cato was wholly wrong in not accepting the marriage connection, instead of allowing Pompey to turn to Caesar and contract a marriage which united the power of the two men, nearly overthrew the Roman state, and destroyed the constitution. None of these things perhaps would have happened, had not Cato been so afraid of the slight transgressions of Pompey as to allow him to commit the greatest of all, and add his power to that of another.

XXXI. These things, however, were still in the future. Meanwhile Lucullus got into a contention

1 Lucius Afranius, elected consul in 61 B.C. for the year 60 B.C. Cf. the Pompey, xlii. 3. 2 Cf. the Pompey, xliii.
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σαντος προς Πομπηίον (ἡξίουν γὰρ ἰσχύειν ἐκάτερος τὰ ύφ’ αὐτοῦ γενόμενα), καὶ Δευκόλλω
Κάτωνος ἀδικουμένως περιφανῶς προσαμύνοντος,
ἐλαττούμενος ὁ Πομπηίος ἐν συγκλήτῳ καὶ δημ-
αγωγῶν, ἐπὶ νομὴν χώρας ἐκάλει τὸ στρατιω-
τικόν. ὡς δὲ κάνταυθα Κάτων ἐνιστάμενος
ἐξέκρουσε τὸν νόμον, οὕτω Κλωδίου τε περιε-
χετο, τοῦ τὸτε θρασυτάτου τῶν δημαγωγῶν, καὶ
Καίσαρα προσήγετο, τρόπον τινὰ Κάτωνος αὐτοῦ
παρασχόντος ἀρχὴν. ὁ γὰρ Καίσαρ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν
Ἰβηρία στρατηγίας ἐπανήκων ἀμα μὲν ὑπατείαν
ἐβούλετο παραγγέλλειν, ἀμα δὲ ἦτει θρίαμβον.

3 ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ νόμον ἔδει τοὺς μὲν ἀρχὴν μετιόντας
παρεῖναι, τοὺς δὲ μὲλλοντας εἰσελάυνεις θρίαμβον
ἐξω τεῖχος ὑπομένειν, ἡξίου παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς
ἀυτοῦ δοθῆναι δι’ ἐτέρων αἰτεῖσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν.
βουλομένων δὲ πολλῶν ἀντέλεγεν ὁ Κάτων· ὡς δὲ
ἐσθετο χαριζομένους τῷ Καίσαρι, λέγων ὅλην
κατανάλωσε τὴν ἤμεραν καὶ τὴν βουλὴν οὕτως

4 ἐξέκρουσε. χαίρειν οὖν ἑάςας τὸν θρίαμβον ὁ
Καίσαρ εἰσελθὼν εὐθὺς εἰχετο Πομπηίου καὶ τῆς
ὑπατείας. ἀποδειχθεῖς δὲ ὑπατος τῆν τε Ἰουλίαν
ἐνεγγύσειν αὐτῷ, καὶ συστάντες ἤδη μετ’ ἄλλη-
λων ἐπὶ τὴν τόλμην ὁ μὲν εἰσέφερε νόμους τοῖς
πένησε κληρουχίαν καὶ νομὴν χώρας διδόντας, ὁ

5 δὲ παρῆν τοῖς νόμοις βοηθῶν. οὶ δὲ περὶ Δευ-
κόλλων καὶ Κικέρωνα Βύβλω τῷ ἐτέρῳ τῶν ὑπά-
των συντάξαντες ἐαυτοὺς ἀντέπραττον, μάλιστα

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with Pompey over the arrangements in Pontus (each of them, namely, demanded that his own proceedings should be confirmed), Cato came to the aid of Lucullus, who was manifestly wronged, and Pompey, worsted in the senate and seeking popular favour, invited the soldiery to a distribution of land.¹ But when Cato opposed him in this measure also, and frustrated the law, then Pompey attached himself to Clodius, at that time the boldest of the popular leaders, and won Caesar to his support, a result for which Cato himself was in a way responsible. For Caesar, on returning from his praetorship in Spain,² desired to be a candidate for the consulship, and at the same time asked for a triumph. But since by law candidates for a magistracy must be present in the city, while those who are going to celebrate a triumph must remain outside the walls, he asked permission from the senate to solicit the office by means of others. Many were willing to grant the request, but Cato opposed it; and when he saw that the senators were ready to gratify Caesar, he consumed the whole day in speaking and thus frustrated their desires. Accordingly, Caesar gave up his triumph, entered the city, and at once attached himself to Pompey and sought the consulship.³ After he had been elected consul, he gave his daughter Julia in marriage to Pompey, and now that the two were united with one another against the state, the one would bring in laws offering allotment and distribution of land to the poor, and the other would be at hand with support for the laws. But the party of Lucullus and Cicero, ranging themselves with Bibulus, the other consul, opposed the measures,

¹ Cf. the _Lucullus_, xlii. 6; _Pompey_, xlvi. 3 f.
² In the summer of 60 B.C.
³ Cf. the _Caesar_, xiii. 1 f.
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dè Kátov, ἦδη μὲν ύφορώμενος τὴν Καίσαρος καὶ Πομπήιον φιλιαν καὶ σύστασιν ἐν ὀυδὲν δικαίω
gεγενημένην, φοβεῖσθαι δὲ φάσκων οὐ τὴν νομὴν
tῆς χώρας, ἀλλ' ὃν ἀντὶ ταύτης ἀπαιτήσουσι
μισθὸν οἱ χαριζόμενοι καὶ δελεάζοντες τὸ πλῆθος.

XXXII. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα λέγον τὴν τε βουλήν
ὀμοψηφον εἰς, καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀνθρώπων οὐκ
ὁλίγοι παρίσταντο δυσχεραίνοντες τὴν ἀτοπίαν
tοῦ Καίσαρος. ἃ γὰρ οἱ θρασύτατοι δήμαρχοι
καὶ ὀλγωρότατοι πρὸς χάριν ἐπολιτεύοντο τῶν
πολλῶν, ταῦτα ἀπ' ἐξουσίας ὑπατικῆς, αἰσχρῶς
καὶ ταπεινῶς ὑποδυόμενος τὸν δήμον, ἔπραττε:

2 φοβηθέντες οὖν ἐχώρουν διὰ βίας, καὶ πρῶτον
μὲν αὐτῷ τῷ Βύθλῳ καταβαίνοντι κοπρίων
ἐπεσκεδάσθη κόφινος, ἔπειτα τοῖς Ῥαδωνίκοις
προσπεδόντες αὐτοῦ κατέκλασαν τὰς Ῥάδους:
τέλος δὲ καὶ βελῶν φερομένου καὶ πολλῶν
συντιτρωσκομένων ἐφυγον ἐξ ἀγορᾶς δρόμῳ μὲν
οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες, ἐσχάτος δὲ Κάτων ἀπειβᾶ
dὴμον, μεταστρεφόμενος καὶ μαρτυρόμενος1 τοῖς
πολίταις.

3 οὐ μόνον οὖν τὴν διανομὴν ἐκύρωσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
προσεψηφίσαντο τὴν σύγκλητον ὀμόσας πάσης
ἡ μὴ ἐπιβεβαιώσεις τῶν νόμων, καὶ βοηθήσει
ἂν τὶς τὰναντία πράττῃ, μεγάλα τάξαντες ἐπι-
τίμια κατὰ τῶν μη ὁμοσάντων. ὡμοςάν ὁμοῦ ἀπαν-
tες ἐξ ἀνάγκης, τὸ Μετέλλου τοῦ παλαιοῦ πάθος
ἐν ψυ λαμβάνοντες, ὃν εἰς νόμον ὁμοίον ὁμόσας
μὴ θελήσαντα περιείδεν ὁ δήμος ἐκπεσοῦτα φυγῇ

1 μαρτυρόμενος Bekker and Sinentis2, after Emperius;
Coraës and Sinentis1 adhere to the MSS. καταρώμενος
(cursing).

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and above all Cato, who now suspected that the friendly alliance between Caesar and Pompey had been made for no just purpose, and declared that he was afraid, not of the distribution of land, but of the reward which would be paid for this to those who were enticing the people with such favours.

XXXII. By these utterances he brought the senate to unanimity, and many men outside the senate supported him out of displeasure at the strange conduct of Caesar; for whatever political schemes the boldest and most arrogant tribunes were wont to practise to win the favour of the multitude, these Caesar used with the support of consular power, in disgraceful and humiliating attempts to ingratiate himself with the people.¹ Accordingly, the opponents of Cato were alarmed and had recourse to violence. To begin with, upon Bibulus himself, as he was going down into the forum, a basket of ordure was scattered; then the crowd fell upon his lictors and broke their fasces; and finally missiles flew and many persons were wounded.² All the other senators fled from the forum at a run, but Cato went off last of all at a walk, turning about and protesting to the citizens. Accordingly, not only was the law for the distribution of lands passed, but also a clause was added requiring the whole senate to swear solemnly that it would uphold the law, and give its aid in case any one should act contrary to it, and heavy penalties were pronounced against such as would not take the oath.³ All took the oath, therefore, under compulsion, bearing in mind the fate of Metellus of old, whom the people suffered to be banished from Italy because

¹ Cf. the Caesar, xiv. 1. ² Cf. the Pompey, xlviii. 1. ³ Cf. the Caesar, xiv. 2 f.
4 τῆς Ἰταλίας. διὸ καὶ τὸν Κάτωνα πολλὰ μὲν αἱ γυναῖκες οἴκοι δακρύονται καθικεῖτεν οἶξαι καὶ ὁμόσαι, πολλὰ δὲ οἱ φίλοι καὶ συνήθεις. ὁ δὲ μάλιστα συμπείσας καὶ ἀγαγῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ὄρκον ἦν Κικέρων ὁ ῥήτωρ, παραυτῶν καὶ διδάσκων ὡς τάχα μὲν οὐδὲ δίκαιον ἔστι τοῖς ἐγνωσμένοις κοινῇ μόνον οἰεσθαι, δειν ἀπείθειν, ἐν δὲ ἀδυνάτῳ τῷ μεταστήσασι τι τῶν γεγονότων ἀφείδειν ἕαυτον
5 παντὰπασιν ἀνόητον καὶ μανικόν· ἐσχατον δὲ κακῶν, εἰ δὲ ἦν ἀπαντα πράττει πόλιν ἀφείς καὶ προέμενος τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύουσιν ὡσπερ ἀσμένος ἀπαλλάξεται τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀγώνων καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ Κάτων τῆς 'Ρώμης, ἀλλ' ἡ 'Ρώμη δεῖται Κάτωνος, δεόνται δὲ καὶ οἱ φίλοι πάντες· δυν αὐτὸν εἶναι πρῶτον ὁ Κικέρων ἔλεγεν, ἐπιβουλευόμενον ὑπὸ Κλωδίου διὰ δημαρχίας ἀντι
6 κρας ἐπ' αὐτὸν βαδίζοντος. ὑπὸ τούτων φασὶ καὶ τοιούτων τὸν Κάτωνα λόγων καὶ δεήσεων μαλασσόμενον οἶκοι καὶ κατ' ἀγορὰν ἐκβιαισθηναι μόλις, καὶ προσελθεῖν πρὸς τὸν ὄρκον ἐσχατον ἀπάντων πλὴν ἐνὸς Φαωνίου τῶν φίλων καὶ συνήθων.

XXXIII. Ἐπαρθεῖς οὖν ὁ Καίσαρ ἄλλον εἰσέφερε νόμον, τὴν Καμπανίαν σχεδὸν ὅλην προσκατανέμοντα τοῖς ἀπόροις καὶ πένησιν. ἀντι- ἐλεγε δὲ οοὺς πλὴν τοῦ Κάτωνος. καὶ τούτον ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ὁ Καίσαρ εἶλκεν εἰς δεσμωτή- ῥιον, οὐδὲν τι μᾶλλον ύφιέμενον τῆς παρρησίας, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ βαδίζειν ἀμα περὶ τοῦ νόμον δια-
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he would not swear to a similar law.\footnote{In 100 B.C. Cf. the Marius, xxix.} For this reason, also, did the women of Cato’s family earnestly and with tears beseech him to yield and take the oath, earnestly, too, did his friends and intimates. But the one who was most successful in persuading and inducing him to take the oath was Cicero the orator, who advised and showed him that it was possibly even a wrong thing to think himself alone in duty bound to disobey the general will; and that his desperate conduct, where it was impossible to make any change in what had been done, was altogether senseless and mad; moreover, it would be the greatest of evils if he should abandon the city in behalf of which all his efforts had been made, hand her over to her enemies, and so, apparently with pleasure, get rid of his struggles in her defence; for even if Cato did not need Rome, still, Rome needed Cato, and so did all his friends; and among these Cicero said that he himself was foremost, since he was the object of the plots of Clodius, who was openly attacking him by means of the tribuneship. By these and similar arguments and entreaties, we are told, both at home and in the forum, Cato was softened and at last prevailed upon. He came forward to take the oath last of all, except Favonius, one of his friends and intimates.

XXXIII. Elated by this success, Caesar introduced another law, which provided that almost the whole of Campania be divided among the poor and needy. No one spoke against the law except Cato, and him Caesar ordered to be dragged from the rostra to prison. Cato did not any the more remit his bold utterances, but as he walked along discoursed about
καὶ παραίνοντα παύσασθαι τοιαῦτα
2 πολιτευόμενος. ἔπηκολούθει δὲ ἡ βουλὴ μετὰ κατηφείας, καὶ τοῦ δήμου τὸ βέλτιστον ἀγανακτοῦν σιωπῆ καὶ ἀχθόμενον, ὡστε τὸν Κάισαρα μὴ λανθάνειν βαρέως φέροντας. ἀλλὰ φιλονεικῶν καὶ περιμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Κάτωνος ἐπίκλησιν γενέσθαι καὶ δέσσιν προῆγεν. ἔπει δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἦν δήλος οὐδὲ μελλήσων τι ποιεῖν, ἤτηθεὶς ὑπὸ αἰσχύνης καὶ ἀδοξίας οὐ Κάισαρ αὐτὸς τινα τὸν δημάρχον ὑφίσκε πείσας ἐξελέσθαι τὸν Κάτωνα.

3 τοῖς μέντοι νόμοις ἐκείνοις καὶ ταῖς χάρισι τιθασεύσαντες τὸν ὁχλον, ἐψηφίσαντο Κάισαρι μὲν Ἰλλυρίῳ καὶ Γαλατίᾳ ἀρχῇ ἀπάσῃς καὶ τέσσαρα τάγματα στρατιὰς εἰς πενταετίαν, προλέγοντος Κάτωνος ὡς εἰς ἀκρόπολιν τὸν τυραννὸν αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ψήφους ἱδρύουσι, Πόπλων δὲ Κλώδιον ἐκ πατρικίων εἰς δημοτικοὺς παρανόμως 4 μεταστήσαντες ἀπεδείξαν δήμαρχον, ἐπὶ μεθοῖ τῇ Κικέρωνος ἐξελάσει πάντα πρὸς χάριν ἐκείνοις πολιτευόμενον, ὕπατους δὲ Πείσωνα τε Καλπούρινον, δς ἦν πατὴρ τῆς Καίσαρος γυναικός, καὶ Γαβίνων Αὐλον, ἐκ τῶν Πομηνίων κόλπων ἀνθρωπον, ὡς φασιν οἱ τὸν τρόπον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν βίον εἶδότες.

XXXIV. Ἀλλὰ καίπερ οὕτως τὰ πράγματα κατειληφότες ἐγκρατῶς, καὶ τὸ μὲν χάριτι τῆς πόλεως, τὸ δὲ φόβῳ μέρος ὕφ’ ἑαυτὸς ἔχοντες, ὅμως ἐφοβούντο τὸν Κάτωνα. καὶ γὰρ ἐν οἷς περίῆσαν αὐτοῦ τὸ γε χαλεπῶς καὶ μετὰ πόνων

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the law and advised the people to put a stop to such legislation. Moreover, the senate followed him with downcast looks, as well as the best part of the people in silence, though they looked annoyed and troubled, so that Caesar could not fail to see that they were displeased; but he was obstinate, and expected that Cato would resort to appeal or entreaty, and therefore had him led along. However, when it was clear that Cato did not so much as think of doing anything of the sort, Caesar was overcome by the shame and infamy of his course, and by his own secret persuasions induced one of the tribunes of the people to rescue Cato. Nevertheless, by these laws and by other favours Caesar's party so cajoled the people as to get a vote passed giving to Caesar the government of Illyria and all Gaul, with an army of four legions, for five years, although Cato warned the people that they themselves by their own votes were establishing a tyrant in their citadel. They also unlawfully transferred Publius Clodius from patrician to plebeian rank and got him elected tribune of the people, a man who, in order to secure Cicero's banishment as his reward, was using all his political influence for the gratification of the people. For consuls, too, they secured the election\(^1\) of Calpurnius Piso, who was Caesar's father-in-law, and Aulus Gabinius, a man from the lap of Pompey, as those say who knew his ways of life.

XXXIV. But although they had in this way usurped the power, and although one part of the citizens was made submissive to them by gratitude and the other part by fear, nevertheless they were afraid of Cato. For even when they did prevail against him, it was with difficulty and toil and not

\(^1\) For the year 58 B.C.
καὶ μὴ χωρίς αἰσχύνης, ἀλλ' ἐλεγχομένους βιας ἐξεσθαί μόλις ἀνιαρῶν ἦν καὶ πρόσαντες. ὁ δὲ Κλώδιος οὐδὲ Κικέρωνα καταλύσειν ἥλπιζε Κάτωνος παρόντος, ἀλλὰ τούτῳ διαμηχανώμενος πρῶτον, ὡς εἰς ἀρχὴν κατέστη, μετεπέμψατο τὸν Κάτωνα καὶ λόγους αὐτῷ προσήνεγκεν ὡς πάντων ἐκείνον ἡγούμενος ἄνδρα Ῥωμαίων καθαρώτατον ἔργῳ διδόναι πίστιν ἔτοιμός ἐστὶν πολλῶν γὰρ αἰτουμένων τὴν ἐπὶ Κύπρου καὶ Πτολεμαίον ἀρχὴν καὶ δεομένων ἀποσταλῆναι μόνον ἄξιον ἐκείνον ἥγεισθαι καὶ διδόναι τὴν χάριν ἢδεώς.

3 ἀνακραγόντος δὲ τοῦ Κάτωνος ὡς ἐνέδρα τὸ πράγμα καὶ προπηλακισμός, οὗ χάρις ἐστὶν, ὑπερηφάνως ὁ Κλώδιος καὶ ὀλιγώρως, "Οὐκοῦν," εἰπεν, "εἰ μὴ χάριν ἔχεις, ἄνιώμενος πλεύσῃ," καὶ προσελθὼν εὐθὺς εἰς τὸν δήμον ἐκύρωσε νόμῳ τὴν ἐκπεμψιν τοῦ Κάτωνος. ἐξιόντι δὲ οὐ ναῦν, οὐ στρατιώτην, οὐχ υπηρέτην ἔδωκε πλὴν ἡ δύο γραμματεῖς μόνον, ὃν ὁ μὲν κλέπτης καὶ παμ-4 πόνηρος, ἀτερος δὲ Κλώδιον πελάτης. ὡς δὲ μικρὸν ἔργον αὐτῷ Κύπρου καὶ Πτολεμαίον ἀναθείς, ἔτι καὶ Βυζαντίων φυγάδας κατάγειν προσέταξε, βουλόμενος ὅτι πλείστον χρόνον ἑκποδῶν ἄρχοντος αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι τὸν Κάτωνα.

XXXV. Τοιαύτη δὲ καταληφθεὶς ἀνάγκη Κικέρων μὲν ἐλαυνομένῳ παρῆνεσε μὴ στασιάσαι μηδὲ εἰς ὅπλα καὶ φόνους τὴν πόλιν ἐμβαλεῖν, ἀλλ' ὑπεκοστάντα τῷ καιρῷ πάλιν γενέσθαι
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without the shame of exposure that they forced their measures through at last, and this was annoying and vexatious to them. Clodius, too, could not even hope to overthrow Cicero while Cato was at Rome, but since he was scheming for this above all else, when he had come into office he sent for Cato and made proposals to him. He said that he regarded Cato as the purest man of all the Romans, and that he was ready to prove this by his acts. Therefore, though many were soliciting the commission to Cyprus and the court of Ptolemy and begging to be sent upon it, he thought Cato alone worthy of it, and therefore gladly offered him this favour. But Cato cried out that the thing was a snare and an insult, not a favour, whereupon Clodius haughtily and contemptuously replied: "Well, then, if you don't think it a favour, you shall make the voyage as a punishment," and going at once before the people he got an edict passed sending Cato on the mission. Moreover, when Cato set out, Clodius gave him neither ship, soldier, nor assistant, except two clerks, of whom one was a thief and a rascal, and the other a client of Clodius. And as if he had put a slight task upon him in the mission to Cyprus and Ptolemy, Clodius enjoined upon him besides the restoration of the exiles of Byzantium, being desirous that Cato should be out of his way as long as possible while he was tribune.

XXXV. Subjected to such constraint as this, Cato advised Cicero, whose enemies were trying to banish him, not to raise a faction or plunge the city into war and bloodshed, but to yield to the necessities of the times, and so to become again a saviour of his

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1 A younger brother of Ptolemy Auletes the king of Egypt.
σωτήρα τῆς πατρίδος, Κανίδιον δὲ τινα τῶν φίλων προπέμψας εἰς Κύπρον ἔπειθε τὸν Πτολε-
μαίον ἀνευ μάχης ἐκείνω, ὡς οὔτε χρημάτων οὔτε
tιμῆς ἐνωδεί βιωσόμενον ἱερωσύνην γὰρ ἀυτῷ
2 τῆς ἐν Πάφῳ θεοῦ δῶσειν τὸν δήμον. αὐτὸς δὲ
dιέτριβεν ἐν Ὀρὸς παρασκευαζόμενος ἄμα καὶ
tὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἀναμένων.
'Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Πτολεμαίος ὁ Αἰγύπτων βασι-
λεὺς ὑπ' ὀργῆς τινος καὶ διαφορᾶς πρὸς τοὺς
pολίτας ἀπολελοίτως μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, εἰς δὲ
Ῥώμην πλέων, ὡς Πομπηίου καὶ Καίσαρος αὐθίς
αὐτὸν μετὰ δυνάμεως καταξόντων, ἐνυχεῖν τῷ
Κάτων βουληθείς προσέπεμψεν, ἐπιίζων ἐκεῖνον
3 ὡς αὐτὸν ἢξεῖν. ὁ δὲ Κάτων ἐτύγχανε μὲν ὅν
tότε περὶ κοιλίας καθαρσιν, ἤκειν δὲ τὸν Πτολε-
μαίον, εἰ βούλοιτο, κελεύσας πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὡς δὲ
ἵλθεν, οὔτε ἀπαντήσας οὔτε ὑπεξαναστάς, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐνα τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ἀσπασάμενος καὶ καθί-
σαι κελεύσας, πρῶτον αὐτοῖς τούτοις διετάραξε,
θαυμάζοντα πρὸς τὸ δημοτικὸν καὶ λιτὸν αὐτοῦ
τῆς κατασκευῆς τῆς ὑπεροψίαν καὶ βαρύτητα τοῦ
4 ἣθους. ἔπει δὲ καὶ διαλέγεσθαι περὶ τῶν καθ'
αὐτοῦ ἀρξάμενος ἡκροάσατο λόγων νοῦν πολὺν
ἐχόντων καὶ παρρησίαν, ἐπιτιμῶντος αὐτῷ τοῦ
Κάτωνος καὶ διδάσκοντος ὁσὶν εὐδαιμονίαν ἀπό-
λιπῶν ὅσις ἐαυτὸν ὑποτίθησε λατρείας καὶ
πόνοις καὶ δωροδοκίαις καὶ πλεονεξίαις τῶν ἐν
Ῥώμῃ δυνατῶν, οὕτα μόλις ἔξαργυρισθέκαν ἐμ-
πλήσειν Αἰγύπτων, συμβουλεύοντος δὲ πλεῖν
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country. He also sent Canidius, one of his friends, to Cyprus in advance, and tried to persuade Ptolemy to yield his kingdom without fighting, promising that his future life should not be without wealth and honour, since the Romans would give him a priesthood of the goddess in Paphos. He himself, however, tarried at Rhodes, making his preparations and awaiting his answers.

Meanwhile Ptolemy the king of Egypt, who had quarrelled with the citizens of Alexandria and forsaken the city in wrath, and was now on his way to Rome in the hope that Pompey and Caesar would restore him again with an armed force, wished to have an interview with Cato, and sent a messenger to him, expecting that Cato would come to him. But Cato, as it chanced, was taking a course of medicine at the time, and bade Ptolemy come to him if he wished to see him. And when Ptolemy had come, Cato neither went to meet him nor rose from his seat, but greeted him as he would any ordinary visitor and bade him be seated. At first Ptolemy was confounded by the reception itself, and was amazed at the contrast between the haughtiness and severity of Cato's manners and the plainness and simplicity of his outfit. But after he had begun to converse with Cato about his own situation, words of great wisdom and boldness fell upon his ears. For Cato censured his course, and showed him what great happiness he had forsaken, and to how much servility and hardship he was subjecting himself in dealing with the corruption and rapacity of the chief men at Rome, whom Egypt could scarcely glut if it were all turned into money. Cato also advised him

1 Cf. the Brutus, iii. 1.
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διπόσω καὶ διαλλάττεσθαι τοῖς πολίταις, αὐτοῦ δὲ καὶ συμπλεῖν καὶ συνδιαλλάττειν ἐτοίμως

5 ἔχοντος, οἷον ἐκ μανίας τινὸς ἢ παρακοπῆς ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων ἐμφρον καθιστάμενος, καὶ κατανόον τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὴν σύνεσιν τοῦ ἄνδρός, ὀρμήσε μὲν χρήσθαι τοῖς ἐκείνου λογισμοῖς, ἀνατραπεῖς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων αὐθεὶς ἄμα τῷ πρῶτον ἐν Ῥώμῃ γενέσθαι καὶ θύραις ἔνος ἄρχοντος προσέλθειν ἔστενε τὴν αὐτοῦ κακοβουλίαν, ὡς οὐκ ἄνδρός ἄγαθοῦ λόγων, θεοῦ δὲ μαντείας καταφρο-κήσας.

XXXVI. Ὅ δὲ ἐν Κύπρῳ Πτολεμαίος εὐτυχίας τυί τοῦ Κάτωνος ἑαυτὸν φαρμάκοις ἀπέκτεινε. πολλῶν δὲ χρημάτων ἀποδεικθαὶ λεγομένων, αὐτός μὲν ἔγρω πλεῖν εἰς Βυζαντίους, πρὸς δὲ τὴν Κύπρον ἐξέπεμψε τὸν ἄδελφον Ὑφρότον, οὗ πάνυ τι πιστεύων τῷ Κανδίῳ. τοὺς δὲ φυγάδας διαλαξάς καὶ καταλυτῶν ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ τῷ Βυζαν-τίου, οὕτως εἰς Κύπρον ἐπέλυσεν. οὕσης δὲ πολλῆς καὶ βασιλικῆς ἐν ἐκπώμασι καὶ τραπέζαις καὶ λίθους καὶ πορφύρας κατασκευῆς, ἦν ἐδει πραθείσαν ἐξαργυρισθῆναι, πάντα βουλόμενος ἐξακριβοῦν καὶ πάντα κατατείνεν εἰς ἁκραν τιμὴν καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτοῦ παρεῖναι καὶ προσώγειν τὸν ἐγχατον ἐκλογισμοῦ, οὐδὲ τοῖς ἑθάσι τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐπίστευεν, ἀλλὰ ὑπονόον ὤμοι πάντας, ὑπηρέτας, κήρυκας, ωνητάς, φίλους, τέλος αὐτὸς ἱδία τοῖς ἀνωμένοις διαλεγόμενος καὶ προσβιβάζων ἐκα- στον, οὕτω τὰ πλείστα τῶν ἀγορασμάτων ἐπώλει. 3 διὸ τοῖς τε ἅλλοις φίλοις ὡς ἀπιστῶν προσέ-κρουσε, καὶ τὸν συνηθεστατον ἀπάντων Μουνά-
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to sail back and be reconciled with his people, holding himself ready also to sail with him and help effect the reconciliation. Then the king, as if brought to his senses by Cato's words after a fit of madness or delirium, and recognizing the sincerity and sagacity of the speaker, determined to adopt his counsels; but he was turned back to his first purpose by his friends. However, as soon as he reached Rome and was approaching the door of a magistrate, he groaned over his own evil resolve, convinced that he had slighted, not the words of a good man, but the prophetic warning of a god.

XXXVI. But the Ptolemy in Cyprus, fortunately for Cato, poisoned himself to death. And since the king was said to have left much treasure, Cato determined, while sailing himself to Byzantium, to send his nephew Brutus to Cyprus, since he did not altogether trust Canidius. Then, after reconciling the exiles and citizens of Byzantium and leaving the city in concord, he sailed to Cyprus. Now, there were many furnishings of a princely sort, such as beakers, tables, precious stones, and purple vestments, which had to be sold and turned into money. So Cato, wishing to treat everything with the greatest exactness, and to force everything up to a high price, and to attend to everything himself, and to use the utmost calculation, would not trust even those who were accustomed to the market, but, suspecting all alike, assistants, criers, buyers, and friends, and at last talking privately himself with the purchasers and encouraging each one to bid, he thus succeeded in selling most of the merchandize. For this reason he gave offence to most of his friends, who thought that he distrusted them, and Munatius, the most
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τιν οἰς ὀργήν ὀλύγων δεῖν ἀνήκεστον γενομένην ἐνεβάλει, ὡστε καὶ Καῦσαρι γράφοντι λόγον κατὰ τοῦ Κάτωνος πικροτάτην τούτο τὸ μέρος τῆς κατηγορίας διατριβὴν παρασχεῖν.

XXXVII. Ὅ μέντοι Μουνάτιος οὐκ ἀπιστία τοῦ Κάτωνος, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνον μὲν ὀλυγωρία πρὸς αὐτὸν, αὐτοῦ δὲ τινὶ ζηλοτυπίᾳ πρὸς τὸν Καῦσαριν ἱστορεῖ γενέσθαι τὴν ὀργήν. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς σύγγραμμα περὶ τοῦ Κάτωνος ἐξέδωκεν, ὃ μᾶ-2 λιστα Θρασεάς ἐπηκολούθησε. λέγει δὲ ὅστερος μὲν εἰς Κύπρον ἀφικέσθαι καὶ λαβέιν παρημηλη-μένην ξενίαν, ἔλθων δὲ ἐπὶ θύρας ἀπωσθῆναι, σκευωρομένου τι τοῦ Κάτωνος οἶκοι σὺν τῷ Καῦσαρι, μεμψάμενος δὲ μετρίως οὐ μετρίας τυχεῖν ἀποκρίσεως, στὸ κινδυνεῖν τὸ λίαν φιλεῖν, ὥς φησὶ Θεόφραστος, αἰτιον τοῦ μισεῖν γίνεσθαι πολλάκις. “Ἐπεί καὶ σὺ,” φάναι, “τῷ μάλιστα φιλεῖν ἢττον οἰόμενος ἢ προσήκει τιμᾶσθαι χαλε-3 πάνεις. Καῦσαρ δὲ καὶ δι’ ἐμπειρίαν χρώμαι καὶ διὰ πίστιν ἐτέρων μᾶλλον, εἰ δροχῆς μὲν ἀφιγμένῳ, καθαρῷ δὲ φαινομένῳ.” ταῦτα μέντοι μόνον αὐτῷ μόνῳ διαλεχόμενα τὸν Κάτωνα πρὸς τὸν Καῦσαρι ἐξεδοξηκείν. αἰσθόμενος οὖν αὐτὸς οὕτε ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐτί φοιτῶν οὕτε σύμβουλος ὑπα-κοούειν καλομένοις. ἀπειλοῦντος δὲ τοῦ Κάτωνος, ὡσπερ εἰώθασι τῶν ἀπειθοῦντων, ἐνέχυρα λή-ψεσθαι, μηδὲν φροντίσας ἐκπελεῦσαι καὶ πολὺν 324
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intimate of them all, he threw into a rage that was well nigh incurable. Hence Caesar also, when he wrote a discourse against Cato,\(^1\) dwelt most bitterly on this part of his denunciation.

XXXVII. Munatius, however, states that his anger arose, not from Cato's distrust of him, but from his inconsiderate conduct towards him, and from a certain jealousy which Munatius himself felt towards Canidius. For Munatius himself also published a treatise about Cato, which Thrasea chiefly followed. Munatius says that he came to Cyprus after the others, and found that no provision had been made for his entertainment; he says, too, that on going to Cato's door he was repulsed, because Cato had some engagement inside with Canidius. He says, further, that his measured protest met with no measured reply, for Cato told him that excessive affection, according to Theophrastus, was likely to become a ground for hatred in many cases. "And so thou too," said Cato, "by reason of thine especial affection for me, art vexed to think thyself less honoured than is meet. Canidius I employ more than others both because I have made trial of him, and because I trust him; he came at the very first, and shows himself to be incorrupt." This private conversation, however, between himself and Cato, Munatius says was reported by Cato to Canidius, and that therefore, when he heard of it, he would no longer go to Cato's table, or visit him, or share his counsels, when he was invited. Further, Munatius says, when Cato threatened to take security from him, as the Romans do in the case of those who refuse to obey orders, he paid no attention to the threat, but sailed away,

\(^1\) See chapter xi. 4, and note.
χρόνον ἐν ὀργῇ διατελεῖν· εἰτα τῆς Μαρκίας (ἐτι γὰρ συνήκει τῷ Κάτωνι) διαλεχθείσης, τυχεὶν μὲν ὑπὸ Βάρκα κεκλημένους ἐπὶ δείπνουν, εἰσελθόντα δὲ ύστερον τὸν Κάτωνα, τῶν ἄλλων κατακειμένων, ἐρωτάν ὅπου κατακλιθεῖν. τοῦ δὲ Βάρκα κελεύσαντος ὅπου βούλεται, περιβλεψάμενον εἰπεῖν ὅτι παρὰ Μουνάτιον καὶ περιελθόντα πλησίον αὐτοῦ κατακλιθῆναι, πλέον δὲ μηθὲν

5 φιλοφρονήσασθαι παρὰ τὸ δείπνον. ἀλλὰ πάλιν τῆς Μαρκίας δεομένης τὸν μὲν Κάτωνα γράψαι πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὡς ἐντυχεὶν τι βουλόμενον, αὐτὸς δὲ ἢκειν ἔωθεν εἰς τὴν οἴκιαν καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Μαρκίας κατασχεθῆναι μέχρι πάντες ἀπηλλάγησαν, οὕτω δὲ εἰσελθόντα τὸν Κάτωνα καὶ περιβαλόντα τὰς χείρας ἀμφοτέρας ἀσπάσασθαι καὶ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὐχ ἢττον οἰόμενοι τῶν ὑπαίθρων καὶ μεγάλων πράξεων πρὸς ἐνδείξιν ἤθους καὶ κατανόησιν ἔχειν τινὰ σαφῆνειαν ἐπὶ πλέον διήλθομεν.

XXXVIII. τῷ δὲ Κάτωνι συνήχθη μὲν ἀργυρίου τάλαντα μικρὸν ἐπτακισχιλίων ἀποδέοντα, δεδώσες δὲ τοῦ πλοῦ τὸ μῆκος ἄγγεια πολλὰ κατασκευάζας, δὴν ἐκαστὸν ἐξώρει δύο τάλαντα καὶ δραχμὰς πεντακοσίας, καλῶδιον ἐκάστῳ μακρὸν προσήρτησεν, οὐ τῇ ἀρχῇ προσείχετο φέλλος εὐμεγέθης, ὅπως, εἰ ραγεῖν τὸ πλοῖον, ἔχων διὰ

2 βυθοῦ τὸ ἄρτημα σημαινοῦ τόν τόπον. τὰ μὲν οὖν χρήματα πλὴν ὅλων τινῶν ἀσφαλῶς διε

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and for a long time continued to be angry with Cato. Then, Munatius says, Marcia, who was still living with Cato, spoke with her husband about the matter; and when it chanced that both men were invited to supper by Barca, Cato, who came late and after the others had taken their places, asked where he should recline; and when Barca told him to recline where he pleased, Cato looked about the room and said: "I will take my place by Munatius." So he went round and reclined by his side, but made no further show of friendship during the supper. Marcia, however, made a second request in the matter, Munatius says, and Cato wrote to him, saying that he wished to confer with him about something. So Munatius went to Cato's house early in the morning, and was detained there by Marcia until all the other visitors had gone away. Then Cato came in, threw both arms about him, kissed him, and lavished kindness upon him. Such incidents, now, in my opinion, quite as much as deeds of greatness and publicity, shed considerable light upon the perception and manifestation of character, and I have therefore recounted them at greater length.

XXXVIII. Cato got together nearly seven thousand talents of silver, and fearing the long voyage home, he had many coffers provided, each one of which would hold two talents and five hundred drachmas, and attached to each of them a long rope, to the end of which a huge piece of cork was fastened. This, he thought, in case the vessel were wrecked, would hold to its deep mooring and indicate the place where the treasure lay. Well, then, the money, except a very little, was safely transported;

1 Cf. chapter xxv. 5.
κομίσθη, λόγους δὲ πάντων ὃν διψάκεσε γεγραμμένους ἐπιμελῶς ἔχων ἐν δυσὶ βιβλίοις οὐδέτερον ἔσωσεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἀπελεύθερος αὐτοῦ κομίζων ὅνομα Φιλάργυρος ἐκ Κεγχρεῶν ἀναχθεὶς ἀνετράπη καὶ συναπώλεσε τοῖς φορτίοις, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸς ἄχρι Κερκύρας φυλάξας ἐν ἁγορᾷ κατεσκήνωσε. 778

3 τῶν δὲ ναυτῶν διὰ τὸ ῥεγοῦν πυρὰ πολλὰ καῖόντων τῆς νυκτὸς ἠφθησαν αἱ σκηναὶ καὶ τὸ βιβλίον ἡφαισθή. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἔχθρους καὶ συκοφάντας ἐπιστομοῦ ήμελλον οἱ βασιλικοὶ διοικηταὶ παρόντες, ἀλλος δὲ τῷ Κάτων τῷ πράγμα δημοῦ ἤγεγκεν. οὐ γὰρ εἰς πίστιν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοὺς λόγους, ἀλλὰ παράδειγμα τοῖς ἀλλοις ἀκριβείας ἐξενεγκεῖν φιλοτιμοῦμενος ἐνεμεσθῆ.

XXXIX. Περαιωθεὶς δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶν οὐκ ἔλαβε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, ἀλλὰ πάντες μὲν ἄρχοντες καὶ ἱερεῖς, πᾶσα δὲ ἡ βουλή, πολὺ δὲ τοῦ δήμου μέρος ἀπήντων πρὸς τὸν ποταμόν, ὡστε τὰς ὁχθὰς ἀμφότερα ἀποκεκρύβηκαί καὶ θριάμβου μηδὲν ὦσει καὶ φιλοτιμία λείπεσθαι τὸν ἀνάπλουν 2 αὐτοῦ. καίτοι σκαίνου ἐνίοις τούτο ἐφαίνετο καὶ αὐθαδες, ὅτι τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν παρόντων οὐτε ἀπέβη πρὸς αὐτοὺς οὔτε ἐπέσχε τὸν πλοῦν, ἀλλὰ ῥοθίῳ τὴν ὁχθὴν παρεξελαύνων ἐπὶ νεώς ἔξηρος βασιλικῆς οὖν ἀνήκε πρότερον 3 ἦ καθορίσασι τὸν στόλον εἰς τὸ νεώριον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῶν χρημάτων παρακομιζομένων δι’ ἁγορᾶς ο τε δήμος ἔθαύμαζε τὸ πλῆθος, ἦ τε βουλή 328
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but although he had the accounts of all his administration of the estate carefully written out in two books, neither of these was preserved. One of them a freedman of his, Philargyprus by name, had in charge, but after putting to sea from Cenchraeae he was capsized and lost it, together with his cargo; the other Cato himself had safely carried as far as Corcyra, where he pitched his tent in the marketplace. But because it was so cold the sailors built many fires during the night, the tents caught fire, and the book disappeared. It is true that the royal stewards who were at hand were ready to stop the mouths of Cato's enemies and traducers, but nevertheless the matter gave him annoyance. For it was not as a proof of his own integrity, but as an example to others of scrupulous exactness that he was eager to produce his accounts, and he was therefore vexed.

XXXIX. The Romans did not fail to hear of his arrival\(^1\) with his ships, and all the magistrates and priests, the whole senate, and a large part of the people went to the river to meet him, so that both banks of the stream were hidden from view, and his voyage up to the city had all the show and splendour of a triumph. Yet some thought it ungracious and stubborn that, although the consuls and praetors were at hand, he neither landed to greet them, nor checked his course, but on a royal galley of six banks of oars swept past the bank where they stood, and did not stop until he had brought his fleet to anchor in the dock-yard. However, when the treasure was carried through the forum, the people were amazed at the great amount of it, and the

\(^1\) In 56 B.C.
Συναχθείσα μετὰ τῶν πρεπόντων ἐπαίνων ἐψη-
φίσατο τῷ Κάτωνι στρατηγίαν ἔξαιρετον δοθῆναι
καὶ τὰς θέας αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐσθήτῳ περιπορφύρῳ θεώ-
σασθαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ Κάτων παρητήσατο,
Νικίαν δὲ τὸν οἰκονόμον τῶν βασιλικῶν ἔλευθερον
ἔπεισε τὴν βουλήν ἀφεῖναι, μαρτυρήσας ἐπιμέ
λειαν καὶ πίστιν. ὑπάτευε δὲ Φιλιππος ὁ
πατὴρ τῆς Μαρκίας, καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα
τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἡ δύναμις εἰς Κάτωνα περιέλθεν,
οὐκ ἔλαττονα τοῦ συνάρχοντος δὲ ἀρετὴν ἢ δὲ'
οἰκειότητα τοῦ Φιλίππου τῷ Κάτωνι τιμὴν
προστιθέντος.

ΧΙ. Ἔπει δὲ Κικέρων ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς, ἦν ἐφυγεν
ὑπὸ Κλωδίου, κατελθὼν καὶ δυνάμενος μέγα τὰς
dημαρχικὰς δέλτους, ὥς ὁ Κλωδίου ἔθηκεν ἀνα-
γράψας εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, ἀπέστασε βία καὶ
καθείλε τοῦ Κλωδίου μὴ παρόντος, ἐπὶ τούτοις
δὲ βουλῆς ἀθροισθείσης καὶ τοῦ Κλωδίου κατη-
γοροῦντος ἔλεγε παρανόμως τῷ Κλωδίῳ τῆς
dημαρχίας γενομένης ἀτελῆ καὶ ἀκριβὲς δεῖν εἶναι
τὰ τότε πραχθέντα καὶ γραφέντα, προσέκρουσεν
ὁ Κάτων αὐτῷ λέγοντι, καὶ τέλος ἀναστὰς ἔφη
τῆς μὲν Κλωδίου πολιτείας μηδὲν ὑγίες μηδὲ
χρηστὸν ὅλως νομίζειν, εἰ δὲ ἀναίρει τις ὦςα
dημαρχῶν ἔπραξεν, ἀναίρεσθαι πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ
τὴν περὶ Κύπρου πραγματείαν καὶ μὴ γεγονέναι
τὴν ἀποστολὴν νόμομον ἀρχοντος παρανόμου

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senate in special session voted, together with the appropriate praises, that an extraordinary praetorship should be given to Cato, and that when he witnessed the spectacles he might wear a purple-bordered robe. These honours, now, Cato declined, but he persuaded the senate to bestow freedom upon Nicias, the steward of the royal household, after bearing witness to his care and fidelity. Philippus, the father of Marcia, was consul at the time, and the dignity and power of his office devolved in a manner upon Cato; the colleague of Philippus, also, bestowed no less honour upon Cato for his virtue than Philippus did because of his relationship to him.

XL. But Cicero had now come back from the exile into which he was driven by Clodius, and, relying on his great influence in the senate, had forcibly taken away and destroyed, in the absence of Clodius, the records of his tribuneship which Clodius had deposited on the Capitol. When the senate was convened to consider the matter, and Clodius made his denunciation, Cicero made a speech in which he said that, since Clodius had been made tribune illegally, all that had been done or recorded during his tribunate ought to be void and invalid. Cato contradicted Cicero while he was speaking, and finally rose and said that, although he was wholly of the opinion that there was nothing sound or good in the administration of Clodius, still, if everything which Clodius had done while tribune were to be rescinded, then all his own proceedings in Cyprus would be rescinded, and his mission there had not been legal, since an illegal magistrate had obtained it

\[^{1}\text{In 57 B.C., after an absence of sixteen months. Cf. the Cicero, chapters xxx.-xxxiii.}\]
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ψηφισαμένουν παρανόμως μὲν οὐ δήμαρχον αἱρεθήναι ¹ τὸν Κλώδιου ἐκ πατρικίων μετα-
στάντα νόμου διδόντος εἰς δημοτικὸν οἶκον, εἰ δὲ
μοχθήρος, ἀσπερ ἄλλοι, γέγονεν ἄρχων, αὐτὸν
eὐθύνειν τὸν ἀδικήσαντα, μὴ λύειν τὴν συνάδι-
κηθείςαν ἄρχην εἰναι προσήκον. ἐκ τούτου δὲ
ὄργης ὁ Κικέρων ἐσχε τὸν Κάτωνα, καὶ φίλο
χρώμενος ἐπαύσατο χρόνον πολὺν· εἰτὰ μὲντοι
dιηλλάγησαν.

ΧΛΙ. Ἐκ τούτου Πομπῆιος καὶ Κράσσος
ὑπερβαλότοι τάς "Ἀλπείς Καῖσαρι συγγενόμενοι
γνώμην ἐποίησαντο κοινῇ δευτέραν ὑπατείαν
μετείναι, καὶ καταστάντες εἰς αὐτὴν Καῖσαρι μὲν
τής ἄρχης ἄλλοις τοσούτοις ἐπιφαινεῖσθαι χρό-
νον, αὐτοῖς δὲ τῶν ἐπαρχῶν τὰς μεγίστας καὶ
χρήματα καὶ στρατιωτικὰς δυνάμεις. ὅπερ ἦν
ἐπὶ νεμῆσε τῆς ἰγκονιας καὶ καταλύσει τῆς
2 πολιτείας συγκομισία. πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ἀγαθῶν
ἀνδρῶν μετείναι τὴν ἄρχην τότε παρασκευαζο-
μένων, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ὁφθέντες ἐν ταῖς παραγ-
γελίαις ἀπέτρεψαν, μόνον δὲ Δεῦκιον Δομίτιον
Πορκία συνοικοῦντα τῇ ἀδελφῇ Κάτων ἐπείσε
μὴ ἐκστήνῃ μηδὲ ύφεσθαι, τοῦ ἀγώνοις οὐ περὶ
ἄρχης οὗτος, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἔλευθερίας.
3 καὶ μὲντοι καὶ λόγος ἔχωρει διὰ τοῦ σωφρονοῦν-
τος ἐτὶ τῆς πόλεως μέρους, ὡς οὐ περιπτέοι, εἰς
ταῦτῳ τῆς Κράσσου καὶ Πομπῆιος δυνάμεως
συνελθοῦσις, παντάπασιν ὑπέροχον καὶ βαρεῖαν
tὴν ἄρχην γενομένην, ἀλλ' ἀφαιρετέον αὐτῆς τὸν

¹ μὲν οὖ δ. αἱρεθήναι Sintenis, after Schrever, for the MSS.
μὲν οὖν δ. αἱρεθήναι; Bekker has μὲν οὖν μὴ δ. αἱρεθήναι.

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for him; but it had not been illegal, he maintained, for Clodius to be elected tribune after a transfer from patrician to plebeian rank which the law allowed, and if he had been a bad magistrate, like others, it was fitting to call to an account the man who had done wrong, and not to vitiate the office which had suffered from his wrong doing. In consequence of this speech Cicero was angry with Cato, and for a long time ceased friendly intercourse with him; afterwards, however, they were reconciled.

XLI. After this, Pompey and Crassus had a meeting with Caesar, who had come across the Alps, in which they laid a plan to canvass jointly for a second consulship, and, after they were established in the office, to get a vote passed giving to Caesar another term in his command, of the same duration as the first, and to themselves the largest provinces, money and military forces. This was a conspiracy for the division of the supreme power and the abolition of the constitution. And although many honourable men were getting ready to canvass for the consulship at that time, they were all deterred by seeing Pompey and Crassus announce themselves as candidates, excepting only Lucius Domitius, the husband of Cato's sister Porcia. Him Cato persuaded not to withdraw from the canvass or give way, since the struggle was not for office, but for the liberty of the Romans. And indeed it was currently said among those citizens who still retained their good sense, that the consular power must not be suffered to become altogether overweening and oppressive by the union of the influence of Pompey and Crassus, but that one or the

1 Cf. chapter xxxiii. 2 Cf. the Cicero, xxxiv.
3 At Luca, in 56 B.C. Cf. the Pompey, li.; the Caesar, xxi.
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ἐτερον. καὶ συνίσταντο πρὸς τὸν Δομίτιον παρομώντες καὶ παραθαρρύνοντες ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι: πολλοὺς γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν συντρώντων διὰ δέος ἐν ταῖς ψήφοις ὑπάρξειν.

4 Τούτο δὴ δείσαντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Πομπήλιον ὑφείσαν ἐνέδραν τῷ Δομιτίῳ καταβαίνοντι ὄρθριον ὑπὸ λαμπάδων εἰς τὸ πεδίον. καὶ πρῶτος μὲν ὁ προφαίνων ἐπιστὰς τῷ Δομιτίῳ πληγεῖς καὶ πεσῶν ἀπέθανεν· μετὰ δὲ τούτων ἦδη καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συντρωσκομένων ἐγίνετο φυγὴ πλὴν.

5 Κάτωνοι καὶ Δομιτίοι. κατείχε γὰρ αὐτῶν ὁ Κάτων, καὶ περὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὸν βραχίονα τετρωμένος, καὶ παρεκκελεύετο μένειν καὶ μὴ προλπεῖν, ἡως ἐμπνεόσι, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγώνα πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους, οὐ τίνα τρόπον χρήσονται τῇ ἀρχῇ δηλοῦσι διὰ τηλικοῦτων ἀδικημάτων ἐπ' αὐτὴν βαδίζοντες.

XLII. Ὑποστάντος δὲ τοῦ Δομιτίου τὸ δεινόν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν καταφυγόντος, ἤρεθησαν μὲν ὑπάτου Πομπηίου καὶ Κράσσου, οὐκ ἀπέκαμε δὲ ὁ Κάτων, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς προελθὼν στρατηγίας μετῆι, Βουλόμενος ὀρμητήριον ἔχειν τῶν πρὸς ἐκεῖνος ἀγώνων καὶ πρὸς ἀρχοντας ἀντικαθίστασθαι μὴ ἰδιώτης. οἱ δὲ καὶ τούτο δείσαντες, ὡς τῆς στρατηγίας ἄξιομάχου διὰ

2 Κάτωνα πρὸς τὴν ὑπατείαν γενησομένης, πρῶτον μὲν ἐξαιρήσεις καὶ τῶν πολλῶν ἀγνοοῦντων Βουλῆς συναγαγόντες ἐψηφίσαντο τοὺς αἱρεθέντας.
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other of these men must be deprived of it. So they joined the party of Domitius, inciting and encouraging him to persist in his opposition; for many, they said, who now held their peace through fear, would help him when it came to voting.

This was precisely what the partisans of Pompey feared, and so they set an ambush for Domitius as he was going down at early morning by torchlight into the Campus Martius. First of all the torch-bearer who stood in front of Domitius was smitten, fell, and died; and after him the rest of the party were presently wounded, and all took to flight except Cato and Domitius. For Cato held Domitius back, although he himself had received a wound in the arm, and exhorted him to stand his ground, and not to abandon, while they had breath, the struggle in behalf of liberty which they were waging against the tyrants, who showed plainly how they would use the consular power by making their way to it through such crimes.

XLII. But Domitius would not face the peril, and fled to his house for refuge, whereupon Pompey and Crassus were elected consuls. Cato, however, would not give up the fight, but came forward himself as candidate for a praetorship, wishing to have a vantage-point for his struggles against the men, and not to be a private citizen when he was opposing magistrates. But Pompey and Crassus feared this also, feeling that Cato would make the praetorship a match for the consulship. In the first place, therefore, they suddenly, and without the knowledge of the majority, got the senate together, and had a vote passed that the praetors elect should enter upon their office at

1 For the year 55 B.C.

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στρατηγοῦς εὐθὺς ἀρχεῖν καὶ μὴ διαλεπόντας τῶν νόμμων χρόνον, ἐν ὦ δίκαιος δὲ δεκάσας τὸν δῆμον ἥσαν. ἔπειτα διὰ τοῦ ψηφίσματος τὸ διδόναι 


3 φοις φερομέναις ἐφεστώτες. ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῦτων ἡ Ἐκτώνος ἀρετή καὶ δόξα περίμην, ὑπ' αἰδοῦς τῶν πολλῶν ἐν δεινῷ πολλῷ τιθεμένων ἀποδόσθαι Ἐκτώνα ταῖς ψήφοις, διὸ καλῶς εἶχε πράσσαι τῇ πόλει στρατηγοῦν, ἢ τε πρώτῃ κληθεῖσα τῶν φυλῶν ἐκείνων ἀπέδειξεν, ἔξαίφνης ὁ Πομπήιος βροντῆς ἀκηκοέναι ψευσάμενος αἰσχίστα διέλυσε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, εἰδισμένων ἀφοσιοῦσθαι τα τοιαύτα καὶ μηδὲν ἐπικυροῦν διοικήματα γενομένης.

4 αὖθις δὲ πολλῷ χρησάμενοι τῷ δικασμῷ, τοὺς βελτίστους ὦσαντες ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου βίᾳ διεπράξαντο Βατινίον ἀντὶ Κάτωνος αἴρεθηναι στρατηγὸν. ἔνθα δὴ λέγεται τοὺς μὲν οὕτως παρανόμους καὶ ἄδικος θεμένους τὴν ψήφον εὐθὺς ὁσπέρ ἀποδράντας οὐχεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις συνισταμένοις καὶ ἀγανακτοῦσι δημάρχου τινὸς αὐτοῦ παρασχόντος ἐκκλησίαν καταστάντα τῶν Κάτων ἀπαντα μὲν ὁσπέρ ἐκ θεῶν ἑπίτυμον τὰ μέλη-

5 λοντα τῇ πόλει προειπεῖν, παρορμῆσαι δὲ τοὺς πολίτας ἐπὶ Πομπήιον καὶ Κράσσον ὡς τοιαῦτα συνειδότας αὐτοῖς, καὶ τοιαύτης ἀπτωμένους πολιτείας δι' ἧν ἐδείσαν Κάτωνα, μὴ στρατηγὸς αὐτῶν περιγένηται. τέλος δὲ ἀπίστων εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν προὔπημες πλῆθος τοσοῦτον ὅσον οὐδὲ

1 τὸ διδόναι Sintenis, after Schaefer, for the MSS. τὸ διδόναι δίκας ; Corsæs and Bekker delete also διδόναι.

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once, without waiting for the time prescribed by law to elapse, during which time those who had bribed the people were liable to prosecution. In the next place, now that by this vote they had freed bribery from responsibility, they brought forward henchmen and friends of their own as candidates for the praetorship, themselves offering money for votes, and themselves standing by when the votes were cast. But even to these measures the virtue and fame of Cato were superior, since shame made most of the people think it a terrible thing to sell Cato by their votes, when the city might well buy him into the praetorship; and therefore the first tribe called upon voted for him. Then on a sudden Pompey lyingly declared that he heard thunder, and most shamefully dissolved the assembly, since it was customary to regard such things as inauspicious, and not to ratify anything after a sign from heaven had been given. Then they resorted again to extensive bribery, ejected the best citizens from the Campus Martius, and so by force got Vatinius elected praetor instead of Cato. Then, indeed, it is said, those who had thus illegally and wrongfully cast their votes went off home at once like runaways, while the rest of the citizens, who were banding together and expressing their indignation, were formed into an assembly there by a tribune, and were addressed by Cato. As if inspired from heaven he foretold to the citizens all that would happen to their city, and tried to set them against Pompey and Crassus, who, he said, were privy to such a course and engaged in such a policy as made them afraid of Cato, lest, as praetor, he should get the better of them. And finally, when he went away home, he was escorted on his way by a greater
σύμπαντας ἀμα τοὺς ἀποδεδειγμένους στρατηγοὺς.

XLIII. Γαίτο ὁ ὂ τρεβώνιον γράψαντος νόμον ὑπὲρ νομῆς ἐπαρχίων τοῖς ὑπάτοις, ὡστε τὸν μὲν Ἰβηρίαν ἔχοντα καὶ Διβύνην υφ’ αὐτῷ, τὸν δὲ Συρίαν καὶ Αὐγοποτοῦ, ὦς βουλουτα πολεμεῖν καὶ καταστρέφεσθαι ναυτικαῖς καὶ πεζικαῖς δυνάμεσις ἐπιόντας, οἱ μὲν ἀλλοι τὴν ἀντίπραξιν καὶ κάλυσιν ἀπεγνωκότες ἐξέλισσον καὶ τὸ ἀντεπεῖν, Κάτων δὲ ἀναβάντη πρὸ τῆς ψηφοφορίας ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ βουλομένων λέγειν μόλις ὦρῶν δυνεῖν 2 λόγον ἔδωκαν, ὅς δὲ πολλὰ λέγον καὶ διδάσκον 780 καὶ προθεσπιζόν κατανάλωσον τὸν χρόνον, οὐκέτι λέγειν αὐτὸν εἰςν, ἀλλ’ ἐπιμένουντα κατέσπασεν ὑπηρέτης προσελθὼν. ὅς δὲ καὶ κάτωθεν ἰστάμενος ἔβδο καὶ τοὺς ἀκουόντας καὶ συναγανεκτούντας εἶχε, πάλιν ὁ ὑπηρέτης ἐπιλαβόμενος καὶ 3 ἀγαγὼν αὐτὸν ἔξω τῆς ἀγορᾶς κατέστησε. καὶ οὐκ ἐφθὲ πρῶτον ἀφεθείς, καὶ πάλιν ἀναστρέψας ἰτο πρὸς τὸ βῆμα μετὰ κραυγῆς ἐγκελευόμενος τοῖς πολίταις ἀμύνειν. πολλάκις δὲ τούτου γενομένου περιπάθων ὁ ὀ τρεβώνιος ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἄγεσθαι καὶ πλῆθος ἐπηκολούθει λέγοντος ἀμα σὺν τῷ βαδίζειν ἀκρωμενον, ὡστε δεῖσαντα τὸν ὀ τρεβώνιον ἀφεῖναι.

4 Κάκεινην μὲν οὐτω τὴν ἡμέραν ὁ Κάτων κατανάλωσε· ταῖς δ’ ἐφεξῆς οὖς μὲν δεδιξάμενου τῶν πολιτῶν, οὖς δὲ συσκευασάμενου χάρισι καὶ δωροδοκίαις, ἐνα δὲ τῶν δημάρχων Ἀκύλλιον ὀπλοῖς εἰρέσσοντες ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου προέρθεεν, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Κάτωνα βροντῆν γεγονέναι βοῶντα τῆς

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throng than accompanied all the elected praetors together.

XLIII. And now Caius Trebonius proposed a law for the assignment of provinces to the consuls, whereby one of them was to have Spain and Africa under him, the other Syria and Egypt, and both were to wage war on whom they pleased, and attack and subdue them with land and sea forces. The rest of the opposition were weary of their efforts to prevent such things, and forbore even to speak against the measure; but Cato mounted the rostra before the vote was taken, expressed a wish to speak, with difficulty gained permission, and spoke for two hours. After he had consumed this time in long arguments, expositions, and prophecies, he was not allowed to speak any longer, but an official went up to him as he sought to continue, and pulled him down from the rostra. But even from where he stood below the rostra he kept shouting, and found men to listen to him and share his indignation. So the official once more laid hands on him, led him away, and put him out of the forum. Then, the instant that he was released, he turned back and strove to reach the rostra, shouting, and commanding the citizens to help him. This was repeated several times, until Trebonius, in a passion, ordered him to be led to prison; but a crowd followed listening to what he said as he went along, so that Trebonius took fright and let him go.

In this manner Cato consumed that day; but during the days that followed his adversaries intimidated some of the citizens, won over others by bribes and favours, with armed men prevented one of the tribunes, Aquillius, from leaving the senate-chamber, cast Cato himself out of the forum when he cried out that there
άγοράς ἐκβαλόντες, οὐκ ὀλίγοις δὲ τρώσαντες, ἕνων δὲ καὶ πεσόντων, βία τὸν νόμον ἐκύρωσαν, ὡστε πολλοὺς συστραφέντας ὅργῃ τοὺς Πομπήιου 5 βάλλειν ἀνδριάντας. ἀλλὰ τούτο μὲν ἐπελθὼν ὁ Κάτων διεκώλυσε· τὸ δὲ Καίσαρι πάλιν νόμον ἐγραφομένου περὶ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν καὶ τῶν στρατο-πέδων, οὐκέτι πρὸς τὸν δήμον ὁ Κάτων, ἀλλὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν τραπόμενος Πομπήιον ἐμαρτύρατο καὶ προῦλεγεν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τράχηλον ἀναλαμ-βάνων Καίσαρα νῦν μὲν οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅταν δὲ ἀρχη- ται βαρύνεσθαι καὶ κρατεῖσθαι μήτε ἀποθέσθαι 6 δυνάμενος μήτε φέρειν ὑπομένων, εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐμπεσεῖται σὺν αὐτῷ, καὶ μεμνηστεὶ τὸτε τῶν Κάτωνος παραγέσεων, ὡς οὐδὲν ἦττον ἐν αὐταῖς τὸ Πομπήιον συμφέρον ἐνήν ἡ τό καλὸν καὶ δίκαιον. ταῦτα πολλάκις ἄκουὼν ὁ Πομπήιος ἡμέλει καὶ παρέπεμπεν ἀπιστία τῆς Καίσαρος μεταβολῆς διὰ πίστιν εὐτυχίας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ δυνάμεως.

XLIV. Εἰς δὲ τὸ ἐξῆς ἦτος αἵρετεις ὁ Κάτων στρατηγὸς οὐδὲν ἔδοξε προστιθέναι τῇ ἄρχῃ τοσ-ότουν εἰς σεμνότητα καὶ μέγεθος ἄρχων καλῶς, ὅσον ἀφαιρεῖν καὶ καταισχύνειν ἀνυπόδητος καὶ ἀχίτων πολλάκις ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα προερχόμενος καὶ θανατικᾶς δίκας ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν οὕτω βρα-βεύων. ἐνιοὶ δὲ φασὶ καὶ μετ’ ἀριστον οὕν πεπωκότα χρηματίζειν· ἀλλὰ τούτο μὲν οὐκ ἀλη-2 θῶς λέγεται. διαφθειρομένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου ταῖς δωροδοκίαις ὑπὸ τῶν φιλαρχοῦντων καὶ χρωμέ-
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had been thunder, and after a few of the citizens had been wounded and some actually slain, forced the passage of the law. Consequently, many banded together and wrathfully pelted the statues of Pompey. But Cato came up and stopped this. However, when once more a law was introduced concerning Caesar's provinces and armies, Cato no longer addressed himself to the people, but to Pompey himself, solemnly assuring and warning him that he was now, without knowing it, taking Caesar upon his own shoulders, and that when he began to feel the burden and to be overcome by it, he would neither have the power to put it away nor the strength to bear it longer, and would therefore precipitate himself, burden and all, upon the city; then he would call to mind the exhortations of Cato, and see that they had sought no less the interests of Pompey than honour and justice. Pompey heard these counsels repeatedly, but ignored and put them by; he did not believe that Caesar would change, because he trusted in his own good fortune and power.

XLIV. For the next year 1 Cato was elected praetor, but it was thought that he did not add so much majesty and dignity to the office by a good administration as he took away from it by disgracing it. For he would often go forth to his tribunal without shoes or tunic, and in such attire would preside over capital cases involving prominent men. Some say, too, that even after the mid-day meal and when he had drunk wine, he would transact public business; but this is untruthfully said. However, seeing that the people were corrupted by the gifts which they received from men who were fond of office and plied the bribery of

1 54 B.C.
νων τῷ δεκάζεσθαι καθάπερ ἐργασία συνήθεις τῶν πολλῶν, βουλόμενος ἔκκοψαι παντάπασι τὸ νόσημα τούτο τῆς πόλεως, ἔπεισε δόγμα θέσθαι τὴν σύγκλητον ὅπως οἱ κατασταθέντες ἄρχοντες εἰ μηδένα κατήγορον ἔχοιεν, αὐτοὶ παρίόντες έξ ἀνάγκης εἰς ἔνορκον δικαστήριον εὐθύνας διδώσων.

3 ἐπὶ τούτῳ χαλεπῶς μὲν ἔσχον οἱ μετιόντες ἁρχάς, ἔτι δὲ χαλεπότερον ὁ μυσθαρμών ὄχλος. ἐσθενοὶ οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα τοῦ Κάτωνος προελθόντος ιθροὶ προσπεσύντες ἐβόων, ἐβλασφήμον, ἐβαλλον, ὡστε φεύγειν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἀπαντᾶς, αὐτῶν δὲ ἐκείνων ἐξωσθέντα τῷ πλήθει καὶ παραφερό-

4 μενον μόλις ἐπιλαβέσθαι τῶν ἐμβόλων. ἐντεύθεν ἀναστάς τῷ μὲν ἱταμῷ καὶ θαρροῦντι τῆς ὄψεως εὐθὺς ἐκράτησε τοῦ θόρυβου καὶ τὴν κραυγὴν ἔπαυσεν, εἰπὼν δὲ τὰ πρέποντα καὶ μεθ' ἡσυχίας ἀκουσθείς παντάπασι διέλυσε τὴν παραχήν, ἐπαινούσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς αὐτοῦ, "Ἐγὼ δὲ," εἶπεν, "ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἐπαινῶ κινδυνεύοντα στρατηγοῦ ἐγκαταλιπτόντας καὶ μὴ προσαμώναστας."

5 Τῶν δὲ μετιόντων ἁρχὴν ἐκαστὸς ἀπὸρος πάθει συνεἴχετο, φοβοῦμενος μὲν αὐτῶς δεκάζειν, φοβοῦμενος δὲ ἐτέρου τούτο πράξασθαι ἐκπεσείν τῆς ἁρχῆς. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς εἰς ταύτῳ συνελθοῦσι 781 παραβαλέσθαι δραχμῶν ἐκαστὸν ἁργυρίου δεκαδύο ἥμισυ μυριάδας, εἰτα μετέιναι τὴν ἁρχήν πάντας ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως τῶν δὲ παραβάντα καὶ χρησάμενων δεκαστών στέρεσθαι τοῦ ἁργυρίου. ταῦτα ὁμολογήσαντες αἰροῦνται φύλακα καὶ βραβευτὴν καὶ μάρτυρα τὸν Κάτωνα καὶ τὰ χρήματα φέροντες ἐκείνοι παρετίθεντο καὶ τὰς συνθήκας ἐγράψαντο πρὸς ἑκείνοι, ἀντὶ τῶν χρη-

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the masses as they would an ordinary business, he wished to eradicate altogether this disease from the state, and therefore persuaded the senate to make a decree that magistrates elect, in case they had no accuser, should be compelled of themselves to come before a sworn court and submit accounts of their election. At this the candidates for offices were sorely displeased, and still more sorely the hireling multitude. Early in the morning, therefore, when Cato had gone forth to his tribunal, crowds assailed him with shouts, abuse, and missiles, so that everybody fled from the tribunal, and Cato himself was pushed away from it and borne along by the throng, and with difficulty succeeded in laying hold of the rostra. There, rising to his feet, by the firmness and boldness of his demeanour he at once prevailed over the din, stopped the shouting, and after saying what was fitting and being listened to quietly, brought the disturbance completely to an end. When the senate was praising him for this, he said: "But I cannot praise you for leaving an imperilled praetor in the lurch and not coming to his aid."

Now, all the candidates for offices were at a loss what to do; each one was afraid to use bribes himself, but was afraid of losing his office if another used them. They decided, therefore, to come together and deposit severally one hundred and twenty-five thousand drachmas in money, and that all should then sue for their offices in fair and just ways; the one who transgressed and practised bribery forfeiting his money. Having made this agreement, they chose Cato as depositary, umpire, and witness, and bringing their money, offered to deposit it with him; they even drew up their agreement in his presence. Cato
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μάτων εγγυητάς λαβόντα, τὰ δὲ χρήματα μὴ δεξάμενοι. ὡς δὲ ἦκεν η κυρία τῆς ἀναδείξεως, παραστὰς ὁ Κάτων τῷ βραβεύοντι δημάρχῳ καὶ παραφυλάξας τὴν ψήφον, ἐνα τῶν παραβαλω-
μένων ἀπέφηνε κακουργοῦντα καὶ προσέταξεν
7 ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ ἀργύριον. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι
μὲν ἐπαινέσαντες αὐτοῦ τὴν ὁμοτητα καὶ θαυμά-
σαντες ἀνεῖλον τὸ πρόστιμον. ὡς ἰκανὴν δίκην
ἔχοντες παρὰ τοῦ ἀδικήσαντος τούς δὲ ἄλλους
ἐλύσεων ὁ Κάτων καὶ φθόνον ἔσχεν ἀπὸ τοῦτον
πλείστον, ὡς βουλής καὶ δικαστηρίων καὶ ἀρχό-
tων δύναμιν αὐτῷ περιποιησάμενος.

Οὐδεμᾶς γὰρ ἀρετῆς δόξα καὶ πίστεις ἐπιφθο-
νοὺς ποιεῖ μᾶλλον ἡ τῆς δικαιοσύνης, ὅτι καὶ
dύναμις αὐτῇ καὶ πίστεις ἔπεται μᾶλστα παρὰ
8 τῶν πολλῶν. οὐ γὰρ τιμῶσι μόνον, ως τοὺς ἀν-
δρείους, οὐδὲ θαυμάζουσιν, ὡς τοὺς φρονίμους,
ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλοῦσι τοὺς δικαίους καὶ θαρροῦντι
αὐτοῖς καὶ πιστεύουσιν. ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τοὺς μὲν
φοβοῦνται, τοὺς δὲ ἀπίστοσι: πρὸς δὲ τοῦτος
ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οἴονται φύσει μᾶλλον ἡ τῷ βουλε-
σθαι διαφέρειν, ἀνδρείαν καὶ φρονήσιν, τὴν μὲν
δξύτητα τω, τὴν δ' εὐρωστίαν ψυχής τεθέμενον,
δικαῖος δὲ ὑπάρχοντος εὐθύς εἶναι τῷ βουλομένῳ
μᾶλστα τὴν ἀδίκιαν ὡς κακίαν ἀπροφασίστον
αἰσχύνονται.

XLV. Διὸ καὶ τῷ Κάτων πάντες οἱ μεγάλοι
προσεπολέμουν ὡς ἑλεγχόμενοι. Πομπῆίος δὲ καὶ
κατάλυσιν τῆς έαυτοῦ δυνάμεως τὴν ἐκείνου δόξαν
ηγούμενος ἀεὶ τινὰς προσέβαιλεν αὐτῷ λοιδορη-
σόμενος, ὡς καὶ Κλώδιος ἦν ὁ δημαγωγός, αὕθις
eis Πομπῆίον ὑπορρυεῖς καὶ καταβοῦν τοῦ Κάτω-

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took pledges for their money, but would not accept the money itself. When the day appointed for the election came, Cato took his stand by the side of the presiding tribune, and after watching the vote, declared that one of the depositors was playing false, and ordered him to pay his money over to the others. But these, after admiring and praising Cato's uprightness, cancelled the penalty, feeling that they already had sufficient satisfaction from the wrong-doer. In the rest of the citizens, however, this conduct of Cato caused more vexation and odium than anything else; they felt that he was investing himself with the powers of senate, courts and magistrates.

For no virtue, by the fame and credit which it gives, creates more envy than justice, because both power and credit follow it chiefly among the common folk. These do not merely honour the just, as they do the brave, nor admire them merely, as they do the wise, but they actually love the just, and put confidence and trust in them. As for the brave and wise, however, they fear the one and distrust the other; and besides, they think that these excel by a natural gift rather than by their own volition, considering bravery to be a certain intensity, and wisdom a certain vigour, of soul, whereas any one who wishes can be just forthwith, and the greatest disgrace is visited upon injustice, as being inexcusable baseness.

XLV. For this reason all the great men were hostile to Cato, feeling that they were put to shame by him; and Pompey, who considered Cato's high repute as a dissolution of his own power, was always egging certain persons on to abuse him, among whom was Clodius the demagogue especially, who had again drifted into Pompey's following. He
νος, ὡς πολλὰ μὲν ἐκ Κύπρου χρήματα νοσφισαμένου, Πομπῆιος δὲ πολεμοῦντος ἀπαξιώσαντι 2 γάμον αὐτοῦ θυγατρός. οὐ δὲ Κάτων ἔλεγεν ὅτι χρήματα μὲν ἐκ Κύπρου τοσαῦτα τῇ πόλει συναγάγοι μήτε ἱππον ἕνα μήτε στρατιώτην λαβῶν, ὡσα Πομπῆιος ἐκ πολέμων τὸσοῦτον καὶ θριάμβων τὴν οἰκουμένην κυκήσας οὐκ ἀνήνεγκε, κηδεστὴν δὲ μηδέποτε προελέσθαι Πομπῆιον, οὔκ ἀνάξιον ἠγούμενος, ἀλλ’ ὅραν τὴν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ 3 διαφοράν. “Αὐτὸς μὲν γάρ,” ἔφη, “διδομένης μοι μετὰ τὴν στρατηγικὰν ἐπαρχίας ἀπέστην, οὐ- τος δὲ τὰς μὲν ἔχει λαβῶν, τὰς δὲ δίδωσιν ἐτέρους· νυνὶ δὲ καὶ τέλος ἐξακισχίλιων ὀπλιτῶν Καίσαρι κέχρηκεν εἰς Γαλατίαν· δ’ οὐτ’ ἐκείνος ὤτησε παρ’ ὑμῶν οὔτε οὗτος ἔδωκε μὲθ’ ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ δυνάμεως τηλικά αὐτῷ καὶ ὀπλα καὶ ἱπποι χάριτές εἰσιν 4 ἰδιωτῶν καὶ ἀντιδόσεις. καλούμενος δὲ αὐτο-κράτωρ καὶ στρατηγὸς ἀλλος τὰ στρατεύματα καὶ τὰς ἐπαρχίας παραδέδωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τῇ πόλει παρακάθηκα στάσεις ἀγωνιστῶν ἐν ταῖς παραγγελίαις καὶ θορύβους μηχανώμενος, ἐξ δὲ οὐ λέληθε δι’ ἀναρχίας μονορρίαν ἐαυτῷ μυστενώ- μενος.”

XLVI. Οὕτως μὲν ἡμύνατο τὸν Πομπῆιον. ὥσ’ ὁ Μάρκος Φαώνιος ἔταξες αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡλωτής, οἶδος ὁ Φαληρεύς Ἀπολλόδωρος ἱστορεῖται περὶ Σωκράτην γενέσθαι τὸν παλαιόν, ἔμπαθής καὶ παρακεκινηκῶς πρὸς τὸν λόγον, οὐ σχέδην οὐδὲ πράως, ἀλλ’ ἀκρατον αὐτοῦ καθαψάμενον ὄσπερ 346
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loudly denounced Cato for having appropriated much treasure from Cyprus, and for being hostile to Pompey because he had declined to marry his daughter. But Cato declared that, without taking a single horse or soldier, he had got together from Cyprus more treasure for the city than Pompey had brought back from all his wars and triumphs after stirring up the habitable world; and that he never chose Pompey for a marriage connection, not because he thought him unworthy of it, but because he saw the difference in their political tenets. "I, for my part," said Cato, "when a province was offered me after my praetorship, declined it, but this Pompey took provinces, some of which he holds himself, and some he offers to others; and now he has actually lent Caesar a body of six thousand legionaries for use in Gaul. This force neither did Caesar ask from you, nor did Pompey give it with your consent, but armies of this great size and arms and horses are now the mutual gifts of private persons. And though he has the titles of general and imperator, he has handed over to others his armies and his provinces, while he himself takes up his post near the city, managing factions at the elections as though he were directing games, and contriving disturbances, from which, as we clearly see, by way of anarchy, he is seeking to win for himself a monarchy."

XLVI. With such words did Cato defend himself against Pompey. But Marcus Favonius was a companion and ardent disciple of his, just as Apollodorus of Phalerum is said to have been of Socrates in olden time. Favonius was impulsive, and easily moved by argument, which did not affect him moderately or mildly, but like unmixed wine, and to the point of
2 οὖν καὶ μανικώτερον. οὕτως ἀγορανομίαν μετ-ιὼν ἆττάτο, συμπαρών δὲ ὁ Κάτων προσέσχε ταῖς δέλτοις μιᾶ χειρὶ γεγραμμέναις· καὶ τὴν 782 κακουργίαν ἐξελέγξας τότε μὲν ἐπικλήσει δημάρχων ἐλυσε τὴν ἀνάδειξιν, ὑστερον δὲ τοῦ Φαω-νίου κατασταθέντος ἀγορανόμου τὰ τε ἄλλα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπεμελεῖτο καὶ τὰς θέας διείπεν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, δίδοις καὶ τοῖς θυμελικοῖς στεφάνους
3 μὲν οὖ χρυσοῦς, ἀλλ’ ὑστερ ἐν Ὁλυμπίας κοτί-νων, δόρα δὲ ἀντὶ τῶν πολυτελῶν τοὺς μὲν "Ελ-λησι πετύλα καὶ θρίδακας καὶ ῥαφανίδας καὶ ἀπιός, τοῖς δὲ Ῥωμαίοις οἶνου κεράμια καὶ κρέα ὤεια καὶ σικύους καὶ ξύλων ἀγκαλίδας, ὅταν τὴν εὐτέλειαν οἱ μὲν ἑγέλων, οἱ δὲ ἣδοιντο τοῦ Κάτωνος τὸ αὐτῆρον καὶ κατεστυμμένον ὅρων-τες ἁσυχῇ μεταβάλλουν εἰς διάχυσιν. τέλος δὲ ὁ Φαώνιος εἰς τὸν ὄχλον ἐμβαλὼν ἑαυτὸν καὶ καθε-ξόμενος ἐν τοῖς θεατάς ἐκρότει τὸν Κάτωνα καὶ διδόναι τοὺς εὐημεροῦσι καὶ τιμᾶν ἑβόα, καὶ συμπαρεκάλει τοὺς θεατάς, ὡς ἐκείνῳ τὴν ἐξου-σίαν παραδεδωκός. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ θεάτρῳ Κουρίων ὁ Φαώνιος συνάρχων ἐχορίγησε πολυ-τελῶν· ἀλλ’ ἐκείνον ἀποκλείστες οἱ ἀνθρωποι μετέβαινον ἐνταύθα, καὶ συνέπαιξαν προθύμως ὑποκρινομένῳ τῷ Φαώνιῳ τὸν ιδιώτην καὶ τῷ
5 Κάτων τὸν ἄγωνοθέτην. ἐπραττε δὲ ταῦτα δια-σύρων τὸ πράγμα, καὶ διδάσκων ὅτι παίζοντα δεῖ τῇ παιδιᾷ χρῆσθαι καὶ χάριτι παραπέμπειν ἀτύφω μᾶλλον ἢ παρασκευαῖς καὶ πολυτελείαις, εἰς τὰ μηδὲν ἀξία φροντίδας μεγάλας καὶ σπουδάς κατατιθέμενον.

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frenzy. He was being defeated in a candidacy for the aedileship, but Cato, who was present, noticed that the voting tablets were all inscribed in one hand; and having exposed the foul play, at the time he stopped the election by an appeal to the tribunes. Afterwards, when Favonius had been appointed aedile, Cato both discharged the other duties of the office and managed the spectacles in the theatre. He gave to the actors crowns, not of gold, but of wild olive, as was done at Olympia, and inexpensive gifts,—to the Greeks, beets, lettuce, radishes, and pears; and to the Romans, jars of wine, pork, figs, melons, and faggots of wood. At the practical simplicity of these gifts some laughed, but others conceived respect for Cato when they saw his severe and solemn manner gradually relaxing to pleasant good-humour. And at last Favonius, plunging into the crowd and taking a seat among the spectators, applauded Cato and called to him in a loud voice to give presents to the successful performers and to honour them, and helped him to exhort the spectators, as though he had delegated his powers to Cato. Now, in the other theatre, Curio, the colleague of Favonius, was managing things with a lavish hand; but the people left him and went over to the other place, and readily shared in a sport where Favonius was playing the part of a private citizen and Cato that of master of the games. But Cato did all this in disparagement of the usual practice, and with an effort to show that in sport one must adopt a sportive manner and conduct matters with unostentatious gladness rather than with elaborate and costly preparations, where one bestows upon trifling things great care and effort.

1 Cf. chapter i. 2.
XLVII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ, Σκηπτίωνος καὶ Τύψαίου καὶ Μήλανος ὑπατείαν μετερχομένων οὐ μόνον ἐκείνως τοῖς συντρόφοις ἦδη καὶ συμπολιτευομένως ὑδικῆ-μασί, δωροδοκίαις καὶ δεκασμοῖς, ἀλλ' ἀντικρυς δὲ ὅπλων καὶ φόνων εἰς ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον ὧθου-μένων τόλμη καὶ ἀπονοία, Πομπηίου τινες ἥξιον ἐπιστήνα ταῖς ἀρχαιεσιαῖς, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀντ-είπεν ὁ Κάτων, οὗ τοῖς νόμοις ἐκ Πομπηίου φάμενος, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων Πομπηίῳ δεῖν ὑπάρ-2 χειν τὴν ἀσφαλείαν, ὡς δὲ πολὺν χρόνον ἀναρ-χίας οὐσίας καὶ τρώων στρατοπέδων τὴν ἀγορὰν ὀσμηράν περιέχοντων ὅλιγον ἀπελπίσει ἀνεπί-σχετον γεγονέναι τὸ κακόν, ἦγου τὰ πράγματα πρὸ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀνάγκης εἰς Πομπηίου ἐκουσίων χάριτι τῆς βουλῆς περιστίχαι, καὶ τῷ μετριω-τάτῳ τῶν παρανομημάτων χρησάμενος ἱματί τῆς τῶν μεγίστων καταστάσεως τῆς μοναρχίαν ἐπαγαγόεσθαι μᾶλλον ἡ περιδεῖν τὴν στάσιν εἰς 3 μοναρχίαν τελευτῶσαν. εἶπεν οὖν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ γνώμην Βύζλος οἰκείος ἃν Κάτωνος, ὡς χρη- μόνον ἔλεσθαι Πομπηίίον ὑπατον ἣ γὰρ ἔσειν καλῶς τὰ πράγματα ἐκείνων καταστήσαντος, ἢ τῷ κρατίστῳ δουλεύσει τὴν πόλιν. ἀναστὰς δὲ ὁ Κάτων οὐδενὸς ἀν προσδοκήσαντος ἐπῆμεσε τὴν γνώμην καὶ συνεβούλευσε πᾶσαν ἄρχην ὡς ἀναρχίας κρείττονα, Πομπηίον δὲ καὶ προσδόκαν ἀριστα τοῖς παροῦσι χρῆσεθαι πράγμασι καὶ φυλάξεω διαπιστευθέντα τὴν πόλιν.

XLVIII. Οὕτω δὲ ἀποδειχθεὶς ὑπατος ὁ Πομ-πηίως ἐδεήθη τοῦ Κάτωνος ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν

1 μοναρχίαν Sintenis and Coraës, with the MSS.; Sintenis and Bekker adopt the ἀναρχίαν of Emperius.

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XLVII. But presently Scipio, Hypsaeus, and Milo sought the consulship. They not only used those illegal means which were now a familiar feature in political life, namely, the giving of gifts and bribes, but were openly pressing on, by the use of arms and murder, into civil war, with daring and madness. Some therefore demanded that Pompey should preside over the elections. Cato opposed this at first, saying that the laws ought not to derive their security from Pompey, but Pompey from the laws. However, when there had been no regular government for a long time,¹ and three armies were occupying the forum daily, and the evil had well-nigh become past checking, he decided that matters ought to be put into the hands of Pompey by the voluntary gift of the senate, before the extreme necessity for it came, and that by employing the most moderate of unconstitutional measures as a healing remedy for the conservation of the greatest interests, they should themselves introduce the monarchy, rather than allow faction to issue in monarchy. Accordingly, Bibulus, a kinsman of Cato, moved in the senate that Pompey should be chosen sole consul; for either matters would be rectified by his settlement of them, or the state would be in subjection to its most powerful citizen. Then Cato rose up and, to everyone's surprise, approved the measure, advising any government as better than no government at all, and saying that he expected Pompey would handle the present situation in the best manner possible, and would guard the state when it was entrusted to him.

XLVIII. After Pompey had in this way been appointed consul, he begged Cato to come to him in the

¹ For the year 52 B.C. Riots in Rome prevented any election. Cf. the Pompey, chapter liv.
eis to proa斯特ειον. ἐλθόντα δὲ δεξάμενος φιλο-
φρόνως ἀσπασμοῖς καὶ δεξιώσεσι καὶ χάριν
ὁμολογήσας παρεκάλει σύμβουλον αὐτῷ καὶ
2 πάρεδρον εἶναι τῆς ἀρχῆς. ο郤 τὰ πρῶτα πρὸς ἄπεχθειαν εἴπειν
Πομπηίου μῆτε ταῦτα πρὸς χάριν, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ
συμφέροντι πάντα τῆς πόλεως: ἰδίᾳ μὲν οὖν
αὐτῷ παρακαλοῦντι σύμβουλος ἐσεθεῖαι, δημοσίᾳ
dὲ, καὶ μὴ παρακαλῆται, πάντως ἑρείν τὸ φαινό-
3 μενον. καὶ ταῦτα ἔπραττεν ὡς εἶπε. πρῶτον
μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τοὺς δεκάσαντας ἴδῃ τὸν δῆμον
ἐπιτίμα καὶ κάδικας μεγάλας τοῦ Πομπηίου
νομοθετοῦντος ἀμελείν ἐκέλευσε τῶν γεγογών
καὶ προσέχων τοῖς μέλλουσιν ὡς ἂν γὰρ ὅπου
στήσεται τὸ τὰ προημαρτημένα ξητεῖν ὁρίσαι
ῥάδιον, εἶν τε νεώτερα γράφηται τῶν ἀδικημάτων 783
ἐπιτίμα, δεινὰ πείσεσθαι τοὺς, ὅν οὐ παρέβαινο
πρὸ ἡδίκους νόμου, κατὰ τῷ τοῦτον κολαξιμένους.
4 ἐπείτα πολλῶν κρινομένων ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν,
ἐνών δὲ καὶ φίλων τοῦ Πομπηίου καὶ οἰκείων,
ὄρῳν αὐτῶν ἐνδίδοντα ἐν1 πολλοῖς καὶ καμπτό-
μενον ἐπετίμα σφοδρῶς καὶ διήγειρεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ
νόμῳ τοὺς εἰσθότας λέγεσθαι περὶ τῶν κρινο-
μένων ἔπαινους αὐτῶν ἀφελόν, Μουνατίῳ Πλάγκῳ
συγγράψας ἔπαινον ἐπὶ τῆς δίκης ἐδωκεν, ἐπι-
σχόμενος ο郤 Κάτων τὰ ὀντα ταῖς χερσίν (ἐτυχε
γὰρ δικαῖων) ἐκώλυν ἀναγινωσκεσθαι τὴν μαρ-
5 τυρίαν. ὁ δὲ Πλάγκος ἀπέλεξεν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν

1 ἐν Coraës and Bekker, with most MSS.: τοῖς, with M.

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suburbs. And when Cato was come, Pompey gave him a friendly welcome with salutations and hand-clasps, acknowledged his obligations to him, and invited him to be his counsellor and associate in the government. But Cato replied that he had neither spoken as he did at first out of enmity to Pompey, nor as he afterwards did to win his favour, but in every case in the interests of the state; in private, therefore, upon his invitation, he would be his counsellor, but in public, even without his invitation, he would certainly say what he thought was best. And he did this, as he said he would. In the first place, for instance, when Pompey was proposing to fix by law fresh penalties and heavy punishments for those who had already bribed the people, Cato urged him to ignore the past and give his attention to the future; for, he said, it would not be easy to fix the point at which the investigation of past transgressions should stop, and if penalties should be fixed subsequent to the crimes, those would be outrageously dealt with who were punished in conformity with a law which they were not transgressing when they committed their crime. In the second place, when many prominent men were on trial, some of whom were friends and relations of Pompey, Cato saw that Pompey was giving in and yielding in many cases, and therefore rebuked him sharply and tried to spur him on. Moreover, though Pompey himself had made illegal the customary panegyrics upon men under trial, he wrote a panegyric upon Munatius Plancus and handed it in at his trial; but Cato (who chanced to be one of the jurors) stopped his ears with his hands and prevented the reading of the testimony.¹ Plancus got

¹ Cf. the Pompey, lv. 5.
δικαστῶν μετὰ τοὺς λόγους, καὶ ούδὲν ἦττον ἦλω. καὶ ὅλως ἀπορον ἡν πρᾶγμα καὶ δυσμεταχείριστον ὁ Κάτων τοὺς φεύγουσι, μήτε θουλομένοις αὐτῶν ἀπολεπεῖν δικαστὴν μήτε ἀπολέγειν τολμῶσιν. ἤλωσαν γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῷ Κάτωνα φεύγειν δόξαντες ὁ θαρρεῖν τοῖς δικαίοις· ἐνιοὺς δὲ καὶ προφθέρον οἱ λοιδοροῦντες ὡς ὅνειδος μέγα τὸ μὴ δέξασθαι κρίτην Κάτωνα προτεινόμενον.

XLIX. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ μὲν ἐμπεφυκότος τοῖς στρατεύμασιν ἐν Γαλατίᾳ καὶ τῶν ὁπλῶν ἔχομένου, δῶροις δὲ καὶ χρήμασι καὶ φίλοις μάλιστα πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῇ πόλει χρωμένου δύναμιν, ἦδη μὲν αἱ Κάτωνος προαγορεύσεις ἀνέφερον τὸν Πομπήιον ἐκ πολλῆς ἦδη τῆς πρόσθεν ἀπιστίας ὀνειροπολοῦντα τὸ δεινὸν, ἐτι δὲ ἦν ὁκνοῦ καὶ μελλήσεως ἀτόλμου πρὸς τὸ κωλύειν καὶ ἐπιχειρείν ὑπόπλεως, ὄρμησεν ὁ Κάτων ὑπατείαν παραγγέλλειν ὡς ἀφαιρησόμενος εὐθὺς τὰ ὀπλὰ τοῦ 2 Καίσαρος ἦ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἐξελέγξειν. οἱ δ' ἀντιπαραγγέλλουσις αὐτῷ χαρίνειτε μὲν ἤσαν ἀμφότεροι, Σουλπίκιος δὲ καὶ πολλὰ τῆς τοῦ Κάτωνος ἐν τῇ πόλει δόξης τε καὶ δυνάμεως ἀπολελαυκῶς οὗ μέτριον οὖν ἐδοκεί πρᾶγμα ποιεῖν οὔτ' εὐχάριστον οὐ μὴν ὁ γε Κάτων ἐνεκάλει· "Τί γάρ," ἐφη, "θαυμαστὸν εἰ ὁ τες νομίζει τῶν 3 ἀγαθῶν μέγιστον ἔτερον μὴ παρίσχῃ;" πείσας δὲ τὴν βουλὴν ἐσκέψασθαι τοὺς μετίοντας τὴν ἄρχην αὐτοὺς δεξιοῦσθαι τὸν δήμον, δι’ ἐτέρου δὲ μὴ δεῖσθαι μηδὲ ἐντυγχάνειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν περιοῦντος,
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him removed from the jury after the speeches were
over, and was convicted none the less. And alto-
gether Cato was a perplexing and unmanageable
quantity for defendants; they neither wished to
allow him to be a juror in their cases nor had the
courage to challenge him. For not a few of them
were convicted because their attempted rejection of
Cato made it appear that they had no confidence in
the justice of their cases; and some were bitterly
assailed by their revilers for not accepting Cato as
juror when he was proposed.

XLIX. But Caesar, though he devoted himself to
his armies in Gaul and was busy with arms, never-
theless employed gifts, money, and above all friends,
to increase his power in the city. Presently, there-
fore, the admonitions of Cato roused Pompey from
the great incredulity which he had indulged in up to
this time, so that he had forebodings of his peril.
However, he was still given to hesitation and spirit-
less delay in checking or attacking the threatening
evil, and therefore Cato determined to stand for the
consulship, that he might at once deprive Caesar of
his armed forces, or convict him of his hostile designs.
But his competitors were both acceptable men, and
Sulpicius had actually derived much benefit from
Cato's repute and power in the city, and was there-
fore thought to be acting in an improper and even
thankless manner. But Cato had no fault to find
with him. "Pray, what wonder is it," said he, "if a
man will not surrender to another what he regards
as the greatest of all good things?" However, by
persuading the senate to pass a decree that candidates
for office should canvass the people in person, and
not solicit nor confer with the citizens through the
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ἐξηγρίανε τοὺς ἄνθρωπους, εἰ μὴ μόνον τὸ λαβεῖν μισθόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ διδόναι χάριν αὐτοῖς ἀφηρημένος ἀπορον καὶ ἄτιμον ὡμοί τὸν δήμον πεποίηκε. πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ μῆτε αὐτὸς ἐντυχεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πιθανὸς ὡν, ἀλλ’ ἐν ἣδει τὸ τοῦ βίου μᾶλλον ἀξίωμα βουλόμενος φυλάσσειν ἢ προσλαβεῖν τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ποιούμενος τὰς δεξιώσεις, μῆτε τοὺς φίλους ἔάσας ὡς οἶκος ἀλίσκεται καὶ θεραπεύεται ποιεῖν, ἀπέτυχε τῆς ἀρχῆς.

I. Φέροντος δὲ τοῦ πράγματος οὐκ αὐτοῖς μόνοις τοῖς ἀποτυχοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φίλοις αὐτῶν καὶ οἰκείοις σὺν αἰσχύνῃ τινὶ κατήθειαν καὶ πένθος ἐφ’ ἡμέρας πολλάς. οὕτως ἤνεγκε ραθύμως τὸ συμβεβηκός ὡστε ἀλευψάμενος μὲν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ σφαιρίζασι, μετ’ ἀριστον δὲ πάλιν, ὡσπερ εἰθίστο, καταβᾶς εἰς ἀγορὰν ἀναπόδητος καὶ ἄχτων περι-2 πατήσαι μετὰ τῶν συνήθων. αἰτιάται δὲ Κικέρων ὅτι, τῶν πραγμάτων ἄρχοντος τοιούτου δεομένων, οὐκ ἐποιήσατο σπουδὴν οὐδὲ ὑπῆλθεν ὀμιλία φιλανθρώπῳ τὸν δήμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν ἔξεκαμε καὶ ἀπηγόρευσε, καίτοι τὴν στρατηγίαν 3 αὕτης ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς μετελθών. ἔλεγεν οὖν ὁ Κάτων ὅτι τῆς μὲν στρατηγίας οὐ κατὰ γνώμην ἐξέπεσε τῶν πολλῶν, ἀλλὰ βιασθέντων ἢ διαφθαρέντων, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὑπατικαῖς ψῆφοις μηδεμιᾶς κακουργίας γενομένης ἤγγο καὶ τῷ δήμῳ προσκεκρουκῶς διὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ τρόπον, διὸ οὕτε μεταθέσθαι πρὸς ἐτέρων χάριν οὕτε χρώμενον ὁμοίῳ πάλιν ὁμοία 784 παθεῖν νοῦν ἔχοντος ἄνδρός ἐστι.
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agency of another going about in their behalf, Cato still more exasperated the common folk, in that he deprived them, not only of getting money, but also of bestowing favour, and so made them at once poor and without honour. And besides this, he was not persuasive himself in canvassing for himself, but wished to preserve in his manners the dignity of his life, rather than to acquire that of the consulship by making the customary salutations; neither would he permit his friends to do the things by which the multitude is courted and captivated. He therefore failed to obtain the office.

L. Though the matter brought, not only to the unsuccessful candidates themselves, but also to their friends and relatives, dejection and sorrow tinged with considerable shame for many days, Cato bore so easily what had happened that he anointed himself and practised ball in the Campus Martius, and after the mid-day meal, again, as was his wont, went down into the forum without shoes or tunic and walked about there with his intimates. But Cicero finds fault with him because, when affairs demanded a man like him for office, he would not exert himself nor try to win the people by kindly intercourse with them, but for the future also ceased to make any effort and gave up the contest, although he had renewed his candidacy for the praetorship. Cato replied, accordingly, that he had lost the praetorship, not because the majority wished it to be so, but because they were constrained or corrupted; whereas, since there had been no foul play in the consular elections, he saw clearly that he had given offence to the people by his manners. These, he said, no man of sense would change to please others, nor, keeping them unchanged, would he again suffer a like disaster.
LI. Τοῦ δὲ Καίσαρος ἐμβαλόντος εἰς ἑθνη μάχιμα καὶ παραβόλως κρατήσαντος, Γερμανοῖς δὲ καὶ σποουδῶν γενομένων δοκούντος ἐπιθέσθαι καὶ καταβαλεῖν τριάκοντα μυριάδας, οἱ μὲν ἀλλοι τὸν δήμον ἥξιον εὐαγγέλια θύειν, ὃ δὲ Κάτων ἐκεῖλεν ἐκδιδόναι τὸν Καίσαρα τοῖς παρανομηθεῖσι καὶ μὴ τρέπειν εἰς αὐτοὺς μηδὲ ἀναδέχεσθαι τὸ 2 ἀγος εἰς τὴν πόλιν. “Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς,” ἐφη, “θύσσει, ὅτι τῆς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ μανίας καὶ ἀπονοίας τὴν δίκην εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας οὐ τρέποντιν, ἀλλὰ φείδοντας τῆς πόλεως.” ἐκ τούτου Καίσαρ ἐπιστολήν γράφας ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον ὡς δὲ ἀνεγνώσθη θλασφημίας πολλας ἔχουσα καὶ κατηγορίας τοῦ Κάτωνος, 3 ἀναστὰς ἐκείνος ὅργης οὐδὲ φιλονεικίας, ἀλλ’ ὀσπερ ἐκ λογισμοῦ καὶ παρασκευής τὰ μὲν εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐγκλήματα λοιδορίαις καὶ σκώμμασιν ὅμοια καὶ παιδιάν τινα καὶ βωμολοχίαν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀπέδειξεν, ἀψάμενος δὲ τῶν ἐκείνου βουλεμάτων ἀπ’ ἄρχης καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν, ὦσπερ ὅρκα ἐχθρός, ἀλλὰ συνωμότης καὶ κοινωνός, ἐκκαλύψας, καὶ διδάξας ὡς οὐ Γερμα- 4 νῶν οὐδὲ Κελτῶν παιδας, ἀλλ’ ἐκείνου αὐτοῦ, εἰ σωφρονοῦσι, φοβητέων ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς, οὕτως ἐπέστρεψε καὶ παράξενων ός τοὺς φίλους τοῦ Καίσαρος μετανοεῖν, ὅτι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀναγνώστες ἐν τῇ βουλῇ καίρων τῷ Κάτωνοι λόγων δικαιῶν καὶ κατηγορίων ἀλήθῶν παρέσχων. ἐκυρώθη μὲν οὖν οὔδεν, ἀλλ’ ἐλέχθη μόνον ὅτι καλῶς ἦχε διάδοχον 5 Καίσαρι δοθήναι. τῶν δὲ φίλων ἀξιούντων καὶ Πομπηίου εξ ἵσον τὰ ὅπλα καταθέσθαι καὶ ἀπο-
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LI. After Caesar had fallen upon warlike nations and at great hazards conquered them, and when it was believed that he had attacked the Germans even during a truce\(^1\) and slain three hundred thousand of them, there was a general demand at Rome that the people should offer sacrifices of good tidings, but Cato urged them to surrender Caesar to those whom he had wronged, and not to turn upon themselves, or allow to fall upon their city, the pollution of his crime. "However," said he, "let us also sacrifice to the gods, because they do not turn the punishment for the general's folly and madness upon his soldiers, but spare the city." After this, Caesar wrote a letter and sent it to the senate; and when it was read, with its abundant insults and denunciations of Cato, Cato rose to his feet and showed, not in anger or contentiousness, but as if from calculation and due preparation, that the accusations against him bore the marks of abuse and scoffing, and were childishness and vulgarity on Caesar's part. Then, assailing Caesar's plans from the outset and revealing clearly all his purpose, as if he were his fellow conspirator and partner and not his enemy, he declared that it was not the sons of Germans or Celts whom they must fear, but Caesar himself, if they were in their right minds, and so moved and incited his hearers that the friends of Caesar were sorry that by having the letter read in the senate they had given Cato an opportunity for just arguments and true denunciations. However, nothing was done, but it was merely said that it were well to give Caesar a successor.\(^2\) And when Caesar's friends demanded that Pompey also, as well as Caesar, should lay down his arms and give up his provinces,

\(^1\) Cf. Caesar, Bell. Gall. iv. 12-15; Plutarch, Caesar, xxii.
\(^2\) Cf. the Caesar, xxx.; the Pompey, lviii.
δούναι τὰς ἑπαρχίας ἡ μηδὲ Καίσαρα, νῦν ἐκεῖνα βοῶν ὁ Κάτων ὁ προύλεγεν αὐτοῖς ἦκειν, καὶ βιάζεσθαι τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν ἀναφανδὸν ἦδη τῇ δυνάμει χρόμενον ἦν ἐσχεν ἐξαπατῶν καὶ φενακίζων τὴν πόλιν, ἔξω μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπέραινε, τοῦ δὴμον θέλοντος αὐτὶ τῶν Καίσαρα μέγιστον εἶναι, τὴν δὲ σύγκλητον εἰχε πειθομένην καὶ φοβομένην τὸν δήμον.

ΛΠ. Ὡς δὲ Ἀρίμουν κατείληπτο καὶ Καίσαρ κατηγγέλλετο μετὰ στρατιάς ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ πάντες ἐπ᾽ ἐκεῖνον ἀφεώρων, οὗ τε πολλοὶ καὶ Πομπήιος, ὦς μόνον μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς προαιροῦμενον, πρῶτον δὲ φανερῶς προειπότα 2 τὴν Καίσαρος γνώμην. εἶπεν οὖν ὁ Κάτων ἀλλὰ εἰ γε οἴκ ἐγὼ προύλεγον ἀεὶ καὶ συνεβούλευν ἐπείσθη τις ὅμων, ἄνδρες, οὐτὸ ἄν ἐνα ἐφοβεῖσθε νῦν οὔτε ἐν ἐνὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας εἰχετε." Πομπήῖον δὲ εἰπόντος μαντικότερα μὲν εἰρήσθαι Κάτωνι, φιλικότερα δὲ αὐτῷ πεπράξθαι, συνεβούλευν ὁ Κάτων εἰνὶ Πομπήῖῳ τὰ πράγματα τῆς σύγκλητον ἐγχειρίσατο τῶν γὰρ αὐτῶν εἶναι 3 καὶ ποιεῖν τὰ μεγάλα κακὰ καὶ παύειν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Πομπήῖος οὔτε δύναμιν ἔχων ἑτοίμην οὔτε οὕς κατέλεγε τὸτε προθύμους ὅρῶν ἐξέλιπτε τὴν Ἄρωμην, ὁ δὲ Κάτων ἐπεσθαί καὶ συμφεύγειν ἐγνωκὸς τὸν μὲν νεώτερον υἱὸν εἰς Βρεττίους ὑπεξέθετο πρὸς Μουνάτιου, τὸν δὲ πρεσβύτερον εἰχε σὺν ἐαυτῷ. τῆς δὲ οἰκίας καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων κηδε-360.
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or else that Caesar should not do so either, "Now," shouted Cato, "those things are come to pass which I foretold to you, and the man is at last resorting to open compulsion, using the forces which he got by deceiving and cheating the state." Outside the senate-house, however, Cato could accomplish nothing, since the people wished all along that Caesar should have the chief power; and although Cato had the senate under his influence, it was afraid of the people.

LII. But when Ariminum was occupied and Caesar was reported to be marching against the city with an army, then all eyes were turned upon Cato, both those of the common people and those of Pompey as well; they realised that he alone had from the outset foreseen, and first openly foretold, the designs of Caesar. Cato therefore said: "Nay, men, if any of you had heeded what I was ever foretelling and advising, ye would now neither be fearing a single man nor putting your hopes in a single man." Pompey acknowledged that Cato had spoken more like a prophet, while he himself had acted too much like a friend. Cato then advised the senate to put affairs into the hands of Pompey alone; for the same men who caused great evils, he said, should put a stop to them. Pompey, however, who had no forces in readiness, and saw that those which he was then enrolling were without zeal, forsook Rome; and Cato, who had determined to follow him and share his exile, sent his younger son to Munatius in Bruttium for safe keeping, but kept his elder son with himself. And since his household and his daughters needed someone to

1 In 49 B.C. Cf. the Caesar, xxxii. fin.; the Pompey, lx. 1.
μόνος δεομένων ἀνέλαβε πάλιν τὴν Μαρκίαν χρησάοντα ετί ἠχήμασι πολλοίς· ὁ γὰρ Ὀρτή-4 σιος θυήσκων ἐκείνην ἀπέλητε κληρονόμον. εἰς ὃ δὴ μάλιστα λοιδορούμενος ὁ Καίσαρ τῷ Κάτωνι φιλοπλουτίαν προφέρει καὶ μισθαρνίαν ἐπὶ τῷ γάμῳ. τῷ γὰρ ἐδει παραχωρεῖν δεόμενον γυναι-κώς ἢ τό μὴ δεόμενον αὐθίς ἀναλαμβάνειν, εἰ μὴ δέλεαρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑφείθη τὸ γύναιον Ὀρτησίῳ καὶ νέαν ἔχρησεν, ἵνα πλουσίαν ἀπολάβῃ; πρὸς μὲν οὖν ταῦτα μετρίως ἔχει τὸ Εὐρυπίδειον ἐκείνο·

πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τάρρητ· ἐν ἀρρήτοισι γὰρ τὴν σὴν νομίζω δειλίαν, ὃ Ἡράκλεις·

5 ὁμοίων γὰρ ἐστὶ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ μαλακίαν οὐνειδίζειν καὶ κατηγορεῖν αἰσχροκέρδειαν Κάτωνος. εἰ δὲ ἄλλη πὴ μὴ καλῶς πέτρακται τὰ περὶ τῶν γάμων, ἐπισκεπτέον. ἐγγυησάμενος γὰρ τὴν Μαρκίαν οὶ Κάτων, καὶ τὸν οἰκον ἐπιτρέψας ἐκείνῃ καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας, αὐτὸς ἐδίωκε Πομπηίου.

LIII. Ἀπ’ ἐκείνης δὲ λέγεται τῆς ἡμέρας μὴτε κεφαλῆν ἐτὶ κείρασθαι μὴτε γένεια μὴτε στέφανον ἐπιθέσθαι, πένθους δὲ καὶ κατηγείας καὶ βαρύτη-
tos ἐπὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς τῆς πατρίδος ἐν σχῆμα νικώντων ὁμοίως καὶ νικωμένων ἀχρὶ τελευτῆς διαφιλάξει. τότε δὲ κλήρων λαχῶν Σικελίαν διέβη μὲν εἰς Συρακούσας, πυθόμενος δὲ Ἀσίν-
νυον Πολλίωνα παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἀφίχθαι μετὰ

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look after them, he took to wife again Marcia, now a widow with great wealth; for Hortensius, on his death, had left her his heir. It was with reference to this that Caesar heaped most abuse upon Cato, charging him with avarice and with trafficking in marriage. “For why,” said Caesar, “should Cato give up his wife if he wanted her, or why, if he did not want her, should he take her back again? Unless it was true that the woman was at the first set as a bait for Hortensius, and lent by Cato when she was young that he might take her back when she was rich.” To these charges, however, the well-known verses of Euripides apply very well:—

“First, then, the things not to be named; for in that class
I reckon, Heracles, all cowardice in thee;”

for to charge Cato with a sordid love of gain is like reproaching Heracles with cowardice. But whether on other grounds, perhaps, the marriage was improper, were matter for investigation. For no sooner had Cato espoused Marcia than he committed to her care his household and his daughters, and set out himself in pursuit of Pompey.

LIII. But from that day, as we are told, Cato neither cut his hair nor trimmed his beard nor put on a garland, but maintained the same mien of sorrow, dejection, and heaviness of spirit in view of the calamities of his country, alike in victory and in defeat, until the end. At the time, however, having had Sicily allotted to him as a province, he crossed over to Syracuse, and on learning that Asinius Pollio had come

1 In 50 B.C. Cf. chapter xxv.
2 In his treatise entitled “Anti-Cato.” Cf. chapter xi. 4.
3 Hercules Furens, 173 f. (Kirchhoff).

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δυνάμεως εἰς Μεσσηνήν ἐπεμψε, λόγον ἀπαίτων
2 παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τής διαβάσεως. ἀνταπατηθεῖς δὲ
λόγον ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων μεταβολῆς,
καὶ Πομπήιον ἀκούσας ἐκλεισοῦτο παντελῶς
Ἰταλίαν ἐν Δυρραχίῳ στρατοπεδεύειν, πολὺν ἠφή
περὶ τὰ θεία πλάνων εἶναι καὶ ἁσάφειαν, εἰ Πομ-
πήιον ἐν οἷς υγίες οὐδὲν οὐδὲ δίκαιον ἐπρατή
ἀγιτητον γενόμενον νῦν, ὅτε τὴν πατρίδα βοῦ-
λεται σῶξει καὶ τῆς ἔλευθερίας ὑπερμάχεται,
3 προλέουσι τὸ εὔτυχείν. Ἀσίνυνοι μὲν οὖν ἠφή
δυνάτος εἶναι Σικελίας ἐκβαλεῖν, ἀλλὰς δὲ μεί-
ζους ἐπερχομένης δυνάμεως οὐ βούλεσθαι τὴν
νῆσον ἐμπολεμῶν ἀπολέσαι, χωρεῖν δὲ πρὸς τὸ
κρατοῦν καὶ σώζεσθαι παρανεῖσας Συρακούσίοις
ἐξεπέλευσεν.

Ἀφικόμενος δὲ πρὸς Πομπήιον ἀεὶ μὲν εἴχετο
μᾶς γνώμης, χρονοτριβεῖν τὸν πόλεμον, ἐλπίζων
dialύσεις καὶ μὴ βουλόμενος ἐν ἀγώνι χείρῳ
γενομένην τὴν πόλιν αὐτήν ὑφ’ αὐτῆς παθεῖν τὰ
4 ἔσχατα, σιδήρῳ διακριθεῖσαν. ἄλλα δὲ τούτων
ἀδελφὰ Πομπήιον ἔπεισε καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους ψη-
φίσασθαι, μήτε πόλιν ὑπήκουν Ῥωμαίων διαρ-
πάξεις μήτε ἄνδρα Ῥωμαίων ἔξω παρατάξεως
ἀναίρειν· ἃ καὶ δόξαν ἤνεγκε καὶ προσηγάγατο
πολλοὺς τῇ Πομπήιον μερίδι, τὴν ἐπιείκειαν
αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἠμερὸν ἀστάσασθαν.

LIV. Ἐκπεμφθεῖς δὲ εἰς Ἑσσαίαν, ὡς τοῖς ἐκεῖ
συνάγουσι πλοῖα καὶ στρατιὰν ὑφέλιμος γένοιτο,
Σερβιλίαν ἐπηγάγετο τὴν ἀδελφήν καὶ τὸ Δευ-
κούλλου παιδίου ἐξ ἐκείνης γεγονός. ἦκολούθησε

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to Messana with a force from the enemy, he sent and demanded a reason for his coming. But having been asked by Pollio in turn a reason for the convulsion in the state, and hearing that Pompey had abandoned Italy altogether, and was encamped at Dyrrhachium, he remarked that there was much inconsistency and obscurity in the divine government, since Pompey had been invincible while his course was neither sound nor just, but now, when he wished to save his country and was fighting in defence of liberty, he had been deserted by his good fortune. As for Asinius, indeed, Cato said he was able to drive him out of Sicily; but since another and a larger force was coming to his aid, he did not wish to ruin the island by involving it in war, and therefore, after advising the Syracusans to seek safety by joining the victorious party, he sailed away.

After he had come to Pompey, he was ever of one mind, namely, to protract the war; for he looked with hope to a settlement of the controversy, and did not wish that the state should be worsted in a struggle and suffer at its own hands the extreme of disaster, in having its fate decided by the sword. Other measures, too, akin to this, he persuaded Pompey and his council to adopt, namely, not to plunder a city that was subject to Rome, and not to put a Roman to death except on the field of battle. This brought to the party of Pompey a good repute, and induced many to join it; they were delighted with his reasonableness and mildness.

LIV. When Cato was dispatched to Asia, that he might help those who were collecting transports and soldiers there, he took with him Servilia his sister and her young child by Lucullus. For Servilia had
γὰρ αὐτῷ χρησίν οὐκ ἕξετε, καὶ πολὺ τῶν εἰς τὸ ἀκόλουθον αὐτῆς διαβολῶν ἀφείλεται υποδύεσα τὴν ὑπὸ Κάισαρ φυσικῶν καὶ πλάνην καὶ διαίταιν 2 ἑκουσίως. ἀλλ’ ὁ γε Κάισαρ οὐδὲ τῶν ἐπ’ ἑκείνην βλασφημιῶν τοῦ Κάτωνος ἐφείσατο.

Πρὸς μὲν οὖν τᾶλα τοῦ Κάτωνος οὐδέν, ὡς ἔσκεψεν, ἐδείχθησαν οἱ Πομπήιοι στρατηγοὶ, Ὀρδίους δὲ πειθόν προσαγαγόμενος καὶ τὴν Σερβίλιαν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ παιδίον ἄπολιτῶν ἐπανῆλθεν πρὸς Πομπήιον, ἢ δὲ πεζικῆς τε λαμπρᾶς καὶ 3 ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως περὶ αὐτὸν οὕσης. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ μᾶλστα τῆς γνώμης κατάφωρος ἔδοξε γεγονέναι Πομπήιος. ὧρμησε μὲν γὰρ ἐγχείρισαι τῷ Κάτωνι τὴν τῶν νεῶν ἡγεμονίαν ἢ σαν δὲ πεντακοσίων μὲν οὐκ ἔλαττους αἰ μάχιμοι, λιβυρικὰ δὲ καὶ κατασκοπικὰ καὶ ἀφρακτα παμπληθή.

4 ταχὺ δὲ ἐνυοίσας ἢ διδαχθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων ὡς ἐν ἐστὶ κεφάλαιον Κάτωνι πάσης πολιτείας ἐλευθερώσαι τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ γένηται κύριοι τηλικαύτης δυνάμεως, ἢς ἄν ἡμέρας καταγωνίσωσι Καίσαρα, τῆς αὐτῆς ἑκείνης ἀξιώσει καὶ Πομπήιον τὰ ὅπλα καταθέσαι καὶ τοῖς νόμοις ἔπεσθαι, μετέγγινα, καὶ περὶ ἡ διελεγμένου αὐτῷ, 5 καὶ Βύβλου ἀπέδειξε ναύαρχον. οὐ μὴν ἠδεινόγε δὲ παρὰ τούτο τῆς προθυμίας τοῦ Κάτωνος ἀμβλυτέρας. ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγεται πρὸς τινα μάχην πρὸ τοῦ Δυρραχίου αὐτοῦ τε Πομπήιον παρορ- 786 μῶντος τὴν δύναμιν, καὶ τῶν ἀλλων ἐκαστῶν ἡγεμόνων εἰπεῖν τι καὶ προτρέψασθαι κελεύοντος, ἀργῶς καὶ σιωπῆ τούς στρατιώτας ἄκουειν, Κα-
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followed Cato, now that she was a widow, and had put an end to much of the evil report about her dissolute conduct by submitting to Cato's guardianship and sharing his wanderings and his ways of life of her own accord. But Caesar did not spare abuse of Cato even on the score of his relations with Servilia.

Now, in other ways, as it would seem, Pompey's commanders in Asia had no need of Cato, and therefore, after persuading Rhodes into allegiance, he left Servilia and her child there, and returned to Pompey, who now had a splendid naval and military force assembled. Here, indeed, and most clearly, Pompey was thought to have made his opinion of Cato manifest. For he determined to put the command of his fleet into the hands of Cato, and there were no less than five hundred fighting ships, besides Liburnian craft, look-out ships, and open boats in great numbers. But he soon perceived, or was shown by his friends, that the one chief object of Cato's public services was the liberty of his country, and that if he should be made master of so large a force, the very day of Caesar's defeat would find Cato demanding that Pompey also lay down his arms and obey the laws. Pompey therefore changed his mind, although he had already conferred with Cato about the matter, and appointed Bibulus admiral. Notwithstanding, he did not find that in consequence of this the zeal of Cato was blunted; nay, it is even said that when Pompey himself was trying to incite his forces to a battle before Dyrrhachium, and bidding each of the other commanders to say something to inspire the men, the soldiers listened to them sluggishly and in silence;

1 Cf. chapter xxiv. 3.
2 In his "Anti-Cato." Cf. chapter xi. 4.
των δὲ μετὰ πάντας ὅσα καὶ ῥὴν εἶχε τῶν ἀπὸ
φιλοσοφίας ἀκούειν λεγομένων περὶ ἑλευθερίας
καὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ θανάτου καὶ δόξης διελθόντος
6 αὐτοπαθῶς, καὶ τελευτῶντα τρέψαντο τὸν λόγον
εἰς θεῶν ἀνάκλησιν, ὡς παρόντων καὶ ἐφοροῦσιν
τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀγώνα, τηλικοῦτον ἀλα-
λαγμὸν γενέσθαι καὶ τοσοῦτον κίνημα τῆς στρα-
tiᾶς ἐπαρθείσης ὡστε πάντας ἐλπίδων μεστοὺς
ἐπὶ τὸν κίνδυνον ὀρμῆσαι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας. τρεψα-
mένων δὲ καὶ κρατησάντων ἀφείλετο τὴν παντελῆ
νίκην ὁ Κάισαρος δαίμων, τῇ Πομπήιον χρησά-
μενος εὐλαβεία καὶ ἀπιστία περὶ τὸ εὐτύχημα.
7 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς περὶ Πομπήιον γέγραπται.
χαιρόντων δὲ πάντων καὶ μεγαλυνόντων τὸ
ἔργον οὐ Κάτων ἀπεδέκρετο τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ τὴν
ὁλέθριον καὶ κακοδαίμονα φιλαρχίαν ὡδύρετο,
pολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ὅρων πολλαῖς ὑπ᾿ ἀλλήλων
πεπτωκότας.
LV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κάισαρα διώκων Πομπήιος εἰς
Θεσπαλίαν ἀνεξεύγυνε πολλά καταλίπτων περὶ
Δυρράχιον ὅπλα καὶ χρήματα καὶ σώματα συγ-
γενή καὶ οἰκεία, πάντων ἀπέδειξεν ἡγεμόνα καὶ
φύλακα τὸν Κάτωνα πεντεκαίδεκα σπείρας ἔχοντα
στρατιωτῶν διὰ πίστιν ἀμα καὶ φόβον τοῦ ἀν-
δρός. ἡττωμένω μὲν γὰρ πάντων εἶναι βεβαιό-
tatov ἐνόμισεν, ἐν ἑν δικαίου, μὴ ἐπιτρέψειν πα-
ρόντα χρησάσαι τοῖς πράγμασιν ὡς προήρηται.
2 πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπερρήφη-
san en Δυρράχιω μετὰ Κάτωνος.
Γενομένης δὲ τῆς κατὰ Φάρσαλον ἡττησι ὀφθως
ἐστὶ τοῖς λογισμοῖς ὁ Κάτων ὡς, εἰ μὲν τεθνήκοι
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but that when Cato, after all the other speakers, had rehearsed with genuine emotion all the appropriate sentiments to be drawn from philosophy concerning freedom, virtue, death and fame, and finally passed into an invocation of the gods as eye-witnesses of their struggle in behalf of their country, there was such a shouting and so great a stir among the soldiers thus aroused that all the commanders were full of hope as they hastened to confront the peril. They overcame and routed their enemies, but were robbed of a complete and perfect victory by the good genius of Caesar, which took advantage of Pompey's caution and distrust of his good fortune. These details, however, have been given in the Life of Pompey. But while all the rest were rejoicing and magnifying their achievement, Cato was weeping for his country, and bewailing the love of power that had brought such misfortune and destruction, as he saw that many brave citizens had fallen by one another's hands.

LV. When Pompey, in pursuit of Caesar, was breaking camp to march into Thessaly, he left behind him at Dyrrhachium a great quantity of arms and stores, and many kindred and friends, and over all these he appointed Cato commander and guardian, with fifteen cohorts of soldiers, because he both trusted and feared him. For in case of defeat, he thought that Cato would be his surest support, but in case of a victory, that he would not, if present, permit him to manage matters as he chose. Many prominent men were also ignored by Pompey and left behind at Dyrrhachium with Cato.

When the defeat at Pharsalus came, Cato resolved that, if Pompey were dead, he would take over to

1 Chapter lxv. Cf. the Caesar, xxxix.
Πομπήιος, εἰς Ἰταλίαν τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ περαιώσων, αὐτὸς δὲ πορρωτάτω τής τυραννίδος ἐπὶ φυγῇ βιωσόμενος εἰ δὲ σώζοιτο, πάντως ἐκεῖνως διαφυλάξων τὴν δύναμιν. οὕτω δὲ διαβαλων εἰς Κέρκυραν, ὅπου τὸ ναυτικὸν ἦν, ἐξίστατο μὲν Κικέρωνι τῆς ἀρχῆς ὡς ὑπατικῷ στρατηγικός, οὗ δεξαμένον δὲ Κικέρωνος, ἀλλ’ ἀπαίροντος εἰς Ἰταλίαν, ἴδιων τὸν Πομπήιον ὑπ’ αὐθαδείας καὶ φρουήματος ἀκάρον βουλόμενου κολάζειν τοὺς ἀποπλέοντας, πρῶτο δὲ μέλλοντα τῷ Κικέρωνι προσφέρειν τὰς χείρας, ἐνουθετήσειν ἴδια καὶ κατεπράüνεν, ὡστε τὸν Κικέρωνα περισσώσαι σαφῶς ἐκ θανάτου καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοίς ἂδειαν παρασχεῖν.

LVI. Τεκμαίρόμενος δὲ Πομπήιον Μάγινον εἰς Αἰγύπτον ἡ Λιβύην διεκπεσεῖσθαι καὶ σπεύδων πρὸς ἐκείνου ἀνήχθη μὲν ἐχὼν ἀπαντας, ἐπλει δὲ πρῶτον ἀπιέναι διδοὺς καὶ ὑπολείπεσθαι τοὺς οὐ προθύμως συστρατευομένους. ἀφάμενος δὲ Λιβύης καὶ παραπλέων ἐντυγχάνει Σέξτῳ τῷ νεώτερῳ τῶν Πομπήιου παῖδων ἀγγέλλοντι τὴν ἔπτι

2 Αἰγύπτου τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν. πάντες μὲν οὖν βαρέως ἢνεγκαν, οὐδεὶς δὲ μετὰ Πομπήιου ἢξιον Κάτωνοι παρόντος οὐδὲ ἀκούειν ἄλλον ἡγεμόνα. διὸ καὶ Κάτων αἰδούμενος καὶ οἰκτείρων ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ πίστεως δεδωκότας πείραν ἐπὶ ξένης ἔρημους καὶ ἀπόρους ἀπολυπεῖν, ὑπέστη τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ παρῆλθεν εἰς Κυρήνην· ἐδέξαντο γὰρ 370
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Italy those who were with him, but would himself live in exile as far as possible from the tyranny of Caesar; if, on the contrary, Pompey were alive, he would by all means keep his forces intact for him. Accordingly, having crossed over to Corcyra, where the fleet was, he offered to give up the command to Cicero, who was of consular rank, while he himself had been only a praetor. But Cicero would not accept the command, and set out for Italy. Then Cato, seeing that the younger Pompey\(^1\) was led by his obstinacy and unseasonable pride into a desire to punish all those who were about to sail away, and was going to lay violent hands on Cicero first of all, admonished him in private and calmed him down, thus manifestly saving Cicero from death and procuring immunity for the rest.

LVI. Conjecturing, now, that Pompey the Great would make his escape into Egypt or Libya, and being eager to join him, Cato put to sea with all his company and sailed away, after first giving those who had no eagerness for the expedition leave to depart and remain behind. After reaching Libya, and while sailing along its coast, he fell in with Sextus, the younger son of Pompey, who told him of his father's death in Egypt. All, of course, were deeply distressed, but no one, now that Pompey was gone, would even listen to any other commander while Cato was at hand. For this reason also Cato, who had compassion on men who were brave and had given proof of fidelity, and was ashamed to leave them helpless and destitute in a foreign land, undertook the command, and went along the coast to Cyrene, the people of which received him kindly,

\(^1\) Gnaeus Pompey, the elder son of Pompey the Great. Cf. chapter lix. 5.
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ἐκεῖνον, ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἐμπροσθεν ἀποκλείσαν-τες Δαβίδην. ἐνταῦθα πυθανόμενος Σκηπτίωνα τὸν Πομπηίου πενθερὸν ὑπὸ Ἰόβα τοῦ βασιλέως ἀνειλήφθαι, καὶ Οὐαροῦ Ἀττίου, ὦς ἦν ὑπὸ Πομπηίου Διβύς ἀποδεδειγμένος ἡγεμόν, εἶναι σὺν αὐτοῖς μετὰ δυνάμεως, ἐξώρμησε πεζῇ χειμῶνος ὥρα, πολλοὺς μὲν ὄνους ὕδωρ κομίζοντας συναγα-γῶν, πολλὴν δὲ λείαν ἑλαύνων, ἦτι δὲ ἁρματα καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους Ψύλλους ἐπαγόμενος, οὐ τά τε δήγματα τῶν θηρίων ἱονται τοῖς στόμασιν ἐλ-κοντες τὸν ἵον, αὐτά τε τά θηρία κατεπάδοντες ἅμβλύνουσι καὶ κηλοῦσιν. ἡμέρας δὲ συνεχῶς ἐπτὰ τῆς πορείας γενομένης πρῶτος ἡγήσατο μήτε ὑππο μήτε ὑποξυγίῳ χρησάμενος. ἐδείπνει δὲ καθήμενος ἀφ’ ὧς ἡμέρας τὴν κατὰ Φάρσαλον ἠταν ἔγνω καὶ τούτο τὸ λοιπὸν προσέθηκε πέν-θει, τὸ μὴ κατακλεθήναι πλὴρον καθεύδων. ἐν δὲ Διβύς διαγαγὼν τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐξῆγαγε τὴν στρατιάν. ἦσαν δὲ μυρίων ὅλιγον ἀποδέοντες.

LVII. Τὰ δὲ πράγματα παρὰ τοῖς μετὰ Σκηπτίωνα καὶ Οὐαροῦ, ἐκ διαφορᾶς καὶ στάσεως ὑποδυομένους καὶ θεραπεύουσα τοῖν Ἰόβαν, οὐκ ἀνεκτόν ὦντα βαρύτητι φρονήματος καὶ ὁγκοῦ διὰ πλούτου καὶ δύναμιν. οὐ γε Κάτων πρῶτον ἐν-τυγχάνειν μέλλων μέσον ἐθηκε τῶν εαυτοῦ θρόνον 2 τοῦ Σκηπτίωνος καὶ τοῦ Κάτωνος. ὁ μέντοι Κάτων

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1 Now a partisan of Pompey, and a fugitive from Pharsalus. Cf. the Caesar, xxxiv. 2. 2 Cf. Herodotus, iv. 173.
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although a few days before they had closed their gates against Labienus. There he learned that Scipio, the father-in-law of Pompey, had been well received by Juba the king, and that Attius Varus, who had been appointed governor of Libya by Pompey, was with them at the head of an army. Cato therefore set out thither by land in the winter season, having got together a great number of asses to carry water, and driving along with him many cattle. Besides, he took with him chariots, and the people called Psylli. These cure the bites of serpents by sucking out the venom, and charm and deaden the serpents themselves by means of incantations. Though the march lasted for seven days consecutively, Cato led at the head of his force, without using either horse or beast of burden. Moreover, he used to sup in a sitting posture from the day when he learned of the defeat at Pharsalus; yes, this token of sorrow he added to others, and would not lie down except when sleeping. After finishing the winter in Libya, he led forth his army; and it numbered nearly ten thousand.

LVII. But matters were in a bad way with Scipio and Varus. Their dissension and quarrelling led them to pay court to Juba in efforts to win his favour, and the king was unendurable for the severity of his temper and for the arrogance which his wealth and power gave him. When he was going to have an interview with Cato for the first time, he placed his own seat between that of Scipio and that of Cato. Cato, however, when he saw the arrangement, took

3 The text of this sentence is uncertain: Sintenis and Bekker assume a lacuna. Libya means here the Roman province of Africa.

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ως εἴδεν, ἃρας τὸν ἐαυτοῦ μετέθηκεν ἐπὶ θάτερα, μέσον λαμβάνων τὸν Σκηνίωνα, καίπερ ἐχθρὸν ὄντα καὶ τι καὶ βιβλίων ἐκδεδωκότα βλασφημίας ἔχον τοῦ Κάτωνος. εἶτα τούτο μὲν εἰς οὐδένα τίθενται λόγον, εἰ δὲ Φιλόστρατον ἐν Σικελίᾳ μέσον εἰχε περιπατῶν ἐπὶ τιμὴ φιλοσοφίας, ἐγκαλοῦσί. τότε δ' οὖν καὶ τὸν Ἰόβαν ἔπαυσε μονονουχὶ σατράπας πεποιημένον ἐαυτὸ τούς 3 περὶ τὸν Σκηνίωνα, κἀκεῖνος διήλλαξεν. ἄξιον- των δὲ πάντων ἀρχείων αὐτῶν, καὶ πρώτων τῶν περὶ Σκηνίωνα καὶ Οὐαρον ἐξισταμένων καὶ παραδιδόντων τὴν ἕγεμονίαν, οὐκ ἔφη καταλύσειν τοὺς νόμους περὶ ὅν τῷ καταλύνοντι πολεμοῦσιν, οὐδὲ ἐαυτῶν ἀντιστάτηγον ὄντα παρόντος ἄνθρω- πάτων προτάξειν. ἄνθυπατος γὰρ ὁ Σκηνίων ἀπεδέδεικτο, καὶ θάρσος εἰχὼν οἱ πολλοὶ διὰ τοῦ- νομα, κατορθώσειν ἄρχοντος ἐν Λιβύη Σκηνίωνος.

LVIII. Ἐπεὶ μέντοι τὴν ἄρχην ὁ Σκηνίων παραλαβὼν εὐθὺς ἐβούλετο Ἰόβα καὶ δέουμενός Ἰτυκαίους ἡβηδὸν ἀποκτεῖναι καὶ κατακάψαι τὴν πόλιν ὡς τὰ Καύσαρος φρονοῦσαν, οὐχ ὑπέ- μεινεν ὁ Κάτων, ἀλλὰ μαρτυρόμενος καὶ κεκραγὼς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καὶ θεοκλυτῶν μόλις ἔξειλετο τῇς 2 ἀμούτης αὐτῶν τοὺς ἄνθρωπος καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν δεηθέντων, τὰ δὲ τοῦ Σκηνίωνος ἄξιοντος, ἀνεδέξατο φυρησέσαι τὴν πόλιν, ὡς μήτε ἄκουσα μήτε ἐκούσα Καύσαρι προσγένοιτο. καὶ γὰρ ἦν εἰς ἀπαντά τὸ χωρίον ὑφέλιμον καὶ διαρκεῖς

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up his own seat and moved it over to the other side, thus placing Scipio in the middle, although Scipio was an enemy, and had published a book which contained abuse of Cato. And yet there are those who give Cato no credit for this, although they censure him because, in Sicily, as he was walking about with Philostratus, he placed him in the middle, to show his respect for philosophy. But at the time of which I speak, Cato actually put a check upon Juba, who had all but made Scipio and Varus his satraps, and reconciled the two Romans. And though all thought it meet that he should have the command, especially Scipio and Varus, who resigned and tendered to him the leadership, he refused to break the laws to support which they were waging war with one who broke them, nor, when a pro-consul was present, would he put himself, who was only a praetor, above him. For Scipio had been made pro-consul, and the greater part of the army were emboldened by his name; they thought that they would be successful if a Scipio had command in Africa.

LVIII. When Scipio, however, after assuming the command, straightway desired to gratify Juba by putting all the people of Utica to death and demolishing their city, on the ground that it favoured the cause of Caesar, Cato would not suffer it, but by adjurations and loud outcries in the council, and by invoking the gods, with difficulty rescued the people from this cruelty; and partly at the request of the people, and partly at the instance of Scipio, he undertook to watch over the city, that it might not, either willingly or unwillingly, attach itself to Caesar. For the place was in every way advantageous for
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tois éxousin... éti dè mállov upo toû Kátwnos érrwsth. kai ypar sítov eišsîgavev uperbâllonta plîthei kai katasekeúaze tâ teîçh pûrgous épairopómenos kai tâfrous ōxurâs kai xarakhômatà pro 3 tûs pólews bâllómenos. 'Itonkaiw dè toûs mèn hêtôntas ein toûs xarakhômasin êtazên oîkeîn, tà õplo paraðontas autô, toûs dè állovès en th̀ póleis sunveîxen, îsîxurôs epîmelômenos hë adìkeîsthai mhteì pàschei kakôs upo tôw 'Rwmaiôn. õplo dè pollè kai xôrîmata kai sítov ezêpeîmve toûs epî stratopèdou, kai dloos eîxe toû polémov 4 tûn pólin tâmèîon. ã dè Pompêiû sunebôuleve prôteron kai tôte Skêpîwui, ùh mâxêsthai prôs ãnðra polémîsthn kai deînov, allà tî hronô wí rès õlîs sîxîvnis iôxûei maraînînti, tôtûv ò Skêpîwup upo aûthadeîas katefrônei; kai pote tô Kátwni deîlîan õneidîzou ègarafev, eî ùh mûnov autôs àgapatâ kathêmenev en póleis kai teîxèsin, allà mëdê êtêrous eî prôs tôv kairom eûtharstês wí rès thôsthai toûs lôgismôiès. 5 prôs taûta o Kátwn anûtgarafev òs ë太后mos èstîn òûs îgagavev autôs eîs Lîvûnî õplîtas kai îppeîs paralabwv eîs 'Italîan peraioun, kai Kâsara meîsttánai kai trêpewv âp' èkeînov 788 prôs autôn. òs dè kai tôtûv ò Skêpîwus katêgeîa, pâun dîllos ònî áxthômenos o Kátwn tî paraçhôresi tîs ârçhîs, òs oûte tô pôleîw kâlîs tôw Skêpîwvna chrîsômenov, oûte, ân paraîlîgou eûtûchêsthai, mútrîouv en tô krátewî prôs toûs

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those who held it, and fully capable of defence; and it was still further strengthened by Cato. For he brought in a great abundance of grain, and perfected the walls by building towers and by running formidable trenches and palisades in front of the city. To the men of Utica who were of military age he assigned the palisades for quarters, and made them give up their arms to him; the rest he kept together in the city, taking great pains that they should not be wronged or suffer harm at the hands of the Romans. Moreover, he sent out great quantities of arms and stores and grain to the Romans in their camp, and, in a word, made the city a store-house for the war. But as for the advice which he had given Pompey before and now gave Scipio, namely, not to give battle to a man who was versed in war and of formidable ability, but to trust to time, which withers away all the vigour which is the strength of tyranny, —this advice Scipio, out of obstinate self-will, despised. And once he wrote to Cato reproaching him with cowardice, seeing that he was not only well content to sit quietly in a walled city himself, but would not even allow others to carry out their plans with boldness as opportunity offered. To this Cato wrote in reply that he was ready to take the legionaries and the horsemen whom he himself had brought to Libya and cross the sea with them to Italy, thus forcing Caesar to change his plan of campaign, and turning him away from Scipio and Varus against himself. When Scipio mocked at this also, it was very clear that Cato was distressed at having declined the command, being convinced that Scipio would neither conduct the war well, nor, in case he should have unexpected good fortune behave with moder-
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6 πολίτας ἐσόμενον. διὸ καὶ γνώμην εἶχεν ὁ Κάτων, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις ἔλεγεν, οὐ χρηστὰς μὲν ἐλπίδας ἔχειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου δι’ ἀπειρίαν καὶ θρασύτητα τῶν ἡγεμόνων, εἰ δ’ οὖν εὐτυχία τις γένοιτο καὶ καταλυθεῖν Καῖσαρ, οὔ μενεῖν ἐν Ὁρώμη, φεύξεσθαι δὲ τὴν χαλεπότητα καὶ πικρίαν τοῦ Σκηπτίωνος, ἥδη τότε δεινὰς καὶ ὑπερηφάνους ποιουμένου κατὰ πολλῶν ἀπειλάς.

7 Ἀπέβη δὲ μάλλον ἡ προσεδόκα: καὶ περὶ ἐσπέραν βαθεῖαν ἦκε τις ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου τριταῖος ἀγγέλλων ὅτι μάχης μεγάλης πρὸς Θάψφανος γενομένης διέφθαρται παντάπασι τὰ πράγματα καὶ κρατεῖ Καῖσαρ τῶν στρατοπέδων, Σκηπτίων δὲ καὶ Ἰόβας σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐκπεφεύγασιν, ἡ δὲ ἄλλη δύναμις ἀπόλωλε.

LIX. Τούτων προσπεσόντων ἡ μὲν πόλις, οἶνον εἰκὸς ἐν υγκτὶ καὶ πολέμῳ, πρὸς τοιοῦτον ἀγγέλμα μικρὸν δὲίν ἐκφρῶν γενομένη μόλις ἑαυτήν ἐντὸς τείχων κατείχεν, ὁ δὲ Κάτων προελθὼν τότε μὲν, ὡς ἐκάστοις ἀπήντα διαθέουσι καὶ βοῶσιν, ἐπιλαμβανόμενος καὶ παραμυθούμενος ἀφήρει τοῦ δέους τὸ περισσαίος καὶ ταραχῶδες, ὡς οὐ τηλικοῦτων ἵππων γεγονότων, ἄλλα ἐπὶ μείζον αἰρομένων τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ κατέστησε τὸν θόρυβον·

2 ἀμα δ’ ἡμέρα τοὺς τριακοσίους οἶς ἐχρῆτο βουλὴ, Ἡρωαίους μὲν ὄντας, ἐν δὲ Λιβύη πραγματευομέ-
Cato the Younger

ation towards his fellow citizens in the hour of victory. Therefore Cato made up his mind, and said to his intimate friends, that there were no good hopes for the war owing to the inexperience and rashness of the commanders; but that if, then, by any good fortune, Caesar should be overthrown, he himself would not remain in Rome, but would fly from the harshness and cruelty of Scipio, who was even then making extravagant and dreadful threats against many.

But his fears were realized more fully than he expected; for late one evening there came a messenger from the camp who had been three days on the road, announcing that there had been a great battle at Thapsus, that their cause was utterly ruined, that Caesar was in possession of their camps,¹ that Scipio and Juba had escaped with a few followers, and that the rest of the force had perished.

LIX. These things coming suddenly upon the city, the people, as was natural at night and in time of war, were almost beside themselves at such tidings, and could with difficulty keep themselves within the walls. But Cato came forth, and for the present, whenever he met people running about and shouting, would lay hold of them one by one, and with encouraging words would take away the excessive wildness and confusion of their fear, saying that perhaps the defeat was not so bad as reported, but had been magnified in the telling, and thus he allayed the tumult; but as soon as it was day, he issued proclamation that the three hundred who made up his senate (they were Romans, and were doing business

¹ Scipio had separated from his allies and was encamped apart. Cf. the Caesar, liii.
νοὺς ἀπὸ ἐμπορίας καὶ δανεισμῶν, εἰς ἱερὸν Δίδω
ἐκήρυττε συνιέναι, καὶ δοσὶ παρῆσαν ἀπὸ συγ-
κλήτου, καὶ παίδας αὐτῶν. ἔτι δὲ συλλεγομένων
ἐκεῖνων προσελθῶν ἀθορύβως καὶ μετὰ ἐγκα-
θείας, ὡσπερ οὐδενὸς καὶνοῦ γεγονότος, βιβλίον
ἐχὼν ἐν ταῖς χερσίν ἀνεγίνωσκεν. ἢν δὲ ἀνα-
γραφῇ τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἀργάνων, ὅπλων,
3 σίτου, τὸξων, ὑπλητῶν. ἔπει δὲ συνήθθην,
ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῶν τριακοσίων καὶ διελθῶν πο-
λῶν ἐπαινοῦν τῆς προσβυμίας αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς πίστεως,
ἡν ἐπεδείξατο καὶ χρήσατο καὶ σῶμασι καὶ
βουλαῖς ὀφελιμότατοι γενόμενοι, παρεκάλει μὴ
dιαλυθῆται ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐκαστὸν αὐτῷ φυγὴν
ιδίαν ἡ ἀπόδρασιν τινα πορεύομεν. ἄν γὰρ ἐν
tαύτῳ συμμένωσι, καὶ πολεμοῦντος ἢττον κατα-
φρονήσειν Καίσαρα, καὶ φείσεσθαι μᾶλλον δεο-
μένων. βουλεύεσθαι δὲ ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ
αὐτῶν, οὐδέτερα μεμψόμενος, ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν τρέ-
ποντο τῇ γνώμῃ πρὸς τὴν τύχην, τῆς ἀνάγκης
θησόμενος την μεταβολὴν: ἵσταμένων δὲ πρὸς τὰ
δεινὰ καὶ δεχομένων τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας
κύδυνου, οὐκ ἐπαινεσόμενος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
θαυμασόμενος τὴν ἀρετὴν, καὶ παρέξων ἐαυτὸν
5 ἀρχοντα καὶ συναγωνιζόμενον, ἀχρι οὗ τὴν ἐσχά-
tῆς τῆς πατρίδος ἐξελέξωσιν, ἤν οὐκ
Ἰτύκην οὐδὲ Ἀρδούμητον οὐσαν, ἀλλὰ Ἡρώμην,
pολλάκις ἐκ χαλεπωτέρων σφαλμάτων ὑπὸ μεγέ-
θους ἀναφέρεσθαι. πολλῶν δ’ αὐτῶς εἰς σωτη-
ρίαν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν ὑποκειμένων, καὶ μεγίστον
πρὸς ἄλλα πολεμεῖν ἐπὶ πολλὰ τοῖς καιροῖς

1 ὑπλητῶν bracketed by Bekker.
in Libya as merchants and money-lenders) should assemble in the temple of Jupiter, as well as all the senators from Rome who were present, with their children. And while they were still coming together, he advanced quietly and with a composed countenance, and as if nothing unusual had happened, with a book in his hands from which he was reading. This was a register of his military engines, arms, grain, and men-at-arms. After they had come together, beginning with the three hundred and commending at great length their zeal and fidelity, which they had manifested by making themselves most helpful with their means and persons and advice, he exhorted them not to ruin their good prospects by trying to procure for themselves severally some separate flight or escape. For if they should hold together, he said, Caesar would despise them less as foes, and show them more mercy as suppliants. Moreover, he urged them to deliberate upon their future course, declaring that he would have no fault to find with either decision which they might make. If they should turn their allegiance to the fortunate side, he would attribute their change to necessity; but if they should face the threatening evil and accept danger in defence of liberty, he would not only praise them, but would admire their valour and make himself their leader and fellow combatant, until they had fully tested the ultimate fortunes of their country; and this country was not Utica, nor Adrumetum, but Rome, and had many times by her greatness recovered from more grievous disasters. Besides, he said, many things favoured their salvation and security, and chiefly the fact that they were waging war against a man who was drawn in many opposing
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ἀνθελκόμενον, Ἰβηρίας τε πρὸς Πομπήιον ἁφε-6 στῶσης τῶν νέων, αὐτὴς τε τῆς ´Ρώμης οὕτω δι’ ἀθέειαν παντάπασι δεδεγμένης τῶν χαλινῶν, ἀλλ’ ἀναξιοπαθοῦσας καὶ συνεξαισταμένης πρὸς πᾶ-σαν μεταβολήν, οὐδὲ τῶν κίνδυνων εἶναι φευκτέον, ἀλλὰ ἔχειν διδάσκαλον τὸν πολέμιον ἀφειδοῦντα τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπὶ ταῖς μεγίσταις ἀδικίαις, οὐχ ὃσπερ ἑαυτοῖς ἔις τὸν εὐνυχέστατον βίον κατ-ορθοῦσιν ἐις τὸν εὐκλεέστατον θάνατον τῆν ἀδηλότητα τοῦ πολέμου τελευτῶν.

7 οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνοις γε δεῖν ἔφη βουλεύεσθαι καθ’ ἑαυτοῖς, συνευχόμενος ἀντὶ τῆς πρόσθεν ἀρετῆς καὶ προσθυμίας αὐτοῖς τὰ δόξαντα συνε- νεγκεῖν.

LX. Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Κάτωνος εἰπόντος, ἦσαν μὲν οἱ καὶ τοῖς λόγοις ἀγόμενοι πρὸς τὸ θαρρέον, οἱ δὲ πλείστοι πρὸς τὸ ἄδεες καὶ γεγυμαίον αὐτοῦ καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ὁλίγου δειν ἐκλαθόμενοι τῶν παρόντων, ὡς μόνον ὑπὰ τοῦτον ἁγίτητον ἡγε-μόνα καὶ πᾶσης κρείττονα τούχης, ἐδέουντο χρή- σθαι καὶ σώμασιν αὐτῶν καὶ χρῆμας καὶ ὦπ- λοις, ὅπως αὐτῶς ἐγνώκε· κρείττον γὰρ ἐκεῖνος πεθομένους ἀποθανεῖν ἢ σώζεσθαι προδόντας ἀρετὴν τοσαῦτην.

2 Εἰπόντος δὲ τίνος ὡς χρὴ ψηφίσασθαι δούλους ἐλευθερίαν, καὶ τῶν πλείστων συνεπαινεσάντων, οὐκ ἔφη τοῦτο ποιήσειν ὁ Κάτων· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι νόμμουν οὐδὲ δίκαιον, αὐτῶν μέντοι τῶν δεσποτῶν ἀφιέντων τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ δέχεσθαι. γενομένων δὲ πολλῶν ὑποσχέσεων κελεύσας ἀπογράφεσθαι 3 τὸν βουλόμενον ἀπηλλάττετο. καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν
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directions by the exigencies of the times. For Spain had gone over to the younger Pompey, and Rome herself had not yet altogether accepted the bit to which she was so unaccustomed, but was impatient of her lot and ready to rise up unitedly at any change in the situation. Nor, he assured them, was danger a thing to be shunned, but they must learn a lesson from their enemy, who spared not his life in perpetrating the greatest wrongs, while in their own case, so different from his, the uncertainties of war would end in a most happy life, if they were successful, or in a most glorious death, if they failed. However, it was for them to deliberate by themselves, he said, and in return for their former bravery and zeal he joined them in praying that what they decided might be for their advantage.

LX. When Cato had thus spoken, there were some whom his words merely restored to confidence, but the majority, in view of his fearlessness, nobility, and generosity, almost forgot their present troubles in the conviction that he alone was an invincible leader and superior to every fortune, and they begged him to use their lives and property and arms as he himself judged best; for it was better to die as his willing followers than to save their lives by betraying such virtue as his.

And now someone proposed that they should pass a vote giving freedom to the slaves, and the majority approved; but Cato said he would not do this, since it was not lawful or right; if, however, the masters of their own accord gave up their slaves, those slaves who were of military age should be accepted. Many promises to do this were made, and after ordering a list to be made of all who were willing, Cato with-
Ἀκούει αὐτῷ γράμματα παρὰ Ἰόβα καὶ Σκηπτίωνος, Ἰόβα μὲν ἐν ὁρεί κεκρυμμένου μετ’ ὀλίγων ἐρωτῶν τοῖς πράσσεις δὲ δεδοκταῖ τῷ Κάτωνι καὶ γὰρ περιμένειν Ἰτύκην ἐκλειπόντα καὶ πολυπορομένης μετὰ στρατιάς ἐπιβοσθήσεις, Σκηπτίωνος δὲ πρὸς ἄκρα τινὶ ναυλοχοῦντος οὐ πόρρω τῆς Ἰτύκης ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς καραδοκοῦντος.

LXI. Ἕδοξεν οὖν τῷ Κάτωνι τοὺς γραμματοφόρους ἐπισχεῖν, ἀχρὶ οὗ βεβαιώση τὰ παρὰ τῶν τριακοσίων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ βουλῆς ἦσαν πρόθυμοι, καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας εὐθὺς ἀφιέντες ἐλευθέρους ὁπλίζον τῶν δὲ τριακοσίων. ἄτε δὴ πλωτικῶν καὶ δανειστικῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὸ πλείστον ἐν τοῖς οἰκέταις τῆς οὐσίας ἔχοντων, οὐ πολὺν οἱ Κάτωνος λόγοι χρόνον ἐμμεῖναντες ἐξερρύσαν.

2 καθάπερ γὰρ τῶν σωμάτων τὰ μανὰ δέχεται ῥαδίως τὴν θερμότητα καὶ πάλιν μεθίσει, τοῦ πυρὸς ἀπαχθέντος ψυχοῦμενα, παραπλησίως ἐκείνους ὁ μὲν Κάτων ὁράμενος ἀνεξωπύρει καὶ διεθέρμαινεν, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐαυτοῖς λόγων διδόντας ὁ Καίσαρος φόβος ἐξέκρουσε τῆς πρὸς Κάτωνα καὶ τὸ καλὸν αἴδοις. Ἐφεσαν, ὁμοῦ τῖνι τὸ προστασσόμενον ποιεῖν ἀπαξιοῦν 3 μὲν; οὐχὶ Καίσαρ μὲν οὖτος εἰς ὅν ἦ Ρωμαίων ἀπασα περιστρεφεῖν ἱσχύς; ἡμῶν δὲ Σκηπτίων οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ Πομπήιος οὐδὲ Κάτων. ἢλλα ἐν οἷς καρποῖς πάντες ἀνθρώποι ταπεινότερα τῶν προσηκόντων διὰ φοβοῦν φρονοῦσιν ἐν τούτοις ἕμεις ὑπερμαχοῦντες τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐλευθερίας πολεμουμένοις εἰς Ἰτύκης ὁ Κάτων μετὰ Πομπήιου Μάγνου φεύγων ὑφείτο τῆς Ἰταλίας; καὶ δοὺ-
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drew. After a little while there came to him letters from Juba and Scipio. Juba, who was hidden on a mountain with a few men, asked what Cato had decided to do; for if he abandoned Utica, Juba would wait for him, and if he underwent a siege, Juba would come to his aid with an army. Scipio, who was stationed with his fleet off a certain headland not far from Utica, awaited Cato's decision in the same way.

LXI. Accordingly, Cato decided to detain the bearers of the letters until he felt sure of the attitude of the three hundred. For the Romans of senatorial rank were eager in his cause, and after promptly manumitting their slaves, were arming them; but as for the three hundred, since they were men engaged in navigation and money-lending and had the greater part of their property in slaves, the words of Cato did not long abide in their minds, but lapsed away. For just as porous bodies readily receive heat and as readily yield it up again and grow cold when the fire is removed, in like manner these men, when they saw Cato, were filled with warmth and kindled into flame; but when they came to think matters over by themselves, their fear of Caesar drove away their regard for Cato and for honour. "Who, pray, are we," they said, "and who is he whose commands we are refusing to obey? Is he not Caesar, upon whom the whole power of Rome has devolved? And not one of us is a Scipio, or a Pompey, or a Cato. But at a time when all men are led by fear to think more humbly than they ought to think, at such a time shall we fight in defence of the liberty of Rome, and wage war in Utica against a man before whom Cato, with Pompey the Great, fled and gave up Italy? And
Λου τελευθεροῦμεν κατὰ Καίσαρος, οίς αὐτοῖς ἐλευθερίας, ὅσον ἄν ἔκεινος θέλη, μέτεστιν; ἄλλος ἦτο ὑνίν, ὁ μοχθηρός, γυνότερες ἐαυτοὺς παρατόμεθα τὸν κρατοῦντα καὶ πέμψωμεν τοὺς δεησομένους."

4 Ταύτα οἱ μετριώτατοι τῶν τριακοσίων παρήνων οἱ δὲ πλείστοι τοῖς συγκλητικοῖς ἐπεβούλευσον, ὡς, εἰ τούτοις συλλάβοιεν, ἰλασόμενοι τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὀργὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος.

LXII. Ὅ δὲ Κάτων ὑπονοοῦν τὴν μεταβολὴν οὖς ἠλεγχε, τῷ μέντοι Σκηπίωνι καὶ τῷ Ἰόβα γράφαις ἀπέχεσθαι τῆς Ἰτύκης ἀπιστία τῶν τριακοσίων ἐξέπεμψε τοὺς γραμματοφόρους τῶν δὲ ἱππέων οἱ διαφυγόντες ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης, ἀριθμὸς οὖς εὐκαταφρόνητος, προσελάσαντες τῇ Ἰτύκη πέμπουσι πρὸς τὸν Κάτωνα τρεῖς ἄνδρας οὐ τὴν 2 αὐτὴν γνώμην ἀπὸ πάντων ἔχουσας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπιέναι πρὸς Ἰόβαν, οἱ δὲ τῷ Κάτωνι προσχωρεῖν ὁμηρύτω, τοὺς δὲ καὶ δέος εἶχεν εἰς Ἰτύκην παριέναι. ταύτα οἱ Κάτων ἀκούσας τοῖς μὲν τριακοσίοις ἐκέλευσε προσέχειν Μάρκου 'Ρούθβριου, ἀτρέμα τὰς ἀπογραφὰς τῶν ἐλευθερούντων 3 δεχόμενον καὶ μὴ προσβιαζόμενον, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς συγκλητικοὺς ἀναλαβῶν προῆλθεν ἄξιον τῆς Ἰτύκης, καὶ τοῖς ἱππάρχοις ἐνέτυχε δεόμενος μὴ προέσθαι Ἦμωιαν ἄνδρας ἀπὸ βουλῆς τοσούτους μηδὲ Ἰόβαν ἐλέσθαι στρατηγῷ ἀντὶ Κάτωνος, ἀλλὰ σώζεσθαι κοινῇ καὶ σώζειν, παρελθόντας εἰς πόλιν οὔτε κατὰ κράτος ἀλώσιμοι εἰς 386
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shall we give our slaves freedom in opposition to Caesar, we who ourselves have only as much freedom as he may wish to give us? Nay, before it is too late, poor wretches, let us know ourselves, crave the conqueror's grace, and send men to entreat him."

This was the course which the more moderate of the three hundred advised; but, the majority of them were laying a plot against the men of senatorial rank, in the hope that by seizing these they might mitigate Caesar's wrath against themselves.

LXII. Cato suspected their change of heart, but would not tax them with it. However, he wrote to Scipio and Juba advising them to keep away from Utica, because the three hundred were not to be trusted, and sent away the letter-bearers. And now the horsemen who had escaped from the battle, in numbers quite considerable, rode up to Utica and sent three of their number to Cato. These men, however, did not bring the same proposition from the whole body. For one party among them was bent on going off to Juba, another wanted to join Cato, while a third was prevented by fear from entering Utica. On hearing their views, Cato ordered Marcus Rubrius to attend to the three hundred; he was to accept quietly the lists of those who gave freedom to their slaves, and was to use no compulsion. But Cato himself took the men of senatorial rank and went forth outside of Utica. Here he conferred with the leaders of the horsemen, entreatimg them not to abandon so great a number of Roman senators, and not to choose Juba as their commander instead of Cato, but to save others as well as save themselves by coming into a city which could not be taken by storm,
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ἐτη τε πάμπολα σίτων καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παρα-
4 σκευῆν ἔχουσαν. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τῶν συγκινητικῶν
dεομένων καὶ δακρύνων οἱ μὲν ἔπαρχοι διελέ-
gυντο τοῖς ἵππεσιν, ὃ δὲ Κάτων ἐπὶ χῶματός
tivos καθισας μετὰ τῶν συγκινητικῶν ἀνέμεινε
τὰς ἀποκρίσεις.

LXIII. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ παρῆν ὁ Ῥούβριος σὺν
ὀργῇ κατηγορῶν τῶν τριακισίων ἀκοσμίαν πολ-
λὴν καὶ θόρυβον, ὃς ἀφισταμένων καὶ διατα-
ραττόντων τὴν πόλιν. ἐφ' οίς οἱ μὲν ἀλλι
παντάπασιν ἀπογνώτες ἑαυτῶν εἰς δάκρυα καὶ
ὀδυρμοὺς ἔξεπασον, ὃ δὲ Κάτων ἐκεῖνος τε ὀφθ-
σύνειν ἐπειράτο καὶ πρὸς τοὺς τριακισίους ἐπεμψε
2 ἀναμεῖναι κελεύων. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππεων ἤκουν
οὐ μέτρια προστάττοντες· ἔφασαν γὰρ οὐτὲ Ἰόβα
δεῖσθαι μισθοδοτοῦντος οὔτε Καίσαρα φοβεῖσθαι
Κάτωνος αὐτῶν ἄρχοντος, Ἰτυκαίως δέ, Φοίνιξι
ἀνθρώποις εὐμεταβόλοις, συγκαθείργωσθαι δει-
νόν εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ εἰ νῦν ἄτρεμουσιν, ἄτα
Καίσαρ ἐπιή, συνεπιθήσεθαι καὶ προδώσειν.

3 εἶπερ οὖν δεῖται τις αὐτῶν συμπολέμουσιν καὶ
συμπαρόντων, ἐκβαλῶν ἀπαίται Ἰτυκαίων ἢ
διαφθείρας, οὕτως εἰς πόλιν καθαρὰν πολεμών
καὶ βαρβάρων καλείτω. ταῦτα δὲ Κάτων ἄρχει
μὲν δεινὸς ἥγειτο καὶ βάρβαρα, πρῶς δὲ ἀπε-
κρίνατο βουλεύσεις μετὰ τῶν τριακισίων.

4 Καὶ παρελθὼν ἄφθις εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐνετύχανε
τοῖς ἀνδράσιν οὐκέτι σκήψεις οὔτε παραγωγὰς
πλασσομένους ὑπ' αἴδοισ πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἀντικρὺς δὲ
χαλεπάνουσιν εἰ τις αὐτῶς βιάζοντο πολεμεῖν
Καίσαρι μὴ δυναμένους μηδὲ βουλομένους. ἔνιοι

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and had grain and other requisite provision for very many years. In these entreaties the senators also joined, and with tears; whereupon the leaders of the horsemen discussed the matter with the horsemen, while Cato sat down on a mound with the senators and awaited the answers.

LXIII. At this juncture Rubrius came up, wrathfully denouncing the three hundred for great disorder and tumult, inasmuch as they were falling away and throwing the city into confusion. Thereupon the other Romans altogether despaired of their case and burst into tears and lamentations; but Cato tried to encourage them, and sent to the three hundred bidding them await his coming. And now the spokesmen of the horsemen came with immoderate demands. They said they neither wanted Juba for a pay-master, nor feared Caesar if Cato were their leader, but that to be shut up with the people of Utica, a fickle Phoenician folk, was a fearful thing; for even though they were quiet now, whenever Caesar came up against them they would play the traitor and aid him in his attacks. If, therefore, any one wanted their aid in war and their presence, he must first drive out or destroy all the people of Utica, and then invite the horsemen into a city that was free from Barbarians and enemies. This proposal Cato regarded as excessively barbarous and cruel, but he returned a mild answer, saying that he would advise with the three hundred.

So he went back into the city, where he found the men no longer manufacturing pretexts or evasions out of regard for him, but downright angry that any one should try to force them to war with Caesar when they were neither able nor willing. And some of
δὲ καὶ παρεφθέγγυτο περὶ τῶν συγκλητικῶν, ὡς καθεκένον ἐν τῇ πόλει Καίσαρος προσιόντος. 5 ἀλλὰ τούτο μὲν ὁσὰ ὡς εἴκοσι τὰ Κάτων παρῆκε καὶ γάρ ἦν ὑποκοφότερος ὡς δὲ τις αὐτῷ προσελθὼν ἀπήγγειλε τοὺς μὲν ἰππεῖς ἀπίειν, φοβηθεὶς μὴ παντάπασιν οἱ τριακόσιοι κατὰ τῶν συγκλητικῶν ἀπονοηθῶσιν, ἐβαδίζε μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἐξαναστάς καὶ θεασάμενος ἡδὴ προκεχω- 6 ρηκότας ἵππων λαβὼν ἐδίωκε πρὸς αὐτοὺς. οἱ δὲ ἴδοντες ἁσμενοί προσελαύνοντα καὶ ἐδέξαντο καὶ παρεκάλουν σώζεσθαι μετ’ αὐτῶν. τότε καὶ δα- κρύσας τὸν Κάτωνα φασίν ὑπὲρ τῶν συγκλητικῶν δεόμενον καὶ προτείνοντα τὰς χείρας, ἐνών δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀναστρέφοντα καὶ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἀντι- λαμβανόμενον, μέχρι ὡς κατειργάσατο τὴν γοῦν ἥμεραν ἐκείνην ἐπιμείναντας ἀσφαλῆ τοῖς ἀν- δράσει φυγήν παρασχεῖν.

LXIV. Ὡς οὖν ἔχων αὐτοὺς ἀφίκετο καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας κατέστησε, τοῖς δὲ τὴν ἄκραν φυλάττειν παρέδωκεν, ἐδείσαν οἱ τριακόσιοι μὴ δίκην δώσι τῆς μεταβολῆς καὶ πρὸς τὸν Κάτωνα πέμπτοντες ἐδέοντο πάντως ἀφίκεσθαι πρὸς αὐ- τοὺς. οἱ δὲ συγκλητικοὶ περιχυμένοι οὕκ εὗρον, οὐδὲ ἔφασαν προήσεθαι τὸν κηδεμόνα καὶ σω-
2 τὴρα τοῖς ἀπίστοις καὶ προδόταις. σαφεστάτη γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, αἰσθήσις τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ πόθος καὶ θαύμα τῆς τοῦ Κάτωνος ἀρετῆς πᾶσιν ὁμα- λῶς τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἰτύκῃ γενομένοις, ὡς οὐδὲν ἄρα κίβδηλον οὐδὲ ἀπατηλὸν ἐμέμκητο τοῖς πραττο- μένοις ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ.

Πάλαι δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἐαυτὸν ἐγνωκὼς ἀνελεῖν

1 μὲν bracketed by Coraës and Bekker.

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them actually muttered that the men of senatorial rank ought to be detained in the city while Caesar was approaching. But this Cato let pass, as though he had not heard it (and indeed he was somewhat deaf); when, however, men came to him with tidings that the horsemen were going away, he was afraid that the three hundred might become altogether desperate in their hostility to the senators, and therefore rose up and set out on foot with his friends; and when he perceived that the horsemen had already gone on, he took a horse and hastened after them. The horsemen were glad when they saw him riding up, and greeted him, and exhorted him to save himself with them. Then, it is said, Cato actually burst into tears as he begged with outstretched hands in behalf of the senators, even trying to turn back the horses of some of the horsemen and laying hold of their arms, until he prevailed upon them to remain there that day at least, and to make the flight of the senators safe.

LXIV. Accordingly, when he came to the city with them, stationed some of them at the gates, and committed the citadel to others to guard, the three hundred were afraid they might be punished for their change of allegiance, and sending to Cato they begged him by all means to come to them. But the senators crowded about him and would not let him go, declaring that they would not give up their saviour and guardian to treacherous and faithless men. For by that time all the inhabitants of Utica alike most clearly perceived and fondly admired the virtuous qualities of Cato, convinced that nothing deceitful or spurious entered into what he did.

But for a long time the man had determined to
δεινοὺς πόνους ἔπονει καὶ φροντίδας καὶ ὠδίνας ἐξεν ὑπὲρ ἄλλων, ὅπως εἰς ἁσφαλὲς καταστήσας
3 ἀπαντασ ἀπαλλάξαιτο τοῦ ζήν. οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀδη- λος ἢ πρὸς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ φορά, καίπερ οὖν 
φάσκοντος. ὑπήκουσεν οὖν τότε τοῖς τριακόσιοις 
παραμυθησάμενοι τοὺς συγκελτικοὺς καὶ μόνον 
ἡκε πρὸς αὐτούς χάριν ἔχειν ὀμολογοῦντας καὶ 
δεομένους τὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ κρήσθαι καὶ πιστεύειν, εἰ 
δὲ Κάτωνες οὐκ εἰσίν οὐδὲ τὸ Κάτωνος φρόνημα
4 χροὺςιν, οἴκτείρειν τὴν ἄσθενειαν αὐτῶν· ἐγνω-
κότες δ’ οὖν Καίσαρος δείσθαι καὶ τέμπειν πρὸς 
αὐτὸν, ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου μάλιστα καὶ πρῶτον ποιήσε-
σθαι δέσσων· εἰ δὲ μὴ πείθωσιν, οὐδ’ αὐτοῖς διδο-
μένην δέξεσθαι τὴν χάριν, ἀλλ’ ἄχρι ἂν ἐμπνέωσι 
pολεμήσειν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου.

Πρὸς ταῦτα ο Κάτων ἐπανεῖσας τὴν εὐνοιαν 
έφη χρήναι τής αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας ἔνεκα πέμπειν
5 κατὰ τάχος, ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δὲ μὴ δείσθαι· κεκρατη-
μένων γὰρ εἶναι δέσσων καὶ ἀδικοῦντων παραί-
τησιν· αὐτὸς δὲ οὐ μόνον ἀήττητος γεγονόναι 
παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον, ἀλλὰ καὶ νικὰν ἐφ’ ὅσον 
ἐβουλέοι καὶ κρατείν Καίσαρος τοῖς καλοῖς καὶ 
δικαίοις· ἐκείνοι δ’ εἶναι τὸν ἐαλωκότα καὶ νει-
kημένου· ὃ γὰρ ἠρμεῖτο πράττων κατὰ τῆς πα-
τρίδος πάλαι, νῦν ἐξηλέγχει καὶ πεφωσάθαι.

LXV. Τοιαύτα διαλεγέται τοῖς τριακόσιοις 
ἀπηλλάττετο· καὶ πυθόμενος Καίσαρα πᾶσαν 
ἀγοντα τὴν στρατιῶν ἡδη καθ’ ὀδὸν εἶναι, “Πα-
pαί,” εἴπεν, “ὡς ἐπ’ ἄνδρας ἡμᾶς ἑκείνος.” καὶ 
τραπόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς συγκλητικοὺς ἐκέλευε μὴ 
μέλλειν, ἀλλ’ ἐως παραμένουσιν οἱ ἱππεῖς σώζε-
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destroy himself, and he was undergoing dreadful toils and suffering anxiety and pain in behalf of others, that he might put them all in the way of safety before he took his leave of life. Indeed, there was no secret about his resolution to die, although he said nothing about it. Accordingly, after comforting the senators, he obeyed the call of the three hundred. He came alone to them, and they thanked him, and begged him in all other ways to trust and make use of them, but if they were not Catos and could not carry the large thoughts of Cato, to have pity on their weakness; and now that they had determined to send to Caesar and pray for his mercy, for Cato first of all they would make their prayers; and if they could not prevail with Caesar, they would not accept the grace which he might offer to them, but as long as they had breath would fight for Cato.

In reply to this, after praising their good will, Cato said that to secure their own safety they ought to send to Caesar with all speed, but they must make no prayer for him; prayer belonged to the conquered, and the craving of grace to those who had done wrong; but for his part he had not only been unvanquished all his life, but was actually a victor now as far as he chose to be, and a conqueror of Caesar in all that was honourable and just; Caesar was the one who was vanquished and taken; for the hostile acts against his country which he had long denied, were now detected and proven.

LXV. After this discourse to the three hundred, he withdrew; and on learning that Caesar with all his army was already on the march, "Aha!" he said, "he thinks we are men!" Then turning to the senators he bade them not delay, but save themselves
σθαί. καὶ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἀπεκλείσες θύρας, μιᾶ
dὲ τῇ πρὸς θάλασσαν φερούση¹ τά τε πλοία τοῖς
υφ’ ἐαυτὸν διένειμε καὶ τάξεως ἐπεμελεῖτο, παύων
τὰς ἀδικίας καὶ διαλύσων τοὺς θορύβους, καὶ τοὺς
ἀπόρως ἑχοντας ἐφοδιάζων. ἔτει δὲ Μάρκος
Ὀκτάβιος ἂγων δύο τάγματα πλησίον κατεστρα-
tοπέδευσε καὶ πέμπον ἧξιον τὸν Κάτωνα περὶ
ἀρχής διορίσασθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὐθὲν
ἀπεκρίνατο, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς φίλους εἶπεν “Εἶτα
θαυμάζομεν ὅπως ἀπόλολε τὰ πράγματα, τὴν
φιλαρχίαν ὀρῶντες ἡμῖν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ὀλέθρῳ
βεβηκόσι παραμένουσαν;”
3 'Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἀκούσας ἀπίνοντας
ἡδὶ φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν τὰ τῶν Ἰτυκαίων ὄσπερ
λάφυρα, δρόμῳ συνέτειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ τοῖς
πρώτοις ἐντυχὼν ἀφηρεῖτο, τῶν δὲ ἅλλων ἑκα-
στὸς ἔθηκεν ῥίπττων καὶ κατατιθέμενος, πάντες
dὲ ὑπ’ αἰσχύνης σιωπῆ καὶ κἀτω βλέποντες
ἀπῆσαν. ὁ δὲ Κάτων εἰς τὴν πόλιν τοὺς Ἰτυ-
καίους συναγαγὼν ἐδείκτη περὶ τῶν τρισκοίων,
μὴ παροξύναι Καίσαρα κατ’ αὐτῶν, ἅλλα καὶ
4 κοινῆ τὴν σωτηρίαν πράττειν ἀλλήλοις. εἴτα
πάλιν τραπόμενος πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπεσκόπει
tοὺς ἐμβαίνοντας, καὶ τῶν φίλων καὶ ξένων ὅσοις
ἐπεισεν ἡσπᾶστο καὶ προῦπεμπτε. τῶν δὲ χιλίων
οὐκ ἐπεισε λαβέιν πλοῖον, οὐδέ φέτοι δεών ἀποτρέ-
πειν περιεχόμενον τοῦ πατρὸς. ἦν δὲ τὶς Στα-
tύλλιος, ἀνὴρ τῇ μὲν ἡλικία νέος, ἴσχυρὸς δὲ τῇ

¹ φεροῦση after this word one Paris MS. (C) has ἔχρητο
πρὸς ἔξοδον (he used as an exit). Bekker adopts what other
editors regard as a gloss, adding also καί; Sintenis² assumes
a lacuna.
while the horsemen were still there. He also closed
the other gates of the city, and stationing himself
at the one leading to the sea, he assigned transports
to those under his command, and tried to keep things
in order, stopping deeds of wrong, quelling tumults,
and supplying stores to those who were destitute.
And when Marcus Octavius with two legions en-
camped near by and sent to Cato demanding that
he come to terms with him about the command in
the province, Cato would make no reply to him, but
said to his friends: “Can we then wonder that our
cause is lost, when we see that the love of command
abides with us though we are standing on the brink
of destruction?”

At this juncture, hearing that the horsemen, as
they went away, were already plundering the people
of Utica as though their property was booty, he ran
to them as fast as he could; from the first whom he
met he took away their plunder, but the rest, every
man of them, made haste to lay down or throw away
what they had, and all felt so ashamed that they went
off in silence and with downcast looks. Then Cato,
after calling the people of Utica together into the city,
begged them not to embitter Caesar against the three
hundred, but to unite with one another in securing
safety for all. Next, he betook himself again to the sea
and superintended the embarcation there, embracing
and escorting on their way all the friends and acquaint-
ances whom he could persuade to go. His son, how-
ever, he could not persuade to take ship, nor did he
think it his duty to try to turn the young man from his
purpose of clinging to his father. But there was one
Statyllius, a man who was young in years, but minded
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γνώμη βουλόμενος εἶναι καὶ τοῦ Κάτωνος ἀπομεῖ-5 ςεῖθαι τὴν ἀπάθειαν. τοῦτον ἤξιον πλεῖν· καὶ γὰρ ἦν καταφανῆς μυσκαίσαρ· ὡς δὲ ὅνικ ἠθελεν, 'Ἀπολλωνίδη τῷ Στωίκῳ καὶ Δημη-ρίῳ τῷ Περιπατητικῷ προσβλέψας ὁ Κάτων, "Τετέρειν," εἶπεν, "ἐργον οἰδοῦντα τοῦτον μαλάζαι καὶ καταρτία εἰς τὸ συμφέρον." αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς λοιποὺς συνεκπέμπον καὶ χρημα-τίζον τοῖς δεσμένοις τὴν τε νύκτα διέτριβε περὶ ταῦτα καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας τὸ πλείστον μέρος.

LXVI. 'Επεί δὲ Δευκίους Καίσαρ, οἶκείος μὲν ὁν Καίσαρος ἔκειν οὖν, μέλλων δὲ προσβεβεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν τριακοσίων, παρεκάλει τὸν Κάτωνα λόγον αὐτῶν συνυποθέσθαι πιθανὸν δὲ χρήσεται περὶ ἐκείνου, "ὑπὲρ σοῦ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ χειρὸν ἐμοὶ καλὸν ἀψασθαι καὶ γόνασι προσπέσειν Καίσαρος," οὐκ εἰς ταῦτα ποιεῖν ὁ Κάτων αὐτῶν. 792
2 "Εμοὶ γὰρ," εἶπεν, "εἰ σώζεσθαι χάριτι Καί-σαρος ἐβουλόμην, αὐτῷ βαδιστέον ἡν πρὸς ἐκε-νον μόνον. οὐ βουλομαι δὲ τῷ τυράννῳ χάριν ἔχειν ὑπὲρ ὧν παρανομεῖ. παρανομεῖ δὲ σώζων ὡς κύριος ὃν αὐτῷ δεσπόζειν οὐδὲν προσήκε. ὅπως μέντοι παρατήρησι τῆς τριακοσίους κοινῆς 3 σκοπώμεν, εἰ βούλθει." γενομένος δὲ πρὸς τούτῳ μετὰ τοῦ Δευκίου τὸν νῦν αὐτῷ συνέστησε καὶ τοὺς ἑταίρους ὑπίοντι· καὶ προπέμψας ἐκεῖνον καὶ δεξιωσάμενος ἐπανήλθεν οἴκα, καὶ τὸν νῦν καὶ τοὺς φίλους συνιαγαγὼν ἄλλα τε πολλὰ διε-λέχθη καὶ πολιτείας ἀπείπεν ἀψάσθαι τῷ μειρα-κίῳ· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄξιος Κάτωνος οὐκέτι τὰ πρά-
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to be strong in purpose and to imitate Cato's calmness. This man Cato insisted should take ship; for he was a notorious hater of Caesar. But when Statylius would not consent, Cato turned his eyes upon Apollonides the Stoic and Demetrius the Peripatetic, saying: "It is your task to reduce this man's swollen pride and restore him to conformity with his best interests." He himself, however, continued to assist the rest in getting off, and to supply the needy with ways and means, and was thus engaged all through the night and the greater part of the following day.

LXVI. Lucius Caesar, a kinsman of the great Caesar, was about to go on an embassy to him in behalf of the three hundred, and requested Cato to suggest to him a convincing speech which he might employ in the case; "for," said he, "in thine own behalf it were well for me to fall down at Caesar's knees and clasp his hands." But Cato would not suffer him to do this. "For if," said he, "I were willing to be saved by grace of Caesar, I ought to go to him in person and see him alone; but I am unwilling to be under obligations to the tyrant for his illegal acts. And he acts illegally in saving, as if their master, those over whom he has no right at all to be the lord. However, if it is thy wish, let us consider jointly how thou mayest obtain mercy for the three hundred." After his conference with Lucius on this matter, he presented his son and his companions to him as he was going away; and after escorting him on his way and bidding him farewell, he came back home, called together his son and his friends, and discoursed with them on many subjects. In particular, he forbade the young man to engage in political matters; for to do so worthily of a Cato was no longer possible, as
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γματα δέξασθαι, τὸ δὲ ἄλλως αἰσχρὸν εἶναι. καὶ περὶ ἑσπέραν ἤδη τρέπεται πρὸς τὸ βαλανεῖον.

4 Εὖν δὲ τῷ λοῦσθαι τοῦ Στατυλλίου μνησθεὶς καὶ μέγα φθεγξάμενος, Ἡξέπεμψας, εἶπεν, ἢ ἦν Ἀπολλωνίδη, τὸν Στατυλλίον ἀπὸ τοῦ φρονή- ματος ἐκείνου καθέλῳ; καὶ πέπλευκεν ὁ ἄνὴρ μηδὲ ἀσπασάμενος ἤμᾶς; “Πόθεν;” εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπολλωνίδης. “καίτοι πολλὰ διελέχθημεν ἄλλα ὑψηλὸς ἐστὶ καὶ ἄτρεπτος, καὶ μένειν φησὶ καὶ πράττειν ο τι ἀν σὺ πρᾶττῃς.” πρὸς ταύτα φασὶ τὸν Κάτωνα μειδιάσαι καὶ εἴπειν. “Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν αὐτικά φαινεῖται.”

LXVII. Δουσάμενος δὲ μετὰ πολλῶν ἐδείπνει καθήμενος, ὥσπερ εἰώθει μετὰ τὴν μάχην οὐ γαρ κατεκλίθη πλὴν καθένδυσιν συνεδείπνουν δὲ πάντες οἱ ἑταῖροι καὶ τῶν Ἰτυκάων οἱ ἄρχοντες. καὶ μετὰ τὸ δείπνου ὁ πότος ἐσχε μοῦσαν πολλὴν καὶ χάριν, ἄλλων ἐπ’ ἄλλοις λόγοις φιλοσόφων κυκλούντων, ἄχρι οὐ περιῆλθεν ἡ ζήτησις εἰς ταύτα δὴ τὰ παράδοξα καλούμενα τῶν Στωίκων, τὸ μόνον εἶναι τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἔλευθερον, δούλους δὲ 2 τοὺς φαύλους ἀπαντας. ἐνταῦθα δὴ, ὡς εἰκὸς, ἀντιβάντος τοῦ Περιπατητικοῦ, σφοδρὸς ἐμπεσὼν ὁ Κάτων καὶ τὸν παρασεῖς καὶ τραχύτητα φωνῆς ἀπέτεινε πορρωτάτω τὸν λόγον, ἀγῶνι θαυμαστῷ χρησάμενος, ὅστε μηδένα λαθεῖν ὧτι τῷ βίῳ πέρας ἐγγωκεν ἐπιθεῖς ἀπαλλάττεσθαι τῶν παρώντων. διὸ καὶ μετὰ τὸν λόγον σιωπῆς καὶ κατηφείας γενομένης ἐν πᾶσιν, ἀναλαμβάνων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπάγων τῆς ὑποψίας ὁ Κάτων ἄθις ὑπὲρ τῶν παρώντων ἐνέβαλλεν ἐρωτήματα καὶ
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things were going, and to do so otherwise would be disgraceful. And presently, towards evening, he betook himself to the bath.

But while he was bathing he bethought himself of Statyllius, and called out in loud tones, saying: "Apollonides, didst thou send off Statyllius? And didst thou bring him down from that lofty purpose of his? And has the man set sail without even bidding me good-bye?" "By no means," said Apollonides; "although we reasoned much with him; but he is lofty and unbending, and says he will remain and do whatever thou doest." At this, we are told, Cato smiled, and said: "Well, we shall see about that presently."

LXVII. After his bath, he took supper with a large company, sitting at table, as was his wont after Phar-salus; indeed, he lay down only when he slept; and there were at supper with him all his companions, and the magistrates of Utica. After supper, there was much literary and genial discourse over the wine, and one philosophical tenet after another made the rounds, until there came up the enquiry into what were called the "paradoxes" of the Stoics, namely, that the good man alone is free, and that the bad are all slaves. Here, as was to be expected, the Peripatetic made objections, whereupon Cato broke in with vehemence, and in loud and harsh tones maintained his argument at greatest length and with astonishing earnestness, so that everyone perceived that he had made up his mind to put an end to his life and free himself from his present troubles. Therefore, as all were dejected and silent after his discourse, Cato tried to revive their spirits and remove their suspicions by once more putting questions and expressing anxiety about what was going on, implying that he feared for those

1 Cf. chapter lvi. 4.
Φροντίδας, ὃς δεδιώς μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν πλεόντων, δεδιώς δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀδενόντων ἐρημίαν ἀνυδρον καὶ βάρβαρον.

LXVIII. Οὕτω δὲ διαλύσας τὸ σύνδειπνον, καὶ περιπατήσας μετὰ τῶν φίλων τὸν συνήθη μετὰ τὸ δείπνον περίπατον, καὶ τοῖς ἀρχομεν τῶν φυλάκων ἦν καιρός ἦν προστάξας, ἀπίσθω εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον ἦδη, τὸν τε παίδα καὶ τῶν φίλων ἐκαστὸν μᾶλλον ἦ πρότερον εἰώθει προσαγάγο-μενος καὶ φιλοφρονηθεῖς, πάλιν ὑποψίαν παρέσχε 2 τοῦ μέλλοντος, εἰσελθόντω δὲ καὶ κατακλυθεὶς ἐλαβεν εἰς χειρὰς τῶν Πλάτωνος διαλόγων τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ διελθὼν τοῦ βιβλίου τὸ πλείστον καὶ ἀναβλέψας ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς, ὡς οὐκ εἰδε κρεμά-μενον τὸ ξίφος (ὑψηρτο γὰρ ὁ παῖς ἐτὶ δευτερό-τος αὐτοῦ), καλέσας οἰκεῖν ἡρωτησεν ὡς τε λάβοι τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον. σιωπῶντος δὲ ἐκεῖνου πάλιν ἦν πρὸς τῷ βιβλίῳ καὶ μικρὸν διαλιπτόν, ὡσπερ οὐ σπεῦδων οὐδὲ ἐπειγόμενος, ἄλλως δὲ 3 τὸ ξίφος ἐπιξητῶν, ἐκέλευσε κομίσαι. διατριβῆς δὲ γινομένης καὶ μηδενὸς κομίζοντος, ἔξαναγηνοῦς τὸ βιβλίον αὐθίς ἐκάλει καθ᾿ ἐνα τῶν οἰκετῶν καὶ μᾶλλον ἐνέτειυ τὴν φωνήν τὸ ξίφος ἀπαιτῶν· ἐνὸς δὲ καὶ τῦς τὸ στόμα πατάξας ἤμαξε τὴν αὐτοῦ χεῖρα, χαλεπαίνων καὶ βοῶν ἦδη μέγα παραδίδοσθαι τῷ πολεμίῳ γυμνὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδος αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν, ἄχρι οὐ κλαίων ὁ νίος εἰσέδραμε μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ περιπεσὼν ὃδυρετο 793 καὶ καθικέτενεν. δὲ Κάτων ἔξαναστὰς ἐνε-βλεψε τε δεινὸν καὶ Ἡπότε, εἶπεν, ὡς καὶ τοῦ λέληθα παρανοίας ἤλωκός, ὦτι διδάσκει μὲν 400
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who were going away by sea, and feared, too, for those whose path lay through a barbarous and waterless desert.

LXVIII. Thus the supper came to an end, and after walking about with his friends as he usually did after supper, he gave the officers of the watch the proper orders, and then retired to his chamber, but not until he had embraced his son and each of his friends with more than his wonted kindness, and thus awakened anew their suspicions of what was to come. After entering his chamber and lying down, he took up Plato’s dialogue “On the Soul,” 1 and when he had gone through the greater part of the treatise, he looked up above his head, and not seeing his sword hanging there (for his son had taken it away while Cato was still at supper), called a servant and asked him who had taken the weapon. The servant made no answer, and Cato returned to his book; and a little while after, as if in no haste or hurry, but merely looking for his sword, he bade the servant fetch it. But as there was some delay, and no one brought the weapon, he finished reading his book, and this time called his servants one by one and in louder tones demanded his sword. One of them he smote on the mouth with his fist, and bruised his own hand, angrily crying now in loud tones that his son and his servants were betraying him into the hands of the enemy without arms. At last his son ran in weeping, together with his friends, and after embracing him, betook himself to lamentations and entreaties. But Cato, rising to his feet, took on a solemn look, and said: “When and where, without my knowledge, have I been adjudged a madman, that no

1 The Phaedo.
οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ μεταπείθει περὶ δὲν δοκῶ κακῶς βεβουλεύσθαι, κωλύομαι δὲ χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ λογομοίῳ καὶ παροπλίζομαι; τί δ’ οὐχί καὶ συνδεῖς, ὃ γενναίε, τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀποστρέψεις, μέχρι ἂν ἐλθὼν Καίσαρ εὐρη μὲ 5 μηδὲ ἅμωνασθαι δυνάμενον; οὐ γὰρ ἐπ’ ἐμαυτῶν γε δέομαι ἐξίφους, ὅπου καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα βραχῶν χρόνων ἐπισχόντα καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπαξ πατάξαντα πρὸς τὸν τοῖχον ἄποφασαν ἐνεστὶ.”

LXIX. Ταῦτα λέγοντος αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν μειράκιον ἔξηλθε μετὰ κλαυθμοῦ καὶ πάντες οἱ λοιποῦ τῷ δὲ Δημήτριῳ καὶ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίδῃ μόνοις ὑπολειφθεῖσι προσέρεσαν ἡδὴ λαλῶν, “Ἡ ποικ. καὶ ύμῖν,” ἔφη, “δὲδοκται βία κατέχειν ἄνδρα τοσοῦτον ἡλικίας ἐν τῷ βίῳ καὶ καθημένους αὐτοῦ σιωπῆ παραφυλάσσειν, ἡ λόγον ἢκετε κομίζοντες ὡς οὐ δεινών οὐδὲ αἰσχρόν ἔστω ἀποροῦνα σωτηρίας ἑτέρας Κάτωνα τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πολεμίου 2 περιμένειν; τί οὖν οὐ λέγετε πειθοῦντες ἡμᾶς ταῦτα καὶ μεταδιδάσκοντες, ἵνα τὰς προτέρας δόξας ἐκεῖνας καὶ λόγους, οἷς συμβεβιώκαμεν, ἐκβαλόντες καὶ γενόμενοι διὰ Καίσαρα σοφώτεροι μείζονα χάριν εἰδῶμεν αὐτῷ; καὶ τοῖς βεβούλευμαι μὲν οὐθὲν ἐγώγεν περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ δεὶ δὲ μὲ βουλευν— 3 σάμενον εἶναι κύριον οἷς ἐγνώκα χρῆσθαι. Βουλεύσομαι δὲ τρόπον τινὰ μεθ’ υμῶν, βουλεύομενος μετὰ τῶν λόγων οἷς καὶ ύμεῖς φιλοσοφοῦντες χρῆσθε. θαρροῦντες οὖν ἀπίτε, καὶ κελευτεὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἃ μὴ δύναται τὸν πατέρα πείθειν μὴ βιάζεσθαι.”

LXX. Πρὸς ταῦτα μηθὲν ἀντειπότες οἱ περὶ τῶν Δημήτριον, ἀλλὰ δακρύσαντες ὑπεξήλθον.
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one instructs or tries to convert me in matters wherein I am thought to have made bad decisions, but I am prevented from using my own judgement, and have my arms taken from me? Why, generous boy, dost thou not also tie thy father's hands behind his back, that Caesar may find me unable to defend myself when he comes? Surely, to kill myself I have no need of a sword, when I have only to hold my breath a little while, or dash my head against the wall, and death will come."

LXIX. As Cato said these words the young man went out sobbing, and all the rest also, except Demetrius and Apollonides. These alone remained, and with these Cato began to talk, now in gentler tones. "I suppose," said he, "that ye also have decided to detain in life by force a man as old as I am, and to sit by him in silence and keep watch of him: or are ye come with the plea that it is neither shameful nor dreadful for Cato, when he has no other way of salvation, to await salvation at the hands of his enemy? Why, then, do ye not speak persuasively and convert me to this doctrine, that we may cast away those good old opinions and arguments which have been part of our very lives, be made wiser through Caesar's efforts, and therefore be more grateful to him? And yet I, certainly, have come to no resolve about myself; but when I have come to a resolve, I must be master of the course which I decide to take. And I shall come to a resolve with your aid, as I might say, since I shall reach it with the aid of those doctrines which ye also adopt as philosophers. So go away with a good courage, and bid my son not to try force with his father when he cannot persuade him."

LXX. Without making any reply to this, but bursting into tears, Demetrius and Apollonides slowly
εισπέμπεται δὲ διὰ παιδίου μικροῦ τὸ ἐγχείριδιον· καὶ λαβῶν ἐσπάσατο καὶ κατενόησεν. ὡς δὲ εἶδεν ἑστῶτα τὸν ἀθέρα καὶ τὴν ἀκμὴν διαμένουσαν, εἰπὼν, "Νῦν ἐμὸς εἰμί," τὸ μὲν ἔσοδος ἔθηκε, τὸ δὲ βιβλίων αὐθεῖς ἀνεγίνωσκε, καὶ λέγεται διὸς

2 ὅλον διεξέλθειν. εἶτα κοιμηθεὶς ὑπον βαθύν, ὡστε τοὺς ἐκτὸς αἰσθέσθαι, περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἐκάλει τῶν ἀπελευθέρων Κλεανθῆς τῶν ἱατρῶν καὶ Βοῦταν, ὃ μάλιστα πρὸς τᾶς πολιτικᾶς πράξεως ἐχρῆτο. καὶ τοῦτον μὲν ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἐπεμῆθεν, ὅπως σκεψάμενος εἰ πάντες ἀνηγμένοι τυγχάνουσιν, φράσοι πρὸς αὐτὸν· τὁ δὲ ἱατρὸς τὴν χείρα φλεγμαίνουσαν ὑπὸ τῆς πληγῆς ἢν ἐπληξεν

3 τοῦ οἰκέτην, ἐπιδῆκα παρέσχε. καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἐποίησεν ἡδίους ἀπαντάς, ὡς ξωτικῶς ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ. μετ᾽ ὄλγου δὲ παρῆν ὁ Βοῦτας ἀπαγγέλλων τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀνηχθαί, Κράσσου δὲ λειπεσθαι ὑπὸ ἀσχολίας τινὸς, ὅσον δὲ οὕτω καὶ τοῦτον ἐμβαίνειν, πολὺν δὲ χειμῶνα καὶ μέγα πνεῦμα κατέχειν τὴν θάλαττα. τοῦτο ἀκούσας ὁ Κάτων ἑστέναξεν οἰκτῷ τῶν πλεόντων, καὶ πάλιν ἐπεμῆθεν τὸν Βοῦταν ἐπὶ θάλατταν, εἰ τις ἄρα παλινδρομήσας δεύτερο τινὸς τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἀπαγγελοῦται πρὸς αὐτόν.

4 Ἡδὴ δὲ ὄρμισες ἦδον, καὶ μικρὸν αὐθεῖς κατηνέχθη πρὸς ὑπον. ἐπανελθόντος δὲ τοῦ Βοῦτα καὶ φράσαντος πολλὴν ἱσνυχίαν περὶ τοὺς λιμένας εἶναι, προσέταξεν αὐτῷ τὴν θύραν κλεῖσαι, καὶ καθῆκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸ κλωνίδιον ὡς τὸ λοιπὸν

5 ἔτι τῆς νυκτὸς ἀναπαντόμενος. ἐξελθόντος δὲ τοῦ Βοῦτα σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος ἔωσε μὲν ὑπὸ τὸ
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withdrew. Then the sword was sent in, carried by a little child, and Cato took it, drew it from its sheath, and examined it. And when he saw that its point was keen and its edge still sharp, he said: "Now I am my own master." Then he laid down the sword and resumed his book, and he is said to have read it through twice. Afterwards he fell into so deep a sleep that those outside the chamber heard him. But about midnight he called two of his freedmen, Cleanthes the physician, and Butas, who was his chief agent in public matters. Butas he sent down to the sea, to find out whether all had set sail successfully, and bring him word; while to the physician he gave his hand to bandage, since it was inflamed by the blow that he had given the slave. This made everybody more cheerful, since they thought he had a mind to live. In a little while Butas came with tidings that all had set sail except Crassus, who was detained by some business or other, and he too was on the point of embarking; Butas reported also that a heavy storm and a high wind prevailed at sea. On hearing this, Cato groaned with pity for those in peril on the sea, and sent Butas down again, to find out whether anyone had been driven back by the storm and wanted any necessaries, and to report to him.

And now the birds were already beginning to sing, when he fell asleep again for a little while. And when Butas came and told him that the harbours were very quiet, he ordered him to close the door, throwing himself down upon his couch as if he were going to rest there for what still remained of the night. But when Butas had gone out, Cato drew his sword from its sheath and stabbed himself below

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στήθος, τῇ δὲ χερι κουφότερον διὰ τὴν φλεγμονήν χρησάμενος οὐκ εὑθὺς ἀπήλλαξεν ἕαυτόν, ἀλλὰ δυσθανατῶν ἐξέπεσε τῆς κλίνης καὶ ψόφου ἐποίησε, καταβαλὼν ἄβακιόν τι τῶν γεωμετρικῶν παρακείμενον, ὡστε τοὺς θεράποντας αἰσθομένους ἀναβοήσαι καὶ τῶν ὕδων αὐτίκα καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐπεισελθεῖν. ἦδοντες δὲ πεφυμένον αἵματι καὶ τῶν ἐντέρων τὰ πολλὰ προπεπτωκότα, ξώντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἤτι καὶ βλέποντα, δεινὸς μὲν ἀπαντεῖ ἔχον, ὁ δὲ ἱατρὸς προσελθὼν ἐπειράτο τῶν ἐντέρων ἀτρώτων διαμεινάντων ταύτα τε καθιστάναι καὶ τὸ τραῦμα διαρράπτειν. ὡς οὖν ἀνήγερεν ὁ Κάτων καὶ συνεφρόνησε, τὸν μὲν ἱατρὸν ἀπεώσατο, ταῖς χερσὶ δὲ τὰ ἐντερα σπαράξας καὶ τὸ τραῦμα ἐπαναρρήξας ἀπέθανεν.

LXXI. Εὖν οὖν ἂν τις φέτο χρόνῳ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν πάντας ἤσθήσαι τὸ πάθος, ἔπληταῖς ταῖς θύραις ἦσαν οἱ τριακόσιοι, καὶ μικρὸν ὑστερῶν οἱ δήμοι ἢθροιστο τῶν Ἰτυκαίων, μιᾶ φοινῆ τῶν εὐρυγέτην καὶ σωτήρα καὶ μόνον ἔλευθερον καὶ μόνον ἀήττητον καλούντων. καὶ ταύτα ἐπρατητὼν ἀγγελλόμενον προσιέναι Καίσαρος. ἀλλ' οὕτε φόβος αὐτοῖς οὕτε κολακεία τοῦ κρατοῦντος οὕτε ἢ πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφορὰ καὶ στάσις ἀμβλυτέρους ἐποίησε τῆς πρὸς Κάτωνα τιμὴς. κοσμησαντες δὲ το σῶμα λαμπρός καὶ πομπὴν ἐπιφανὴ παρασχόντες καὶ ἡσάντες παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν, οὐδ' ἃνδριάς ἐφέστηκεν αὐτοῦ κειμένη, οὕτως ἐτράποντο πρὸς τὸ σῶζειν ἕαυτος καὶ τὴν πόλιν.

LXXII. Καίσαρ δὲ πυθανόμενος παρὰ τῶν ἀφικνομένων ὑπομένειν ἐν Ἰτύκῃ τῶν Κάτωνα μηδὲ φεύγειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἄλλους προπέμπειν,
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the breast. His thrust, however, was somewhat feeble, owing to the inflammation in his hand, and so he did not at once dispatch himself, but in his death struggle fell from the couch and made a loud noise by overturning a geometrical abacus that stood near. His servants heard the noise and cried out, and his son at once ran in, together with his friends. They saw that he was smeared with blood, and that most of his bowels were protruding, but that he still had his eyes open and was alive; and they were terribly shocked. But the physician went to him and tried to replace his bowels, which remained uninjured, and to sew up the wound. Accordingly, when Cato recovered and became aware of this, he pushed the physician away, tore his bowels with his hands, rent the wound still more, and so died.

LXXI. Before one would have thought that all in the house could learn of the event, the three hundred were at the door, and a little later the people of Utica had assembled. With one voice they called Cato their saviour and benefactor, the only man who was free, the only one unvanquished. And this they continued to do even when word was brought that Caesar was approaching. But neither fear of the conqueror, nor a desire to flatter him, nor their mutual strife and dissension, could blunt their desire to honour Cato. They decked his body in splendid fashion, gave it an illustrious escort, and buried it near the sea, where a statue of him now stands, sword in hand. Then they turned their thoughts to their own salvation and that of their city.

LXXII. When Caesar learned from people who came to him that Cato was remaining in Utica and not trying to escape, but that he was sending off the
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αυτῶν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἑταῖρους καὶ τὸν ύδωρ ἁδεῶς ἀναστρέφεσθαι, δυστέκμαρτον ἢγεῖτο τὴν γνώμην τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀτε δὲ τὸν πλείστον λόγον ἔχων ἐκείνου προσῆγε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπειγόμενος. 2 ὡς δὲ ἠκούσα τὸν θανάτον αὐτοῦ, λέγεται τοσοῦτον εἰπείν· "Ὡς Κάτων, φθονὸς σοι τοῦ θανάτου· καὶ γὰρ ἢμοι σὺ τῆς σαυτοῦ σωτηρίας ἐφθόνησας." τὸ γὰρ ὄντι σωθῆναι Κάτων ἀνασχομενός ὑπὸ Καίσαρος οὐκ ἀν οὐτό δοκεῖ κατασχύναι τὴν αὐτοῦ δόξαν, ὡς κοσμῆσαι τὴν ἐκείνου, τὸ δὲ πραχθὲν ἀν ἄδηλον· εἰκάζεται δὲ τὰ χρηστότερα παρὰ Καίσαρος.

LXXIII. Ἐτελεύτησε δὲ Κάτων ἔτη δυεῖν δεόντα πεινήκουτα βεβιωκῶς. ο δὲ νῖς αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ Καίσαρος μὲν οὐδὲν ἡδικήθη· λέγεται δὲ πάθυμος γενέσθαι καὶ περὶ γυναῖκας οὐκ ἀνεπι- ληπτος. ἐν δὲ Καππαδοκία ξένῳ τῷ χρησίμωμενος Μαρφαδάτη τῶν βασιλικῶν ἔχοντι γύναιον εὐπρεπῆς, καὶ πλείονα παρ' αὐτοῖς ἡ καλῶς εἰχε 2 διατρίβων χρόνου, ἐσκῶπτετο τοιάῦτα γραφοῦτων εἰς αὐτῶν.

αὐρίον Κάτων βαδίζει μετὰ τριάκονθον ήμέρας· καὶ,

Πόρκιος καὶ Μαρφαδάτης, δύο φίλοι, ψυχὴ μία. Ψυχὴ γὰρ ἐκαλεῖτο τοῦ Μαρφαδάτου τὸ γύναιον. καὶ ἔτι,

εὐγενὴς καὶ λαμπρὸς ὁ Κάτων· βασιλικὴν ψυχὴν ἔχει.

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rest, while he himself, his companions, and his son, were fearlessly going up and down, he thought it difficult to discern the purpose of the man, but since he made the greatest account of him, he came on with his army in all haste. When, however, he heard of his death, he said thus much only, as we are told: "O Cato, I begrudge thee thy death; for thou didst begrudge me the sparing of thy life." For, in reality, if Cato could have consented to have his life spared by Caesar, he would not be thought to have defiled his own fair fame, but rather to have adorned that of Caesar. However, what would have happened is uncertain; though the milder course is to be conjectured on the part of Caesar.

LXXIII. When Cato died, he was forty-eight years old. His son received no harm at the hands of Caesar, but he was of an easy disposition, as we are told, and in his relations with women not blameless. In Cappadocia he enjoyed the hospitality of Marphadates, one of the royal family, who had a comely wife; and since young Cato spent more time with them than was seemly, he was satirized in such writings as these:

"On the morrow Cato journeys,—after a good round thirty days;"

and,

"Marphadates and Porcius, two friends with but a single Soul."

For the wife of Marphadates was named Psyche (soul). And again:

"Nobly born, illustrious, our Cato hath a royal Soul."

1 In 46 B.C. A single letter of his to Cicero is extant (ad div. xv. 5): cf. chapter xxiii. 3.
3 ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν γε τὴν τοιαύτην ἐξήλειψε καὶ ἢφάνισε τῷ θανάτῳ δύσκλειαν. ἀγωνιζόμενος γὰρ ἐν Φιλίπποις πρὸς Καίσαρα καὶ Ἀντώνιον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, καὶ κλινομένης τῆς φάλαγ-γος οὗτε φυγεῖν οὗτε λαθεῖν ἀξιώσας, ἀλλὰ προ-καλούμενος τοὺς πολεμίους ἐμπροσθεν ἑαυτὸν ἐμ-φανίζων καὶ συνεξορμῶν τοὺς συμμένοντας ἐπεσε, θαύμα τῆς ἀρετῆς τοῖς ἑναντίοις παρασχὼν.

4 Ἐτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἡ θυγάτηρ τοῦ Κάτωνος οὗτε σωφροσύνης οὗτε ἀνδρείας ἀπολειφθεῖσα (Βρούτῳ γὰρ συνόκει τῷ κτείναντι Καίσαρα) αὐτῆς τε τῆς συνωμοσίας μετέσχε, καὶ προήκατο τὸν βίον ἀξίως τῆς εὐγενείας καὶ ἀρετῆς, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ Βρούτου γέγραπται. Στατύλλιος δὲ φήσας μυ-μείσθαι Κάτωνα τότε μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν φιλοσόφων ἐκωλύθη θουλόμενος ἑαυτὸν ἀνελεῖν, ύστερον δὲ τῷ Βρούτῳ πιστότατον ἑαυτὸν παρασχὼν καὶ χρησιμότατον ἐν Φιλίπποις ἀπέθανεν.
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But all such ill-report was blotted out and removed by the manner of his death. For he fought at Philippi against Caesar and Antony, in behalf of liberty; and when his line of battle was giving way, he deigned not either to fly or to hide himself, but challenged the enemy, displayed himself in front of them, cheered on those who held their ground with him, and so fell, after amazing his foes by his valour.

And still more true is it that the daughter of Cato was deficient neither in prudence nor courage. She was the wife of the Brutus who slew Caesar, was privy to the conspiracy itself, and gave up her life in a manner worthy of her noble birth and her lofty character, as is told in the Life of Brutus. Statylius, too, who declared that he would follow Cato's example, was prevented at the time by the philosophers from destroying himself, as he wished to do, but afterwards gave most faithful and efficient service to Brutus, and died at Philippi.

1 Chapters xiii. and liii. 2 Cf. above, chapter lxvi. 4. 3 Cf. the Brutus, li. 4.
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A

Adrumetum (or Hadrumetum), 381, a Phoenician sea-port on the coast of northern Africa, a few miles south of Carthage.

Afranius, 53, 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. In 55 B.C. he was sent by Pompey with Petreius, to hold Spain for him. He was killed after the battle of Thapsus (46 B.C.).

Annius, 19, Calius A. Luscus, had served under Metellus Numidicus in the Jugurthine war (108 B.C.).

Antaeus, 25, a fabled Libyan giant and wrestler, son of Poseidon, whose strength was invincible as long as he remained in contact with his mother Earth. Heracles discovered his secret and slew him.

Antigonus, 5, 85, 211, 215, surnamed the One-eyed, a general of Alexander who received the provinces of Phrygia, Lycia and Pamphylia in the division of Alexander's empire, and succeeded in making himself king of all Asia. He fell in the battle of Ipsus (301 B.C.).

Antipater the Tyrian, 245, died shortly before 44 B.C., according to Cicero (de off. ii. 86).

Antipater, 87, 91-95, 145, 185, 197, 201-217, regent of Macedonia during Alexander's absence in the East, and of Alexander's empire after the murder of Perdiccas in 321 B.C. He died in 319.

Antiphus, 199, 201, an Athenian general known only from these events of the Lamian war.

Antonius, 73, known only from this incident.

Apolloides the Stolic, 397, 399, 403, known only from these incidents.

Aquius, 37, known only from these incidents.

Archilochus, 161, 251, of Paros, one of the earliest Ionia lyric poets, flourishing in 650 B.C.

Arilixium, 361, an important city of Umbria, on the sea-coast, about nine miles south of the Rubicon.

Aristophon, 161, of the Athenian deme Colytus, a prominent orator and politician contemporary with Demosthenes.

Athenodorus (1), of Imbros, 187, an Athenian of Imbrian family, and a mercenary captain in the East, who attained political power in Thrace in 359 B.C. He was a supporter of Persia against Alexander, by whom he was captured at Sardis in 334.

Athenodorus (2), surnamed Cordylion, 257, 269, a Stoic philosopher, born at Tarsus. He was keeper of the library at Pergamum, whence he removed to Rome in 70 B.C., and lived there with Cato.

B

Baetica, 21, 31, the southern district of Spain, traversed by the great river Baetis.

Barca, 327, not otherwise known.
Boedromion, 207, the Attic month corresponding to parts of our September and October.
Butas, 405, known also as an author from the Romulus, xvi. 3.

C
Caepio (1), 7, Quintus Servilius C., consul in 106 B.C. and pro-consul in Gallia Narbonensis for the following year. Ten years after his defeat by the Cimbri (Camillus, xix. 77) he was brought to trial for misconduct of the war, condemned, and thrown into prison.
Caepio (2), 237, 239, 243, 245, 253, Quintus Servilius C., half-brother of Cato.
Caesar, 397, Lucius, not otherwise known.
Callimachus, 221, 227, 229, surnamed the Crab, one of the Athenian orators who favoured the Macedonian interest.
Canidius, 321–325, not otherwise known.
Carbo, 15, 19, 61, Gnaeus Papilius C., one of the leaders of the Marian party. After his flight to Libya (Sulla, xxix. 8) he was taken prisoner by Pompey and cruelly put to death (Pompey, chapter x.).
Cardia, 79, 85, 87, one of the chief towns of the Thracian Chersonese.
Cassander, 215, 217, a son of Antipater the regent of Macedonia, to whom his father refused the succession. He was master of Athens from 318 to 307 B.C., and died in 297.
Castulo, 7, an important city in the southern part of Hispania Tarraconensis, on the upper waters of the Baetis.

Catiline, 287, Lucius Sergius, the famous conspirator in the consulship of Cicero (63 B.C.). See the Cicero, chapters x.-xxii.
Catulus, 271, 273, Quintus Lutatius C., a leading aristocrat of the nobler sort, consul in 78 B.C., censor in 65, died in 60.
Cenchreae, 320, the eastern harbour-town of Corinth.
Cephasodotus, 158, a celebrated Athenian sculptor. In 371 B.C. he executed for the Athenians a group of Peace holding Plutus the god of riches in her arms.
Ceraunian Mountains, 211, sometimes called Acroceraunian, a range in the northern part of Epirus.
Charabrias, 157–161, an able and successful Athenian general, prominent from 392 B.C. till his gallant death at the siege of Chios in 357.
Chaeronea, 181, a town commanding the entrance from Phocis into Boeotia, celebrated for the number of important battles fought in its neighbourhood. Here Philip of Macedon defeated the allied Greeks in 338 B.C.
Chares (1), 155, 176, a famous Athenian general, prominent from 367 to 334 B.C.
Chares (2), 185, of Mitylene, court chamberlain of Alexander, and author of an anecdotal history of Alexander's campaigns.
Charicles, 193, 195, 221, 229, known only from these incidents.
Charidemus, 5, 179, 183, an Athenian general and a roving soldier of fortune, prominent from 367 to 349 B.C.
Clusia, 11–15, Lucius Cornelius C., leader of the Marian party during Sulla's absence in the East (87–84 B.C.). He was consul in 87, 86, 85, and 84. He was slain in a mutiny of his soldiers at Brundisium, where he hoped to prevent the landing of Sulla. See the Pompey, v. 1.
Cleantides, 405, known only from this passage.
Cleitus, 225, 227, successfully commanded the fleet of Antipater in the Lamian war (323 B.C.), and later (318) that of Polysperchon at Byzantium, but was surprised by Antigonus, defeated, and slain.

Clodius, 279, 281, 311, 315–319, 331, 333, 345. 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.

Corcyra, 329, 371, an island in the Ionian sea, opposite Epirus; the modern Corfu.

Cotta, 31, possibly the Marcus Aurelius Cotta, who became consul with Lucullus in 74 B.C. now a legate under Caius Annius (pp. 19 f.).

Crassus, 405, not otherwise known.

Craterus, 91–95, 187, 201, 203, 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.

Ctesippus, 159, not otherwise known.

Curio, 267, 349, probably the Calus Scribonius Curio who was consul in 76 B.C. He was a steadfast opponent of Julius Caesar, and a friend of Cicero and Cato. He was pontifex maximus in 57, and died in 53.

Cyrene, 371, the most important Greek colony on the northern coast of Africa, almost directly south of Crete. It was founded in 631 B.C.

D

Delotarius the Galatian, 261, 267, 269, tetrarch of Galatia in Asia Minor, and an old man in 54 B.C. (Crassus, xvii. 1 f.). He was a faithful friend of the Romans in their Asiatic wars, and in 63 was rewarded by the senate with the title of King. Caesar could never be brought to pardon him for siding with Pompey.

Demades, 145, 181, 191, 195, 213, 215, an Athenian politician and orator of Macedonian sympathies, and bitterly hostile to Demostenes.

Demetrius the Peripatetic, 397, 403, not definitely known.

Demetrius of Phalerum, a celebrated rhetorician and orator (346–283 B.C.). He was regent of Athens for Cassander from 318 to 307.

Demophilus, 233, not otherwise known.

Didius, 7, Titus Didius, consul in 98 B.C. He fell in battle during the Marsic war (99 B.C.).

Diopithes, 161, an Athenian general, father of the poet Menander. He was arraigned by the Macedonian party at Athens, and was defended by Demosthenes in the extant oration "On the Chersonese."

Dodona, 209, a town in Epirus, famous in earlier times for its oracle of Zeus, the influence of which among the Greek states was later assumed by the oracle of Apollo at Delphi.

Domitius (1), 31, Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, known only from this defeat, in which he was killed.

Domitius (2), 333, 335, Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, consul in 54 B.C. He was one of the ablest supporters of the aristocratic party. He opposed both Pompey and Caesar until their quarrel, then sided with Pompey. He met his death at Pharsalus.

Drusus, 237, 239, Marcus Livius D., at first an able and ardent supporter of the aristocratic party and the senate, but afterwards an agitator like the Gracchi. He was assassinated in 91 B.C.

Duris, 79, 153, 185, the Samian, a
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pupil of Theophrastus, historian and, for a time, tyrant of Samos, lived circa 350–280 B.C.
Dyrrhachium, 365–369, a city on the coast of Illyricum, opposite to Brundisium, known in Greek history as Epidamnus. It was a free state, and sided with the Romans consistently.

E

Ebro (Iberus), 41, a large river the basin of which forms the northeastern part of the peninsula of Spain.
Echecrates the sophist, 187, not otherwise known.
Elatea, 223, a city of Phoci in a plain commanding passes into southern Greece.
Epicurus, 233, not otherwise known.
Eubulus, 161, a leading Athenian orator and statesman, highly successful as a minister of finance. He was of the party opposed to Demosthenes.

F

Favonius, 315, 347, 349, Marcus F., called the "Ape of Cat.," was aedile in 52 B.C. and praetor in 49. He joined Pompey in the East, notwithstanding personal enmity towards 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.).
Fimbria, 65, Caius Flavius F., a partisan of Marius. He won important successes against Mithridates in 85 B.C., but was defeated and brought to death by Sulla in 84. See the Sulla, xxiii.-xxv.
Fufidius, 31, a creature of Sulla, mentioned also in the Sulla, xxxi. 3.

G

Gabinius, 317, Aulus G., tribune of the people in 66 B.C., praetor in 61, consul with Piso in 58, the year during which Cicero was in exile. He was recalled from his province of Syria in 55, prosecuted for taking bribes, and exiled. He died in 48.
Glaucippus, 153, not otherwise known.
Gracinus, 69, not otherwise known.

H

Hagnonides (or Agnonides), 211, 221, 223, 227, 233, an Athenian sycophant and demagogue, whose career is known mostly from this Life.
Harpalus, 191–195, the faithless treasurer of Alexander. Anti-pater demanded his surrender by the Athenians, who put him in prison. Thence he escaped and went to Crete, where he was assassinated.
Hegemon, 225, 229, a minor Athenian orator of the time of Demosthenes, who supported the interests of Macedon.
Hephaestion, 29, 81, 83, officer and beloved friend of Alexander.
Hortensius, 293, 295, 363, the great oratorical rival of Cicero, a man of high character, brilliant parts, and great wealth. He died in 50 B.C.
Hypereides, 153, 161, 169, 183, 197, 203, 205, 211, a great Athenian orator, who stood with Demosthenes at the head of the anti-Macedonian party.
Hypsaeus, 351, Publius Plautius H., tribune of the people in 54 B.C., and candidate for the consulship two years later. He was accused of corrupt practices, tried, and convicted. Pompey, whom he had devotedly served, forsook him in the hour of need.
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I
Iberians, 69 and passim, a general name for the original peoples of the Spanish peninsula.
Ios, 5, an island in the eastern Aegean sea, one of the Sporades, south of Naxos.

J
Juba (1), 373–379, 385–389, Juba I., king of Numidia, and a supporter of Pompey, to whom he owed his throne. He followed Cato’s example and put an end to his own life.
Juba (2), 25, Juba II., king of Mauretania, son of the preceding. After his father’s death in 46 B.C., he was taken as a child to Rome by Caesar, where he was educated. He became a learned and voluminous writer, and among his works was a History of Rome.

L
Labienus, 373, though a trusted officer of Caesar in Gaul, he went over to Pompey in the Civil War, 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.).
Laelius, 253, Caius L., a brilliant commander and statesman, whose deeds are inseparably interwoven with those of his friend and companion, the elder Scipio. He died about 170 B.C.
Laomedon, 3, a mythical king of Troy, the father of Priam.
Lauron, 49, a small town in the S.E. part of Spain, south of Valentia, near the sea.
Leonnatus, 85, 87, 201, one of Alexander’s most distinguished officers.
Leosthenes, 161, 195–203, an Athenian, general of the league for expelling the Macedonians from Greece after the death of Alexander.
Lollius, 273, Marcus L., not further known.
Lusitanians, 25–31, 69, the people of the western district or province of Spain.
Lycurgus (1), 191, the great Spartan lawgiver.
Lycurgus (2), 161, 167, 183, an able Athenian orator and a highly successful minister of finance (396–323 B.C.), one of the noblest specimens of old Attic integrity and virtue in a degenerate age.

M
Manlius (1), 33, Lucius M., proconsul in Narbonese Gaul in 78 B.C. He was badly defeated by one of the generals of Sertorius.
Manlius (2), 69, 71, 75, not otherwise known.
Marcellus, 277, perhaps the Caius Claudius Marcellus who was consul in 50 B.C., a friend of Cicero and Pompey, and an uncompromising foe of Caesar.
Marius, 15, an adopted son of the elder Marius. He became consul at the age of twenty-seven, and was as merciless and cruel as his father. His death by his own hands is noted in the Sulla, xxxii. 1.
Mellaria, 31, a small town on the southern coast of Spain.
Memmius (1), 55, Caius M., a brother-in-law of Pompey, and his quaestor in Spain. Cf. the Pompey, xl. 2.
Memmius (2), 305, 307, Caius M. Gemellus, tribune of the people at this time (66 B.C.), and two years later an unsuccessful candidate for the consulate. He left Rome under impeachment for
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corrupt practices, and spent the rest of his life in Mitylene.
Menestheus, 161, a son of the famous Athenian general Iphicrates by a Thracian princess. He was distinguished for his military skill, and was prominent with his father in the Social War (356 B.C.). Nothing is heard of him after 325 B.C.

Menon the Thessalian, 201, a citizen of Pharsalus, and a man of great influence and reputation. His cavalry bore themselves well in the battle of Crrannon. In 321 he was defeated and slain by Polyperchon.

Mentor, 81, not further known.
Menylius, 207, 209, 213, 217, known only from these passages.

Metellus (1), 5, 31–61, 73, Quintus Caecilius M. Pius, consul with Sulla in 80 B.C., and one of his most successful generals. After Sulla's death in 78 Metellus was sent to Spain as pro-consul to prosecute the war against Sertorius. He died about 63.

Metellus (2), 231–235, 297–305, Quintus M. Nepos, 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 exile. He died in 55.

Metellus (3), 313, Quintus Caecilius M. Numidicus, victor over Jugurtha in 109 B.C., but supplanted by Marius. He was censor in 102, was unjustly expelled from the senate, and went into exile, from which he was recalled in 99 B.C., largely through the efforts of his son, Metellus Pius.

Micon, 201, known only from this passage.

Milo, 351, Titus Annius Papianus, a ruffian and swashbuckler, tribune of the people in 57 B.C., and from that time on involved in a fierce quarrel with Clodius, which ended with the murder of Clodius. Milo was impeached for the crime, defended by Cicero in an extant oration, condemned, and

sent into exile. Attempting to return by force in 48, he was slain.

Mithridates, 11, 63–67, the sixth king of Pontus bearing this name, commonly called the Great, 120–63 B.C., the most formidable enemy of the Romans in the East.

Molossus, 175, not otherwise known.

Munatius, 255, 293, 301, 307, 309, 323–327, 361, the bosom friend of Cato.

Murena, 285, 287, 303, Lucius Licinius M., had served under Lucullus (Lucullus, xlii. 7). On his trial he was defended by Hortensius and Cicero (in an extant oration), and acquitted.

N

Nearchus, 81, the able and trusted admiral of Alexander.


New Carthage, 19, a famous colony of Carthage on the south-eastern coast of Spain.

Nicanor, 217–221, held the Peiraues for Cassander, and afterwards served him successfully as naval commander in the Hellespont, but awakened his jealousy and was put to death by him.

Nicocles, 183, 229, 231, not otherwise known.

Norbanus, 15, Caius N., consul in 83 B.C. After his defeats by Sulla and Metellus, he fled to Rhodes, where he put an end to his own life.

O

Octavius (1), 11, 13, Gnaeus O., consul with Cinna in 87 B.C. His death is described in the Marius, xii.
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Octavius (2), 395, Marcus Q., consul in 54 B.C., and a supporter of Pompey in the Civil War. He fled to Africa in 47. He is last heard of as serving under Antony at the battle of Actium in 31.
Osca, 37, 69, a Roman colony in north-eastern Spain.

P

Paccianus, 23, not otherwise known.
Pella, 87, the capital city of Macedonia.
Perdiccas, 79, 85, 89–93, the officer to whom the dying Alexander is said to have given his signet-ring, and regent for the royal successors of Alexander till 321 B.C.
Perpenna, 39, 41, 67–75, Marcus P. Vento, a leading partisan of Marius. On the death of Sulla (78 B.C.) he joined Lepidus in his attempt to win the supreme power, and falling here, retired to Spain and served under Sertorius.
Pessinus, 269, an important town in the west of Galatia, famous for its cult of Cybele.
Pharsalus, 369, 373, an ancient town in southern Thessaly, near which Caesar finally defeated Pompey.
Philip, 5, 79, Philip of Macedon, father of Alexander.
Philippi, 411, a city of Macedonia on the river Strymon, formerly called Crenides, but renamed by Philip II.
Philippus, 293, 295, 331, Lucius Marcius P., consul in 56 B.C., and step-father of Octavius Caesar. He remained neutral in the civil wars, and lived to see his step-son master of the world.
Philostratus, 375, the Egyptian, a professed but degenerate follower of the Academy, afterwards associated with Antony and Cleopatra (Antony, lxxx. 2).

Phocus, 189, 191, 213, 229, 233, the son of Phocion, not otherwise known.
Pigres, 95, an officer not otherwise known.
Piso, 307, 317, 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.
Pityussa, 19, the name of two islands (often spoken of as one) lying off the southern coast of Spain.
Plancus, 353, Titus Munatius P. Bursa, tribune of the people in 52 B.C. and largely responsible for the riots of that year, for complicity in which he was tried and condemned. He was restored to civil rights by Julius Caesar, and served under Antony.
Plutarch the Erythraian, 171, 173, sought the aid of the Athenians against his rival, the tyrant of Chalcis, who had allied himself with Philip of Macedon.
Pollio, 363, 365, Caius Asinius P., a famous orator, poet, and historian, 78 B.C.—4 A.D. He was an intimate friend of Julius Caesar, fought under him in Africa and Spain, 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.
Polyeuctus the Sphettian, 165, an Athenian of the deme Sphettus, a political friend of Demosthenes, and an orator of some note.
Polysperchon, 217, 221–225, a distinguished officer of Alexander, appointed by Antipater to succeed him in the regency. He connived at some of the worst crimes of Cassander.
Pompeius (1), 371 ("the younger Pompey"), Onæus P., the elder son of the triumvir by his third
wife, put to death by the troops of Caesar after the battle of Munda in Spain (45 B.C.).
Pompeius (2), 371, 383, Sextus P., the younger son of the triumvir by his third wife, escaped after the battle of Munda and was active against the triumvirate until his death in 35 B.C.
Porcia (1), 333, Cato's own sister, died in 46 B.C., ten years after her husband.
Porcia (2), 293, 411, Cato's daughter, married first to Bibulus, Caesar's consular colleague, in 59 B.C. Bibulus died in 48, and in 45 Porcia married Brutus the conspirator.
Ptolemy (1), 81, 91, Ptolemy Lagus, the most far-sighted and successful of the officers of Alexander, afterwards Ptolemy I. of Egypt.
Ptolemy (2), 321, Ptolemy XI. of Egypt, commonly known as Ptolemy Auletes. After many disappointments he was at last restored to his throne in 55 B.C., through the influence of Pompey, but never regained the goodwill of his people.
Ptolemy (3), 319, 321, younger brother of Ptolemy Auletes, and king of Cyprus. He incurred the enmity of Clodius, who, as tribune of the Roman people, brought in a decree depriving him of his kingdom.
Pythias, 191, an Athenian orator chiefly known for his unreasoning hatred of Demosthenes. He was a man of no fixed character, and in the Lamian War became a renegade from Athens. See the Demosthenes, xxxii.
Pythocles, 229, not otherwise known.

S

Saguntum, 55, a rich commercial city on the east coast of Spain, near the sea.
Sallinator, 19, Julius, not otherwise known.
Scipio (1), 3, 253, Publius Cornelius S. Africanus Major (234–183 B.C.), the conqueror of Hannibal.
Scipio (2), 3, Publius Cornelius S. Aemilianus Africanus Minor (185–129 B.C.), the destroyer of Carthage.
Scipio (3), 15, 17, Lucius Cornelius S. Asiaticus, belonged to the Marian party in the civil wars, and was consul in 83 B.C., the year when Sulla returned from the East (cf. the Sulla, xxviii. 1–3). He was proscribed in 82, and fled to Massilia, where he died.
Scipio (4), 251, 351, 375–379, 385, 387, Publius Cornelius S. Nasica, adopted by Metellus Pius and therefore called Metellus Scipio, was made Pompey's colleague in the consulship late in the year 52 B.C., and became a determined foe of Caesar. He commanded Pompey's centre at Pharsalus, fled to Africa, and killed himself after the battle of Thapsus (46 B.C.). Though a Scipio by birth, a Metellus by adoption, and the father-in-law of Pompey, he was rapacious and profligate.
Serranus, 251, probably the Sextus Atillius S. Gavius, who was quaestor in 63 B.C. and favoured by Cicero, but as tribune of the people in 57 opposed the recall of Cicero from exile.
Servilia (1), 285, 291, half-sister of Cato, and faithless wife of Silanus.
Servilia (2), 293, 305, 365 f., another half-sister of Cato, the faithless wife of Lucullus.
Silanus, 285–289, Decimus Junius S., consul in 64 and 62 B.C.
Silo, 239, 241, Pompaedia S., leader of the Marsi in the Social
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War, and confederate. with Drusus. He displayed great military ability in the war, but was finally defeated by Metellus Plus in 88 B.C., and died in battle.

Statylius, 395–399, 411, known only from these passages.

Sucro, 51, a river in south-eastern Spain, between Valentina and Lauron.

Sulpicius, 355, Servius S. Lomontia Rufus, a friend and fellow-student of Cato, and a successful competitor against him for the consulship in 51 B.C. He supported the cause of Caesar, and died in 43.

Thrasea, 293, 325, Publius T. Paetus, a noble Roman who fell a victim to the hatred of Nero in 66 A.D. In his youth he was devoted to the Stoic philosophy, and wrote a study of the life of Cato the Younger.

Thudippus, 229, not otherwise known.

Trebonius, 339, Caius T., tribune of the people in 55 B.C., and an instrument of the triumvirs. He was afterwards legate of Caesar in Gaul, and was loaded with favours by him, but was one of the conspirators against his life.

Turia, 51, a small town near the upper waters of the Sucro, in south-eastern Spain.

T

Taenarum, 211, the promontory at the extreme south of Laconia.

Tagonius, 43, a tributary of the river Tagus, in south-western Spain.

Thapsus, 379, a maritime city of northern Africa, south of Carthage.

Theodorus the Athelst, 233, a philosopher of the Cyrenaic school, banished from his native city of Cyrene, and resident at Athens during the regency of Demetrius the Phalerian (318–307 B.C.).

Theophrastus, 35, 325, the most famous pupil of Aristotle, and his successor as head of the Peripatetic school at Athens. He was born at Ereos in Lesbos, and died at Athens in 287 B.C., at the age of eighty-five.

Thermus, 299, 301, Minucius, not otherwise definitely known.

Thessalonica, 259, the capital of the Roman province of Macedonia, situated at the head of the Thermaic gulf.

Thoranius, 31, not otherwise known.

U

Utica, 375–407, a Phoenician colony from Tyre, older than Carthage, on the northern coast of Africa twenty-seven miles north-west of Carthage.

V

Vaccaei, 59, an important people in the interior of Hispania Tarraconensis, or north-eastern Spain.

Varus, 373–377, Publius Attius V., a zealous partisan of Pompey. When Pompey forsook Italy in 49 B.C., Varus took possession of Africa, where he had formerly been pro-praetor. In conjunction with King Juba he crushed Curio, the legate of Caesar. He fell in the battle of Munda (45).

Vatiniius, 337, Publius V., a leading partisan of Caesar, praetor in 55 B.C., after which he served Caesar as legate in Gaul, and in important commands during the Civil War. He is last heard of in 43.
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**X**

Xenocrates, the philosopher, 205, 215, a native of Chaicedon in Bithynia, and a disciple at Athens of Aeschines the Socratic. He lived 396–314 B.C.

**Z**

Zeno, 155, probably the Stoic philosopher is meant, who taught at Athens in the third century B.C., and wrote on law and government.