Plutarch's Lives

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

IX
PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

VOLUME I.
THESeous 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.
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VOLUME IV.
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VOLUME VI.
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VOLUME VII.
DEMOSTHENES AND CICERO.
ALEXANDER AND CAESAR.

VOLUME VIII.
SERTORIUS AND EUMENES.
PHOCION AND CATO THE YOUNGER.
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 deviation from both, have been indicated. An abridged account of the manuscripts of Plutarch may be found in the Introduction to the first volume. Of the Lives presented in this volume, the last part of the Antony (from chapter lxxvii.), and the Pyrrhus and Marius are contained in the Codex Sangermanensis (S§), but none in the Codex Seitenstettensis (S). These are the two oldest and most authoritative manuscripts. The readings of the excellent Paris manuscript No. 1676 (F§) are not accessible for any of them. 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 new text of the Lives by Lindskog and Ziegler, in the Teubner Library of Greek and Latin texts (now
PREFATORY NOTE

... half published). 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.

The Siefert-Blass edition of the Pyrrhus, in the Teubner series of annotated Greek and Latin texts, has been of great service.

All the standard translations of the Lives have been carefully compared and utilized, including those of the Antony and Marius by Professor Long.

B. PERRIN.

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, U.S.A.
June, 1920.
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THE TRADITIONAL ORDER OF THE PARALLEL LIVES.

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DEMETRIUS
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ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ

I. Οἱ πρῶτοι τὰς τέχνας ἐσκέπαι ταῖς αἰσθήσεις ὑπολαβόντες οὐχ ἦκεστά μοι δοκοῦσι τὴν περὶ τὰς κρίσεις αὐτῶν κατανόησαι δύναμιν, ἦ τῶν ἐναυτῶν ὑμοίως ἐν ἑκατέρῳ ἁ γένει πεφυκαμεν ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι. τούτο γὰρ αὐτὰς κοινὸν ἐστι· τῇ δὲ πρὸς τὰ τέλη τῶν κρινομένων 2 ἀναφορὰ διαλλάσσοντιν. ἢ μὲν γὰρ αἰσθησίς οὐδὲν τι μᾶλλον ἔπλεγκὼν ἢ μελάνων διαγρώσει γέγονεν, οὐδὲ γλυκέων ἢ πικρῶν, οὐδὲ μαλακῶν καὶ εἰκόνων ἢ σκληρῶν καὶ ἀντιτύπων, ἀλλ' ἔργον αὐτῆς ἐκάστους ἐντυγχάνουσαν ὕπερ πάντων τε κινεῖσθαι καὶ κινομένην πρὸς τὸ φρονόν ἀναφέρειν ὡς πέποιθεν'. αἱ δὲ τέχναι μετὰ λόγου συνεστῶσαι πρὸς αἵρεσιν καὶ λήψιν οἰκείου τινός, φυγήν δὲ καὶ διάκρουσιν ἀλλοτρίου, τὰ μὲν ἢφ αὐτῶν προηγουμένως, τὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ φυλάξασθαι 3 κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς ἐπιθεωροῦσι· καὶ γὰρ ἰατρικὴ τὸ νοσερὸν καὶ ἄρμοικὴ τὸ ἐκμελέσι, ὅπως ἔχει, σκοπεῖν συμβέβηκε πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἐναυτῶν ἀπεργασιάν, αἱ τε πασῶν τελειώτατας τεχνῶν, σωφροσύνη καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ φρόνησις, οὐ καλῶν

1 ἐν ἑκατέρῳ Coraës and Bekker, after Reiske: ἑκατέρῳ.
2
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I. Those who first assumed that the arts are like the bodily senses, seem to me to have perceived very clearly the power of making distinctions which both possess, by which power we are enabled to apprehend opposites, as well in the one case as in the other. For the arts and the senses have this power in common; though in the use to which we put the distinctions made, they differ. For our sense-perception has no greater facility in distinguishing white objects than black, or sweet things than bitter, or soft and yielding substances than hard and resisting ones, but its function is to receive impressions from all objects alike, and having received them, to report the resulting sensation to the understanding. The arts, on the other hand, which proceed by the use of reason to the selection and adoption of what is appropriate, and to the avoidance and rejection of what is alien to themselves, contemplate the one class of objects with direct intent and by preference, and yet incidentally contemplate the other class also, and in order to avoid them. For instance, the art of healing has incidentally studied the nature of disease, and the art of harmony the nature of discord, in order to produce their opposites; and the most consummate arts of all, namely, temperance, justice, and wisdom, since their function is to distinguish, not only what is good and just
μόνον καὶ δικαιῶν καὶ ὠφελίμων, ἀλλὰ καὶ βλαβερῶν καὶ αἰσχρῶν καὶ ἀδίκων κρίσεις οὐσαί, τὴν ἀπειρία τῶν ἤλεκτρων καλλωπιζόμενην ἀκακίαν οὐκ ἐπαινοῦσίν, ἀλλ’ ἀβελτεριάν ἤγοινται καὶ ἄγνωσιν ὧν μᾶλιστα γινώσκει προσήκει τὸς ὄρθως βιοφόρειν. οἱ μὲν οὖν παλαιοὶ Σπαρτιάται τοὺς ἔιλοτας ἐν ταῖς ἔρταις πολὺν ἀναγκάζοντες πίνειν ἢκρατον εἰσήγον εἰς τὰ συμπόσια, τοῖς νεότεροι οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ μεθύειν ἐπιδεικνύσεις· ἦμεις δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐκ διαστροφῆς ἔτερον ἐπανόρθωσιν οὐ πάνω φιλάνθρωπον οὐδὲ πολιτικὴν. 5 ἔγοιμεθα, τῶν δὲ κεχρημένων ἀσκεπτότερον αὐτοῦ καὶ γεγονότων ἐν ἐξοσίαις καὶ πράγμασί μεγάλοις ἐπιφανοῦς εἰς κακίαν, οὐ κείρον ἴσως ἐστὶ συνυγίαν μίαν ἢ δύο παρεμβάλεις εἰς τὰ παραδείγματα τῶν βίων, οὐκ ἐφ’ ἥδου, μὰ Δία, καὶ διαγωγῆ τῶν ἐνυγχαυτῶν ποικιλλοῦτας τὴν γραφήν, ἀλλ’ ὡστερ Ἰσμηνίας ὁ Θηβαῖος ἐπιδεικνύμενος τοῖς μαθηταῖς καὶ τοὺς εὗ καὶ τοὺς κακῶς αὐλοῦντας εἰώθει λέγειν, “Ὀὕτως αὐλείν δεῖ,” καὶ πάλιν, “Ὀὕτως αὐλείν οὐ δεῖ,” ὁ δ’ Ἀντιγενίδας καὶ ἢδου φιλο τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀκροάσθαι τοὺς νέους αὐλητῶν ἐὰν καὶ τῶν φαύλων πείραν λαμβάνωσιν, οὕτω μοι δοκοῦμεν καὶ ἠμεῖς προσθυμότεροι τῶν βελτιών ἔσεσθαι καὶ θεαταὶ καὶ μιμηταὶ βίων εἰ μηδὲ τῶν φαύλων καὶ ἔγοιμεν ἀνιστορήτως ἔχομεν. 6 Περιέξει δὴ τούτο τὸ βιβλίον τῶν Δημητρίου τοῦ Πολιορκητοῦ βίων καὶ Ἀντωνίου τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, ἀνδρῶν μάλιστα δὴ τῷ Πλάτωνι μαρτυρησάντων ὅτι καὶ κακίας μεγάλας, ὡστερ
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and expedient, but also what is bad and unjust and disgraceful, have no praises for a guilelessness which plumes itself on its inexperience of evil, nay, they consider it to be foolishness, and ignorance of what ought especially to be known by men who would live aright. Accordingly, the ancient Spartans would put compulsion upon their helots at the festivals to drink much unmixed wine, and would then bring them into the public messes, in order to show their young men what it was to be drunk. And though I do not think that the perverting of some to secure the setting right of others is very humane, or a good civil policy, still, when men have led reckless lives, and have become conspicuous, in the exercise of power or in great undertakings, for badness, perhaps it will not be much amiss for me to introduce a pair or two of them into my biographies, though not that I may merely divert and amuse my readers by giving variety to my writing. Ismenias the Theban used to exhibit both good and bad players to his pupils on the flute and say, “you must play like this one,” or again, “you must not play like this one”; and Antigenidas used to think that young men would listen with more pleasure to good flute-players if they were given an experience of bad ones also. So, I think, we also shall be more eager to observe and imitate the better lives if we are not left without narratives of the blameworthy and the bad.

This book will therefore contain the Lives of Demetrius the City-besieger and Antony the Emperor, men who bore most ample testimony to the truth of Plato’s saying\(^1\) that great natures exhibit

\(^1\) It is uncertain what passage in Plato is meant.
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αρετάς, αἱ μεγάλαι φύσεις ἐκφέρουσι. γενόμενοι
δ' ὁμοίως ἐρωτικοί, ποτικοί, στρατιωτικοί, μεγα-
λόδωροι, πολυτελεῖς, ύβρισταί, καὶ τὰς κατὰ
8 τὺχην ὀμοιότητας ἀκολούθουσαν ἔσχον. οὐ γὰρ
μόνον ἐν τῷ λοιπῷ βίῳ μεγάλα μὲν κατορθοῦντες,
μεγάλα δὲ σφαλλόμενοι, πλείστων δὲ ἐπικρα-
τοῦντες, πλείστα δὲ ἀποβάλλοντες, ἀπροσδοκήτως
dὲ πταίοντες, ἀνελπίστως δὲ πάλιν ἀναφέροντες
dιετέλεσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατέστρεψαν, ὦ μὲν ἄλοις
ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ὦ δὲ ἐγνιστα τού παθεῖν
tοῦτο γενόμενον.

Π. Ἀντιγόνῳ τοῖνυν δυὲῖν νῦν ἐκ Στρατονί-
κης τῆς Κορράγου γενομένων, τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ-
δελφὸς Δημήτριον, τὸν δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ Φίλιππον
ἀνόμασεν. οὕτως ἦστι ὁ τῶν πλείστων λόγος.
ἐνιοῦ δὲ τὸν Δημήτριον οὐχ νῦν, ἀλλ' ἀδελφιδῶν
γενέσθαι τοῦ 'Ἀντιγόνου λέγουσιν. ἐπὶ υπηρ
γὰρ αὐτῷ παντάπασι τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτήσαυτον,
eῖτα τῆς μητρὸς εὐθὺς τῷ 'Ἀντιγόνῳ γαμηθείσης,
2 νῦν ἐκείνου νομισθήναι. τὸν μὲν οὖν Φίλιππον
οὐ πολλοὶς ἔτεσι τοῦ Δημήτριον νεώτερον ὁντα
συνέβη τελευτήσαι. Δημήτριος δὲ μεγέθει μὲν
ἡν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐλάττων, καίπερ δὲν μέγας, ἠδὲ
dὲ καὶ κάλλει προσώπων θαμμαστός καὶ περιττὸς,
ὡςτὲ τῶν πλαττόντων καὶ γραφόντων μηθένα
tῆς ὀμοιότητος ἐφικέσθαι, τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ χάριν
καὶ βάρος καὶ φόβον καὶ ὄραν εἶχε, καὶ συνεκέ-
κρατο τῷ νεαρῷ καὶ ἴταμῳ δυσμήνητος ἥρωική
3 τις ἑπιφάνεια καὶ βασιλικὴ σεμνότης. οὕτω δὲ
πως καὶ τὸ ἤθος ἐπεφύκει πρὸς ἐκτηλνθη ἄν-
θρωπων ἄμα καὶ χάριν. ἤδειστος γὰρ ὁν συγ-
γενέσθαι, σχολάζου τε περὶ πότους καὶ τρυφᾶς
DEMETRIUS

great vices also, as well as great virtues. Both alike were amorous, bibulous, warlike, munificent, extravagant, and domineering, and they had corresponding resemblances in their fortunes. For not only were they all through their lives winning great successes, but meeting with great reverses; making innumerable conquests, but suffering innumerable losses; unexpectedly falling low, but unexpectedly recovering themselves again; but they also came to their end, the one in captivity to his enemies, and the other on the verge of this calamity.

II. To begin, then, Antigonus had two sons by Stratonicè the daughter of Corrhagus, one of whom he named Demetrius, after his brother, and the other Philip, after his father. This is what the majority of writers say. But some have it that Demetrius was not the son, but the nephew of Antigonus; for his own father died when the boy was quite young, and then his mother immediately married Antigonus, so that Demetrius was considered to be his son. Well then, Philip, who was a few years younger than Demetrius, died. Demetrius, the surviving son, had not the height of his father, though he was a tall man, but he had features of rare and astonishing beauty, so that no painter or sculptor ever achieved a likeness of him. They had at once grace and strength, dignity and beauty, and there was blended with their youthful eagerness a certain heroic look and a kingly majesty that were hard to imitate. And in like manner his disposition also was fitted to inspire in men both fear and favour. For while he was a most agreeable companion, and most dainty of princes in the leisure devoted to drinking and
καὶ διαίτας ὁ βροβιώτατος βασιλέων, ἐνεργότατον
αὖ πάλιν καὶ σφοδρότατον τὸ περὶ τὰς πράξεις
ἐνδελεχῆς εἰχε καὶ δραστήριον ὡς καὶ μάλιστα
τῶν θεῶν ἔξηλον τὸν Διόνυσον, ὡς πολέμῳ τε
χρήσθαι δεινότατον, εἰρήνην τε αὖθις ἐκ πολέμου
τρέψαι πρὸς εὐφροσύνην καὶ χάριν ἐμμελεστατον.

III. Ἦν μὲν οὖν καὶ φιλοπάτωρ διαφέροντως
τῇ δὲ περὶ τὴν μητέρα σπουδῆ καὶ τὸν πατέρα
πιμῶν ἐφαίνετο δὲ εὖνοιαν ἀληθινὴν μᾶλλον ἡ
θεραπείαιν τῆς δυνάμεως. καὶ ποτε πρεσβεία
τινὶ τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου σχολάζουτος ἀπὸ θήρας ὁ
Δημήτριος ἐπέστη. καὶ προσελθὼν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ
φιλήσας, ᾳσπερ εἰχε τὰς βολίδας, ἐκάθισε παρ’
2 αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ Ἀντίγονος ἀπίόντας ἥδη τοὺς πρέ-
σβεις ἔχοντας τὰς ἀποκρίσεις μεγάλης φωνῆς
προσαγορεύσας, “Καὶ τούτο,” εἶπεν, “ὁ ἄνδρες,
ἀπαγγέλλετε περὶ ἡμῶν, ὅτι πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐ-
τως ἔχομεν,” ὡς ἰσχύν τινα πραγμάτων βασιλι-
κῶν καὶ δυνάμεως ἐπίδειξιν οὖναν τὴν πρὸς νῦν
3 ὄμοιοι καὶ πίστιν. οὕτως ἀρα πάντη δυσκοινώ-
νητον ἡ ἀρχή, καὶ μεστον ἀπιστίας καὶ δυσνοίας,
ὡςτε ἀγάλλεσθαι τὸν μεγίστον τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου
diadoχων καὶ πρεσβύτατον ὁτι μὴ φοβεῖται τὸν
νῦν, ἀλλὰ προσίεται τὴν λόγχην ἔχοντα τοῦ
σώματος πλησίον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ μόνος, ὡς
eἰπεῖν, ὁ οἶκος οὕτως ἐπὶ πλείστας διαδοχᾶς
tῶν τοιούτων κακῶν ἐκαθάρευσε, μᾶλλον δὲ εἰς
μόνος τῶν ἀπ’ Ἀντιγόνου Φίλιππος ἀνείλεν νῦν.
8
DEMETRIUS

luxurious ways of living, on the other hand he had a most energetic and eager persistency and efficiency in action. Wherefore he used to make Dionysus his pattern, more than any other deity, since this god was most terrible in waging war, and on the other hand most skilful, when war was over, in making peace minister to joy and pleasure.

III. Moreover, Demetrius was also exceedingly fond of his father; and from his devotion to his mother it was apparent that he honoured his father also from genuine affection rather than out of deference to his power. On one occasion, when Antigonus was busy with an embassy, Demetrius came home from hunting; he went up to his father and kissed him, and then sat down by his side just as he was, javelins in hand. Then Antigonus, as the ambassadors were now going away with their answers, called out to them in a loud voice and said: "O men, carry back this report also about us, that this is the way we feel towards one another," implying that no slight vigour in the royal estate and proof of its power were to be seen in his harmonious and trustful relations with his son. So utterly unsociable a thing, it seems, is empire, and so full of ill-will and distrust, that the oldest and greatest of the successors of Alexander could make it a thing to glory in that he was not afraid of his son, but allowed him near his person lance in hand. However, this house was almost the only one which kept itself pure from crimes of this nature for very many generations, or, to speak more definitely, Philip was the only one of the descendants of Antigonus who put a son to death.¹

¹ Philip V., King of Macedonia. Cf. the Aemilius Paulus, viii. 6.
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4 αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι σχεδὸν ἀπασαι διαδοχαὶ πολλῶν μὲν ἔχουσι παῖδαν, πολλῶν δὲ μητέρων φόνους καὶ γυναικῶν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀδελφὸς ἀναίρειν, ὡσπέρ οἱ γεωμέτραι τὰ αἰτήματα λαμβάνουσιν, οὕτω συνεχωρεῖτο κοινῶν τι μοιξόμενον αἰτήμα καὶ βασιλικῶν ὑπὲρ ὕσφαλειας.

IV. Τοὺς μὲν τούς καὶ φιλάνθρωπον φύσει καὶ φιλεταίρου γεγονέναι τὸν Δημήτριον ἐν ἀρχῇ παράδειγμα τοιούτων ἐστίν εἰπεῖν· Μιθριδάτης ο ’Αρμοβαρζάνου παῖς ἐταῖρος ἦν αὐτοῦ καὶ καθ’ ἡλικίαν 1 συνήθης, ἐθεράπευε δὲ ’Αντίγονον, οὕτε ὅν οὐκ ἔριζεν πονηρός, ἐκ δὲ ἐνυπνίου τινὸς 2 ὑποψίαν ’Αντίγονῳ παρέσχεν. ἐδόκει γὰρ μέγα καὶ καλὸν πεδίον ἐπὶ τὸν ’Αντίγονον ψηγμά τι 2 χρυσὸν καταστεῖρεν· ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ὑποψίας θέρος χρυσοῦν, ὁλίγῳ δ’ ὕστερον ἐπι- ανελθὼν οἶδεν οὐδὲν ἀλλ’ ἡ τετμημένη καλὰμνη. λυπούμενος δὲ καὶ περιπαθῶν ἀκούσαί τινῶν λεγόντων ὡς ἂρα Μιθριδάτης εἰς Πόντον Εὐ- ξεινον οἰχεῖται, τὸ χρυσὸν θέρος ἐξάμησάμενος.

3 ἐκ τούτου διαταραχθεῖς καὶ τὸν ύδων ορκώσας σιωπῆςεν, ἐφρασά τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτὸ, καὶ ὁτι πάντως τὸν ἀνθρώπων ἐκπονῶν ποιεῖσθαι καὶ δια- φθείρειν ἐγνώκεν. ἀκούσας δὲ τὴν Δημήτριος ἡχθε- σθη σφόδρα, καὶ τὸν νεανίσκου, καθάπερ εἰσθεί, γενομένου παρ’ αὐτῷ καὶ συνόντως ἐπὶ σχολῆς, φθέγξασθαι μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν οὐδὲ τῇ φωνῇ κατείπειν δία τὸν ορκον, ὑπαγαγὼν δὲ κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπὸ τῶν φίλων, ὡς ἐγεγόνεσαν μόνοι καθ’ αὐτούς, τῷ στύρακι τῆς λόγχης κατέγραφεν εἰς

1 καὶ καθ’ ἡλικίαν Ziegler: καθ’ ἡλικίαν καὶ.
2 ψήγμα τι Ziegler: ψήγματι.
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But almost all the other lines afford many examples of men who killed their sons, and of many who killed their mothers and wives; and as for men killing their brothers, just as geometricians assume their postulates, so this crime came to be a common and recognized postulate in the plans of princes to secure their own safety.

IV. In proof that in the beginning Demetrius was naturally humane and fond of his companions, the following illustration may be given. Mithridates the son of Ariobarzanes was a companion of his, and an intimate of the same age. He was one of the courtiers of Antigonus, and though he neither was nor was held to be a base fellow, still, in consequence of a dream, Antigonus conceived a suspicion of him. Antigonus dreamed, namely, that he was traversing a large and fair field and sowing gold-dust. From this, to begin with, there sprang up a golden crop, but when he came back after a little while, he could see nothing but stubble. In his vexation and distress, he heard in his dream sundry voices saying that Mithridates had reaped the golden crop for himself and gone off to the Euxine Sea. Antigonus was much disturbed by this vision, and after he had put his son under oath of silence, told it to him, adding that he had fully determined to destroy Mithridates and put him out of the way. On hearing this, Demetrius was exceedingly distressed, and when the young man, as was his wont, came to share his diversions with him, though he did not venture to open his lips on the matter or to warn him orally, because of his oath, he gradually drew him away from his friends, and when they were by themselves, with the sharp butt of his lance he wrote on the
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tῆν γῆν ὀρῶντος αὐτοῦ, "Φεῦγε, Μιθριδάτα.”

4 συνείς δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἀπέδρα νυκτὸς εἰς Καππαδοκίαν.
καὶ ταχὺ τὴν Ἀντιγόνη γενομένην ὄψιν ὑπάρ
αὐτῷ συνετέλει τὸ χρεών. πολλῆς γὰρ καὶ ἄγα-
θῆς ἐκράτησε χώρας, καὶ τὸ τῶν Ποντικῶν βασι-
λέων γένος ὅγδος ποὺ διαδοχῆ παυσάμενον ὑπὸ Ἡ
Ρωμαίων ἐκεῖνος παρέσχε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εὐ-
φιάς δείγματα τοῦ Δημητρίου πρὸς ἐπιέκειαν
καὶ δικαιοσύνην.

V. Ἐπεὶ δὲ, ὅσπερ ἐν τοῖς Ἐμπεδοκλέους
στοιχείοις διὰ τὸ νεῖκος καὶ τὴν φιλίαν ἐνεστὶ
diafora πρὸς ἀλληλα καὶ πόλεμος, μᾶλλον δὲ
τοῖς ἀλλήλων ἀπτομένος καὶ πελάξουσιν, οὕτω
τὸν πᾶσι τοῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου διαδόχους πρὸς ἀλλή-
λους ὄντα συνεχῆ πόλεμον αἱ τῶν πραγμάτων
καὶ τῶν τόπων συνάφειαι πρὸς ἐνίους ἐποίουν
ἐπιφανεστερον καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξέκουν, ὅσπερ Ἀντι-
2 γόνῳ τότε πρὸς Πτολεμαίου, αὐτὸς μὲν Ἀντίγονος
ἐν Φρυγίᾳ διέτριβε, Πτολεμαίου δὲ ἀκούων ἐκ
Κύπρου διαβάντα πορθεῖν Συρίαν καὶ τὰς πόλεις
ἀπάγειν καὶ βιάξεσθαι, κατέπεμψε τὸν υἱὸν Δη-
μήτριον, δύο καὶ εἰκοσιν ἐτῶν ὄντα καὶ στρατείας
τὸτε πρῶτον αὐτοτελῶς ἐπὶ πράγμασι μεγάλοις
ἀπτόμενον. οὐ δὲ νέος καὶ ἀπειρος ἀνδρὶ συμ-
πεσὼν ἐκ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου παλαιστράς ἡθηκότι
πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις καθ' αὐτὸν ἁγώνας, ἑσφά-
λη περὶ πόλιν Γαζαν ἡττηθεὶς, ὁκτακισχιλίων
3 ἀλόντων καὶ πεντακισχιλίων ἀποθανόντων. ἀπέ-
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ground so that he could see it, "Fly, Mithridates." Mithridates understood, and ran away by night to Cappadocia. And soon the vision of Antigonus was accomplished for him by fate. For Mithridates made himself master of a large and fair territory, and founded the line of Pontic kings, which, in the eighth generation, was brought to an end by the Romans.¹ This, then, is an illustration of the strong natural bent of Demetrius towards kindness and justice.

V. But just as among the elements of the universe, according to Empedocles, love and hate produce mutual dissension and war, particularly among those elements which touch or lie near one another, so the continuous wars which the successors of Alexander waged against one another were aggravated and more inflamed in some cases by the close proximity of interests and territories, as at this time in the case of Antigonus and Ptolemy. Antigonus himself was tarrying in Phrygia, and hearing there that Ptolemy had crossed over from Cyprus and was ravaging Syria and reducing or turning from their allegiance its cities, he sent against him his son Demetrius, who was only twenty-two years of age, and was then for the first time engaging with sole command in an expedition where great interests were at stake. But since he was young and inexperienced, and had for his adversary a man trained in the training-school of Alexander who had independently waged many great contests, he met with utter defeat near the city of Gaza,² where eight thousand of his men were taken prisoners and five thousand were slain. He

¹ In 63 B.C., when Pompey conquered Mithridates VI. and dismembered his kingdom. ² In the spring of 312 B.C.
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βαλε δὲ καὶ σκηνήν καὶ χρήματα καὶ όλως σύμπασαν τὴν περὶ τὸ σῶμα θεραπείαν. ἀλλὰ ταύτα μὲν αὐτῷ Πτολεμαίος ἀπέπεμψε μετὰ τῶν φίλων, εὐγνώμονα καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἀνειπῶσι λόγον, ὡς οὐ περὶ πάντων ἁμα, περὶ δόξης δὲ καὶ ἁρχῆς πολεμητέων ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς. Δημήτριος δὲ δεξάμενος εὔξα τοῖς θεοῖς μὴ πολὺν χρόνον ὀφειλέτην γενέσθαι Πτολεμαίῳ χάριτος, ἀλλὰ ταχέως ἀμείψασθαι διὰ τῶν ὀμοίων. καὶ πάθος οὐ μειρακίου παθῶν ἐν ἁρχῇ πράξεως ἀνατραπέντος, ἀλλ' ἐμβριθοῦσι στρατηγοῦ κεχρημένου πραγμάτων μεταβολαῖς, ἀνδρῶν τε συλλογῆς καὶ κατασκευῆς ὑπὰρχων ἐπεμελεῖτο καὶ τὰς πόλεις διὰ χειρὸς εἴχε καὶ τοὺς ἀθροιζομένους ἐγύμναζεν.

VI. Ἀντίγονος δὲ τὴν μάχην πυθόμενος Πτολεμαῖοι μὲν ἀγενείος νεκρικότα ἐφῳ νῦν αἰθίς διαγωνιότα ραν νὰ ἀνδρας, τοῦ δὲ νῦν τὸ φρόνημα καθελεῖ καὶ κολοῦσαι μὴ βουλόμενοι οὐκ ἐνέστη πάλιν αἰτομένῳ μᾶχεσθαι καθ' αὐτὸν, ἀλλ' ἀφῆκε. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ἀφίκτο Κίλλης, Πτολεμαίου στρατηγός, μετὰ λαμπρὰς δυνάμεως, ὡς ἐξελάσων Συρίας Δημήτριον ἀπά-2 σης, τῷ προτετῆσθαι καταφρονούμενον. ὁ δ' ἐξαιτήνης ἐπιτέσσερον οὐ προαισθομένῳ καὶ φοβητας ἐλαβεν αὐτῷ στρατηγῷ τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ στρατιῶτας μὲν ἐπτακισχιῶν ἥπετας εἰλε, χρημάτων δὲ παμπόλλων ἐκυρίευσεν. ἔχαιρε δὲ νικήσας οὐχ οἷς ἔξειν, ἀλλ' οἷς ἀποδώσειν

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lost also his tent, his money, and in a word, all his personal effects. But Ptolemy sent these back to him, together with his friends, accompanying them with the considerate and humane message that their warfare must not be waged for all things alike, but only for glory and dominion. Demetrius accepted the kindness, and prayed the gods that he might not long be indebted to Ptolemy for it, but might speedily make him a like return. And he took his disaster, not like a stripling thwarted at the outset of an undertaking, but like a sensible general acquainted with reverses of fortune, and busied himself with the levying of men and the preparation of arms, while he kept the cities well in hand and practised his new recruits.

VI. When Antigonus learned of the battle, he said that Ptolemy had conquered beardless youths, but must now fight with men;¹ however, not wishing to humble or curtail the spirit of his son, he did not oppose his request that he might fight again on his own account, but suffered him to do it. And not long after, up came Cilles, a general of Ptolemy, with a splendid army, intending to drive Demetrius out of all Syria, and looking down upon him because of his previous defeat. But Demetrius fell upon him suddenly and took him by surprise, put him to rout, and captured his camp, general and all; he also took seven thousand of his soldiers prisoners, and made himself master of vast treasures. However, he rejoiced to have won the day, not by reason of what he was going to have, but of what he could

¹ The competitors at the great games were divided into three classes: boys, beardless youths, and men (Plato, Laws, 833 c).
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ἐμελλε, καὶ τῆς νίκης οὐ τὸν πλοῦτον οὔτως οὐδὲ τὴν δόξαν, ὅσ τὴν διάλυσιν τοῦ φιλανθρωπεύ-ματος ἐκείνου καὶ τὴν χάριν ἡγάπησεν. οὐ μὴν ἀὐτογνωμόνως ταῦτα ἔπραξεν, ἀλλ’ ἔγραψε τῷ πατρὶ. δόντος δ’ ἐκείνου καὶ κελεύσαντος δὲν βούλεται πᾶσι χρήσασθαι τρόπον, αὐτὸν τε τὸν Κίλλην καὶ φίλους αὐτοῦ δωρησάμενος ἀφθόνως ἀπέτεμψε. τούτο τὸ πάθος Συρίας ἐξήλασε Πτολεμαίου, Ἀντίγονον δὲ κατήγαγεν ἐκ Κελαινών χαίροντα τῇ νίκῃ καὶ ποθοῦντα θεάσασθαι τὸν νίόν.

VII. Ἐκ τούτου δὲ τῶν Ἀράβων τοὺς καλου-μένους Ναβαταίους ὑπαγαγέσθαι πεμφθεῖς ὁ Δημήτριος ἐκκυδύνευσε μὲν εἰς τόπους ἀνύδρους ἐμπεσόν, τῷ δὲ μὴ διαταραχθῆναι μηδ’ ἐκπλαγήναι καταπληξάμενοι τοὺς βαρβάρους, λείαν τε λαβὼν πολλὴν καὶ καμῆλους ἐπτακοσίας παρ’ αὐτῶν ἀνεχώρησεν.

2 Ἐπεὶ δὲ Σέλευκος, ἐκπεσὼν μὲν ὑπὸ Ἀντιγόνου τῆς Βαβυλωνίας πρότερον, ὑστερον δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν δι’ αὐτοῦ καὶ κρατῶν, ἀνέβη μετὰ δυνάμεως, τὰ συνοροῦντα τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς ἔθνη καὶ τὰς περὶ Καύκασον ἐπαρχίας προσαξόμενος, ἐλπίζων Δημήτριος ἐρήμου εὐρήσειν τὴν Μεσο-ποταμίαν καὶ περάσας ἄφω τὸν Εὐφράτην εἰς τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν παρεισπεσὼν ἐφθη, καὶ τῆς ἐτέρας ἀκρας (δύο γαρ ἦσαν) ἐκκρούσας τὴν τοῦ Σέλευκου φουράν καὶ κρατήσας ἱδίους ἐγκατ-3 ἐστησεν ἐπτακισχιλίους ἀνδρας. ἐκ δὲ τῆς
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restore, and was delighted, not so much with the wealth and glory which his victory brought, as with the power it gave him to recompense the kindness and return the favour of Ptolemy. And yet he did not do this on his own responsibility, but first wrote to his father about it. And when his father gave him permission and bade him dispose of everything as he liked, he sent back to Ptolemy both Cilles himself and his friends, after loading them with gifts. This reverse drove Ptolemy out of Syria, and brought Antigonus down from Celaenae; he rejoiced at the victory and yearned to get sight of the son who had won it.

VII. After this, Demetrius was sent to bring into subjection the Arabs known as Nabataean, and incurred great peril by getting into regions which had no water; but he was neither terrified nor greatly disturbed, and his demeanour overawed the Barbarians, so that he took much booty and seven hundred camels from them and returned.

And now Seleucus, who had once been expelled from Babylonia by Antigonus, but had afterwards succeeded in recovering the realm and was now wielding the power there, went up with an army, designing to annex the tribes on the confines of India and the provinces about Mount Caucasus. Demetrius, accordingly, expecting that he would find Mesopotamia unprotected, suddenly crossed the Euphrates and invaded Babylonia before Seleucus could stop him. He expelled from one of its citadels (there were two of them) the garrison left there by Seleucus, got it into his power and established in it seven thousand of his own men. But
χώρας ὁσα φέρειν ἢ ἄγειν ἢδύναυτο τοὺς στρατιώτας ὄφελεσθαι καὶ λαμβάνειν κελεύσας,
ἐπανήλθεν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν βεβαιοτέραν Σελεύκω
 τὴν ἁρχὴν ἀπολιπὼν ἐξιστασθαὶ γὰρ ἑδοκεὶ τῷ
 κακοῦν ὃς μηκέτι προσήκουσαν αὐτοῖς. Πτολε-
μαίου μέντοι πολιορκοῦντος Ἀλκαρνασσὸν ἠξέως
βοηθῆσας ἔξηρπασε τὴν πόλιν.

VIII. Ἐνδόξον δὲ τῆς φιλοτιμίας ταύτης γενο-
μένης, ὅρμη παρέστη θαυμάσιος αὐτοῖς ἐλευθεροῦν
τὴν Ἐλλάδα πᾶσαν ὑπὸ Κασάνδρου καὶ Πτολε-
μαίου καταδεδουλώμενην. τούτοις πόλεμοι οὔδείς
ἐπολέμησε τῶν βασιλέων καλλίω καὶ δικαιότερον
ἀς γὰρ ἀμα τοὺς βαρβάρους ταπεινοῦντες εὐπο-
ρίας συνήγαγον, εἰς τοὺς Ελλήνας ὑπὲρ ἐνδοξίας
καὶ τιμῆς ἀνήλικοι. ὡς δὲ πρῶτον ἑδοκεὶ πλεῖν
ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, τῶν φίλων εἰπόντος τινὸς πρὸς
τῶν Ἀντίγονον ὅτι δεῖ ταύτην τὴν πόλιν, ἢ ἔλωσι,
κατέχειν δι’ αὐτῶν, ἐπιβάθραν τῆς Ἐλλάδος
οὕσαν, οὐ προσέσχεν ὁ Ἀντίγονος, ἀλλ’ ἐπι-
βάθραν μὲν ἐφ’ ἐκείνην καὶ ἀσάλευτον εἶναι τὴν
ἐσύνασιν, τὰς δὲ Ἀθήνας, ὡσπερ σκοπὴν τῆς οἰκου-
μένης, ταχὺ τῇ δόξῃ διαπυροῦνει eis ἀπαντᾶς

3 ἀνθρώπως τὰς πράξεις. ἔπλει δὲ Δημήτριος
ἐξὺς ἀργυρίου πεντακισχίλια τάλαντα καὶ στό-
λον νεῶν πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίων ἐπὶ τὰς
Ἀθήνας, τὸ μὲν ἂστυ Δημήτριον τοῦ Φαληρῶς
Κασάνδρῳ διουκοῦντος, ἐν δὲ τῇ Μουνυχίᾳ φρου-
ράς καθεστώσης. εὐτυχία δὲ ἀμα καὶ προνοίᾳ
χρησάμενος ἐπεθαύνετο τῷ Πειραιεῖ πέμπτη
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after ordering his soldiers to take and make booty of everything which they could carry or drive from the country, he returned to the sea-coast, leaving Seleucus more confirmed than before in his possession of the realm; for by ravaging the country Demetrius was thought to admit that it no longer belonged to his father. However, while Ptolemy was besieging Halicarnassus, Demetrius came swiftly to the aid of the city and rescued it.

VIII. The glory won by this noble deed inspired father and son with a wonderful eagerness to give freedom to all Greece, which had been reduced to subjection by Cassander and Ptolemy. No nobler or juster war than this was waged by any one of the kings; for the vast wealth which they together had amassed by subduing the Barbarians, was now lavishly spent upon the Greeks, to win glory and honour. As soon as father and son had determined to sail against Athens, one of his friends said to Antigonus that they must keep that city, if they took it, in their own hands, since it was a gangway to Greece. But Antigonus would not hear of it; he said that the goodwill of a people was a noble gangway which no waves could shake, and that Athens, the beacon-tower of the whole world, would speedily flash the glory of their deeds to all mankind. So Demetrius sailed, with five thousand talents of money and a fleet of two hundred and fifty ships, against Athens, where Demetrius the Phalerean was administering the affairs of the city for Cassander and a garrison was set in Munychia. By virtue of forethought combined with good fortune, he appeared off Piraeus on the twenty-sixth of the
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4 φθίνοντος Θαργηλίωνος, προαισθομένοι μὲν οὐ-
δενός, ἐπειδ’ ἡ δοθή πλησίον ὁ στόλος, ἀπάντων
ὡς Πτολεμαῖκας τὰς νάυς ὑποδέχεσθαι παρα-
σκευαζόμενων, ὦνει συμφρονήσαντες ἐβοήθουν οἱ
στρατηγοί, καὶ θόρυβος ἦν, οἷον εἰκὸς ἐν ἀπροσ-
δοκήτῳ πολεμίους ἀποβαινοντας ἀναγκαζόμενον
ἀμύνεσθαι. τοῖς γὰρ στόμασι τῶν λεμέων
ἀκλείστοις ἐπιτυχῶν ὁ Δημήτριος καὶ διεξελάσας
ἐντός ἦν ἡ διακαταφανὴς πᾶσι, καὶ διεσῆμην
ἀπὸ τῆς νεώς αἴτησιν ἡσυχίας καὶ σιωπῆς
5 γενομένου δὲ τούτων κήρυκα παραστησάμενος
ἀνείπειν ὅτι πέμψειεν αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ ἁγαθὴ τύχη
τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἠλευθερώσωσαν καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν
ἐκβαλοῦντα καὶ τοὺς νόμους αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν
πάτριον ἀποδοσοῦντα πολιτείαν.

IX. Ἀναρρηθέντων δὲ τούτων οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ
παραχρῆμα τὰς ἀσπίδας θέμενοι πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν
ἀνεκρότηταν καὶ βοῶντες ἐκέλευον ἀποβαίνειν
τὸν Δημήτριον, εὐεργετὴν καὶ σωτήρα προσαγο-
ρεύοντες. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Φαληρέα πάντως μὲν
φῶντο δεῖν δέχεσθαι τὸν κρατοῦντα, κἂν μηδέν ἂν
ἐπαγγέλλεται μέλλῃ βεβαιοῦν, ὡμοὶ δὲ πρέσβεις
δεομένους ἀπέστειλαν, οἷς ὁ Δημήτριος ἐντυχών
φιλανθρώπως συνέπεμψε παρ’ ἕαυτοί τῶν πα-
2 τρώων φίλων τὸν Μελῆσιον Ἀριστόδημον. τοῦ
dὲ Φαληρέως διὰ τὴν μεταβολὴν τῆς πολιτείας
μᾶλλον τοὺς πολίτας ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους δεδοκικότος,
οὔτε ἡμέλησεν ὁ Δημήτριος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν δόξαν

1 τοὺς Ἀθηναίους Sinentia and Ziegler: Ἀθηναίους.
2 δεομένους Bekker has δεησομένους, after Coraës.
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month Thargelion. Nobody knew beforehand of his approach, but as soon as his fleet was seen in the vicinity, everybody thought that the ships belonged to Ptolemy and prepared to receive them. At last, however, the generals discovered their mistake and came to the rescue, and there was confusion, as is natural when men are compelled to defend themselves against enemies who are making an unexpected landing. For Demetrius, finding the entrances to the harbours open and sailing through them, was presently inside and in view of all, and signalled from his ship a demand for quiet and silence. When this was secured, he proclaimed by voice of herald at his side that he had been sent by his father on what he prayed might be a happy errand, to set Athens free, and to expel her garrison, and to restore to the people their laws and their ancient form of government.

IX. On hearing this proclamation, most of the people at once threw their shields down in front of them, and with clapping of hands and loud cries urged Demetrius to land, hailing him as their saviour and benefactor. The party of Demetrius the Phalerean also thought they must by all means receive the conqueror, even though he should confirm none of his promises, but nevertheless sent ambassadors to supplicate his mercy. These Demetrius met in a friendly spirit, and sent back with them one of his father's friends, Aristodemus of Miletus. Now the Phalerean, owing to the change of government, was more afraid of his fellow-citizens than of the enemy. Demetrius, however, was not unmindful of him, but out of regard for the man's

1 May–June, 307 B.C.
aιδεσθείς καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἰς Θήβας αὐτὸν, ὥσπερ ἐβούλετο, μετὰ ἀσφαλείας συνεξ-ἐπεμψεν. αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν μὲν πόλιν, οὐκ ἂν ἔφη, καίπερ ἐπὶθυμῶν, ἰδεῖν πρότερον ἢ πάνταπασιν ἐλευθερώσαι τῆς φρουρᾶς ἀπαλλάξας· τῇ δὲ Μοννυχίᾳ χαράκωμα καὶ τάφρον περιβαλῶν διὰ μέσου, Μεγάρως ἐπέπλευσεν ὑπὸ Κασάνδρου φιλοποιοῦντος.

3 Πυθόμενος δὲ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Πολυτέρ-χοντος γενομένην γυναίκα Κρατσίπολυν ἐν Πά-τραις διατρῆσθαις οὐκ ἂν ἂν ἄθετος γενέσθαι μετ’ αὐτοῦ, περιβόθτον συναν ἐπὶ κάλλει, καταληψάν τὴν δύναμιν ἐν τῇ Μεγαρικῇ προῆλθεν εὐξώνιος τυχὰς ἔχον σὺν αὐτῷ. καὶ τούτων πάλιν ἀπο-στρέψας ἀπεσκήνωσε χωρὶς ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαθείν τὴν γυναίκα συνελθοῦσαν αὐτῷ. τούτῳ τινες αἰσθό-μενοι τῶν πολεμῶν ἐξαίφνης κατέδραμον ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ. οὐ δὲ φοβηθεῖς καὶ λαβῶν χλαμύδιον εὐτελῆς δρόμοις φεύγων ἐξέφυγαν, ὅλην δεῦσας αἰσχίστην ἀλωσιν εἰς ἀκρασίας ἄλωναι. τὴν δὲ σκηνήν μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων ὁχοντο λαβόντες οἱ πολέμοι.

4 Τών δὲ Μεγάρων ἀλόντων καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν 893 ἕφ’ ἁρπαγῇ τραπομένων Ἄθηναιοι παρητήσαντο πολλῇ δεῦσῃ τοὺς Μεγαρεῖς· καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν ὁ Δημήτριος ἐκβάλων ἠλευθερώσε τὴν πόλιν. έτι δὲ τούτω πράττον τοῦ φιλοσόφου Στίλπωνος ἐμνήσθη, δόξαν ἔχοντος ἀνδρὸς ἡρμημένου πως ἐν ἠσυχίᾳ καταβιβάζαν. μεταπεμψάμενος οὖν αὐ-τὸν ἡρώτα μή τις εἰληφῇ τι τῶν ἑκείνου. καὶ ὁ Στίλπων, “Οὐδείς,” εἶπεν· “οὐδένα γὰρ εἶδον ἐπιστάμαν ἀποφέροντα.” τῶν δὲ θεραπόντων
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good reputation and excellence, sent him and his friends under safe conduct to Thebes, as he desired. As for himself, he declared that, although he desired to see the city, he would not do so before he had completed its liberation by ridding it of its garrison; meanwhile, after running a trench and a palisade round Munychia, he sailed against Megara, where a garrison had been stationed by Cassander.

But on learning that Cratesipolis, who had been the wife of Polyperchon's son Alexander, was tarrying at Patrae, and would be very glad to make him a visit (and she was a famous beauty), he left his forces in the territory of Megara and set forth, taking a few light-armed attendants with him. And turning aside from these also, he pitched his tent apart, that the woman might pay her visit to him unobserved. Some of his enemies learned of this, and made a sudden descent upon him. Then, in a fright, he donned a shabby cloak and ran for his life and got away, narrowly escaping a most shameful capture in consequence of his rash ardour. His tent, together with his belongings, was carried off by his enemies.

Megara, however, was captured, and the soldiers would have plundered it had not the Athenians made strong intercession for its citizens; Demetrius also expelled its garrison and gave the city its freedom. While he was still engaged in this, he bethought himself of Stilpo the philosopher, who was famous for his election of a life of tranquillity. Accordingly, Demetrius summoned him and asked him whether any one had robbed him of anything. "No one," said Stilpo, "for I saw nobody carrying away knowledge." But nearly all the servants in
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σχεδὸν ἀπάντων διακλαπέντων, ἐπεὶ πάλιν αὐτὸν ὁ Δημήτριος ἐφιλοφρονεῖτο καὶ τέλος ἀπαλλατ-τόμενος εἶπεν· "Ἐλευθέραν ὑμῶν, οὐκ ὁ Στίλππος, ἀπολείπῳ τὴν πόλιν," "Ὀρθῶς," ἐφὶ, ἡ λέγεις· οὐδένα γὰρ ἀμῶν δοῦλον ἀπολέλοιπας."

X. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ἐπανελθὼν πρὸς τὴν Μον- νυχίαν καὶ στρατοπεδεύσας ἐξέκοψε τὴν φρουρᾶν καὶ κατέσκασε τὸ φρούριον, οὕτως ἦδη τῶν Ἀθη- ναίων δεχόμενων καὶ καλούντων παρελθῶν εἰς τὸ ἀστυ καὶ συναγαγὼν τὸν δήμον ἀπέδωκε τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν καὶ προσυπέσχετο παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῖς ἀφίξεσθαι σῖτον πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδας μεδίμνων καὶ ξύλων ναυπηγησίμων 2 πλήθος εἰς ἐκατὸν τριήρεις. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ἀπο- λαβόντες τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἔτει πεντεκαίδεκάτῳ, τὸν δὲ μέσον χρόνον ἀπὸ τῶν Δαμακῶν καὶ τῆς περὶ Κραννώνα μάχης λόγῳ μὲν ὀλιγαρχικῆς, ἔργῳ δὲ μοναρχικῆς καταστάσεως γενομένης διὰ τὴν τοῦ Φαληρέως δύναμιν, οὕτω λαμπρῶν ἐν ταῖς εὐργεσίαις καὶ μέγαν φανέντα τῶν Δημή- τριον ἐπαχθῆ καὶ βαρῶν ἐποίησαν τῶν τιμῶν 3 ταῖς ἀμετρίαις ἃς ἐψηφίσαντο. πρῶτοι μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων τὸν Δημήτριον καὶ Ἀντι- γονον βασιλεῖς ἀνηγόρευσαν, ἀλλὰς ἀφοσιουμέ- νους τούνομα, καὶ τούτο 1 δὴ μόνον τῶν βασιλι- κῶν ἔτι τοῖς ἀπὸ Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου περιεῖναι δοκοῦν ἀθικτὸν ἐτέροις καὶ ἀκοινώνητον·

1 καὶ τοῦτο Coraës and Ziegler delete the καί; Bekker corrects to ἃς, after Schaefer.
the city were stolen away, and when Demetrius once more tried to deal kindly with the philosopher, and finally, on going away, said: "Your city, Stilpo, I leave in freedom," "Thou sayest truly," replied Stilpo, "for thou hast not left a single one of our slaves."

X. Coming back again to Munychia and encamping before it, he drove out the garrison and demolished the fortress, and this accomplished, at last, on the urgent invitation of the Athenians, he made his entry into the upper city, where he assembled the people and gave them back their ancient form of government. He also promised that they should receive from his father a hundred and fifty thousand bushels of grain, and enough ship timber to build a hundred triremes. It was fourteen years since the Athenians had lost their democratic form of government, and during the period which followed the Lamian war and the battle at Crannon their government had been administered, nominally as an oligarchy, but really as a monarchy, owing to the great influence of the Phalerean. And now that Demetrius had shown himself great and splendid in his benefactions, the Athenians rendered him odious and obnoxious by the extravagance of the honours which they voted him. For instance, they were the first people in the world to give Demetrius and Antigonus the title of King, although both had up to that time shrunk from using the word, and although this was the only royal prerogative still left to the descendants of Philip and Alexander which it was thought that others could not assume or share;

1 323-322 B.C. See the Phocion, xxiii.; xxvi. 1.
μόνοι δὲ σωτήρας ἀνέγραψαν θεούς, καὶ τὸν ἐπώνυμον καὶ πάτριον ἁρχοντα καταπαύσαντες ἱερέα σωτήρων ἐχειροτόνους καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ τούτον ἐπὶ τῶν ψηφισμάτων καὶ τῶν συμβο-
λαίων προέγραφον. ἔνυφαίνεσθαι δὲ τῷ πέπλῳ μετὰ τῶν θεῶν αὐτοὺς ἐψηφίσαντο· καὶ τὸν τό-
πον ὁποι πρῶτον ἀπέβη τοῦ ἄρματος, καθιερώ-
σαντες καὶ βωμὸν ἐπιθέντες Δημητρίου Καται-
βάτου προσηγόρευσαν ταῖς δὲ φυλαῖς δύο προσέ-
θεσαν, Δημητριάδα καὶ Ἀντιγονίδα, καὶ τὴν 
βουλὴν τῶν πεντακοσίων πρότερον ἐξακοσίων ἐποίησαν, ἀτε δὴ φυλῆς ἐκάστης πεντήκοντα 
βουλευτᾶς παρεχομένης.

XI. Τὸ δὲ ὑπερφυστάτον ἐνθύμημα τοῦ 
Στρατοκλέους (ὅτου γὰρ ἦν ὁ τῶν σοφῶν τοῦ-
των καὶ περιττῶν καὶ οὐραγός ἄρεσκευμάτων), 
ἐγραφέν ὅπως οἱ πεπόμενοι κατὰ ψήφισμα 
δημοσία πρὸς Ἀντίγουν ἢ Δημήτριον ἀντὶ πρε-
σβευτῶν θεωροὶ λέγουστο, καθάπερ οἱ Πυθοῦ καὶ 
Ὀλυμπίαζε τὰς πατρίους θυσίας ὑπὲρ τῶν πό-
2 λεων ἀνάγοντες ἐν ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς ἔορταις. ἦν 
δὲ καὶ τάλλα παράτολμοι ὁ Στρατοκλῆς, καὶ 
βεβιωκός ἀσελγῶς καὶ τὴν τοῦ παλαιοῦ Κλέ-
ωνος ἀπομιμεῖσθαι δοκῶν βωμολοχίων καὶ βδε-
λυρίαν τῇ πρὸς τὸν ἄθημον εὐχερεῖα. ἔσχε δὲ τὴν 
ἐταίραν Φυλάκιον ἀνειληφὼς· καὶ ποτε αὐτῷ

1 Every fifth year, at the Panathenaic festival, a sacred robe was carried in solemn procession and deposited with
moreover, the Athenians were the only people to give them the appellation of Saviour-gods, and they put a stop to the ancient custom of designating the year with the name of the annual archon, and elected every year a priest of the Saviour-gods, whose name they prefixed to their public edicts and private contracts. They also decreed that the figures of Demetrius and Antigonus should be woven into the sacred robe, along with those of the gods; and the spot where Demetrius first alighted from his chariot they consecrated and covered with an altar, which they styled the altar of Demetrius Alighter; they also created two new tribes, Demetrias and Antigonis; and they increased the number of the senators, which had been five hundred, to six hundred, since each of the tribes must furnish fifty senators.

XI. But the most monstrous thing that came into the head of Stratocles (he it was who invented these elegant and clever bits of obsequiousness) was his motion that envoys sent by public decree and at public expense to Antigonus or Demetrius should be called sacred deputies, instead of ambassadors, like those who conducted to Delphi and Olympia the ancient sacrifices in behalf of the cities at the great Hellenic festivals. In all other ways also Stratocles was an audacious fellow; he lived an abandoned life, and was thought to imitate the securrility and buffoonery of the ancient Cleon in his familiarities with the people. He had taken up with a mistress named Phylacion; and one day when she had bought

the goddess Athena on the Acropolis. On it were represented the exploits of the goddess, particularly in the Battle of the Giants.
πρὸς δεῖπνου ἐξ ἀγορᾶς πριαμᾶνης ἐγκεφάλους καὶ τραχήλους, “Παταῖ,” εἶπε, “τοιαύτα γε ὠψώνηκας ὀϊς σφαιρίζομεν οἱ πολυτενόμοιν.”

3 τῆς δὲ περὶ Ἀμοργὸν ἢττης τῶν νεῶν συμβάσης τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, φθάσας τοὺς ἀπαγγέλλοντας εἰσήλασεν ἑστεφανωμένος διὰ τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ, καὶ προσαγγείλας ὅτι νεκρός καὶ κρεσαδισίαν τινὰ κατὰ φυλὴν ἐποίησεν. ὁλίγῳ δ’ ὕστερον τῶν τὰ ναυάγια κομβοῦντων ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης παραγενομένων καὶ τοῦ δήμου πρὸς ὅργῃ καλοῦντος αὐτοῦ, ἵταμὼς ὑποστὰς τῶν θόρυβου, “Είτα,” ἔφη, “τί πεπόνθατε δεινῷ, εἰ δύο ἡμέρας ἡδέως γεγόνατε;” τοιαύτῃ μὲν ἡ τοῦ Στρατοκλέους θρασύτης.

XII. Ἡν δὲ ἄρα καὶ πυρὸς ἔτερα θερμότερα κατὰ τὸν Ἀριστοφάνη. γράφει γάρ τις ἄλλος ὑπερβαλλόμενος ἀνελευθερία τῶν Στρατοκλέα, δέχεσθαι Δημήτριου, ὅσικε ἀν ἄφικηται, τοῖς Δήμητρος καὶ Διονύσου ξενισμοῖς, τὸ δ’ ὑπερβαλλόμενος λαμπρότητι καὶ πολυτελείᾳ τὴν ὑποδοχὴν ἀργύριον εἰς ἀνάθημα δημοσίᾳ δίδοσθαι. τέλος δὲ τῶν τε μηνῶν τῶν Μουνυχίων Δημητριώνα καὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν τὴν ἐνην καὶ νέαν Δημητριάδα προσηγόρευσαν, καὶ τῶν ἔορτῶν τὰ Διονύσια μετώνομασαν Δημήτρια. ἐπεσήμημε δὲ τοῖς πλείστοις τὸ θεῖον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πέπλος, ὥπερ ἐξηφίσαντο μετὰ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς προσευφήναι Δημήτριον καὶ Ἀντίγονον, πεμ-
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in the market-place for his supper some brains and neck-bones, "Aha!" he cried, "thou hast bought just such delicacies for me as we statesmen used to play ball with." Again, when the Athenians suffered their naval defeat near Amorgus,\(^1\) before the tidings of the disaster could reach the city he put a garland on his head and drove through the Cerameicus, and after announcing that the Athenians were victorious, moved a sacrifice of glad tidings and made a generous distribution of meat to the people by tribes. Then, a little later, when the wrecks were brought home from the battle and the people in their wrath called him out, he faced the tumult recklessly and said: "What harm have I done you, pray, if for two days ye have been happy?" Such was the effrontery of Stratocles.

XII. But there are things hotter even than fire, as Aristophanes puts it.\(^2\) For some one else, out-doing Stratocles in servility, proposed that whenever Demetrius visited the city he should be received with the hospitable honours paid to Demeter and Dionysus, and that to the citizen who surpassed all others in the splendour and costliness of his reception, a sum of money should be granted from the public treasury for a dedicatory offering. And finally, they changed the name of the month Mounychion to Demetrion, and that of the last day of a month, the "Old and New," to Demetrias, and to the festival called Dionysia they gave the new name of Demetria. Most of these innovations were marked with the divine displeasure. The sacred robe, for instance, in which they had decreed that the figures of Demetrius and Antigonus should be woven along with those of Zeus and

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1 In 322 B.C. A Macedonian fleet was victorious.
2 *Knights*, 382.
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πόμενος διὰ τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ μέσος ἔρραγη θυέλ-
3 λης ἐμπεσούσης· περὶ δὲ τοὺς βωμοὺς τοὺς ἐκεῖ-
νων ἔξηγεν ἢ γῆ κύκλῳ πολὺ κόνειον, ἀλλὰς
μηδὲ τὴς χώρας πολλαχοῦ φυόμενον· τῇ δὲ
ημέρᾳ ἢ τὰ τῶν Διονυσίων ἐγίνετο, τὴν πομπὴν
κατέλυσαν ἰσχυρῶν πάγων γενομένων παρ’ ὄραν.
καὶ πάχυνς βαθείας ἐπιπεσούσης οἱ μόνον ἀμπέ-
λους καὶ συκᾶς ἀπάσας ἀπέκαυσε τὸ ψύχος,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ σίτου τὸν πλείστον κατέφθειρεν
4 ἐν χλόῃ. διὸ καὶ Φιλιππίδης ἔχθρος ὃν τὸν
Στρατοκλέους ἐν κωμῳδίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐποίησε
ταῦτα·

di’ ὄν ἀπέκαυσεν ἢ πάχυνς τὰς ἀμπέλους,
di’ ὄν ἀσεβοῦνθ’ ὁ πέπλος ἔρραγη μέσος,
tὰς τῶν θεῶν τιμᾶς ποιοῦντ’ ἀνθρωπίνας.
tαῦτα καταλύει δήμον, οὐ κωμῳδία.

5 Ἡν δὲ ὁ Φιλιππίδης Δυσιμάχου φίλος, καὶ
πολλὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁ δήμος εἰ ἔπαθεν ὑπὸ τοῦ
βασιλέως. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ πρὸς πράξιν αὐτῷ καὶ
πρὸς στρατείαν εὐσύμβολος ἀπαντήσας εἶναι
καὶ ὁφθείς. ἀλλὰς δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ ἱθος εὐδοκίμει,
μηθὲν ἑνοχλῶν μηδ’ αὐλικῆς περιεργίας ἀνα-
πιμπλάμενος. φιλοφρονούμενον δὲ ποτε τοῦ
Δυσιμάχου πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ εἰπόντος, “Ω Φιλιπ-
πίδη, τίνος σοι τῶν ἐμῶν μεταδῶ;” “Μόνον,”
ἔφη, “βασιλεῦ, μὴ τῶν ἀπορρήτων.” τούτων μὲν

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Athena, as it was being carried in procession through the midst of the Cerameicus, was rent by a hurricane which smote it;¹ again, all around the altars of those Saviour-gods the soil teemed with hemlock, a plant which did not grow in many other parts of the country at all; and on the day for the celebration of the Dionysia, the sacred procession had to be omitted on account of severe cold weather that came out of season. And a heavy frost followed, which not only blasted all the vines and fig-trees with its cold, but also destroyed most of the grain in the blade. Therefore Philippides, who was an enemy of Stratocles, assailed him in a comedy with these verses ²:—

"Through him it was that hoar-frost blasted all the vines,
Through his impiety the robe was rent in twain,
Because he gave the gods’ own honours unto men.
Such work undoes a people, not its comedy."

Philippides was a friend of Lysimachus, and for his sake the king bestowed many favours on the Athenian people. Moreover, when he was about to undertake anything or make an expedition, he thought it a good omen to meet or catch sight of Philippides. And in general the character of Philippides gave him a good repute, since he was no busybody, and had none of the officious ways of a courtier. On one occasion Lysimachus wished to do him a kindness, and said: "Philippides, what have I that I can share with thee?" "O King," said Philippides, "anything but one of thy state secrets."

¹ The "peplos" was spread like a sail on the mast of the sacred Panathenaic ship.
οὕν ἐπίτηδες ἐκείνῳ παρεθήκαμεν, τῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ βῆματος τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς θυμέλης.

XIII. "Ὁ δὲ μάλιστα τῶν τιμῶν ὑπερφυὲς ἦν καὶ ἀλλόκοτον, ἐγραψε Δρομοκλείδης ὁ Σφῆττιος ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἀσπίδων ἀναθέσεως εἰς Δελφοὺς παρὰ Δημητρίου λαβεῖν χρησμὸν. αὐτὴν δὲ παραγράψεω τῆς λέξεων ἐκ τοῦ ψηφίσματος οὕτως 2 ἔχουσαν: "Ἤγαθῇ τύχῃ. δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ χειροτονήσαι τὸν δήμον ἕνα ἄνδρα ἐξ Ἀθηναίων, ὡστει ἀφικόμενος πρὸς τὸν Σωτῆρα καὶ καλλιεργησάμενος ἐπερωτήσει τὸν Σωτῆρα πῶς ἄν εὐσεβεστατὰ καὶ κάλλιστα καὶ τὴν ταχύτητιν ὁ δήμος τὴν ἀποκατάστασιν ποιήσαι τῶν ἀναθημάτων· ὁ τι δ' ἄν χρήση, ταῦτα πράττειν τὸν δήμον." οὕτω καταμοκώμενοι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου προσδείψθειραν αὐτῶν, οὔδε ἄλλως ὑγιαίνοντα τὴν διάνοιαν.

XIV. Ἀλλ' ἐν γε ταῖς Ἀθηναίως τότε σχολάξων ἡγάγετο χηρεύουσαν Εὐρυδίκην, ἡ Μελτιάδου μὲν ἢν ἀπόγονος τοῦ παλαιοῦ, συνοικήσασα δὲ Ὁφέλα 1 τῷ Κυρῆνης ἄρξαντι μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτήν 2 ἀφίκειτο πάλιν εἰς τὰς Ἀθηναίας. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν γάμον τούτον εἰς χάριν ἔθεντο καὶ τιμήν τῆς πόλεως. ἄλλως δὲ ὁ Δημήτριος εὐχερῆς τις ἦν περὶ γάμους, καὶ πολλαῖς ἁμα συνή γυναῖξιν, ὃν ἄξιόμα μέγιστον εἰχε καὶ τιμήν Φίλα δι' Ἀντίπατρον τὸν πατέρα καὶ διὰ τὸ προσυναικικήναι Κρατερῷ, τῷ πλείστην εὐνοιαν

1 Ὁφέλα Ziegler, after Wilamowitz: Ὁφέλτα.
DEMÉTRIUΣ

Such a man, then, I purposely compare with Stratocles, the man of the stage with the man of the bema.

XIII. But there was one honour proposed for Demetrius which was more strange and monstrous than any other. Dromocleides the Sphettian moved, when the dedication of certain shields at Delphi was in question, that the Athenians should get an oracle from Demetrius. And I will transcribe his very words from the decree; they run thus: "May it be for the best.¹ Decreed by the people that the people elect one man from the Athenians, who shall go to the Saviour-god, and, after a sacrifice with good omens, shall enquire of the Saviour-god in what most speedy, decorous, and reverent manner the people may accomplish the restoration to their places of the dedicatory offerings; and that whatever answer he shall give, the people shall act according thereunto." With such mockery of adulation they finally perverted the man's mind, which even before was not wholly sound.

XIV. Furthermore, while he lingered in Athens at this time, Demetrius took to wife Eurydicé, a widow. She was a descendant of the ancient Miltiades, had married Ophelas the ruler of Cyrené, and after his death had come back to Athens. The Athenians, accordingly, took this marriage as a graceful compliment to their city; but in general Demetrius made a rather light matter of marriages, and had many wives at the same time, of whom Phila enjoyed the greatest esteem and honour, both because of her father, Antipater, and because she had been the wife of Craterus, the one of all the successors of Alexander

¹ A pious formula prefixed to important documents.
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αὐτοῦ παρὰ Μακεδόσι τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου διαδόχων ἀπολιπόντι. ταύτην, ὦς ἐοικε, κομιδὴ νέον ὅντα τὸν Δημήτριον ἐπείθεν ὁ πατήρ, οὐκ οὖσαν αὐτῷ 3 καθ’ ὄραν, ἀλλὰ πρεσβυτέραν, λαβεῖν ἀπροθύμως δ’ ἔχοντι λέγεται πρὸς τὸ οὐς τὸ Ἐυριπίδειον εἶπεῖν.

ὁπον τὸ κέρδος, παρὰ φύσιν γαμητέον, 1

ὁμοιόπτωτόν τι τῷ δουλευτέόν εὐθυρρημονήσας. τοιαύτη μὲν οὖν τις ἢ τοῦ Δημήτριον τιμή πρὸς τε Φίλαν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας γαμετὰς ὡστε πολλάς μὲν ἀνέδην ἑταίρας, πολλάς δὲ ἐλευθερας συνεῖναι γυναιξὶ, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ περὶ τὴν ἡδονὴν ταύτην κακῶς ἀκούσα τῶν τῶτε βασιλεῶν.

XV. Ἕπει δὲ ὁ πατήρ αὐτὸν ἐκάλει Πτολεμαίῳ περὶ Κύπρου πολεμήσοντα, πείθεσθαι μὲν ἢν ἄναγκαιον, ἀχθόμενος δὲ ὁτι τὸν ὑπὲρ θής Ἐλλάδος πόλεμον, ὅντα καλλίω καὶ λαμπρότερον, ἀπολείτει, προσέπεμψε Κλεωνίδη τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ στρατηγῷ φρονοῦντι Σικυώνα καὶ Κόρινθον χρήματα προτείνων, ὡστε ἐλευθερας ἀφεῖναι τὰς 2 πόλεις. οὐ προσδεξαμένου δὲ ἐκείνου, διὰ ταχέων ἄναχθεις καὶ προσλαβών δύναμιν ἐπέπλευσε Κύπρος καὶ Μενέλαον μὲν, ἄδελφον Πτολεμαίου, μάχην συνάψας εἰθὺς ἐνίκησεν αὐτὸν δὲ Πτολεμαίου μετὰ δυνάμεως πεζικής ἁμα καὶ ναυτικῆς μεγάλης ἐπιφανείτως, ἐγένοντο μὲν ἀπειλαί τίνες καὶ διάλογοι κομπώδεις, τοῦ μὲν ἀποπλείην Δη-

1 ἄλλ’ εἰς τὸ κέρδος παρὰ φύσιν δουλευτέον, Phœnissææ, 396 (Kirchhoff).

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who left behind him the most goodwill among the Macedonians. This woman, as it would appear, his father had persuaded Demetrius to marry when he was quite young, although she was not of his age, but older; and when his son was disinclined to the match, it is said that Antigonus whispered in his ear the verse of Euripides:

"Where there is gain, 'gainst nature's dictates must one wed,"

substituting off-hand "must one wed" for the similar inflection "must one serve." However, so slight was the respect which Demetrius paid to Phila and to the rest of his wives, that he consorted freely with many courtesans, as well as with many women of free birth, and as regards this indulgence he had the worst reputation of all the kings of his time.

XV. And now his father summoned him to wage war against Ptolemy for the possession of Cyprus. He must needs obey the summons, but was loth to abandon the war for the liberation of Greece, which was a nobler and more glorious war, and therefore sent to Cleonides, the general of Ptolemy who was occupying Sicyon and Corinth with a garrison, and offered him money to set the cities free. Cleonides, however, would not accept the bribe, and Demetrius therefore put to sea in haste, and taking additional forces, sailed against Cyprus.¹ There he joined battle with Menelaüs, a brother of Ptolemy, and promptly defeated him; but Ptolemy himself appeared on the scene with a large land and naval force combined, and there were sundry interchanges of threats and boasts, Ptolemy ordering Demetrius to

¹ In 306 B.C.
μήτριον κελεύοντος πρὶν ὑπὸ τῆς δυνάμεως πάσης ἀθροισθέεσσης καταπατηθῆναι, Δημήτριον δὲ ἐκείνου ἀφείνας φάσκουτος, ἄν ὀμολογήσῃ Σικυώνα καὶ Κόρινθον ἀπαλλάξειν τῇς φρουράς.

3 ὁ δὲ ἀγῶν οὐ μόνον αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασι δυνάσταις πολλὴν εἴχε προσδοκίαν τῆς ἐπικρατείας ἀδηλότητος, ὡς οὐ Κύπρον οὔδὲ Σιρίαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέγιστον εὐθὺς εἶναι πάντων τῷ κρατοῦντι τῆς νίκης προστιθείσης.

ΧΩ. Αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἐπέτηλε πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν ναῦς ἔχων, ἐκ δὲ Σαλαμῖνος ἐκέλευσε Μενέλαον ἐξήκοντα ναυσίν, ὅταν μάλιστα σύστασιν ὁ ἄγων ἔχη, προσφερόμενου τὰς Δημήτριον κόπτειν ἐξόπισθεν καὶ διαταράττειν τὴν τάξιν. Δημήτριος δὲ ταῖς μὲν ἐξήκοντα ταύταις ἀντέταξε δέκα ναύς (τοσάσται γὰρ ἢρκουν στενὸν δυνά τοῦ λιμένος ἐμφράξας τὸν ἐκπλοῦν),

2 αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ πεζὸν ἐκτάξας καὶ τοῖς ἀνατείνουσιν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀκρωτηρίως περιχεάμενος, οὕτως ἀνήχθη ναυσίν ἐκατὸν ὄγδοηκούτα· προσμύξας δὲ ῥώμη καὶ βία πολλὴ κατὰ κράτος ἐτρέψατο τὸν Πτολεμαίον, αὐτὸν μὲν, ὡς ἔνικηθη, διὰ ταχέως φυγόντα ναυσίν ὀκτὼ μόναις (τοσάσται γὰρ ἐκ πασῶν περιεσώθησαν, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων αἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ διεθάρησαν, ἐβδομήκοντα δὲ ἡλῶσαν αὐτανδρῶν), τοῦ δὲ ἐν ὁλίγῳ παρορμοῦντος ὄχλου θεραπόντων καὶ φίλων καὶ γυναικῶν, ἔτι δὲ ὅπλων καὶ χορμάτων καὶ μηχαινημάτων ἀπλῶς οὔδεν ἐξέφυγε τὸν Δημήτριον, ἀλλ’ ἔλαβε πάντα καὶ κατήγαγεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἐν δὲ τούτω ἡ περιβόητος ἦν Δάμια, τὴν μὲν ἄρχῃν σπουδασθείσα διὰ τὴν τέχνην (ἐδοκεὶ γὰρ αὐλείν

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sail away before the entire force should assemble and crush him, and Demetrius offering to let Ptolemy go if he would agree to withdraw his garrisons from Sicyon and Corinth. And not only Demetrius and Ptolemy themselves, but also all the other potentates, awaited with great expectancy the uncertain issue of the impending struggle; they felt that not Cyprus, nor yet Syria, but the absolute supremacy would at once be the prize of the victor.

XVI. Well, then, Ptolemy himself sailed to the attack with a hundred and fifty ships, and ordered Menelaüs to put out from Salamis with sixty ships, and when the struggle was fiercest, to assail the ships of Demetrius in the rear, and throw them into confusion. But to these sixty ships Demetrius opposed only ten ships (for that small number sufficed to block the narrow exit from the harbour), while he himself, after first drawing out his land forces and encompassing the headlands that extended into the sea, put out to battle with a hundred and eighty ships. He made his onset with great impetus and force, and utterly routed Ptolemy. Ptolemy himself, after his defeat, fled swiftly with eight ships only (for that small number were left from his whole fleet; of the rest, some had been destroyed in the sea-fight, and seventy had been captured, crews and all), but of the throng of attendants, friends, and women which lay in ships of burden close at hand, and further, of all Ptolemy's arms, money, and engines of war, absolutely nothing escaped Demetrius, but he took everything and brought it safely into his camp. Among this booty was the celebrated Lamia, originally held in esteem for her artistic skill (she was thought to play the flute quite admirably),

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οὐκ εὐκαταφρονήτως), ὕστερον δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐρωτικοῖς λαμπρὰ γενομένη. τότε γοῦν ἢδη λήγουσα τῆς ὀρας καὶ πολὺ νεώτερον ἑαυτῆς λαβοῦσα τῶν Δημήτριου ἐκράτησε τῇ χάριτι καὶ κατέσχεν, ὡστε ἐκείνης εἶναι μόνης ἔραστην, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐρώμενον γυναῖκῶν.

Μετά δὲ τὴν ναυμαχίαν οὐδὲ ὁ Μενέλαος ἀντέσχεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τε Σαλαμίνα παρέδωκε τῷ Δημήτριῳ καὶ τὰς ναύς καὶ τὸ πεζὸν, ἵππεις τε χιλίους καὶ διακοσίους καὶ μυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους ὀπλίτας.

XVII. Οὔτω δὲ λαμπρὰν καὶ καλὴν τὴν νίκην γενομένην ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπικοσμῶν ὁ Δημήτριος εὐγνωμοσύνη καὶ φιλανθρωπία τοὺς νεκροὺς τῶν πολεμίων ἔθαψε μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ τῶν αἴχμαλωτος ἀφῆκεν. Αἰθημαίοις δὲ χιλίας καὶ διακοσίας ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων ἐδωρήσατο πανόπλια.

2 Ἀυτάγγελον δὲ τῆς νίκης τῷ πατρὶ τῶν Μιλήσιον Ἀριστόδημον ἐπεμψε, προσευόντα κολακεία τῶν αὐλικῶν ἀπάντων, καὶ τότε παρεσκευασμένον, ὡς οἶκε, τῶν κολακευμάτων τὸ μέγιστον ἐπενεχουσὲν τοῖς πράγμασιν. ὡς γὰρ ἐπέρασεν ἀπὸ τῆς Κύπρου, προσέχειν μὲν οὐκ εἶασε τῇ γῇ τὸ πλοίον, ἀγκύρας δὲ ἀφεῖναι κελεύσας καὶ κατὰ ναῦν ἔγειν

3 ἀτρέμα πάντας, αὐτὸς ἐμβὰς εἰς τὸ ἐφόλκιον ἔξηλθε μόνος καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀυτίγγονον ἀνέβαινε, μετέωρον ὄντα τῇ προσδοκίᾳ τῆς μάχης καὶ διακείμενον ὡς εἰκὸς ἔστι διακείσθαι τοὺς περὶ πραγμάτων τηλικούτων ἀγωνιῶντας. τότε γε μὴν ἀκούσας ἐκείνων ἦκειν ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ἐσχε ταραχὸς, καὶ μόλις μὲν αὐτὸν οἶκοι κατείχεν, ἄλλοις δὲ ἐπ᾽ ἄλλοις ἐπεμπεν ὑπηρέτας καὶ
but afterwards becoming illustrious in the annals of love also. At this time, at any rate, although she was past her prime and found Demetrius much younger than herself, she so mastered and swayed him by her charms that he was a lover for her alone, but a beloved for all other women.

After the sea-fight, Menelaüs also made no further resistance, but handed over Salamis to Demetrius, together with his fleet, and his land forces, which comprised twelve hundred horsemen and twelve thousand men-at-arms.

XVII. This victory, which was so fair and brilliant, Demetrius adorned still more by his humanity and kindness of heart. He gave the enemy's dead a magnificent burial, and set his captives free; moreover, upon the Athenians he bestowed twelve hundred suits of armour from the spoils.

As his special messenger to carry word of the victory to his father, Demetrius sent Aristodemus of Miletus, the arch-flatterer among all his courtiers, and ready now, as it would seem, to crown the achievement with the grossest of his flatteries. For when he had crossed over from Cyprus, he would not suffer his vessel to come to land, but ordered the crew to cast anchor and remain quietly on board, all of them, while he himself got into the ship's small boat, landed alone, and proceeded towards Antigonus, who was anxiously awaiting news of the battle, and was disposed as men are apt to be disposed who are struggling for so high a stake. And now, indeed, when he heard that Aristodemus was coming, he was more disturbed than before, and, with difficulty keeping himself indoors, sent servants and friends,
φίλους πευσομένους τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου περὶ τῶν γεγονότων. ἀποκρινομένου δὲ μηδὲν αὐτοῦ μηδενί, βῶδην δὲ καὶ συνεστῶτι τῷ προσώπῳ μετὰ πολλῆς σιωπῆς προσιόντος, ἐκπλαγεὶς κομμίδῃ καὶ μηκέτι καρτερῶν ὁ Ἀντίγονος ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας ἀπήντησε, πολλοῦ παραπέμποντος ἡδή τὸν Ἀριστοδήμον ὄχλου καὶ συντρέχοντος ἐπὶ τὸ βασίλειον. ὡς οὖν ἔγγυς ήλθεν, ἐκτείνας τὴν δεξιὰν ἀνεβόησε μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ "Χαῖρε, βασιλεῖ Ὑπεροχοῦ, νικῶμεν Πτολεμαίου ναυμαχίᾳ καὶ Κύπρον ἔχομεν καὶ στρατιῶτας αἴχμαλωτοὺς μυρίους ἐξακισχίλλους ὀκτακοσίους." ὁ δὲ Ἀντίγονος, "Καὶ σὺ, νή Δία, χαῖρε," ἔπειν. "οὕτω δὲ ἡμᾶς βασανίσας δίκην ὑφέξεις βράδιον γὰρ ἀπολύσῃ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον."

XVIII. Ἐκ τούτου πρῶτου ἀνεφώνησε τὸ πλήθος Ἀντίγονον καὶ Δημήτριον βασιλέας. Ἀντίγονον μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς ἀνέδησαν οἱ φίλοι, Δημητρίῳ δὲ ὁ πατὴρ ἔπεμψε διάδημα καὶ γράφων ἐπιστολὴν βασιλέα προσεῖπεν. οἱ δὲ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τούτων ἀπαγγέλλομένων καὶ αὐτοῦ βασιλέα τῶν Πτολεμαίων ἀνηγόρευσαν, ὡς μὴ δοκεὶν τοῦ φρονήματος ὑφίσθησαν διὰ τὴν ἤτταν.

2 ἐπενείματο δὲ οὕτως τὸ πράγμα τῷ ξῆλθεν τοὺς διαδόχους. καὶ γὰρ Ἀνασίμαχος ἤρξατο φορεῖν διάδημα, καὶ Σέλευκος ἐντυγχάνον τοῖς Ἑλλησσιω, ἐπεὶ τοῖς γε βαρβάροις πρῶτον οὕτω ὡς βασιλεὺς ἐχρημάτιζε. Κάσανδρος δὲ, τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοῦ βασιλέα καὶ γραφόντων καὶ καλούντων, αὐτὸς, ὃς περ πρῶτον εἰώθει, τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἐγραφε.
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one after the other, to learn from Aristodemus what had happened. Aristodemus, however, would make no answer to anybody, but step by step and with a solemn face drew near in perfect silence. Antigonus, therefore, thoroughly frightened, and no longer able to restrain himself, came to the door to meet Aristodemus, who was now escorted by a large throng which was hurrying to the palace. Accordingly, when he had come near, he stretched out his hand and cried with a loud voice: “Hail, King Antigonus, we have conquered Ptolemy in a sea-fight, and now hold Cyprus, with twelve thousand eight hundred soldiers as prisoners of war.” To this Antigonus replied: “Hail to thee also, by Heaven! but for torturing us in this way, thou shalt undergo punishment; the reward for thy good tidings thou shalt be some time in getting.”

XVIII. Upon this, the multitude for the first time saluted Antigonus and Demetrius as kings. Antigonus, accordingly, was immediately crowned by his friends, and Demetrius received a diadem from his father, with a letter in which he was addressed as King. The followers of Ptolemy in Egypt on their part also, when these things were reported to them, gave him the title of King, that they might not appear to lose spirit on account of their defeat. And thus their emulation carried the practice among the other successors of Alexander. For Lysimachus began to wear a diadem, and Seleucus also in his interviews with the Greeks; with the Barbarians he had before this dealt as king. Cassander, however, although the others gave him the royal title in their letters and addresses, wrote his letters in his own untitled name, as he had been wont to do.
3 Τούτο δὲ οὐ προσθήκην ὅνυματος καὶ σχήματος ἐξαλλαγῆν εἶχε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ φρονήματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκίνησε καὶ τὰς γυνῶν ἐπῆρε καὶ τοῖς βίοις καὶ ταῖς ὁμιλίαις αὐτῶν ὄγκον ἐνεποίησε καὶ βαρύτητα, καθάπερ τραγικῶν ὕποκρτῶν ἀμα τῇ σκευῇ συμμεταβαλλόντων καὶ βάδισμα καὶ
4 φωνήν καὶ κατάκλισιν καὶ προσαγόρευσιν. ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἐγένοντο καὶ περὶ τὰς δικαιώσεις βιαίωτοι, τὴν εἰς πολλὰ παρέχουσαν αὐτοῖς ἐλαφρότεροι καὶ μαλακωτέροι τοῖς ὑπηκόοις πρότερον εἰρωνείαν τῆς ἐξουσίας ἀφελόντες. το- σοῦτον ἴσχυσε κόλακος φωνή μία καὶ τοσαύτης ἐνέπλησε τὴν οἰκουμένην μεταβολῆς.

XIX. Ἀντιγόνος δὲ τοὺς πεπραγμένους ὑπὸ Δημητρίου περὶ Κύπρου ἐπαρθεῖς εὐθὺς ἐστρά- τευσεν ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίου, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀγωνίων πεζῆ τῆς δύναμις, Δημητρίου δὲ μεγάλω στόλῳ συμ- παραπλέοντος. ὅν δὲ τρόπον ἔμελλε κρίνεσθαι τὰ πράγματα, Μῆδιος, Ἀντιγόνου φίλος, ὅπις
2 εἶδε κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνοὺς. ἐδόκει γὰρ αὐτὸν Ἀντί- γονον ἀγωνίζεσθαι μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπάσης διαύλου εὐρώστως καὶ ταχὺ τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτα κατὰ μικρὸν ἐνδιδόνα τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῷ καὶ τέλος, ὡς ἐκαμψε, ἀσθενή γενόμενον καὶ μεστὸν ἀσθματος οὗ ῥαδίως ἀναφέρειν. αὐτὸς τε οὐν ἐντυχῶν κατὰ γῆν πολλαῖς ἀπορίαις, καὶ Δημητρίου χειμῶνι μεγάλῳ καὶ κλίδωνι κινδυνεύσαντος εἰς τόπου αλμένους καὶ χαλεποὺς ἐκριθήναι, πολλὰς δὲ τῶν νεῶν ἀπολέσαντος, ἐπανήλθεν ἀπρακτος.
3 Ἡν δὲ τότε μικρὸν ἀπολείποντα γεγονὼς ἔτη
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Now, this practice did not mean the addition of a name or a change of fashion merely, but it stirred the spirits of the men, lifted their thoughts high, and introduced into their lives and dealings with others pomposity and ostentation, just as tragic actors adapt to their costumes their gait, voice, posture at table, and manner of addressing others. Consequently they became harsher in their judicial decisions also; they laid aside that dissemblance of power which formerly had often made them more lenient and gentle with their subjects. So great influence had a flatterer's single word, and with so great a change did it fill the whole world.

XIX. Antigonus, elated by the achievements of Demetrius at Cyprus, at once\(^1\) made an expedition against Ptolemy; he himself led his forces by land, while Demetrius with a great fleet coöperated with him by sea. How the enterprise was to issue, Medius, a friend of Antigonus, was warned by a vision in his sleep. He dreamed, namely, that Antigonus himself, with his whole army, was competing in a race over the course and back; he ran vigorously and swiftly at first, then, little by little, his strength failed him; and at last, after he had made the turn, he became weak, breathed heavily, and with difficulty made the finish. And conformably to the vision, Antigonus himself encountered many difficulties by land, and since Demetrius also encountered a great storm and a heavy sea and was cast upon a rough coast which had no harbours, losing many of his ships, he returned without accomplishing anything.

Antigonus was at this time almost eighty years

\(^1\) During the same year, namely, 306 B.C.
όγδοηκοντα,1 μεγέθει δὲ καὶ βαρύτητι σώκατος μᾶλλον ἡ διὰ τὸ γῆρας ἐπὶ τὰς στρατεύσις γεγονός δυσπαρακόμιστος ἐχρήτῳ τῷ παιδὶ καὶ δ’ ἐντυχίαιν καὶ δ’ ἐμπειρίαιν ἦδη τὰ μέγιστα καλῶς διοικοῦντι, τρυφὰς δὲ καὶ πολυτελείας καὶ πότους αὐτοῦ μὴ βαρυμόμενος. εἰρήνης γὰρ οὕσης ἀφύβηριζεν εἰς ταύτα καὶ σχολάζων ἐχρήτῳ πρὸς τὰς ἴδινᾶς ἁνειμένως αὐτῷ καὶ κατακόρως, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πολέμοις ὡς οἱ φύσει σώφρονες ἔνηψε. 4 λέγεται δὲ τῆς Δαμίας ἀναφανδὸν ἦδη κρατούσης, τὸν Ἀντίγονον ὑπὸ τοῦ Δημητρίου καταφίλουμενον ἦκοντος ὑπὸ ἵερης εἰπεὶν ἅμα γελῶντα, "Δοκεῖς Δαμιαν, ὦ παῖ, καταφιλεῖν." πάλιν δὲ ποτε πλείονας ἡμέρας ἐν πότοις γεγομένου, καὶ πρόφασιν λέγοντος ὅσ τε βεῦμα διοχλήσειεν αὐτὸν, "Ἐπιθόμην," φάναι τὸν Ἀντίγονον, "ἀλλὰ πότε-5 ρον Θάσιον ἡ Χίον ἢ τὸ βεῦμα;" πυθόμενος δὲ αὖθις ἀσθενῶς ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἐβάδιζεν ὄφομένος, καὶ τῶν καλῶν των περὶ θύρας ἀπήνητησεν εἰσελθὼν δὲ καὶ καθίσας παρ’ αὐτὸν ἤγατο τῆς χειρὸς ἐκείνου δὲ εἰπόντος ὅτι νῦν ὁ πυρετὸς ἀποκεχώρηκεν, "Ἀμέλει, παιδίον," ἐφη, "καὶ ἐμοὶ νῦν 6 περὶ θύρας ἀπιῶν ἀπήνητηκε." ταῦτα δὲ οὕτω πράξει σφερὲ τοῦ Δημητρίου διὰ τὴν ἄλλην πράξιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Σκύθαι πίνοντες καὶ μεθυσκόμενοι παραψάλλουσι τὰς νευράς τῶν τόξων, οίον ἐκλυόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς ἴδινῆς ἀνακαλούμενοι

1 ογδοηκοντα MSS. and most editors; τῶν ογδοηκοντα.
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old, and his great size and weight, even more than his old age, made it difficult for him to conduct expeditions. He therefore made use of his son instead, whose good fortune and experience now enabled him to conduct the greatest affairs successfully, and whose luxuries, extravagances, and revelries gave his father no concern. For although in time of peace Demetrius plunged deep into these excesses and devoted his leisure to his pleasures without restraint and intemperately, yet in time of war he was as sober as those who were abstemious by nature. And we are told that once, after Lamia was known of all men to be in complete control of Demetrius, he came home from abroad and greeted his father with a kiss, whereupon Antigonus said with a laugh, “One would think, my son, that thou wert kissing Lamia.” Again, on another occasion, when Demetrius had been at his revels for several days, and excused his absence by saying that he was troubled with a flux, “So I learned,” said Antigonus, “but was it Thasian or Chian wine that flowed?” And again, learning that his son was sick, Antigonus was going to see him, and met a certain beauty at his door; he went in, however, sat down by his son, and felt his pulse. “The fever has left me now,” said Demetrius. “No doubt, my boy,” said Antigonus, “I met it just now at the door as it was going away.” These failings of Demetrius were treated with such leniency by his father because the young man was so efficient otherwise. The Scythians, in the midst of their drinking and carousing, twang their bow-strings, as though summoning back their courage when it is dissolved in pleasure; but
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tὸν θυμὸν, ἐκείνος δὲ τὰ μὲν ἥδονὴ διδοῦσ ἄπλῶς ἐαυτὸν, τὰ δὲ σπουδῆ, καὶ θάτερα τῶν ἐτέρων ἀκρατὰ μεταχειρίζομενος, οὐχ ἡττον ὢν δεινὸς ἐν ταῖς τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευαῖς.

XX. Ἀλλὰ καὶ παρασκευάσασθαι δύναμιν ἡ χρήσασθαι βελτίων ἐδόκει στρατηγὸς εἶναι, πάντα μὲν ἐκ περιουσίας ὑπάρχειν βουλόμενος ἐπὶ τὰς χρείας, τῆς δὲ περὶ τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα μεγαλουργίας καὶ καθ’ ἡδονὴν τίνα τοῦ θεωρεῖν ἀπλήστως ἔχον. εὐφυὴς γὰρ ὦν καὶ θεωρητικὸς οὐκ εἰς παιδίας οὐδ’ εἰς διαγωγὰς ἀχρήστους ἔτρεψε τὸ φιλότεχνον, ὥσπερ ἄλλοι βασιλεῖς αὐλοῦντες καὶ ξυγραφοῦντες καὶ τορεύοντες.

2 Ἀέροπος γὰρ ὁ Μακεδών τραπέζια μικρὰ καὶ λυχνίδια τεκταίνομενος, ὅποτε σχολάζω, διήγεν. Ἀτταλος δὲ ὁ Φιλομήτωρ ἐκήπευε τὰς φαρμακώδεις βοτάνας, οὐ μόνον ὑσσκύαμον καὶ ἐλλέβορον, ἄλλα καὶ κώνειον καὶ ἀκόνιτον καὶ δορύκνιον, αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς βασιλείσις σπείρων καὶ φυτεύων, ὅποις τε καὶ καρπον αὐτῶν ἔργον πεποιημένον εἰδέναι καὶ κομίζοσθαι καθ’ ὀραν. οἱ δὲ Πάρθων βασιλεῖς ἐσεμμύνοντο τὰς ἀκίδας τῶν βελῶν χαράττοντες αὐτοὶ καὶ παραθήγοντες.

3 ἄλλα μὲν Δημητρίου καὶ τὸ βάναυσον ἢν βασιλικόν, καὶ μέγεθος ἡ μέθοδος εἰχεν, ἀμα τὸ περιττό καὶ φιλοτέχνῳ τῶν ἔργων ὕψος τι διανοῖας καὶ φρονήματος συνεκφερόντων, ὡστε μὴ μόνον γνώμης καὶ περιουσίας, ἄλλα καὶ χειρὸς ήξα τοιαυτοῦ βασιλικῆς. μεγέθει μὲν γὰρ ἐξέπληττε καὶ τοὺς φίλους, κάλλει δὲ καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἔτερπε. τούτο δὲ ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ἀληθῶς ἡ κομψός
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Demetrius, giving himself up completely, now to pleasure, and now to duty, and keeping the one completely separate from the other, was no less formidable in his preparations for war.

XX. Nay, he was actually thought to be a better general in preparing than in employing a force, for he wished everything to be at hand in abundance for his needs, and could never be satisfied with the largeness of his undertakings in building ships and engines of war, or in gazing at them with great delight. For he had good natural parts and was given to speculation, and did not apply his ingenuity to things that would afford useless pleasure or diversion, like other kings who played on the flute, or painted, or chased metals. Aeropus the Macedonian, for instance, used to spend his leisure time in making little tables or lamp-stands. And Attalus Philometor used to grow poisonous plants, not only henbane and hellebore, but also hemlock, aconite, and dorycenum, sowing and planting them himself in the royal gardens, and making it his business to know their juices and fruits, and to collect these at the proper season. And the kings of the Parthians used to take pride in notching and sharpening with their own hands the points of their missiles. But with Demetrius, even the work of his hands was kingly, and his method had grandeur about it, since what he produced displayed loftiness of purpose and spirit combined with elegance and ingenuity, so that men thought it worthy, not only to be designed and paid for by a king, but actually to be wrought by his hand. For its magnitude terrified even his friends, and its beauty delighted even his enemies. And this has still more truth in it than elegance of
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4 εἰρηται. καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐκκαὶδεκήρεις αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς πεντακαὶδεκήρεις ἐθαύμαζον ἐστῶτες οἱ πολέμοι παρὰ τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν πλεούσας, αἰ δὲ ἐλεπόλεις ὡς θέαμα τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ἦσαν, ὡς αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα μαρτυρεῖ. Δυσίμαχος μὲν γάρ, ἔχθιστος δὲν Δημητρίῳ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ πολιορκοῦντι Σόλους τοὺς Κυλικοὺς ἀντιτε- ταγμένος, ἐπεμψε παρακαλών ἐπιδείξει τὰς μη- χανὰς αὐτῶ καὶ τὰς ναῦς πλεούσας· ἐπιδείξατος 5 δὲ θαυμάσας ἀπῆλθε. 'Ρόδιοι δὲ πολὺν χρόνον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πολιορκηθέντες, ἔπει κατελύσαντο τὸν πόλεμον, ἦττισαντο τῶν μηχανῶν ἐνίας, ὅπως ὑπόμνημα τῆς ἐκείνου δυνάμεως ἀμα καὶ τῆς αὐ- τῶν ἀνδραγαθίας ἔχωσιν.

XXI. Ἐπολέμησε δὲ Ἀρδίκας Πιθολεμαίον συμ- μάχιοι οὐσί, καὶ τὴν μεγίστην ἐλέπολιν τοῖς τεί- χεις προσήγαγεν, ἦς ἔδρα μὲν ἄν τετράγωνος, ἐκάστην ἐχοῦσα τοῦ κάτω πλαυσίου πλευρὰν ὀκτὼ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα πηχῶν, ἐξ δὲ καὶ ἐξή- κοντα πηχῶν ύψος έλχεν, εἰς κορυφὴν συννεύονσα 2 ταῖς ἀνω πλευραῖς στενωτέραν τῆς βάσεως. ἐν- δοθεὶς μὲν ὑμιν στέγω οἰκισμός ἐπιπεφυκτο καὶ χώραις πολλαίς, τὸ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους αὐτῆς μέτω- ποιν ἀνέφυκτο καθ’ ἐκάστην στέγην θυρίσιν, καὶ διὰ τούτων ἐξέπιπτε βέλη παντοδαπὰ· μεστὴ γὰρ ἡν ἀνδρῶν μαχομένων πᾶσαν ἱδέαν μάχης. καὶ τὸ μη κραδαινόμενον αὐτῆς μηδὲ κλινὸμενον ἐν ταῖς κινήσεσιν, ἀλλ’ ὅρθον ἐν ἔδρα καὶ ἀσάλευτον, ἱσορρόπως ἀμα ροῖς καὶ τῶν πολλῶν προχω- ροῦν, θάμβος ἀμα τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ χάριν τὶν τῇ ὅψιν τῶν θεωμένων παρεῖχε.

3 Πρὸς δὲ τούτου τὸν πόλεμον αὐτῷ καὶ θάρακες
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diction. His enemies would stand on shore and admire his galleys of fifteen or sixteen banks of oars as they sailed along past, and his "city-takers" were a spectacle to those whom he was besieging, as the actual facts testify. For Lysimachus, although he was the bitterest enemy Demetrius had among the kings, and had arrayed himself against him when he was besieging Soli in Cilicia, sent and asked Demetrius to show him his engines of war, and his ships in full career; and when Demetrius had shown them, Lysimachus expressed his admiration and went away. The Rhodians also, after they had been for a long time besieged by Demetrius and had come to terms with him, asked him for some of his engines of war, that they might keep them as a reminder of his power as well as of their own bravery.

XXI. Now, he made war upon the Rhodians because they were allies of Ptolemy, and brought up against their walls his greatest "city-taker." Its base was square, and each of its sides measured at the bottom forty-eight cubits. It rose to a height of sixty-six cubits, and tapered from base to summit. Within, it was divided off into many storeys and chambers, and the side of it which faced the enemy had windows opening out of every storey, and out through these issued missiles of every sort; for it was full of men who fought in every style of fighting. Moreover, it did not totter or lean when it moved, but remained firm and erect on its base, advancing evenly with much noise and great impetus, and this astounded the minds and at the same time greatly charmed the eyes of those who beheld it.

For his use in this war there were brought to

1 In 305-304 B.C. The siege lasted about a year.
Νόμοι συνεδρότησαν ἐκ Κύπρου δύο σιδηροί, μνών ὀλκής ἐκάτερος τεσσαράκοντα. δυσπάθειαν δὲ καὶ ρώμην αὐτῶν ἐπιδεικνύμενος ὁ τεχνίτης Ζωίλος ἐκέλευσεν ἐξ ἐκκοσιὶ βημάτων ἀφεῖναι καταπελτικὸν βέλος, οὗ προσπεσόντος ἀρραγῆς διέμεινεν ὁ σίδηρος, ἀμυχὴν δὲ μόλις ἔσχεν ἀμβλεῖαν, οὗν ἀπὸ 4 γραφείου. τὸντον αὐτὸς ἔφορει· τὸν δ' ἔτερον Ἀλκίμος ὁ Ἑπειρώτης, ἀνὴρ πολεμικῶτατος τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ ῥωμαλεώτατος, δὲ μόνος ἔχρητο διταλάντω πανοπλία, τῶν ἄλλων χρωμένων ταλαντιαῖα· καὶ μαχόμενος ἐν Ῥόδῳ περὶ τὸ θέατρον ἔτεσεν.

XXII. Εὐρώστως δὲ καὶ τῶν Ῥοδίων ἀμυνομένων, οὐδὲν ἄξιον λόγου πράττων ὁ Δημήτριος ὄμως ἐθυμομάχει πρὸς αὐτούς, ὅτι, Φίλας τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτῶ γράμματα καὶ στρώματα καὶ ἱμάτια πεμψάσης, λαβόντες τὸ πλοῖον, ὕσσερ εἶχε, πρὸς Πτολεμαίου ἀπέστειλαν, καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἐμμήθαις πολίτρωπίαν, οἱ Φιλίπποι πολεμοῦντος αὐτοῖς γραμματοφόρους ἔλοντες τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἀνέγνωσαν ἐπιστολὰς, μὴν δὲ τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδος οὐκ ἔλυσαν, ἀλλ', ὕσσερ ἢν κατα-2 σεσημασμένη, πρὸς ἐκείνου ἀπέστειλαν. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα, καὶ περ ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ σφόδρα δηχθεὶς ὁ Δημή- τριος, εὐθὺς παρασχόντας λαβὴν οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν ἀντιλυπῆσαι τὸν Ῥοδίους. ἔτυχε γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὁ Καύνιος Πρωτογένης γράφων τὴν περὶ τὸν Ἰάλυ- σον διάθεσιν, καὶ τὸν πίνακα μικρὸν ἀπολείποντα 50
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Demetrius from Cyprus two iron coats of mail, each of which weighed only forty pounds. Wishing to show their strength and power of resistance, Zoilus their maker gave orders that a catapult's missile should be shot at one of them from a distance of twenty paces, and in the place where it struck the iron remained intact, although it did get a faint scratch, such as might be made by a graver. This coat of mail Demetrius wore himself; the other was worn by Alcinus the Epeiroot, the sturdiest and most warlike of all the men under him, and the only one whose suit of armour weighed a hundred pounds (the rest used suits of fifty pounds weight); he fell in battle at Rhodes near the theatre.

XXII. But the Rhodians on their part made a vigorous resistance, and Demetrius, although he was accomplishing nothing worthy of mention, nevertheless kept up the fight against them in a rage, because, when Phila his wife sent him letters, bedding, and clothing, the Rhodians had captured the vessel containing them, and had sent it, just as it was, to Ptolemy. In this they did not imitate the considerate kindness of the Athenians, who, having captured Philip's letter-carriers when he was making war upon them, read all the other letters, indeed, but one of them, which was from Olympias, they would not open; instead, they sent it back to the king with its seal unbroken. However, although Demetrius was exceedingly exasperated by this, when the Rhodians soon after gave him a chance to retaliate, he would not allow himself to do so. It happened, namely, that Protogenes the Caunian had been making a painting for them which illustrated the story of Ialysus, and this picture, nearly finished,
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toι τέλος ἔχειν ἐν τινὶ τῶν προαστείων ἔλαβεν ὁ Δημήτριος. πεμψάντων δὲ κήρυκα τῶν Ὄροιων καὶ δεομένων φείσασθαι καὶ μη διαφθείραι τὸ ἔργον, ἀπεκρίνατο τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς εἰκόνας ἄν 3 ἐμπρῆσαι μᾶλλον ἡ τέχνης πόνον τοσοῦτον. ἔπτα γὰρ ἔτεσι λέγεται συντελέσαι τὴν γραφὴν ὁ Πρωτογένης. καὶ φήσιν ὁ Ἀπελλῆς οὕτως ἔκπλαγήσας θεασάμενος τὸ ἔργον ὡστε καὶ φωνὴν ἐπιλατεῖν αὐτὸν, ὥστε δὲ εἰπεῖν ὅτι "Μέγας ο πόνος καὶ θαυμαστὸν τὸ ἔργον," οὐ μὴν ἔχειν γε χάριτας δὲ ἄς οὔρανον ψαύειν τὰ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ γραφό-μενα. ταῦτην μὲν οὖν τὴν γραφὴν εἰς ταύτο ταῖς ἄλλαις συνωσθείσαν ἐν Ὁρώμη τὸ πῦρ ἐπενείματο. τῶν δὲ Ὄροις κατεξαισταμένων τοῦ πολέμου, δεόμενον προφάσεως τὸν Δημήτριον Ἁθηναίοι παραγενόμενοι διήλλαξαν ἐπὶ τῷ συμμαχεῖν Ὁρδίους Ἀντιγόνῳ καὶ Δημήτριῳ πλὴν ἐπὶ Πτολεμαῖον.

XXIII. Ἐκάλουν δὲ τῶν Δημήτριον οἱ Ἀθηναίοι Κασάνδρου τὸ ἀστυ πολιορκοῦντος. ὁ δὲ ναυσὶν ἐπιπλεύσας τρακοσίαις τριάκοντα καὶ πολλοὺς ὀπλίταις, οὐ μόνον ἐξηλώθη τῆς Ἀττικῆς τὸν Κάσανδρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ φεύγοντα μέχρι Θερμοπυλῶν διώξας καὶ τρεφάμενος, Ἡράκλειαν ἔλαβεν, ἐκουσώσως αὐτῷ προσθεμένην, καὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐξαισχυνοὺς μεταβαλομένους πρὸς 2 αὐτόν. ἐπανέων δὲ τοὺς ἐντὸς Πυλῶν Ἑλλήνας ἠλευθέρου, καὶ Βωιτοῦς ἐποίησατο συμμάχους,
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had been captured by Demetrius in one of the suburbs of the city. The Rhodians sent a herald and begged Demetrius to spare and not destroy the work, whereupon he replied that he would rather burn the likenesses of his father than so great a labour of art. For we are told that it took Protogenes seven years to complete the painting. And Apelles says he was so smitten with amazement on beholding the work that his voice actually failed him, and that when at last he had recovered it, he cried, “Great is the toil and astonishing the work,” remarking, however, that it had not the graces which made the fame of his own paintings touch the heavens. This painting, then, crowded into the same place with the rest at Rome; the fire destroyed. As for the Rhodians, they continued their strenuous resistance in the war until Demetrius, who wanted a pretext for abandoning it, was induced to make terms with them by a deputation of Athenians, on condition that the Rhodians should be allies of Antigonus and Demetrius, except in a war against Ptolemy.

XXIII. And now the Athenians called upon Demetrius because Cassander was besieging their city. So Demetrius sailed to their help with three hundred and thirty ships and a great number of men-at-arms, and not only drove Cassander out of Attica, but actually pursued him in his headlong flight as far as Thermopylae, and then took Heracleia, which joined him of its own accord, and six thousand Macedonians, who also came over to him. On his return, he gave their freedom to the Greeks on this side of Thermopylae, made the Boeotians his allies, a generation or two later, it had been carried to Rome and placed in the temple of Peace (cf. Strabo, xiv. p. 652; Pliny, N.H. xxxv. 10, 36).
καὶ Κεγχρέας εἶλε· καὶ Φυλήν καὶ Πάνακτον, ἑπιτειχίσματα τῆς Ἁττικῆς ὑπὸ Κασάνδρου φρουρόμενα, καταστρεψάμενος ἀπέδωκε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. οἱ δὲ καὶ περ ἐκκεχυμένοι πρότερον εἰς αὐτῶν καὶ κατακεχρημένοι πᾶσαι φιλοτιμίαν, ἐξεύρον ὅμως καὶ τότε πρόσφατοι καὶ καίνω ταῖς κολακείαις φανῆμα. τὸν γὰρ ὀπισθόδομον τοῦ Παρθενώνος ἀπέδειξαν αὐτὸ κατάλυσιν κακεὶ διάηταν εἰχε, τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς λεγομένης ὑποδέχεσθαι καὶ ξενίζειν αὐτῶν, ὅπως πάνω κόσμου ξένον οὐδὲ ὁς παρθένῳ πράως ἐπισταθμεύοντα. καὶ τοῖς τῶν ἄδελφον αὐτοῦ Φίλιππον αἰσθόμενος ποτε ὁ πα- τὴρ ἐν οἰκίᾳ καταλύοντα τρεῖς ἑχοῦση νέας γυναῖ- κας, πρὸς ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὐδὲν ἐφθέγξατο, παρόντος δὲ ἐκεῖνον, τὸν σταθμοδότην μεταπεμψάμενος, "Οὗτος," εἶπεν, "οὐκ ἔξαγεις μοι τὸν νῦν ἐκ τῆς στενοχωρίας;" 

XXIV. Δημήτριος δὲ, τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν αὐτῷ προσ- ἢκον, εἰ δὲ ἄλλο μηδὲν, ὡς γε πρεσβυτέραν ἄδελφην αἰσχύνεσθαι (τοῦτο γὰρ ἐβούλετο λέ- γεσθαι), τοσαύτην ὑβριν εἰς παῖδας ἐλευθέρους καὶ γυναίκας ἀστάς κατεσκέδασε τῆς ἀκρο- πόλεως ὡστε δοκεῖν τότε μάλιστα καθαρεύειν τὸν τόπον, ὅτε Χρυσίδη καὶ Δαμία καὶ Δημοῖ καὶ Ἀντικύρα, ταῖς πόρναις ἐκεῖναις, συνακο- λασταίοι.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα σαφῶς ἀπαγγέλλων οὐ πρέπει διὰ τὴν πόλιν, τὴν δὲ Δημοκλέους ἀρετήν καὶ σωφροσύνην ἄξιον ἐστὶ μὴ παρελθεῖν. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἦν ἐτὶ πάντα ἀνηθός, οὐκ ἔλαβε δὲ τὸν Δημή- τριον ἔχων τῆς εὐμορφίας τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν κατή-
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and captured Ceichreae; he also reduced Phyle and Panactum, fortresses of Attica in which Cassander had garrisons, and gave them back to the Athenians. And they, although before this they had used up and exhausted all the honours that could be bestowed upon him, nevertheless devised a way to show themselves then also the authors of new and fresh flatteries. For instance, they assigned him the rear chamber of the Parthenon for his quarters; and there he lived, and there it was said that Athena received and entertained him, although he was no very orderly guest and did not occupy his quarters with the decorum due to a virgin. And yet on one occasion when his father understood that his brother Philip was quartered in a house occupied by three young women, he said not a word to Philip himself, but in his presence said to the quartermaster whom he had summoned, "See here, wilt thou not remove my son from his narrow quarters?"

XXIV. But Demetrius, who ought to have revered Athena, if for no other reason, at least because she was his elder sister (for this was what he liked to have her called ¹), filled the acropolis with such wanton treatment of free-born youth and native Athenian women that the place was then thought to be particularly pure when he shared his disolute life there with Chrysis and Lamia and Demo and Anticyra, the well-known prostitutes.

Now, to give all the particulars plainly would disgrace the fair fame of the city, but I may not pass over the modesty and virtue of Democles. He was still a young boy, and it did not escape the notice of Demetrius that he had a surname which indicated

¹ Since the Athenians had made him a "Saviour-god."

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γορον ἐκαλεῖτο γὰρ Δημοκλῆς ὁ καλός. ὥς δὲ πολλὰ πειρώντων καὶ διδόντων καὶ φοβοῦντων ὑπ᾽ οὐδενὸς ἠλίσκετο, τέλος δὲ φεύγων τὰς παλαιόστρας καὶ τὸ γυμνάσιον εἰς τὶ βαλανεῖον ἰδιωτικὸν ἐφοίτα λουσόμενος, ἐπιτηρήσας τὸν καὶ ῥόν ὁ Δημήτριος ἐπεισήλθεν αὐτῷ μόνῳ. καὶ ὁ παῖς, ὡς συνείδει τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν ἐρημίαν καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην, ἀφελῶν τὸ πώμα τοῦ χαλκώματος εἰς ξέον ύδωρ ἐνήλιατο καὶ διέφθειρεν αὐτῶν, ἀνάξια μὲν παθῶν, ἄξια δὲ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ κάλλους φρονήσας, οὐχ ὡς Κλεαίνετος ὁ Κλεομέδουτος, δὲ ὥφληκότι τῷ πατρί δίκην πεντήκοντα ταλάντων ἀφεθῆναι διάπραξάμενος καὶ γράμματα παρὰ Δημήτριον κομίσας πρὸς τὸν δήμον οὐ μόνον ἐαυτόν κατήχουνεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν πόλιν συνε- τάραξε. τὸν μὲν γὰρ Κλεομέδουτα τῆς δίκης ἀφῆκαν, ἐγράφῃ δὲ ψήφισμα μηδένα τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπιστολὴν παρὰ Δημήτριον κομίζειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀκούσας ἐκείνως οὐκ ἦνεγκε μετρίως, ἀλλ᾽ ἡγανάκτησε, δείσαντες αὐθίς οὐ μόνον τὸ ψήφισμα καθείλουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν εἰσηγησαμένων καὶ συνεπόντων τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ ἐφυγάδευσαν, ἔτι δὲ προσεψηφίσαντο δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πάν, ὦ τι ἀν ὁ βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος κελεύσῃ, τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς θεοὺς ὂσιον καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους εἶναι δίκαιον. εἰπόντος δὲ τινὸς τῶν καλῶν καγαθῶν ἄνδρῶν μαίνεσθαι τὸν Στρατοκλέα τοιαύτα γράφοντα, Δημοκλάρης ὁ Δευκονομεύς "Μαίνοιτο μένταν," εἶπεν, "ἐἰ μὴ μαίνοιτο." 56
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his comeliness; for he was called Democles the Beautiful. But he yielded to none of the many who sought to win him by prayers or gifts or threats, and finally, shunning the palaestras and the gymnasium, used to go for his bath to a private bathing-room. Here Demetrius, who had watched his opportunity, came upon him when he was alone. And the boy, when he saw that he was quite alone and in dire straits, took off the lid of the cauldron and jumped into the boiling water, thus destroying himself, and suffering a fate that was unworthy of him, but showing a spirit that was worthy of his country and of his beauty. Not so Cleaenetus the son of Cleomedon, who, in order to obtain a letter from Demetrius to the people and therewith to secure the remission of a fine of fifty talents which had been imposed upon his father, not only disgraced himself, but also got the city into trouble. For the people released Cleomedon from his sentence, but they passed an edict that no citizen should bring a letter from Demetrius before the assembly. However, when Demetrius heard of it and was beyond measure incensed thereat, they took fright again, and not only rescinded the decree, but actually put to death some of those who had introduced and spoken in favour of it, and drove others into exile; furthermore, they voted besides that it was the pleasure of the Athenian people that whatsoever King Demetrius should ordain in future, this should be held righteous towards the gods and just towards men. And when one of the better class of citizens declared that Stratocles was mad to introduce such a motion, Demochares of Leuconoë said: "He would indeed be mad not to be
πολλὰ γὰρ ὁ Στρατοκλῆς ὠφελεῖτο διὰ τὴν κολακείαν. ὁ δὲ Δημοχάρης ἐπὶ τούτῳ διαβληθεὶς ἐφυγαδεύθη. τοιαῦτα ἐξετάσατο Ἀθηναῖοι φρουρᾶς ἀπηλλάχθαι καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἔχειν δοκοῦντες.

XXV. Δημήτριος δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς Πελοπόννησον, οὐδενὸς ὑφισταμένου τῶν ἐναντίων, ἀλλὰ φευγόντων καὶ προιμένων τὰς πόλεις, προσηγάγετο τὴν τε καλουμένην Ἀκτήν καὶ Ἀρκαδίαν, πλὴν Μαντινείας, καὶ Ἀργος καὶ Σικυώνα καὶ Κόρινθον ἐλύσατο τάλαντα δοῦς ἐκατόν τοὺς 2 φρουροῦσιν. εὖ Ἀργεῖ μὲν οὖν τῆς τῶν Ἡραίων ἔορτῆς καθηκούσης, ἀγωνοθέτων καὶ συμπαντηγυρίζων τοῖς Ἑλλησίων, ἔγγυμε τὴν Αἰακίδου θυγατέρα, τοῦ Μολοττῶν βασιλέως, ᾧδελφὴν δὲ Πύρρον, Δηίδαμειαν. Σικυωνίους δὲ φήσας παρὰ τὴν πόλιν οἰκεῖν τὴν πόλιν, ἔπεισεν οὐ νῦν οἰκοῦσι μετοικίσασθαι· τῷ δὲ τόπῳ καὶ τούνομα τὴν πόλιν συμμεταβαλούσαν ἀντὶ Σικυώνος Δημή-3 τριάδα προσηγόρευσεν. ἐν δὲ Ἡσθμῷ κοινῷ συνεδρίου γενομένου καὶ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων συνελθόντων, ἡγεμῶν ἀνηγορεύθη τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὡς πρότερον οἱ περὶ Φιλίππων καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον· ὃν ἐκεῖνος οὐ παρὰ μικρὸν ἐνόμιζεν ἐαυτὸν εἶναι βελτίων, τῇ τύχῃ τῇ παρούσῃ καὶ τῇ δυνάμει τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπαρόμενος. Ἀλέξανδρος γοῦν οὐδένα τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων ἀπεστάρησε τῆς ὀμονυμίας, οὐδὲ αὐτόν ἀνείπε βασιλέων βασιλέα, 58
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mad.” For Stratocles reaped much advantage from his flatteries. Demochares, however, was brought under accusation for this and sent into exile. So fared it with the Athenians, who imagined that because they were rid of their garrison they therefore had their freedom.

XXV. And now Demetrius proceeded into Peloponnesus, where not one of his enemies opposed him, but all abandoned their cities and fled. He received into allegiance Acte, as it is called, and Arcadia (except Mantineia), and freed Argos, Sicyon, and Corinth by paying their garrisons a hundred talents. At Argos, then, where there was a celebration of the festival of Hera, he presided at the games and attended the solemn assemblies with the Greeks, and married Deidameia, the daughter of Aeacides king of the Molossians, and the sister of Pyrrhus. As for the Sicyonians, he told them their city was in the wrong place, and persuaded them to change its site to that which it now has; moreover, with the site he also changed the name of the city, calling it Demetrias instead of Sicyon. And at the Isthmus of Corinth, where a general assembly was held and throngs of people came together, he was proclaimed Commander-in-chief of the Greeks, as Philip and Alexander had been proclaimed before him; and to these he considered himself in no slight measure superior, lifted up as he was by the good fortune and power which he then enjoyed. And certainly King Alexander never refused to bestow the royal title upon other kings, nor did he proclaim himself King of Kings, although many

1 Early in 303 B.C.
2 Although both Eurydice and Phila were still living.

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καίτοι πολλοίς τὸ καλεῖθαι καὶ εἶναι βασιλέας
4 αὐτὸς δεδωκὼς· ἐκεῖνος δὲ χλενάζων καὶ γελῶν
τοὺς ἄλλους τινὰ πλὴν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ αὐτοῦ
βασιλέα προσαγορεύοντας, ἤδεως ἦκουε τῶν παρὸ
πότον ἐπιχύσεις λαμβανόντων Δημήτριον βασι-
λέως, Σελεύκου δὲ ἐλεφαντάρχου, Πτολεμαίου δὲ
ναυάρχου, Δυσιμάχου δὲ γαζοφύλακος, Ἀγαθο-
5 κλέους δὲ τοῦ Σικελιώτου νησίαρχον. τούτων δὲ
πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐκφερομένων οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι
βασιλεῖς κατεγέλων, Δυσιμάχος δὲ ἤγανάκτει
μόνος εἰ σπάδοντα νομίζει Δημήτριος αὐτῶν·
ἐπιεικῶς γὰρ εἰώθεισαν εὐνούχους ἐξειν γαζο-
6 φύλακας. ἦν δὲ καὶ πάντων ἀπεχθέστατος ὁ
Δυσιμάχος αὐτῷ, καὶ λοιδορῶν εἰς τὸν ἔρωτα
τῆς Δαμίας ἔλεγεν νῦν πρῶτον ἐωρακέναι πόρνην
προερχομένην ἐκ τραγικῆς σκηνῆς· ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος
ἐφι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόρνην σωφρονεστέραν εἶναι τῆς
ἐκείνου Πηνελόπης.
XXVI. Τότε δ’ οὖν ἀναζευγνύων εἰς τὰς Ἀθή-
νας ἔγραψεν ὅτι βούλεται παραγενόμενος εὐθὺς
μυηθῆναι καὶ τὴν τελετὴν ἀπασάν ἀπὸ τῶν
μικρῶν ἀχρὶ τῶν ἐποπτικῶν παραλαβεῖν. τούτῳ
dὲ οὐ θεμιτὸν ἦν οὔδε γεγονὸς πρότερον, ἀλλὰ
tὰ μικρὰ τοῦ Ἀνθεστηρίδονος ἐτελοῦντο, τὰ δὲ
μεγάλα τοῦ Βοηδρομίδου· ἐπάπτευεν δὲ τοῦ-
λάχιστον ἀπὸ τῶν μεγάλων ἐνιαυτὸν διαλείποντες.
2 ἀναγνωσθέντων δὲ τῶν γραμμάτων μόνος ἐτόλ-
μησεν ἀντεπείν Πυθόδωρος ὁ δαδοῦχος, ἐπέρανε
dὲ οὔδεν· ἀλλὰ Στρατοκλέους γνώμην εἰπόντος
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kings received their position and title from him; whereas Demetrius used to rail and mock at those who gave the title of King to any one except his father and himself, and was well pleased to hear revellers pledge Demetrius as King, but Seleucus as Master of the Elephants, Ptolemy as Admiral, Lysimachus as Treasurer, and Agathocles as Island Governor of Sicily. When this was reported to these kings, they all laughed at Demetrius, except Lysimachus; he was incensed that Demetrius considered him a eunuch (it was the general practice to have eunuchs for treasurers). And of all the kings Lysimachus had most hatred for Demetrius. He was once reviling the man's passion for Lamia, and said that this was the first time he had ever seen a harlot coming forward to play a great tragic part; Demetrius, however, declared that his own harlot was more chaste than the Penelope of Lysimachus.

XXVI. But to resume the story, when Demetrius was getting ready to return to Athens, he wrote letters to the people saying that he wished to be initiated into the mysteries as soon as he arrived, and to pass through all the grades in the ceremony, from the lowest to the highest (the "epoptica"). Now, this was not lawful, and had not been done before, but the lesser rites were performed in the month Anthesterion, the great rites in Boëdromion; and the supreme rites (the "epoptica") were celebrated after an interval of at least a year from the great rites. And yet when the letter of Demetrius was read, no one ventured to oppose the proposition except Pythodorus the Torch-bearer, and he accomplished nothing; instead, on motion of Stratocles, it was voted to call the current month, which was
'Ανθεστηριώνα τὸν Μουνυχίωνα ψηφισμένους καλείν καὶ νομίζειν, ἐτέλουν τῷ Δημητρίῳ τὰ πρὸς 'Αγγείν: καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πάλιν ἐξ Ἀνθεστηριώνος οὗ Μουνυχίων γενόμενος Βοηδρομίων ἐδέξατο τὴν λοιπὴν τελετήν, ἀμα καὶ τὴν ἐπο-3 πτείαν τοῦ Δημητρίου προσεπιλαβόντος. διὸ καὶ Φιλιππίδης τὸν Στρατοκλέα λοιδορῶν ἐποίησεν·

ὁ τὸν ἔνιαντὸν συντεμῶν εἰς μῆν ἕνα,
καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ Παρθενῶν κατασκηνώσεως·

ὁ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν πανδοκείον ὑπολαβῶν
καὶ τὰς ἔταίρας εἰςαγαγῶν τῇ παρθένῳ.

XXVII. Πολλῶν δὲ γενομένων ἐν τῇ πόλει
tότε πλημμελημάτων καὶ παρανομημάτων ἐκείνῳ
μάλιστα λέγεται λυπῆσαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὅτι
diakósia καὶ πεντήκοντα τάλαντα πορίσαι ταχύ
καὶ δοῦναι προσταχθὲν αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς εἰσπρά-
ξεως συντόνου καὶ ἀπαραιτήτου γενομένης, ἱδῶν
ἡθροισμένον τὸ ἀργύριον ἐκέλευσε Δαμία καὶ ταῖς
περὶ αὐτὴν ἔταίραις εἰς σμήγμα δοθῆναι. ἡ γὰρ
αισχύνη τῆς ζημίας καὶ τὸ ρήμα τοῦ πράγματος
2 μᾶλλον ἡνώχλησε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. ἔνιοι δὲ τοῦτο
Θετταλοῖς, οūκ Ἀθηναίοις, ἢπ' αὐτοῦ συμβῆναι
λέγουσι. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων αὐτὴ καθ' ἕαυτὴν ἡ
Δάμα τῷ βασίλει παρασκευάζονσα δείπνον
ἡγυρολόγησε πολλοὺς. καὶ τὸ δείπνον οὕτως
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Munychion, Anthesterion, and so to regard it, and the lesser rites at Agra were performed for Demetrius; after which Munychion was again changed and became Boëdromion instead of Anthesterion, Demetrius received the remaining rites of initiation, and at the same time was also admitted to the highest grade of "epoptos." Hence Philippides, in his abuse of Stratocles, wrote 1:—

"Who abridged the whole year into a single month,"
and with reference to the quartering of Demetrius in the Parthenon:—

"Who took the acropolis for a caravansery,
And introduced to its virgin goddess his courtesans."

XXVII. But among the many lawless and shocking things done by Demetrius in the city at this time, this is said to have given the Athenians most displeasure, namely, that after he had ordered them to procure speedily two hundred and fifty talents for his use, and after they had levied the money rigorously and inexorably, when he saw the sum that had been collected, he commanded that it should be given to Lamia and her fellow courtesans to buy soap with. For the shame they felt was more intolerable to the people than their loss, and the words which accompanied it than the deed itself. But some say that those who received this treatment were Thessalians, not Athenians. Apart from this incident, however, Lamia, when she was preparing a supper for the king, exacted money on her own account from many citizens. And the costliness

1 Part of the fragment cited at xii. 4.
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ἡμῆςε τῇ δόξῇ διὰ τὴν ποιοτέλειαν ὡστε ὑπὸ Δυσκέως τοῦ Σαμίου συγγεγράφθαι. διὸ καὶ τῶν κωμικῶν τις οὐ φαύλως τὴν Δάμιαν Ἐλέπολιν ἀληθῶς προσεῖπε. Δημοχάρης δ’ ὁ Σόλιος τὸν Δημήτριον αὐτὸν ἐκάλει Μύθον εἰναι γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ Δάμιαν.

3 Οὐ μόνον δὲ ταῖς γαμεταῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς φίλοις τοῦ Δημήτριον ξῆλον καὶ φθόνον εὐημεροῦσα καὶ στεργομένη παρεῖχεν. ἀφίκοντο γοῦν τινες παρ’ αὐτού κατὰ προσβείαν πρὸς Δυσίμαχον, οἷς ἐκεῖνος ἁγὼν σχολὴν ἐπέδειξεν ἐν τε τοῖς μηροῖς καὶ τοῖς βραχίσσιν ὠτειλᾶς βαθείας ὀνύχων λεοντείων καὶ δηγεῖτο τὴν γενομένην αὐτῷ μάχην πρὸς τὸ θηρίον, ὕπὸ Ἀλέξανδρου συγκαθειρχθέντι τοῦ βασιλέως. οἱ δὲ γελώντες ἔφασαν καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν βασιλέα δεινοῦ θηρίου


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of this supper gave it so wide a renown that it was described in full by Lynceus the Samian. Hence also a comic poet not inaptly called Lamia "a veritable City-taker." ¹ And Democares of Soli called Demetrius himself "Fable," because he too, like Fable, had a Lamia.²

And not only among the wives of Demetrius, but also among his friends, did the favour and affection which he bestowed on Lamia awaken envy and jealousy. At all events, some ambassadors from him once came to Lysimachus, and Lysimachus, in an hour of leisure, showed them on his thighs and shoulders deep scars of wounds made by a lion's claws; he also told them about the battle he had fought against the beast, with which he had been caged by Alexander the king. Then they laughingly told him that their own king also carried, on his neck, the bites of a dreadful wild beast,—a Lamia. And it was astonishing that while in the beginning he was displeased at Phila's disparity in years, he was vanquished by Lamia, and loved her so long, although she was already past her prime. At all events, when Lamia was playing on the flute at a supper, and Demetrius asked Demo, surnamed Mania, what she thought of her, "O King," said Mania, "I think her an old woman." And at another time, when some sweetmeats were served up, and Demetrius said to Mania, "Dost thou see how many presents I get from Lamia?" "My mother," said Mania, "will send thee more, if thou wilt make her also thy mistress." And there is on record also Lamia's

¹ See chapter xx. 4.
² The name of a fabulous monster reputed to eat men's flesh.
πρὸς τὴν λεγομένην Βοιχώρως κρίσιν ἀντίρρησις. ἐπεὶ γὰρ τις ἐρῶν ἐν Διγύπτῳ τῆς ἐταίρας Θῶνίδος ἦτείτο συχνὸν χρυσίων, εἶτα κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνοὺς δόξας αὐτῆς συγγενέσθαι τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἐπαύσατο, δίκην ἔλαχεν ἡ Θωνίς αὐτῷ τοῦ μιθω-6 ματος. ἀκούσας δὲ τὸν λόγον ὁ Βοιχώρης ἐκέλευσε τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν ὅσον ἦτήθη χρυσίων ᾑρθημένον ἐν τῷ ἀγγείῳ διαφέρειν δεύρο κἀκεῖσε τῇ χειρί, τὴν δὲ ἐταίραν ἔχεσθαι τῆς σκιάς, ὥς τὴν δόξαν τῆς ἀληθείας σκιᾶν οὖσαν. οὐκ ἦτο ταύτην εἶναι τὴν κρίσιν ἡ Δάμα δικαίαν· οὐ γὰρ ἀπέλυσεν ἡ σκιὰ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τοῦ ἄργυρίου τὴν ἐταίραν, τὸ δὲ ὄναρ ἐπαύσαν ἔρωτα τὸν νεανίσκον, ταύτα μὲν οὖν περὶ Δαμίας.

XXVIII. Τὴν δὲ διήγησιν, ὠσπερ ἐκ κωμικῆς σκηνῆς, πάλιν εἰς τραγικὴν μετάγωγον αἱ τύχαι καὶ αἱ πράξεις τοῦ ἀνδρὸς δὲν διηγοῦμεθα. τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων βασιλέων ἀπάντων συνισταμένων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον καὶ συμφερόντων εἰς ταύτα τὰς δυνάμεις, ἀπήρεν ὁ Δημήτριος ὥς τῆς Ἐλλάδος, καὶ τῷ πατρὶ συμμίξας φιλοτιμουμένῳ παρ’ ἡλικίαν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτὸς 2 ἐπερρώσθη. καίτοι δοκεῖ γε Ἀντίγονος, εἰ μικρῶν τινων ὑφείτο καὶ τῆς ἀγαν φιλαρχίας ἐχά- λασε, μέχρι παντὸς ἀν αὐτῷ διαφυλάξαι κάκεινω καταλυσεὶ τὸ πρῶτον εἶναι. φύσει δὲ βάρυς ἃν καὶ ὑπερόπτης, καὶ τοὺς λόγους οὐχ ἦττον ἢ τοὺς πράγμασι τραχύς, πολλοὺς καὶ νέους καὶ δυνα- τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐξηγηρίαινε καὶ παρώξυνε· καὶ τὴν 902 66
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comment on the famous judgment of Bocchoris. There was, namely, a certain Egyptian who was in love with Thonis the courtesan, and offered a great sum of money for her favours; then he dreamed that he enjoyed those favours, and ceased from his desires. Thereupon Thonis brought an action against him for payment due, and Bocchoris, on hearing the case, ordered the man to bring into court in its coffer the sum total demanded of him, and to move it hither and thither with his hand, and the courtesan was to grasp its shadow, since the thing imagined is a shadow of the reality. This judgment Lamia thought to be unjust; for though the dream put an end to the young man's passion, the shadow of the money did not set the courtesan free from her desire for it. So much, then, for Lamia.

XXVIII. But the fortunes and achievements of the man whose Life I am narrating, brings my narrative back, as it were, from the comic to the tragic stage. For all the other kings leagued themselves together against Antigonus and united their forces, and so Demetrius set forth from Greece,¹ and finding his father eager beyond his years for the war, he was himself still more encouraged. And yet it would seem that if Antigonus had made some trifling concessions and had slackened his excessive passion for dominion, he might have always retained the supremacy for himself and have left it to his son. But he was naturally stern and haughty, and was harsh in what he said no less than in what he did, and therefore exasperated and incited against himself many young and powerful men; and their

¹ Late in 302 B.C.
3 Ἡγε δὲ πεζοὺς μὲν ἐπτακισμυρίων πλείους, ἵππείς δὲ μυρίους, ἐλέφαντας δὲ ἐβδομήκοντα πέντε, τῶν ἐναντίων ἐχόντων πεζοὺς μὲν ἐξακισμυρίους καὶ τετρακισχιλίους, ἵππείς δὲ πεντακοσίους τῶν ἐκείνου πλείους, ἐλέφαντας δὲ τετρακοσίους, ἀρματα δὲ ἐκατον ἐἰκόσι. γενομένω δὲ ἐγγὺς αὐτῶν τροπῆν ἐσχεν ἡ διάνοια τῆς ἕλπιδος μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς γνώμης. ὡς γὰρ εἶναι καὶ γαύρος εἰσόθως ἐν τοῖς ἀγώσι καὶ χρώμενος φωνῇ τε μεγάλῃ καὶ λόγοις σοβαροῖς, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τῷ παρασκώψατι τι καὶ γελοῖον εἰπεῖν τῶν πολεμίων ἐν χερσίν ὄντων ἐπιδειξάμενος εὐστάθειαν καὶ καταφρόνησιν, τότε σύννυνος ἐφράτο καὶ σωπηλὸς τὰ πολλά, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἀπέδειξε τῷ πλῆθει καὶ συνέστησε διάδοχον.

4 δὲ μάλιστα πάντες ἑθαύμασαν, ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ μόνος διελέξθη πρὸς αὐτόν, οὐκ εἰδισμένος ἔχειν οὔδε πρὸς ἐκείνον ἀπορρήτους κοινολογίας, ἀλλὰ ἰδιοὶ ὁν γνώμη, εἶτα προστάττων φανερῶς καὶ χρώμενος οἶς θουλεύσατο καθ᾽ ἑαυτόν. λέγεται γούν μειράκιον ἐτι ὁντα τὸν Δημήτριον αὐτοῦ πυθέθαι πῶς καταλλήλου ἀναζητήσει δὲ εἰπεῖν πρὸς ὄργην οὖν "Ἀγωνιᾶς μὴ μόνος σὺ τῆς σάλπιγγος οὐκ ἀκούσῃς;"

XXIX. Τότε μέντοι καὶ σημεῖα μοχθηρὰ κατεδουλοῦσα τὴν γνώμην αὐτῶν. Δημήτριος μὲν γὰρ ἐδοξε κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνοὺς Ἀλέξανδρον ὁπλίσμενον λαμπρῶς ἐρωτῶν ὑποίον τι σύνθεσα διδό-
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combination and partnership at this time he said he would scatter asunder with a single stone and a single shout, as if they were a flock of granivorous birds.

He took the field with more than seventy thousand infantry, ten thousand horse, and seventy-five elephants; while his adversaries had sixty-four thousand infantry, five hundred more horse than he, four hundred elephants, and a hundred and twenty chariots. After he had drawn near them, the cast of his expectations rather than of his purposes underwent a change. For he was wont to be lofty and boastful as he engaged in his conflicts, making pompous speeches in a loud voice, and many times also by the utterance of a casual jest or joke when the enemy was close at hand he would show the firmness of his own spirit and his contempt for them; but now he was observed to be thoughtful and silent for the most part, and he presented his son to the army and pronounced him his successor. But what more than anything else astonished everybody was his conversing alone in his tent with his son, although it was not his custom to have secret conferences even with him; instead, he made his own plans, followed his own counsels, and then gave his orders openly. At all events, we are told that Demetrius, when he was still a stripling, asked his father when they were going to break camp; and that Antigonus replied in anger: “Art thou in distress lest thou alone shouldst not hear the trumpet?”

XXIX. At this time, moreover, bad omens also subdued their spirits. For Demetrius dreamed that Alexander, in brilliant array of armour, asked him what watchword they were going to give for the
ναί πρὸς τὴν μάχην μέλλουσιν· αὐτοῦ δὲ φήσαντος, "Δία καὶ Νίκην" "Ἀπειμί τοίνυν," φάναι," πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους· ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ· με 2 παραλαμβάνουσιν." Ἀντίγονος δὲ παραταττο-
μένης ἦδη τῆς φάλαγγας ἐξιὼν προσέπτησεν, ὡστε πεσεῖν ὅλως ἐπὶ στόμα καὶ διατεθήναι χαλεπῶς· ἀναστὰς δὲ καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ὁτῆσατο νίκην παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἢ θάνατον ἀναίσθητον πρὸ τῆς ἤττης.

3 Γενομένης δὲ τῆς μάχης ἐν χερσὶ Δημήτριος ἔχων τοὺς πλείστους καὶ κρατίστους τῶν ἵππεων Ἀντίόχος τῷ Σελεύκου συνέπεσε, καὶ μέχρι τροπῆς τῶν πολεμίων λαμπρῶς ἀγωνίσάμενος ἐν τῇ διώξει σοβαρὰ καὶ φιλοτίμῳ παρὰ καρδὸν γενομένη τὴν νίκην διέθειρεν. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ὅπως ἔσχε πάλιν ἀναστρέψας συμμίξα τοῖς πεζοῖς τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἐν μέσῳ γενομένων, τὴν δὲ φάλαγγα γυμνὴν ἵππεων κατιδόντες οἱ περὶ Σελεύκου οὐκ ἐνέβαλον μὲν, ὡς δὲ ἐμβαλόντες ἐφόβοι καὶ περιήλαβον, μεταβάλλοντας δι-

4 δόντες αὐτοῖς· ὁ καὶ συνεβή. πολὺ γὰρ μέρος ἀπορραγέν ἐκουσίῳς μετεχώρησε πρὸς ἐκείνους, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἐτράπη. φερομένων δὲ πολλῶν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀντίγονον καὶ τινὸς τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν εἰπόντος, "Ἐπὶ σὲ οὕτω, βασιλεῖ," "Τίνα γὰρ," εἶπε, "πλὴν ἐμοὶ σκοπὸν ἐχουσίων· ἄλλα Δημήτριος 5 ἀφίξεται βοηθῶν." καὶ τούτῳ μέχρι παντὸς ἐλπίζων καὶ περισκοπῶν τὸν νιὸν ἀμα πολλῶν 70.
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battle; and when he replied, “Zeus and Victory,” Alexander said: “Then I will go away and join your adversaries; they surely will receive me.”¹ Moreover, Antigonus, when his phalanx was already forming and he was leaving his tent, stumbled and fell prone upon his face, injuring himself severely; but he rose to his feet, and stretching out his hands towards heaven prayed that the gods would grant him victory, or a painless death before his defeat.

After the armies had engaged,² Demetrius, with the largest and best part of the cavalry, clashed with Antiochus, the son of Seleucus; he fought brilliantly and routed his enemy, but by pursuing him too fiercely and eagerly he threw away the victory. For he himself was not able to turn back and rejoin his infantry, since the enemy’s elephants were thrown in his way; and Seleucus, observing that his opponents’ phalanx was unprotected by cavalry, took measures accordingly. He did not actually charge upon them, but kept them in fear of a charge by continually riding around them, thus giving them an opportunity to come over to his side. And this was what actually came to pass. For a large body of them, detached from the rest, came over to him of their own accord, and the rest were routed. Then, as throngs of his enemies bore down upon him and one of his followers said, “They are making at thee, O King,” “Who else, pray,” said Antigonus, “should be their mark? But Demetrius will come to my aid.” This was his hope to the last, and to the last he kept watching eagerly for his son; then a whole cloud of javelins

¹ The watchword should have been “Alexander and Victory.”
² Near the village of Ipsus, in Phrygia, 301 B.C.
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άκοντισμάτων εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφεθέντων ἔπεσε· καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπολιπόντων ἀπαδῶν καὶ φίλων μόνος παρέμεινε τῷ νεκρῷ Θώραξ ὁ Δαρισσαῖος.

XXX. Οὕτω δὲ κριθεῖσσα τῆς μάχης, οἱ μὲν νευκηκότες βασιλεῖς τὴν ὑπ’ Ἀντιγόνῳ καὶ Δημήτριῳ πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν ἄστερ πέμασα σῶμα κατακόπτοντες ἐλάμβανον μερίδας, καὶ προσδιενέμαντο τὰς ἐκείνων ἐπαρχίας αἰς εἰχόν αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι. Δημήτριος δὲ μετὰ πεντακισχιλίων πεζῶν καὶ τετρακισχιλίων ἵππων φεῦγον καὶ συντόνως ἐλάσας εἰς Ἐφεσον, οἰομένων ἀπάντων ἄπορούντα χρημάτων αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀφέσεθαι τοῦ 2 ἱεροῦ, φοβηθεὶς τοὺς στρατιώτας μὴ τούτο ποιῆσωσιν, ἀνέστη διὰ ταχέως, καὶ τὸν πλοῦν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐποιεῖτο, τῶν λοιπῶν ἐλπίδων ἐν Ἀθηναίοις ἔχων τὰς μεγίστας. καὶ γὰρ καὶ ναῦς ἕκει καὶ χρήματα καὶ γυναῖκα Δηνίδαμειαν ἐτύγχανε καταλειπότας, καὶ βεβαιοτέραν οὐκ ἐνόμιζε καταφυγήν εἶναι τοῖς πράγμσι τῆς

3 Ἀθηναίων εὐνοίας. οἴδεν ἐπεὶ γενομένῳ περὶ τὰς Κυκλάδας αὐτῷ πρέσβεις Ἀθηναίων ἀπῆνυτησαν ἀπέχεσθαι τῆς πόλεως παρακαλοῦντες, ὡς ἐπιδεικνύοντο τοῦ δήμου μηδένα δέχεσθαι τῇ πόλει τῶν βασιλέων, τῆς δὲ Δηνίδαμειαν εἰς Μέγαρα ἐξέσπευσαν μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ πομπῆς προπούσης, τοῦ καθεστηκότος ἐξέστη δι’ ὀργήν αὐτοῦ, καίπερ ἐννοοῦσις ᾠρίστα τὴν ἀλλήν ἀτυχίαν καὶ γεγονός ἐν τοιαύτῃ μεταβολῇ πραγμάτων οὐ ταπεινώς οὐδ’ ἀγεινής. ἀλλὰ τὸ παρ’ ἐλπίδα διεἰσεῖσθαι τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὴν δοκοῦσαν εὐνοίαν ἐξελεητήριες τοῖς πράγμασι κενὴν καὶ πεπλασμένην οὐσαν ὀδυνηρόν ἦν αὐτῷ.

4 καὶ ναῦς Ziegler, with all the MSS. but one: ναῦς.
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were let fly at him and he fell. The rest of his friends and attendants abandoned him, and one only remained by his dead body, Thorax of Larissa.

XXX. The battle having been decided in this manner, the victorious kings carved up the entire domain which had been subject to Antigonus and Demetrius, as if it had been a great carcass, and took each his portion, adding thus to the provinces which the victors already had, those of the vanquished kings. But Demetrius, with five thousand foot and four thousand horse, came in unbroken flight to Ephesus. Here everybody thought that his lack of resources would lead him to lay hands upon the temple\(^1\); but he, fearing lest his soldiers might do this, departed speedily, and sailed for Greece, putting his chief remaining hopes in Athens. For he had left ships there, and moneys, and his wife Deïdameia, and he thought that in his evil plight no refuge could be more secure than the goodwill of Athens. Therefore when, as he drew near the Cyclades islands, an embassy from Athens met him with a request to keep away from the city, on the ground that the people had passed a vote to admit none of the kings, and informing him that Deïdameia had been sent to Megara with fitting escort and honour, his wrath drove him beyond all proper bounds, although he had borne his other misfortunes very easily, and in so great a reversal of his situation had shown himself neither mean-spirited nor ignoble. But that the Athenians should disappoint his hopes and play him false, and that their apparent goodwill should prove on trial to be false and empty, was painful to him.

\(^1\) The rich temple of Artemis (Diana).
Τὸ γὰρ φανλότατον, ὡς ἔοικεν, εὐνοίας ὀχλῶν βασιλεύσι καὶ δυνάσταις τεκμηρίων ἐστὶν ὑπερβολὴ τιμῶν, ἣς ἐν τῇ προαιρέσει τῶν ἀποδιδόντων ἐχούσης τὸ καλὸν ἀφαιρεῖ τὴν πίστιν ὁ φόβος· τὰ γὰρ αὐτὰ καὶ δεδιότες ψηφίζονται καὶ 5 φιλούντες. διὸπερ οἱ νοῦν ἔχοντες οὐκ εἰς ἀνδριάντας οὔδε γραφὰς οὔδε ἀποθεώσεις, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον εἰς τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὰς πράξεις τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἀποβλέποντες ἢ πιστεύοντες, ὡς τιμαῖς, ἢ ἀπίστοις, ὡς ἀναγκαίς· ὡς οἴ γε δήμοι πολλάκις ἐν αὐταῖς μάλιστα ταῖς τιμαῖς μισοῦσι τοὺς ἀμετρῶς καὶ ὑπερόγκως καὶ παρ’ ἀκόντων λαμβάνοντας.

XXXI. Ὅ γονὶ Δημήτριος τότε δεινὰ μὲν ἴσον χαράκτηρος πάσχειν, ἀδύνατος δὲ ὅν ἀμύνασθαι, προσέπεμψε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐγκαλῶν μετρίως, ἄξιον δὲ τὰς ναὸς ἀπολαβεῖν, ἐν αἷς ἦν καὶ ἦν τρισκαιδεκήρης. κομισάμενος δὲ παρέπλευσεν εἰς Ἰσθμόν, καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῷ κακῶς ἔχοντων (ἐξέτισεν γὰρ ἐκαταχόθεν αἰ φρουραὶ καὶ μεθύστατο πάντα πρὸς τοὺς πολέμοις) 2 ἀπολιπὼν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Πύρρον αὐτὸς ἀρας ἐπὶ τὴν Χερρόνησον ἐπέλευσε· καὶ κακῶς ἄμα ποιῶν Δυσίμαχον ὡφέλει καὶ συνείχε τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν δύναμιν, ἀρχομένην ἀναλαμβάνειν καὶ γίνεσθαι πάλιν οὖν εὐκαταφρόνητον. ὁ δὲ Δυσίμαχος ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων ἠμελεῖτο, μηδὲν
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And verily the least cogent proof, as it would seem, of a people’s goodwill towards a king or potentate is an extravagant bestowal of honours; for the beauty of such honours lies in the purpose of those who bestow them, and fear robs them of their worth (for the same decrees may be passed out of fear and out of affection). Therefore men of sense look first of all at their own acts and achievements, and then estimate the value of the statues, paintings, or deifications offered to them, putting faith in these as genuine honours, or refusing to do so on the ground that they are compulsory; since it is certainly true that a people will often, in the very act of conferring its honours, have most hatred for those who accept such honours immoderately, ostentatiously, and from unwilling givers.

XXXI. Be that as it may, in this case Demetrius thought himself grievously wronged; but since he was unable to avenge himself, he sent a message to the Athenians in which he mildly expostulated with them, and asked that his ships be given back to him, among which was also the one having thirteen banks of oars. These he obtained, and then coasted along to the Isthmus, where he found his affairs in a sorry state. For his garrisons were everywhere being expelled, and there was a general defection to his enemies. He therefore left Pyrrhus in charge of Greece, while he himself put to sea and sailed to the Chersonesus.¹ Here he ravaged the territory of Lysimachus, thereby enriching and holding together his own forces, which were beginning to recover their spirit and to show themselves formidable again. Nor did the other kings try to help Lysimachus;

¹ The Thracian Chersonesus, the modern Gallipoli.
3 Οὐ πολλῷ δὲ υστερον Σέλευκος ἐμνάτο πέμπτων τὴν Δημητρίου καὶ Φίλας θυγατέρα Στρατονίκην, ἐχων μὲν εὖ 'Απάμας τῆς Περσίδος νῦν Ἀντίοχον, οἰόμενος δὲ τὰ πράγματα καὶ διαδόχους ἁρκεῖν πλείοσι, καὶ δεῖσθαι τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνου οἰκείοτητος, ἐπεὶ καὶ Δυσίμαχον ἔωρα τῶν Πτολεμαίου θυγατέρων τὴν μὲν ἑαυτῷ, τὴν δὲ Ἁγα-κλαίει τῷ νῦν λαμβάνοντα. Δημητρίῳ δὲ ἡν ἀνέλπιστος εὐτυχία κηδεύσαι Σελεύκῳ, καὶ τὴν κόρην ἀναλαβὼν ἔπελε ταῖς ναυσὶ πάσαις εἰς Συρίαν, τῇ τε ἀλλή γη προσέχων ἀναγκαῖως καὶ τῆς Κιλκίας ἀπτόμενος, ἢν Πλεισταρχος ἐξήκε μετὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἀντίοχον μάχην ἐξαίρετον αὐτῷ δοθείαν ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλεῶν ἢν δὲ Κασάνδρου
5 Πλεισταρχος ἁδελφός. ἀδίκεισθαι δὲ τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ νομίζων ὑπὸ Δημητρίου κατὰ τὰς ἀποβασείς, καὶ μέμψασθαι βουλόμενος τὸν Σέλευκον ὅτι τῷ κοινῷ διαλλαττεῖται πολεμίω δίχα τῶν ἄλλων βασιλεῶν, ἀνέβη πρὸς αὐτόν.

XXXII. Αἰσθόμενοι δὲ τούτῳ Δημήτριος ὀρμήσαν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐπὶ Κυνίδων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων εὐρών ἐτὶ λοιπὰ χίλια καὶ διακόσια τάλαντα, ταῦτα συσκευασάμενος καὶ φθάσας ἐμβάλεσθαι διὰ ταχέων ἀνήκθη, καὶ παρούσης ἦδη Φίλας τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτῷ περὶ 'Ρωσσοῦ ἀπήν- 904

2 τησε Σέλευκος. καὶ τὴν ἐντευξιν εὐθὺς ἀδολον καὶ ἀνύποπτον καὶ βασιλικὴν ἐποιοῦντο, πρό-
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ey thought that he was no less objectionable than Demetrius, and that because he had more power he was even more to be feared.

Not long afterwards, however, Seleucus sent and asked the hand of Stratonice, the daughter of Demetrius and Phila, in marriage. He had already, by Apama the Persian, a son Antiochus; but he thought that his realms would suffice for more successors than one, and that he needed this alliance with Demetrius, since he saw that Lysimachus also was taking one of Ptolemy’s daughters for himself, and the other for Agathocles his son. Now, to Demetrius, a marriage alliance with Seleucus was an unexpected piece of good fortune. So he took his daughter and sailed with his whole fleet to Syria. He was obliged to touch at several places along the coast, and made landings in Cilicia, which country had been allotted by the kings to Pleistarchus, after their battle with Antigonus, and was now held by him. Pleistarchus was a brother of Cassander. He thought his territories outraged by these descents of Demetrius upon them, and besides, he wished to upbraid Seleucus for making an alliance with the common enemy independently of the other kings. So he went up to see him.

XXXII. On learning of this, Demetrius set out from the sea-coast for the city of Quinda; and finding twelve hundred talents of its treasure still left, he packed them up, got them safely on board ship, and put to sea with all speed. His wife Phila was already with him, and at Rhosus he was met by Seleucus. Their intercourse was at once put on a royal footing, and knew neither guile nor
τερον μὲν Σέλευκος ἐστιάσας ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ Δημήτριον, αὖθις δὲ Δημήτριος ἐκείνου ἐν τῇ τρισκαδεκήρει δεξάμενος. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ σχολαί καὶ κοινολογίαι καὶ συνδιημερεύσεις ἀφρούρων καὶ ἀνόπλων, ἀχρὶ οὐ Σέλευκος τὴν Στρατονίκην ἀναλαβὼν λαμπρῶς εἰς Ἀντίόχειαν ἀνέβη. Δημήτριος δὲ Κιλικίαν κατέσχε, καὶ Φίλαν τὴν γυναίκα πρὸς Κάσανδρον ἔπεμψε τὸν ἀδελφὸν, ἀπολυσομένην τὰς Πλευστάρχου κατηγορίας. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Δηιδάμεια πλεύσασα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐλλάδος καὶ συγγενομένη χρόνου ὑπὸ πολὺν ἔξι ἀρρωστίας τινὸς ἔτελεύτησε. γενομένης δὲ πρὸς Πτολεμαίον διὰ Σελεύκου φιλίας αὐτῷ, ὀμολογήθη Πτολεμαίδα τὴν Πτολεμαίου θυγατέρα λαβεῖν αὐτὸν γυναίκα.

4 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἀστεία τοῦ Σελεύκου. Κιλικίαν δὲ ἀξιῶν χρήματα λαβόντα παραδοῦναι Δημήτριον, ὡς οὐκ ἔπειθε, Σιδώνα καὶ Τύρον ἀπαίτῶν πρὸς ὅργῃν ἐδόκει δίαιοις ἐκεῖ καὶ δεινὰ ποιεῖν, εἰ τῇ ἄπτι Ἰνδῶν ἄχρι τῆς κατὰ Συρίαν θαλάσσης ἀπασάν ύφ’ αὐτῷ πεποιημένος οὗτος ἐνδεής ἐστιν ἔτη πραγμάτων καὶ πτωχὸς ὃς ὑπὲρ δυνέων πόλεων ἄνδρα κηδεστὶν καὶ μεταβολῆ

5 τύχῃς κεχρημένου ἐλαύνειν, λαμπρὰν τῷ Πλάτωνι μαρτύριαν διδοὺς διακελευομένω μὴ τὴν οὐσίαν πλείω, τὴν δὲ ἀπληστίαν ποιεῖν ἐλάσσω τὸν γε βουλόμενον ὡς ἀληθῶς εἶναι πλοῦσιν, ὡς ὁ γε μὴ παῦν φιλοπλουτίαν, οὕτος οὕτε πενίας οὕτε ἀπορίας ἀπῆλλακται.
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suspicion. First, Seleucus entertained Demetrius at his tent in the camp, then Demetrius in his turn received Seleucus on board the ship with thirteen banks of oars. There were also amusements, long conferences with one another and whole days spent together, all without guards or arms; until at length Seleucus took Stratonice and went up in great state to Antioch. But Demetrius took possession of Cilicia, and sent Phila his wife to Cassander, who was her brother, that she might bring to naught the denunciations of Pleistarchus. In the meantime, Deidameia came by sea from Greece to join Demetrius, and after being with him a short time, succumbed to some disease. Then, by the intervention of Seleucus, friendship was made between Demetrius and Ptolemy, and it was agreed that Demetrius should take to wife Ptolemaia the daughter of Ptolemy.

So far all was courtesy on the part of Seleucus. But presently he asked Demetrius to cede Cilicia to him for a sum of money, and when Demetrius would not consent, angrily demanded Tyre and Sidon from him. It seemed a violent and outrageous proceeding that one who had possessed himself of the whole domain from India to the Syrian sea should be so needy still and so beggarly in spirit as for the sake of two cities to harass a man who was his relative by marriage and had suffered a reverse of fortune. Moreover, he bore splendid testimony to the wisdom of Plato\(^1\) in urging the man who would be truly rich, not to make his possessions greater, but his inordinate desires fewer; since he who puts no end to his greed, this man is never rid of poverty and want.

\(^1\) The passage cannot be determined.
XXXIII. Οὐ μὴν ὑπέπτηξε Δημήτριος, ἀλλὰ φήσας οὐδ’ ἄν μυριάκις ἴττηθῇ μάχας ἄλλας ἐν Ἰψῳ γαμβρὸν ἀγαπήσειν ἐπὶ μισθῷ Σέλευκον, τάς μὲν πόλεις ἐκρατύνατο φρουραῖς, αὐτὸς δὲ πυθόμενος Δαχάρη στασίαζον Ἀθηναίους ἐπιθέμενον τυραννεῖν, ἦπιτιζε ῥαδίως ἐπιφανεῖς λήψεσθαι τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πέλαγος ἀσφαλῶς διεπεραίώθη μεγάλῳ στόλῳ, παρὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀττικὴν παραπλέων ἐχειμάσθη καὶ τὰς πλείστας ἀπέβαλε τῶν νεῶν, καὶ συνδιεφθάρει πλήθος ἀν-2 θρόπων οὐκ ὀλίγουν. αὐτὸς δὲ σωθεὶς ἤγατο μὲν τινὸς πολέμου πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὡς δ’ οὐδὲν ἐπέραινε, πέμψας ναυτικὸν ἀθηναῖον ἀθροίσοντας αὐτὸς εἰς Πελοπόννησον παρῆλθε καὶ Μεσσηνίην ἐπολιόρκει. καὶ προσμαχόμενος τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐκινδύνευσε, καταπελτικῷ βέλους εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ στόμα διὰ τῆς σιγάνοις
3 ἐμπεσόντος. ἀναληφθεὶς δὲ καὶ πόλεις τινὰς ἀφεστῶς προσαγαγόμενος πάλιν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐνέβαλε, καὶ κρατήσας Ἑλευσίνος καὶ Ῥαμνοῦντος ἐφθείρε τὴν χώραν, καὶ του τία λαβὼν ἔχουσαν σῖτον καὶ εἰσάγουσαν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐκρέμασα τὸν ἐμποροὺ καὶ τὸν κυβερνήτην, ὥστε τῶν ἄλλων ἀποτρεπομένων διὰ φόβον σύν-τονον λόμον ἐν ἄστει γενέσθαι, πρὸς δὲ τῷ λιμῷ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπορίαν. ἀλών γούν μέδιμνον ὕφοντο τετταράκοντα δραχμῶν, ὁ δὲ τῶν πυρῶν
4 μόδιος ὁνιοὶ ἦν τριακοσίων. μικρὰν δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀναπνοῆν παρέσχον ἐκατόν πεντή-80
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XXXIII. Demetrius, however, was not cowed, but declared that not even if he should lose ten thousand battles like that at Ipsus would he consent to pay for the privilege of having Seleucus as a son-in-law. Then he strengthened his cities with garrisons, while he himself, learning that Lachares had usurped sovereign power over the Athenians in consequence of their dissensions, thought to appear upon the scene and make an easy capture of the city. So he crossed the sea in safety with a great fleet, but as he was sailing along the coast of Attica he encountered a storm in which most of his ships were lost and a great number of men perished with them. He himself, however, escaped alive, and began a petty war against the Athenians. But since he could accomplish nothing, he sent men to collect another fleet for him, while he himself passed on into Peloponnesus and laid siege to Messene. Here, in an attack upon the walls, he came near losing his life; for a missile from a catapult struck him in the face and passed through his jaw into his mouth. But he recovered, and after restoring to their allegiance certain cities which had revolted from him, he invaded Attica again, got Eleusis and Rhamnus into his power, and ravaged the country. He also seized a ship laden with grain for Athens, and hung its supercargo and its master. All other ships were thus frightened into turning back, and famine became acute in the city, where, besides lack of food, there was dearth also of other things. At any rate, a bushel of salt sold there for forty drachmas, and a peck of wheat was worth three hundred. A slight respite was afforded the Athenians

1 In 297 B.C.
κοντά νήσε φανείσαι περὶ Αἰγιναν, ἂς ἐπεμψεν ἐπικούρος αὐτοῖς Πτολεμαίοις. εἶτα Δημητρίως πολλῶν μὲν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, πολλῶν δὲ ἀπὸ Κύπρου νεῶν παραγενομένων, ὡστε συμπάσας ἀθροισθῆναι τριακοσίας, ἐφυγον ἁραντες οἱ Πτολεμαίου, καὶ Δαχάρης ὁ τύραννος ἀπέδρα προέμενος τὴν πόλιν.

XXXIV. Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναίοι, καίπερ ψηφίσαμεν θάνατον εἰ μνησθεὶς τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ διαλλαγῆς πρὸς Δημήτριον, εὐθὺς ἄνεφγυνσαν τὰς ἐγγύς πόλεις καὶ πρέσβεις ἐπεμπτον, οὐδὲν μὲν ἀπ’ ἐκείνου χρηστον προσδοκώντες, ἐκβιαζομένης

2 δὲ τῆς ἀπορίας, ἐν ἂ δυσχερῶν πολλῶν συμπεσόντων λέγεται τι καὶ τοιοῦτον γενέσθαι πατέρα καὶ νῦν ἐν σικέματι καθέξεσθαι τὰ καθ’ ἑαυτοὺς ἀπεγεγοκότας, ἔκ δὲ τῆς ὀροφῆς μὲν νεκρὸν ἐκπρεσεῖν, τοὺς δὲ, ὃς εἶδον, ἀναπηδήσαντας ἀμφοτέρους διαμάχεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ. τὸτε καὶ τὸν φιλόσοφον Ἐπίκουρον ἱστορούσι διαθρέψαι τοὺς συνήθεις κυνόμους πρὸς ἄριθμον μετ’ αὐτῶν διανεμομένων.

3 Οὕτως οὖν τῆς πόλεως ἐχούσης εἰσελθὼν ὁ Δημήτριος, καὶ κελεύσας εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἄθροισθήναι πάντας, ὅπλως μὲν συνεφραξε τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ δορυφόρους τὸ λογεῖον περιέλαβεν, αὐτὸς δὲ καταβάς, ὅσπερ οἱ τραγῳδοί, διὰ τῶν ἄνω παρόδων, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκπεπληγμένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ λόγου πέρας ἐποίησατο τοῦ δέους

4 αὐτῶν. καὶ γὰρ τόνον φωνῆς καὶ ῥημάτων 82
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by the appearance off Aegina of a hundred and fifty ships which Ptolemy sent to assist them. Then numerous ships came to Demetrius from Peloponnesus, and many from Cyprus, so that his entire assemblage numbered three hundred, in consequence of which the ships of Ptolemy put off to sea in flight, and Lachares the tyrant abandoned the city and ran away.

XXXIV. Then the Athenians, although they had decreed death to anyone who should so much as mention peace and reconciliation with Demetrius, straightway threw open the nearest gates and sent ambassadors to him. They did not expect any kindly treatment from him, but were driven to the step by their destitution, in which, among many other grievous things, the following also is said to have occurred. A father and a son were sitting in a room and had abandoned all hope. Then a dead mouse fell from the ceiling, and the two, when they saw it, sprang up and fought with one another for it. At this time also, we are told, the philosopher Epicurus sustained the lives of his associates with beans, which he counted out and distributed among them.

Such, then, was the plight of the city when Demetrius made his entry and ordered all the people to assemble in the theatre. He fenced the stage-buildings round with armed men, and encompassed the stage itself with his body-guards, while he himself, like the tragic actors, came down into view through one of the upper side-entrances. The Athenians were more than ever frightened now; but with the first words that he uttered Demetrius put an end to their fears. For avoiding all harshness of tone and
πικρίας φεισάμενος, ἐλαφρώς δὲ καὶ φιλικῶς μεμψάμενος αὐτοὺς διηλλᾶσσετο, καὶ δέκα μνημάδας σιτου μεδίμνων ἐπέδωκε, καὶ κατέστησεν ἀρχάς αὐτῷ μάλιστα τῷ δήμῳ προσφιλεῖς ἦσαν. συνίδον δὲ Δραμοκλείδης ὁ ρήτωρ ὑπὸ χαρᾶς τοῦ δήμου ἐν τε φωναῖς ὅταν παύτοις παντοδαπαίς καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἐπάνους τῶν δημαγωγῶν ἁμιλλώμενον ὑπερβαλέσθαι, γνώμην ἔγραψε Δημητρίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Πειρατῶν παραδοθήματι καὶ τὴν Μουνυχίαν. ἐπιψηφισθέντων δὲ τούτων ὁ Δημήτριος αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἐαυτοῦ προσενέβαλε φρονήματα εἰς τὸ Μουσείον, ὡς μὴ πάλιν ἀναχαίτισαντα τὸν δήμου ἀσχολίας αὐτῷ πραγμάτων ἐτέρων παρασχείν.

XXXV. Ἐξομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν εὔθυς ἐπεβοῦλε τῇ Δακεδαίμονι. καὶ περὶ Μαντίνειαν Ἀρχιδάμου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπαντήσαντος αὐτῷ νικήσας μάχη καὶ τρεψάμενος εἰς τὴν Δακωνικήν ἐνέβαλε. καὶ πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ Σπάρτῃ πάλιν ἐκ παρατάξεως ἐλῶν πεντακοσίους καὶ διαφθείρας διακοσίους, ὡς οὖν οὕτω τὴν πόλιν ἔχειν ἐδόκει

2 μέχρι τῶν χρόνων ἐκείνων ἀνάλογων οὖσαν. ἀλλ' ἡ τύχη περὶ οὖδένα τῶν βασιλέων ἐδοκεῖν οὕτω τροπάς λαβεῖν μεγάλας καὶ ταχείας, οὐδ' ἐν ἕτεροις πράγμασί τοισακόσι ημέρας καὶ πάλιν μεγάλη καὶ ταπεινὴ μὲν ἐκ λαμπρᾶς, ἴσχυρὰ δὲ αὐθεντικήν ἐκ φαύλης γενόμενα. διὸ καὶ πασίν αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς χείροις μεταβολαῖς πρὸς τὴν τύχην ἀναφεύγεσθαι τὸ Αἰσχύλειον

σὺ τοίς με φυσάς, σὺ με καταίθειν μοι 1 δοκεῖς.

1 μοι δοκεῖς Ziegler, with some MSS.: δοκεῖς.

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bitterness of speech, he merely chided them lightly and in a friendly manner, and then declared himself reconciled, gave them besides a hundred thousand bushels of grain, and established the magistrates who were most acceptable to the people. So Dromocleides the orator, seeing that the people, in their joy, were shouting all sorts of proposals, and were eager to outdo the customary eulogies of the public speakers on the bema, brought in a motion that Piraeus and Munychia should be handed over to Demetrius the king. This was voted, and Demetrius on his own account put a garrison into the Museium also, that the people might not again shake off the yoke and give him further trouble.

XXXV. And now that he was in possession of Athens, he at once laid plans against Sparta. Near Mantineia, where Archidamus the king confronted him, he conquered and routed his foe, and then invaded Laconia. And after he had fought a second pitched battle hard by Sparta itself, where he captured five hundred men and slew two hundred, it was thought that he as good as had the city in his power, although up to this time it had never been taken. But with none of the kings does Fortune appear to have taken so great and sudden turns, and in the career of no other did she so many times show herself now small and now great, now resplendent and now abased, now insignificant and now all powerful. For this reason, too, we are told that in his worst reverses Demetrius would apostrophise Fortune in the words of Aeschylus:—

"My flame thou fannest, indeed, and thou seemest to quench me, too." 2

1 A hill S.W. of the Acropolis.
3 Καὶ γὰρ τὸτε τῶν πραγμάτων οὕτως εὐπόρων αὐτῷ πρὸς ἁρχῆν καὶ δύναμιν ἐπιδιδόντων ἀγγέλλειται Δυσίμαχος μὲν πρῶτος ἀφηρημένος αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις, Κύπρον δὲ Πτολεμαίος ἡρῴκως ἀνευ μᾶς πόλεως Σαλαμῖνος, ἐν δὲ Σαλαμῖνι πολιορκῶν τοὺς παίδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα κατειλημμένους. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ ἡ τύχη, καθάπερ ἡ παρ’ Ἀρχελόχῳ γυνὴ τῇ μὲν ὕδωρ ἐφορεῖ δολοφρονεύονσα χειρὶ, τῇ δὲ ἔτερῃ πῦρ, δεινοὶ αὐτὸν οὐτω καὶ φοβεροὶ ἀγγέλμασιν ἀποστήσασα τῆς Δακεδαίμονος, εὐθὺς ἔτερας πραγμάτων καινών καὶ μεγάλων ἐπήνευκεν ἐπίθεται ἔκ τοιαύτης αἰτίας.

XXXVI. Ἐπεὶ Κασάνδρου τελευτήσαντος ὁ πρεσβύτατος αὐτοῦ τῶν παίδων Φίλιππος οὐ πολὺν χρόνον βασιλεύσας Μακεδόνων ἀπέθανεν, οἱ λοιποὶ δύο πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἑστασίαζον, θατέρου δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀντιπάτρου τὴν μητέρα Θεσσαλονίκην φονεύσαντος, ἀτεροὺς ἐκάλει βοηθοὺς εἴ μὲν Ἡπείρου Πύρρου, εἴ δὲ Πελοποννήσου Δη-2 μήτρων. ἐφθασε δὲ Πύρρος ἑλθὼν, καὶ πολὺ μέρος Μακεδονίας ἀποτελομέμενος τῆς βοηθείας μεθὼν φοβερὸς μὲν ἢ ἡδοναρίκοις Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, Δημητρίου δὲ, ὅς ἐδέξατο τὰ γράμματα, μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως προσιόντος, ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁ νεανίας τούτων φοβηθεῖς διὰ τὸ ἄξιωμα καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ περὶ Δίων, ἀσπαζόμενος μὲν καὶ φιλοφρονούμενος, οὐδὲν δὲ φάσκων ἐτὶ τῆς ἑκείνου δείσας τὰ πράγματα παρουσίας.

3 ἦσαν οὖν ἐκ τούτων ὑποψίαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους αὐ-τοῖς, καὶ βαδίζοντε Δημητρίῳ πρὸς δεῖπνον ὡς τὸν νεανίσκον παρακεκλημένον μηνύει τις ἐπι-86
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And so at this time, when events so generously favoured the increase of his dominion and power, word was brought to him, first, that Lysimachus had deprived him of his cities in Asia, and next, that Ptolemy had taken Cyprus, with the exception of the single city of Salamis, and had shut up in Salamis under siege his children and his mother. However, even Fortune, who, like the woman in Archilochus, "in one deceitful hand bore water, and in the other fire,"¹ while by tidings so dreadful and terrifying she drew him away from Sparta, at once inspired him with other hopes of new and great achievements, and on this wise.

XXXVI. After Cassander's death, the eldest of his sons, Philip, reigned for a short time over the Macedonians and then died, and the two remaining brothers quarrelled with one another over the succession. One of them, Antipater, murdered his mother, Thessalonice, and the other, Alexander, summoned to his help Pyrrhus from Epeirus, and Demetrius from Peloponnesus. Pyrrhus was first to answer the summons, and after cutting off a large part of Macedonia as a reward for his assistance, was already a neighbour whom Alexander feared. But Demetrius, who, when he received Alexander's letters, had set out with his forces to join him, inspired the young man with still more fear because of his high position and reputation, and he therefore met Demetrius at Dium, and gave him a friendly welcome, but declared that the situation no longer demanded his presence. Owing to these circumstances, then, the men were suspicious of one another, and besides, as Demetrius was on his way to supper at the young man's invi-

¹ Fragment 93 (Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graeci, ii. 4 p. 410).
βουλήν, ὡς ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πότῳ μελλόντων αὐτοῦ ἀνελείν. ὁ δὲ μηδὲν διαταραχθεῖς, ἀλλὰ μικρὸν ὑφεῖς τῆς πορείας, ἐκέλευσε τούς μὲν ἡγεμόνας ἐν τοῖς ὁπλοῖς τὴν στρατιὰν ἔχειν, ἀκολούθους δὲ καὶ παίδας, ὅσοι περὶ αὐτοῦ ᾤσαν (῾ᾲσαν δὲ πολὺ πλείους τῶν Ἀλέξανδρου), συνεισέλθειν εἰς τὸν ἄνδρον καὶ παραμένειν ἄχρι ἄν ἔξαναστῇ. τούτῳ δεῖσαντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὅπε ἐτόλμησαν ἐπιχειρῆσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν Δημήτριος ὅπως ἔχειν αὐτῷ τὸ σῶμα ποτικῶς σκηψάμενος διὰ ταχέων ἀπῆλθε· τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ περὶ ἀναζωγῇν εἰχε, πράγματα νεώτερα προσπεπτωκέναι φάμενος αὐτῷ, καὶ παρητεῖτο συγγνώμην ἔχειν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, εἰ τάχιον ἀπαίρει· συνέσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτῷ µᾶλλον ἄλλοτε σχολάζων. ἔχαιρεν οὖν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ὡς οὐ πρὸς ἔχθραν, ἀλλὰ ἐκουσίως ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπαίροντος αὐτοῦ, καὶ προέπεμπεν ἄχρι Θετταλίας. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς Δάρισσαν ἢκον, αὕτης ἄλλης ἐπήγγελλον ἐστιάσεις αὐτεπιβουλεύοντες· ὃ δὴ μάλιστα τῶν Ἀλέξανδρον ὑποχείριον ἐποίησε τῷ Δημήτριῳ. φυλάττεσθαι γὰρ ὅκνῳ, ὡς μὴ κάκειν ἀντιφυλάττεσθαι διδάξῃ, παθὼν ἐφθασε (ὅραν μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ μὴ διαφυγεὶν εἴκειν) ὁ ἐμηχανάτο. κληθεῖς γὰρ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἦλθε πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον. ὡς δὲ ἐκείνος ἔξανέστη μετάξυ δειπνῶν, φοβηθεὶς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος συνεξανέστη καὶ κατὰ πόδας αὐτῷ.
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tation, some one told him of a plot to kill him in the very midst of the drinking. Demetrius was not at all disturbed, but delayed his coming a little, and ordered his officers to have their troops under arms, and all the attendants and servants in his train (and they were far more numerous than the retinue of Alexander) to go with him into the banqueting-hall and to remain there until he rose from the table. This frightened Alexander, and he did not venture to attempt anything. Demetrius also made the excuse that he was not in condition to take wine, and went away very soon. On the following day he busied himself with preparations for departure, telling Alexander that unexpected troubles had arisen, which demanded his attention, asking his pardon for leaving so quickly, and assuring him that he would pay him a longer visit at another time when his affairs permitted it. Alexander was therefore well pleased, convinced that Demetrius was leaving his territories, not in hostility, but of his own free will, and escorted him on his way as far as Thessaly. But when they came to Larissa, once more invitations to entertainments passed between them, and each plotted against the life of the other. This, more than anything else, put Alexander into the power of Demetrius. For he hesitated to take measures of precaution, that he might not thereby teach Demetrius also to take counter-measures, and he was forestalled by meeting the doom he was himself devising (since he delayed measures to prevent the other from escaping out of his hands).¹ And so, when Demetrius rose up from table before supper was over, Alexander, filled with fear, rose up also and followed close upon his heels

¹ The Greek of the parenthesis is hopelessly corrupt.
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6 πρὸς τὰς θύρας συνηκολούθει. γενόμενος οὖν ὁ Δημήτριος πρὸς ταῖς θύραις κατὰ τοὺς ἐαυτοῦ δορυφόρους καὶ τούτο μόνον εἶπόν; "Κόπτε τὸν ἐπόμενον," αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπεξήλθεν, ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ὑπ’ ἐκείνων κατεκόπτη καὶ τῶν φίλων οἱ προσβοηθοῦντες, ὃν ἦνα λέγουσι σφαττόμενον εἰπείν ὡς ἡμέρα μᾶ φθάσειν αὐτοὺς ὁ Δημήτριος.

XXXVII. Ἡ μὲν οὖν νῦς οἶον εἰκὸς θόρυβον ἔσχεν. ἀμα δὲ ἡμέρα ταραττομένως τοῖς Μακεδονίς καὶ φοβουμένως τὴν τοῦ Δημήτριον δύναμιν, ὡς ἐπήει μὲν οὐδεὶς φοβερός, ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος ἐπεμπτε βουλόμενος ἐντυχεὶν καὶ περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπολογηθασθαί, θαρρεῖν παρέστη 2 καὶ δέχεσθαι φιλανθρώπως αὐτὸν. ὡς δὲ ἠλθεν, οὐ μακρῶν ἐδέσθην αὐτῷ λόγων, ἀλλὰ τῷ μισεῖν μὲν τὸν Ἀντίπατρον, φονεά μητρὸς ὄντα, βελτίων δὲ ἀπορεῖν, ἐκείνων ἀνηγόρευσαν βασιλέα Μακεδόνως, καὶ παραλαβόντες εὐθὺς κατήγον εἰς Μακεδονίαν. ἴνα δὲ καὶ τὸς οἶκος Μακεδόσιν ὡς ἀκούσης ἡ μεταβολή, μεμνημένοις ἀεὶ καὶ μισοῦσιν ἄνθρωπον τεθνηκότα 3 παρηνύμησεν. εἰ δὲ τις ἐτὶ μνήμη τῆς Ἀντίπατρος τοῦ παλαιοῦ μετριότητος ὑπελείπετο, καὶ ταῦταν Δημήτριος ἐκαρποῦσος Φίλα συνοικῶν καὶ τὸν ἔξ ἐκείνης νῦν ἔχων διάδοχου τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἠδη τὸτε μειράκιον ὄντα καὶ τῷ πατρὶ συστρατευόμενον.
towards the door. Demetrius, then, on reaching the door where his own body-guards stood, said merely, "Smite any one who follows me," and quietly went out himself; but Alexander was cut down by the guards, together with those of his friends who came to his aid. One of these, we are told, as he was smitten, said that Demetrius had got one day's start of them.

XXXVII. That night, then, naturally, was full of tumult. But with the day the Macedonians, who were in confusion and afraid of the forces of Demetrius, found that no enemy came against them, but that Demetrius sent to them a request for an interview and for an opportunity to explain what had been done. They therefore took heart and promised to receive him in a friendly spirit. When he came to them, there was no need of his making long speeches, but owing to their hatred of Antipater, who was a matricide, and to their lack of a better man, they proclaimed Demetrius king of the Macedonians, and at once went down with him into Macedonia.\(^1\) Furthermore, to the Macedonians at home the change was not unwelcome, for they ever remembered with hatred the crimes which Cassander had committed against the posterity of Alexander the Great. And if there still remained any kindly memories of the elder Antipater's moderation and justice, of these also Demetrius reaped the benefit, since he was the husband of Phila, Antipater's daughter, and had a son by her to be his successor in the realm, a son who was already quite a youth, and was serving in the army under his father.

\(^1\) In 294 B.C.
XXXVIII. Οὔτω δὲ λαμπρῷ κεχρημένοις εὐ-
tυχίᾳ πυθαύνεται μὲν περὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ τῆς
μητρὸς ὡς μεθεύναι, δῶρα καὶ τιμᾶς Πτολεμαίου
προσθέντος αὐτῶς, πυθαύνεται δὲ περὶ τῆς
Σελεύκου γαμηθείσης θυγατρὸς. ὡς Ἀντίοχος τῷ
Σελεύκου συνοικεῖ καὶ βασίλειον τῶν ἀνώ βαρ-

2 βάρων ἀνηγόρευται. συνεβη γὰρ, ὡς ἤσυχε, τὸν
Ἁντίοχον ἐρασθέντα τῆς Στρατονίκης νέας οὐσίας, 907
ηδὴ δὲ παιδίον ἱχούσης ἐκ τοῦ Σελεύκου, διακεί-
θαι κακῶς καὶ πολλὰ ποιεῖν τῷ πάθει διαμαχό-
μενον, τέλος δὲ ἐαυτοῦ καταγιόντα δεινῶν μὲν
ἐπιθυμεῖν, ἀνήκεστα δὲ νοσεῖν, κεκρατήσθαι δὲ
τῷ λογισμῷ, τρόπον ἀπαλλαγῆς τοῦ βίου ζητεῖν
καὶ παραλύειν ἀτρέμα καὶ θεραπείας ἀμελεῖα
καὶ τροφῆς ἀποχῆ τὸ σῶμα, νοσεῖν τινὰ νόσον
3 σκηπτόμενον. Ἐρασίστρατον δὲ τὸν ἵατρόν αἰ-
θέσθαι μὲν οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐρώτος αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ
οὕτως ἔρα δυστόπαστον ὡς ἔξανευρεῖν βουλό-
μενον ἀεὶ μὲν ἐν τῷ δωματίῳ διημερεύειν, εἰ δὲ
τις εἰσίοι τῶν ἐν ὅρα μειρακίων ἡ γυναικών,
ἔγκαθορᾶν τε τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ Ἀντίοχου καὶ τὰ
συμπάσχειν μάλιστα τῇ ψυχῇ τρεπομένην πεφυ-
κότα μέρη καὶ κινήματα τοῦ σώματος ἐπισκοπεῖν.
4 ὡς οὖν τῶν μὲν ἄλλων εἰσιόντων ὁμοίως εἰχε, τῆς
dὲ Στρατονίκης καὶ καθ’ ἐαυτὴν καὶ μετὰ τοῦ
Σελεύκου φοιτώσης πολλάκις ἐγίνετο τὰ τῆς
Σαπφοῦς ἐκεῖνα περὶ αὐτοῦ πάντα, φωνῆς ἐπί-
σχεσις, ἐρύθημα πυρᾶδες, ὦφεων ὕπολείψεις,
XXXVIII. While Demetrius was enjoying a good fortune so illustrious as this, he had tidings concerning his children and his mother, namely, that they had been set free, and that Ptolemy had given them gifts and honours besides; he had tidings also concerning his daughter who was wedded to Seleucus, namely, that she was now the wife of Antiochus the son of Seleucus, and had the title of Queen of Upper Asia. For it came to pass, as it would seem, that Antiochus fell in love with Stratonice, who was young, and was already mother of a little boy by Seleucus. Antiochus was distressed, and resorted to many means of fighting down his passion, but at last, condemning himself for his inordinate desires, for his incurable malady, and for the subjugation of his reason, he determined to seek a way of escape from life, and to destroy himself gradually by neglecting his person and abstaining from food, under pretence of having some disease. But Erasistratus, his physician, perceived quite easily that he was in love, and wishing to discover who was the object of his passion (a matter not so easy to decide), he would spend day after day in the young man’s chamber, and if any of the beauties of the court came in, male or female, he would study the countenance of Antiochus, and watch those parts and movements of his person which nature has made to sympathize most with the inclinations of the soul. Accordingly, when any one else came in, Antiochus showed no change; but whenever Stratonice came to see him, as she often did, either alone, or with Seleucus, lo, those tell-tale signs of which Sappho sings\(^1\) were all there in him,—stammering speech, fiery flushes, darkened vision,

\(^1\) Fragment 2 (Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graeci*, iii.\(^4\) pp. 88 ff.).
6 ἀδύνατος καὶ ἀνίατος. ἐκπλαγέντος δὲ ἐκείνῳ καὶ πυθομένου πῶς ἀνίατος, "Ὅτι νη Δία," φάναι τὸν Ἐρασίστρατον, "ἐρᾷ τῆς ἐμῆς γυναικός." "Εἴτε οὐκ ἂν," εἶπεν τὸν Σέλευκον, "ἐπιδοϑῆς, Ἐρασίστρατε, τῷ ἐμῷ παιδὶ φίλος ὅν τὸν γὰμβον, καὶ ταῦτα ὠρῶν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τοῦτο μόνῳ σαλέυοντας;" "Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν σὺ," φάναι, "τούτῳ πατήρ ὃν ἐποίησας, εἰ Στραταύκης Ἀντίοχος ἐπεθύμησε." καὶ τὸν Σέλευκον "Εἴθε γὰρ, ἔταϊρε," εἶπεν, "ταχὺ μεταστρέψαι τις ἐπὶ ταῦτα καὶ μεταβάλοι θεῶν ἡ ἄνθρωπον τὸ πάθος· ὃς ἔμοι καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀφεῖναι καὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον περιεχομένῳ," ταῦτα ἐμπαθῶς σφόδρα τοῦ Σελεύκου μετὰ πολλῶν δακρύων λέγοντος, ἐμβαλόντα τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἐρασίστρατον εἰπεῖν ὡς οὔδεν Ἐρασίστρατος δεύτερο διὰ τὸ γὰρ πατήρ καὶ ἀνήρ ὃν καὶ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς ἢ μα καὶ ιατρὸς εἰς τῆς οἰκίας ἀριστος. ἐκ τούτου τὸν Σέλευκον ἐκκλησίαν ἀθροίσαντα πάνθημον εἰπεῖν ὅτι βούλεται καὶ διέγρωκε τῶν ἄνω πάντων, τόπων Ἀντίοχον ὑποδείξει βασιλεία καὶ

1 ἱττεμένης Ziegler, with two MSS.: ἱττωμένης.
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sudden sweats, irregular palpitations of the heart, and finally, as his soul was taken by storm, helplessness, stupor, and pallor. And besides all this, Erasistratus reasoned further that in all probability the king's son, had he loved any other woman, would not have persisted to the death in refusing to speak about it. He thought it a difficult matter to explain the case fully to Seleucus, but nevertheless, relying on the father's kindly feelings towards his son, he took the risk one day, and told him that love was the young man's trouble, a love that could neither be satisfied nor cured. The king was amazed, and asked why his son's love could not be satisfied. "Because, indeed," said Erasistratus, "he is in love with my wife." "Then canst thou not, O Erasistratus," said Seleucus, "since thou art my son's friend, give him thy wife in addition to thy friendship, especially when thou seest that he is the only anchor of our storm-tossed house?" "Thou art his father," said Erasistratus, "and yet thou wouldst not have done so if Antiochus had set his affections on Stratonicé." "My friend," said Seleucus, "would that someone in heaven or on earth might speedily convert and turn his passion in this direction; since I would gladly let my kingdom also go, if I might keep Antiochus." So spake Seleucus with deep emotion and many tears, whereupon Erasistratus clasped him by the hand and told him he had no need of Erasistratus; for as father, husband, and king, he was himself at the same time the best physician also for his household. Consequently Seleucus called an assembly of the entire people and declared it to be his wish and purpose to make Antiochus king of all Upper Asia, and Stratonicé his queen,
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΛΙΒΗΣ

Στρατονικήν βασιλίδα, ἀλλήλως συνοικοῦντας· οἴεσθαι δὲ τῶν μὲν νῦν εἰδοσμένον ἀπαντα πείθεσθαι καὶ κατήκουν ὅτα μηθέν ἀντερεῖν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν γάμον· εἰ δ’ ἡ γυνὴ τῷ μὴ νεομισμένῳ δυσκολαίνοι, παρακαλεῖν τοὺς φίλους ὅπως διδάσκωσιν αὐτὴν καὶ πείθωσι καλὰ καὶ δίκαια τὰ δοκοῦντα βασιλεῖ μετὰ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἦγεῖσθαι. τὸν μὲν οὖν Ἀντιόχου καὶ Στρατονίκης γάμον ἐκ τοιαύτης γενέσθαι προφάσεως λέγοντι.

XXXIX. Δημήτριος δὲ μετὰ Μακεδονίαν καὶ Θεταλίαν ἢν παρειληφϑώς. ἔχων δὲ καὶ Πελοποννήσου τὰ πλείστα καὶ τῶν ἔκτος Ἰσθμοῦ Μέγαρα καὶ Ἀθῆνας ἐπὶ Βοιωτῶν ἐστράτευσε. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐγένοντο συμβάσεις μέτριαι περὶ φιλίας πρὸς αὐτῶν· ἐπειτὰ Κλεωνύμου τοῦ Σπαρτιάτου παραβαλόντος εἰς Θῆβας μετὰ στρατιάς, ἑπαρθέντες οἱ Βοιωτοί, καὶ Πίσιδος ἀμα τοῦ Θεσπιέως, δὲ ἐπρώτευε δόξῃ καὶ δυνάμει τότε, 2 συμπαρορμώντος αὐτοῦς, ἀπέστησαν. ὡς δὲ ταῖς Θῆβαις ἔπαγαγὼν τὰς μηχανὰς ὁ Δημήτριος ἐπολυόρκει καὶ φοβηθεῖς ὑπεξῆλθεν ὁ Κλεονύμος, καταπλαγέντες οἱ Βοιωτοί παρέδωκαν ἔαυτοὺς. ὁ δὲ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐμβαλὼν φρουράν καὶ πραξάμενος πολλὰ χρῆματα, καὶ καταληφὼν αὐτοὺς ἐπιμελητὴν καὶ ἀρμοστὴν Ἰερώνυμον τὸν ἱστορικόν, ἐδοξεὶ ἡπίως κεχρῆσθαι, καὶ μάλιστα διὰ Πίσιν. ἐλών γὰρ αὐτῶν οὐδὲν κακὸν ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσαγορεύσας καὶ φιλοφρονηθεὶς 96
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the two being husband and wife; he also declared it
to be his opinion that his son, accustomed as he was
to be submissive and obedient in all things, would
not oppose his father in this marriage; and that if
his wife were reluctant to take this extraordinary
step, he called upon his friends to teach and persuade
her to regard as just and honourable whatever
seemed good to the king and conducive to the
general welfare. On this wise, then, we are told,
Antiochus and Stratonicé became husband and
wife.

XXXIX. As for Demetrius, after Macedonia he
became master of Thessaly also. And now that he
had most of Peloponnesus, and, on this side the
Isthmus, Megara and Athens, he turned his arms
against the Boeotians. These at first made friendly
agreements with him on reasonable terms; after-
wards, however, when Cleonymus the Spartan made
his way into Thebes with an army, the Boeotians
were lifted up in spirit, and since at the same time
Pisis of Thespiae, who was their leading man at this
time in reputation and influence, added his in-
stigations to the step, they revolted. But when
Demetrius brought up his engines-of-war against
Thebes and laid siege to the city, Cleonymus took
fright and stole away, and the Boeotians, in terror,
surrendered.1 Demetrius put garrisons in their
cities, exacted large sums of money from them, and
left as their overseer and governor Hieronymus
the historian, thereby getting a reputation for
clemency, and particularly by his treatment of Pisis.
For after capturing him Demetrius did him no harm,
but actually greeted him, showed him kindness, and

1 In 283 B.C.
3 πολέμαρχον ἐν Θεσσαλίας ἀπέδειξεν. οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὑστερον ἀλίσκεται Δυσίμαχος ὑπὸ Δρομικαίτου καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο Δημητρίου κατὰ τάχος ἐξορμήσαντος ἦτο Θράκην, ἀσπερ ἔρημα 1 καταιληψομένου, πάλιν ἀπέστησαν οἱ Βοιωτοὶ, καὶ Δυσίμαχος ἀμα διεμένος ἀπηγγέλλετο. ταχέως οὖν καὶ πρὸς ὄργῃ ἀναστρέψας ὁ Δημήτριος εὗρεν ἦττημένου ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀντιγόνου μάχη τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς, καὶ τὰς Θῆβας αὐτὶς ἐπολείρκει.

XL. Πύρρου δὲ Θεσσαλίαν κατατρέχοντος καὶ μέχρι Θερμοπυλῶν παραβανέντος, Ἀντίγονον ἐπὶ τῆς πολιορκίας ἀπολιπὼν αὐτὸς ὁμηρεῖν ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνων. ὃς δὲ φυγόντος, ἐν Θεσσαλία καταστήσασις μυρίους ὀπλίτας καὶ χιλίους ἱππεῖς, αὐτὸς ἐνέκειτο ταῖς Θῆβαις καὶ προσήγε τὴν λεγομένην ἐλέπολιν, πολυτόνως καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπὸ βρίθους καὶ μεγέθους μοχλευμένην, ὡς μόλις 2 ἐν δυσὶ μησὶ δύο σταδίους προελθεῖν. τῶν δὲ Βοιωτῶν ἐρρωμένως ἀμυνομένως καὶ τοῦ Δημητρίου πολλάκις φιλονεικίας ἔνεκα μᾶλλον ἦ χρείας μάχεσθαι καὶ κινδυνεύειν τοὺς στρατιῶτας ἀναγκάζοντος, ὥραν ὁ Ἀντίγονος πίπτοντας οὐκ ὁλίγους καὶ περιπαθῶν, "Τί, ὦ πάτερ," ἐφη, "παραναλισκομένους οὐκ ἀναγκαίως τούτων περιορώμεν;" ἦ δὲ παροξυνθείς, "Σὺ δὲ," ἐφη, "τί δυσχεραίνεις; ἣ διάμετρον ὕφειλες τοῖς 3 ἀποθνησκούσιν;" οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ βουλόμενος γε μὴ δοκεῖν ἑτέρων ἀφειδεῖν μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ

1 ἔρημα Bekker adopts Reiske’s correction to ἔρημα (treasure-trove).
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appointed him polemarch in Thespiae. Not long afterwards, however, Lysimachus was taken prisoner by Dromichaetes, and in view of this Demetrius set out with all speed for Thrace, thinking to occupy a region destitute of defenders. Thereupon the Boeotians revolted again, and at the same time word was brought that Lysimachus had been set free. Quickly, therefore, and in wrath, Demetrius turned back, and finding that the Boeotians had been defeated in battle by his son Antigonus, once more laid siege to Thebes.

XL. But Pyrrhus now overran Thessaly and was seen as far south as Thermopylae; Demetrius therefore left Antigonus to conduct the siege of Thebes, and himself set out against this new foe. Pyrrhus, however, made a swift retreat, whereupon Demetrius stationed ten thousand men-at-arms and a thousand horsemen in Thessaly and once more devoted himself to Thebes. Here he brought up against the city his famous City-taker,¹ but this was so laboriously and slowly propelled, owing to its weight and great size, that in the space of two months it hardly advanced two furlongs. Besides, the Boeotians made a stout resistance, and Demetrius many times, out of contumacy rather than from need, forced his soldiers to risk their lives in battle. Antigonus saw that they were falling in great numbers, and in great concern said: “Why, my father, should we suffer these lives to be squandered without any necessity for it?” But Demetrius was incensed, and said: “Why, pray, art thou disturbed at this? Are rations due from thee to the dead?” However, wishing not to be thought reckless of other lives

¹ Cf. chapter xxi. 1.
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συγκινδυνεύειν τοῖς μαχομένους, διελαύνεται τὸν τράχηλον ὀξυβελεῖ. καὶ δεινῶς μὲν ἔσχεν, οὐ μὴν ἄνηκεν, ἀλλὰ εἶλε τὰς Ὑβάς πάλιν. καὶ παρελθὼν ἀνάτασιν μὲν καὶ φόβον ὡς τὰ δεινότατα πεισομένους παρέσχεν, ἀνελῶν δὲ τρισκαίδεκα καὶ μεταστήσας τινας ἀφῆκε τοὺς ἄλλους. 4 ταῖς μὲν οὖν Ὑβαῖσι οὐπώ δέκατον οἰκουμέναις ἔτος ἀλῶναι δις ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ συνέπεσε.

Τῶν δὲ Πυθίων καθηκόντων πράγμα καινότατον ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτῷ ποιεῖν ὁ Δημήτριος. ἐπεὶ γὰρ Αἴτωλοι τὰ περὶ Δελφοὺς στενὰ κατείχον, ἐν Ὑβήναις αὐτὸς ἤγε τὸν ἄγωνα καὶ τὴν πανήγυριν, ὡς δὴ προσήκον αὐτῷ μᾶλιστα τιμᾶσθαι τὸν θεόν, διὸ και πατριφὸς ἐστὶ καὶ λέγεται τοῦ γένους ἀρχηγὸς.

XLI. Ἐνετεύθεν ἐπανελθὼν εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ μήτε αὐτὸς ἄγειν ἱσυχίαν πεφυκὼς τοὺς τε ἄλλους ὅρων ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις μᾶλλον αὐτῷ προσέχοντας, οὐκοι δὲ ταραχόδεις καὶ πολυπράγμονας ὄντας, ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Αἴτωλοὺς καὶ τὴν χώραν κακώσας καὶ Πάνταυχον ἐν αὐτῇ μέρος ἔχοντα τῆς δυνάμεως οὐκ ὅλην οἰκολογοῦν ἐπὶ Πύρρον αὐτὸς ἔχωρει καὶ Πύρρος ἐπὶ ἔκεινον.

2 ἀλλὰ γὰρ δὲ διαμαρτότοντες, οὔ μὲν ἐπορθεῖ τὴν Ἡπειρον, ὡς δὲ Πάνταυχος περιπετεσθῶν καὶ μάχην συνάψας αὐτὸν μὲν ἀχρί τοῦ δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν

1 In 290 B.C. The siege lasted nearly a year.
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only, but also to share the perils of battle, he was pierced through the neck by a catapult-bolt. And yet, sore wounded as he was, he did not give up, but took Thebes again.\(^1\) His entry into the city filled the citizens with acute fear; they thought they were to suffer the most dreadful punishments; but he put to death only thirteen of them, banished a few, and pardoned the rest. And so it was the fate of Thebes, which had been occupied less than ten years,\(^2\) to be captured twice during this time.

Furthermore, the time for the Pythian games being now at hand, Demetrius ventured upon a most unheard of proceeding. Since, namely, the Aetolian's occupied the passes about Delphi, he conducted the games and the festival in person at Athens, declaring it to be especially fitting that Apollo should be honoured there, since he was a patron deity of the Athenians and was said to have been the founder of their race.

XLI. From Athens Demetrius returned to Macedonia, and since he was himself not prone by nature to keep quiet, and since he saw that his followers were more devoted to him when they were on a campaign, but at home were turbulent and meddlesome, he made an expedition against the Aetolians. After ravaging the country, he left Pantauchus there with a large part of his forces, while he himself moved against Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus also moved against him, but they missed one another on the march. Demetrius therefore plundered Epeirus, but Pyrrhus fell upon Pantauchus, and after a battle in which the two commanders came to close quarters and

\(^2\) Cassander began the restoration of the city (after its utter annihilation by Alexander in 335 B.C.) in 315 B.C.
πληγήν ἐν χερσὶ μετομενον ἔτρέψατο, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐξώγρησε δὲ 3 πεντακισχιλίους. καὶ τούτο μάλιστα Δημήτριον ἐκάκωσεν οὐ γὰρ οὕτω μισηθείς ὁ Πῦρρος ἀφ’ ὧν ἔπραξεν ὑπὸ θαυμασθείς διὰ τὸ πλείστα τῇ χειρὶ κατεσφάσασθαι, μέγα τε καὶ λαμπρὸν ἔσχεν ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἐκείνης ὁμορα παρὰ τοῖς Μακεδόνις καὶ πολλοίς ἑπὶ εἰς ἤλησιν τῶν Μακε- δόνων ἡς ἐν μόνῳ τούτῳ τῶν βασιλέων εἰδὼλον ἐνορθότο τῆς Ἀλέξανδρου τόλμης, οἳ δὲ ἄλλοι, καὶ μάλιστα Δημήτριος, ὡς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς τὸ βάρος ὑποκρίνοντο καὶ τὸν ὄγκον τοῦ ἀνθρός. ἂν δὲ ὡς ἀληθῶς τραγῳδία μεγάλη περὶ τῶν Δημήτριον, οὐ μόνον ἀμπεχόμενον καὶ διαδούμενον περιττῶς καυσίας διμίτριος καὶ χρυσοπαρόφοις ἀλουργί- σιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῖς ποσίν ἐκ πορφύρας ἀκράτου συμπεπιλημμένης χρυσοβαφείς πεποιη- μένου ἐμβάδας. ἂν δὲ τις υφαινομένη χλανις αὐτῷ πολὺν χρόνου, ἔργον ὑπερήφανον, εἰκασμα 5 τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῶν κατ’ οὐρανον φαινομένων· ὁ κατελείφθη μὲν ἡμιτελές ἐν τῇ μεταβολῇ τῶν πραγμάτων, οὔδεις δὲ ἐτόλμησεν αὐτῇ χρήσα- σθαι, καίπερ οὐκ ὄλγων ύστερον ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ σοβαρών γενομένων βασιλέων.  

XLIII. Οὐ μόνον δὲ τούτοις τοῖς θεάμασιν ἐλυ- πει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἁθείς ὄντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρυ- φήν καὶ διαίταις ἐβαρύνοντο· καὶ μάλιστα δὴ τὸ δυσόμιλον αὐτοῦ καὶ δυσπρόσωπον. ἂν γὰρ οὐ παρείχε καιρὸν ἐντυχεῖν, ἡ χαλεπὸς ἂν καὶ τραχύς ἐντυχέωσιν. Ἁθηναίοις μὲν γὰρ, περὶ οὗς ἐσπουδάκει μάλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἔτη δύο πρε- σβείαν κατέσχεν· ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος δὲ ἐνὸς πρε- 102
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wounded each other, routed him, took five thousand of his men prisoners, and slew many of the rest. This wrought the greatest harm to the cause of Demetrius. For Pyrrhus, who was not so much hated for what he had done as he was admired for making most of his conquests in person, acquired from this battle a great and splendid name among the Macedonians, and many of them were moved to say that in him alone of all the kings could they see an image of the great Alexander's daring; whereas the others, and particularly Demetrius, did but assume Alexander's majesty and pomp, like actors on a stage. And there was in truth much of the theatrical about Demetrius, who not only had an extravagant array of cloakings and head-gear—double-mitred broad-brimmed hats and purple robes shot with gold, but also equipped his feet with gold-embroidered shoes of the richest purple felt. And there was one cloak which was long in the weaving for him, a magnificent work, on which was represented the world and the heavenly bodies; this was left behind half-finished when the reversal of his fortunes came, and no succeeding king of Macedonia ventured to use it, although not a few of them were given to pomp and luxury.

XLII. And not only by such displays did he vex his subjects, who were unused to them, but his luxurious ways of living were also offensive, and above all else the difficulty of getting access to him or conversing with him. For either he would give no audience at all, or he was stern and harsh with his auditors. For instance, he kept an embassy from the Athenians, for whose favour he was more solicitous than for that of any other Greeks, two years in waiting; and when a single envoy came to him from
σβεντού παραγενομένου καταφρονεῖσθαι δοκῶν
2 ἡγανάκτησεν. ἀστείως μέντοι καὶ Δακωνικῶς ἐκείνος, εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ "Τί σὺ λέγεις; ἕνα Δακε
dαιμόνιον πρεσβευτὴν ἔπεμψαν;" "Ναι," εἶπεν,
"ὁ βασίλευ, πρὸς ἑνα." δόξαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ποτὲ
dημοτικώτερον ἐξελαύνειν, καὶ πρὸς ἐντευξιν ἐχειν
οὐκ ἀγδῶς, συνεδραμόν τινές ἐγγράφους ἄξιωσεις
ἀναδιδόντες. δεξαμένου δὲ πάσας καὶ τῇ χλαμύ-
di συλλαβόντος ἤσθησαν οἱ ἀνθρώποι καὶ παρη-
kολούθουν. ὡς δὲ ἤλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἀξιοῦ γέ-
φυραν, ἀναπτύξας τὴν χλαμύδα πάσας εἰς τὸν
3 ποταμὸν ἐξέρρυσε. καὶ τούτῳ δὴ δεινῶς ἤνιασε
τοὺς Μακεδόνας ὑβρίζεσθαι δοκοῦντας, οὐ βασι-
λεύεσθαι, καὶ Φιλίππου μνημονεύοντας, ἢ τῶν
μνημονευόντων ἀκοῦοντας, ὡς μέτριος ἦν περὶ
tαῦτα καὶ κοινὸς. καὶ ποτὲ πρεσβυτέρου γυναίου
κόπτοντος αὐτὸν ἐν παρόδῳ τοῖς καὶ δεσμένου
πολλάκις ἀκοινθήσει, φήσας μὴ σχολάζειν, ἐγ-
kραγόντος ἑκείνου καὶ "Μὴ βασίλευε" εἰπόντος,
4 δηχθεὶς σφόδρα καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ γενόμενος ἀνέ-
στρεψεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, καὶ πάντα ποιησάμενος
ὕστερα, τοὺς ἐντυχεῖν βουλομένους, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ
tῆς πρεσβύτιδος ἑκείνης, ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας
ἐσχόλασεν.
5 Οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως βασίλει ἐποσῆκον ὡς τὸ τῆς
dίκης ἔργον. "Ἀρχη μὲν γὰρ τύραννος, ὡς φησὶ
Τιμόθεος, νόμος δὲ πάντων βασίλεις κατὰ Πίν-
dαρόν ἔστι· καὶ τοὺς βασίλεις"Ομηρὸς φησιν οὐχ
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Sparta, he thought himself despised, and was incensed. However, when he cried, "What meanest thou? Have the Spartans sent but one envoy?" he got the neat and laconic reply, "Yea, O king, to one man." On one occasion, when he was thought to be riding abroad in a more affable mood than usual, and seemed to encounter his subjects without displeasure, there was a large concourse of people who presented him with written petitions. He received them all and folded them away in his cloak, whereupon the people were delighted and escorted him on his way; but when he came to the bridge over the Axius, he shook out the folds of his cloak and cast all the petitions into the river. This was a great vexation to the Macedonians, who thought themselves insulted, not ruled, and they called to mind, or listened to those who called to mind, how reasonable Philip used to be in such matters, and how accessible. An old woman once assailed Demetrius as he was passing by, and demanded many times that he give her a hearing. "I have no time," said Demetrius. "Then don't be king," screamed the old woman. Demetrius was stung to the quick, and after thinking upon the matter, went back to his house, and postponing every thing else, for several days devoted himself entirely to those who wished audience of him, beginning with the old woman who had rebuked him.

And surely nothing so befits a king as the work of justice. For "Ares is tyrant," in the words of Timotheus,¹ but "Law is king of all things," according to Pindar;² and Homer speaks of kings as

Платон. "Лives".

6 ἡλέπολείς οὐδὲ ναῦς χαλκήρεις, ἀλλὰ θέμιστας παρὰ τοῦ Δίου λαμβάνοντας ῥύεσθαι καὶ φυλάσσειν, καὶ τοῦ Δίου οὐ τὸν πολεμικῶτατον οὐδὲ τὸν ἀδικώτατον καὶ φοινικῶτατον τῶν βασιλέων, ἀλλὰ τὸν δικαιώτατον ὀραστὴν καὶ μαθητὴν προσηγόρευεν. ἀλλὰ Δημήτριος ἤχαιρε τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν θεῶν ἀνομοιοτάτην ἑπιγραφόμενος προσωνυμίαν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Πολιεὺς καὶ Πολυόχος, ὁ δὲ Πολυρκήτης ἐπίκλησιν ἔσχεν. οὔτως ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ καλοῦ χώραν τὸ αἰσχρόν ὑπὸ δυνάμεως ἀμάθους ἐπελθὼν συνφικέωσε τῇ δόξῃ τὴν ἀδικίαν.

XLIII. ὁ δὲ Οὐκομήτης ἐπισφαλέστατα νοσῆσας ἐν Πέλλῃ μικρῷ τότε Μακεδονίαν ἀπέβαλε, καταδραμὼν τὸ Ξέως Πύρρου καὶ μέχρις Ἕδεσσης προελθόντος. ἀμα δὲ τῷ κοψότεροι 

2 πρὸς οἷς διενεῖτο. διενείτο δὲ οὐθὲν ὀλίγον, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ πατρὶ γενομένην ἀρχήν. καὶ τῆς ἑλπίδος ταύτης καὶ τῆς ἐπιβολῆς οὐκ ἀπελείπετο τὰ τῆς παρασκευῆς, ἀλλὰ στρατιάς μὲν ἐκ δυνητεύκτων πεζῶν μυρίδας δέκα δισχιλίων ἀνδρῶν ἀποδεόμενας, καὶ χωρὶς ἰππείς ὀλίγον δισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων ἐλάττους. στὸλον δὲ νεῶν ἀμα πεντακοσίων καταβαλλόμενοι τὰς μὲν ἐν Πειραιᾷ τρόπεις ἔθετο, τὰς δὲ ἐν Κορώνῳ, τὰς δὲ ἐν Χαλκίδῃ, τὰς δὲ περὶ Πέλλαι, αὐτὸς ἐπιών ἐκασταχόσε καὶ διδάσκων ἄ χρῆ καὶ συντεχνόμενος, ἐκπληθυνόμενος ἀπάντων οὐ τὰ πλῆθη μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μεγέθη 4 τῶν ἔργων. οὕδεις γὰρ εἰδὲν ἀνθρώπων οὕτε 106
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receiving from Zeus for protection and safe-keeping, not city-takers nor bronze-beaked ships, but "ordinances of justice"; and he calls a disciple and "confidant" of Zeus, not the most warlike or unjust or murderous of kings, but the most just. Demetrius, on the contrary, was delighted to receive a surname most unlike those given to the king of the gods; for Zeus is surnamed City-guardian, or City-protector; but Demetrius, City-besieger. Thus a power devoid of wisdom advances evil to the place of good, and makes injustice co-dweller with fame.

XLIII. But while Demetrius lay most dangerously sick at Pella, he almost lost Macedonia; for Pyrrhus swiftly overran it and advanced as far as Edessa. As soon, however, as Demetrius had somewhat recovered his strength he easily drove Pyrrhus out of the country, and then came to a kind of agreement with him, being unwilling that continual collisions and local conflicts with this opponent should defeat his set purpose. And his purpose was nothing less than the recovery of all the realm that had been subject to his father. Moreover, his preparations were fully commensurate with his hopes and undertakings. He had already gathered an army which numbered ninety-eight thousand foot, and besides, nearly twelve thousand horsemen. At the same time, moreover, he had laid the keels for a fleet of five hundred ships, some of which were in Piraeus, some at Corinth, some at Chalcis, and some at Pella. And he would visit all these places in person, showing what was to be done and aiding in the plans, while all men wondered, not only at the multitude, but also at the magnitude of the works. Up to this time no man had seen a ship of

1 Iliad, i. 238 f.  2 Minos, Odyssey, xix. 179.
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πεντεκαίδεκήρη ναῦν πρότερον ούτε ἐκκαίδεκήρη, ἀλλ' ύστερον τεσσαρακοντήρη Πτολεμαίος ὁ Φιλοπάτωρ ἐναυπηγήσατο, μήκος διακοσίων ὅγδον-κοντα πηχών, ὤψος δὲ ἔως ἀκροστόλιου πεντή-κοντα δυεῖν δεόντων, ναύταις δὲ χωρὶς ἐρετῶν ἐξηρτυμένην τετρακοσίας, ἐρέταις δὲ τετρακισ-χιλίως, χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ὀπλίτας δεχομένην ἐπὶ τε τῶν παρόδων καὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ὀλίγῳ 5 τρισχιλίων ἀποδέοντας. ἀλλὰ θέαν μόνην ἐκείνη παρέσχε· καὶ μικρὸν ὅσον διαφέρουσα τῶν μονί-μων οἰκοδομημάτων, φανήσαι πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν, οὐ χρείαν, ἐπισφαλῶς καὶ δυσέργως ἐκινήθη. τῶν δὲ Δημήτριον νεῶν οὐκ ἤν τὸ καλὸν ἀναγώνιστον, οὐδὲ τῷ περιττῷ τῆς κατασκευῆς ἀπεστεροῦντο τὴν χρείαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τάχος καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἀξιοθεα-τότερον τοῦ μεγέθους παρείχον.

XLIV. Αἱρομένης οὖν τοσαύτης δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὅσῃ μετ' Ἀλέξανδρον οὔδεις ἔσχε πρότερον, οἱ τρεῖς συνέστησαν ἐπὶ τῶν Δημήτριον, Σέλευκος, Πτολεμαῖος, Δυσίμαχος· ἐπειτὰ κοινὴ πρὸς Πύρρον ἀποστείλαντες ἐκέλευσιν ἐξάπτεσθαι Μακεδονίας καὶ μὴ νομίζειν σπονδᾶς αἰς Δημή-τριος οὐκ ἐκείνῳ τὸ μὴ πολεμεῖται δέδωκεν, ἀλλ' εἶληφεν ἑαυτῷ τὸ πολεμεῖν ὅσι βούλεται πρότερον. 2 δεξαμένου δὲ Πύρρου πολὺς περιέστη πόλεμος ἐτὶ μέλλοντα Δημήτριον. ἀμα γὰρ τὴν μὲν Ἑλ-λάδα πλεύσας στόλῳ μεγάλῳ Πτολεμαῖος ἀφί-στη, Μακεδονίαν δὲ Δυσίμαχος ἐκ Ὄραικης, ἐκ δὲ 108
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fifteen or sixteen banks of oars. At a later time, it is true, Ptolemy Philopator built one of forty banks of oars, which had a length of two hundred and eighty cubits, and a height, to the top of her stern, of forty-eight; she was manned by four hundred sailors, who did no rowing, and by four thousand rowers, and besides these she had room, on her gangways and decks, for nearly three thousand men-at-arms. But this ship was merely for show; and since she differed little from a stationary edifice on land, being meant for exhibition and not for use, she was moved only with difficulty and danger. However, in the ships of Demetrius their beauty did not mar their fighting qualities, nor did the magnificence of their equipment rob them of their usefulness, but they had a speed and effectiveness which was more remarkable than their great size.

XLIV. Accordingly, while this great force, the like of which no man had possessed since Alexander, was getting under way against Asia, the three kings, Seleucus, Ptolemy, and Lysimachus, formed a league against Demetrius. Next, they sent a joint embassy to Pyrrhus, urging him to attack Macedonia, and not to regard a truce by which Demetrius had not given him the privilege of having no war made upon him, but had taken for himself the privilege of making war first on the enemy of his choice. Pyrrhus granted their requests, and a great war encompassed Demetrius before his preparations were completed. For at one and the same time Ptolemy sailed to Greece with a great fleet and tried to bring it to revolt, while Lysimachus invaded Macedonia from Thrace, and Pyrrhus from the neighbouring

1 In the spring of 287 B.C.
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tῆς ὀμόρου Πύρρος ἐμβαλόντες ἐλεηλάτον. ὁ δὲ τὸν μὲν υἱὸν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος κατέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ βοηθῶν Μακεδονία πρῶτον ὤρμησεν ἐπὶ Δυσίμαχον. ἀγγέλλεται δὲ αὐτῷ Πύρρος ἥρηκὼς 3 πόλιν Βέροιαν. καὶ τοῦ λόγου ταχέως εἰς τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐμπεσόντος οὐδὲν ἐτὶ τῷ Δημητρίῳ κατὰ κόσμον εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀδυρμῷ καὶ δακρύων καὶ πρὸς ἔκεινον ὀργῆς καὶ βλασφημίων μεστὸν ἦν τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ συμμένειν οὐκ ἦθελον, ἀλλ' ἀπιέναι, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ πρὸς τὰ οἴκιοι, 4 τῇ δὲ ἄληθείᾳ πρὸς τὸν Δυσίμαχον. ἔδοξεν οὖν τῷ Δημητρίῳ Δυσίμαχου μὲν ἀποστῆναι πορωτάτῳ, πρὸς δὲ Πύρρον τρέπεσθαι: τὸν μὲν γὰρ ὀμόφυλον εἶναι καὶ πολλοῖς συνήθη δι' Ἀλέξανδρον, ἔπηλυν δὲ καὶ ξένοις ἄνδρα τὸν Πύρρον, οὐκ ἂν αὐτοῦ προτιμῆσαι Μακεδόνας. τούτων μὲν τοι 5 πολὺ διεφεύρθη τῶν λογισμῶν: ὡς γὰρ ἐγγὺς ἔλθων τῷ Πύρρῳ παρεστρατοπέδευσεν, ἀεὶ μὲν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς λαμπρότητα θαυμαζότες, ἔκ τε τοῦ παλαιοτάτου καὶ βασιλικώτατον εἰδισμένοι νομίζειν τὸν ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς κράτιστον, τότε δὲ καὶ πρῶς κεχρῆσθαι τοῖς ἀλλακομένοις πυμβαδόμενοι, πάντως δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἔτερον καὶ πρὸς τούτον ἀπαλαγήναι τοῦ Δημητρίου ξητούμενοι, ἀπεκρίθησαν λάθρα καὶ κατ' ὀλίγους τὸ γε πρῶτον, εἰτα φανερῶς ἀπαν ἐἰχε κίνησις 6 σιν καὶ ταραχὴν τὸ στρατόπεδον, τέλος δὲ τῷ Δημητρίῳ τολμήσαντις τινὲς προσελθὼν ἐκέλευον ἀπιέναι καὶ σώζειν αὐτῶν ἀπειρηκέναι γὰρ ἦδη

4 καὶ βασιλικώτατον Coraës and Sintenis, with the best MSS.; Bekker omits the καί.
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Epeirus, and both plundered the land. But Demetrius left his son in charge of Greece, while he himself, hastening to the rescue of Macedonia, set out first against Lysimachus. But tidings came to him that Pyrrhus had taken Beroea. The report quickly came to the ears of the Macedonians, and then Demetrius could no longer maintain discipline, but his camp was full of lamentations and tears, coupled with wrathful execrations against himself, and the soldiers would not hold together, but insisted on going away, ostensibly to their homes, but in reality to Lysimachus. Demetrius therefore determined to put as much distance as possible between himself and Lysimachus, and to turn his arms against Pyrrhus; for Lysimachus, as he thought, was a fellow-countryman and congenial to many of the Macedonians because of Alexander; while Pyrrhus was a new-comer and a foreigner, and would not be preferred by them before himself. In these calculations, however, he was greatly deceived. For he drew nigh and pitched his camp by that of Pyrrhus; but his soldiers had always admired that leader's brilliant exploits in arms, and from of old they had been wont to consider the man who was mightiest in arms as also the most kingly; besides this, they now learned that Pyrrhus treated his prisoners of war with mildness, and since they were seeking to be rid of Demetrius whether it took them to Pyrrhus or to another, they kept deserting him, at first secretly and in small companies. Then the whole camp was in open agitation and disorder, and at last some of the soldiers ventured to go to Demetrius, bidding him to go away and save himself; for the Macedonians, they said, were tired of
Μακεδώνας ύπερ τῆς ἐκείνου τρυφῆς πολεμοῦντας. οὗτοι μετριώτατοι τῶν λόγων ἐφαίνοντο τῷ Δημητρίῳ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἄλλων τραχύτητα· καὶ παρελθὼν ἐπὶ σκηνήν, ὥσπερ οὐ βασιλεύς, ἀλλ’ ὑποκρίτης, μεταμφιεύνυται χλαμύδα φαινόντας ἀντί τῆς τραγικῆς ἐκείνης, καὶ διαλαθῆς ὑπεχώρησεν.

7 ὅρμησάντων δὲ τῶν πλείστων εὐθὺς ἐφ’ ἀρπαγήν καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαμαχομένων καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν διασπώντων, ἔπιφανεὶς ὁ Πύρρος ἐκράτησεν αὐτοθεοῦ καὶ κατέσχε τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ γίνεται πρὸς Δυσίμαχον αὐτῷ συμπάσχεις Μακεδονίας νέμησις, ἐπηατείαν ὑπὸ Δημητρίου βεβαιῶσ᾿ ἀρχ-θείσης.

XLV. Οὗτοι δὲ τοῦ Δημητρίου τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκπεσόντος καὶ καταφυγόντος εἰς Κασανδρείαν, ἡ γυνὴ Φίλα περιπαθῆς γενομένη προσιδεῖται μὲν οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν αὐθιζὶ ἰδιότητι καὶ φυγίδα τῶν τρλυμονείστατον βασιλέων Δημητρίου, ἀπειπαμένη δὲ πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα καὶ μισήσας τὴν τύχην αὐτοῦ βεβαιοτέραν ἐν τοῖς κακοῖς υἱόσαν ἡ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, πιοῦσα φάρμακον ἀπέθανε. Δημήτριος δὲ ἐτὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ναυαγῶν ἔχεσθαι διανοηθεὶς ἀπῆρεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ στρατηγοὺς καὶ φίλους συνήγη.

2 "Ὅν οὖν ὁ Σοφοκλέους Μενέλαος εἰκόνα ταῖς αὐτοῦ τύχαις παρατίθεσιν,

ἀλλ’ οὕμοις ἀεὶ πότῳ ἐν πυκνῷ θεοῦ
troχῷ κυκλείται καὶ μεταλάβεσσει φύσιν,
ὡσπερ σελήνης δ’ ὡς εὐφρόνας 1 δύο
στήναι δύνατ’ ἀν υἱότερ’ ἐν μορφῇ μιᾷ,”

1 εὐφρόνας Sintenis with Nauck, after Brunck; Coraës and Bekker retain the εὐφρόνας of the MSS.
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waging war in support of his luxurious way of living. Demetrius thought this very moderate language compared with the harshness of the rest; so he went to his tent, and, as if he had been an actor and not a real king, put on a dark cloak in place of his stage-robins of royalty, and stole away unnoticed. Most of the soldiers at once fell to pillaging and tearing down his tent, and fought with one another for the spoils; but Pyrrhus came up, mastered the camp without a blow, and took possession of it. And all Macedonia was divided between Pyrrhus and Lysimachus, after Demetrius had reigned over it securely for seven years.¹

XLV. When Demetrius thus lost his power and fled for refuge to Cassandreia, his wife Phila was full of grief and could not endure to see her husband, that most afflicted of kings, once more in private station and in exile; she gave up all hope, and in hatred of his fortune, which was more secure in adversity than in prosperity, she drank poison and died. But Demetrius, determined to cling still to what was left of his wrecked fortunes, went off to Greece, and tried to assemble his friends and generals who were there.

The Menelaüs of Sophocles ² applies this simile to his own fortunes:—

“But my fate on the swiftly turning wheel of God
Goes whirling round forever and ever changes
shape,
Just as the moon’s appearance for two kindly
nights
Could never be identical and show no change,

¹ From 394 to 287 B.C.
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ἀλλ’ ἐξ ἀδήλου πρῶτον ἔρχεται νέα πρόσωπα καλλύνουσα καὶ πληρομένη, χώτανπερ αὐτής εὐγενεστάτη φανή, πάλιν διαρρεῖ κεῖς τὸ μηδὲν ἔρχεται,

ταῦτη μᾶλλον ἂν τις ἀπεικάσαι τὰ Δημητρίου πράγματα καὶ τὰς περὶ αὐτῶν αὐξήσεις καὶ φθίσεις καὶ ἀναπληρώσεις καὶ ταπεινώτητας, οὐ γε καὶ τότε παντάπασιν ἀπολείπειν καὶ κατασβέν-νυσθαὶ δοκοῦντος ἀνέλαμπτον αὐθίς ἡ ἀρχή, καὶ δυνάμεις τινὲς ἐπερρέουσαι κατὰ μικρὸν ἀνεπλή-ρουν τὴν ἐλπίδα. καὶ τὸ γε 1 πρῶτον ἰδιώτης καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν κοσμίων ἔρημος ἐπεφοίτα ταῖς πόλεσι, καὶ τις αὐτῶν ἐν Θῆβαις τοιούτων θεασάμενος ἐχρήσατο τοῖς Εὐριπίδου στίχοις οὐκ ἀηδῶς:

μορφὴν ἀμέίψας ἐκ θεοῦ βροτησίαν πάρεστι Δήρκης νάματ’ Ἰσμηνοῦ θ’ ὤδωρ.

XLVI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπαξ νῶστερ εἰς ὅδον βασιλικήν τὴν ἐλπίδα κατέστη καὶ συνύστατο πάλιν σῶμα καὶ σχῆμα περὶ αὐτῶν ἀρχής, Θηβαίως μὲν ἀπέ-δωκε τὴν πολιτείαν, Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ἀπέστησαν αὐ-τοῦ. καὶ τὸν τε Δίφιλον, δς ἦν ἱερεύς τῶν Σωτηρ-ρων ἀναγεγραμμένος, ἐκ τῶν ἐπωνύμων ἀνεῖλον, ἄρχουσα ἀἱρεῖσθαι πάλιν, νῶστερ ἦν πάτριον, ψηφισάμενοι, τὸν τε Πύρρον ἐκ Μακεδονίας μετε-

1 τὸ γε Sintenis: Coraës and Bekker retain the τότε of the MSS.
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But out of darkness first she comes forth young and new,
With face that ever grows more beautiful and full,
And when she reaches largest and most generous phase,
Again she vanisheth away and comes to naught."

This simile might be better used of the fortunes of Demetrius, now waxing and now waning, now full-orbed and now diminished, since even at this time, when his power seemed to fail altogether and suffer extinction, it shot forth new rays of light, and sundry accessions of strength little by little filled out the measure of his hopes. At first he went about visiting the cities in the garb of a private man and without the insignia of a king, and one who saw him thus at Thebes applied to him, not inaptly, the verses of Euripides¹ :

"Exchanging now the form of god for that of man,
He visits Dirce's rivulets and Ismenus' flood."

XLVI. But as soon as he had entered upon the path of hope, as upon a royal highway, and had gathered about himself a body and form of sovereignty, he restored to the Thebans their ancient form of government; the Athenians, however, revolted from him. They voted to elect archons, as had been their custom of old, and took away from Diphilus, who had been appointed priest of the Saviour-gods, the privilege of giving his name to the current year;² and when they saw that Demetrius had more strength than they expected, they sum-

¹ Bacchae, 4 f., with adaptation from the first person.
² See chapter x. 3.
πέμποντο, μάλλον ἡ προσεδόκησαι ἵπταντα τὸν
2 Δημήτριον ὀρώντες. ὃ δὲ ὀργῇ μὲν ἔπτηλθεν αὐ-
toῖς καὶ πολωρκίαν περὶ τὸ ἀστυ συνεστησάτο
καρτεράν, Κράτησος δὲ τοῦ ἰλοσφόρου πεμ-
θέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἀνδρὸς ἐνδόξου
καὶ δυνατοῦ, τὰ μὲν οἷς ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀθηναίων
ἐδείτο πεισθεῖς, τὰ δὲ ἐξ ὧν ἐδίδασκε περὶ τῶν
ἐκείνυς συμφερόντων νοῆσαι ἐλυσε τὴν πολωρ-
κίαν, καὶ συναγαγὼν ὅσα νῆς ἦσαν αὐτῷ, καὶ
στρατιώτας μυρίους καὶ χελίους σὺν ἰππεύσῳ
ἐμβιβάσας, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπλεῖ, Δυσιμάχου
Καρίαν καὶ Δυσίαν ἀποστήσων.
3 Δέχεται δὲ αὐτὸν Εὐρυδίκη περὶ Μίλητον,
ἀδελφὴ Φίλας, ἀγουσα τῶν αὐτῆς καὶ Πτολε-
μαίου θυγατέρων Πτολεμαίδα καθωμολογημένην
ἐκείνη πρότερον διὰ Σελεύκου. ταύτην γαμεῖ
Δημήτριος Εὐρυδίκης ἐκδιδούσης. καὶ μετὰ τῶν
γάμων εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις τρέπεται, πολλῶν
μὲν ἐκουσίως προστιθεμένων, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ βι-
4 αζόμενος. ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ Σάρδεις καὶ τινὲς τῶν
Δυσιμάχου στρατηγῶν ἀπεχώρησαν πρὸς αὐτῶν
χρήματα καὶ στρατιῶν κομίζοντες. ἐπερχομένου
δὲ Ἀγαθοκλέους τοῦ Δυσιμάχου μετὰ δυνάμεως
ἀνέβαιεν εἰς Φρυγίαν, ἐγνωκός, ἀντερ Ἀρμενίας
ἐπιλάβηται, Μηδίαν κινεῖν καὶ τῶν ἀνω πραγμά-
tων ἔχεσθαι, πολλὰς ἕξωθομένων περιφυγᾶς καὶ
5 ἀναχωρήσεις ἐχόντων. ἐπομένου δὲ Ἀγαθοκλέ-
ους ἐν ταῖς συμπλοκαῖς περιή, ἐπισυντησμοῦ δὲ
moned Pyrrhus to their aid from Macedonia. Demetrius came up against them in a rage, and began a strenuous siege of the city. But the people sent to him Crates the philosopher, a man of great repute and influence, and Demetrius, partly because he was induced to grant the ambassador's appeals in behalf of the Athenians, and partly because he was convinced when the philosopher showed him what would be an advantageous course, raised the siege, and after assembling all the ships he had, and putting on board eleven thousand soldiers, together with his cavalry, he sailed for Asia, to wrest Caria and Lydia from Lysimachus.

He was met at Miletus by Eurydicé, a sister of Phila, who brought with her one of her daughters by Ptolemy, Ptolemais, who had been betrothed to Demetrius before this through the agency of Seleucus. Demetrius married her now, and Eurydicé gave the bride away. After the marriage Demetrius at once turned his arms against the cities, many of which attached themselves to him of their own accord, and many also he forced into submission. He took Sardis also; and some of the generals of Lysimachus came over to him bringing money and troops. But when Agathocles, the son of Lysimachus, came against him with an army, Demetrius retired into Phrygia; he had determined, if once he could reach Armenia, to bring Media to revolt and attempt the upper provinces, which afforded an ejected commander many refuges and retreats. Agathocles followed him, and though Demetrius had the advantage in their engagements,

1 See chapter xliii. 3.
2 As early as 301 B.C. Cf. chapter xxxii. 3.
καὶ προνομῶν εἰργόμενος ἕπορεῖτο, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις δὲ ὑποψίας ἦν ὡς ἐπ᾽ Ἀρμενίαν καὶ Μηδίαν ἐκτοπίζον. ἀμα δὲ μᾶλλον ὁ λιμὸς ἐπέτεινε, καὶ διαμαρτία τις γενομένη περὶ τῆς τοῦ Δύκου διάβασις πλῆθος ἄνθρωπων ἀρτασθένυ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰματος ἀπώλεσεν. ὅμως δὲ τοῦ σκῶτειν οὐκ ἀπείχοντο· προγράφει δὲ τις αὐτοῦ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς τῆς τοῦ Οἰδίποδος ἀρχὴν μικρὸν παραλάξας.

tέκυνον τυφλοῦ γέροντος Ἀντιγόνου· τίνας χώρους ἀφίγμεθα;

XLVII. Τέλος δὲ καὶ νόσου τῷ λιμῷ συνεπιτεθεμένης, ὥσπερ εἰσθαν, ἔπι βρώσεις ἀναγκαίας τρεπομένων, τοὺς πάντας οὐκ ἐλάσσονος ὀκτακισχελίων ἀποβαλὼν ἀνήγειν ὑπὸ τοὺς λοιποὺς· καὶ καταβάς εἰς Ταρσὸν ἐβούλετο μὲν ἀπέχεσθαι τῆς χώρας, ὑστέρα ὑπὸ Σελεύκῳ τότε, καὶ πρὸ- 2 φασίν ἐκείνω μηδεμίαν παρασχεῖν, ὡς δὲ ἦν ἀμή- χανον, ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις δυτικῶν ἀπορίας τῶν στρατιωτῶν, καὶ τοῦ Ταύρου ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς Ἀγαθοκλῆς ἀπετέχισε, γράφει πρὸς Σελεύκον ἐπίστολην μακρόν τινα τῆς αὐτοῦ τύχης ὁδυρμόν, εἰτα πολλῆν ἰκεσίαν καὶ δέσσιν ἔχουσαν ἀνδρὸς οἰκείον συλβεῖν οἰκτον, ἁξία καὶ πολεμίως συναλγήσαι πεπονθότος.

Ἐπικλασθέντος δὲ πως Σελεύκου, καὶ γράψαντος τοῖς ἐκεί στράτηγοις ὅπως αὐτῷ τῷ Δημητρίῳ χορηγίαν βασιλικὴν καὶ τῇ δυνάμει 3 τροφῆν ἀφθόνον παρέχωσιν, ἐπελθὼν Πατροκλῆς,

1 Sophocles, Oedipus Coloneus, 1 f. (Ἀντιγόνη).

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he was shut off from getting provisions and forage, and was in great straits; besides, his soldiers were suspicious that he was trying to make his way towards Armenia and Media. And not only did famine press them harder, but also some mistake was made in crossing the river Lycus, and a large number of men were carried away by the current and lost. But nevertheless they would have their pleasantries; and one of them wrote up in front of the tent of Demetrius the opening words of the "Oedipus," slightly changed:—

"O child of blind and aged Antigonus, what are These regions whither we are come?"

XLVII. But at last sickness assailed them as well as famine, which is wont to happen when men have recourse to foods which they must eat to save their lives, and after losing no less than eight thousand men in all, Demetrius retraced his steps with the rest and came down to Tarsus. Here he would gladly have spared the country, which was then under Seleucus, and so have given its ruler no ground of complaint; but this was impossible, for his soldiers were suffering extreme privations, and Agathocles had fortified the passes of the Taurus against him. He therefore wrote a very long letter to Seleucus, bewailing his own misfortunes, and then begging and beseeching him to take pity on a man who was allied to him by marriage, and had suffered enough to win sympathy even from his enemies. Seleucus was somewhat softened by this appeal, and wrote to his generals in that province that they should furnish Demetrius himself with royal maintenance, and his troops with abundant supplies. But
Γανήρ συνετὸς εἶναι δοκῶν καὶ Σελεύκῳ φίλος πιστός, οὐ τὸ τῆς δαπάνης ἐφη πλείστου εἶναι τῶν Δημητρίου στρατιωτῶν τρεφομένων, ἀλλ' ἐνδιατρίβοντα τῇ χώρᾳ Δημητρίου οὐ καλῶς περιορᾶν αὐτῶν, ὃς ἀεὶ βιαιότατος ὄν καὶ μεγαλοπραγμονέστατος βασιλέων νῦν ἐν τύχαις γέγονεν αἰ καὶ τοὺς φύσει μετρίους ἐξάγονοι τολμᾶν καὶ 4 ἄδικεῖν. ἐκ τούτου παροξυνθεὶς ο Σέλευκος ἐξώρμησεν εἰς Κιλικίαν μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως. ο δὲ Δημητρίος ἐκπλαγείς τῇ δι' ὀλίγου μεταβολῆ τοῦ Σελεύκου καὶ φοβηθείς, ὑπέστειλε τοὺς ὀχυρωτάτους τοῦ Ταύρου, καὶ διαπεμπόμενος ἥξιον μάλιστα μὲν αὐτῶν περιδείσαντων αὐτῶν ὑβαρβάρων κτησάμενον ἀρχήν, ἐν ἡ καταβιώσεται πλάνης καὶ φυγῆς παυσάμενος, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τὸν χειμώνα διαθρέψαι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτόθι, καὶ μὴ πάντων ἐνδεέα καὶ γυμνῶν ἐξελαύνει καὶ προβάλλει τοῖς πολεμίοις.

XLVIII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Σέλευκος ταῦτα πάντα ὑποπτεύου ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῶν, εἰ βούλεται, δύο μῆνας ἐν τῇ Καταονίᾳ χειμάσαι, δόντα τοὺς πρώτους τῶν φίλων ὀμήρους, ἀμα δὲ τὰς εἰς Συρίαν ἀπετείχεν ὑπερβολάς, ἐγκλειόμενος, ὡστερ θηρίῳ, ο Δημητρίος κύκλῳ καὶ περιβαλλόμενος, ὑπ' ἀνάγκης τρέπεται πρὸς ἀλκήν, καὶ τὴν τε χώραν κατέτρεχε καὶ τῷ Σελεύκῳ προσβάλλοντι συμ-2 πλεκόμενος ἀεὶ πλέον εἰχε. καὶ ποτε τῶν δρε-913 πανηφόρων εἰς αὐτῶν ἀφεθέντων ὑποστὰς τροπὴν 120
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Patrocles, a man in repute for wisdom, and a trusted friend of Seleucus, came to him and told him that the expense of maintaining the soldiers of Demetrius was a very small matter, but that it was unwise for him to allow Demetrius to remain in the country, since he had always been the most violent of the kings, and the most given to grand designs, and was now in a state of fortune where even naturally moderate men are led to commit deeds of daring and injustice. Incited by this advice, Seleucus marched into Cilicia with a large force. Then Demetrius, filled with amazement and alarm at the sudden change of attitude in Seleucus, withdrew to the strongest fastnesses of the Taurus, and sending messengers to Seleucus, asked that above all things he might be permitted to acquire a petty empire among the independent Barbarians, in which he might end his days without further wanderings and flights; but if this might not be, he begged him to give his troops food for the winter there, and not to drive him forth, stripped and destitute of all things, and cast him into the hands of his enemies.

XLVIII. But Seleucus was suspicious of all this, and told Demetrius that he might, if he wished, spend two months in winter quarters in Cataonia, provided he gave the chief among his friends as hostages; and at the same time he fortified the passes into Syria against him. Then Demetrius, like a wild beast, hemmed in and attacked on all sides, was driven to defend himself; he overran the country, and when Seleucus attacked him, engaged with him and always had the advantage. Once in particular, when the scythe-bearing chariots were dashing down upon him, he avoided the charge, routed his
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ἐποιήσατο, καὶ τῶν εἰς Συρίαν ὑπερβολῶν τοὺς ἀποτειχίζοντας ἐξελάσας ἐκράτησε. καὶ ὅλως ἐπήρτο τῇ γνώμῃ, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀνατεθαρ-ρηκότας ὀρῶν παρεσκευάζετο διαγωνίσασθαι πρὸς τὸν Σέλευκον ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις ἁθλοῖς, ἡπορη-3 μένον ἦδη καὶ αὐτὸν. ἀπέστρεψε μὲν γὰρ τὴν παρὰ Δυσιμάχου βοήθειαν ἀπιστῶν καὶ φοβούμενος, αὐτὸς δὲ καθ ἐαυτὸν ὀκνεῖ τῷ Δημητρίῳ συνάψαι. δεδιώς τὴν ἀπόνοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀεὶ μεταβολὴν ἐκ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἀποριῶν τὰς μεγίστας εὐνυχίας ἐπιφέρουσαν.

Νόσος μέντοι βαρεία τὸν Δημήτριον ἐν τούτῳ καταλαβοῦσα τὸ τε σώμα δεινῶς ἐκάκωσε καὶ τὰ τράγματα παντάπασι διέφθειρεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπεχώρησαν πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους, οἱ δὲ διερρή-4 ἦσαν αὐτοῦ τῶν στρατιωτῶν. μόλις δὲ ἐν ἡμέραις τεσσαράκοντα βαίνας καὶ τοὺς ὑπολοίπους ἀνα-λαβόν, καὶ ὀρμήσας, ὅσον ἰδεῖν καὶ δοξάσαι τοὺς πολέμους, ἔπὶ Κιλικίας, εἰτὰ νυκτὸς ἀνευ σάλ-πυγγος ἄρα ἐπὶ θάτερα καὶ τὸν Ἀμανόν ὑπερ-βαλὼν ἐπόρθει τὴν κάτω χώραν ἄχρι τῆς Κυρ-ρηστικῆς.

XLIX. Ἐπιφανεύτως δὲ τοῦ Σελεύκου καὶ ποιουμένου τὰς καταλύσεις ἐγγύς, ἀναστήσας ὁ Δημήτριος τὸ στρατεύμα νυκτὸς ἐβάδιζεν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἀγνοοῦντα μέχρι πολλοῦ καὶ κοιμώμενον. αὐτομόλων δὲ τῶν παραγενομένων καὶ φρα-σάντων τὸν κίνδυνον, ἐκπλαγείς καὶ ἀναστήσας ἐκέλευσε σημαίνειν, ἃ μᾶς κρηπίδας ὑποδού-μενος καὶ βοῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἑταίρους ὡς θηρίῳ δεινῷ συμπεπλεκταὶ. Δημήτριος δὲ τῷ θορύβῳ τῶν πολεμίων αἰσθόμενος ὃτι μεμήνυται, κατὰ 122
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assailants, drove away those who were fortifying the
passes into Syria, and made himself master of them.
And now he was completely lifted up in spirit, and
seeing that his soldiers had recovered their courage,
he made ready to fight to the finish with Seleucus
for the supreme prizes. Seleucus himself was already
in perplexity. For he had refused the assistance
offered by Lysimachus, whom he distrusted and
feared; and by himself he hesitated to join battle
with Demetrius, fearing the man’s desperation and
the perpetual change which brought him from the
extremest destitution to the greatest affluence.

However, a grievous sickness seized Demetrius at
this juncture; it wrought terrible harm to his body,
and utterly ruined his cause. For some of his soldiers
went over to the enemy, and others dispersed. But
at last, after forty days, he recovered strength, and
taking the soldiers that remained, set out, so far as
his enemies could see or conjecture, for Cilicia; then,
in the night and without signal by trumpet, he set
out in the opposite direction, crossed the range of
Amanus, and plundered the lower country as far as
Cyrrhestica.

XLIX. When Seleucus made his appearance
there and encamped near by, Demetrius set his
army in motion by night and advanced against him.
Seleucus was ignorant of his approach for a long
time, and lay sleeping. But when some deserters
came and told him of his peril, he was astounded, and
leaping up ordered the trumpets to be sounded, at
the same time pulling on his boots and shouting to
his companions that a terrible wild beast was upon
them. But Demetrius, perceiving from the noise
which his enemies made that they had been informed
2 τάχος ἀπῆγεν. ἀμα δ' ἡμέρα προσκειμένου τοῦ Σελεύκου, πέμψας τινὰ τῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερον κέρας ἐποίησε τινα τροπήν τῶν ἐναντίων. εἰτα μέντοι Σελευκος αὐτὸς ἀφεῖς τὸν ἱπποὺ καὶ τὸ κράνος ἀποθέμενος καὶ λαβὼν πέλτην ἀπήντα τοῖς μισθοφόροις, ἐπιδεικνύμενος αὐτὸν καὶ μεταβαλέσθαι παρακαλών, ἤδη ποτὲ συμφρονήσαντας ὅτι φειδόμενος ἑκείνων, οὐ Δημητρίου, χρόνον 3 πολὺν διατετέλεκεν. ἐκ τούτου πάντες ἀσπαζόμενοι καὶ βασιλεᾶ προσαγορεύοντες μεθίσταντο.

Δημήτριος δὲ πολλῶν μεταβολῶν αἰσθόμενος ἐσχάτην ἑκείνην ἤκουσαν ἐπὶ αὐτὸν, ἐκκλίνας ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀμανίδας ἐφυγε πύλας, καὶ καταβαλὼν εἰς ὕλην τινὰ συνηρεφῆ μετὰ φίλων τινῶν καὶ ἀκολούθων ὀλίγων παντάπασιν ὄντων προσέμενε τὴν νύκτα, βουλόμενος, εἰ δύνατο, τῆς ἐπὶ Καῦνον ὁδοὶ λαβέσθαι καὶ διεκπεσεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, οὐ τὸν ναῦσταμον εὐρήσειν ἤλπιζεν. ὡς δὲ ἐγνω μηδὲ ἑκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας ἐφόδιον ἔχοντας αὐτοὺς, ἐπὶ ἄλλων ἐγένετο λογισμὸν. εἰτα μέντοι Σωσιγένης ἐπήλθεν, ἐταῖρος αὐτοῦ, χρυσοὺς τετρακοσίους υπεξωσμένοις καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων ἐλπίζοντες ἄχρι θαλάσσης διαγενήσεσθαι, πρὸς τὰς ὑπερβολὰς ἔχωρον σκοταιῶν. πυρῶν δὲ καιομένων πρὸς αὐτὰς πολεμίων ἄπογνόντες ἑκείνην τὴν ὄδον αὐθις ἄνεχόρησαν εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον, οὔτε πάντες (ἔνωι γὰρ ἀπέδρασαν) οὔτε ὁμοίως 5 οἱ παραμένοντες πρόθυμοι· τολμήσαντος δὲ τινος εἰπεῖν τι, ὡς Σελεύκωρ χρῆ τὸ σῶμα παραδοῦναι 124
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of his approach, drew off his troops with all speed. When day came, however, Seleucus was pressing him hard, so he sent one of his officers to the other wing, and partially routed the enemy. But at this point Seleucus himself, quitting his horse, doffing his helmet, and taking a light shield, went to meet the mercenaries of Demetrius, showing them who he was, and exhorting them to come over to him, since they must for some time have been aware that his long forbearance had them in view, and not Demetrius. Consequently they all welcomed him, hailed him as king, and went over to him.

Then Demetrius, perceiving that the last of many reversals of fortune was now come upon him, left the field and fled to the passes of Amanus, where he plunged into a dense forest along with sundry friends and followers, few all told, and waited for the night. He wished, if possible, to take the road to Caunus and make his way through to the sea, where he expected to find his fleet. But when he learned that the party had not provisions enough even for the coming day, he tried to think of other plans. At this point, however, Sosigenes came up, a companion of his, with four hundred pieces of gold in his belt; so hoping that with this money they could make their way through to the sea, the party set out towards the passes, in the darkness of night. In the passes, however, the enemy were burning fires, so the fugitives despaired of this road and once more returned to their place in the forest—not all of them, for some had run away; nor was the remnant as willing as before. And when one of them ventured to speak out boldly and say that Demetrius ought to
Δημήτριον, ὁρμησε μὲν τὸ ξίφος σπασάμενος ἀνελεῖν ἑαυτόν, οἱ δὲ φίλοι περιστάντες καὶ παραμυθούμενοι συνέπεισαν οὕτω ποιήσαι. καὶ πέμπτει πρὸς Σέλευκον ἐπιτρέπων ἐκείνῳ τὰ καθ᾽ ἑαυτόν.

I. Ἀκούσας δὲ Σέλευκος οὐκ ἔφη τῇ Δημήτριοι τύχῃ σώζεσθαι Δημήτριοι, ἀλλὰ τῇ αὐτοῦ, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καλῶν αὐτῷ φιλανθρωπίας καὶ χρηστότητος ἐπίδειξιν διδούσῃ. καλέσας δὲ τοὺς ἐπιμελητὰς σκηνὴν τε πηγνύμαι βασιλικὴν ἔκλευσε, καὶ τάλλα πάντα ποιεῖν καὶ παρασκευά-ξειν εἰς ὑποδοχὴν καὶ θεραπεῖαν μεγαλοπρεπῶς.

2 ἢν δὲ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίδης παρὰ τῷ Σελεύκῳ, τοῦ Δημητρίου γεγονὼς συνήθης· τοῦτον εὑρὼς ἐξε-πεμψε πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅπως ἑδὼν γένηται καὶ θαρ-ρόν ὡς πρὸς οἰκείον ἄνδρα καὶ κηδεστὴν ἀπαντῶν. Φάνερας δὲ τῆς γνώμης αὐτοῦ γενομένης ὤλγοι τὸ πρῶτον, εἴτε οἱ πλείστοι τῶν φίλων ἐξεπήδων πάρα τὸν Δημήτριον, ἀμιλλώμενοι καὶ φθάνοντες ἀλλήλους· ἠλπίζετο γὰρ εὑρὼς παρὰ τῷ Σελεύκῳ μέγιστος ἐσεσθαι.

3 Τοῦτο δὲ ἐκείνῳ μὲν εἰς φθόνον μετέβαλε τὸν ἔλεον, τοὺς δὲ κακοθέσι καὶ βασικάνως παρέσχεν ἀποτρέψει καὶ διαφθείραι τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐκφοβήσασιν αὐτόν, ὡς οὐκ εἰς ἀνα-βολάς, ὅλλ᾽ ἀμα τῷ πρῶτον ὁφθήναι τὸν ἄνδρα, μεγάλων ἐσομένων ἐν τῷ στρατοπεδῖ νεωτερισ-μῶν. ἀρτὶ δὲ τοῦ Απολλωνίδου πρὸς τὸν Δημή-τριον ἀφιγμένου περιχαροῦς, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων

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surrender himself to Seleucus, Demetrius drew his sword and would have killed himself; but his friends encompassed him, and with encouraging words persuaded him to do as the man had said. So he sent to Seleucus and put himself at his disposal.

L. When Seleucus heard of it, he declared that it was not the good fortune of Demetrius that brought him safety, but his own, which, in addition to her other blessings, gave him an opportunity to show generosity and kindness. Then he called his overseers and bade them pitch a royal tent, and to make all other arrangements and preparations for a magnificent reception and entertainment. There was also with Seleucus a certain Apollonides, who had been an intimate friend of Demetrius; this man was at once sent to him by Seleucus, to give him cheerfulness and confidence by reminders that he was coming into the presence of a man who was a friend and relative. When this purpose of Seleucus became evident, first a few of his friends, then the greater part of them, went off hot foot to Demetrius, vying with one another in their efforts to reach him first; for it was expected that he would at once be a very great personage at the court of Seleucus.

But this behaviour of his friends turned the king's pity into jealousy, and gave malicious and mischievous persons an opportunity to thwart and put an end to his generosity. They frightened him by their insinuations that without any delay, but at the first sight of Demetrius, there would be a great revolution in the camp. And so it came to pass that at the very time when Apollonides had come to Demetrius with a joyful countenance, and while the other courtiers
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επερχομένων καὶ λόγους θαυμαστοὺς ἀπαγγελ-
λόντων περὶ τοῦ Σελεύκου, καὶ τοῦ Δημήτριον
μετὰ τηλικάτων δυστυχίαν καὶ κακοπραγίαιν, εἰ
cαὶ πρότερον ἔδοκε τὴν παράδοσιν τοῦ σώματος
αἰσχρῶν πεποιήσθαι, τότε μετεγγυωκότος διὰ τὸ
θαρρεῖν καὶ πιστεύειν ταῖς ἐλπίσεις, ἤλθε Παυ-
σανίας ἔχων στρατιώτας ὁμοῦ πεζῶς καὶ ἵππεις
5 περὶ χιλίους, καὶ τούτους περισσώς τὸν Δημή-
τριον ἁφὼς, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀποστήσας, Σελεύκῳ
μέν αὐτοῦ εἰς ὅψιν οὐ κατέστησεν, εἰς δὲ Χερρο-
νησον τὴν Συριακὴν ἀπήγαγεν, ὥσποτο τὸ λοιπὸν
ἰσχυρᾶς φυλακῆς ἐπισταθείσης θεραπεία μὲν ἦκεν
ικανή παρὰ Σελεύκου καὶ χρήματα καὶ δίαιτα
παρεσκευάζετο καθ' ἡμέραν οὐ μεμπτή, δρόμοι δὲ
καὶ περίπατοι βασιλικοὶ καὶ παράδειγμα θήρας
6 ἔχοντες ἀπεδειχθησαν ἣν δὲ καὶ τῶν φίλων τῶν
συμφυγόντων τῷ βουλομένῳ συμμεῖναι, καὶ παρ'
αὐτοῦ τε 
wizes ἀμως ἐπιφοιτῶντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Σελεύκου
ἡκον κομίζοντες ἐπιεικεῖς λόγους καὶ θαρρεῖν
παρακαλοῦντες, ὡς, ὅταν πρῶτον 'Αντίοχος ἀφί-
κηται σὺν Στρατονίκη, διεθησόμενον.

LI. 'Ο δὲ Δημήτριος ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ τύχῃ
γεγονός ἐπέστειλε τοὺς περὶ τὸν νίκην καὶ τοῖς
περὶ 'Αθήνας καὶ Κόρινθου ἡγεμόνι καὶ φίλοις
μήτε γράμμασιν αὐτοῦ μήτε σφραγίδι πιστεύειν,
ἀλλ' ὡσπερ τεθυκότος 'Αντιγόνος τὸς πόλεις καὶ
2 τὰ λοιπὰ πράγματα διαφυλάττειν. 'Αντίγονος
dὲ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς σύλληψιν πυθόμενος καὶ βαρέ-

1 παρ’ αὐτῶν Coraës and Bekker, with the MSS.; Sinentis corrects to παρ’ αὐτῶν and deletes ἀπὸ τοῦ Σελεύκου.
2 τοῖς ... φίλοις Sinentis, with the best MSS. and Stephanus; Coraës and Bekker retain πρὸς ... φίλοις.

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were coming up and telling him wonderful tales about Seleucus and his generosity, and when Demetrius, after all his disasters and misfortunes, even if he had once thought his surrender a disgraceful act, had now changed his mind as a result of his courage and hopefulness, up came Pausanias at the head of a thousand soldiers, foot and horse together. With these he surrounded Demetrius on a sudden, and after sending off everybody else, conducted him, not into the presence of Seleucus, but away to the Syrian Chersonese. Here, for the rest of his life, a strong guard was set over him, a sufficient number of attendants came to him from Seleucus, while money and maintenance was provided for him day by day which was not to be despised, nay, royal courses for riding and walking, and parks with wild game in them, were set apart for his use; any friend also who shared his exile and wished to visit him could do so, and notwithstanding his captivity sundry people kept coming to him from Seleucus bringing kindly messages and exhorting him to be of good cheer, since as soon as Antiochus came with Stratonice, he was to be set at liberty.

LI. Demetrius, however, finding himself in this plight, sent word to his son and the friends and commanders who were at Athens and Corinth, bidding them put no trust in letters or seal purporting to be his, but to treat him as dead, and to preserve for Antigonus his cities and the rest of his power. When Antigonus learned of his father's capture, he
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ος ἐνεγκὼν καὶ πενθίμην ἀναλαβὼν ἔσθητα πρὸς
tε τοὺς ἄλλους βασιλεῖς ἐγραψε καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν
Σέλευκον, δεόμενος, καὶ πάν ὦ τι λοιπὸν ἦν αὐτοίς
παραδίδοις, καὶ πρὸ παντὸς ὄμηρειν ἔτοιμος ὅν
αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρὸς. καὶ συνεδέοντο ταῦτα
πόλεις τε πολλαὶ καὶ δυνάσται πλὴν Δυσιμάχου.

3 Δυσίμαχος δὲ καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ πέμπων ὑπισ-
χνεῖτο Σελεύκω κτείναντι Δημήτριον. ὁ δὲ ἐκεῖ-
νον μὲν καὶ ἄλλως προβαλλόμενος ἔτι μᾶλλον
ἐπὶ τούτῳ μικρὸν ἥγετο καὶ βάρβαρον, Ἀντιόχῳ
δὲ τῷ παιδὶ καὶ Στρατονίκῃ φυλάττων Δημή-
τριον, ὡς ἐκεῖνον ἡ χάρις γένοιτο, παρῆγε τὸν
χρόνον.

LIII. Ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος, ὡς ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς τύχης
προσπεσοῦσαν ὑπέμεινε, καὶ ῥάον ἤδη φέρειν εἰθί-
ζετο τὰ παρόντα, πρῶτον μὲν ἀμῶς γέ πως ἔκινε
τὸ σῶμα, θήρας, ἐφ’ ὃσον ἦν, καὶ δρόμων ἀπτό-
μενος, ἔπειτα κατὰ μικρὸν ὄκνον πρὸς αὐτὰ καὶ
νωθείας ἐπίμπλατο, καὶ φέρων ἐαυτὸν εἰς πότους
καὶ κύβους κατέβαλε καὶ τοῦ χρόνου τὸν πλει-
2 στὸν ἐν τούτῳ διήγεν, εἴτε τοὺς ἐν τῷ νήφειν
ἀναλογισμοῖς τῶν παρόντων ἄποδιδράσκων καὶ
παρακαλυπτόμενος τῇ μέθῃ τὴν διάνοιαν, εἴτε
συγγνώς ἐαυτῷ τούτον εἶναι τὸν βίον, ὅν ἐκπαλαι
ποθῶν καὶ διώκων ἄλλως ὑπ’ ἀνοίας καὶ κενῆς
δόξης ἐπιλάζετο καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐαυτῷ, πολλὰ
dὲ ἐτέρους πράγματα παρεῖχεν, ἐν ὁπλοῖς καὶ
στόλοις καὶ στρατοπέδοις τὸ ἀγαθὸν ζητῶν, 915
ὁ νῦν ἐν ἀπραγμοσύνῃ καὶ σχολῇ καὶ ἀνα-

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was deeply distressed, put on mourning apparel, and wrote to the other kings and especially to Seleucus himself, supplicating him, and offering to surrender to him whatever was left of his own and his father's possessions, and above everything else volunteering to be a hostage himself for his father. Many cities also and many rulers joined in these supplications. But Lysimachus did not; he sent to Seleucus the promise of a large sum of money if he killed Demetrius. But Seleucus, who had always had a feeling of aversion for Lysimachus, all the more for this proposal thought him abominable and barbarous, and continued to keep Demetrius under watch and ward for Antiochus his son and Stratonice, that the favour of his release might come from them.

LII. But Demetrius, who in the beginning bore up under the misfortune that had come upon him, and presently grew accustomed to it and endured his situation with a better grace, at first, in one way or another, exercised his body, resorting to hunting, so far as he could, or riding; then, little by little, he came to have the greatest indifference and aversion to these sports, took eagerly to drinking and dice, and spent most of his time at these. This was either because he sought escape from the thoughts on his present condition which tormented him when he was sober, and tried to smother his reflections in drunkenness; or because he had convinced himself that this was the real life, which he had long desired and striven to attain, but had foolishly missed it through folly and empty ambition, thereby bringing many troubles upon himself, and many upon others; he had sought in arms and fleets and armies to find the highest good, but now, to his surprise, had discovered
3 παύσει μὴ προσδοκήσας ἀνεύρηκε. τί γὰρ ἄλλο τῶν πολέμων καὶ τῶν κινδύνων πέρας ἐστὶ τοῖς φαύλοις βασιλέυσι, κακῶς καὶ ἀνοήτως διακει-μένοις, οὐχ ὅτι μόνον τρυφὴν καὶ ἥδονὴν ἀντι τῆς ἁρετῆς καὶ τοῦ καλοῦ διώκουσιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι μηδὲ ἣδεσθαι μηδὲ τρυφῶν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἴσασιν;

'Ὁ δὲ οὖν Δημήτριος ἔτος τρίτον ἐν τῇ Χερ-ρονήσῳ καθείργηκεν ὑπ' ἀργίας καὶ πλησμονῆς καὶ οἴνου νοσήσας ἀπέθανεν, ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ .4 πεντήκοντα βεβιακῶς. καὶ Σέλενυκος ἠκουσέ τε κακῶς καὶ μετενόησεν οὐ μετρίως ἐν ὑποψίᾳ τὸν Δημήτριον θέμενος τότε, καὶ μηδὲ Δρομιχάιτην, ἀνδρα βάρβαρον Ἀράκα, μμησάμενος οὕτω φιλ-ανθρώπως καὶ βασιλικῶς ἀλόντι Δυσιμάχῳ χρησάμενον.

LIII. Ἕσχε μέντοι καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ταφῆν αὐτοῦ τραγικὴν τινα καὶ θεατρικὴν διάθεσιν. ὁ γὰρ υἱὸς Ἀντίγονος, ὃς ἦσθε τὰ λείψανα κομίζομενα, πάσας ἀναρξεῖς ταῖς ναυσὶ ἐπὶ νήσων ἀπήγγει: καὶ δεξάμενος εἰς τὴν μεγί-στην τῶν ναυαρχίδων ἔθετο τὴν υδρίαν χρυσῆ-2 λατον οὖσαν. αἱ δὲ πόλεις αἰς προσείχον, τούτῳ μὲν στεφάνους ἐπέφερον τῇ υδρίᾳ, τούτῳ δὲ ἄνδρας ἐν σχῆματι πενθίμῳ συνθάψαντας καὶ συμπαραπέμψαντας ἀπέστειλον. εἰς δὲ Κόριν-θον τοῦ στόλου καταπλέοντος ἢ τε κάλπις ἐκ πρύμνης περιφάνης ἐωρᾶτο πορφύρα βασιλικῆ καὶ διαδήματι κεκοσμημένη, καὶ παρειστήκεισαν ἐν ὀπλοῖς νεανίσκοι δορυφοροῦντες. ὁ δὲ τῶν τότε αὐλητῶν ἐλλογιμῶτατος Ξενόφαντος ἐγγὺς καθε-
DEMETRIUS

it in idleness and leisure and repose. For what other end than this can worthless kings seek to attain by their wars and perils? Wicked and foolish indeed are they, not only because they seek after luxury and pleasure instead of virtue and honour, but also because they do not even know how to enjoy real pleasure or true luxury.

So, then, Demetrius, after an imprisonment of three years\(^1\) in the Syrian Chersonese, through inactivity and surfeit of food and wine, fell sick and died, in the fifty-fifth year of his life. Seleucus was in ill repute for this, and repented him bitterly for having cherished such suspicions against Demetrius, and for allowing himself to be outdone even by Dromichaetes, a barbarous Thracian, who had given Lysimachus,\(^2\) his captive, a treatment so humane and royal.

LIII. Moreover, there was something dramatic and theatrical even in the funeral ceremonies of Demetrius. For his son Antigonus, when he learned that his remains had been sent home, put to sea with his entire fleet and met them off the islands. They were given to him in a golden urn, and he placed them in the largest of his admiral’s ships. Of the cities where the fleet touched in its passage, some brought garlands to adorn the urn, others sent men in funeral attire to assist in escorting it home and burying it. When the fleet put in at Corinth, the cinerary vase was conspicuous on the vessel’s poop, adorned with royal purple and a king’s diadem, and young men stood about it in arms as a body-guard. Moreover, the most celebrated flute-player then living, Xenophonatus, sat near, and with the

\(^1\) From 386 to 383 B.C. \(^2\) Cf. chapter xxxix. 3.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

3 ξόμενος προσήλυε τῶν μελῶν τὸ ἱερότατον καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο τῆς εἰρεσίας ἀναφερομένης μετὰ ῥυθμοῦ τινος, ἀπήντα ψόφος, ὦσπερ ἐν κοπετῷ, ταῖς τῶν αὐλημάτων περιόδοις. τὸν δὲ πλείστον οἷκον καὶ ὀλοφυρμὸν αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀντύγονος τοῖς ἰδρομείνοις ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ὄφθεις ταπεινὸς καὶ δεδακρυμένος παρέσχεν. ἐπενεχθεισῶν δὲ τιμῶν καὶ στεφάνων περὶ Κόρινθου εἰς Δημητριάδα κομίσας ἔθηκε τὰ λείψανα, πόλιν ἐπώνυμον ἐκείνου, συνοικισθείσαν ἐκ μικρῶν τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἰωλκῶν πολιχρίων.

4 Ἀπέλληπτε δὲ γενεάν ὁ Δημήτριος Ἀντύγονον μὲν ἐκ Φίλας καὶ Στρατονίκην, δύο δὲ Δημητρίους, τὸν μὲν Δεπτόν, ἐξ Ἰλλυρίδος γυναικὸς, τὸν δὲ ἄρξαντα Κυρήνης ἐκ Πτολεμαίδος, ἐκ δὲ Δηνιδαμείας Ἀλέξαιδρου, δυς ἐν Ἀιγύπτῳ κατεβίωσε. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Κόρραγον υἱὸν ἐξ Εὐρυδίκης αὐτῷ γενέσθαι. κατέβη δὲ ταῖς διαδοχαῖς τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ βασιλείου εἰς Περσέα τελευταῖον, ἐφ' οὐ Ρωμαίοι Μακεδονίαν ὑπηγάγοντο.

Διηγομνησμένου δὲ τοῦ Μακεδονικοῦ δράματος ὀρα τῷ Ῥωμαϊκῷ ἐπεισάγαγεῖν.
most solemn melody upon his flute accompanied the rowers; to this melody the oars kept perfect time, and their splashing, like funereal beatings of the breast, answered to the cadences of the flute-tones. But the most pity and lamentation among those who had come in throngs to the sea-shore was awakened by the sight of Antigonus himself, who was bowed down and in tears. After garlands and other honours had been bestowed upon the remains at Corinth, they were brought by Antigonus to Demetrias for burial, a city named after his father, who had settled it from the small villages about Iolcus.\footnote{Cf. chapter xxv. 2.}

The children left by Demetrius were these: Antigonus and Stratonicé, by Phila; two named Demetrius, one who was surnamed the Thin, by a woman of Illyria, and one who ruled Cyrené, by Ptolemaïs; and, by Deïdameia, Alexander, who lived and died in Egypt. It is said also that he had a son named Corrhagus, by Eurydicé. His line came down in a succession of kings to Perseus, the last, in whose reign the Romans subdued Macedonia.

And now that the Macedonian play has been performed, let us introduce the Roman.
ANTONY
ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ

1. Ἀντωνίου πάππος μὲν ἢν ὁ ρήτωρ Ἀντώνιος, ἐν τῆς Σύλλα γενόμενον στάσεως Μάριος ἀπέκτεινε, πατήρ δὲ ὁ Κρητικὸς ἐπικληθεῖς Ἀντώνιος, οὐχ οὐτω μὲν εὐδόκιμος ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἀνήρ οὐδὲ λαμπρός, εὐγνώμων δὲ καὶ χρηστός, ἄλλως τε καὶ πρὸς τὰς μεταδόσεις ἔλευθερος, ὡς ἂφ' ἐνός ἂν τις ἔργω καταμάθοι.

2 κεκτημένος γὰρ οὐ πολλὰ καὶ διὰ τούτο τῇ 916 φιλανθρωπίᾳ χρῆσθαι κωλυόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς, ἐπεὶ τις ἁφικετο τῶν συνήθων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀργυρίου δεόμενος, ἀργύριον μὲν οὐκ εἶχε, παιδαρίω δὲ προσέταξεν εἰς ἀργυροῦν σκύφων ὕδωρ ἐμβαλόντι κομίσας· καὶ κομίσαντος, ὡς ξύρεσθαι

3 μέλλων κατέβρεχε τὰ γένεια. τὸν δὲ παιδαρίου καθ' ἐτέραν πρόφασιν ἐκποδῶν γενομένου, τὸν μὲν σκύφων ἐδωκε τῷ φίλῳ χρῆσθαι κελεύσας, ξητήσεως δὲ πολλῆς ἐν τοῖς οἰκέταις οὔσης ὀρὸν χαλεπαίνονσαν τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ βουλομένην καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἐξετάζειν ὁμολόγησε, συγγρώμῃν ἕχειν ἀπεθεῖς.

II. Ἡν δὲ αὐτῷ γυνὴ Ἰουλία τοῦ Καισάρων ὁικου, ταῖς ἀρίσταις τότε καὶ σωφρονεστάταις ἐνάμιλλος. ὑπὸ ταύτης ὁ νῖος Ἀντώνιος ἔτραφη μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτην Κορηνίλῳ τὸν 138
ANTONY

I. Antony's grandfather was the orator Antonius, who joined the party of Sulla and was put to death by Marius; his father was Antonius surnamed Creticus, a man of no great repute in public life, nor illustrious, but kindly and honest, and particularly a liberal giver, as one may see from a single instance. He had not much property himself, and therefore was prevented by his wife from indulging his kindly feelings. When, accordingly, one of his intimates came to him with a request for money, money he had not, but he ordered a young slave to put water into a silver bowl and bring it to him, and when it was brought, he moistened his chin, as though about to shave. The slave was then sent away on another errand improvised for the occasion, whereupon Antonius gave the bowl to his friend and bade him dispose of it. Later, when a careful search was made for it among the slaves, seeing that his wife was angry and proposed to put them to the torture one by one, Antonius confessed what he had done, and by his entreaties gained her pardon.

II. His wife was Julia, of the house of the Caesars, and she could vie with the noblest and most discreet women of her time. By this mother her son Antony was reared, after the death of whose father she married Cornelius Lentulus, whom Cicero

\[1 \text{ Cf. the Marius, xlv. 1–4.}\]

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γαμηθείσης, δι' Κικέρων ἀπέκτεινε τῶν Κατιλίνα
συνωμοτῶν γενόμενον. αὐτὴ δοκεῖ τῆς σφοδρᾶς
ἐχθρᾶς 'Αντωνίῳ πρὸς Κικέρωνα πρόφασις
2 καὶ ἀρχὴ γενέσθαι. φησὶ γοῦν 'Αντώνιος οὐδὲ
tὸν νεκρὸν ἀυτοῖς ἀποδοθῆναι τοῦ Δέντλου
πρότερον ἢ τῆς γυναικὸς τοῦ Κικέρωνος τήν
μητέρα δεσθῆναι. τούτῳ μὲν οὖν ὦμολογομενῶς
ψεύδος ἐστὶν· οὔτεὶ γὰρ εἰρχθῃ ταφῆς τῶν τότε
3 κολασθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ Κικέρωνος. 'Αντωνίῳ δὲ
λαμπρῷ καθ' ὄραν γενομένῳ τὴν Κουρίωνος
φιλίαν καὶ συνήθειαν ὠσπερ τινὰ κῆρα προσπε-
σεῖν λέγουσιν, αὐτοῦ τε περὶ τὰς ἣδουᾶς ἀπαίδευ-
tου γενομένου, καὶ τῶν Ἀντώνιον, ὃς μᾶλλον εἰὴ
χειροῆθης, εἰς πότους καὶ γύναια καὶ δαπάνας
πολυτελείας καὶ ἀκολάστους ἐμβάλλοντος. εἴ τι
ὁφλημα βαρὺ καὶ παρ' ἥλικιαν αὐτῷ συνήχθη
4 πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίων ταλάντων. τούτῳ πάν
ἐγγυησαμένου τοῦ Κουρίωνος ὁ πατὴρ αἰσθόμενος
ἐξῆλασε τῶν Ἀντώνιων έκ τῆς οἰκίας. οὐ δὲ
βραχὺν μὲν τινὰ χρόνον τῇ Κλωδίου τοῦ θρασυ-
tάτου καὶ βδελυρωτάτου τῶν τότε δημαγωγῶν
φορὰ πάντα τὰ πράγματα παρατεύουσα προσε-
μίξεν έαυτὸν· ταχὺ δὲ τῆς ἐκείνου μανίας μεστὸς
γενόμενος, καὶ φοβηθεὶς τοὺς συνισταμένους ἐπὶ
tῶν Κλωδίου, ἀπήρεν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας εἰς τὴν
Ἔλλαδα, καὶ διέτριβε τὸ τε σῶμα γυμνάζων πρὸς
τοὺς στρατιωτικοὺς ἄγώνας καὶ λέγειν μελετῶν.
5 ἔχρητο δὲ τῷ καλουμένῳ μὲν 'Ασιανῷ ξῆλῳ τῶν
λόγων, ἀνθοῦντι μάλιστα κατ' ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου,
ἔχοντι δὲ πολλήν ὦμοιότητα πρὸς τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ,
κομπώδῃ καὶ φρυγανιαίᾳ ὄντα καὶ κενοῦ γαυ-
ριάματος καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἀνωμάλου μεστὸν.
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put to death for joining the conspiracy of Catiline.\(^1\) This would seem to have been the origin and ground of the violent hatred which Antony felt towards Cicero. At any rate, Antony says that not even the dead body of Lentulus was given up to them until his mother had begged it from the wife of Cicero. This, however, is admittedly false; for no one of those who were punished at that time by Cicero was deprived of burial. Antony gave brilliant promise in his youth, they say, until his intimate friendship with Curio fell upon him like a pest. For Curio himself was unrestrained in his pleasures, and in order to make Antony more manageable, engaged him in drinking bouts, and with women, and in immoderate and extravagant expenditures. This involved Antony in a heavy debt and one that was excessive for his years—a debt of two hundred and fifty talents.\(^2\) For this whole sum Curio went surety, but his father heard of it and banished Antony from his house. Then Antony allied himself for a short time with Clodius, the most audacious and low-lived demagogue of his time, in the violent courses which were convulsing the state; but he soon became sated with that miscreant’s madness, and fearing the party which was forming against him, left Italy for Greece, where he spent some time in military exercises and the study of oratory. He adopted what was called the Asiatic style of oratory, which was at the height of its popularity in those days and bore a strong resemblance to his own life, which was swashbuckling and boastful, full of empty exultation and distorted ambition.

\(^1\) Cf. the Cicero, xxii.

\(^2\) An equivalent, roughly, of £60,000, or $300,000, with four or five times the purchasing power of modern money.
III. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Γαβίνιος ἄνηρ ὑπατικὸς εἰς Συρίαν πλέων ἀνέπειθεν αὐτὸν ὁμήσαι πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν, ἱδίωτης μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἔφη συνεξελθεῖν, ἀποδεικθεὶς δὲ τῶν ἱππέων ἄρχων συνεστράτευε. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ Ἀριστόβουλον Ἰουδαίως ἀφιστάντα πεμφθεὶς αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπέβη τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν ἐρυμάτων πρῶτος, ἐκεῖνον δὲ πάντων ἐξῆλασεν εἶτα μάχην συνάψας καὶ τρεφάμενος οὔλης τοῖς συν αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐκεῖνου πολλαπλασίως ὄντας ἀπέκτεινε πλήν οὐλήν ἀπαντας. αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀριστόβουλος ἤλω.

2 Μετὰ ταύτα Γαβίνιον ἐπὶ μυρίοις ταλάντοις Πτολεμαίου πείθοντος εἰς Αἰγυπτὸν ἀμα συνεμβαλείν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀναλαβεῖν, οἷς μὲν πλείστοι τῶν ἠγεμόνων ἠγανικύντο, καὶ Γαβίνιον δὲ ὅκνος τις εἶχε τοῦ πολέμου, καίπερ ἐξηνδραποδισμένον κομιδή τοῖς μυρίοις ταλάντοις, Ἀντώνιος δὲ καὶ πράξεων μεγάλων ἐφιέμενος καὶ τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ χαριζόμενος δεομένῳ συνέπεισε μὲν καὶ συνεξερμήσετο ἐπὶ τὴν στρατείαν τὸν

3 Γαβίνιον, ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου μᾶλλον ἐφοβοῦντο τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ Πηλούσιον ὁδὸν, ἀτε δὴ διὰ ψάμμου βαθείας καὶ ἀνύδρου παρὰ τὸ Ἕκρηγμα καὶ τὰ τῆς Σερβωνίδος ἐλη γινομένης αὐτοῖς τῆς πορείας, ἂς Τυφώνος μὲν ἐκπυομένης Ἀιγύπτιοι καλοῦσι, τῆς δὲ ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης ὑπονόστησις εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ διήθησις, ἡ βραχυτάτω διορίζεται πρὸς τὴν

4 ἐντὸς θάλασσαν ἰσθμῷ, πεμφθεὶς μετὰ τῶν ἰπ-
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III. When Gabinius, a man of consular dignity, was sailing for Syria, he tried to persuade Antony to join the expedition. Antony refused to go out with him in a private capacity, but on being appointed commander of the horse, accompanied him on the campaign. And first, having been sent against Aristobulus, who was bringing the Jews to a revolt, he was himself the first man to mount the highest of the fortifications, and drove Aristobulus from all of them; then he joined battle with him, routed his many times more numerous forces with his own small band, and slew all but a few of them. Aristobulus himself was captured, together with his son.

After this, Ptolemy tried to persuade Gabinius by a bribe of ten thousand talents to join him in an invasion of Egypt and recover the kingdom for him. But the greater part of the officers were opposed to the plan, and Gabinius himself felt a certain dread of the war, although he was completely captivated by the ten thousand talents. Antony, however, who was ambitious of great exploits and eager to gratify the request of Ptolemy, joined the king in persuading and inciting Gabinius to the expedition. But more than the war the march to Pelusium was feared, since their route lay through deep sand, where there was no water, as far as the Ecregma and the Serbonian marshes. These the Egyptians call the blasts of Typhon, although they appear to be a residual arm of the Red Sea, helped by infiltration, where the isthmus between them and the Mediterranean is at its narrowest. Antony was therefore

1 In 58 B.C. 2 Cf. the Pompey, xxxix. 2. 3 Cf. the Cato Minor, xxxv.; the Pompey, xlix. 5 ff. 4 The evil deity of the Egyptians, buried under the Serbonian marshes (Herodotus, iii. 5).
πέων ὁ Ἀντώνιος οὐ μόνον τὰ στενὰ κατέσχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Πηλούσιον ἔλων, πόλιν μεγάλην, καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ φρουρῶν κρατήσας, ἁμα καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀσφαλῆ τῷ στρατεύματι καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς νίκης ἐποίησε τῷ στρατηγῷ βέβαιον. ἀπέλαυσαν δὲ τῆς φιλοσοφίας αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ πολέμοι. Πτολεμαῖον γὰρ ἀμα τῷ παρελθεῖν εἰς τὸ Πηλούσιον ὑπ’ ὄργης καὶ μίσους ὀρμημένου φονεύειν 6 τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐνέστη καὶ διεκόλυυσεν. ἐν δὲ ταῖς μάχαις καὶ τοῖς ἁγώσι μεγάλοις καὶ συνχαίροις γεγομένοις πολλά καὶ τόλμησι ἔργα καὶ προνοίας ἡγεμονικῆς ἀποδεικνύεσθαι, ἐμφανέστατα δὲ τῷ κυκλώσασθαι καὶ περιβαλεῖν κατόπιν τοὺς πολεμίους τὴν νίκην τοῖς κατὰ στόμα παρασχών, ἀριστεῖα καὶ τιμᾶς ἔλαβε πρεποῦσαν. οὐ διέλαβε δὲ τοὺς πολλούς οὐδὲ ἡ πρὸς Ἀρχέλαον 6 αὐτοῦ τεθνηκότα φιλανθρωπία· γεγονὼς γὰρ αὐτῷ συνήθης καὶ ξένος ἐπολέμη μὲν ἀναγκαῖος ζωντι, τὸ δὲ σῶμα πεσόντος ἐξευρών καὶ κοσμήσας βασιλικῶς ἐκήδευσεν. ἐπὶ τούτοις Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τε πλεῖστον αὐτοῦ λόγον κατέλιπε, καὶ Ρωμαίων τοῖς στρατευμένοις ἁπερ ἐδοξε λαμπρότατος εἶναι.

IV. Προσῆν δὲ καὶ μορφῆς ἐλευθέριον ἀξίωμα, καὶ πώγων τις οὐκ ἁγενής καὶ πλάτος μετώπου καὶ γρυπότης μυκτῆρος ἐδόκει τοῖς γραφομένοις καὶ πλαττομένοις Ἡρακλέους προσώποις ἐμφερεῖς ἔχειν τὸ ἀρρένωπόν. ἦν δὲ καὶ λόγος παλαιὸς
ANTONY

sent with the cavalry, and he not only occupied the narrow pass, but actually took Pelusium, a large city, and got its garrison into his power, thus rendering its march safer for the main army and giving its general assured hope of victory. And even the enemy reaped advantage from Antony's love of distinction. For Ptolemy, as soon as he entered Pelusium, was led by wrath and hatred to institute a massacre of the Egyptians; but Antony intervened and prevented him. Moreover, in the ensuing battles and contests, which were many and great, he displayed many deeds of daring and sagacious leadership, the most conspicuous of which was his rendering the van of the army victorious by outflanking the enemy and enveloping them from the rear. For all this he received rewards of valour and fitting honours. Nor did the multitude fail to observe his humane treatment of the dead Archelaüs,¹ for after waging war upon him of necessity while he was living, although he had been a comrade and friend, when he had fallen, Antony found his body and gave it royal adornment and burial. Thus he left among the people of Alexandria a very high reputation, and was thought by the Romans on the expedition to be a most illustrious man.

IV. He had also a noble dignity of form; and a shapely beard, a broad forehead, and an aquiline nose were thought to show the virile qualities peculiar to the portraits and statues of Heracles. Moreover, there was an ancient tradition that the

¹ The pretended son of Mithridates, who had married Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy Auletes, and queen of Egypt after the expulsion of her father. His death occurred in 55 B.C.
Ἡρακλείδας εἶναι τοὺς Ἄντωνίους, ἀπ’ Ἀντώνος,
2 παιδὸς Ἡρακλέους, γεγονότας. καὶ τούτον ἤτοι
tὸν λόγον τῇ τε μορφῇ τοῦ σώματος, ὦσπερ
eἰρηταί, καὶ τῇ στολῇ βεβαιοῦν. ἀεὶ γὰρ, ὅτε
μέλλοι πλείοσιν ὀρᾶσθαι, χιτῶνα εἰς μηρὸν
ἔξωστο, καὶ μάχαιρα μεγάλη παρήρητο, καὶ
σάγοις περιέκειτο τῶν στερεῶν. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ
tὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις φορτικὰ δοκοῦντα, μεγαλαυχία
cαὶ σκώμμα καὶ κώθων ἐμφανὴς καὶ καθίσαι
παρὰ τὸν ἐσθίοντα καὶ φαγεῖν ἐπιστάντα τρα-
pέζι στρατιωτικῇ, θαυμαστοῦ ὅσον εὐνοίας καὶ
3 πόθου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐνεποίει τοῖς στρατιώταις. ἦν
δὲ ποιοῦ καὶ τὸ ἐρωτικὸν οὐκ ἀναφróδιτον, ἄλλα
καὶ τοῦτο πολλοὺς ἐδημαγώγει, συμπράττων τε
τοῖς ἐρῶσι καὶ σκωπτόμενος οὐκ ἄγδως εἰς τοὺς
ιδίους ἔρωτας.

Ἡ δ’ ἐλευθεριότης καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ὀλγηχεὶρ
μηδὲ φειδομένη χαρίζεσθαι στρατιώταις καὶ
φίλοις ἅρχήν τε λαμπρὰν ἐπὶ τὸ ἱσχὺειν αὐτῷ
παρέσχε, καὶ μεγάλου γενομένου τὴν δύναμιν
ἐπὶ πλείον ἐπηρεῖ, ἐκ μυρίων ἄλλων ἀμαρτη-
μάτων ἀνατρεπομένην. ἐν δὲ τι τοῦ μεγαλοδώρου
4 παράδειγμα διηγήσομαι. τῶν φίλων τινὶ μυριά-
δας ἐκέλευσε πέντε καὶ εἰκοσὶ δοθῆναι τούτῳ
Ῥωμαίοι δεκῖς καλοῦσι. τοῦ δ’ ἐπιτρόπου θαυ-
μάσαντος καὶ ἵνα δείξῃ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶ κατα-
βαλόντος ἐν μέσῳ τὸ ἄργυριον, ἠρώτησε παριῶν
ὁ τι δὴ τούτο εἶ. τοῦ δ’ ἐπιτρόπου φήσαντος ὡς
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Antonii were Heracleidae, being descendants of Anton, a son of Heracles. And this tradition Antony thought that he confirmed, both by the shape of his body, as has been said, and by his attire. For whenever he was going to be seen by many people, he always wore his tunic girt up to his thigh, a large sword hung at his side, and a heavy cloak enveloped him. However, even what others thought offensive, namely, his jesting and boastfulness, his drinking-horn in evidence, his sitting by a comrade who was eating, or his standing to eat at a soldier's table,—it is astonishing how much goodwill and affection for him all this produced in his soldiers. And somehow even his conduct in the field of love was not without its charm, nay, it actually won for him the favour of many; for he assisted them in their love affairs, and submitted pleasantly to their jests upon his own amours.

Further, his liberality, and his bestowal of favours upon friends and soldiers with no scant or sparing hand, laid a splendid foundation for his growing strength, and when he had become great, lifted his power to yet greater heights, although it was hindered by countless faults besides. One illustration of his lavish giving I will relate. To one of his friends he ordered that two hundred and fifty thousand drachmas should be given (a sum which the Romans call "decies")\(^1\). His steward was amazed, and in order to show Antony the magnitude of the sum, deposited the money in full view. Antony, passing by, asked what that was; and when

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\(^1\) That is \textit{ten times} 100,000 sesterces, or 250,000 denarii. For the Roman denarius Plutarch regularly uses the nearly equivalent Greek drachma (which had about the value of the French franc).
δ' κελεύσεις δοθήναι, συμβαλλών αὐτοῦ τήν κακοθείαν ὁ 'Αντώνιος, "Ἐγὼ πλείου φώμην," ἔφη, "τὸ δεκίσις εἶναι τούτῳ δὲ μικρόν ἔστιν. ὡστε ἄλλο πρόσθες αὐτῷ τοσοῦτον."  

V. Ταύτα μὲν οὖν ὑστερον ἐπελ δὲ τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα διέστη, τῶν μὲν ἀριστοκρατικῶν Πομπήιος παρόντι προσθεμένων, τῶν δὲ δημοτικῶν Καίσαρα καλούντων ἐκ Γαλατίας ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς ὄντα, Κουρίων ὁ 'Αντώνιου φίλος ἐκ μεταβολῆς θεραπεύων τὰ Καίσαρος 'Αντώνιου προσηγάγετο, καὶ μεγάλην μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ λέγειν ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἔχων ἰσχύν, χρώμενος δὲ καὶ δαπάναις ἀρείωφις ἀφ' ὧν Καίσαρ εὑρίσχει, δήμαρχον ἀπεδείξε τῶν 'Αντώνιου ἐντα τῶν ἐπ' οἰόνοις ἱερέων, 2 οὖς Αὐγουρας καλοῦσιν. ὃ δὲ εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν ἄρχην παρελθὼν ὡς μικρόν ἢν ὀφελοῦσ τοῖς πολιτευμένοις ὑπὲρ Καίσαρος. ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν Μαρκέλλου τοῦ ὑπάτου Πομπήιῳ τοὺς τε συνειλεμένους ἐκεῖ στρατιώτας παρεγγυόντω καὶ καταλέγειν ἐτέρους διδόντως ἐμποδοῦν ἔστη, διάταγμα γράφας ὅπως ἡ μὲν ἡθοισμένη δύναμις εἰς Συρίαν πλέξι καὶ Βυβλῳ βοηθῇ πολεμοῦντι Πάρθοις, οὐς δὲ Πομπήίος καταλέγει, μὴ προσέχον τοῖς αὐτῷ. δεύτερον δὲ τὰς Καίσαρος ἐπιστολὰς οὐ προσιεμένων οὔτε ἐώντων ἀναγινώσκεσθαι τῶν συγκλητικῶν, αὐτὸς ἰσχύνων διὰ τὸ ἀρχεῖν ἀνέγγει, καὶ πολλοὺς μετέστησε τῇ γνώμῃ, δίκαια καὶ μέτρια Καίσαρος ἁξιοῦν ἀφ' ὧν ἐγραψε δόξαντος. 3 τέλος δὲ δυεῖν ἐρωτήσεων ἐν τῇ βουλῇ γενομένων,
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his steward told him it was the gift which he had ordered, he divined the man’s malice and said: “I thought the decies was more; this is a trifle; therefore add as much more to it.”

V. This, however, was at a later time. But when matters at Rome came to a crisis, the aristocratic party attaching itself to Pompey, who was in the city, and the popular party summoning Caesar from Gaul, where he was in arms, then Curio, the friend of Antony, who had changed sides and was now favouring the cause of Caesar, brought Antony over to it. Curio had great influence with the multitude from his eloquence, and made lavish use of money supplied by Caesar, and so got Antony elected tribune of the people,¹ and afterwards one of the priests, called augurs, who observe the flight of birds. As soon as Antony entered upon his office he was of great assistance to those who were managing affairs in the interests of Caesar. In the first place, when Marcellus the consul proposed to put under Pompey’s control the soldiers already collected, and to give him power to levy others, Antony opposed him by introducing a decree that the forces already assembled should sail for Syria and give aid to Bibulus, who was carrying on war with the Parthians, and that the troops which Pompey was then levying should not belong to him. In the second place, when the senate would not receive Caesar’s letters nor allow them to be read, Antony, whose office gave him power, read them himself, and thereby changed the opinion of many, who judged from Caesar’s letters that he was making only reasonable and just demands. And finally, when two questions were

¹ In 50 B.C.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ

τῆς μὲν εἰ δοκεῖ Πομπήιον ἀφεῖναι τὰ στρατεύματα, τῆς δὲ εἰ Καίσαρα, καὶ Πομπήιον μὲν ὀλίγων τὰ ὄπλα καταθέσθαι, Καίσαρα δὲ πάντων παρ' ὀλίγους κελεύοντων, ἀναστὰς Ἀντώνιος ἠρώτησεν εἰ δοκεῖ καὶ Πομπήιον ὁμοῦ καὶ Καίσαρα τὰ ὄπλα καταθέσθαι καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀφεῖναι. ταύτην ἑδέσσατο λαμπρῶς τὴν γυνώμην ἀπαντεῖ, καὶ μετὰ βοήθει έπαινούντες τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἦξον ἐπιψυχήσθαι. μὴ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων, αὐθεὶς ἐτέρας οἱ Καίσαρος φίλοι προύτειναι ἐπεικεῖς εἶναι δοκούσας ἀξιώσεις, αἰς ὁ τε Κάτων ἀντέπιπτε καὶ Δεντλος ὑπατεύων ἑξέβαλε τῆς θουλῆς τὸν Ἀντώνιον. ὁ δὲ πολλὰ μὲν αὐτοῖς ἔξιων ἐπηράσατο, λαβὼν δὲ θεράποντος ἔσθήτα καὶ μισθωσάμενος μετὰ Κασιόν Κούντου ξεύγος, ἐξώρμησε πρὸς Καίσαρα· καὶ κατεβών εὔθυς ὀρθέντες ὡς οὐδένα κόσμον ἦτο τῶν ἐν Ὀρμή πραγμάτων ἔχοντων, ὦτε μηδὲ δημάρχους παρρησίας μέτεστιν, ἀλλ' ἐλαύνεται καὶ κινδυνεύει πάς ὁ φθεγξάμενος ύπερ τῶν δικαίων.

VI. Ἐκ τούτου λαβὼν τὴν στρατιάν ὁ Καίσαρ εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἐνέβαλε. διὸ καὶ Κικέρων ἐν τοῖς Φιλιππικοῖς ἐγραψε τοὺ μὲν Τροϊκοῦ πολέμου τὴν Ἐλένην, τοῦ δ' ἐμφυλίου τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἄρχην 2 γενέσθαι, περιφανῶς ψευδόμενος. οὐ γὰρ οὕτως εὐχερῆς ἢν οὐδὲ ράδιος ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἐκπεσεῖν τῶν λογισμῶν Γάιος Καίσαρ ὤστε, εἰ μή ταύτα πάλαι ἐγγραφὸ πράττειν, οὕτως ἀν ἔπει καὶροῖ τὸν κατὰ 150
before the senate, one, whether Pompey should dismiss his forces, and the other, whether Caesar should do so, and only a few were for having Pompey lay down his arms, and all but a few were for having Caesar do so, then Antony rose and asked whether it was the opinion of the senate that Pompey and Caesar alike should lay down their arms and dismiss their forces. This proposal all accepted with alacrity, and with shouts of praise for Antony they demanded that the question be put to vote. But the consuls would not consent to this, and again the friends of Caesar put forward fresh demands which were thought to be reasonable. These Cato opposed, and Lentulus, in his capacity of consul, drove Antony from the senate. Antony went forth heaping many imprecations upon them, and putting on the dress of a slave, and hiring a car in company with Quintus Cassius, he set out to join Caesar. As soon as they came into Caesar’s presence they cried loudly that everything was now at loose ends in Rome, since even tribunes of the people had no freedom of speech, but everyone who raised his voice in behalf of justice was persecuted and ran risk of his life.1

VI. Upon this, Caesar took his army and invaded Italy. Therefore Cicero, in his “Philippics,” wrote that as Helen was the cause of the Trojan war, so Antony was the cause of the civil war.2 But this is manifestly false. For Caius Caesar was not a pliable man, nor easily led by anger to act on impulse. Therefore, had he not long ago determined upon his course, he would not thus, on the spur of the moment,

1 For the events narrated in this chapter, cf. also the Pompey, lviii. f.; the Caesar, xxx. f.
2 Phil. ii. 22, 55: ut Helena Trojanis, sic iste huic rei publicae belli causa, causa pestis atque exitii fuit.
τῆς πατρίδος ἔξενεγκεῖν πόλεμον, ὅτι φαύλως ἡμφιεσμένον εἶδεν Ἄντώνιον καὶ Κάσσιον ἐπὶ 3 ἑξάγονος μισθίου πεθεροτός πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάλαι δεομένῳ προφάσεως σχῆμα καὶ λόγον εὐπρεπῆ τοῦ πολέμου παρέσχεν. ἢ γε δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἃ καὶ πρότερον Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ πάλαι Κύρον, ἔρως ἀπαρχηγόρητος ἄρχης καὶ περιμανής ἐπιθυμία τοῦ πρῶτου εἶναι καὶ μέγιστον· ὄν τυχεῖν οὐκ ἦν μὴ Πομπηίου καταλυθέντος.

4 Ἡς δ’ οὖν ἐπελθὼν ἐκράτησε τῇ Ῥώμης καὶ Πομπηίου ἔξηλασε τῇ Ἰταλίας καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐν Ἱβηρίᾳ Πομπηίου δυνάμεις ἐπιστρέφειν ἐγὼν πρότερον, εἰτα οὖτως παρασκευασάμενος στόλον ἐπὶ Πομπηίου διαβαίνειν, Λεπίδῳ μὲν στρατηγοῦντι τὴν Ῥώμην, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ δημαρχούντι τὰ 5 στρατεύματα καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπέτρεψεν. ὁ δὲ τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις εὐθὺς προσφιλῆς ἢν συνγυμναζόμενος καὶ συνδιαιτώμενος τὰ πολλὰ καὶ δωρούμενος ἐκ τῶν παρόντων, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἐπαχθῆς. καὶ γὰρ ἄδικουμένων ὑπὸ ῥάθυμμας ὀλιγώρει, καὶ πρὸς ὅργην ἢκροάτο τῶν ἐντυγχάνοντων καὶ κακῶς ἐπὶ γυναιξιν ἀλλοτρίῳς 6 ἠκούε. καὶ ὅλως τὴν Καίσαρος ἄρχην, πάντα μᾶλλον ἡ τυραννίδα δι’ αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖνον φανεῖσαν, οἱ φίλοι διέβαλλον, ὡς Ἀντώνιος ἀπ’ ἐξουσίας μεγίστης ἀμαρτάνειν μέγιστα δόξας τὴν πλειστὴν αὐτίαν ἔλαβεν.

VII. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ ἐπανελθὼν ὁ Καίσαρ ἐκ τῆς Ἱβηρίας τὰ μὲν ἐγκλήματα παρεῖδεν αὐτοῦ, πρὸς δὲ τὸν πόλεμον ὡς ἐνέργη καὶ ἀνδρεία καὶ ἠγεμο- 919
have made war upon his country, just because he saw that Antony, meanly clad, with Cassius, on a hired car, had come in flight to him; nay, this merely afforded a cloak and a specious reason for war to a man who had long wanted a pretext for it. And that which led him to war against all mankind, as it had led Alexander before him, and Cyrus of old, was an insatiable love of power and a mad desire to be first and greatest; this he could not achieve if Pompey were not put down.

And so he came up against Rome and got it into his power, and drove Pompey out of Italy; and determining first to turn his efforts against the forces of Pompey which were in Spain, and afterwards, when he had got ready a fleet, to cross the sea against Pompey himself, he entrusted Rome to Lepidus, who was praetor, and Italy and the troops to Antony, who was tribune of the people. Antony at once gained the favour of the soldiers by sharing their exercises, living with them for the most part, and making them presents as generously as he could; but to everybody else he was odious. For his easy disposition led him to neglect the wronged, he listened angrily to those who consulted him, and he was in ill repute for his relations with other men’s wives. In a word, Caesar’s power, which proved to be anything rather than a tyranny so far as his own course was concerned, was brought into odium by his friends; and of these Antony, who had the greatest power and was thought to be the greatest transgressor, incurred the most blame.

VII. However, when Caesar came back from Spain, he ignored the charges against Antony, and since in the war he found him energetic, brave, and a
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

νικὸς χρόμενος οὐδαμῇ διήμαρτεν. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν μετ' ὀλίγων. ἀπὸ Βρεγετσίου διαπεράσας τὸν Ἰόνιον ἔστεμφεν ὅπσιω τὰ πλοῖα, Γαβινίφω καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ τὰς δυνάμεις ἐμβιβάζειν καὶ περαιών

κατὰ τάχος εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἐπιστείλας. Γαβινίφω δὲ πρὸς τὸν πλοῖν χαλεπῶς ὅποτε χειμῶνος ὧρα καταδειλιάσαντος καὶ πεζῆ μακρὰν ὅδὸν περιάγοντος τὸν στρατὸν, Ἀντώνιος ὑπὲρ Καίσαρος ἐν πολλοῖς ἀπειλημένου πολεμίους φοβηθεὶς Δίβωνα μὲν ἐφορμοῦντα τῷ στόματι τοῦ λιμένος ἀπεκρούσατο, πολλὰ τῶν λεπτῶν ἀκατίων ταῖς τριήρεσιν αὐτῶν περιστήσας, ἐμβιβάζας δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶ ἅπετεῖς ὀκτακοσίους καὶ δισμυρίους

ὅπλας ἀνήχθη. καὶ γενόμενος καταφανῆς τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ διωκόμενος τὸν μὲν ἐκ τούτων κύδυνον διέφυγε, λαμπρὸν νότον κύμα μέγα καὶ κοίλην θάλατταν ταῖς τριήρεσιν αὐτῶν περιστήσαντος, ἐκφερόμενος δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶ πρὸς κρημνοὺς καὶ φάραγγας ἀγχιβαθεῖς οὐδεμίαν ἐλπίδα σωθεῖας ἄφην. ἄφνω δὲ τοῦ κόλπου πολὺν ἐκπνεύσαντος λίβα, καὶ τοῦ κλύδωνος ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς εἰς τὸ πέλαγος διαχεομένου, μεταβαλόμενος ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ πλέον σοβαρῶς ὀρᾶ ναυαγίων περίπλεον τῶν αὐγιαλῶν. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἐξέβαλε τὸ πνεῦμα τὰς διωκούσας αὐτῶν τριήρεις, καὶ διεφθάρησαν ώσις ὀλίγαι καὶ σωμάτων πολλῶν καὶ χρημάτων ἐκμάτησεν Ἀντώνιος, καὶ Δίσσον εἶλε, καὶ μέγα Καίσαρι παρέσχε θάρσος ἐν καιρῷ μετὰ θηλυκάνθως ἀφικόμενος δυνάμεως.

VIII. Πολλῶν δὲ γιμνωμένων καὶ συνεχῶν ἀγώνων ἐν πάσι μὲν ἢ διαπρεπῆς, δίς δὲ φεύγοντας προτροπάθην τοὺς Καίσαρος ἀπαντήσας ἀνέ-
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capable leader, he made no mistake. Caesar himself, then, after crossing the Ionian sea from Brundisium with a few soldiers,¹ sent back his transports with orders to Gabinius and Antony to embark their forces and come with all speed into Macedonia. But Gabinius was afraid to make the voyage, which was difficult in the winter time, and started to lead his army a long way round by land. Antony, therefore, fearing for Caesar, who was hemmed in among numerous enemies, beat off Libo, who was blockading the harbour of Brundisium, by surrounding his galleys with a great number of small skiffs, and then, embarking eight hundred horsemen and twenty thousand legionaries, put to sea. Being discovered by the enemy and pursued, he escaped the danger from them, since a violent south wind brought a heavy swell and put their galleys in the trough of the sea; but he was carried with his own ships towards a precipitous and craggy shore, and had no hope of escape. Suddenly, however, there blew from the bay a strong south-west wind, and the swell began to run from the land out to sea, so that he was able to reverse his course, and, as he sailed gallantly along, he saw the shore covered with wrecks. For there the wind had cast up the galleys which were in pursuit of him, and many of them had been destroyed. Antony took many prisoners and much booty, captured Lissus, and inspired Caesar with great confidence by arriving in the nick of time with so large a force.

VIII. The struggles which followed were many and continuous, and in all of them Antony distinguished himself. Twice, when Caesar's men were

¹ Early in 48 B.C. Cf. the Caesar, xxxvii. 2.
στρεψέ καὶ στῆναι καὶ συμβαλεῖν αὖθις τοῖς διώ-
kousin ἀναγκάσας ἐνίκησεν. ἦν οὖν αὐτοῦ μετὰ
2 Καίσαρα πλείστος ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ λόγος· ἐδή-
lωσε δὲ Καίσαρ ἦν ἔχοι περὶ αὐτοῦ δόξαν. ἦτεὶ
γὰρ ἐμελλεὶ τὴν τελευταίαν καὶ τὰ ὅλα κρίνασαν
ἐν Φαρσάλῳ μάχην μάχεσθαι, τὸ μὲν δεξίων
αὐτὸς εἰχε κέρας, τοῦ δὲ εὐσωμύου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν
'Ἀντωνίῳ παρέδωκεν, ὡς πολεμικωτάτῳ τῶν ὕψι
3 ἔαυτῷ. μετὰ δὲ τὴν νίκην δικτάτωρ ἀναγορευθεῖς
αὐτὸς μὲν ἐδίωκε Πομπήιον, Ἀντώνιον δὲ ἤπ-
pαρχὼν ἐλάμβανος εἰς 'Ρώμην ἐπεμψεν. ἔστι δὲ ἡ
ἀρχὴ δευτέρα τοῦ δικτάτορος παρόντος· ἄν δὲ μὴ
παρῇ, πρώτη καὶ μόνη σχέδον· ἡ γὰρ δημαρχία
dιαμένει, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας καταλύουσι πάσας δικτά-
tορὸς αἱρεθέντος.
IX. Οὐ μὴν ἄλλα τότε δημαρχῶν Δολοβέλλας,
nέος ἀνήρ καὶ νέων πραγμάτων ὀρεγόμενος, εἰση-
gεῖτο χρεών ἀποκοπᾶς, καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον αὐτῷ
tε φίλων ἄντα καὶ βουλόμενον ἀεὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς
ἀρέσκειν ἐπευθές συμπράττει καὶ κοινωνεῖν τοῦ
πολιτεύματος. Ἀσινίου δὲ καὶ Τρεβέλλιον τά-
nαντια παρακαλοῦντων ὑπόνοια δεινὴ κατὰ τύχην
τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ προσέπεσεν ὡς ἄδικουμένῳ περὶ τὸν
2 γάμῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ Δολοβέλλα. καὶ τὸ πράγμα
βαρέως ἐνεγκὼν τὴν τε γυναῖκα τῆς οἰκίας ἐξή-
lασεν ἀνεψιῶν οὕσαν αὐτοῦ (θυγατὴρ γὰρ ἦν
Γαίου Ἀντωνίου τοῦ Κικέρωνι συνυπατεύσαντος),
καὶ τοὺς περὶ Ἀσινίου δεξάμενος ἐπολέμει τῷ
Δολοβέλλα. κατέλαβε γὰρ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἑκεῖνος
ὡς βία κυρώσων τὸν νόμον. Ἀντώνιος δὲ, καὶ
tῆς βούλης ψηφισματικῆς ὁπλῶν δεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν

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in headlong flight, he met them, turned them back, forced them to stand and engage again their pursuers, and won the victory. Accordingly, next to Caesar, he was the man most talked about in the camp. And Caesar showed plainly what opinion he had of him. For when he was about to fight the last and all-decisive battle at Pharsalus, he himself took the right wing, but he gave the command of the left to Antony, as the most capable officer under him. And after the victory, when he had been proclaimed dictator, he himself pursued Pompey, but he chose Antony as his Master of Horse and sent him to Rome. This office is second in rank when the dictator is in the city; but when he is absent, it is the first and almost the only one. For only the tribuneship continues when a dictator has been chosen; all the other offices are abolished.

IX. However, Dolabella, who was tribune at this time—a newcomer in politics who aimed at a new order of things, introduced a law for the abolition of debts, and tried to persuade Antony, who was his friend and always sought to please the multitude, to take common action with him in the measure. But Asinius and Trebellius advised Antony to the contrary, and, as chance would have it, a dire suspicion fell upon him that he was wronged as a husband by Dolabella. Antony took the matter much to heart, drove his wife from his house (she was his cousin, being a daughter of the Caius Antonius who was Cicero's colleague in the consulship), made common cause with Asinius and Trebellius, and waged war upon Dolabella. For Dolabella had occupied the forum in order to force the passage of his law; so Antony, after the senate had voted that arms
Δολοβέλλαν, ἐπελθὼν καὶ μάχην συνάψας ἀπέκτεινε τέ τινας τῶν ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπέβαλε. τοῖς μὲν οὖν πολλοῖς ἐκ τούτων ἀπηχθάνετο, τοῖς δὲ χρήστοις καὶ σώφροσι διὰ τὸν ἄλλον βίον οὐκ ἦν ἀρεστός, ὡς Κικέρων φησίν, ἀλλ’ ἐμεσείτο, βδελυγμένων αὐτοῦ μέθας ἀόρους καὶ δαπάνας ἑπαχθεῖς καὶ κυλινδήσεις ἐν γυναικῶις, 920 καὶ μεθ’ ἦμέραν μὲν ὑπνοὺς καὶ περιπάτους ἀλύοντος καὶ κραυγάλωντος, νὺκτωρ δὲ κόμους καὶ θέατρα καὶ διατριβὰς ἐν γάμοις μίμων καὶ γελά- 4 τοποίων. λέγεται γοῦν, ὡς ἐν Ἰππίου ποτὲ τοῦ μίμου γάμοις ἐστιαθεῖς καὶ πίων διὰ νυκτός, εἰτα πρωί τοῦ δήμου καλούντος εἰς ἀγορὰν προελθὼν ἔτι τροφῆς μεστὸς ἐμέσειε, τῶν φίλων τινῶν ὑποσχόντως τὸ ἰμάτιον. ἢν δὲ καὶ Σέργιος ὁ μῖμος τῶν μέγιστον παρ’ αὐτῷ δυναμένων, καὶ Κυθηρίς ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς παλαίστρας γύναιον ἀγαπώμενον, δ ὃ δὴ καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐπὶ ἐν φορείῳ περιήγητο, καὶ τὸ φορεῖον οὐκ ἔλαττος ὢ τὸ τῆς μητρὸς αὐ- 5 τοῦ περιέποντος ἥκολοῦθον. ἐλύτουν δὲ καὶ χρυσῶν ἑκτοσίμων ὀσπερ ἐν πομπαῖς ταῖς ἀποδήμαις διαφερομένων ὑγείας, καὶ στάσεις ἐνδοιοκαθηνῶν, καὶ πρὸς ἀλκησι καὶ ποταμοῖς ἀρίστων πολυτελῶν διαθέσεις, καὶ λέοντες ἀρμασοῖς ὑπεζευγμένοι, καὶ σωφρόνων ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν οἰκίαις ἀχαμαίτυπαις καὶ σαμβυκιστρίαις ἐπισταθ- 6 μενόμεναι. δεινὸν γὰρ ἐποιοῦντο Καίσαρα μὲν αὐτῶν ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας θυραυλεῖν, τὰ περιόντα
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must be employed against Dolabella, came up against him, joined battle, slew some of his men, and lost some of his own. This course naturally made him odious to the multitude, and to men of worth and uprightness he was not acceptable because of his life in general, as Cicero says,¹ nay, he was hated by them. They loathed his ill-timed drunkenness, his heavy expenditures, his debauches with women, his spending the days in sleep or in wandering about with crazed and aching head, the nights in revelry or at shows, or in attendance at the nuptial feasts of mimes and jesters. We are told, at any rate, that he once feasted at the nuptials of Hippias the mime, drank all night, and then, early in the morning, when the people summoned him to the forum, came before them still surfeited with food and vomited into his toga, which one of his friends held at his service. Sergius the mime also was one of those who had the greatest influence with him, and Cytheris, a woman from the same school of acting, a great favourite, whom he took about with him in a litter on his visits to the cities, and her litter was followed by as many attendants as that of his mother. Moreover, people were vexed at the sight of golden beakers borne about on his excursions from the city as in sacred processions, at the pitching of tents when he travelled, at the laying out of costly repasts near groves and rivers, at chariots drawn by lions, and at the use of honest men and women’s houses as quarters for harlots and psaltery-players. For it was thought a monstrous thing that, while Caesar himself was lodging under the skies outside of Italy

¹ The second Philippic pictures Antony’s excesses.
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tου πολέμου μεγάλοις πόνοις καὶ κινδύνοις ἀνακαθαίρομενον, ἔτερος δὲ δι’ ἐκείνον τρυφῶν τοῖς πολῖταις ἐνυβρίζοντας.

X. Ταῦτα καὶ τὴν στάσιν αὐξήσας δοκεῖ καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν εἰς ὑβρεῖς δεινᾶς καὶ πλεονεξίας ἀνεῖναι. διὸ καὶ Καίσαρ ἔπανελθὼν Δολοβέλλα τε συγγνώμην ἔδωκε, καὶ τὸ τρῖτον αἰρεθεὶς ὑπάτος οὐκ Ἀντώνιον, ἀλλὰ Δέπιδον εἶλετο συνάρ-χοντα.

2 τὴν δὲ Πομπηίου πωλουμένην οἰκίαν ὁνήσατο μὲν Ἀντώνιος, ἀπαιτούμενος δὲ τὴν τιμὴν ἡγανάκτης καὶ φησιν αὐτὸς διὰ τούτο μὴ μετασχεῖν Καίσαρι τῆς εἰς Διβύην στρατείας, ἕπτο τοῖς προτέρους κατορθώμασιν οὐ τυχὼν ἀμοιβῆς. ἐσκε μέντοι τὸ πολὺ τῆς ἀβελτερίας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἁσωτίας ἀφελεῖν ὁ Καίσαρ, οὐκ ἀναισθήτως 3 τὰ πλημμελήματα δεξάμενος. ἀπαλλαγεῖς γὰρ ἐκείνον τοῦ βίου γάμφω προσέσχε, Φουλβίαν ἀγαγόμενος τὴν Κλοδίῳ τῷ δημαγωγῷ συνοικήσασαν, οὐ ταλασίαν οὐδὲ οἰκουρίαν φρονοῦν γύναιον, οὐδὲ ἀνδρὸς ἱδίωτον κρατεῖν ἄξιον, ἀλλὰ ἄρχοντος ἄρχειν καὶ στρατηγοῦντος στρατηγεῖν βουλόμενον, ὡστε Κλεοπάτραν διδασκάλια Φουλβία τῆς Ἀντώνιου γυναικοκρατίας ὀφείλειν, πάνω χειροῆθη καὶ πεπαιδαγωγήμενον ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς ἀκροα-σθαί γυναικῶν παραλαβοῦσαν αὐτὸν.

4 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ κάκεινην ἐπειρᾶτο προσπαίζων καὶ μειρακιεσώμενος ἰδαρωτέραν ποιεῖν ὁ Ἀντώ-νιος: οἶλον ὅτε, Καίσαρ πολλῶν ἀπαντώντων μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ἰβηρία νίκην, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔξηλθεν. εἶτα
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and clearing away the remnants of the war at great
toil and peril, his adherents, by virtue of his efforts,
should revel in luxury and mock at their fellow
citizens.

X. These things are also thought to have aug-
mented the discord, and to have incited the soldiery
to deeds of violence and rapacity. For this reason,
too, when Caesar came back, he pardoned Dolabella,
and, on being chosen consul for the third time,
selected Lepidus as his colleague, and not Antony.
The house of Pompey, when put up for sale, was
bought by Antony; but when he was asked to pay
the price for it, he was indignant. And he says
himself that this was the reason why he did not go
with Caesar on his African campaign, since he got no
recompense for his previous successes. However, it
would seem that Caesar cured him of most of his
prodigality and folly by not allowing his errors to
pass unnoticed. For Antony put away his re-
prehensile way of living, and turned his thoughts
to marriage, taking to wife Fulvia, the widow of
Clodius the demagogue. She was a woman who
took no thought for spinning or housekeeping, nor
would she deign to bear sway over a man of private
station, but she wished to rule a ruler and command
a commander. Therefore Cleopatra was indebted to
Fulvia for teaching Antony to endure a woman’s
sway, since she took him over quite tamed, and
schooled at the outset to obey women.

However, Antony tried, by sportive ways and
youthful sallies, to make even Fulvia more light-
hearted. For instance, when many were going out
to meet Caesar after his victory in Spain, Antony
himself went forth. Then, on a sudden, a report
άφαυ φήμης εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐμπεσοῦσα ὡς ἐπι\-ιασων οἱ πολέμιοι Καίσαρος τεθηκότος, ἀνέστρε-ψεν εἰς Ῥώμην. λαβὼν δὲ θεράποντος ἐσθήτα νῦκτωρ ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἦλθε, καὶ φήσας ἐπιστολὴν Φουλβία παρ' Ἀντωνίου κομὶζειν εἰςήχθη πρὸς 5 αὐτὴν ἐγκεκαλυμμένος. εἶτα ἡ μὲν ἐκπαθής ὀψα, πρὶν ἡ τὰ γράμματα λαβεῖν ἤρωτησεν εἰ ζῆ ὁ Ἀντώ\-νιος· ὁ δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν σιωπῇ προτείνας ἀρξαμένην λύειν καὶ ἀναγιώσκειν περιβαλῶν κατεφίλησε.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὀλίγα πολλῶν ὄντων ἐνεκα δείγ-ματος ἐξεννοχαμεν.

XI. Ἐκ δὲ Ἡβηρίας ἐπανίοντε Καίσαρι πάντες μὲν οἱ πρῶτοι πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ὃδον ἄπνυτων, ἐτιμήθη δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐκπρεπῶς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ. κομι-ζόμενος γὰρ ἐπὶ ξεύγους διὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας Ἀντώ-νιον εἰχε μεθ’ ἐαυτοῦ συνοχούμενον, ὁπισθεν δὲ Βρούτον Ἀλβίου καὶ τὸν τῆς ἀδελφίδης νίου Ὀκταουιάνον, δς μετὰ ταῦτα Καίσαρ ὁμομάσθη 921

2 καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἦρξε πλείστον χρόνον. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ πέμπτον ἀπεδείχθη Καίσαρ ὑπάτος, προσεῖλετο μὲν εὐθὺς συνάρχοντα τῶν Ἀντώνιον, ἐβούλετο δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπεπάμενος Δολοβέλλα παρεγγυῆσαι καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἦξη-νεγκεν. Ἀντώνιον δὲ τραχέως ἀντιπεσόντος καὶ πολλὰ μὲν εἰπόντος κακὰ Δολοβέλλαν, οὐκ ἐλάττωνα δὲ ἀκούσαντος, τότε μὲν αἰσχύνθεις τὴν 3 ἀκοσμίαν ὁ Καίσαρ ἀπηλλάγη. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα προελθὼν ἀναγορεύσαι τῶν Δολοβέλλαν, Ἀν-τωνίου τοὺς οἰνον έναντιοῦσαι βοώντος, εἰξε καὶ προῆκατο Δολοβέλλαν ἀχθόμενον. ἑδόκει
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burst upon Italy that Caesar was dead and his enemies advancing upon the country, and Antony turned back to Rome. He took the dress of a slave and came by night to his house, and on saying that he was the bearer of a letter to Fulvia from Antony, was admitted to her presence, his face all muffled. Then Fulvia, in great distress, before taking the letter, asked whether Antony was still alive; and he, after handing her the letter without a word, as she began to open and read it, threw his arms about her and kissed her.

These few details, then, out of many, I have adduced by way of illustration.

XI. When Caesar returned from Spain,¹ all the principal men went many days’ journey to meet him, but it was Antony who was conspicuously honoured by him. For as he journeyed through Italy he had Antony in the same car with himself, but behind him Brutus Albinus, and Octavius, his niece’s son, who was afterwards named Caesar and ruled Rome for a very long time. Moreover, when Caesar had for the fifth time been appointed consul, he immediately chose Antony as his colleague. It was his purpose also to resign his own office and make it over to Dolabella; and he proposed this to the senate. But since Antony vehemently opposed the plan, heaped much abuse upon Dolabella, and received as much in return, for the time being Caesar desisted, being ashamed of their unseemly conduct. And afterwards, when Caesar came before the people to proclaim Dolabella, Antony shouted that the omens were opposed. Caesar therefore yielded, and gave up Dolabella, who was much annoyed. And it

¹ In 45 B.C.
δὲ κακείνων οúdeν ἦττον τοῦ Ἀντωνίου βδελύττεσθαι. λέγεται γὰρ ὡς, ἀμφότεροι τινὸς ὁμοῦ
diabálloντος πρὸς αὐτὸν, εἶποι, μὴ δεδείναι τοὺς
pαχεῖς τούτους καὶ κομήτας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἄχρονοι
cαὶ λεπτοὺς ἐκείνους; Βροῦτον καὶ Κάσσιον
ἀποδεικνύμενος, ύφ' ὁν ἐμελλεν ἐπιβουλευθεὶς
ἀναιρεῖσθαι.

XII. Κακείνως δὲ τὴν εὔπρεπεστάτην πρό-
φασιν ἄκων παρεσχεν Ἀντώνιος. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἡ
tῶν Δυκαίων ἐορτὴ Ῥωμαίοις, ἦν Δουπερκάλλα
καλούσι, Καίσαρ εἶκεςμημένος ἐσθήτε θριαμ-
βικῆ καὶ καθήμενος ὑπὲρ βήματος ἐν ἁγορᾷ τοὺς
διαθέοντας ἐθέατον. διαθέουσι δὲ τῶν εὐγενῶν
νέοι πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἄρχοντων, ἀληθιμένου
λίπα, σκύτησι λασίοις καθυκνούμενοι μετὰ παϊ-
2 διὰς τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων. ἐν τούτοις ὁ Ἀντώνιος
διαθέων τὰ μὲν πάτρια χαίρειν εἴασε, διάδημα
de δάφνης στεφάνῳ περιελίξας προσέδραμε τῷ
βήματι, καὶ συνεξαρθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν συνθέωντων
ἐπέθηκε τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὡς δὴ
βασιλεὺς εἰς αὐτῷ προσήκον. ἐκείνου δὲ θυρυτο-
μένου καὶ διακλίνοντος ἰσθείς ὁ δήμος ἀνεκρό-
3 της' καὶ πάλιν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπίγγε, καὶ πάλιν
ἐκείνου ἀπετρίβετο. καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ὦτῳ
διαμαχομένων Ἀντωνίῳ μὲν ὄλγοι τῶν φίλων
βιαζομένῳ, Καίσαρι δὲ ἀρνομένῳ πάς ὁ δήμος
ἐπεκρότη µετὰ βοής· ὁ καὶ θαυμαστὸν ἦν, ὅτι
toῖς ἔργοις ῥα τῶν βασιλευομένων ὑπομένων
tοῦν άρα τοῦ βασιλέως ὡς κατάλυσιν τῆς ἐλευ-

1 ἀποδεικνύμενο Coraës and Sintenis, after the Aldine
edition; Bekker omits, with the MSS. In the Morals, p. 206 f,
Plutarch has δεῖξας.

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would seem that Caesar abominated Dolabella also no less than he did Antony. For we are told that when a certain man was accusing both of them to him, he said he had no fear of those fat and long-haired fellows, but rather of those pale and thin ones, indicating Brutus and Cassius, by whom he was to be conspired against and slain.\(^1\)

XII. And it was Antony who also unwittingly supplied the conspirators with their most specious pretext. For at the festival of the Lycaeae, which the Romans call Lupercalia, Caesar, arrayed in a triumphal robe and seated in the forum upon the rostra, was viewing the runners to and fro. Now, the runners to and fro are many noble youths and many of the magistrates, anointed with oil, and with leathern thongs they strike in sport those whom they meet. Antony was one of these runners, but he gave the ancient usages the go-by, and twining a wreath of laurel round a diadem, he ran with it to the rostra, where he was lifted on high by his fellow runners and put it on the head of Caesar, thus intimating that he ought to be king. When Caesar with affected modesty declined the diadem, the people were delighted and clapped their hands. Again Antony tried to put the diadem on Caesar’s head, and again Caesar pushed it away. This contest went on for some time, a few of Antony’s friends applauding his efforts to force the diadem upon Caesar, but all the people applauding with loud cries when Caesar refused it. And this was strange, too, that while the people were willing to conduct themselves like the subjects of a king, they shunned the name of king as though it meant the abolition of

\(^1\) Cf. the *Caesar*, lxii. 5; the *Brutus*, viii. 1.
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4 θερίας ἔφευγον. ἀνέστη μὲν οὖν ὁ Καίσαρ ἀχθεσθείς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, καὶ τὸ ἰμάτιον ἀπάγων ἀπὸ τοῦ τραχήλου τῷ βουλομένῳ παρέχειν τὴν σφαγὴν ἔβοα. τὸν δὲ στέφανον ἐνὶ τῶν ἀνδριάντων αὐτοῦ περιτεθέντα δήμαρχοί τινες κατέσπασαν, οὗς ὁ δῆμος εὐφημᾶς μετὰ κρότου παρείπετο, Καίσαρ δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπέστησεν.

XIII. Ταῦτα τοὺς περὶ Βρούτον καὶ Κάσσιον ἐπέρρωσε καὶ τῶν φίλων τοὺς πιστοὺς καταλέγοντες ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐσκέπτουτο περὶ Ἀντωνίου. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων προσιμένων τὸν ἄνδρα Τρεβύνιος ἀντείπειν ἐφ’ ἕρ’ ὄν χρόνον ἀπήντων ἦ Ιβηρίας ἐπανώντο Καίσαρι, τοῦ Ἀντωνίου συσκηροῦντο αὐτῷ καὶ συνοδεύοντος, ἀφασθαί τῆς γνώμης ἀτρέμα πῶς καὶ μετ’ εὐλαβείας, τὸν δὲ νοῆσαι μὲν, οὐ δέξασθαι δὲ τὴν πείραν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ πρὸς Καίσαρα κατειπεῖν,

2 ἀλλὰ πιστῶς κατασκιδήσας τὸν λόγον. ἐκ τούτου πάλιν ἐβουλεύοντο Καίσαρα κτείναντες ἐπισφάττειν Ἀντώνιον ἐκώλυσε δὲ Βρούτος, ἄξιον τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν δικαίων τολμομένην πρᾶξιν εἰλικρινῆ καὶ καθαρὰν ἀδικίας εἶναι. φοβοῦμενοι δὲ τὴν τε ῥώμην τοῦ Ἀντωνίου καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἄξιόμα, τάττουσιν ἐπὶ αὐτὸν ἐνίους τῶν ἐκ τῆς συνωμοσίας, ὅπως, ὅταν εἰσὶ Καίσαρ εἰς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ μέλλῃ δρᾶσθαι τὸ έργον, ἐξῳ διαλεγόμενοι τῇ καὶ σπουδάζουσι κατέχωσιν αὐτὸν.

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their freedom. At last Caesar rose from the rostra in displeasure, and pulling back the toga from his throat cried out that any one who pleased might smite him there. The wreath, which had been hung upon one of his statues, certain tribunes of the people tore down. These men the people greeted with favouring cries and clapping of hands; but Caesar deprived them of their office.¹

XIII. This incident strengthened the party of Brutus and Cassius; and when they were taking count of the friends whom they could trust for their enterprise, they raised a question about Antony. The rest were for making him one of them, but Trebonius opposed it. For, he said, while people were going out to meet Caesar on his return from Spain, Antony had travelled with him and shared his tent, and he had sounded him quietly and cautiously; Antony had understood him, he said, but had not responded to his advances; Antony had not, however, reported the conversation to Caesar, but had faithfully kept silence about it. Upon this, the conspirators again took counsel to kill Antony after they had slain Caesar; but Brutus prevented this, urging that the deed adventured in behalf of law and justice must be pure and free from injustice. But the conspirators were afraid of Antony's strength, and of the consideration which his office gave him, and therefore appointed some of their number to look out for him, in order that, when Caesar entered the senate-chamber and their deed was about to be done, they might engage Antony outside in conversation about some urgent matter and detain him there.

¹ Cf. the Caesar, chapter lxi.
XIV. Τούτων δὲ πραττομένων ὡς συνετέθη, καὶ πεσόντος ἐν τῇ Βουλῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος, εὐθὺς μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐσθήτα θεράποντος μεταλαβῶν ἐκρυψὲν αὐτόν. ὡς δὲ ἔγει τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπιχειροῦντας μὲν οὐδεὶς, συνήθροισμένους δὲ εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, ἐπεισὲ καταβῆναι λαβόντας ὁμηρον παρ’ αὐτοῦ τὸν νιόν· καὶ Κάσσιον μὲν αὐτὸς ἐδείπνυσε, Βρούτων δὲ Δέπιδος. συναγαγόν δὲ βουλὴν αὐτοῦ μὲν ὑπὲρ ἀμνηστίας εἴπε καὶ διανομῆς ἑπαρχίων τοῖς περὶ Κάσσιον καὶ Βρούτων, ἢ δὲ σύγκλητος ἐκύρωσεν ταῦτα καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος γεγονότων ἐψηφίσαντο μηδὲν ἀλλάττειν. ἔξει θῆς βουλής λαμπρότατος ἀνθρώπων ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἀνηρμένην δοκῶν ἑμφυλίων πόλεμον καὶ πράγματι δυσκολίας ἔχουσι καὶ ταραχὰς οὐ τὰς τυχούσας ἐμφρονεῖται καὶ πολιτικῶτα.
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XIV. This was done as planned, and Caesar fell in the senate-chamber. At once, then, Antony put on the dress of a slave and hid himself. But when he learned that the conspirators were laying hands upon nobody, but were merely assembled together on the Capitol, he persuaded them to come down by giving them his son as hostage; moreover, he himself entertained Cassius, and Lepidus entertained Brutus. Besides, he called the senate together and spoke in favour of amnesty and a distribution of provinces among Brutus and Cassius and their partisans, and the senate ratified this proposal, and voted that no change should be made in what Caesar had done.¹ So Antony went out of the senate the most illustrious of men; for he was thought to have put an end to civil war, and to have handled matters involving great difficulty and extraordinary confusion in a most prudent and statesmanlike manner.

From such considerations as these, however, he was soon shaken by the repute in which he stood with the multitude, and he had hopes that he would surely be first in the state if Brutus were overthrown. Now, it happened that when Caesar’s body was carried forth for burial, Antony pronounced the customary eulogy over it in the forum. And when he saw that the people were mightily swayed and charmed by his words, he mingled with his praises sorrow and indignation over the dreadful deed, and at the close of his speech shook on high the garments of the dead, all bloody and tattered by the swords as they were, called those who had wrought such work villains and murderers, and inspired his hearers with

¹ Cf. the Caesar, lxvii. 4; the Brutus, xix. 3.
μεν σῶμα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐν ἀγορᾷ καθαγίσαι, συνενεγκαμένους τὰ βάθρα καὶ τὰς τραπέζας, ἀρπάζοντας δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πυρᾶς δαλοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας θεῖν τῶν ἀπεκτονότων καὶ προσμάχεσθαι.

XV. Διὰ ταύτα τῶν περὶ Βρούτου ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀπελθόντων ο느냐 τε φίλοι τοῦ Καίσαρος συνίσταντο πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ὡς τε γυνὴ Καλπουρνία πιστεύσασα τῶν χρημάτων τὰ πλείστα κατέθετο πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας, εἰς λόγον τὰ σύμπαντα τετρακισχιλίων ταλάντων.

2 ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ τὰ βιβλία τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἐν οἷς υπομνήματα τῶν κεκριμένων καὶ ἰδανικοὺ τὸν ἀναγεγραμμένα· καὶ τούτους παρεγγράφων οὐς ἐβουλεύτο, πολλοὺς μὲν ἀρχοντας ἀπεδείκνυε, πολλοὺς δὲ βουλευτάς, ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ κατήγγειλε περίγγαδεμένους καὶ καθειριμένους ἐλένευ, ὡς

3 δὴ ταύτα τῷ Καίσαρι δόξαντα. διὸ τούτους ἀπαντάς ἐπισκόποντος οἱ Ρωμαίοι Χρωνίτας ἐκάλουν ἐλεγχόμενοι γὰρ εἰς τοὺς τοῦ νεκροῦ κατέφευγον υπομνήματισμοῦ. καὶ τάλλα δὲ ἔπραττεν αὐτοκρατορικῶς ὁ Ἀντώνιος, αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπατεύων, τοὺς δὲ ἀδελφοὺς ἐχὼν συνάρχοντας, Γαῖον μὲν στρατηγόν, Δεύκιον δὲ δήμαρχον.

XVI. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ὅντων ὁ νέος ἀφικνεῖται Καίσαρ εἰς Ῥώμην, ἀδελφότης μὲν ὁν τοῦ τεθνηκότος νίος, ὡς εἰρηταὶ, κληρονόμοι δὲ τῆς οὐσίας ἀπολειμμένος, ἐν Ἀπολλωνίᾳ δὲ διατρίβω ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν κατηγότον Ἀντώνιον. αὐτὸς εὐθὺς Ἀντώνιον, ὡς δὴ πατρὸν φίλου, ἀσπασάμενος τῶν παρακαταθηκῶν ἐμέμνηστο. καὶ γὰρ ὅφειλε Ῥωμαίοις ἐκάστω δραχμᾶς
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such rage that they heaped together benches and tables and burned Caesar's body in the forum, and then, snatching the blazing faggots from the pyre, ran to the houses of the assassins and assaulted them.¹

XV. On account of these things Brutus and his associates left the city, the friends of Caesar united in support of Antony, and Caesar's wife, Calpurnia, putting confidence in Antony, took most of the treasure from Caesar's house and put it in his charge; it amounted in all to four thousand talents. Antony received also the papers of Caesar, in which there were written memoranda of his decisions and decrees; and making insertions in these, he appointed many magistrates and many senators according to his own wishes. He also brought some men back from exile, and released others from prison, as though Caesar had decided upon all this. Wherefore the Romans in mockery called all such men Charonitae;² for when put to the test they appealed to the memoranda of the dead. And Antony managed everything else in autocratic fashion, being consul himself, and having his brothers in office at the same time, Caius as praetor, and Lucius as tribune of the people.

XVI. At this state of affairs the young Caesar came to Rome, a son of the dead Caesar's niece, as has been said,³ who had been left heir to his property. He had been staying at Apollonia when Caesar was assassinated. The young man greeted Antony as his father's friend, and reminded him of the moneys deposited with him. For he was under obligation to

¹ Cf. the Cicero, xiii. 2 ff.; the Brutus, xx. 3.
² In Latin, Orcini, from Orcus, the god of the lower world, to whom the Greek Charon is made to correspond.
³ Chapter xi. 1.
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ἐβδομῆκοντα πέντε δοῦναι, Καίσαρος ἐν ταῖς 2 διαθήκαις γράψαντος. Ἀντώνιος δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὡς μειρακίου καταφρονῶν ἔλεγεν οὐχ ἵναίνειν αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φρενῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ φίλων ἐρήμων ὧντα φορτίων ἀβάστακτον αἰρέσθαι τὴν Καίσαρος διαδοχήν· μὴ πειθομένον δὲ τούτοις, ἀλλ’ ἀπαιτοῦντος τὰ χρήματα, πολλὰ καὶ λέγων πρὸς ὑβριν αὐτοῦ καὶ πράττων διετέλει. δημαρχίαν τε γὰρ ἐνέστη μετιόντε, καὶ διήρων χρυσοῦν τοῦ πατρὸς, ὥσπερ ἐψήφιστο, τιθέντος ἠπείλησεν εἰς φυλακὴν ἀπάξειν, εἰ μὴ παύσαίτο 3 δημαγωγῶν. ἔτει μέντοι Κικέρων δοὺς ἕαυτὸν ὁ νεανίας καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁσιὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐμίσουν, δι’ ἐκείνων μὲν φιλεούτο τὴν βουλὴν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν δήμον ἀνελάμβανε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπὸ τῶν κατοικίων συνῆγε, δείσας ὁ Ἀντώνιος εἰς λόγους αὐτῷ συνήλθεν ἐν Κασπι- τολίῳ, καὶ διηλλάγησαν.

Εἶτα κοιμώμενος ἐκείνης τῆς νυκτὸς ὄψιν εἶδεν ἅτοπον ὁ Ἀντώνιος. ἔδοκε γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὴν δεξιὰν 4 χεῖρα βεβλῆσθαι κεραυνῷ. καὶ μεθ’ ἥμερας ὅλγας ἐνέπεσε λόγος ὡς ἐπίβουλεύοι Καίσαρ 923 αὐτῷ. Καίσαρ δὲ ἀπελογεῖτο μὲν, οὐκ ἔπειθε δὲ· καὶ πάλιν ἦν ἐνεργὸς ἡ ἕχθρα, καὶ περιθέοντες ἀμφότεροι τὴν Ἰταλίαν τὸ μὲν ἰδρυμένον ἐν ταῖς κατοικίαις ἤδη τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ μεγάλοις ἀνίστασαν μισθοῖς, τὸ δ’ ἐν ὀπλῖσις ἐτι τεταγμένον ὑποφθάνοντες ἀλλήλους προσήγοντο. 172
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give every Roman seventy-five drachmas, according
to the terms of Caesar's will. But Antony, at first
despising him as a mere stripling, told him he was
out of his senses, and that in his utter lack of good
judgment and of friends he was taking up a crushing
burden in the succession of Caesar. And when the
young man refused to listen to this, and demanded
the moneys, Antony kept saying and doing many
things to insult him. For instance, he opposed him
in his canvass for a tribuneship, and when he at-
ttempted to dedicate a golden chair in honour of his
father by adoption, according to a decree of the
senate, Antony threatened to hale him off to prison
unless he stopped trying to win popular favour.
When, however, the young man made common cause
with Cicero and all the other haters of Antony, and
with their aid won the support of the senate, while he
himself got the goodwill of the people and assembled
the soldiers of Caesar from their colonies, then
Antony was struck with fear and came to a conference
with him on the Capitol, and they were reconciled.

Afterwards, as he lay asleep that night, Antony
had a strange vision. He thought, namely, that his
right hand was smitten by a thunder-bolt. And
after a few days a report fell upon his ears that the
young Caesar was plotting against him. Caesar tried
to make explanations, but did not succeed in convinc-
ing Antony. So once more their hatred was in full
career, and both were hurrying about Italy trying to
bring into the field by large pay that part of the
soldiery which was already settled in their colonies,
and to get the start of one another in winning the
support of that part which was still arrayed in
arms.
XVII. Τῶν δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει Κικέρων μέγιστον δυνάμενος, καὶ παροξύνων ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀντώνιον ἀπαντάς ἀνθρώπους, τέλος ἔπεισε τὴν Βουλήν ἐκείνων μὲν πολέμιοι ψηφίσασθαι, Καίσαρι δὲ ῥαβδουχίαν πέμψας καὶ στρατηγικὰ κόσμια, Πάνσαν δὲ καὶ Ἰρτιον ἀποστέλλειν ἐξελῶντας Ἀντώνιον ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας. οὐτοὶ δὲ ἦσαν ὑπατοὶ τότε καὶ συμβαλόντες Ἀντώνιῳ περὶ πόλιν Μυτιλῆν, Καίσαρος παρόντος καὶ συμμαχομένου, τοὺς μὲν πολέμους ἐνίκων, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀπέθανον.

2 φεύγοντε δὲ Ἀντώνιῳ πολλὰ συνέπιπτε τῶν ἀπόρων, ὁ δὲ λιμὸς ἀπορώτατον. ἀλλὰ φύσει παρὰ τὰς κακοτραγίας ἐγίνετο βέλτιστος ἐαυτοῦ καὶ δυστυχῶν ὁμοιότατος ἦν ἀγαθὸς, κοινῷ μὲν ὄντος τοῦ αἰσθάνεσθαι τὴς ἀρετῆς τοῖς δι’ ἀπορίαν τινὰ σφαλλομένως, οὐ μὴν ἀπάντων ἡ ζηλοῦσι μιμεῖσθαι καὶ φεύγειν ἢ δυσχεραίνουσιν ἐρρομένων ἐν ταῖς μεταβολαῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐνίων τοῖς ἐθεσιν ἐνδιδόντων ὑπὸ ἀσθενείας καὶ

3 θραυμομένων τῶν λογισμῶν. ὁ δ’ οὖν Ἀντώνιος τότε θαυμαστόν ἦν παράδειγμα τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἀπὸ τρυφῆς τοσαύτης καὶ πολυτελείας ὑδροτε πίνων διεφθαρμένων εὐκόλως, καὶ καρποὺς ἀγρίων καὶ ῥίζας προσφερόμενων. ἔβρωθε δὲ καὶ φλοιὸς, ὡς λέγεται, καὶ χῦναν ἀγεύστων πρότερον ἦσαντο τὰς Ἀλπεις ὑπερβάλλοντες.

XVIII. Ἡν δὲ ὅρμη τοῖς ἐπέκεινα στρατεύμασιν ἐντυχεῖν, ὡν Δέπιδος ἦρχε, φίλος εἶναι δοκῶν Ἀντώνιον καὶ πολλὰ τῆς Καίσαρος φιλίας ἀπολελαυκέναι δι’ αὐτοῦ. ἐλθὼν δὲ καὶ παραστρατοπεδεύσας πλησίον, ὡς οὐθὲν ἀπήντα
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XVII. But Cicero, who was the most influential man in the city, and was trying to incite everybody against Antony, persuaded the senate to vote him a public enemy, to send to Caesar the fasces and other insignia of a praetor, and to dispatch Pansa and Hirtius to drive Antony out of Italy. These men were consuls at that time, and in an engagement with Antony near the city of Mutina, at which Octavius Caesar was present and fought on their side, they conquered the enemy, but fell themselves.\(^1\) Many difficulties befell Antony in his flight, the greatest of which was famine. But it was his nature to rise to his highest level when in an evil plight, and he was most like a good and true man when he was unfortunate. For it is a common trait in those whom some difficulty has laid low, that they perceive plainly what virtue is, but all have not the strength amid reverses to imitate what they admire and shun what they hate, nay, some are then even more prone to yield to their habits through weakness, and to let their judgment be shattered. Antony, however, was at this time an amazing example to his soldiers, after such a life of luxury and extravagance as he had led drinking foul water contentedly and eating wild fruits and roots. Bark also was eaten, we are told, and animals never tasted before were food for them as they crossed the Alps.

XVIII. They were eager to fall in with the troops in those parts which Lepidus commanded, for he was thought to be a friend of Antony, and through him had reaped much advantage from Caesar's friendship. But when Antony came and encamped near by, he met with no tokens of friendliness, and therefore de-

\(^1\) In 43 B.C. Cf. the Cicero, xlv. 3.
ϕιλάνθρωπον, ἐγνω παραβαλέσθαι. καὶ κόμη
μὲν ἀτημελής καὶ βαθὺς πῶγων μετὰ τὴν ἦτταν
εὐθὺς ἦν αὐτῷ καθεμένος, λαβὼν δὲ φαινὸν
ἰμάτιον ἐγγύς προσήηγε τῷ χάρακι τοῦ Δεπίδου
καὶ λέγειν ἦρξατο. πολλῶν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὸψιν
ἐπικλομένων καὶ τοῖς λόγοις ἀγομένων, δείσσας οὖ
Δεπίδος τὰς σάλπιγγας ἐκέλευσε συνηχοῦσας
ἀφελέωθαι τὸ κατακούεσθαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον. οἱ
dὲ στρατιώται μᾶλλον ὀκτειραν καὶ διελέγοντο
κρύφα, Δαίλιον καὶ Κλώδιον ἀποστείλατε
πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἔσθήτας λαβόντας ἐταιρευμένων
γυναικῶν, οἱ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐκέλευσον ἐπιχειρεῖν
θαρροῦντα τῷ χάρακι πολλοὺς γὰρ εἶναι δεξιο-
μένους ¹ καὶ τὸν Δεπίδον, εἶ βούλοιτο, κτενοῦντας.

3 Ἀντώνιος δὲ Δεπίδου μὲν ὁ μεν εἶασεν ἄψασθαι,
μεθ' ἤμεραν δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ἦγων ἀπεπεράτο τοῦ
πολταμοῦ καὶ πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἐμβὰς ἐπορεύετο
πρὸς τὴν ἀντιπέρας ὁχθῆν, ὅρων ἦδη πολλοὺς
τὸν Δεπίδου στρατιώτων τοῖς τε χείρας ὀρέγοντας
αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν χάρακα διασπῶντας. εἰσελθών δὲ
καὶ κρατήσας ἀπάντων ἥμεροτατα Δεπίδῳ προσ-
ηνέχθη. πατέρα γὰρ προσηγόρευσεν αὐτῶν
ἀσπασάμενος καὶ τῷ μὲν ἐργῷ πάντων αὐτοὺς
ἤν κύριος, ἐκεῖνο δ' ὄνομα καὶ τιμῆν αὐτοκράτορος
dιετέλει φυλάττων. τούτῳ καὶ Πλάγκουν αὐτῷ
Μοννάτιον ἔποιησε προσθέσθαι, καθῆμενον οὖ
πρόσω μετὰ συχνῆς δυνάμεως. οὕτω δὲ μέγας
ἀρθεὶς αὐθίς ὑπερέβαλε τὰς Ἀλπεῖς, εἰς τὴν
Ἰταλίαν ἄγαν ἐπηκαίδεκα τέλη πεζῶν σὺν αὐτῷ
καὶ μυρίους ἵππεῖς. χωρίς δὲ φοροῦν τοὺς

¹ τοὺς δεξιομένουs Coraës and Bekker, after Reiske: δεξι-
μένουs with the MSS.

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terminated upon a bold stroke. His hair was unkempt, and his beard had been allowed to grow long ever since his defeat, and putting on a dark garment he came up to the camp of Lepidus and began to speak. Many of the soldiers were melted at his appearance and moved by his words, so that Lepidus was alarmed and ordered the trumpets to sound all at once in order to prevent Antony from being heard. But the soldiers felt all the more pity for Antony, and held a secret parley with him, sending Laelius and Clodius to him in the garb of women of the camp. These urged Antony to attack their camp boldly; for there were many, they said, who would welcome him and kill Lepidus, if he wished. But Antony would not permit them to lay hands on Lepidus, and next day began to cross the river with his army. He himself was first to plunge in, and made his way towards the opposite bank, seeing already that many of the soldiers of Lepidus were stretching out their hands to him and tearing down their ramparts. After entering the camp and making himself master of everything, he treated Lepidus with the greatest kindness. Indeed, he embraced him and called him father; and though in fact he was in full control himself, still he did not cease to preserve for Lepidus the name and the honour of imperator. This induced Munacus Plancus also to join him, who was encamped at no great distance with a considerable force. Thus raised again to great power, he crossed the Alps and led into Italy with him seventeen legions of infantry and ten thousand horse. And besides these, he left to
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έξ τάγματα λελοίπει μετά Οὐαρίου τινὸς τῶν συνήθων καὶ συμπτοτῶν, ὅσιν Κοτύλωνα προσηγόρευον.

XIX. Καῖσαρ δὲ Κικέρωνι μὲν οὐκέτι προσείχε, τῆς ἐλευθερίας ὀρῶν περιεχόμενον, Ἀντώνιου δὲ προϊκαλεῖτο διὰ τῶν φίλων εἰς διαλύσεις. καὶ συνελθόντες οἱ τρεῖς εἰς νησίδα ποταμῷ περιρρεμένην ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας συνήδρευσαν. καὶ τάλλα μὲν ἐπιεικῶς ὁμολογεῖτο, καὶ διενείμαντο τὴν σύμπασαν ἀρχὴν ὦσπερ οὐσίαν πατρῴαν ἀλλήλοις, ἢ δὲ περὶ τῶν ἀπολομέμεων ἀνδρῶν ἀμφισβητήσεις αὐτοῖς πλείστα πράγματα παρέσχε, τοὺς μὲν ἔχθροις ἀνελεῖν ἐκάστου, σώσαι

2 δὲ τοὺς προσήκοντας ἄξιοντος. τέλος δὲ τῇ πρὸς τοὺς μισουμένους ὄργὴ καὶ συγγενῶν τιμὴν καὶ φίλων εὔνοιαν προέμενοι, Κικέρωνος μὲν Ἀντωνίῳ Καῖσαρ ἐξέστη, τούτῳ δὲ Ἀντώνιος Δευκάλου Καῖσαρος, ὃς ἦν θείος αὐτῷ πρὸς μητρὸς ἑδόθη δὲ καὶ Λεπίδῳ Παύλου ἀνελεῖν τὸν ἀδελφὸν οἱ δὲ φασίν ἑκατην τοῦ Παύλου τὸν Λεπίδου ἑκείνου ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν αἰτησάμενοι. 3 οὐδὲν ἀμότερον οὐδὲ ἀγριώτερον τῆς διαμείβεις ταύτης δοκῶ γενέσθαι. φόνων γὰρ ἀντικαταλασσόμενοι φόνους ὀμοίως μὲν οἱ ἐλάμβανον ἀνήρους οὐς ἐδίδοσαν, ἀδικώτεροι δὲ περὶ τοὺς φίλους ἤσαν, οὐς ἀπεκτίνυσαν μηδὲ μισοῦντες.

XX. Ἐπὶ δ' οὖν ταῖς διαλλαγαῖς ταύταις οἱ στρατιώται περιστάντες ἥξιον καὶ γάμῳ τινὶ 178
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guard Gaul six legions with Varius, one of his intimates and boon companions, who was surnamed Cotylon.

XIX. Now, Octavius Caesar no longer held with Cicero, because he saw that Cicero was devoted to liberty, and he sent his friends to Antony with an invitation to come to terms. So the three men came together on a small island in the midst of a river, and there held conference for three days. All other matters were easily agreed upon, and they divided up the whole empire among themselves as though it were an ancestral inheritance; but the dispute about the men who were to be put to death gave them the greatest trouble. Each demanded the privilege of slaying his enemies and saving his kinsmen. But at last their wrath against those whom they hated led them to abandon both the honour due to their kinsmen and the goodwill due to their friends, and Caesar gave up Cicero to Antony, while Antony gave up to him Lucius Caesar, who was Antony's uncle on the mother's side. Lepidus also was permitted to put to death Paulus his brother; although some say that Lepidus gave up Paulus to Antony and Caesar, who demanded his death. Nothing, in my opinion, could be more savage or cruel than this exchange. For by this barter of murder for murder they put to death those whom they surrendered just as truly as those whom they seized; but their injustice was greater towards their friends, whom they slew without so much as hating them.

XX. To complete this reconciliation, then, the soldiers surrounded them and demanded that Caesar

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1 Cf. the Cicero, xlvi. 3.
τὴν φιλίαν συνάψαι Καίσαρα, λαβόντα τὴν
Φουλβίας τῆς 'Αντώνιον γυναικὸς θυγατέρα
Κλωδίαν. ὁμολογηθέντος δὲ καὶ τοῦτον τρια-
κόσιοι μὲν ἐκ προγραφής ἐθανατώθησαν ὕπ'
2 αὐτῶν. Κικέρωνος δὲ σφαγέντος ἐκέλευσεν 'Αν-
τώνιος τὴν τε κεφαλὴν ἀποκοπῆναι καὶ τὴν χεῖρα
τὴν δεξίαν, ἦ τούς κατ' αὐτοῦ λόγους ἔγραφε.
καὶ κομισθέντων ἑθεάτο γεγήθωσι καὶ ἀνακαι-
χάξων ὑπὸ χαρᾶς πολλάκις: εἶτα ἐμπληθεῖς
ἐκέλευσεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ βῆματος ἐν ἀγορᾷ τεθῆναι,
καθάπερ εἰς τὸν νεκρὸν ύβρίζον, οὖχ αὐτὸν
ἐνυβρίζοντα τῇ τύχῃ καὶ κατασχύνοντα τὴν
3 ἐξουσίαν ἐπιδεικνύμενος. ὁ δὲ θείος αὐτοῦ Καί-
σαρ ἐπτύμενος καὶ διωκόμενος κατέφυγε πρὸς τὴν
ἄδελφην. ἦ δὲ, τῶν σφαγῶν ἐπιστάντων καὶ
βιαζομένων εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον αὐτῆς, ἐν ταῖς θύραις
στάσα καὶ διασχούσα τὰς χεῖρας ἔβοι πολλάκις:
"Οὐκ ἀποκτενεῖτε Καίσαρα Δεύκιον, ἡδὲ μὴ
πρότερον ἐμὲ ἀποκτείνητε τὴν τῶν αὐτοκράτορα
tekoušan." ἐκείνη μὲν οὖν τοιαύτη γενομένη
dieklizefe kai dieíswse tov anádelfón.

XXI. Ἡν δὲ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ 'Ρωμαίους ἐπαχθῆς
ἡ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῆς καὶ τὸ πλείστον ὁ 'Αντώνιος
tῆς αἰτίας εἰχε, πρεσβύτερος μὲν ὁν Καίσαρος,
Δεπίδου δὲ δυνατότερος, εἰς δὲ τὸν βίον ἐκεῖνον
ἀδίσ τὸν ἑνύπακος καὶ ἀκόλαστον, ὃς πρῶτον
2 ἀνεχαίτισε τῶν πραγμάτων, ἐκκεχυμένος. προσ-
ην δὲ τῇ κοινῇ κακοδοξίᾳ τὸ διὰ τὴν οἰκίαν οὐ
μικρὸν μῖσος, ἢν ὄθει, Πομπηίου τοῦ Μεγάλου
γενομένην, ἀνδρὸς οὖχ ἦττον ἐπὶ σωφροσύνῃ καὶ
tῷ τεταγμένῳ καὶ δημοτικῶς διαίτασθαι θαυ-
should also cement the friendship by a marriage, and should take to wife Clodia, a daughter of Antony's wife Fulvia. After this also had been agreed upon, three hundred men were proscribed and put to death by them; moreover, after Cicero had been butchered, Antony ordered his head to be cut off, and that right hand with which Cicero had written the speeches against him.\footnote{Cf. the Cicero, xlviii. 4.} When they were brought to him, he gazed upon them exultantly, laughing aloud for joy many times; then, when he was sated, he ordered them to be placed on the rostra in the forum, just as though he were putting insult upon the dead, and not rather making a display of his own insolence in good fortune and abuse of power. His uncle, Lucius Caesar, being sought for and pursued, took refuge with his sister. She, when the executioners were at hand and trying to force their way into her chamber, stood in the doorway, spread out her arms, and cried repeatedly: “Ye shall not slay Lucius Caesar unless ye first slay me, the mother of your imperator.” By such behaviour, then, she got her brother out of the way and saved his life.

XXI. Now, for the most part, the government of the triumvirate was odious to the Romans; and Antony bore most of the blame, since he was older than Caesar, more powerful than Lepidus, and threw himself once more into his old life of pleasure and dissipation as soon as he had shaken off some of his troubles. And to his general ill-repute there was added the great hatred caused by the house in which he dwelt. It had been that of Pompey the Great, a man no less admired for sobriety and for the orderly and democratic disposition of his life than because of
μασθέντος ἢ διά τοὺς τρεῖς θριάμβους. ἡχοῦντο γὰρ ὀρώντες αὐτὴν τὰ πολλὰ κεκλεισμένην μὲν ἤγεμόσι καὶ στρατηγοῖς καὶ πρέσβεσιν, ὥθουμένους πρὸς ὑβριν ἀπὸ τῶν θυρῶν, μεστὴν δὲ μίμων καὶ θαυματοποιῶν καὶ κολάκων κραυτακλόντων, εἰς οὗς τὰ πλείστα κατανηλίσκετο τῶν χρημάτων τῷ βιαστάτῳ καὶ χαλεπωτάτῳ τρόπῳ
3 ποριζομένων, οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐπώλουν οὐσίας τῶν φονευμένων, ἐπισυκοφαντοῦντες οἰκείους καὶ γυναῖκας αὐτῶν, οὔδὲ τελῶν πᾶν ἐκίνησαν γένος, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ ταῖς Ἐστιάσι πυθόμενοι παραθένοις παρακαταθήκας τινὰς κείσθαι καὶ ἐξένως
4 καὶ πολιτῶν ἔλαβον ἐπελθόντες. ἃς δὲ οὐδὲν ἦν ἰκανὸν Ἀντωνίῳ, Καῖσαρ ἠξίωσε νείμασθαι τὰ χρήματα πρὸς αὐτόν. ἐνείμαςτε δὲ καὶ τὸν στρατόν, ἐπὶ Βρούτου καὶ Κάσσιον εἰς Μακεδονίαν στρατεύοντες ἀμφότεροι, Δεπίδῳ δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπέτρεψαν.

XXII. Ὁς μεντο διαβάντες ἤψαντο πολέμου καὶ παρεστρατοπέδουσιν, τοῖς πολεμίσις, Ἀντωνίου μὲν ἀντιτεταγμένου Κασσίῳ, Βρούτῳ δὲ Καίσαρος, οὔθεν ἔργον ἐφάνη μέγα τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἀλλ' Ἀντώνιος ἦν ὁ νικῶν πάντα καὶ κατορθῶν.
2 τῇ μέν γε προτέρα μάχη Καίσαρ ὑπὸ Βρούτου κατὰ κράτος ἤτηθεις ἀπεβαλε τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ μικρὸν ἐφθοὺς τοὺς διώκοντας ὑπεκφυγὼν ὡς δὲ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι γέγραφε, τῶν χίλων τινῶς ὀναρ ἰδύντως ἀνεμόρησε πρὸ τῆς μάχης.
3 Ἀντώνιος δὲ Κάσσιον ἐνίκησε, καίτοι γεγράφασιν ἕνοι μὴ παραγενέσθαι τῇ μάχῃ τῶν Ἀντώνιου, ἀλλὰ προσγενέσθαι μετὰ τῆς μάχης ἦδη διώ-

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his three triumphs. Men were distressed, therefore, to see the house closed for the most part against commanders, magistrates, and ambassadors, who were thrust with insolence from its doors, and filled instead with mimes, jugglers, and drunken flatterers, on whom were squandered the greater part of the moneys got in the most violent and cruel manner. For the triumvirate not only sold the properties of those whom they slew, bringing false charges against their wives and kindred, while they set on foot every kind of taxation, but learning that there were deposits with the Vestal Virgins made by both strangers and citizens, they went and took them. And since nothing was sufficient for Antony, Caesar demanded to share the moneys with him. They shared the army also, and both led their forces into Macedonia against Brutus and Cassius, entrusting Rome to Lepidus.

XXII. However, after they had crossed the sea, taken up war, and encamped near the enemy, Antony being opposed to Cassius, and Caesar to Brutus, no great achievements were performed by Caesar, but it was Antony who was everywhere victorious and successful. In the first battle, at least, Caesar was overwhelmingly defeated by Brutus, lost his camp, and narrowly escaped his pursuers by secret flight; although he himself says in his Memoirs that he withdrew before the battle in consequence of a friend’s dream. But Antony conquered Cassius; although some write that Antony was not present in the battle, but came up after the battle when his
κομπ. Κάσισιον δὲ Πάνδαρος τῶν πιστῶν τις ἀπελευθέρων αὐτοῦ δεομένου καὶ κελεύοντος ἑσφαλ. ὦ γὰρ ἐγὼ νεικηκότα Βρούτου. ὀλγανοὶ δὲ ἡμέρῶν διαγενομένων πάλιν ἑμαχέοντο καὶ Βρούτος μὲν ἡττηθεὶς ἑαυτὸν ἀνείλεν, Ἄντωνιος δὲ τῆς νύκης ἦνεγκατο τῇ δόξῃ τὸ πλεῖστον, ἀτε δὴ καὶ νοσοῦντος τοῦ Καίσαρος. ἐπιστᾶς δὲ τῷ Βρούτου νεκρῷ μικρὰ μὲν ἀνείδισεν ὑπὲρ τῆς Γαίου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τελευτῆς (ἀνηρκείει γὰρ ἐκεῖ οὐ Βρούτος ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ Κικέρων τιμωρῶν), φήσας δὲ μᾶλλον Ὁρτήσιον ἢ Βρούτου αἰτιάσθαι τῆς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σφαγῆς Ὁρτήσιος μὲν ἐκέλευσεν ἐπισφάξαι τῷ μνήματι, Βρούτῳ δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ φοινίκιδα πολλῶν χρημάτων ἀξίων οὐσών ἐπέρριψε, καὶ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων των τῶν ἑαυτοῦ προσέταξε τῆς ταφῆς ἐπιμεληθῆναι. τοῦτον ὑστεροῦν γνοὺς οὐ συγκατακαύσαντα τὴν φοινίκιδα τῷ νεκρῷ καὶ πολλὰ τῆς εἰς τὴν ταφῆν δαπάνης υφηρημένου ἀπέκτεινεν.

XXIII. Ἐκ τοῦτον Καίσαρ μὲν εἰς Ρώμην ἐκομίζετο, δοκῶν οὐ περίεσθαι πολὺν χρόνου ἐκ τῆς ἀρρωστίας. Ἄντωνιος δὲ τὰς πρὸς ἐν πάσας ἐπαρχίας ἀργυρολογήσους διέβαινεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, πολλὴν στρατιάν ἄγων ὑπεσχήμενοι γὰρ ἐκάστῳ στρατιώτῃ δραχμὰς πεντακισχιλίας ἐδεόντο συνυντότερου χρηματισμοῦ καὶ δασμολο-

2 τοῖς μὲν οὖν Ἐλλησίων οὐκ ἀτοποὶ οὐδὲ φορτικὸς συννέχθη τὸ γε πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ παιζον αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἀκροάσεις φιλολόγων καὶ θέας ἀγώνων καὶ μυστείους ἔτρεπε, καὶ περὶ τῶν κρίσεως ἢν ἐπεικής, καὶ φιλέλλην ἀκούνων ἔχαρεν, ἔτι δὲ

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men were already in pursuit. Cassius, at his own request and command, was killed by Pindar, one of his trusty freedmen; for Cassius was not aware that Brutus was victorious. After a few days had intervened, a second battle was fought, and Brutus, being defeated, slew himself; but Antony won the greater credit for the victory, since, indeed, Caesar was sick. And as he stood beside the dead body of Brutus, Antony chided him a little for the death of his brother Caius, whom Brutus had executed in Macedonia to avenge Cicero, and declaring that Hortensius was more to blame than Brutus for his brother's murder, he ordered Hortensius to be slaughtered on his brother's tomb; but over Brutus he cast his own purple cloak, which was of great value, and ordered one of his own freedmen to see to the burial of the body. And learning afterwards that this fellow had not burned the purple cloak with the body of Brutus, and had purloined much of what had been devoted to the burial, he put him to death.

XXIII. After this, Caesar repaired to Rome, since it was thought that he would not live long in consequence of his illness; but Antony, that he might levy money in all the eastern provinces, made his way into Greece with a large army; for since the triumvirate had promised every one of their soldiers five hundred drachmas, they required a more vigorous policy in raising money and collecting tributes. Toward the Greeks, then, Antony conducted himself without rudeness or offence, at least in the beginning, nay, he indulged his fondness for amusement by listening to literary discussions and by witnessing games and religious rites. In his judicial decisions also he was reasonable, and delighted to be called a
μάλλον φιλαθήναιος προσαγορευόμενος, καὶ τῇ
3 πόλει πλείοτας δωρεὰς ἔδωκε. Βουλομένων δὲ τι
καὶ Μεγαρέων καλὸν ἀντεπιδείξασθαι ταῖς Ἀθη-
ναίς καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν ἀξιωσάντων
ἀναβὰς καὶ θεασάμενος, ὡς ἐπυνθάνοντο τὶ δο-
κοίη, “Μικρὸν μὲν,” ἔφη, “σαπρὸν δὲ.” καὶ τὸν
τοῦ Πυθίου νεῶν κατεμέτρησεν ὡς συντελέσων
τούτο γὰρ ὑπέσχετο πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον.
XXIV. Ἑπεί δὲ Δεύκιον Κηνσωρίνου ἔπι τῆς
Ἐλλάδος καταλιπτῶν εἰς Ἀσίαν διέβη καὶ τῶν
ἐκεῖ πλοῦτων ἤψατο, καὶ βασιλεῖς ἐπὶ θύρας
ἔφοιτων καὶ βασιλέων γυναῖκες ἀμιλλώμεναι δω-
ρεάς πρὸς ἄλληλας καὶ κάλλεσιν ἔφθειροντο
πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἐν Ῥώμῃ δὲ Καίσαρος στάσεσι καὶ
πολέμοις ἀποτραχομένου πολλήν αὐτὸς ἀγων σχο-
λήν καὶ εἰρήνην ἀνεκκυκλεῖτο τοῖς πάθεσιν εἰς τὸν
2 συνήθη βίον, Ἀναξίνορες δὲ κιθαρῳδοὶ καὶ Ξού-
θοι χοραίλαι καὶ Μητρόδωρός τις ὀρχηστής καὶ
τουτοῦ ἄλλος Ἀσιανὸν ἀκροαμάτων θίασος,
ὑπερβαλλομένων λαμνρία καὶ βωμολοχία τάς ἀπὸ
tῆς Ἰταλίας κήρας, εἰσερρύη καὶ διώκει τὴν αὐ-
λήν, οὐδὲν ἦν ἄνεκτον, εἰς ταῦτα φορουμένων
3 ἀπάντων. ἡ γὰρ Ἀσία πάσα, καθὰπερ ἡ Σοφό-
kλειος ἐκείνη πόλις, ὁμοῦ μὲν θυμιαμάτων ἔγεμεν,
ὁμοῦ δὲ παιάνων τε καὶ στεναγμάτων.

eis γοῦν Ἑφεσον εἰσιόντος αὐτοῦ γυναῖκες μὲν εἰς
Βάκχας, ἀνδρεὶς δὲ καὶ παιδεῖς εἰς Σατύρους καὶ
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Philhellenic, and still more to be addressed as Philhellenic, and he gave the city very many gifts. But when the Megarians wished to show him something fine to rival Athens, and thought that he ought to see their senate-house, he went up and took a view of it; and when they asked him what he thought of it, "It is small," he said, "but rotten." He also had measurements taken of the temple of Pythian Apollo, with the purpose of completing it; indeed, he promised as much to the senate.

XXIV. But presently he left Lucius Censorinus in charge of Greece, and crossing over into Asia¹ laid hands on the wealth that was there. Kings would come often to his doors, and wives of kings, vying with one another in their gifts and their beauty, would yield up their honour for his pleasure; and while at Rome Caesar was wearing himself out in civil strifes and wars, Antony himself was enjoying abundant peace and leisure, and was swept back by his passions into his wonted mode of life. Lute-players like Anaxenor, flute-players like Xanthus, one Metrodorus, a dancer, and such other rabble of Asiatic performers, who surpassed in impudence and effrontery the pests from Italy, poured like a flood into his quarters and held sway there. It was past all endurance that everything was devoted to these extravagances. For all Asia, like the famous city of Sophocles,² "was filled alike with incense-offerings,

Alike with paeans, too, and voice of heavy groans."

At any rate, when Antony made his entry into Ephesus, women arrayed like Bacchus, and men and

¹ In 41 B.C. ² Thebes, in the Oedipus Rex, 4.

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Πάνας ἡγούμενο διεσκευασμένου, κιττοῦ δὲ καὶ θύρσου καὶ ψαλτηρίων καὶ συρίγγων καὶ αὐλῶν ἡ πόλις ἦν πλέα, Διόνυσον αὐτὸν ἀνακαλομένων 4 χαριδότην καὶ μειλίχιον. ἦν γὰρ ἀμέλει τοιούτος ἐνίοτος, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς ὀμηστῆς καὶ ἁγριώνιος. ἀφηρείτο γὰρ εὐγενεῖς ἀνθρώπους τὰ ὑπάτα μαστηγίας καὶ κόλαξ χαριζόμενος. πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ξύντων ὡς τεθυνκότων αἰτησάμενοι τινες οὐσίας ἐλαβον. ἀνήδος δὲ Μάγιντος οἰκον ἔδωρησατο μαγεῖρῳ περὶ ἐν, ὡς λέγεται, δείπνον εὐδοκιμή- 5 σαντι. τέλος δὲ, ταῖς πόλεσι δεύτερον ἐπιβάλλοντος φόρον, ἐτόλμησεν Ὥβρεας ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἄσιας λέγων εἰπεῖν ἀγοραίως μὲν ἐκείνα καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ξῆλον οὐκ ἀηδώς, “Εἰ δύνασαι δις λαβεῖν ἐνὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ φόρον, δύνασαι καὶ δις ἤμιν ποιήσασθαι θέρος καὶ δις ὁπώραν,” πρακτικῶς δὲ καὶ παραβόλως συναγαγὼν ὑπὸ μυριάδας εἶκοσι ταλάντων ἡ Ἀσία δέδωκε, “ταῦτα,” εἰπεν, “εἰ μὲν οὐκ εἴληφας, ἀπαίτει παρὰ τῶν λαβόντων” εἰ 6 δὲ λαβὼν οὐκ ἔχεις, ἀπολοὼλαμεν.” ἐτρέψατο τούτῳ δεινῶς τὸν Ἀντώνιον· ἠγνοεῖ γὰρ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν γιγνομένων, οὐχ οὕτω ράθυμος ὤν, ὡς δὲ ἀπλότητα πιστεύων τοῖς περὶ αὐτῶν. Ἐνὴν γὰρ ἀπλότητι τῷ ἦθει καὶ βραδεία μὲν αἰσθησίς, αἰσθανομένῳ δὲ τῶν ἀμαρτανομένων ἵσχυρα μετάνοια καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐξομολογήσις τοὺς ἀγνωμονηθέντας, μέγεθος δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰς 188
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boys like Satyrs and Pans, led the way before him, and the city was full of ivy and thyrsus-wands and harps and pipes and flutes, the people hailing him as Dionysus Giver of Joy and Beneficent. For he was such, undoubtedly, to some; but to the greater part he was Dionysus Carnivorous and Savage. For he took their property from well-born men and bestowed it on flatterers and scoundrels. From many, too, who were actually alive, men got their property by asking him for it on the plea that the owners were dead. The house of a man of Magnesia he gave to a cook, who, as we are told, had won reputation by a single supper. But finally, when he was imposing a second contribution on the cities, Hybreas, speaking in behalf of Asia, plucked up courage to say this: "If thou canst take a contribution twice in one year, thou hast power also to make summer for us twice, and harvest-time twice." These words were rhetorical, it is true, and not unpleasant for the high spirit of Antony; but the speaker added in plain and bold words that Asia had given him two hundred thousand talents; "If," said he, "thou hast not received this money, demand it from those who took it; but if thou didst receive it, and hast it not, we are undone." This speech made a powerful impression upon Antony; for he was ignorant of most that was going on, not so much because he was of an easy disposition, as because he was simple enough to trust those about him.

For there was simplicity in his nature, and slowness of perception, though when he did perceive his errors he showed keen repentance, and made full acknowledgement to the very men who had been unfairly dealt with, and there was largeness both in
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ἀμοιβὰς καὶ περὶ τὰς τιμωρίας. μᾶλλον γε μὴν ἐδόκει χαριζόμενος ἡ κολάζων ὑπερβάλλειν τὸ μέ-
7 τριον. ἢ δὲ περὶ τὰς παιδιὰς καὶ τὰς ἐπισκώψεις ὑβρις ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ φάρμακον εἶχεν. ἀντισκῶψαι
γὰρ ἔξην καὶ ἀνθυβρίσαι, καὶ γελώμενος οὐχ ἦτ-
τον ἡ γελῶν ἔχαιρε. καὶ τούτο διελυμένατο τὰ
πολλὰ τῶν πραγμάτων. τοὺς γὰρ ἐν τῷ παίζειν
παρρησιαζομένους οὐκ ἂν οἴηθει σπουδάζοντας
κολακεύειν αὐτὸν ἥλισκετο ῥαδίως ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπαί-
8 νων, ἀγνοοῦν ὅτι τὴν παρρησίαν τινὲς ὡς ὑποστυ-
φον ἤδυσμα τῇ κολακεῖᾳ παραμιγνύντες αφήρουν
τὸ πλήσμιον, τῇ παρὰ τὴν κύλικα θρασύτητι καὶ
λαλιὰ διαμηχανῶμενοι τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων
ὑφεσιν καὶ συγκατάθεσιν μὴ πρὸς χάριν ὀμι-
λούντων, ἀλλὰ τῷ φρονεῖν ἤπωμένων φαινεσθαί.

XXV. Τοιούτῳ δ’ οὖν ὅτι τὴν φύσιν Ἀντωνίῳ
τελευταίον κακὸν ὁ Κλεοπάτρας ἔρως ἐπιγενό-
μενος, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐτὶ κρυπτομένων ἐν αὐτῷ
καὶ ἀτρεμοῦντων παθῶν ἐγείρας καὶ ἀναβακχεύ-
σας, εἰ τι χρῆσθον ἡ σωτήριον ὁμως ἀντεἶχεν,
ὑφάνεσε καὶ προσδιέφθειρεν. ἀλίσκεται δὲ τού-
τον τὸν τρόπον. ἀπτόμενος τοῦ Παρθικοῦ πολέ-
μου ἐπεμψε πρὸς αὐτὴν, κελεύων εἰς Κιλίκιαν
ἀπαντήσαι λόγον ὑφεξουσίαν ὃν ἐνεκαλείτο τοῖς
περὶ Κύσσιον δοῦναι πολλὰ καὶ συμβαλέσθαι
2 πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. ὁ δὲ πεμφθεὶς Δέλλιος, ὡς
εἰδε τὴν ὡς καὶ κατέμαθε τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις
dεινότητα καὶ πανουργίαν, εὔθυς αἰσθομένος ὅτι

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his restitution to the wronged and in his punishment of the wrong-doers. Yet he was thought to exceed due bounds more in conferring favours than in inflicting punishments. And his wantonness in mirth and jest carried its own remedy with it. For a man might pay back his jests and insolence, and he delighted in being laughed at no less than in laughing at others. And this vitiated most of his undertakings. For he could not believe that those who used bold speech in jest could flatter him in earnest, and so was easily captivated by their praises, not knowing that some men would mingle bold speech, like a piquant sauce, with flattery, and thus would take away from flattery its cloying character. Such men would use their bold babbling over the cups to make their submissive yielding in matters of business seem to be the way, not of those who associate with a man merely to please him, but of those who are vanquished by superior wisdom.

XXV. Such, then, was the nature of Antony, where now as a crowning evil his love for Cleopatra supervened, roused and drove to frenzy many of the passions that were still hidden and quiescent in him, and dissipated and destroyed whatever good and saving qualities still offered resistance. And he was taken captive in this manner. As he was getting ready for the Parthian war, he sent to Cleopatra, ordering her to meet him in Cilicia in order to make answer to the charges made against her of raising and giving to Cassius much money for the war. But Dellius, Antony's messenger, when he saw how Cleopatra looked, and noticed her subtlety and cleverness in conversation, at once
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κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲ μελλήσει τι ποιεῖν γυναίκα τοιαύτην Ἀντώνιος, ἔσται δὲ μεγίστη παρ’ αὐτῷ, τρέπεται πρὸς τὸ θεραπεύειν καὶ προτρέπεσθαι τὴν Αἰνυπτίαν, τοῦτο δὲ τὸ Ὅμηρικον, ἐλθεῖν εἰς Κιλικίαν εὖ εντύνασαι ἀν ἄντιχα καὶ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ἤδιστον ἥγεμόνων ὄντα καὶ φίλοις εὐθωρπότατοι. ἦ δὲ καὶ Δελλίῳ πεισθείσα, καὶ τοῖς πρὸς Καίσαρα καὶ Γναίον τὸν Πομπήιον παῖδα πρότερον αὐτῷ γενομένους ἀφ’ ὀρας συμβολαίοις τεκμαιρομένη, ῥάδι ἤλπιζεν ὑπάξεσθαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτὴν ἔτι κόρην καὶ πραγμάτων ἀπειροῦ ἔγνωσαν, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτον 927 ἐμελλε φοιτήσειν ἐν φ’ μάλιστα καιροῦ γυναίκες ὧραν τε λαμπροτάτην ἔχουσι καὶ τὸ φρονεῖν 4 ἀκμαίσουσι. διὸ πολλὰ μὲν συνεσκευάσατο δῶρα καὶ χρήματα καὶ κόσμων οἰκὸς ἦν ἀπὸ πραγμάτων μεγάλων καὶ βασιλείας εὐδαίμονος κομίζειν, τὰς δὲ πλείστας ἐν ἐαυτῇ καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὴν μαγγανεύμασι καὶ φίλτροις ἐλπίδας θεμένη παρεγένετο.

XXVI. Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ παρὰ τῶν φίλων δεχομένη γράμματα καλούντων, οὕτω κατεφρόνησε καὶ κατεγέλασε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὡστε πλεῖν ἀνὰ τὸν Κύδνον ποταμὸν ἐν πορθμεῖν χρυσοπρόμων, τῶν μὲν ἱστίων ἄλουργόν ἐκπεπετασμένων, τῆς δὲ εἰρεσίας ἀργυραίς κάστας ἀναφερομένης πρὸς αὐλὸν ἀμα σύρυξε καὶ κιθάρας συν-2 ηρμοσμένον. αὐτὴ δὲ κατέκειτο μὲν ὑπὸ σκίαδι χρυσοπάστρο κεκοσμημένη γραφικῶς ὡστερ Ἀφροδίτη, παίδες δὲ τοῖς γραφικοῖς Ἔρωσιν εἰκασμένοι παρ’ ἐκάτερον ἐστῶτες ἔρριπτιζον. ὅμως
perceived that Antony would not so much as think of doing such a woman any harm, but that she would have the greatest influence with him. He therefore resorted to flattery and tried to induce the Egyptian to go to Cilicia "decked out in fine array" ¹ (as Homer would say), and not to be afraid of Antony, who was the most agreeable and humane of commanders. She was persuaded by Dellius, and judging by the proofs which she had had before this of the effect of her beauty upon Caius Caesar and Gnaeus the son of Pompey, she had hopes that she would more easily bring Antony to her feet. For Caesar and Pompey had known her when she was still a girl and inexperienced in affairs, but she was going to visit Antony at the very time when women have most brilliant beauty and are at the acme of intellectual power. Therefore she provided herself with many gifts, much money, and such ornaments as her high position and prosperous kingdom made it natural for her to take; but she went putting her greatest confidence in herself, and in the charms and sorceries of her own person.

XXVI. Though she received many letters of summons both from Antony himself and from his friends, she so despised and laughed the man to scorn as to sail up the river Cydnus in a barge with gilded poop, its sails spread purple, its rowers urging it on with silver oars to the sound of the flute blended with pipes and lutes. She herself reclined beneath a canopy spangled with gold, adorned like Venus in a painting, while boys like Loves in paintings stood on either side and fanned her. Likewise also the

¹ *Iliad*, xiv. 162, of Hera, decking herself for a meeting with Zeus.
δὲ καὶ θεραπαινίδες αἱ καλλιστεύουσαι Νηρηίδων ἔχουσαι καὶ Χαρίτων στολάς, αἱ μὲν πρὸς οἰαξιν, αἱ δὲ πρὸς κάλοις ἦσαν. ὅδμα δὲ θαυμασται τὰς ὁχθὰς ἀπὸ θυμαμάτων πολλῶν κατείχον. 3 τῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ παρωμάτου ἐκατέρωθεν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως κατέβαινον ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν. ἐκχεομένου δὲ τού κατὰ τὴν ἄγοραν ὄχλον τέλος αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπὶ βήματος καθεζόμενος ἀπελεύθη μόνος. καὶ τις λόγος ἔχωρει διὰ πάντων ὡς ἡ Ἀφροδίτη κωμάζοι παρὰ τὸν Διόνυσον ἐπὶ ἀγαθῷ τῆς Ἀσίας.

"Ἐπέμψε μὲν οὖν καλῶν αὐτήν ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον· ἡ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐκεῖνον ἦςίου πρὸς ἐαυτήν ἦκειν. 4 εὐθὺς οὖν τινὰ βουλόμενος εὐκολίαι ἐπιδείκνυσθαι καὶ φιλοφρονήσωμη ὑπήκουσε καὶ ἤλθεν. ἐντυχῶν δὲ παρασκευὴ λόγου κρείττου μᾶλστα τῶν φῶτων τὸ πλῆθος ἕξεπλάγη. τοσαύτα γὰρ λέγεται καθεσθαι καὶ ἀναφαίνεσθαι πανταχόθεν ἄμα, καὶ τοιαύτας πρὸς ἄλληλα κλίσει καὶ θέσει διακεκοσμημένα καὶ συντεταγμένα πλαισίων καὶ περιφερῶν τρόπω, ὥστε τῶν ἔν ὁλίγοις ἀξιοθέατων καὶ καλῶν ἐκείνην γενέσθαι τὴν ὤψιν.

XXVII. Τῇ δ' ὠστεραῖα πάλιν ἀνθεστὶν αὐτὴν ἐφιλοτιμήθη μὲν ὑπερβαλέσθαι τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὴν ἐμέλειαν, ἄμφων δὲ λειτομένος, καὶ κρατοῦμενος ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνοις, πρῶτος ἐσκέπτεν εἰς αὐχμὸν καὶ ἀγροκίαν τὰ παρ' αὐτῷ πολὺν δὲ ἡ Κλεοπάτρα καὶ τοῖς σκῶμμαι τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τὸν στρατιώτην ἐνορόσα καὶ βάναυσον, ἐχρῆτο καὶ τούτῳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνειμένους ἦν καὶ 2 κατατεθαρηκότως. καὶ γὰρ ἦν, ὡς λέγουσιν,
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fairest of her serving-maidens, attired like Nereids and Graces, were stationed, some at the rudder-sweeps, and others at the reefing-ropes. Wondrous odours from countless incense-offerings diffused themselves along the river-banks. Of the inhabitants, some accompanied her on either bank of the river from its very mouth, while others went down from the city to behold the sight. The throng in the market-place gradually streamed away, until at last Antony himself, seated on his tribunal, was left alone. And a rumour spread on every hand that Venus was come to revel with Bacchus for the good of Asia.

Antony sent, therefore, and invited her to supper; but she thought it meet that he should rather come to her. At once, then, wishing to display his complacency and friendly feelings, Antony obeyed and went. He found there a preparation that beggared description, but was most amazed at the multitude of lights. For, as we are told, so many of these were let down and displayed on all sides at once, and they were arranged and ordered with so many inclinations and adjustments to each other in the form of rectangles and circles, that few sights were so beautiful or so worthy to be seen as this.

XXVII. On the following day Antony feasted her in his turn, and was ambitious to surpass her splendour and elegance, but in both regards he was left behind, and vanquished in these very points, and was first to rail at the meagreness and rusticity of his own arrangements. Cleopatra observed in the jests of Antony much of the soldier and the common man, and adopted this manner also towards him, without restraint now, and boldly. For her beauty, as we are
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αὐτὸ μὲν καθ’ αὐτὸ τὸ κάλλος αὐτῆς οὐ πάντως δυσπαράβλητον, οὔδε οἷον ἐκπλήξαι τοὺς ἰδόντας, ἀφ’ ὑμῖν δὲ εἰχεν ἡ συνδιαίτησις ἄφικτον, ἢ τε μορφή μετ’ τῆς ἐν τῷ διαλέγεσθαι πιθανότητος καὶ τοῦ περιθέους ἄμα πως περὶ τὴν ὁμιλίαν ἤδονς ἀνέφερε τι κέντρον. ἢδονὴ δὲ καὶ φθεγγομένης ἐπὶ τῷ ἡχῳ καὶ τῇ γλώττῃ, ὡσπερ δραγανῶν τι πολύχορδον, εὐπετῶς τρέπουσα καθ’ ἥν βούλοιτο διάλεκτον ὅλοιγος παντάπασι δι’ ἐρμηνεύων ἐνετύγχανε βαρβάρους, τοῖς δὲ πλείστοις αὐτὴ δι’ αὐτῆς ἀπεδίδου τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, οἷον Αἰθλίς, Τρωγλοδύταις, Ἑβραίοις, Ἀραβήις, Σύροις, Μῆδοις, Παρθανοῖς. πολλῶν δὲ λέγεται καὶ ἄλλων ἐκμαθεῖν γλώττας, τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς βασιλέων οὔδε τὴν Ἀιγυπτίαν ἀνασχομένων παραλαβεῖν διάλεκτον, ἐνίων δὲ καὶ τὸ μακεδονίζειν ἐκλιπτόντων.

XXVIII. Οὕτω δ’ οὖν τῶν ‘Ἀντώνιου ἦρπασεν ἁστε, πολεμοῦσις μὲν ἐν Ὄρωμη Καίσαρι Φουλβίας τῇ γυναίκισ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκείνου πραγμάτων, αἰωρομένης δὲ Παρθικῆς στρατιᾶς περὶ τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν, ὡς Δαβιδίων οἱ βασιλέως στρατηγοὶ Παρθικῶν ἀναγορεύσαντες αὐτοκράτορα Συρίας ἐπιβατεύσεις ἐμελλον, οὐχεσθαι φερομενον ὑπ’ αὐτῆς εἰς ‘Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ἐκεῖ δὲ μειρακίων σχολῆς ἄγοντος διατριβαίς καὶ παιδιάς χρωμενον ἀναλίσκειν καὶ καθηδυπαθεῖν τὸ πολυτελεστατον, ὡς

1 'Αντιφῶν εἶπεν, ἀνάλωμα, τῶν χρόνων. ἡν γὰρ τις αὐτοίς σύνοδος ἀμμητοτέκνων λεγομένη καὶ καθ’ ἡμέραν εἰστίων ἀλλήλους, ἀπιστῶν τινα ποιούμενοι τῶν ἀναλησκομένων ἀμετρίαν. διη-
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told, was in itself not altogether incomparable, nor such as to strike those who saw her; but converse with her had an irresistible charm, and her presence, combined with the persuasiveness of her discourse and the character which was somehow diffused about her behaviour towards others, had something stimulating about it. There was sweetness also in the tones of her voice; and her tongue, like an instrument of many strings, she could readily turn to whatever language she pleased, so that in her interviews with Barbarians she very seldom had need of an interpreter, but made her replies to most of them herself and unassisted, whether they were Ethiopians, Troglydotes, Hebrews, Arabians, Syrians, Medes or Parthians. Nay, it is said that she knew the speech of many other peoples also, although the kings of Egypt before her had not even made an effort to learn the native language, and some actually gave up their Macedonian dialect.

XXVIII. Accordingly, she made such booty of Antony that, while Fulvia his wife was carrying on war at Rome with Caesar in defence of her husband’s interests, and while a Parthian army was hovering about Mesopotamia (over this country the generals of the king had appointed Labienus Parthian commander-in-chief, and were about to invade Syria), he suffered her to hurry him off to Alexandria. There, indulging in the sports and diversions of a young man of leisure, he squandered and spent upon pleasures that which Antiphon calls the most costly outlay, namely, time. For they had an association called The Inimitable Livers, and every day they feasted one another, making their expenditures of incredible profusion. At any rate, Philotas, the
γείτο γοῦν ἦμῶν τῷ πάππῳ Δαμνρία Φιλώτας ὁ Ἀμφισσεύς ἰατρός εἶναι μὲν ἐν Ἀλεξάνδρείᾳ τότε, μανθάνων τὴν τέχνην, γενόμενος δὲ τινὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν ὄψοποιῶν συνήθης ἀναπεισθήναι νέος ὅπε ἅυτοῖ τὴν πολυτέλειαν καὶ τὴν παρα-
3 σκεφὴν τοῦ δείπνου θεάσασθαι. παρείσαχθεὶς οὖν εἰς τοῦπτανεῖον, ὡς τά τε ἄλλα πάμπολλα ἑώρα καὶ σὺς ἁγρίους ὀπτωμένους ὅκτω, θαυμάσαι τὸ πλήθος τῶν δειπνοῦντων. τόν δὲ ὄψοποιῶν γελά-
σαι καὶ εἰπεὶ ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν οὐκ εἰσών οἱ δει-
πνοῦντες, ἄλλα περὶ δῶδεκα: ἔσθι δ’ ἀκμῆν ἔχειν τῶν παρατιθεμένων ἐκαστον, ἡν ἀκαρές ὁρας μα-
ραίνει. καὶ γὰρ αὐτίκα γένοιτ’ ἀν Ἀντώνιοι
δείπνοι δειθήναι καὶ μετὰ μικρόν, ἄν δὲ οὕτω
τύχῃ, παραγαγεῖν αἰτήσαντα ποτήριον ἢ λόγου
4 τινὸς ἐμπεσόντος. δὴν οὐχ ἐν, ἄλλα πολλά,
φάναι, δεῖπνα συντετακταί δυσστόχαστος γὰρ ὁ
καιρός. ταῦτα οὖν ὁ Φιλώτας ἔλεγε, καὶ χρόνου
προϊόντος ἐν τοῖς θεραπεύουσι γενέσθαι τὸν προ-
σβύτατον τῶν Ἀντωνίου παῖδων, ὅτι ἐκ Φουλβίας
εἰχε, καὶ συνδειπνεῖν παρ’ αὐτῷ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων
ἐταίρων ἐπιεικῶς, ὅποτε μὴ δειπνοῖ μετὰ τοῦ
5 πατρός. ἰατρὸν οὖν ποτε θραυσυνόμενον καὶ πρά-
γματα πολλὰ παρέχοντα δειπνοῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπι-
στομίσαι τοιοῦτο σοφίσματι: “Τῷ πως πυρε-
τοντι δοτέου ψυχρὸν· πᾶς δὲ ὁ πυρέττων πως
πυρέττει· παντὶ ἄρα πυρέττοντι δοτέου ψυχρὸν.”
πληγέντος δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ σιωπήσαντος,
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physician of Amphissa, used to tell my grandfather, Lamprias, that he was in Alexandria at this time, studying his profession, and that having got well acquainted with one of the royal cooks, he was easily persuaded by him (young man that he was) to take a view of the extravagant preparations for a royal supper. Accordingly, he was introduced into the kitchen, and when he saw all the other provisions in great abundance, and eight wild boars a-roasting, he expressed his amazement at what must be the number of the guests. But the cook burst out laughing and said: “The guests are not many, only about twelve; but everything that is set before them must be at perfection, and this an instant of time reduces. For it might happen that Antony would ask for supper immediately, and after a little while, perhaps, would postpone it and call for a cup of wine, or engage in conversation with some one. Wherefore,” he said, “not one, but many suppers are arranged; for the precise time is hard to hit.” This tale, then, Philotas used to tell; and he said also that as time went on he became one of the medical attendants of Antony’s oldest son, whom he had of Fulvia, and that he usually supped with him at his house in company with the rest of his comrades, when the young man did not sup with his father. Accordingly, on one occasion, as a physician was making too bold and giving much annoyance to them as they supped, Philotas stopped his mouth with some such sophism as this: “To the patient who is somewhat feverish cold water must be given; but everyone who has a fever is somewhat feverish; therefore to everyone who has a fever cold water should be given.” The fellow was confounded and put to silence, whereat
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ήσθέντα τὸν παίδα γελάσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν, “Ταῦτα, ὦ Φιλότα, χαρίζομαι πάντα σοι,” δείξαντα πολλῶν τινων καὶ μεγάλων ἐκπωμάτων μεστὴν τράπεζαν. αὐτοῦ δὲ τὴν μὲν προθυμίαν ἀποδέξαμένου, πόρρω δὲ ὅντος τοῦ νομίζειν ἐξουσίαν εἶναι παιδὶ τηλικοῦτῳ δωρεῖσθαι τοσάντα, μετὰ μικρὸν ἀψάμενόν τινα τῶν παίδων ἐν ἀγγείῳ τὰ ἐκπώματα προσφέρειν καὶ σημήνασθαι κελεύειν. ἀφοσιωμένον δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ δεδοκιμῶτος λαβεῖν, “Τί, ὦ πόνηρε,” φάναι τὸν ἀνθρώπον, “όκνεις; οὐκ οἶδας ὡς ὁ δίδους Ἀντωνίου παῖς ἔστιν, ὁ τοσαῦτα πάρεστι χρυσᾶ χαρίσασθαι; ἐμοὶ μέντοι πειθόμενος πάντα διάμειψαι πρὸς ἀργύριον ἡμῖν ἱσως γὰρ ἀν καὶ ποθήσειν ὁ πατὴρ ἐνα τῶν παλαιῶν ὄντα καὶ σπουδαζομένων κατὰ τὴν τέχνην ἔργων.” ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν ἔλεγεν ὁ πάππος ἐκάστοτε διηγεῖσθαι τὸν Φιλοταν.

XXIX. Ἡ δὲ Κλεοπάτρα τὴν κολακείαν οὐχ ὡσπερ ὁ Πλάτων φησί, τετραχῆ, πολλαχῇ δὲ διελούσα, καὶ σπουδῆς ἀποτελέσι καὶ παιδιᾶς ἀεὶ τινα καὶ ἤδην ἐπιφέρουσα καὶ χάριν, διεπαιδαγώγητο τὸν Ἀντώνιον οὔτε νυκτὸς ὀὔτε ἡμέρας ἀνείσα. καὶ γὰρ συνεκύβευε καὶ συνέπτων καὶ συνεθήρευε καὶ γυμναζόμενον ἐν ὀπλοῖς ἔθεατο, καὶ νύκτωρ προσταταμένῳ θύραις καὶ θυρίσι δημοτῶν καὶ σκώπτοντι τοὺς ἐνδον συνεπλανάτο καὶ συνήλευσε θεραπαινιδίου στολὴν λαμβάνουσα. καὶ γὰρ ἀνείκειος οὔτως ἐπειρᾶτο σκευάζειν ἐαυτῶν, ὅθεν ἀεὶ σκωμμάτων, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ πληγῶν

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Antony's son was delighted and said with a laugh: "All this I bestow upon thee, Philotas," pointing to a table covered with a great many large beakers. Philotas acknowledged his good intentions, but was far from supposing that a boy so young had the power to give away so much. After a little while, however, one of the slaves brought the beakers to him in a sack, and bade him put his seal upon it. And when Philotas protested and was afraid to take them, "You miserable man," said the fellow, "why hesitate? Don't you know that the giver is the son of Antony, and that he has the right to bestow so many golden vessels? However, take my advice and exchange them all with us for money; since perchance the boy's father might miss some of the vessels, which are of ancient workmanship and highly valued for their art." Such details, then, my grandfather used to tell me, Philotas would recount at every opportunity.

XXIX. But Cleopatra, distributing her flattery, not into the four forms of which Plato speaks,¹ but into many, and ever contributing some fresh delight and charm to Antony's hours of seriousness or mirth, kept him in constant tutelage, and released him neither night nor day. She played at dice with him, drank with him, hunted with him, and watched him as he exercised himself in arms; and when by night he would station himself at the doors or windows of the common folk and scoff at those within, she would go with him on his round of mad follies, wearing the garb of a serving maiden. For Antony also would try to array himself like a servant. Therefore he always reaped a harvest of abuse, and often of blows, before coming back

¹ Gorgias, p. 464.
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ἀπολαύσας ἐπανήρχετο· τοῖς δὲ πλείστοις ἦν δὲ ὑπονοίας. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα προσέχαιρον αὐτοῦ τῇ βωμολοχίᾳ καὶ συνεπαιξόν οὐκ ἄρρυθμως οὐδὲ ἀμοῦσως οἱ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς, ἀγαπῶντες καὶ λέγοντες ὡς τῷ τραγικῷ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους χρῆται προσώπω, τῷ δὲ κωμικῷ πρὸς αὐτοὺς.

3 Τὰ μὲν οὖν πολλὰ τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ παιζομένων διηγεῖσθαι πολὺς ἀν εἴη φλύαρος· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀλιεύων ποτὲ καὶ δυσαγρῶν ἡχθετο παροῦσης τῆς Κλεοπάρτας, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἀλιεῖς ὑπονησάμενους κρύφα τῷ ἀγκίστρῳ περικαθάπτειν ἱχθυὸς τῶν προσαλωκότων, καὶ δὴ ἢ τρίς ἀναστάσας οὐκ ἔλαθε τὴν Ἀιγυπτίαν. προσποιομένη δὲ θαυμάζειν τοῖς φίλοις διηγεῖτο, καὶ παρεκάλει τῷ ὑστεραίᾳ γενέσθαι θεατάς. ἐμβάντων δὲ πολλῶν εἰς τὰς ἀλιάδας καὶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τὴν ὀρμιὰν καθέντος, ἐκέλευσε τινα τῶν αὐτῆς ὑποφθάσαντα καὶ προσημάζειν τῷ ἀγκίστρῳ περιπετείαν Ποντικοῦ τάριχος. ὡς δὲ ἔχειν πεισθεὶς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀνείλκε, γέλωτος, ὀλὸν εἰκός, γενομένου, “Παράδος ἡμῖν,” ἔφη, “τὸν κάλαμον, αὐτόκρατορ, τοῖς Φαρίταισι καὶ Κανοβίταισι ἀλείδιν·” ἡ δὲ σθήρα πόλεις εἰσὶ καὶ βασίλειαι καὶ ἱπτεροί.

4 XXX. Τοιαύτα ληροῦντα καὶ μειρακιευόμενον τῶν Ἀντώνιον ἀγγελίαν δύο καταλαμβάνουσι, ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης, Δεύκιον τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ Φουλβίαν τὴν γυναῖκα πρῶτον ἄλληλοις στασίασαντας, εἶτα Καίσαρι πολεμήσαντας, ἀποβεβλη?

1 ἀλείδιν Bekker, after Hullman: βασιλεύσων.

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home; though most people suspected who he was. However, the Alexandrians took delight in his coarse wit, and joined in his amusements in their graceful and cultivated way; they liked him, and said that he used the tragic mask with the Romans, but the comic mask with them.

Now, to recount the greater part of his boyish pranks would be great nonsense. One instance will suffice. He was fishing once, and had bad luck, and was vexed at it because Cleopatra was there to see. He therefore ordered his fishermen to dive down and secretly fasten to his hook some fish that had been previously caught, and pulled up two or three of them. But the Egyptian saw through the trick, and pretending to admire her lover's skill, told her friends about it, and invited them to be spectators of it on the following day. So great numbers of them got into the fishing boats, and when Antony had let down his line, she ordered one of her own attendants to get the start of him by swimming to his hook and fastening on it a salted Pontic herring. Antony thought he had caught something, and pulled it up, whereupon there was great laughter, as was natural, and Cleopatra said: "Imperator, hand over thy fishing-rod to the fishermen of Pharos and Canopus; thy sport is the hunting of cities, realms, and continents."

XXX. While Antony was indulging in such trifles and youthful follies, he was surprised by reports from two quarters: one from Rome, that Lucius his brother and Fulvia his wife had first quarrelled with one another, and then had waged war with Octavius Caesar, but had lost their cause
κέναι τὰ πράγματα καὶ φεύγειν ἐξ Ἰταλίας, ἔτερα δὲ ταύτης οὐδὲν ἐπιεικεστέρα, Λαβιηνὸν ἐπάγοντα Πάρθους τὴν ἀπ’ Εὐφράτου καὶ Συρίας ἄχρι Λυδίας καὶ Ἰωνίας Ἀσίαν κατα-στρέφεσθαι. μόλις οὖν ὁστερ ἐξυπνισθεὶς καὶ ἀποκραιπαλίσας ὀρμησαὶ μὲν Πάρθους ἐνισταθαι καὶ μέχρι Φοινίκης προῆλθε, Φουλβίας δὲ γράμματα θρήνων μεστὰ πεμπούσης ἐπεστρέψειεν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἀγων ναυς διακοσίας. ἀναλαβὼν δὲ κατὰ πλοῦν τῶν φίλων τους πεφευγότας ἐπυνθάνετο τοῦ πολέμου τὴν Φουλβίαν αἰτίαν γεγονοῦναί, φύσει μὲν οὖσαν πολυπράγμονα καὶ θρασείαν, ἐλπίζουσαν δὲ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἀπάξειν τὸν Ἀντώνιον εἰ τι γένοιτο κίνημα περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν. συμβαίνει δὲ ἀπὸ τύχης καὶ Φουλβίαν πλέουσαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν Σικυώνι νόσῳ τελευτήσας διὸ καὶ μᾶλλον αἱ πρὸς Καίσαρα διάλαγαλ καιρὸν ἔσχον. ὥς γὰρ προσέμεξε τῇ Ἰταλία καὶ Καίσαρ ἦν φανερὸς ἐκεῖνῳ μὲν οὖθεν ἐγκαλῶν, αὐτὸς δ’ ὅν ἐνεκαλεῖτο τὰς αἰτίας τῆς Φουλβίας προστριβόμενος, οὐκ εἰσὶν ἕξελέγχουσι οἱ φίλοι τὴν πρόφασιν, ἀλλὰ διέλουν ἀμφοτέρους καὶ διήρουν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ὅρον ποιούμενοι τὸν Ἰόνιον, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔως νέμοντες Ἀντωνίῳ, τὰ δ’ ἐσπερίᾳ Καίσαρι, Λέπιδου δὲ Διδύμην ἐχείν ἐώντες, ὑπατεύειν δὲ τάξαντες, ὅτε μὴ δοξεῖν αὐτοῖς, φίλους ἐκατέρων παρὰ μέρος.

XXXI. Ταύτα ἐχεῖν καλῶς δοκοῦντα πίστεως ἐδείτο σφοδρότερας, ἦν ἡ τύχη παρέσχεν. Ὀκτανία γὰρ ἦν ἀδελφὴ πρεσβυτέρα μὲν, οὕτω ὁμο-
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and were in flight from Italy; and another, not a whit more agreeable than this, that Labienus at the head of the Parthians was subduing Asia from the Euphrates and Syria as far as Lydia and Ionia. At last, then, like a man roused from sleep after a deep debauch, he set out to oppose the Parthians, and advanced as far as Phoenicia;¹ but on receiving from Fulvia a letter full of lamentations, he turned his course towards Italy, at the head of two hundred ships. On the voyage, however, he picked up his friends who were in flight from Italy, and learned from them that Fulvia had been to blame for the war, being naturally a meddlesome and headstrong woman, and hoping to draw Antony away from Cleopatra in case there should be a disturbance in Italy. It happened, too, that Fulvia, who was sailing to meet him, fell sick and died at Sicyon. Therefore there was even more opportunity for a reconciliation with Caesar. For when Antony reached Italy, and Caesar manifestly intended to make no charges against him, and Antony himself was ready to put upon Fulvia the blame for whatever was charged against himself, the friends of the two men would not permit any examination of the proffered excuse, but reconciled them, and divided up the empire, making the Ionian sea a boundary, and assigning the East to Antony, and the West to Caesar; they also permitted Lepidus to have Africa, and arranged that, when they did not wish for the office themselves, the friends of each should have the consulship by turns.

XXXI. These arrangements were thought to be fair, but they needed a stronger security, and this security Fortune offered. Octavia was a sister of Caesar, older than he, though not by the same

¹ Towards the end of the year 40 B.C.
μητρία δὲ Καίσαρι· ἐγεγόνει γαρ ἐξ Ἀληχαρίας, ὁ δὲ ὑστερον ἐξ Ἀτίας. ἐστεργε δὲ ὑπερφυῶς τὴν ἀδελφὴν, χρήμα θαυμαστῶν, ὡς λέγεται, γυναικὸς 2 γενομένην. αὐτῇ, Γαίον Μαρκέλλου τοῦ γῆμαντος αὐτὴν οὐ πάλαι τεθηκότος, ἐξήρευεν. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ Φουβίας ἀποικομένης χηρεύειν Ἀντώνιος, ἔχειν μὲν οὔκ ἀρνοῦμενος Κλεοπάτραν, γάμῳ δὲ οὔχ ὁμολογῶν, ἀλλ’ ἔτι τῷ λόγῳ περὶ γε τούτῳ πρὸς τὸν ἔρωτα τῆς Αἰγύπτιας μαχόμενος. τούτου ἀπαντεῖ εἰσηγοῦντο τὸν γάμον, ἐπιτίθοντες τὴν Ὀκταούλαν ἐπὶ κάλλει τουσότῳ σεμνότητα καὶ νοῦν ἔχουσαι, εἰς ταῦτον τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ παραγενομένην καὶ στερχεῖσαν, ὡς εἰκὸς τοιαύτην γυναίκα, πάντων πραγμάτων αὐτῶς σωτηρίαν 3 ἔσεσθαι καὶ σύγκρασιν. ὥς οὖν ἔδοξεν ἀμφότερος, ἀναβάντες εἰς Ρώμην ἐπετέλουν τὸν Ὀκταούλας γάμον, οὔκ ἔδοντος μὲν νόμου πρὸ δέκα μηνῶν ἁνδρὸς τελευτήσαντος γαμεῖσθαι, τῆς 930 δὲ συγκλήτου δόγματος τῶν χρόνων ἐκείνως ἀνείσης.

XXXII. Σέξτον δὲ Πομπήίου Σικελίαν μὲν ἔχοντος, Ἰταλίαν δὲ πορθοῦντος, ληστρίσι δὲ ναυσὶ πολλαῖς, ὁν Μηνᾶς ὁ πειρατής καὶ Μενεκράτης ἦρχον, ἀπέλου τὴν θάλασσαν πεποιηκότος, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ κεχρησθαι δοκοῦντος φιλανθρώπως (ὑπεδέξατο γαρ αὐτοῦ τὴν μητέρα τῇ Φουβίᾳ συνεκπεσοῦσαν), ἔδοξε καὶ πρὸς τούτων διαλυ- 2θέναι. καὶ συνῆλθον εἰς ταῦτα κατὰ τὴν ἐν Μισηνοὶς ἄκραν καὶ τὸ χῶμα, Πομπῆίῳ μὲν τοῦ στόλου παρομοῦντος, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ καὶ Καίσαρι τῶν πεζῶν παρακεκριμένων. ἐπεῖ δὲ συνεδεντο Πομπῆίου ἔχοντα Σαρδόνα καὶ Σικελίαν καθαράν 206
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mother; for she was the child of Ancharia, but he, by a later marriage, of Atia. Caesar was exceeding-ingly fond of his sister, who was, as the saying is, a wonder of a woman. Her husband, Caius Mar-cellus, had died a short time before, and she was a widow. Antony, too, now that Fulvia was gone, was held to be a widower, although he did not deny his relations with Cleopatra; he would not admit, however, that she was his wife, and in this matter his reason was still battling with his love for the Egyptian. Everybody tried to bring about this marriage. For they hoped that Octavia, who, besides her great beauty, had intelligence and dignity, when united to Antony and beloved by him, as such a woman naturally must be, would restore harmony and be their complete salvation. Accordingly, when both men were agreed, they went up to Rome and cele-brated Octavia’s marriage, although the law did not permit a woman to marry before her husband had been dead ten months. In this case, however, the senate passed a decree remitting the restriction in time.

XXXII. Now, Sextus Pompeius was holding Sicily, was ravaging Italy, and, with his numerous piratical ships under the command of Menas the corsair and Menecrates, had made the sea unsafe for sailors. But he was thought to be kindly disposed towards Antony, since he had given refuge to Antony’s mother when she fled from Rome with Fulvia, and so it was decided to make terms with him. The men met at the promontory and mole of Misenum, near which Pompey’s fleet lay at anchor and the forces of Antony and Caesar were drawn up. After it had been agreed that Pompey should have
τε ληστηρίων παρέχειν τὴν θάλατταν καὶ σίτου 
τι τεταγμένου ἀποστέλλειν εἰς ἙΡώμην, ἐκάλουν
3 ἐπὶ δείπνου ἄλληλοις. Ἐπηρουμένων δὲ πρῶτος 
ἐστιάν αὐτοὺς ἔλαχε Πομπήιος. ἐρμομένου δὲ 
αὐτὸν Ἀντώνιου, ποῦ δειπνήσουσιν, "Ἐνταῦθα," 
ἐφη, δείξας τὴν στρατηγίδα ναῦν οὖσαν ἐξήρη 
"πατρώος γὰρ οἶκος αὐτὴ Πομπήιὼ λέγεται. 
ταῦτα δὲ εἰς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὀνειδίζων ἔλεγεν, ἑπεὶ 
τὴν Πομπηίου τοῦ πατρός γενομένην οἷκαν ἔκειν 
νος εἶχεν. ὅρμισας δὲ τὴν ναῦν ἐπὶ ἀγκυρῶν καὶ 
διάβαινι τῶν γεφυρώσας ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας ἀνελάμ-
4 βανεν αὐτοὺς προθήμως. Ἀκμαζόσχης δὲ τῆς 
συνουσίας καὶ τῶν εἰς Κλεοπάτραν καὶ Ἀντώνιον 
ἀνθούντων σκωμμάτων, Μηνᾶς ο πειρατής τῷ 
Πομπηίῳ προσελθὼν ὡς μὴ κατακούειν ἔκεινος, 
"Βούλει," φησί, "τὰς ἀγκύρας τῆς νεῶς ὑποτέμω 
καὶ ποιήσω σε μὴ Σικελίας καὶ Σαρδόνος, ἀλλὰ 
5 τῆς Ῥωμαίων κύριον ἡγεμονίας;" ὁ δὲ Πομπηίος 
ἀκούσας καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ γενόμενος βραχὺν χρό-
νον, "Εδει σε," φησίν, "ὁ Μηνᾶ, τοῦτο ἐμοὶ μὴ 
προειπόταν ποιήσαι; νυνὶ δὲ τὰ παρόντα στέρ-
γωμεν ἐπιροκεῖν γὰρ οὐκ ἐμὸν." οὕτως μὲν οὖν 
πάλιν ἀνθεστιαθεῖς ὑπ᾽ ἀμφότερον εἰς τὴν Σικε-
λίαν ἀπέπλευσαν.

XXXIII. Ἀντώνιος δὲ μετὰ τὰς διαλύσεις 
Οὐεντίδιον μὲν εἰς Ἀσίαν προὔπεμπε Πάρθοις 
ἐμποδῶν ἐσόμενον τοῦ πρόσω χωρεῖν, αὐτὸς δὲ 
Καίσαρι χαριζόμενος ἔρευς ἀπεδείχθη τοῦ προ-
τέρου Καίσαρος. καὶ τάλα κοινῶς καὶ φιλικῶς 
ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς καὶ μεγίστοις ἔπραττον. αἱ δὲ 
περὶ τὰς παιδιὰς ἀμίλλατι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐλύσουν

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Sardinia and Sicily, should keep the sea clear of robbers, and should send up to Rome a stipulated amount of grain, they invited one another to supper. Lots were cast, and it was the lot of Pompey to entertain the others first. And when Antony asked him where the supper would be held, "There," said he, pointing to his admiral's ship with its six banks of oars, "for this is the ancestral house that is left to Pompey." This he said by way of reproach to Antony, who was now occupying the house which had belonged to the elder Pompey. So he brought his ship to anchor, made a sort of bridge on which to cross to it from the headland, and gave his guests a hearty welcome on board. When their good fellowship was at its height and the jokes about Antony and Cleopatra were in full career, Menas the pirate came up to Pompey and said, so that the others could not hear, "Shall I cut the ship's cables and make thee master, not of Sicily and Sardinia, but of the whole Roman empire?" Pompey, on hearing this, communed with himself a little while, and then said: "Menas, you ought to have done this without speaking to me about it beforehand; but now let us be satisfied with things as they are; for perjury is not my way." Pompey, then, after being feasted in his turn by Antony and Caesar, sailed back to Sicily.

XXXIII. After this settlement, Antony sent Ventidius on ahead into Asia to oppose the further progress of the Parthians, while he himself, as a favour to Caesar, was appointed to the priesthood of the elder Caesar;\(^1\) everything else also of the most important political nature they transacted together and in a friendly spirit. But their competitive diversions gave

\(^1\) That is, he was made Pontifex Maximus.
2 ἀεὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔλαττον φερόμενον. ἦν γὰρ
tις ἁνήρ σὺν αὐτῷ μαντικὸς ἀπ’ Ἀιγύπτου τῶν
tὰς γενέσεις ἐπισκοποῦντων, δι’ εἶτε Κλεοπάτρα
χαριζόμενος εἶτε χρώμενος ἀληθεία πρὸς τόν
Ἀντώνιον ἔπαρρεν ιάζετο, λέγων τὴν τύχην αὐτοῦ
λαμπροτάτην οὕσαν καὶ μεγίστην ὑπὸ τῆς Καί-
σαρος ἀμανροῦσθαι, καὶ συνεβούλευε πορρωτάτω
τοῦ νεανίσκου ποιεῖν ἐαυτόν. "Ὁ γὰρ σος,"
ἐφη, "δαίμων τὸν τούτου φοβεῖται καὶ γαύρος
δὲν καὶ ὑψηλὸς ὤταν ἢ καθ’ ἐαυτόν, ὅτ’ ἐκεῖνον
γίνεται ταπεινότερος ἐγγίσαντος καὶ ἀγχωνέστε-
ρος." καὶ μέντοι τὰ γυνὸμενα τῷ Ἀιγυπτίῳ
μαρτυρεῖν ἔδοκει. λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι κληρομένων
μετὰ παιδιᾶς ἐφ’ ὅτω τύχοιεν ἐκάστοτε καὶ
κυβερνόντων ἔλαττον ἔχων ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀπήγα
πολλάκις δὲ συμβαλόντων ἀλεξτρούνας, πολλά-
κις δὲ μαχίμους ὀρτυγας, ἐνίκων οἱ Καίσαρος.
Ἐφ’ ο咿 ἀνιώμενος ἀδήλως ὁ Ἀντώνιος καὶ
μᾶλλον τι τῷ Ἀιγυπτίῳ προσέχων, ἀπήρεν ἐκ
τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἐγχειρίσας Καίσαρι τὰ οἰκεία τήν
dὲ Ὁκταούνιαν ἀχρί τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπήγετο θυ-
4 γατρίου ἑγονότος αὐτωίς. διαχειμάζοντι δὲ
αὐτῷ περὶ Αθήνας ἀπαγγέλλεται τὰ πρώτα τῶν
Οὐενετίου κατορθωμάτων, ὅτι μάχη τούς Πάρ-
θους κρατήσας Λαβινόν ἀπεκτόνοι καὶ Φαρμα-
pάτην ἡγεμονικότατον τῶν Τρώδου βασιλέως
στρατηγῶν. ἐπὶ τούτων εἰστία τούς Ἑλληνας,
ἐγγυμασιάρχης δὲ Αθηναίοις, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἡγεμονίας
παράσημα καταλιπτῶν οἴκου μετὰ τῶν γυμνασια-
ρεικῶν ῥάβδων ἐν ἰματίῳ καὶ φαικασίοις προσεὶ
cαὶ διαλαμβάνων τοὺς νεανίσκους ἐτραχηλίζειν.

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Antony annoyance, because he always came off with less than Caesar. Now, there was with him a seer from Egypt, one of those who cast nativities. This man, either as a favour to Cleopatra, or dealing truly with Antony, used frank language with him, saying that his fortune, though most great and splendid, was obscured by that of Caesar; and he advised Antony to put as much distance as possible between himself and that young man. "For thy guardian genius," said he, "is afraid of his; and though it has a spirited and lofty mien when it is by itself, when his comes near, thine is cowed and humbled by it." And indeed events seemed to testify in favour of the Egyptian. For we are told that whenever, by way of diversion, lots were cast or dice thrown to decide matters in which they were engaged, Antony came off worsted. They would often match cocks, and often fighting quails, and Caesar’s would always be victorious.

At all this Antony was annoyed, though he did not show it, and giving rather more heed now to the Egyptian, he departed from Italy, after putting his private affairs in the hands of Caesar; and he took Octavia with him as far as Greece (she had borne him a daughter). It was while he was spending the winter at Athens that word was brought to him of the first successes of Ventidius, who had conquered the Parthians in battle and slain Labienus, as well as Pharnapates, the most capable general of King Hyrodes. To celebrate this victory Antony feasted the Greeks, and acted as gymnasiarch for the Athenians. He left at home the insignia of his command, and went forth carrying the wands of a gymnasiarch, in a Greek robe and white shoes, and he would take the young combatants by the neck and part them.
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XXXIV. Ἕξεϊναι δὲ μέλλων ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἑλαίας στέφανον ἔλαβε, καὶ κατὰ τὴν λόγιον ἀπὸ τῆς Κλεψύδρας ὤδας ἐμπλησάμενος ἀγγείον ἐκόμιζεν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Πάκορον τὸν βασιλέα παίδα, μεγάλῳ στρατῷ Πάρθων αὐθίς ἐπὶ Συρίαν ἐλαύνοντα, συμπεσοῦν Οὐνεντίδιος ἐν τῇ Κυρρηστικῇ τρέπεται, καὶ διαφθείρει παμπόλλους, ἐν πρώτοις Πακόρου πεσόντος.

2 τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ ἐν τοῖς ἀοιδιμωτάτοις γενόμενον Ρωμαίοις τε τῶν κατὰ Κράσσουν ἀτυχημάτων ἐκπλεοῦσιν ποιήμα παρέσχε, καὶ Πάρθους αὐθίς εἰσὶ Μηδίας καὶ Μεσοποταμίας συνέστειλε, τρισὶ μάχαις ἐφέξῃ κατὰ κράτος ἡττημένους. Οὐνεντίδιος δὲ Πάρθους μὲν προσώτερον διώκειν ἀπέγην, φθόνον Ἀντωνίου δείσας, τοὺς δὲ ἀφεστώτας ἐπιῶν κατεστρέφετο καὶ τὸν Κομμαγηνὸν Ἀντί-

3 ὁχον ἐν πόλει Σαμοσάτως ἐπολιορκεῖ. δεομένου δὲ χίλια τάλαντα δοῦναι καὶ ποιεῖν Ἀντωνίῳ τὸ προσταττόμενον, ἐκέλευεν πέμπειν πρὸς Ἀντωνίου. ἦδη γὰρ ἐγγὺς ἦν ἐπιῶν, καὶ τὸν Οὐνεντίδιον οὐκ εἶα σπένδεσθαι τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ, βουλόμενος ἐν γε τούτῳ τῶν ἔργων ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι καὶ μὴ

4 πάντα διὰ Οὐνεντίδιον κατορθοῦσθαι. τῆς δὲ πολυρκίας μῆκος λαμβανούσης καὶ τῶν ἐνδον, ὡς ἀπέγνωσαν τὰς διαλύσεις, πρὸς ἀλκήν τραπεμένων, πράττων οὐδέν, ἐν αἰσχύνῃ δὲ καὶ μεταγνώσει γενόμενος, ἀγαπητῶς ἐπὶ τριακοσίως σπένδε-
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XXXIV. When he was about to go forth to the war, he took a wreath from the sacred olive-tree, and, in obedience to a certain oracle, filled a vessel with water from the Clepsydra and carried it with him. In the meantime Pacorus, the king's son, advanced again with a large army of Parthians against Syria; but Ventidius engaged and routed him in Cyrrhestica, and slew great numbers of his men. Pacorus fell among the first. This exploit, which became one of the most celebrated, gave the Romans full satisfaction for the disaster under Crassus, and shut the Parthians up again within the bounds of Media and Mesopotamia, after they had been utterly defeated in three successive battles. Ventidius, however, decided not to pursue the Parthians further, because he feared the jealousy of Antony; but he attacked and subdued the peoples which had revolted from Rome, and besieged Antiochus of Commagené in the city of Samosata. When Antiochus proposed to pay a thousand talents and obey the behests of Antony, Ventidius ordered him to send his proposal to Antony, who had now advanced into the neighbourhood, and would not permit Ventidius to make peace with Antiochus. He insisted that this one exploit at least should bear his own name, and that not all the successes should be due to Ventidius. But the siege was protracted, and the besieged, since they despaired of coming to terms, betook themselves to a vigorous defence. Antony could therefore accomplish nothing, and feeling ashamed and repentant, was glad to make peace with

1 In the Erechtheium, on the Acropolis.
2 A sacred spring just below the ancient portal of the Acropolis (Pausanias, i. 28, 4).
3 In 38 B.C. See the Crassus, xxxiii. 5, with the note.
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ται ταλάντωι προς τὸν Ἀντίοχον· καὶ μικρὰ τῶν ἐν Συρίᾳ καταστησάμενος εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐπανήλθε, καὶ τὸν Οὐνετίδιον οἷς ἔπρεπε τιμῆσαι ἐπεμψεν ἐπὶ τὸν θρίαμβον.

5 Οὐτὸς ἀπὸ Πάρθων ἀχρὶ δεύρο τεθριάμβευκε μόνοις, ἀνὴρ γένει μὲν ἀφανῆς, ἀπολαύσας δὲ τῆς Ἀντωνίου φιλίας τὸ λαβεῖν ἀφομᾶς πράξεων μεγάλων, αἷς κάλλιστα χρησάμενος ἐβεβαιώσε τῶν περὶ Ἀντωνίου λεγόμενον καὶ Καίσαρος λόγον, ὡς εὐτυχέστεροι δεῖ ἑτέρων ἦσαν ἢ δὲ αὐτῶν

6 στρατηγεῖν. καὶ γὰρ Σόσσιος Ἀντωνίου στρατηγὸς ἐν Συρίᾳ πολλὰ διεπράττετο, καὶ Κανίδιος ἀπολειφθείς ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ περὶ Ἀρμενίαν τούτους τε νικῶν καὶ τοὺς Ἰβήρων καὶ Ἀλβανῶν βασιλέας ἄχρι τοῦ Καυκάσου προῆλθεν. ἂφ’ ὅν ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις ὄνομα καὶ κλέος ἦν ἐν τῆς Ἀντωνίου δυνάμεως.

XXXV. Αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν ἐκ τινῶν διαβολῶν παροξυνθεῖς πρὸς Καίσαρα ναυσὶ τριακοσίαις ἐπλει πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν· οὐ δεξαμένων δὲ τῶν Βρεττασινῶν τὸν στόλον εἰς Τάραντα περιώρισεν. ἐνταῦθα τὴν Ὀκταυνίαν (συνέπλει γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐλλάδος αὐτῷ) δεσθείσαν ἀποτέμπει πρὸς τὸν ἄδελφόν, ἐγκυόν μὲν οὔσαν, ἢδη δὲ καὶ δεύτερον

2 ἐξ αὐτοῦ θυγάτριον ἔχουσαν. ἢ δὲ ἀπαντήσασα καθ’ ὅδὸν Καίσαρι, καὶ παραλαβοῦσα τῶν ἑκείνου φίλων Ἀγριππαν καὶ Μαίκηναν, ἐνετύχαν τολλὰ τοπυμένη καὶ πολλὰ δεομένη μῆ περιδεῖν αὐτὴν ἐκ μακαριωτάτης γυναικὸς αἵλωτατην γενομένην. ὥν μὲν γὰρ ἀπαντᾷ ἀνθρώποις εἰς αὐτὴν ἀποβλέπειν αὐτοκράτωρν δυνεῖν, τοῦ 3 μὲν γυναικα, τοῦ δὲ ἄδελφην οὔσαν "εἰ δὲ τὰ
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Antiochus on his payment of three hundred talents. After settling some trivial matters in Syria, he returned to Athens, and sent Ventidius home, with becoming honours, to enjoy his triumph.

Ventidius is the only man up to the present time who ever celebrated a triumph over the Parthians. He was a man of lowly birth, but his friendship with Antony bore fruit for him in opportunities to perform great deeds. Of these opportunities he made the best use, and so confirmed what was generally said of Antony and Caesar, namely, that they were more successful in campaigns conducted by others than by themselves. For Sossius, Antony’s general, effected much in Syria, and Canidius, who was left by Antony in Armenia, conquered that people, as well as the kings of the Iberians and Albanians, and advanced as far as the Caucasus. Consequently the name and fame of Antony’s power waxed great among the Barbarians.

XXXV. But Antony himself, once more irritated against Caesar by certain calumnies, sailed with three hundred ships for Italy; and when the people of Brundisium would not receive his armament, he coasted along to Tarentum. Here he sent Octavia, who had sailed with him from Greece, at her own request, to her brother. She was with child, and had already borne Antony two daughters. Octavia met Caesar on the way, and after winning over his friends Agrippa and Maecenas, urged him with many prayers and many entreaties not to permit her, after being a most happy, to become a most wretched woman. For now, she said, the eyes of all men were drawn to her as the wife of one imperator and the sister of another: “But if,” she said, “the worse
χείρω κρατήσειν,” ἔφη, “καὶ γένοιτο πόλεμος, ὑμῶν μὲν ἄδηλον ὅτι κρατεῖν ἢ κρατεῖσθαι πέ- πρωται, τὰ ἐμὰ δ’ ἀμφοτέρως ἄθλια.” τούτους ἐπικλασθεῖσις ὁ Καίσαρ ἦκεν εἰρηνικὸς εἰς Τάραν- τα, καὶ θέαμα κάλλιστον οἱ παρόντες ἔθεοντο, πολλὰς δὲ ναῦς ἀτρέμα πρὸς τοὺς αἰγιαλοῖς ἑχοῦσας, αὐ- τῶν δὲ καὶ φίλων ἀπαντήσεις καὶ φιλοφροσύνας.

4 εἰστία δὲ Ἀντώνιος πρότερος, καὶ τούτο τῇ ἀδελ- φῇ Καίσαρος δόντος. ἔτει δὲ ὠμολόγητο Καί- σαρα μὲν Ἀντωνῖω δοῦναι δύο τάγματα πρὸς τὸν Παρθικὸν πόλεμον, Ἀντώνιον δὲ Καίσαρι χαλκ- εμβόλους ἐκατόν, Ὁκταούια τῶν ὠμολογημένων χωρίς ἡτέσατο τῷ μὲν ἀδελφῷ παρὰ τοῦ ἀνδρός εἰκοσὶ μυστάρωνας, τῷ δ’ ἀνδρὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἀδελ-

5 φοῦ στρατιώτας χιλίους. οὕτω δὲ ἀλλήλων διακριθέντες ὁ μὲν εὐθὺς εἰχετὸ τοῦ πρὸς Πομ- πηίου πολέμου, Σικελίας ἐφιέμενος, Ἀντώνιος δὲ Ὁκταούιαν μετὰ τῶν εὗ ἐκείνης καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Φουλβίας παίδας αὐτῷ παρακαταθέμενος εἰς τὴν Ἀσιάν ἀπεπέρασεν.

XXXVI. Ἐδούσα δ’ ἡ δεινὴ συμφορὰ χρόνον πολὺν, ὁ Κλεοπάτρας ἔρως, δοκῶν κατευνάσθαι καὶ κατακεκηλήσθαι τοὺς βελτίσσοι λογισμοῖς, αὕθιος ἀνέλαμπτε καὶ ἀνεδάρραε Συρία πλησιά- ξωτος αὐτοῦ. καὶ τέλος, ὅσπερ φησίν ὁ Πλάτων τὸ δυσπειδῆς καὶ ἀκόλαστον τῆς ψυχῆς ὑποζύ- γιον, ἀπολακτίσας τὰ καλὰ καὶ σωτηρία πάντα Καπίτωνα Φουτήιον ἐπεμψεν ἄξοντα Κλεοπάτραν

2 εἰς Συρίαν. ἐλθοῦσα δὲ χαριζεται καὶ προστι- θείς μικρὸν οὐδὲν οὐδ’ ὅλιγον, ἀλλὰ Φοινίκην,

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should prevail and there should be war between you, one of you, it is uncertain which, is destined to conquer, and one to be conquered, but my lot in either case will be one of misery.” Caesar was overcome by these words, and came in a peaceful manner to Tarentum. Then the inhabitants beheld a most noble spectacle—a large army on land inactive, and many ships lying quietly off shore, while the commanders and their friends met one another with friendly greetings. Antony entertained Caesar first, who consented to it for his sister’s sake. And after it had been agreed that Caesar should give to Antony two legions for his Parthian war, and Antony to Caesar one hundred bronze-beaked galleys, Octavia, independently of this agreement, obtained twenty light sailing craft from her husband for her brother, and one thousand soldiers from her brother for her husband. Thus they separated, and Caesar at once engaged in the war against Pompey, being ambitious to get Sicily, while Antony, after putting Octavia in Caesar’s charge, together with his children by her and Fulvia, crossed over into Asia.

XXXVI. But the dire evil which had been slumbering for a long time, namely, his passion for Cleopatra, which men thought had been charmed away and lulled to rest by better considerations, blazed up again with renewed power as he drew near to Syria. And finally, like the stubborn and unmanageable beast of the soul, of which Plato speaks,¹ he spurned away all saving and noble counsels and sent Fontêius Capito to bring Cleopatra to Syria. And when she was come, he made her a present of no slight or insignificant addition to her dominions, namely,

¹ Cf. Phaedrus, 254 a.
κοίλην Συρίαν, Κύπρουν, Κιλικίας πολλήν· ἐτὶ δὲ τῆς τε Ἰουδαίων τῆν τὸ βάλσαμον φέρουσαν καὶ τῆς Ναβαταίων Ἀραβίας ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἐκτός ἀποκλίνει θάλασσαν. αὐτὰς μάλιστα Ῥωμαίων ἦνίσαν αἱ δωρεάι. καίτοι πολλοὶς ἐχαρίζετο τετραρχίας καὶ βασίλειας ἔθνων μεγάλων, ἰδιώταις οὕσε, πολλοὺς δ’ ἀφηρεῖτο βασίλειας, ὡς Ἀντίγονον τὸν Ἰουδαίον, ὃν καὶ προαγαγών ἐπελέκισεν, οὐδενὸς πρότερον ἐτέρου βασίλεως 3 οὕτω κολασθέντος. ἀλλὰ τὸ αἰσχρὸν ἦν τῶν Κλεοπάτρας τιμῶν ἀνιαιρότατον. ηὐξησε δὲ τὴν διαβολὴν παῖδας ἐξ αὐτῆς διδύμους ἀνελόμενος, καὶ προσαγορεύσας τὸν μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον, τὴν δὲ Κλεοπάτραν, ἐπίκλησιν δὲ τὸν μὲν Ἡλίου, τὴν δὲ Σελήνην. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα ἀγαθὸν ὃν ἐγκαλλωπίσασθαι τοῖς αἰσχροῖς ἔλεγε τῆς μὲν Ῥωμαίων ἤγεμονίας οὐ δὲ ἰαν θαμβῶνοις, ἀλλ’ ἐν ὦς χαρίζονται φαίνεσθαι τὸ μέγεθος: διαδοχαῖς δὲ καὶ τεκνώσει πολλῶν βασίλεων πλατύνεσθαι 4 τὰς εὐγενείας. οὕτω γοῦν ὑφ’ Ἡρακλέους τεκνωθήναι τὸν αὐτοῦ πρόγονον, οὐκ ἐν μιᾷ γαστρὶ θεμένον τὴν διαδοχὴν οὐδὲ νόμους Σολωνείους καὶ κυήσεως εὐθύνας δεδοκίτος, ἀλλὰ τῇ φύσει πολλάς γενῶν ἀρχὰς καὶ καταβολὰς ἀπολύπειν ἐφέντος.

XXXVII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Φραάτου κτείναντος Ῥώδην τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν βασίλειαν κατασχόντος ἄλλοι τε Πάρθων ἀπεδίδρασκον οὐκ ὀλίγοι, καὶ Μοναίσης, ἀνὴρ ἐπιφανῆς καὶ δυνατός, ἢκε φεῦ- 218
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Phoenicia, Coele Syria, Cyprus, and a large part of Cilicia; and still further, the balsam-producing part of Judaea, and all that part of Arabia Nabataea which slopes toward the outer sea. These gifts particularly annoyed the Romans. And yet he made presents to many private persons of tetrarchies and realms of great peoples, and he deprived many monarchs of their kingdoms, as, for instance, Antigonus the Jew, whom he brought forth and beheaded, though no other king before him had been so punished. But the shamefulness of the honours conferred upon Cleopatra gave most offence. And he heightened the scandal by acknowledging his two children by her, and calling one Alexander and the other Cleopatra, with the surname for the first of Sun, and for the other of Moon. However, since he was an adept at putting a good face upon shameful deeds, he used to say that the greatness of the Roman empire was made manifest, not by what the Romans received, but by what they bestowed; and that noble families were extended by the successive begettings of many kings. In this way, at any rate, he said, his own progenitor was begotten by Heracles, who did not confine his succession to a single womb, nor stand in awe of laws like Solon's for the regulation of conception, but gave free course to nature, and left behind him the beginnings and foundations of many families.

XXXVII. And now Phraates put Hyrodes his father to death and took possession of his kingdom,¹ other Parthians ran away in great numbers, and particularly Monaeses, a man of distinction and power,

¹ In 36 B.C. Cf. the Crassus, xxxiii. 5.
γων πρὸς Ἀντώνιον, τὰς μὲν ἐκείνου τὺχας ταῖς Ἑμιστόκλεοις εἰκάσας, περιουσίαν δὲ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνην τοῖς Περσῶν βασιλεῦσι παραβαλών, ἐδωρήσατο τρεῖς πόλεις αὐτῷ, Δάρισσαν καὶ Ἀρέθουσαν καὶ Ἰεράν τόλμων, ἵνα
2 Βαμβύκην πρότερον ἐκάλουν, τοῦ δὲ Πάρθων βασιλέως τῷ Μοναίσθε δεξιὰν καταπέμψαντος, ἄσμενος αὐτὸν ἀπέστειλεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἔσπαστάν μὲν ἐγνωκὼς τὸν Φραάτην, ὡς εἰρήνης ἐσομένης, ἀξίων δὲ τὰς ἀλούσας ἐπὶ Κράσσου σημαίας καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπολαβεῖν τοὺς περίοντας. αὐτὸς δὲ Κλεοπάτραν εἰς Διονυσίου ἀποτέμψας ἐχώρει δι’
3 'Αραβίας καὶ Ἄρμενίας, ὅπου συνελθοῦσας αὐτῷ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῶν συμμάχων βασιλέως (πάμπολλοι δὲ ἦσαν οὗτοι, μέγιστος δὲ πάντων ὁ τῆς Ἄρμενίας Ἀρταουσάδης, ἔξαισχιλίους. ἵππεις καὶ πεζοὶ ἐπτακισχιλίους παρέχων) ἐξήτασε τῶν στρατῶν. ἦσαν δὲ 'Ρωμαῖοι μὲν αὐτῶν ἔξαισχι-μύριοι πεζοὶ καὶ τὸ 'Ρωμαίοις συντεταγμένον ἵππικόν, Ἱβήρων καὶ Κελτῶν μύριοι, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἑθνῶν ἐγένοντο τρεῖς μυριάδες σὺν ἱππεύ-σιν ὀμοί καὶ ψυλλοῖς.
4 Τοσαύτην μέντοι παρασκευὴν καὶ δύναμιν, ἢ καὶ τοὺς πέραν Βάκτρων Ἰνδοὺς ἐφόβησε καὶ πᾶσαν ἐκράδανε τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἀνόνητον αὐτῷ διὰ 933 Κλεοπάτραν γενέσθαι λέγουσι. σπεύδοντα γὰρ ἐκείνη συνδιαχείμασα, τὸν πόλεμον ἐξενεγκείν πρὸ καιροῦ καὶ πᾶσι χρήσαται τεταραγμένως, οὐκ ὅτα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ λογισμῶν, ἀλλ’ ὡς ὑπὸ 1 φαρμάκων τινῶν ἢ γοητείας παπταίνοντα πρὸς

1 ὡς ὑπὸ Naber: ὑπὸ.
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who came in flight to Antony. Antony likened the fortunes of the fugitive to those of Themistocles,\(^1\) compared his own abundant resources and magnanimity to those of the Persian kings, and gave him three cities, Larissa, Arethusa, and Hierapolis, which used to be called Bambycé. But when the Parthian king made an offer of friendship to Monaeses, Antony gladly sent Monaeses back to him, determined to deceive Phraates with a prospect of peace, and demanding back the standards captured in the campaign of Crassus, together with such of his men as still survived. Antony himself, however, after sending Cleopatra back to Egypt, proceeded through Arabia and Armenia to the place where his forces were assembled, together with those of the allied kings. These kings were very many in number, but the greatest of them all was Artavasdes, king of Armenia, who furnished six thousand horse and seven thousand foot. Here Antony reviewed his army. There were, of the Romans themselves, sixty thousand footsoldiers, together with the cavalry classed as Romañ, namely, ten thousand Iberians and Celts; of the other nations there were thirty thousand, counting alike horsemen and light-armed troops.

And yet we are told that all this preparation and power, which terrified even the Indians beyond Bactria and made all Asia quiver, was made of no avail to Antony by reason of Cleopatra. For so eager was he to spend the winter with her that he began the war before the proper time, and managed everything confusedly. He was not master of his own faculties, but, as if he were under the influence of certain drugs or of magic rites, was ever looking

\(^1\) See the Themistocles, xxix. 7.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ἐκεῖνην ἀεὶ, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τάχιον ἐπανελθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς τὸ κρατῆσαι τῶν πολεμίων γενόμενον.

XXXVIII. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν αὐτοῦ δέον ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ διαχειμάσαι καὶ διαναπάσαι τὸν στρατὸν, ὠκτακισχιλίων σταδίων ἀποτετρυμένον πορεία, καὶ πρὶν ἡ κινεῖν ἐκ τῶν χειμαδίων Πάρθους ἔαρος ἀρχὴ Μηδίαν καταλαβεῖν, οὐκ ἴνεσχετο τὸν χρόνον, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἤγει τὸν ἀριστερὰν λαβὼν Ἀρμενίαν, καὶ τῆς Ἀτροπατηνῆς ἀφά-2 μενος ἐπόρθη τὴν χώραν. ἔπειτα μηχανημάτων αὐτῷ πρὸς πολιορκίαν ἀναγκαῖον τριακοσίας ἀμάξων παραπεμπόμενων, ἐν οἷς καὶ κριῶν ἢν ὤδηγοντα ἐποδῶν μῆκος, δὲν οὐδὲν ἑνεχώρει διαφθαρέν ἐπὶ καιρῷ πάλιν γενέσθαι διὰ τὸ τὴν ἀνω χώραν πᾶν ξύλον ἀγεννῆς εἰς μῆκος καὶ μαλθακὸν ἐκφέρειν, ἐπειγόμενος ὡς ἐμπόδια τοῦ ταχύνων ἀπέλιπε, φυλακὴν τινα καὶ Στατιανοῦ ἡγεμόνα τῶν ἀμαξῶν ἐπιστήσας, αὐτὸς δὲ Φραάτα μεγάλην πόλιν, ἐν ᾗ καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκες ἦσαν τοῦ τῆς Μηδίας βασιλέως, ἐπο-3 λιόρκει. τῆς δὲ χρείας εὐθὺς ὅσον ἦμαρτε τὰς μηχανὰς ἀπολιπὼν ἐξελεγχούσης, ὁμόσε χωρῶν ἔχου πρὸς τὴν πόλιν χώμα σχολή καὶ πολυπώνως ἀνιστάμενον. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καταβάινων στρατιᾷ μεγάλῃ Φραάτης, ὡς ἦκουσε τὴν ἀπόλειψιν τῶν μηχανοφόρων ἀμαξῶν, ἐπεμψε τῶν ἱππέων πόλ- λων ἐπ' αὐτάς, ὡς ὅπερ περιλήφθηκε ο Στατιανὸς ἀποθνῄσκει μὲν αὐτός, ἀποθνῄσκουσι δὲ μύριοι τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ. τὰς δὲ μηχανὰς ἔλοντες οἱ 222
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eagerly towards her, and thinking more of his speedy return than of conquering the enemy.

XXXVIII. In the first place, then, though he ought to have spent the winter in Armenia and to have given his army rest, worn out as it was by a march of eight thousand furlongs, and to have occupied Media at the opening of spring, before the Parthians had left their winter quarters, he could not hold out that length of time, but led his army on, taking Armenia on his left, and skirting Atropatené, which country he ravaged. Secondly, his engines necessary for siege operations were carried along on three hundred waggons, and among them was a battering ram eighty feet long. Not one of these, if destroyed, could be replaced in time to be of use, because the upper country produced only wood of insufficient length and hardness. Nevertheless, in his haste, he left these behind him, on the ground that they retarded his speed, setting a considerable guard under the command of Statianus over the waggons, while he himself laid siege to Phraata, a large city, in which were the wives and children of the king of Media. But the exigencies of the case at once proved what a mistake he had made in leaving behind him his engines, and coming to close quarters he began to build a mound against the city, which rose slowly and with much labour. In the meantime, however, Phraates came down with a great army, and when he heard that the waggons carrying the engines had been left behind, he sent a large number of his horsemen against them. By these Statianus was surrounded and slain himself, and ten thousand of his men were slain with him. Moreover, the Barbarians captured the engines and
βάρβαροι διέφθειραν. εἶλον δὲ παμπόλλους, ἐν οἷς καὶ Πολέμων ἦν ὁ βασιλεύς.

XXXIX. Τούτο πάντας μὲν, ὡς εἰκός, ἦνίασε τοὺς περὶ Ἀντώνιον ἀνελπίστως ἐν ἀρχῇ πληγέντας. ὁ δὲ Ἀρμενίου Ἀρταούσδης ἀπογονύσ τὰ Ρωμαίων φίλητο τὴν αὐτοῦ στρατιὰν ἀναλαβὼν, καῖπερ αἰτίώτατος τοῦ πολέμου γενόμενος.

2 ἐπιφανείντων δὲ λαμπρῶς τοῖς πολιορκοῦσι τῶν Πάρθων καὶ χρωμένων ἀπειλαῖς πρὸς θύβριν, οὐ βουλόμενοι Ἀρτάονιος ἡσυχάζοντι τῷ στρατῷ τὸ δυσθυμοῦν καὶ καταπεπληγμένον ἐμμένειν καὶ αὐξεσθαι, δέκα τάγματα λαβὼν καὶ τρεῖς στρατηγίδαις σπείρας ὀπλιτῶν, τοὺς δὲ ἱππεῖς ἀπαντάς, ἐξῆγαγε πρὸς σιτολογίαν, οἶομενος οὕτως ἀν ἐπιστασθέντων μάλιστα τῶν πολεμῶν.

3 ἐκ παρατάξεως μάχην γενέσθαι. προέλθον δὲ μᾶς ὁδὸν ἡμέρας, ὡς ἐώρα τοὺς Πάρθους κύκλῳ περικεφιένους καὶ προσπεθεῖν καθ᾽ ὁδὸν αὐτῷ ἤμοιόντος, ἐξῄθηκε μὲν τὸ τῆς μάχης σύμβολον ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, καθελὼν δὲ τὰς σκηνὰς ὡς οὐ μαχησόμενος, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπάξων, παρημεῖβο τῶν βαρβάρων τὴν τάξειν οὕσαν μηνοείδη, κελεύσας, ὅταν οἱ πρῶτοι τοῖς ὀπλίταις ἐν ἑφικτῷ δοκῶσιν.

4 εἶναι, τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἐναντίον εἰσελαίνειν. τοῖς δὲ Πάρθοις παρακεκριμένοις λόγον κρείττων ἢ τάξεις ἑφαίνετο τῶν Ρωμαίων, καὶ κατεθέωντο παρεξίόντας ἐν διαστήμασιν ἵσοις ἀθορύβως καὶ σωπῇ τοὺς ὑσσοὺς κραδαίνοντας. ὡς δὲ τὸ σημεῖον ἦρθη καὶ προσεφέροντο μετὰ κρανγῆς.
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destroyed them. They also took a great number of prisoners, among whom was Polemon the king.

XXXIX. This calamity naturally distressed all the followers of Antony, for they had received an unexpected blow at the outset; besides, Artavasdes, the king of Armenia, despairing of the Roman cause, took his own forces and went off, although he had been the chief cause of the war. And now the Parthians presented themselves to the besiegers in brilliant array, and threatened them insultingly. Antony, therefore, not wishing that the inactivity of his army should confirm and increase among them consternation and dejection, took ten legions and three praetorian cohorts of men-at-arms, together with all his cavalry, and led them out to forage, thinking that in this way the enemy would best be drawn into a pitched battle. After advancing a single day's march, he saw that the Parthians were enveloping him and seeking to attack him on the march. He therefore displayed the signal for battle in his camp, and after taking down his tents, as though his purpose was not to fight but to withdraw, he marched along past the line of the Barbarians, which was crescent-shaped. But he had given orders that when the first ranks of the enemy should appear to be within reach of his legionaries, the cavalry should charge upon them. To the Parthians in their parallel array, the discipline of the Romans seemed to beggar description, and they watched them marching past at equal distances from one another, without confusion, and in silence, brandishing their javelins. But when the signal was given, and the Roman horsemen wheeled about and rode down
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΗΣ ΤΗΣ ζΩΗΣ

ἐπιστρέψαντες οἱ ἵππεις, τοῦτοι μὲν ἢμύνοντο
dεξάμενοι, καὶ περ εὔθὺς ἐντὸς τοξεύματος γενο-
μένους, τῶν δὲ ὀπλιτῶν συναπτόντων ἂμα βοὴ
cαι πατάγῳ τῶν ὁπλῶν, οἱ τε ἵπποι τοῖς
Πάρθοις ἔξυσταντο ταρβούντες καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸν εἰς
χεῖρας ἐκδείχνει τέφευγον.

5 Ὅ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐνέκειτο τῇ διώξει, καὶ
μεγάλας εἶχεν ἐλπίδας ὡς τοῦ πολέμου τὸ
σύμπαυν ἡ τὸ πλείστον ἐκείνη τῇ μάχῃ διαπτραγ-
μένοις. ὥτε ἐγὼ διώξεως γενομένης τοῖς μὲν
πεζοῖς ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα στάδια, τοῖς δὲ ἰππεύσιν
ἐπὶ τρίς τοσαύτα, τοὺς πεπτωκότας τῶν πολεμίων
καὶ τοὺς ἡλικότας ἐπισκοποῦντες εὐροῦν αἰχ-
μαλώτους μὲν τριάκοντα, νεκροὺς δὲ ὀμοίωσιν
μόνους, ἀπορία καὶ δυσθυμία πᾶσιν παρέστη,
δεινῶν εἶναι λογιζόμενοι εἰ νικῶντες μὲν οὕτως
ὁλίγους κτείνοντες, ἱττώμενοι δὲ στερήσονται
τοσοῦτον ὅσους ἀπέβαλον περὶ ταῖς ἀμάξαις.
6 τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίᾳ συσκευασάμενοι τὴν ἐπὶ Φραὰτων
καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου προῆγον. ἐντυχόντες δὲ
κατὰ τὴν ὄδον πρῶτον μὲν ὀλίγοις τῶν πολεμίων,
ἐπετα πλείσι, τέλος δὲ πᾶσιν ὃσπερ ἄρττητοις
καὶ νεαλέσι προκαλουμένοι καὶ προσβάλλουσι
πανταχόθεν, μοχθηρῶς καὶ πολυτόνως ἀπε-
7 σώθησαν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, τῶν δὲ Μῆδων
ἐκδρομήν τινα ποιησάμενοι ἐπὶ τὸ χῶμα καὶ
τοὺς προμαχομένους φοβησάντων, ὁρμοθείς ὁ
Ἀντώνιος ἔχρησατο τῇ λεγομένη δεκαετίᾳ πρὸς
τοὺς ἀποδειλάσαντας. διελὼν γὰρ εἰς δεκάδας
τὸ πλήθος ἀφ’ ἐκάστης ἐνα τῶν λαχώντα κλήρῳ
dιέφθειρε, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἀντὶ πυρῶν ἐκέλευεν
κριθαίς μετρεῖσθαι.

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upon them with loud shouts, they did indeed receive their onset and repel them, although their foes were at once too close for them to use their arrows; when, however, the legionaries joined in the charge, with shouts and clashing of weapons, the horses of the Parthians took fright and gave way, and the Parthians fled without coming to close quarters.

Antony pressed hard upon them in pursuit, and had great hopes that he had finished the whole war, or the greater part of it, in that one battle. His infantry kept up the pursuit for fifty furlongs, and his cavalry for thrice that distance; and yet when he took count of those of the enemy who had fallen or had been captured, he found only thirty prisoners and eighty dead bodies. Despondency and despair therefore fell upon all; they thought it a terrible thing that when victorious they had killed so few, and when vanquished they were to be robbed of so many men as they had lost at the waggon. On the following day they packed up and started on the road to Phraata and their camp. As they marched they met, first a few of the enemy, then more of them, and finally the whole body, which, as though unconquered and fresh, challenged and attacked them from every side; but at last, with difficulty and much labour, they got safely to their camp. Then the Medes made a sally against their mound and put its defenders to flight. At this Antony was enraged, and visited those who had played the coward with what is called decimation. That is, he divided the whole number of them into tens, and put to death that one from each ten upon whom the lot fell.¹ For the rest he ordered rations of barley instead of wheat.

¹ See the Crassus, x. 2.
XL. Χαλέπος δὲ ἀμφοτέροις ἦν ὁ πόλεμος, καὶ
tὰ μέλλον αὐτοῦ φοβερωτέρον, Ἀντώνιῳ μὲν
προσδοκώντες λιμόν᾽ ὑπέκειτι γὰρ ἦν ἄνευ τραυ-
μάτων καὶ νεκρῶν πολλῶν ἐπιστίσασθαι Φραί-
τῆς δὲ τῶν Πάρθων ἐπιστάμενος πάντα μᾶλλον
ἡ χειμῶνος ἐξὸς προσταλαίπωρεῖν καὶ θυραυλεῖν
dυναμένους, ἐφοβεῖτο μὴ τῶν Ρωμαίων ἐγκαρτε-
ροῦντων καὶ παραμενόντων ἀπολίπωσιν αὐτῶν,
ηδὲ τοῦ ἀέρος συνισταμένου μετὰ φθινοπωρίνης
2 ἵστημερίαν. δόλον οὖν συντίθεσι τοιόνδε. Πάρθων
οἱ γνωριμώτατοι περὶ τὰς σιτολογίας καὶ τὰς
ἀλλὰς ἀπαντήσεις μαλακότερον τοῖς Ρωμαίοις
προσεφέρουν, λαμβάνειν τε παρέντες αὐτοῖς
ἐνα καὶ τὴν ἁρετὴν ἐπαινοῦντες ὡς πολεμικω-
τάτων ἀνδρῶν καὶ θαιμαξομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ
3 σφετέρου βασιλεῶς δικαίως. ἐκ δὲ τούτου
προσελαίυνοντες ἐγχυτέρω καὶ τοὺς ὑποὺς
ἀτρέμα παραβάλλουντες ἐλοιδόρουν τῶν Ἀντώνιον,
ὅτι βουλομένῳ Φραίτῃ διαλλαγήναι καὶ φεῖ-
σασθαι τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοσοῦτων ἀφορμήν
οὐ δίδωσιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς χαλέπους καὶ μεγάλους
κάθεται πολεμίους ἀναμένων, λιμόν καὶ χειμῶνα,
δι᾽ ὅν ἔργον ἐστὶ καὶ προπεμπομένους ὑπὸ
Πάρθων ἀποφεύγειν. πολλῶν δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν
Ἀντώνιον ἀναφερόντων, μαλασσόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς
ἐλπίδος ὅμως ὧν πρότερον ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο πρὸς
tῶν Πάρθων ἡ πυθέσθαι τῶν φιλοφρονουμένων
ἐκείνων βαρβάρων εἰ τοῦ βασιλέως ταῦτα φρο-
4 νοῦντος διαλέγοντο. φασκόντων δὲ καὶ παρα-
καλοῦντων μὴ δεδείναι μηδὲ ἀπιστεῖν, ἐπεμψέ-
tινας τῶν ἐταῖρων πάλιν τὰς σημαίας ἄξιόν

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XL. The war was full of hardship for both sides, and its future course was still more to be dreaded. Antony expected a famine; for it was no longer possible to get provisions without having many men wounded and killed. Phraates, too, knew that his Parthians were able to do anything rather than to undergo hardships and encamp in the open during winter, and he was afraid that if the Romans persisted and remained, his men would desert him, since already the air was getting sharp after the summer equinox. He therefore contrived the following stratagem. Those of the Parthians who were most acquainted with the Romans attacked them less vigorously in their forays for provisions and other encounters, allowing them to take some things, praising their valour, and declaring that they were capital fighting men and justly admired by their own king. After this, they would ride up nearer, and quietly putting their horses alongside the Romans, would revile Antony because, when Phraates wished to come to terms and spare so many and such excellent men, Antony would not give him an opportunity, but sat there awaiting those grievous and powerful enemies, famine and winter, which would make it difficult for them to escape even though the Parthians should escort them on their way. Many persons reported this to Antony, but though his hope inclined him to yield, he did not send heralds to the Parthians until he had inquired of the Barbarians who were showing such kindness whether what they said represented the mind of their king. They assured him that it did, and urged him to have no fear or distrust, whereupon he sent some of his companions with a renewed demand for the return of the standards
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ἀπολαβεῖν καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, ὡς δὴ μὴ παντάπασιν ἄγατάν το σωθήναι καὶ διαφυγεῖν νομίσθειν. τοῦ δὲ Πάρθου ταῦτα μὲν ἐὰν κελεύοντος, ἀπίοντι δὲ εὐθὺς εἰρήνην καὶ ἀσφάλειαν εἶναι ὑγιαστος, ὁλύγας ἡμέρας συσκευα-
5 σάμενος ἄνεξεύγυνεν. ὃν δὲ καὶ δὴμω πιθανὸς ἐντυχεῖν καὶ στρατὸν ἄγειν διὰ λόγου παρ' ὀντινὸν τῶν τότε πεφυκὸς, ἐξέλιπεν αὐτὸς αἰσχύνη καὶ κατηφεία τὸ παραθάρρυναι τὸ πλήθος, Δομίτιον δὲ Ἀγνόβαρβον ἐκέλευν τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. καὶ τινὲς μὲν ἡγανάκτησαν ὡς ὑπερορώ-
μενοι, τὸ δὲ πλείστον ἐπεκλάζθη καὶ συνεφόρησε τὴν αἰτίαν· διὸ καὶ μᾶλλον φοντο δείν ἀνταίδει-
σθαί καὶ πείθεσθαι τῷ στρατηγῷ.

XLI. Μέλλοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἂγειν ὅπισώ πεδινὴν καὶ ἀδενδρὸν οὐσαν, ἀνὴρ τῷ γένει Μάρδος, πολλὰ τοῖς Πάρθων ἡθεσάν ἐνωμιληκώς, ἢδη δὲ Ἐρμαίοισ πιστὸς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ 935 τῇ περὶ τᾶς μηχανᾶς γεγονός, Ἀντωνίῳ προσ-
ελθὼν ἐκέλευεν φεύγειν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῶν ὅρων ἐπιλαβόμενοι, καὶ μὴ στρατὸν ὀπλίτην καὶ 
βαρύν ἐν ὅρμοις γυμνοῖς καὶ ἀναπεπταμένοις 2 ὑποβαλεῖν ἤκποι τοσαῦτη καὶ τοξεύμασιν, ὃ δὴ 
τεχνώμενον τὸν Φραάτην ἀναστήσαι τῆς πολυο-
κίας αὐτῶν ὀμολογίαις φιλανθρώποις· ἔσεθαί δὲ 
αὐτὸς ἤγεμῶν ὁδὸν βραχυτέρας καὶ μᾶλλον 
eὐπορίαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἔχουσης.

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and the captives,\(^1\) that he might not be thought altogether satisfied with an escape in safety. But the Parthian told him not to urge this matter, and assured him of peace and safety as soon as he started to go away; whereupon, within a few days Antony packed up his baggage and broke camp. But though he was persuasive in addressing a popular audience and was better endowed by nature than any man of his time for leading an army by force of eloquence, he could not prevail upon himself, for shame and dejection of spirits, to make the usual speech of encouragement to the army, but ordered Domitius Ahenobarbus to do it. Some of the soldiers were incensed at this, and felt that he had held them in contempt; but the majority of them were moved to the heart as they comprehended the reason. Therefore they thought they ought to show all the more respect and obedience to their commander.

XLI. As he was about to lead his army back by the road over which it had come, which ran through a level country without trees, a man of the Mardian race, who had great familiarity with the Parthian habits, and had already shown himself faithful to the Romans in the battle over the engines of war,\(^2\) came to Antony and urged him in his flight to keep close to the hills upon his right, and not to expose an encumbered army of legionaries to so large a force of mounted archers, in bare and extended tracts; this was the very thing, he said, which Phraates had designed when he induced him by friendly conferences to raise the siege; he himself, he said, would conduct the army by a way that was shorter and furnished a greater abundance of provisions.

\(^1\) See chapter xxxvii. \(^2\) See chapter xxxviii. 3.
Ταύτα ἀκούσας ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐβούλευτο, καὶ Πάρθοις μὲν οὐκ ἐβούλετο δοκεῖν ἀπιστεῖν μετὰ σπουδᾶς, τὴν δὲ συντομίαν τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ τὸ παρὰ κώμας οἰκουμένας ἔσεσθαι τὴν πορείαν ἐπαινῶν
3 πίστιν ἦτε τῶν Μάρδων. ὄ δὲ δῆσαι παρεῖχεν αὐτῶν ἄχρι οὗ καταστήσῃ τὸν στρατὸν εἰς Ἀρ-
μενίαν, καὶ διεθεὶς ἄγειτο δύο ἡμέρας καθ’ ἡσυχί-
αν. τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ παντάπασι τοὺς Πάρθους ἀπε-
γνωκότος Ἀντωνίου καὶ βαδίζοντος ἀνειμένως διὰ τὸ ἥθελεν, ἱδὼν οἱ Μάρδος ἀπόχωσιν ἡμβολῆς
ποταμοῦ νεώστε διεσπασμένην καὶ τὸ ἱέμα πολὺ
4 πρὸς τὴν ὁδὸν, ἦ πορευόμενον ἡ, ἐκχεομένου, συνή-
κεν ὅτι τῶν Πάρθων ἔργον εἰὴ τούτο δυσκολίας
ἐνεκα καὶ διάτριβῆς ἐμποδῶν αὐτοῖς τὸν ποταμὸν
τιθεμένων, καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὅραν ἐκέλευε καὶ
προσέχειν, ὡς τῶν πολεμίων ἔγγυς ὄντων. ἂρτι
δὲ αὐτῶν καθιστάντος εἰς τάξιν τὰ ὅπλα καὶ δι’
αὐτῶν τοῖς ἀκοντισταῖς καὶ σφενδονήταις ἐκδρο-
μήν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους παρασκευάζοντος, ἐπεφά-
νησαν οἱ Πάρθοι καὶ περιήλθαν ὡς κυκλωσό-
μενοι καὶ συνταράξοντες πανταχόθεν τὸν στρατὸν.
5 ἐκδραμὸντων δὲ τῶν ψιλῶν ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς, πολλὰς
μὲν διδόντες ἀπὸ τῶν, οὐκ ἐλάττονας δὲ ταῖς
μολυβδίσι καὶ τοῖς ἀκοντίοις πληγάς λαμβάνοντες
ἀνεχόμενοι· εἶτα ἐπήγαγον αὐθις, ἄχρι οὐ συστρέ-
ψαντες οἱ Κελτοὶ τοὺς ὑπῶν ἐνέβαλον καὶ διε-
σκέδασαν αὐτοὺς οὐκέτι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ὑπὸ-
δειγμα γενομένους.
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On hearing this, Antony took counsel with himself. He did not wish to have the appearance of distrusting the Parthians, now that a truce had been made, but since he approved of the shorter road and of having their march take them past inhabited villages, he asked the Mardian for a pledge of his good faith. The Mardian offered to let himself be put in fetters until he should bring the army safely into Armenia, and he was put in fetters, and led them for two days without their encountering trouble. But on the third day, when Antony had put the Parthians entirely out of his thoughts, and was marching along in loose order because of his confidence, the Mardian noticed that a dike of the river had been recently torn away, and that the stream was flowing out in great volume towards the road over which their march must be made. He comprehended that this was the work of the Parthians, throwing the river in their way to obstruct and delay the Roman march, and urged Antony to look out and be on his guard, as the enemy were near. And just as Antony was setting his legionaries in array and arranging to have his javelineers and slingers make a sally through them against the enemy, the Parthians came into view and began to ride around the army in order to envelope and throw it into confusion on all sides. Whenever the Roman light-armed troops sallied out against them, the Parthians would inflict many wounds with their arrows, but sustain yet more from the leaden bullets and javelins of the Romans, and therefore withdraw. Then they would come up again, until the Celts, massing their horses together, made a charge upon them and scattered them, so that they showed themselves no more that day.
XLII. Ἐκ τούτου μαθῶν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὁ πολεῖν ἔδει, πολλοῖς ἀκούσταις καὶ σφυνδονήταις οὐ μόνον τὴν οὐραγίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πλευρὰς ἐκατέρρας στομάσας ἐν πλαισίῳ τῶν στρατῶν ἤγε, καὶ τὸις ἰππόταις εὗρητο προσβάλλοντας τρέπεσθαι, τρεψαμένους δὲ μὴ πόρρω διώκειν, ὡστε τοὺς Πάρθους τὰς ἑφεξῆς τέσσαρας ἡμέρας ὀφθὲν πλέον δράσαντας ἡ παθόντας ἀμβλυτέρους γεγονόνει καὶ τὸν χειμὼν ποιομένους πρὸφασιν ἀπιέναι διανοεῖσθαι.

2 Τῇ δὲ πέμπτῃ Φλαούιος Γάλλος, ἀνὴρ πολεμικός καὶ δραστήριος ἐφ’ ἡγεμονίας τεταγμένος, ἠττησαν Ἀντώνιον προσελθῶν πλείονας φίλους ἀπ’ οὐρᾶς, καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος ἰππέων τινὰς ὡς μέγα κατόρθωμα ποιήσων. δόντως δὲ προσβάλλοντας ἀνέκοπτε τοὺς πολεμίους, οὐχὶ δὲ πρότερον, ὑπάγων ἀμα πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας καὶ ἀναχορῶν, ἀλλὰ υψιτάμενος καὶ συμπλεκόμενος παραβολῶτερον. ὀρῶντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ τῆς οὐραγίας ἡγεμόνες ἀπορρηγυμένοιν ἐκάλουν πέμπτοντεσ. ὅ δὲ οὐκ ἐπείθετο. Τίτιος δὲ φασὶ τῶν ταμίαν καὶ τῶν σημαίων ἔτιλαβόμενον στρέφειν ὁπίσω καὶ λοιποῖν τὸν Γάλλον ὡς ἀπολλύναν πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγάθους ἄνδρας. ἀντιλοιπότερος δὲ ἐκείνου καὶ διακελευομένου τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν μένει, ὁ μὲν Τίτιος ἀπεχώρει τὸν δὲ Γάλλον ὥθουμεν εἰς τοὺς κατὰ στόμα λανθάνουσι πολλοὶ. 4 περισχῶντες ἐκ τῶν ὁπίσθεν. βαλλόμενος δὲ πανταχόθεν ἐκάλει πέμπτον ἄρωγήν. οἱ δὲ τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἄγοντες, δὲν καὶ Καυνίδος ἦν, ἀνὴρ παρὰ Ἀντωνίῳ δυνάμενος μέγιστον, οὐ μικρὰ δοκοῦσι διαμαρτεῖν. δέον γὰρ ἀθρόαν ἐπιστρέψαι τὴν 936
XLII. Having thus learned what he ought to do, Antony covered not only his rear, but also both his flanks, with numerous javelineers and slingers, led his army in the form of a hollow square, and gave orders to his horsemen to rout the enemy when they attacked, but after routing them not to pursue them further. Consequently the Parthians, during four successive days, suffered greater loss than they inflicted, became less eager, and made the winter an excuse for thoughts of going away.

On the fifth day, however, Flavius Gallus, an efficient and able soldier in high command, came to Antony and asked him for more light-armed troops from the rear, and for some of the horsemen from the van, confident that he would achieve a great success. Antony gave him the troops, and when the enemy attacked, Gallus beat them back, not withdrawing and leading them on towards the legionaries, as before, but resisting and engaging them more hazardously. The leaders of the rear guard, seeing that he was being cut off from them, sent and called him back; but he would not listen to them. Then, they say, Titius the quaestor laid hold of his standards and tried to turn them back, abusing Gallus for throwing away the lives of so many brave men. But Gallus gave back the abuse and exhorted his men to stand firm, whereupon Titius withdrew. Then Gallus forced his way among the enemy in front of him, without noticing that great numbers of them were enveloping him in the rear. But when missiles began to fall upon him from all sides, he sent and asked for help. Then the leaders of the legionaries, among whom was Canidius, a man of the greatest influence with Antony, are thought to have made no slight mistake. For when
Φάλαγγα, πέμπτοις κατ' ὀλίγον ἐπιβοηθοῦντας, καὶ τάλιν ἤττωμένων τούτων ἔτεροις ἀποστέλλοντες, ἔλαθον ὀλίγον δείν ἡττης καὶ φυγῆς ὅλου ἀναπλήσαντες τὸ στρατόπεδον, εἰ μὴ ταχὺ μὲν αὐτὸς Ἀντώνιος μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος Ἰκέν ὑπαντιάζον, ταχὺ δὲ τὸ τρίτον τάγμα διὰ τῶν φευγόντων ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμους ὁσάμενον ἔσχε τοῦ πρόσω διώκειν.

XIII. Ἀπεθανοῦν δὲ τρισεκολίων οὐκ ἐλάττους, ἐκομίσθησαν δὲ ἐπὶ σκηνὰς τραυματίας πεντακυσχίλιοι· καὶ Γάλλος ἤν ἐν τούτωι, τέτταρις ἐναυτίως διασπαρμένοις τοξεύμασιν. Ἀλλ' οὕτως μὲν ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων οὐκ ἀνήγεικε, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους περὶ ὅλος Ἀντώνιος ἐπεσκόπει καὶ παρεθάρρυνε δεδακρυμένος καὶ περιπαθῶν. οἱ δὲ φαιδρὸι τῆς δεξιᾶς αὐτοῦ λαμβανόμενοι παρεκάλουσιν ἀπιόντα θεραπεύον αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ κακοπαθεῖν, αὐτοκράτορά καλοῦντες, καὶ σώζεσθαι λέγουσιν ἀν ἐκείνος ὑγιαῖς. καθόλου μὲν γὰρ οὕτω ἄλκαίς οὔτε ὑπομοναῖς οὔτε ἡλικία λαμπρότερον ἄλλος αὐτοκράτωρ στρατόν ἐκείνῳ δοκεῖ συναγαγεῖν ἐν τοῖς τοτε χρόνοις· ἢ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν αἰδώς τὸν ἡγεμόνα καὶ πειθαρχία μετ' εὐνοίας, καὶ τὸ πάντας ὅμαλῶς, ἐνδόξους, ἀδόξους, ἄρχοντας, ἰδιώτας, τὴν παρὰ Ἀντωνίου τιμήν τε καὶ χάριν μᾶλλον αἰρείσθαι τῆς σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς ἀσφαλείας, οὔτε τοῖς πάλαι Ἐρωμαίοις ἀπέλυσεν ὑπερβολὴν. τούτων δὲ αἰτίαι πλείους ἦσαν, ὡς προειρήκαμεν εὐγένεια, λόγου δύναμις, ἀπλότητις.
Antony

they ought to have wheeled their entire line against the enemy, they sent only a few men at a time to help Gallus, and again, when one detachment had been overcome, sent out others, and so, before they were aware of it, they came near plunging the whole army into defeat and flight. But Antony himself speedily came with his legionaries from the van to confront the fugitives, and the third legion speedily pushed its way through them against the enemy and checked his further pursuit.

XLIII. There fell no fewer than three thousand, and there were carried to their tents five thousand wounded men, among whom was Gallus, who was pierced in front by four arrows. Gallus, indeed, did not recover from his wounds, but Antony went to see all the others and tried to encourage them, with tears of sympathy in his eyes. The wounded men, however, with cheerful faces, seized his hand and exhorted him to go away and take care of himself, and not to be distressed. They called him Imperator, and said that they were safe if only he were unharmed. For, to put it briefly, no other imperator of that day appears to have assembled an army more conspicuous for prowess, endurance, or youthful vigour. Nay, the respect which his soldiers felt for him as their leader, their obedience and goodwill, and the degree to which all of them alike—men of good repute or men of no repute, commanders or private soldiers—preferred honour and favour from Antony to life and safety, left even the ancient Romans nothing to surpass. And the reasons for this were many, as I have said before: his high birth, his eloquence, his simplicity of manners, his love of
πό σφάχειν οίκερον μετάλλου καὶ μεγαλόδωρον, ἢ περὶ τὰς παι-
διὰς καὶ τὰς ὁμιλίας εὐτραπελία. τότε δὲ καὶ οἱς συμπονῶν καὶ συναλγῶν τοὺς κακοπαθοῦσι, καὶ Μεταδίδοντος οὐ τις δειθεῖη, προθυμοτέρους τῶν ἐργαμένων τοὺς νοσοῦντας καὶ τετραμένους ἐποίησε.

XLIV. Τοὺς μέν τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπαγορεύοντας ἡδη καὶ κάμνοντας οὔτως ἐπῆρεν ἡ νίκη καὶ τοσοῦτον τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατεφρόνησαν ὡστε καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπανλίσσασθαι τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, προσδο-
κώντας αὐτίκα μάλα σκηνὰς ἔρημους καὶ χρή-
ματα διαρπάσεις ἀποδιδρασκόντων. ἁμα δ’ ἡμέρᾳ πολὺ πλείωνες ἐπηθροίζοντο, καὶ λέγονται τε-
τρακισμυρίων οὐκ ἔλαττον ἰππότα τις κατηαληθεῖν, 
βασιλέως καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀεὶ τεταγμένους ὡς ἐπὶ σαφεῖ καὶ βεβαιῷ κατορθώματι πέμψαν-
τος· αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ οὐδεμιᾶ μάχη παρέτυχεν. 
Ἀντώνιος δὲ βουλόμενος προσαγορεύσαι τοὺς στρατιῶτας ἦτος φαιν ἰμάτιον, ὡς οἰκτρότερος ὧθελε. 
τῶν δὲ φίλων ἐναντιωθέντων ἐν τῇ στρατηγικῇ φοινικὶ προελθὼν ἐδημηγόρησε, τοὺς 
μὲν νεκυκλώτας ἐπανών, ὁμοιότατοι δὲ τοὺς φυγ-
μαίνοντας. τῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν παρεκελεύοντο θαρρέων, οἱ 
δὲ ἀπολογούμενοι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς παρεἶχον, εἶτε 
βοῦλοι δικατεύτω, εἶτε ἄλλῳ τροπῷ κολάζειν 
μόνον παύσασθαι δυσφοροῦντα καὶ λυπούμενον. ἐδέσοντο. 
πρὸς ταῦτα τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας ἐπεύ-
ξατο τοῖς θεοῖς, εἶ τις ἄρα νέμεσις τὰς πρόσθεν 
εὐτυχίας αὐτοῦ μέτεισιν, εἰς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν, τῷ δ’ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ σωτηρίαν διδόναι καὶ νίκην.
giving and the largeness of his giving, his complaisance in affairs of pleasure or social intercourse. And so at this time, by sharing in the toils and distresses of the unfortunate and bestowing upon them whatever they wanted, he made the sick and wounded more eager in his service than the well and strong.

XLIV. The enemy, however, who had been already worn out and inclined to abandon their task, were so elated by their victory, and so despised the Romans, that they even bivouacked for the night near their camp, expecting very soon to be plundering the empty tents and the baggage of runaways. At daybreak, too, they gathered for attack in far greater numbers, and there are said to have been no fewer than forty thousand horsemen, since their king had sent even those who were always arrayed about his person, assured that it was to manifest and assured success; for the king himself was never present at a battle. Then Antony, wishing to harangue his soldiers, called for a dark robe, that he might be more pitiful in their eyes. But his friends opposed him in this, and he therefore came forward in the purple robe of a general and made his harangue, praising those who had been victorious, and reproaching those who had fled. The former exhorted him to be of good courage, and the latter, by way of apology for their conduct, offered themselves to him for decimation,¹ if he wished, or for any other kind of punishment; only they begged him to cease being distressed and vexed. In reply, Antony lifted up his hands and prayed the gods that if, then, any retribution were to follow his former successes, it might fall upon him alone, and that the rest of the army might be granted victory and safety.

¹ See chapter xxxix. 7.
XLV. Τῇ δὲ ύστεραιᾳ φραξάμενοι βέλτιον προήγουν καὶ τοὺς Πάρθους ἐπιχειροῦσι πολὺς ἀπήντα παράλογος. οἰόμενοι γὰρ ἐφ' ἀρπαγήν καὶ λεησίαν, οὐ μάχην, ἐλαύνειν, ἐὶτα πολλοῖς βέλεσιν ἐντυγχάνοντες, ἐρρωμένους δὲ καὶ νεαλεῖς 2 ταῖς προθυμίαις ὀρώντες, αὕθες ἐξέκαμμον. ἐπεὶ δὲ καταβαίνονσιν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ λόφων τινῶν ἐπικλινῶν ἐπέθεντο καὶ βραδέως ὑπεξάγοντας ἔβαλ· λον, ἐπιστρέφαντες οἱ θυρεοφόροι συνέκλεισαν εἰςω τῶν ὀπλῶν τοὺς ψυλοὺς, αὐτοὶ δὲ καθέντες εἰς γόνον προβάλοντο τοὺς θυρεοὺς. οἱ δὲ ὀπισθεὶν ὑπερέσχον αὐτῶν τὰ ὀπλα κάκεινων ὁμοίως ἔτεροι. τὸ δὲ σχῆμα παραπλήσιον ἔρεψει γινόμενον ὤψιν 937 τε θεατρικὴν παρέχει, καὶ τῶν προβλημάτων στεγανώτατον ἐστὶ πρὸς τοὺς διστοὺς ἀπολισθαί· νοντας. οἱ μὲν Πάρθοι τὴν εἰς γόνον κλίσιν τῶν Ρωμαίων ἀπαγόρευσιν ἤγομενοι καὶ κάματον εἶναι, τὰ μὲν τόξα κατέθεντο, τοὺς δὲ κοινοὺς διαλαβόντες ἐγγὺς προσέμεθαν. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι συναλαλάξαντες ἐξαίφνης ἀνέθερον, καὶ τοῖς ὑσσοῖς παίοντες ἐκ χειρὸς ἐκτεινών τε τοὺς πρώτους καὶ τροπὴν ἔθετο τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων, ἐγώνετο δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ταῖς ἀλλαῖς ἡμέραις ἐπὶ μικρὸν ἀνυόντων τῆς ὁδοῦ. 3

4 Καὶ λίμως ἤπτετο τοῦ στρατοῦ σιτόν τε βραχὺν καὶ διὰ μάχης ποριζομένου καὶ τῶν πρὸς ἄλετον σκευῶν οὐκ εὐποροῦντος. τὰ γὰρ πολλὰ κατελείπετο, τῶν μὲν ἀποθυησκόντων ὑποξυγίων, τῶν δὲ τοὺς νοσοῦντας καὶ τραυματίας φερόντων. 240
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XLV. On the following day they went forward under better protection; and the Parthians met with a great surprise when they attacked them. For they thought they were riding up for plunder and booty, not battle, and when they encountered many missiles and saw that the Romans were fresh and vigorous and eager for the fray, they were once more tired of the struggle. However, as the Romans were descending some steep hills, the Parthians attacked them and shot at them as they slowly moved along. Then the shield-bearers wheeled about, enclosing the lighter armed troops within their ranks, while they themselves dropped on one knee and held their shields out before them. The second rank held their shields out over the heads of the first, and the next rank likewise. The resulting appearance is very like that of a roof,¹ affords a striking spectacle, and is the most effective of protections against arrows, which glide off from it. The Parthians, however, thinking that the Romans dropping on one knee was a sign of fatigue and exhaustion, laid aside their bows, grasped their spears by the middle and came to close quarters. But the Romans, with a full battle cry, suddenly sprang up, and thrusting with their javelins slew the foremost of the Parthians and put all the rest to rout. This happened also on the following days as the Romans, little by little, proceeded on their way.

Famine also attacked the army, which could provide itself with little grain even by fighting, and was not well furnished with implements for grinding. These had been abandoned, for the most part, since some of the beasts of burden died, and the others

¹ It was the testudo, described in Dio Cassius, xlix. 3.
λέγεται δὲ χοινίξ 'Αττικη πυρῶν πεντήκοντα
dραχμῶν ὄνιος γενέσθαι τοὺς δὲ κριθίνους ἀρ-
tous πρὸς ἀργύριον ἱστάντες ἀπεδίδοντο. τραπά-
μενοι δὲ πρὸς λάχανα καὶ ρίζας ὀλύγοις μὲν
ἐνετύγχανον τῶν συνήθων, ἀναγκαζόμενοι δὲ πει-
rάσθαι καὶ τῶν ἄγεύστων πρότερον ἠπατοῦ τίνος
πώς ἐπὶ θάνατον διὰ μανίας ἁγούσης. οὐ γὰρ
φαγὼν οὐδὲν ἐμέμηντο τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲ ἐγίνωσκεν,
ἐν δὲ ἔργον εἰχε, κινεῖν καὶ στρέφειν πάντα λίθον,
ὡς τι μεγάλης σπουδῆς άξιον διαπραττόμενος.

6 ἦν δὲ μεστὸν τὸ πεδίον κεκυφῶτων χαμάζε καὶ
toὺς λίθους περιορυττῶν καὶ μεθιστάντων
τέλος δὲ χολὴν ἐμώνυτες εὕνησκον, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ
μόνον ἀντιπάθες, οἶνος, ἐξέλυτε. φθειρομένων δὲ
πολλῶν καὶ τῶν Πάρθων οὐκ ἀφισταμένων πολ-
lάκις ἀναφθέγξασθαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἰστοροῦσιν,
"Ω μύρωι," βαμμάξοντα τοὺς μετὰ Ξενοφῶντος,
ὅτι καὶ πλείονα καταβαίνοντες ὁδὸν ἐκ τῆς Βαβυ-
lωνίας καὶ πολλαπλασίοις μαχόμενοι πολεμίοις
ἀπεσώθησαν.

XLVI. Οἱ δὲ Πάρθοι διαπλέξαι μὲν οὐ δυνά-
μενοι τὸν στρατὸν οὐδὲ διασπάσαι τὴν τάξιν, ἢ δὲ
πολλάκις ἠττημένοι καὶ πεφευγότες, αὐθίς
eἰρημικώς ἀνεμένωντο τοῖς ἐπὶ χίλιον ἦ σιτον
προερχομένῳ, καὶ τῶν τόξων τὰς νευρὰς ἐπιδει-
kυνύτες ἀνεμένας, ἔλεγον ὡς αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀπίστων
ὅπισον καὶ τούτο ποιοῦντα πέρας ἀμύνης, ὁλόγοι
dὲ Μήδων ἀκολουθήσουσιν ἐτὶ μᾶς ἢ δευτέρας
ὁδὸν ἡμέρας οὐδὲν παρενοχλοῦντες, ἀλλὰ τὰς
2 ἀπωτέρω κόμας φυλάττοντες. τοῦτοις τοῖς λό-
γοις ἀσπασμοὶ τε καὶ φιλοφροσύναι προσήγαν,
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had to carry the sick and wounded. It is said that one attic chœnix\(^1\) of wheat brought fifty drachmas; and loaves of barley bread were sold for their weight in silver. Resorting, therefore, to vegetables and roots, they could find few to which they were accustomed, and were compelled to make trial of some never tasted before. Thus it was that they partook of an herb which produced madness, and then death. He who ate of it had no memory, and no thought for anything else than the one task of moving or turning every stone, as if he were accomplishing something of great importance. The plain was full of men stooping to the ground and digging around the stones or removing them; and finally they would vomit bile and die, since the only remedy, wine, was not to be had. Many perished thus, and the Parthians would not desist, and Antony, as we are told, would often cry: "O the Ten Thousand!" thereby expressing his admiration of Xenophon's army, which made an even longer march to the sea from Babylon, and fought with many times as many enemies, and yet came off safe.

XLVI. And now the Parthians, unable to throw the army into confusion or break up its array, but many times already defeated and put to flight, began once more to mingle peaceably with the men who went out in search of fodder or grain, and pointing to their unstrung bows would say that they themselves were going back, and that this was the end of their retaliation, although a few Medes would still follow the Romans one or two days' march, not molesting them at all, but merely protecting the more outlying villages. To these words they added greetings and acts of friendliness, so that once more

\(^1\) About a quart.
oriously in the παῦλος Ῥωμαίους εὐθυραστείς γενέσθαι καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀκούσαντα τῶν πεδίων ἐφίεσθαι μᾶλλον, ἀνύδρου λεγομένης εἶναι τῆς διὰ τῶν ὀρῶν. οὕτω δὲ ποιεῖν μέλλοντος ἦκεν ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ὄνομα Μιθριδάτης, ἀνεψιός Μοναίσσου τοῦ παρ' Ἀντωνίων γενομένου καὶ τὰς τρεῖς πόλεις δωρεάν λαβόντος. ἦξιον δὲ αὐτῷ προσελθεῖν τινὰ τῶν Παρθιστὶ 3 διαλεξθῆναι δυναμένων ἡ Συριστὴ. καὶ προσελθόντος Ἀλέξανδρου τοῦ Ἀντιοχέως, ὃς ἦν Ἀντωνίωρ συνήθης, ὑπειπὼν δὲ εἰς, καὶ Μοναίσσῃ τὴν χάριν ἀνάπτων, ἤρωτησε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰ λόφους συνεχεῖς καὶ ύψηλοὺς ὀρᾶ πρόσωθεν. φήσαντος δὲ ὀρᾶν, "Τεπ' ἐκείνους," ἔφη "πανστρα- 4 τία Πάρθοι λοχῶσων ὑμᾶς. τὰ γὰρ μεγάλα πεδία τῶν λόφων τούτων ἐξήρτηται, καὶ προσδο- κώσιν ὑμᾶς ἐξηπατημένους ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθα τρέφονται, τὴν διὰ τῶν ὀρῶν ἀπολιπόντας. ἐκείνῃ μὲν ὁν ἔχει δύος καὶ πόνον ὑμῖν συνήθη, ταύτῃ δὲ χωρῶν Ἀντώνιος ἵστω τὰς Κράσσου τύχας αὐτῶν ἐκδεχομένας."

XLVII. Ὁ μὲν οὕτω φράσας ἀπῆλθεν Ἀντώνιος δὲ ἀκούσας καὶ διαταραχθείς συνεκάλει τοὺς φίλους καὶ τὸν ἥγεμόνα τῆς ὁδοῦ Μάρδουν οὐδὲ αὐτῶν ἄλλως φρονοῦντα. καὶ γὰρ ἀνεῖ πολεμίων 938 ἐγινόσκε τὰς διὰ τῶν πεδίων ἀνοδίας καὶ πλάνας χαλεπὰς καὶ δυστεκμάρτους ὅπεις, τὴν δὲ τρα- χείαν ἀπέφαινεν οὐδὲν ἄλλο δυσχερὲς ἢ μίᾶς 244
the Romans became full of courage, and Antony, when he heard about it, was more inclined to seek the plains, since the way through the mountains was said to be waterless. But as he was about to do this, there came a man to the camp from the enemy, Mithridates by name, a cousin of the Monaeses who had been with Antony and had received the three cities as a gift.\(^1\) Mithridates asked that someone should come to him who could speak the Parthian or Syrian language. So Alexander of Antioch came to him, being a close friend of Antony, whereupon Mithridates, after explaining who he was, and attributing to Monaeses the favour now to be shown, asked Alexander if he saw a range of lofty hills on beyond. Alexander said he did see them. "Under those hills," said Mithridates, "the Parthians with all their forces are lying in ambush for you. For the great plains adjoin these hills, and they expect that you will be beguiled by them into turning in that direction and leaving the road through the mountains. That road, it is true, involves thirst and hard labour, to which you are now accustomed; but if Antony proceeds by way of the plains, let him know that the fate of Crassus awaits him."

XLVII. After giving this information the man went away, and Antony, who was much troubled by what he now heard, called together his friends and his Mardian guide, who was himself of the same opinion as their visitor. For he knew that even were there no enemy the lack of roads through the plains would involve them in blind and grievous wanderings, and he showed them that the rough road through the mountains had no other annoyance

\(^1\) Cf. chapter xxxvii. 1.
2 ήμέρας άυνδρίαν έχουσαν. ούτω δή τραπόμενος ταύτην ήγε νυκτός, ύδωρ ἐπιφέρεσθαι κελεύσας. ἄγγεῖων δὲ ἦν ἀπορία τοῖς πολλοῖς· διό καὶ τὰ κράνη πιπτλάντες ύδατος ἐκόμιζον, οἴ δὲ διφθέραις ὑπολαμβάνοντες.

'Ἡδη δὲ προχωρῶν ἀγγέλλεται τοῖς Πάρθοις καὶ παρὰ τὸ εἰσόθες ἐτι νυκτὸς ἐδώκον. ἦλιον δὲ ἀνίσχοντος ἂπτοντο τῶν ἐσχάτων ἀγρυπνία καὶ πόνῳ κακῶς διακειμένων· τεσσαράκοντα γὰρ καὶ διακοσίους ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ σταδίους κατηνύκεισαν· καὶ τὸ μῆ προσδοκώσων οὔτω ταχέως ἐπελθεῖν

3 τοὺς πολεμίους ἀθυμίαν παρεῖχε. καὶ τὸ δίψος ἐπέτεινεν ὁ ἄγων· ἀμμυνόμενοι γὰρ ἀμα προῆγον. οἱ δὲ πρώτοι βαδίζοντες ἐντυγχάνουσι ποταμῷ ψυχρῷ μὲν ἔχοντι καὶ διανυγέσ, ἀλμυρῶν δὲ καὶ φαρμακώδες ύδωρ, ὁ ποθὲν εὐθὺς ὅδυνας ἐλκομένης τῆς κοιλίας καὶ τοῦ δίψους ἀναφλεγομένου παρ' χε. καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ Μάρδου προλέγοντος συνέδεν ἦττον ἐκβιαζόμενοι τοὺς ἀνείργοντας ἐπινοοῦν.

4 Ἀντώνιος δὲ περιέβαλεν ἐδείχτο βραχὺν ἐγκαρτερήσαι χρόνου· ἔτερον γὰρ ὅ πόρρω ποταμὸν εἶναι πότιμον, εἶτα τὴν λοιπήν ἀφιππον καὶ τραχεῖαν, ὅστε παντάπασιν ἀποστρέψασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους. ἀμα δὲ καὶ τοὺς μαχομένους ἀνεκαλέῖτο καὶ κατάζξειν ἐσήμαινεν, ὡς σκιάς γοῦν μεταλάβοιεν οἱ στρατιώται.
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than lack of water for a single day. Accordingly, Antony took this route and led his army along by night, after ordering his men to carry water with them. The greater part of them, however, had no vessels, and therefore some actually filled their helmets with water and carried them, while others took it in skins.

But word was at once brought to the Parthians that Antony was advancing, and contrary to their custom they set out in pursuit while it was yet night. Just as the sun was rising they came up with the rear-guard of the Romans, which was foregone with sleeplessness and toil; for they had accomplished two hundred and forty furlongs in the night. Moreover, they did not expect that the enemy would come upon them so quickly, and were therefore disheartened. Besides, their contest intensified their thirst; for they had to ward off the enemy and make their way forward at the same time. Those who marched in the van came to a river, the water of which was clear and cold, but had a salty taste and was poisonous. This water, as soon as one drank it, caused pains, accompanied by cramping of the bowels and an inflammation of one's thirst. Of this too the Mardian had warned them, but none the less the soldiers forced aside those who tried to turn them back, and drank. Antony went round and begged the men to hold out a little while; for not far ahead, he said, there was another river which was potable, and then the rest of the way was too rough for cavalry, so that the enemy must certainly turn back. At the same time, too, he called his men back from fighting and gave the signal for pitching the tents, that the soldiers might at least enjoy the shade a little.
XLVIII. Πηγυμένων οὖν τῶν σκηνῶν, καὶ τῶν Πάρθων εὐθύς, ὥστερ εἰώθεισαν, ἀπαλλαττομένων, ἤκεν αὐθις ὁ Μιθριδάτης, καὶ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου προσελθόντος παρήνει μικρὸν ἡσυχάσαντα τὸν στρατόν ἀνιστάναι καὶ σπεύδειν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν, ὡς οὐ διαβησομένων Πάρθων, ἄχρι δὲ ἐκείνου διωξόντων. ταύτα ἀπαγγέλας πρὸς Ἀντώνιον Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκφέρει παρ’ αὐτοῦ χρυσὰ ποτήρια πάμπολλα καὶ φιάλας, ὃν ἐκεῖνος, ὡς τῇ ἐσθήτῃ κατακρύψαι δυνατὸς ἦν, λαβὼν ἀπή-2 λαυνεῖ. ἔτι δὲ ἡμέρας οὕσης ἀναξεύζαντες ἐπορεύοντο, τῶν πολεμίων οὐ παρενοχλοῦντων, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐαυτοῖς νύκτα χαλεπωτάτην πασῶν ἐκείνην καὶ φοβερωτάτην ἀπεργασάμενοι. τοὺς γὰρ ἔχοντας ἀργυρίον ἡ χρυσίων ἀποκτινώντες ἐσύλ-λων καὶ τὰ χρῆματα τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἀφήρπαζον τέλος δὲ τοῖς Ἀντώνιον σκευοφόροις ἐπιχειρήσαντες ἐκπώματα καὶ τραπέζες πολυτελεῖς κατέκοπτον καὶ διενέμοντο.

3 Θερύσου δὲ πολλοῦ καὶ πλάνου τὸ στράτευμα πάν ἐπέχοντος (φοντο γὰρ ἐπιπεπτωκότων τῶν πολεμίων τροπῆν γεγονέναι καὶ διασπασμόν) Ἀν-τώνιος ἔνα καλέσας τῶν δορυφοροῦντων αὐτῶν ἀπελευθέρων, ὅνομα Ράμων, ὀρκωσεν, ὅταν κελεύσῃ, τὸ ξύφος αὐτοῦ διεῖναι καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμεῖν, ὡς μήτε ἀλφή ἦν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων μήτε γυνοθεὶ τεθυνκός. ἐκδικουσάντων δὲ τῶν φίλων ὁ Μάρδος ἐθάρρυνε τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ὡς ἐγγὺς ὄντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ γὰρ αὖρα τις 248
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XLVIII. Accordingly, the Romans went to pitching their tents, and the Parthians, as their custom was, at once began to withdraw. At this point Mithridates came again, and after Alexander had joined him he advised Antony to let the army rest only a little while, and then to get it under way and hasten to the river, assuring him that the Parthians would not cross it, but would continue the pursuit until they reached it. This message was carried to Antony by Alexander, who then brought out from Antony golden drinking-cups in great numbers, as well as bowls. Mithridates took as many of these as he could hide in his garments and rode off. Then, while it was still day, they broke camp and proceeded on their march. The enemy did not molest them, but they themselves made that night of all other nights the most grievous and fearful for themselves. For those who had gold or silver were slain and robbed of it, and the goods were plundered from the beasts of burden; and finally the baggage-carriers of Antony were attacked, and beakers and costly tables were cut to pieces or distributed about.

And now, since there was great confusion and straggling throughout the whole army (for they thought that the enemy had fallen upon them and routed and dispersed them), Antony called one of the freedmen in his body-guard, Rhamnus by name, and made him take oath that, at the word of command, he would thrust his sword through him and cut off his head, that he might neither be taken alive by the enemy nor recognized when he was dead. Antony’s friends burst into tears, but the Mardian tried to encourage him, declaring that the river was near;
ἀπορρέουσα νοτερὰ καὶ ψυχρότερος ἀρ ς απαντῶν ἡδίω τὴν ἀναπνοὴν ἐποίει, καὶ τὸν χρόνον ἐφη τῆς πορείας οὕτω συμπεραίνει τὸ μέτρον· οὐκέτι 5 γὰρ ἦν πολὺ τὸ λειπόμενον τῆς νυκτός. ἀμα δ᾽ ἀπήγγελλον ἔτεροι τὸν θόρυβον ἐκ τῆς πρὸς αὐ- τοὺς ἄδικίας καὶ πλεονεξίας εἶναι. διὸ καὶ κατα- στήσας τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τάξιν ἐκ τῆς πλάνης καὶ τοῦ διασπασμοῦ βουλόμενος ἐκέλευσε σημαίνειν κατάξευξιν.

XLIX. Ἡδὴ δ′ ὑπέλαμπεν ἡμέρα, καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ κόσμου ἀρχομένου τινὰ λαμβάνειν καὶ ἥσυχων προσέπιπτε τοὺς τελευταίους τὰ τῶν Πάρθων θεσσαλαντία, καὶ μάχης σημείων ἑδόθη τοῖς ψυλίοις. οἱ δὲ ὅπλαται πάλιν ὁμοίως κατε- ρέψαντες ἄλληλοι τοῖς θυρεοῖς ὑπέμενον τοὺς βάλλοντας ἐγγὺς οὐ τομὼντας συνελθεῖν. 939

2 ὑπαγόντων δὲ κατὰ μικρὸν οὕτως τῶν πρῶτων ὁ ποταμὸς ἐφάνη· καὶ τοὺς ἔπειες ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶ παρατάξεις Ἀντώνιος ἐναντίους τοὺς πολεμίους διεβίβαζε τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς πρόφοτους. Ἡδὴ δὲ καὶ τοῖς μαχομένοις ἀδεία καὶ θρασύνη τοῦ πιεὼν ἠ. ὡς γὰρ εἶδον οἱ Πάρθοι τὸν ποταμὸν, τάς τε νευρὰς ἀνήκαν καὶ θαρροῦντας ἐκέλευον διαπερᾶν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, πολλὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν ἐγκω- 3 μάξοντες. διαβάντες οὖν καθ᾽ ἥσυχαν αὐτοὺς ἀνελάμβανον, εἰτα ὧδευον, καὶ πάνω τι τοῖς Πάρθοις πιστεύοντες. ἔκτη δ᾽ ἡμέρα μετὰ τὴν τελευταίαν μάχην ἔπὶ τὸν 'Αράξην ποταμὸν ἦκον, ὀρίζοντα Μηδίαν καὶ Αρμενίαν. ἐφάνη δὲ καὶ 250
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for a breeze blowing from it was moist, and a cooler air in their faces made their breathing pleasanter. He said also that the time during which they had been marching made his estimate of the distance conclusive; for little of the night was now left. At the same time, too, others brought word that the tumult was a result of their own iniquitous and rapacious treatment of one another. Therefore, wishing to bring the throng into order after their wandering and distraction, Antony ordered the signal to be given for encampment.

XLIX. Day was already dawning, and the army was beginning to assume a certain order and tranquillity, when the arrows of the Parthians fell upon the rear ranks, and the light-armed troops were ordered by signal to engage. The men-at-arms, too, again covered each other over with their shields, as they had done before, and so withstood their assailants, who did not venture to come to close quarters. The front ranks advanced little by little in this manner, and the river came in sight. On its bank Antony drew up his horsemen to confront the enemy, and set his sick and disabled soldiers across first. And presently even those who were fighting had a chance to drink at their ease; for when the Parthians saw the river, they unstrung their bows and bade the Romans cross over with good courage, bestowing much praise also upon their valour. So they crossed without being disturbed and recruited themselves, and then resumed their march, putting no confidence at all in the Parthians. And on the sixth day after their last battle with them they came to the river Araxes, which forms the boundary between Media and Armenia. Its depth and violence
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βάθει καὶ τραχύτητι χαλεπός· καὶ λόγος διήλθεν ἐνεδρέυοντας αὐτούς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιθήσεσθαι διαβαίνονσιν αὐτοῖς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀσφαλῶς διαπεράσαντες ἐπέβησαν τῆς Ἀρμενίας, ἀστερὶ ἀρτι γῆν ἐκείνην ἱόντες ἐκ πελάγους, προσεκύνουν καὶ πρὸς δάκρυα καὶ περίβολας ἀλλήλων ὑπὸ χαρᾶς ἐτρέποντο. προϊόντες δὲ διὰ χώρας εὐδαίμονος καὶ χρώμενοι πᾶσιν ἀνέδην ἐκ πολλῆς ἀπορίας, ὑδερικοῖς καὶ κοιλιακοῖς περιέπιπτον ἀρρωστήμασιν.

1. Ἐνταῦθα ποιησάμενος ἔξετασιν αὐτῶν Ἀντώνιος εὑρείσθαι πεζοὺς καὶ τετρακισχίλιος ἱππεῖς ἀπολογοῦτας, οὐ πάντας ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ἄλλη υπὸ ἡμίσεις νοσήμασιν. ὅδεσσαν μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ Φραάτων ἡμέρας ἐπτὰ καὶ εἰκοσι, μάχαις δὲ ὀκτὼ καὶ δέκα Πάρθους ἐνίκησαν, αἶ δὲ νικαί κράτος οὖν εἰχόν οὐδὲ βεβαιότητα μικράς ποιομένων καὶ ἀτελεῖς τὰς διόξεις. ὁ καὶ μάλιστα κατάδηλος ἦν Ἀρταουάδης ὁ Ἀρμένιος Ἀντώνιον ἐκείνου τοῦ πολέμου τὸ τέλος ἀφελόμενος. εἰ γὰρ οὕς ἀπήγαγεν ἐκ Μηδίας ἱππεῖς ἐξακισχίλιους καὶ μυρίους παρῆσαν, ἐσκευασμένοι παραπλησίως Πάρθους καὶ συνήθεις μάχεσθαι πρὸς αὐτούς, Ρωμαίους μὲν τοὺς μαχομένους τρεπομένων, ἐκείνους δὲ τοὺς φεύγοντας αἱροῦντων, οὐκ ἄν ὑπήρξεν αὐτοῖς ἡττομένους ἀναφέρειν καὶ ἀνατολμᾶν τοσούτοις.

2. Ἀπαντάς οὖν ὅργη παρόξυνον ἐπὶ τὴν τιμωρίαν τοῦ Ἀρμενίου τοῦ Ἀντώνιον. ὁ δὲ λογισμός χρησάμενος οὕτε ἐμέμψατο τὴν προδοσίαν οὕτε ἀφείλε τῆς συνήθους φιλοφροσύνης καὶ τιμῆς.
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made it seem difficult of passage; and a report was rife that the enemy were lying in ambush there and would attack them as they tried to cross. But after they were safely on the other side and had set foot in Armenia, as if they had just caught sight of that land from the sea, they saluted it and fell to weeping and embracing one another for joy. But as they advanced through the country, which was prosperous, and enjoyed all things in abundance after great scarcity, they fell sick with dropsies and dysenteries.

L. There Antony held a review of his troops and found that twenty thousand of the infantry and four thousand of the cavalry had perished, not all at the hands of the enemy, but more than half by disease. They had, indeed, marched twenty-seven days from Phraata, and had defeated the Parthians in eighteen battles, but their victories were not complete or lasting because the pursuits which they made were short and ineffectual. And this more than all else made it plain that it was Artavasdes the Armenian who had robbed Antony of the power to bring that war to an end. For if the sixteen thousand horsemen who were led back from Media by him had been on hand, equipped as they were like the Parthians and accustomed to fighting with them, and if they, when the Romans routed the fighting enemy, had taken off the fugitives, it would not have been in the enemy's power to recover themselves from defeat and to venture again so often. Accordingly, all the army, in their anger, tried to incite Antony to take vengeance on the Armenian. But Antony, as a measure of prudence, neither reproached him with his treachery nor abated the friendliness and respect usually shown to him,
πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀσθενὴς τῷ στρατῷ καὶ ἀπορος 4 γεγονός. ὑστερον μέντοι πάλιν ἐμβαλὼν εἰς Ἀρμενίαν, καὶ πολλαῖς ὑποσχέσει καὶ προ- κλήσει πεῖσα αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν εἰς χεῖρας, συνέλαβε, καὶ δέσμιον καταγαγὼν εἰς Ἀλεξάν- δρειαν, ἐθριάμβευσεν. ὃ μάλιστα Ῥωμαίων ἔλυπησεν, ὡς τὰ καλὰ καὶ σεμνὰ τής πατρίδος Ἀιγυπτίως διὰ Κλεοπάτραν χαριζόμενος. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑστερον ἐπράχθη.

II. Τότε δὲ διὰ πολλοῦ χειμώνος ἦδη καὶ νυφετῶν ἀπαύστων ἐπεισόμενοι ὀκτακισχίλιοι ἀπέβαλε καθ' ὅδὸν. αὐτὸς δὲ καταβᾶς ὀλγοστὸς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἐν χωρίῳ τῶν μεταξὺ Βηρύτου κειμένω καὶ Σιδώνος, Λευκή κώμῃ καλεῖται, Κλεοπάτραν περιεμενε καὶ βραδυνούσης ἀδη- μονῶν ἤλυε, ταχὺ μὲν εἰς τὸ πίνειν καὶ μεθύ- 2 σκεσθαι διδοῦς έαυτόν, οὐ καρτερῶν δὲ κατα- κείμενος, ἀλλὰ μεταξὺ πινόντων ἀνιστάμενος καὶ ἀναπηδῶν πολλάκις ἐπισκοτεῖν, ἔως ἐκείνη κατέπλευσεν, ἐσθήτα πολλὴν καὶ χρήματα κομβί- ξουσά τοῖς στρατιώταις. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ λέγοντες ότι τὴν μὲν ἐσθήτα παρ' ἐκείνης λαβών, τὸ δὲ ἄργυριον ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων έαυτοῦ, διέκειμεν ὡς ἐκείνης διδοῦσας.

III. Τῷ δὲ βασιλεί τῶν Μῆδων γίνεται διαφορὰ πρὸς Φραόρτην τὸν Πάρθου, ἀρξαμένη 940 μὲν, ὡς φασίν, ὑπὲρ τῶν Ῥωμαίων λαφύρων, ὑπόνοιαν δὲ τῷ Μῆδῳ καὶ φόβον ἀφαιρέσεως τῆς ἀρχῆς παρασχοῦσα. διὸ καὶ πέμπτων ἐκάλει τὸν Άυρωνιον, ἐπαγγελλόμενος συμπολεμῆσειν μετὰ 2 τῆς έαυτοῦ δυνάμεως. γενόμενος οὖν ἐπὶ ἐλπίδος
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being now weak in numbers and in want of supplies. But afterwards, when he once more invaded Armenia, and by many invitations and promises induced Artavasdes to come to him, Antony seized him, and took him in chains down to Alexandria, where he celebrated a triumph. And herein particularly did he give offence to the Romans, since he bestowed the honourable and solemn rites of his native country upon the Egyptians for Cleopatra’s sake. This, however, took place at a later time.

LI. But now, hastening on through much wintry weather, which was already at hand, and incessant snow-storms, he lost eight thousand men on the march. He himself, however, went down with a small company to the sea, and in a little place between Berytus and Sidon, called White Village, he waited for Cleopatra to come; and since she was slow in coming he was beside himself with distress, promptly resorting to drinking and intoxication, although he could not hold out long at table, but in the midst of the drinking would often rise or spring up to look out, until she put into port, bringing an abundance of clothing and money for the soldiers. There are some, however, who say that he received the clothing from Cleopatra, but took the money from his own private funds, and distributed it as a gift from her.

LII. And now the king of the Medes had a quarrel with Phraortes the Parthian; it arose, as they say, over the Roman spoils, but it made the Mede suspicious and fearful that his dominion would be taken away from him. For this reason he sent and invited Antony to come, promising to join him in the war with his own forces. Antony, accordingly,
μεγάλης ὁ Ἀντώνιος (ὅ γαρ ἐδόκει μόνῳ τοῦ κατειργάσθαι Πάρθους ἀπολυπεῖν, ἐπεῖδεν πολλῶν καὶ τοξοτῶν ἐνδεχὲς ἐλθῶν, τούτῳ ἐώρα προσγινόμενον αὐτῷ χαρίζομένῳ μᾶλλον ἢ δεομένῳ) παρεσκευάζετο δι' Ἀρμενίας αὐθαναβαίνει καὶ συγγενόμενος τῷ Μήδῳ περὶ ποταμὸν Ἀράξην ὦτῳ κινεῖν τὸν πόλεμον.

Λ.Π. Ἔν δὲ Ἡρώμη βουλομένης ὧν ὡκταούνιας πλεύσαι πρὸς Ἀντώνιον, ἐπέτρεψε Καῖσαρ, ὡς οἱ πλείοις λέγοσιν, οὐκ ἐκείνη χαρίζομενος, ἀλλ' ὅπως περιουβρισθεῖσα καὶ καταμεληθεῖσα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον αὐτῶν ἐνπρεπὴ παράσχει. γενομένη δὲ ἐν Ἀθήναις ἔδεξατο γράμματα παρὰ Ἀντωνίῳ κελεύοντος αὐτὸθι προσμένειν καὶ τὰ 2 περὶ τὴν ἀνάβασιν δηλοῦντος. ἢ δὲ, καίπερ ἀχθομένη καὶ νοοῦσα τὴν πρόφασιν, ὅμως ἔγραψε πυθανομένη ποί κελεύει πεμφθῆναι τὰ κομιζόμενα πρὸς αὐτὸν. ἐκομίζε δὲ πολλὴν μὲν ἐσθήτα στρατιωτικήν, πολλὰ δὲ ὑποξύμα καὶ χρήματα καὶ δῶρα τοῖς περὶ αὐτῶν ἤγεμονι καὶ φίλοις· ἐκτὸς δὲ τούτων στρατιώτας ἐπιλέκτους δισχίλιους εἰς στρατηγικὰς σπείρας κεκοσμημένους ἐκπρεπέσι πανοπλίαις. ταῦτα Νήγρος τις Ἀντωνίου φίλος ἀποσταλεῖς παρ' αὐτῆς ἔφραξε, καὶ προσετίθει τοὺς ἄξιοις καὶ πρέπουσας ἐπαίνος.

3 Ἀἰσθομένη δὲ ἡ Κλεοπάτρα τὴν ὧν ὡκταούνιαν ὄμοσε χωροῦσαν αὐτῆ, καὶ φοβηθεῖσα μὴ τοῦ πρότου τῇ σεμνότητι καὶ τῇ Καῖσαρος δυνάμει προσκετησαμένη τὸ καθ' ἡδονήν ὀμίλειν καὶ
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was in high hopes. For the one thing which he thought had prevented his subjugation of the Parthians, namely, his lack of a large number of horsemen and archers on his expedition, this he now saw supplied for him, and he would be granting and not asking a favour. He therefore made preparations to go up again through Armenia, effect a junction with the Mede at the river Araxes, and then prosecute the war.

LIII. But at Rome Octavia was desirous of sailing to Antony, and Caesar gave her permission to do so, as the majority say, not as a favour to her, but in order that, in case she were neglected and treated with scorn, he might have plausible ground for war. When Octavia arrived at Athens,\(^1\) she received letters from Antony in which he bade her remain there and told her of his expedition. Octavia, although she saw through the pretext and was distressed, nevertheless wrote to Antony asking whither he would have the things sent which she was bringing to him. For she was bringing a great quantity of clothing for his soldiers, many beasts of burden, and money and gifts for the officers and friends about him; and besides this, two thousand picked soldiers equipped as praetorian cohorts with splendid armour. These things were announced to Antony by a certain Niger, a friend of his who had been sent from Octavia, and he added such praises of her as was fitting and deserved.

But Cleopatra perceived that Octavia was coming into a contest at close quarters with her, and feared lest, if she added to the dignity of her character and the power of Caesar her pleasurable society and

\(^1\) In 35 B.C.
θεραπεύειν Ἀντώνιον ἄμαχος γένηται καὶ κρα-
τῆσθι παντάπασι τοῦ ἄνδρός, ἐρὰν αὐτὴ προσε-
ποιεῖτο τοῦ Ἀντώνιου, καὶ τὸ σῶμα λεπταῖς
καθήρει διαίταις· τὸ δὲ βλέμμα προσιόντος
ἐκπεπληγμένου, ἀπερχομένου δὲ τηκόμενου καὶ
tαπεινοῦμενον ὑπεфαίνετο. πραγματευομένη δὲ
πολλάκις ὁφθήναι δακρύουσα ταχὺ τῶν δακρύων
ἀφήρει καὶ ἀπέκρυπτεν, ὡς δὴ βουλομένη λαυθά-
νειν ἐκεῖνον. ἐπράττετο δὲ ταῦτα μέλλοντος τοῦ
ἀνδρός ἐκ Συρίας ἀναβαίνειν πρὸς τὸν Μήδον.
οἳ δὲ κόλακες σπουδάζοντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐλοι-
δόρον τῶν Ἀντώνιον ὡς σκληρὸν καὶ ἀπαθῆ καὶ
παραπολλύντα γύναιον εἰς ἔνα καὶ μόνον ἐκεῖνον
ἀνηρτημένον. 'Ὀκταούλιαν μὲν γὰρ πραγμάτων
ένεκα διὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν' συνελθεῖν καὶ τὸ τῆς
γαμητῆς όνομα καρποῦσθαι. Κλεοπάτραν δὲ
tοσοῦτον ἀνθρώπων βασιλεύουσαν ἐρωμένην
Ἀντωνίου καλεῖσθαι, καὶ τοῦνομα τοῦτο μὴ
φεύγειν μηδὲ ἀπαξιοῦν, ἔως ὅσον ἐκεῖνον ἔξεστι
καὶ σὺζην ἀπελαυνομένην δὲ τούτου μὴ περι-
6 βιώσεσθαι. τέλος δ’ οὖν οὕτω τῶν ἄνθρωπων
ἐξέτησαν καὶ ἀπεθήλυναν, ὡστε δείπνα τὸν
Κλεοπάτρα προῆται τὸν βίον, εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν
ἐπανελθεῖν, τὸν δὲ Μήδου εἰς ὅραν ἔτους ἀνα-
βαλέσθαι, καὶ περ ἐν στάσει τῶν Παρθικῶν εἶναι
λεγομένων. οὐ μήν ἄλλα τούτων μὲν ἀναβας
ἀθις εἰς φιλίαι προσηγαγέτεο, καὶ λαβῶν ἐν
τῶν ἐκ Κλεοπάτρας υἱῶν γυναῖκα μίαν αὐτοῦ
τῶν θυγατέρων ἐτὶ μικρὰν οὖσαν ἐγγυήσας
ἐπανήλθεν, ἦδη πρὸς τὸν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον
tετραμμένον.
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her assiduous attentions to Antony, she would become invincible and get complete control over her husband. She therefore pretended to be passionately in love with Antony herself, and reduced her body by slender diet; she put on a look of rapture when Antony drew near, and one of faintness and melancholy when he went away. She would contrive to be often seen in tears, and then would quickly wipe the tears away and try to hide them, as if she would not have Antony notice them. And she practised these arts while Antony was intending to go up from Syria to join the Mede. Her flatterers, too, were industrious in her behalf, and used to revile Antony as hard-hearted and unfeeling, and as the destroyer of a mistress who was devoted to him and him alone. For Octavia, they said, had married him as a matter of public policy and for the sake of her brother, and enjoyed the name of wedded wife; but Cleopatra, who was queen of so many people, was called Antony’s beloved, and she did not shun this name nor disdain it, as long as she could see him and live with him; but if she were driven away from him she would not survive it. At last, then, they so melted and enervated the man that he became fearful lest Cleopatra should throw away her life, and went back to Alexandria, putting off the Mede until the summer season, although Parthia was said to be suffering from internal dissensions. However, he went up and brought the king once more into friendly relations, and after betrothing to one of his sons by Cleopatra one of the king’s daughters who was still small, he returned, his thoughts being now directed towards the civil war.
LIV. Ὅκταουίαν δὲ Καῖσαρ ὑβρίσθαι δοκούσαν, ὡς ἐπανῆλθεν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, ἐκέλευσε καθ’ ἑαυτὴν οἰκεῖν. ἦ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη τὸν οἶκον ἀπολείψειν τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀλλὰ κἀκεῖνον αὐτόν, εἰ μὴ δὲ ἐτέρας αἰτίας ἔγνωκε πολεμεῖν Ἀντωνίῳ, παρεκάλει τὰ καθ’ ἑαυτὴν ἑαυτῷ, ὡς οὐδὲ ἀκούσαι καλὸν, εἰ τῶν μεγίστων αὐτοκρατόρων ὁ μὲν δὲ ἔρωτα γυναικός, ὁ δὲ διὰ ξηλοτυπίαν εἰς ἔμφυλιον πόλεμον Ρω-2 μαίους κατέστησε. ταῦτα δὲ λέγουσα μάλλον ἐβεβαίωσε δι’ ἔργων. καὶ γὰρ φίκει τὴν οἰκίαν, ὡσπερ αὐτοῦ παρόντος ἐκείνου, καὶ τῶν τέκνων οὗ μόνον τῶν ἐξ ἑαυτῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐκ Φουλ-βίας γεγονότων, καλῶς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἐπε-μελεῖτο· καὶ τοὺς πεμπομένους έπὶ ἀρχὰς τινὰς ἤ πράγματα τῶν Ἀντωνίου φίλων ὑποδεχομένη συνέπραττεν ὑπ’ ὅπορα Καίσαρος δεηθεῖν. ἀκούσα δὲ ἐβλαπτε διὰ τούτων Ἀντώνιων ἐμισείτο γὰρ 3 ἀδικῶν γυναίκα τοιαύτην. ἐμισῆθη δὲ καὶ διὰ τὴν διανέμησιν ἦν ἐποιήσατο τοῖς τέκνοις ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, τραγικὴν καὶ ὑπερήφανον καὶ μισορρώματοι φανείσαν. ἐμπλήσας γὰρ ὄχλον τὸ γυμνασίου καὶ θέμενος έπὶ βήματος ἀργυροῦ δύο θρόνους χρυσοῦς, τῶν μὲν ἑαυτῷ, τῶν δὲ Κλεοπάτρα, καὶ τοῖς παισίν ἐτέρους ταπει-4 ντεροὺς, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπέφηνε Κλεοπάτραν βασιλείσσαν Αἰγύπτου καὶ Κύπρου καὶ Διβύθης καὶ κοίλης Συρίας, συμβασιλεύοντος αὐτῇ Καί-σαρίωνος, δὲ ἐκ Καίσαρος ἐδόκει τοῦ προτέρου γεγονέναι Κλεοπάτραν ἐγκυον καταλιπόντος· 260
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LIV. As for Octavia, she was thought to have been treated with scorn, and when she came back from Athens Caesar ordered her to dwell in her own house. But she refused to leave the house of her husband, nay, she even entreated Caesar himself, unless on other grounds he had determined to make war upon Antony, to ignore Antony's treatment of her, since it was an infamous thing even to have it said that the two greatest imperators in the world plunged the Romans into civil war, the one out of passion for, and the other out of resentment in behalf of, a woman. These were her words, and she confirmed them by her deeds. For she dwelt in her husband's house, just as if he were at home, and she cared for his children, not only those whom she herself, but also those whom Fulvia had borne him, in a noble and magnificent manner; she also received such friends of Antony as were sent to Rome in quest of office or on business, and helped them to obtain from Caesar what they wanted. Without meaning it, however, she was damaging Antony by this conduct of hers; for he was hated for wronging such a woman. He was hated, too, for the distribution which he made to his children in Alexandria; it was seen to be theatrical and arrogant, and to evince hatred of Rome. For after filling the gymnasium with a throng and placing on a tribunal of silver two thrones of gold, one for himself and the other for Cleopatra, and other lower thrones for his sons, in the first place he declared Cleopatra Queen of Egypt, Cyprus, Libya, and Coele Syria, and she was to share her throne with Caesarion. Caesarion was believed to be a son of the former Caesar, by whom Cleopatra was left

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δεύτερον δὲ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ Κλεοπάτρας νίους βασιλεῖς βασιλέων ἀναγορεύσας Ἀλέξανδρῳ μὲν Ἀρμενίαν ἀπένειμε καὶ Μηδίαν καὶ τὰ Πάρθων, ὅταν ὑπαγάγηται, Πτολεμαῖος δὲ Φοινίκην καὶ Ἔρμαν καὶ Κιλικίαν. ἀμα δὲ καὶ προήγαγε τῶν παιδῶν Ἀλέξανδρον μὲν ἐσθήτη Μηδική τιάραν καὶ κίταριν ὀρθὴν ἔχουση, Πτολεμαίων δὲ κρηπίδι καὶ χλανίδι καὶ καυσίν σιδηραματοφόρον κεκοσμημένον. αὐτὴ γὰρ ἦν σκευὴ τῶν ἄπι Ἀλέξανδρου βασιλέων, έκείνη δὲ Μήδιων καὶ Ἀρμενίων.

6 ἄσπασαμένων δὲ τῶν παιδῶν τοὺς γονεῖς, τὸν μὲν Ἀρμενίων φυλακῆ περιήγητο, τὸν δὲ Μακεδόνων. Κλεοπάτρα μὲν γὰρ καὶ τότε καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον εἰς πλήθος ἐξισνοῦσα στολὴν ἑραίν Ἰσίδος ἐλάμβανε καὶ νέα Ἰσίδος ἐχρηματίζε.

LV. Ταῦτα δὲ εἰς σύγκλητον ἐκφέρων Καίσαρ καὶ πολλάκις ἐν τῷ δήμῳ κατηγορῶν παρώξυνε τὸ πλῆθος ἐπ’ Ἀντώνιον. ἔπεμπτε δὲ καὶ Ἀντώνιος ἀντεγκαλῶν ἐκεῖνος. μέγιστα δ’ ἦν ὅτι ἐνεκάλει, πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι Πομπηίου Σικελίαν ἀφελόμενος οὐκ ἐνείμε μέρος αὐτῷ τῆς νῆσος· δεύτερον, ὅτι χρησάμενος ναῦς παρ’ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἀπεστέρησα τρίτον, ὅτι τὸν συνάρχοντα Λέπιδον ἐκβαλὼν τῆς ἄρχης καὶ ποιήσας ἀτίμου αὐτὸς ἔχει στρατὸν καὶ χώραν καὶ προσό-

2 δους τὰς ἐκείνας προσνομηθεῖσας· ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, ὅτι τοῖς αὐτοῦ στρατιώταις ἀπασάν ὅλιγον δεῖν Ἰταλίαν κατακεκληρουχῆκε, μηδὲν λιπῶν τοῖς ἐκείνου. πρὸς ταύτα Καίσαρ ἀπελογεῖτο Λέπιδου

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pregnant. In the second place, he proclaimed his own sons by Cleopatra Kings of Kings, and to Alexander he allotted Armenia, Media and Parthia (when he should have subdued it), to Ptolemy Phoenicia, Syria, and Cilicia. At the same time he also produced his sons, Alexander arrayed in Median garb, which included a tiara and upright head-dress, Ptolemy in boots, short cloak, and broad-brimmed hat surmounted by a diadem. For the latter was the dress of the kings who followed Alexander, the former that of Medes and Armenians. And when the boys had embraced their parents, one was given a bodyguard of Armenians, the other of Macedonians. Cleopatra, indeed, both then and at other times when she appeared in public, assumed a robe sacred to Isis, and was addressed as the New Isis.

LV. By reporting these things to the senate and by frequent denunciations before the people Caesar tried to inflame the multitude against Antony. Antony, too, kept sending counter-accusations against Caesar. The chief accusations which he made were, in the first place, that after taking Sicily away from Pompey, Caesar had not assigned a part of the island to him; in the second place, that after borrowing ships from him for the war he had kept them for himself; thirdly, that after ejecting his colleague Lepidus from office and degrading him, he was keeping for himself the army, the territory, and the revenues which had been assigned to Lepidus: finally that he had distributed almost all Italy in allotments, to his own soldiers, and had left nothing for the soldiers of Antony. To these charges Caesar replied by saying that he had deposed Lepidus from office
μὲν υβρίζοντα καταπαύσαι τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἃ δὲ ἔσχηκε πολεμήσας, νεμήσεσθαι πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ὅταν κάκεινος Ἀρμενίαν πρὸς αὐτῶν τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας Ἰταλίας μὴ μετεῖναι. Μηδίαι γὰρ ἔχειν καὶ Παρθίαν αὐτοὺς, ἀς προσεκτήσαντο Ῥωμαίοις καλῶς ἀγωνισάμενοι μετὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος.

LVI. Ταῦτα ἐν 'Ἀρμενίᾳ διατρίβων Ἀντώνιος ἦκουσε καὶ Κανίδιον εὐθὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἐκκαίδεκα τέλη λαβόντα καταβαίνειν ἐπὶ θάλατταν. αὐτὸς δὲ Κλεοπάτραν ἀναλαβὼν εἰς Ἐφεσον ἦκε. καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐκεὶ συνήη πανταχόθεν, ὅταν ὁ Κλεοπάτρα παρεῖχε διακοσίας καὶ τάλαντα δισμύρια καὶ τροφὴν τῷ 2 στρατῷ παντὶ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. Ἀντώνιος δὲ πεισθεὶς ὑπὸ Δομιτίου καὶ τινῶν ἄλλων ἐκέλευε Κλεοπάτραν πλείστην ἐπὶ Αἰγύπτου κάκει διακαραδοκεῖν τὸν πόλεμον. ἢ δὲ φοβομένη τᾶς δι’ Ὀκταούνιας πάλιν αὐτοῦ διαλύσεις ἔπεισε πολλοῖς Κανίδιον χρήμασιν Ἀντωνίῳ διαλεχθῆναι περὶ αὐτῆς, ὡς οὔτε δίκαιον ἀπελαύνεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου γνωϊκαὶ συμβολάς τηλικαύτας δεδούσαν, 3 οὔτε συμφέρον ἀδυμοτέρους ποιεῖν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους μέγα μέρος τῆς ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως ὅντας ἄλλως δὲ μηδὲ ὅραν οὕτως τῶν συστρατεύοντων βασιλείων ἀπολεῖποιτο τὸ φρονέων Κλεοπάτρα, πολύν μὲν χρόνον δι’ αὐτῆς κυβερνῶσα βασιλείαν τοσαύτην, πολύν δὲ ἐκεῖψε συνοίη ἀν καὶ μανθάνουσα χρήσθαι πράγματι μεγάλοις. ταῦτα ἐδεί γὰρ εἰς Καίσαρα πάντα περιελθεῖν ἐνίκα καὶ συνιστοῦν τῶν δυνάμεων πλεύσαντες εἰς 264
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because he was abusing it, and as for what he had acquired in war, he would share it with Antony whenever Antony, on his part, should share Armenia with him; and Antony's soldiers had no claim upon Italy, since they had Media and Parthia, which countries they had added to the Roman dominion by their noble struggles under their imperator.

LVI. Antony heard of this while he was tarrying in Armenia; and at once he ordered Canidius to take sixteen legions and go down to the sea. But he himself took Cleopatra with him and came to Ephesus. It was there that his naval force was coming together from all quarters, eight hundred ships of war with merchant vessels, of which Cleopatra furnished two hundred, besides twenty thousand talents, and supplies for the whole army during the war. But Antony, listening to the advice of Domitius and sundry others, ordered Cleopatra to sail to Egypt and there await the result of the war. Cleopatra, however, fearing that Octavia would again succeed in putting a stop to the war, persuaded Canidius by large bribes to plead her cause with Antony, and to say that it was neither just to drive away from the war a woman whose contributions to it were so large, nor was it for the interest of Antony to dispirit the Egyptians, who formed a large part of his naval force; and besides, it was not easy to see how Cleopatra was inferior in intelligence to anyone of the princes who took part in the expedition, she who for a long time had governed so large a kingdom by herself, and by long association with Antony had learned to manage large affairs. These arguments (since it was destined that everything should come into Caesar's hands) prevailed; and with united forces
4 Σάμουν ἐν εὐπαθείαις ἦσαν. ὡσπερ γὰρ βασι- λεύσι καὶ δυνάσταις καὶ τετράρχαις ἔθνεσί τε καὶ πόλεις πᾶσαις ταῖς μεταξὺ Συρίας καὶ Μακάντιδος καὶ Αρμενίας καὶ Ἡλληνίδος προείρητο πέμπτειν καὶ κομίζειν τὰς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον παρα- σκευάς, οὕτω πᾶσι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσου τε- χνών ἐπάναγκες ἦν εἰς Σάμον ἀπαντῶν καὶ τῆς ἐν κύκλῳ σχεδὸν ἀπάσης οἰκουμένης περι- θυρομενήν καὶ περιστεναζομένης, μία νήσος ἐφ’ ἡμέρας πολλάς καθηλεύτο καὶ κατεψάλλετο πληρομεμένων θεάτρων καὶ χορῶν ἀγωνιζομένων.

5 συνέθεε δὲ καὶ πόλις πᾶσα βοῦν πέμπτουσα, καὶ βασιλεῖς δημιολλύτου ταις ὑποδοχαῖς καὶ δωρεαῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ὅστε καὶ λόγος διῆλε, τίνες ἔσονται κρατήσαντες ἐν τοῖς ἐπισκοπῖς οἱ τοῦ πολέμου τὰς παρασκευὰς οὕτω πολυτελῶς ἐφορτά- ξοντες.

LVII. Γενόμενος δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων τοῖς μὲν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσου τεχνών Πριήνην ἔδωκεν οἰκη- τήριον, αὐτὸς δὲ πλεῦσας εἰς Ἀθήνας πάλιν ἐν παιδιαῖς ἤν καὶ θεάτροις. ζηλοτυποῦσα δὲ Κλεοπάτρα τὰς Ὀκταοικίας ἐν τῇ πόλει τιμῶν (ἡγαπήθη γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἡ Ὀκταοικία μᾶλιστα) πολλάς ἀνελάμβανε φιλοτιμίαις τὸν

2 δήμον. οἱ δὲ τιμῶν αὐτὴς ψηφίσαμεν πρέσβεις ἐπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τὸ ψήφισμα κομίζοντας, ὅπως ἣν Ἀντώνιος, ὡς ἡ πολίτης Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἡ καταστάς ἐπ’ αὐτῆς λόγου ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως διεξῆλθεν. εἷς δὲ Ρώμην ἐπέμψε τοὺς

3 Ὀκταοικίαν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἐκβαλόντας. ἀπελθεῖν δὲ φασιν αὐτὴν τὰ μὲν τέκνα πάντα Ἀντωνίου μὲθ’ ἐαυτῆς ἔχουσαν ἀνευ τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου τῶν

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they sailed to Samos and there made merry. For just as all the kings, dynasts, tetrarchs, nations, and cities between Syria, the Maeotic Lake, Armenia, and Illyria had been ordered to send or bring their equipment for the war, so all the dramatic artists were compelled to put in an appearance at Samos; and while almost all the world around was filled with groans and lamentations, a single island for many days resounded with flutes and stringed instruments; theatres there were filled, and choral bands were competing with one another. Every city also sent an ox for the general sacrifice, and kings vied with one another in their mutual entertainments and gifts. And so men everywhere began to ask: “How will the conquerors celebrate their victories if their preparations for the war are marked by festivals so costly?”

LVII. When these festivities were over, Antony gave the dramatic artists Priene as a place for them to dwell, and sailed himself to Athens, where sports and theatres again engaged him. Cleopatra, too, jealous of Octavia's honours in the city (for Octavia was especially beloved by the Athenians), tried by many splendid gifts to win the favour of the people. So the people voted honours to her, and sent a delegation to her house carrying the vote, of whom Antony was one, for was he not a citizen of Athens? And standing in her presence he delivered a speech in behalf of the city. To Rome, however, he sent men who had orders to eject Octavia from his house. And we are told that she left it taking all his children with her except his eldest son by Fulvia, who
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ἐκ Φουλβίας (ἐκείνως γὰρ ἦν παρὰ τῷ πατρί), κλαίουσαν δὲ καὶ δυσφοροῦσαν εἰ δόξει μία τῶν αἰτίων τοῦ πολέμου καὶ αὐτὴ γεγονέναι. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἤκτειρον οὐκ ἐκείνην, ἀλλὰ Ἀντώνιον, καὶ μᾶλλον οἱ Κλεοπάτραν ἐωρακότες οὐτε κάλλει τῆς Ὀκταούνιας οὐτε ὥρᾳ διαφέρουσαν.

LVIII. Καίσαρ δὲ τὸ τάχος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς παρασκευῆς ἄκουσας ἐθορυβήθη, μὴ τοῦ θέρους ἐκείνου διαπολεμεῖν ἀναγκασθῆ. καὶ γὰρ ἐνέδει πολλὰ, καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐλύσουν αἱ τῶν χρημάτων εἰσπράξεις. ἀναγκαζομένοι γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὰ τέταρτα τῶν καρπῶν, οἱ δὲ ἐξελευθερικοὶ τῶν κτημάτων αὐτῶν τὰς ὁγδόος ἀποφέρειν κατεβόων αὐτῶν, καὶ ταραχαὶ κατείχον 2 ἐκ τοὺτων ἀπασαν τὴν Ἰταλίαν. οὗτοι ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀμαρτήμασιν Ἀντώνιου τὴν ἀναβολὴν τοῦ πολέμου τίθενται. καὶ γὰρ παρασκευάσασθαι χρόνων ἔδωκε Καίσαρι καὶ τὰς ταραχὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐξέλυσε. πραττόμενοι γὰρ ἡγιαίνοντο, πραχθέντες δὲ καὶ δόντες ἰσχύαζον. Τίτιος δὲ καὶ Πλάγκος, Ἀντώνιον φίλοι τῶν ὑπατικῶν, ὑπὸ Κλεοπάτρας προπηλακιζομένου (πλείστα γὰρ ἡναντιόθησαν αὐτῇ περὶ τοῦ συστρατεύειν) ἀποδράντες ψ χοντο πρὸς Καίσαρα, καὶ περὶ τῶν Ἀντώνιου διαθηκῶν ἐγένοντο μηνυταί, 3 τὰ γεγραμμένα συνειδότες. ἀπέκειντο δ’ αὐτοῖ παρὰ ταῖς Ἐστιάσι παρθένοις, καὶ Καίσαρος αἰτούντος οὐκ ἔδωκαν εἰ δὲ βούλοιτο λαμβάνειν, ἐλθεῖν αὐτῶν ἐκέλευον. ἔλαβεν οὖν ἐλθόν καὶ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ τὰ γεγραμμένα διήλθε, καὶ παρεσημήνατο τόπους τινὰς ἐνκατηγορήτους. 943

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was with his father; she was in tears of distress that she herself also would be regarded as one of the causes of the war. But the Romans felt pity for Antony, not for her, and especially those who had seen Cleopatra and knew that neither in youthfulness nor beauty was she superior to Octavia.

LVIII. When Caesar heard of the rapidity and extent of Antony's preparations, he was much disturbed, fearing lest he should be forced to settle the issue of the war during that summer. For he was lacking in many things, and people were vexed by the exactions of taxes. The citizens generally were compelled to pay one fourth of their income, and the freedmen one eighth of their property, and both classes cried out against Caesar, and disturbances arising from these causes prevailed throughout all Italy. Wherefore, among the greatest mistakes of Antony men reckon his postponement of the war. For it gave Caesar time to make preparations and put an end to the disturbances among the people. For while money was being exacted from them, they were angry, but when it had been exacted and they had paid it, they were calm. Moreover, Titius and Plancus, friends of Antony and men of consular rank, being abused by Cleopatra (for they had been most opposed to her accompanying the expedition) ran away to Caesar, and they gave him information about Antony's will, the contents of which they knew. This will was on deposit with the Vestal Virgins, and when Caesar asked for it, they would not give it to him; but if he wanted to take it, they told him to come and do so. So he went and took it; and to begin with, he read its contents through by himself, and marked certain reprehensible passages; then

1 The summer of 32 B.C.
πλείστων ἀνήδως ἐχόντων. ἀλλάκοτον γὰρ ἔδοξεν εἶναι καὶ δεινόν, εὐθύνας τινὰ διδόναι ζωντα περὶ ὅν ἔβουλήθη γενέσθαι μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν. ἐπε-φύετο δὲ τῶν γεγραμμένων μᾶλστα τῷ περὶ τῆς ταφῆς. ἐκέλευε γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα, κἂν ἐν Ἡρώμη τελευτήσῃ, δι’ ἄγορᾶς πομπευθέν εἰς Ἄλεξάνδρειαν ὡς Κλεοπάτραν ἀποσταλῆι.

5 Ὅλος οὖν ὁ Καὶςάρος ἐταίρος ἦταν καὶ ταύτα τῶν ἐτίς Κλεοπάτρᾳ ἐγκλημάτων Ἀντωνίῳ προὔφερε, χαρίσασθαι μὲν αὐτῇ τὰς ἐκ Περγάμου βιβλιοθήκας, ἐν αἰσ ἐκκοσὶ μυριάδες βιβλίων ἄπλων ἦσαν ἐν δὲ συνδείπνοι πολλῶν παρὸντων ἀναστάτα τρίβειν αὐτῆς τοὺς πόλας ἐκ τίνος ὁρισμοῦ καὶ συνθήκης γευμένης. Ἃπε-σίων δὲ ἀνασχέσθαι παρὸντός αὐτοῦ κυρίαν τὴν

6 Κλεοπάτραν ἀσπασμένους· δικάζοντα δὲ πολλὰς τετράρχας καὶ βασιλέως ἕτεροις βήματος δελτάρια τῶν ἐρωτικῶν ὀνύχων καὶ κρυστάλλων δέχεσθαι παρ' αὐτῆς καὶ ἀναγνώσκειν· Φούρνου δὲ λέγοντος, ὃς ἦν ἀξιωματος μεγάλου καὶ δευτότατος εἰπεῖν Ἡρώμαων, τὴν μὲν Κλεοπάτραν ἐν φορείῳ διὰ τῆς ἄγορᾶς κομίζεσθαι, τὸν δὲ Ἀντώνιον, ὃς εἶδεν, ἀναπηδήσαντα τὴν μὲν δίκην ἀπολιπεῖν, ἐκκρεμανυμένου δὲ τοῦ φορείου παραπέμπειν ἐκείνην.

LIX. Ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν ἐδόκει τὰ πλεῖστα καταψεύδεσθαι Καλοῦσίοις· οἱ δὲ φίλοι τοῦ Ἀντωνίου περιώντες ἐν Ἡρώμη τὸν δήμον ἐκείνου· ἦν δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔπεμψαν Γεμύνον δεόμενοι τοῦ Ἀντωνίου μὴ περιδεῖν αὐτὸν ἀποψηφισθέντα

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he assembled the senate and read it aloud to them, although most of them were displeased to hear him do so. For they thought it a strange and grievous matter that a man should be called to account while alive for what he wished to have done after his death. Caesar laid most stress on the clause in the will relating to Antony’s burial. For it directed that Antony’s body, even if he should die in Rome, should be borne in state through the forum and then sent away to Cleopatra in Egypt. Again, Calvisius, who was a companion of Caesar, brought forward against Antony the following charges also regarding his behaviour towards Cleopatra: he had bestowed upon her the libraries from Pergamum in which there were two hundred thousand volumes; at a banquet where there were many guests he had stood up and rubbed her feet, in compliance with some agreement and compact which they had made; he had consented to have the Ephesians in his presence salute Cleopatra as mistress; many times, while he was seated on his tribunal and dispensing justice to tetrarchs and kings, he would receive love-billets from her in tablets of onyx or crystal, and read them; and once when Furnius was speaking, a man of great worth and the ablest orator in Rome, Cleopatra was carried through the forum on a litter, and Antony, when he saw her, sprang up from his tribunal and forsook the trial, and hanging on to Cleopatra’s litter escorted her on her way.

LIX. However, most of the charges thus brought by Calvisius were thought to be falsehoods; but the friends of Antony went about in Rome beseeching the people in his behalf, and they sent one of their number, Geminius, with entreaties that Antony
2 Γεμίνιος δὲ πλεύσας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα Κλεοπάτρα μὲν ἦν ὑποπτος, ὡς ὑπὲρ ὅκταοιίας πράττων, σκωπτόμενος δὲ παρὰ δεῖπνον ἀεὶ καὶ κλυσίας ἀτίμως προπηλακιζόμενος ἦνεχετο καἰρὸν ἐντεύ-ξεως ἀναμένων κελευσθεὶς δὲ λέγειν ἐφ’ οἷς ἦκε παρὰ τὸ δείπνον, τὴν μὲν ἄλλην ἐφ’ νήφοντος εἶναι διάλεξεν, ἐν δὲ καὶ νήφων ἐπίστασθαι καὶ μεθύων, ὅτι καλῶς ἔξει πάντα Κλεοπάτρας εἰς
3 Αἰγυπτίων ἀπαλλαγείς. πρὸς τούτῳ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου χαλεπτήναντος ἡ Κλεοπάτρα “Καλῶς,” ἐφ’, “πεποίηκας, ὁ Γεμίνιε, τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀνει βασάνων ἐξομολογησάμενος.” Γεμίνιος μὲν οὖν μετ’ ὁλίγας ἡμέρας ἀποδρᾶς εἰς Ῥώμην ἤχετο. πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φίλων οἱ Κλεοπάτρας κόλακες ἐξέβαλον τὰς παροινίας καὶ βωμολοχίας
4 οὐχ ὑπομένοντας, ὅν καὶ Μάρκος ἢν Σιλάνος καὶ Δέλλιος ὁ ἱστορικὸς. οὗτος δὲ καὶ δεῖσαι φησὶν ἐπιβουλὴν ἐκ Κλεοπάτρας, Γλαύκου τοῦ ἰατροῦ φράσαντος αὐτῷ. προσέκρουσε δὲ Κλεοπάτρα παρὰ δεῖπνον εἰπὼν αὐτοῖς μὲν ὄξινην ἐγχείσθαι, Σάρμεντον δὲ πίνειν ἐν Ῥώμη Φαλερίνων. ὁ δὲ Σάρμεντος ἦν τῶν Καίσαρος παιγνίων παιδάριον, ἄ δηλικα Ῥωμαίοι καλοῦσιν.

LX. Ἔπει δὲ παρεσκεύαστο Καίσαρ ἰκανὸς, ψηφιζεῖ Κλεοπάτρα πολέμειν, ἀφελέσθαι δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἀντώνιου ἦς ἐξεστη γυναικί. καὶ προσεπεῖτε Καίσαρ ὃς Ἀντώνιος μὲν ὑπὸ φαρ-μάκων οὐδὲ αὐτοῦ κρατοῦσι, πολεμοῦσι δ’ αὐτοῖς

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would not suffer himself to be voted out of his office and proclaimed an enemy of Rome. But Geminius, after his voyage to Greece, was an object of suspicion to Cleopatra, who thought that he was acting in the interests of Octavia; he was always put upon with jokes at supper and insulted with places of no honour at table, but he endured all this and waited for an opportunity to confer with Antony. Once, however, at a supper, being bidden to tell the reasons for his coming, he replied that the rest of his communication required a sober head, but one thing he knew, whether he was drunk or sober, and that was that all would be well if Cleopatra was sent off to Egypt. At this, Antony was wroth, and Cleopatra said: "Thou hast done well, Geminius, to confess the truth without being put to the torture." Geminius, accordingly, after a few days, ran away to Rome. And Cleopatra's flatterers drove away many of the other friends of Antony also who could not endure their drunken tricks and scurrilities. Among these were Marcus Silanus and Dellius the historian. And Dellius says that he was also afraid of a plot against him by Cleopatra, of which Glaucus the physician had told him. For he had offended Cleopatra at supper by saying that while sour wine was served to them, Sarmentus, at Rome, was drinking Falernian. Now, Sarmentus was one of the youthful favourites of Caesar, such as the Romans call "deliciae."

LX. When Caesar had made sufficient preparations, a vote was passed to wage war against Cleopatra, and to take away from Antony the authority which he had surrendered to a woman. And Caesar said in addition that Antony had been drugged and was not even master of himself, and that the Romans
Μαρδίων ὁ ἐνυσθος καὶ Ποθεών καὶ Εἰρᾶς ἡ Κλεοπάτρας κουρεύτρια καὶ Χάρμιον, ύφ’ ὅν τὰ μέγιστα διοικεῖται τῆς ἡγεμονίας.

2 Σημεία δὲ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου τάδε γενέσθαι λέγεται. Πείσαρα μὲν, Ἀντωνίου πόλις κληρονομια, ὁκισμένη παρὰ τὸν Ἀδριανοῦ, χασμάτων ὑπορραγέντων κατεπόθη. τῶν δὲ περὶ Ἀλβαν Ἀντωνίου λιθίνων ἀνδριάντων ἐνὸς ἰδρῶς ἀνεπίδευσεν ἥμερας πολλάς, ἀποματτώντων τινῶν οὐ παυόμενος. ἐν δὲ Πάτραις διατρίβοντος αὐτοῦ κεραυνοῖς ἐνεπρήσθη τὸ Ἡράκλειον καὶ τῆς 944 Ἀθήνης γυγαντομαχίας ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ὁ Διὸνυσος ἐκεσείθετο εἰς τὸ θέατρον κατηνέχθη.

3 προσφέρειον δὲ ἐαυτὸν Ἀντωνίος Ἡρακλεῖ κατὰ γένος καὶ Διονύσῳ κατὰ τὸν βίον ξήλων, ὡσπερ εἰρηται, Διόνυσος νέος προσαγορεύμενος. ἡ δὲ αὐτὴ θύελλα καὶ τοῦς. Εὐμενοὺς καὶ Ἀττάλου κολοσσούς ἐπιγεγραμμένους Ἀντωνιάους Ἀθήνησιν ἐμπεσοῦσα μόνους ἐκ πολλῶν ἀνέτρεψε. ἡ δὲ Κλεοπάτρας ναυαρχις ἐκαλεῖτο μὲν Ἀντωνίας, σημείον δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν δεινῶν ἑφανή χελιδόνες γὰρ ὑπὸ τὴν πρύμναν ἐνεότευσαν ἔτεραι δὲ ἐπελθοῦσα καὶ ταῦτας ἐξήλασαν καὶ τὰ νεόττια διέφθειραν.

ΛXI. Συμμοντών δὲ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον Ἀντωνίῳ μὲν ἦσαν αἱ μάχιμαι νῆς οὐκ ἐλάττουσε πεντακοσίων, ἐν αἷς ὀκτῆρες πολλαὶ καὶ δεκήρεις κεκοσμημέναι σοβαρῶς καὶ πανηγυρικῶς, στρατοῦ
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were carrying on war with Mardion the eunuch, and Potheinus, and Iras, and the tire-woman of Cleopatra, and Charmion, by whom the principal affairs of the government were managed.

The following signs are said to have been given before the war. Pisaurum, a city colonized by Antony situated near the Adriatic, was swallowed up by chasms in the earth. From one of the marble statues of Antony near Alba sweat oozed for many days, and though it was wiped away it did not cease. In Patrae, while Antony was staying there, the Heracleium was destroyed by lightning; and at Athens the Dionysus in the Battle of the Giants was dislodged by the winds and carried down into the theatre. Now, Antony associated himself with Heracles in lineage, and with Dionysus in the mode of life which he adopted, as I have said, and he was called the New Dionysus. The same tempest fell upon the colossal figures of Eumenes and Attalus at Athens, on which the name of Antony had been inscribed, and prostrated them, and them alone out of many. Moreover the admiral's ship of Cleopatra was called Antonius, and a dire sign was given with regard to it. Some swallows, namely, made their nest under its stern; but other swallows attacked these, drove them out and destroyed their nestlings.

LXI. When the forces came together for the war, Antony had no fewer than five hundred fighting ships, among which were many vessels of eight and ten banks of oars, arrayed in pompous and

1 One of the groups of figures at the south wall of the Acropolis dedicated by Attalus I. of Pergamum. See Pausanias, i. 25, 2, with Frazer's notes.
2 Chapters iv. 1 f. and xxiv. 3.
3 As Cleopatra was called the New Isis (liv. 6).
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

de μυριάδες δέκα, δισχίλιοι δ' ἵππεῖς ἐπὶ μυρίοις. ἐπὶ μυρίοις. βασιλείς δὲ ὑπήκουοι συνεμάχουν Βόκχος ὁ Διβύων καὶ Ταρκόνδημος ὁ τῆς ἀνω Κιλικίας, καὶ Κασπάδοκιας μὲν 'Αρχέλαιος, Παφλαγονίας δὲ Φιλάδελφος, Κομμαγηνής δὲ Μιθριδάτης,

2 Σαδάλας δὲ Θράκης. οὕτωι μὲν αὐτοὶ παρῆσαν, ἐκ δὲ Πόντοι Πολέμων στρατὸν ἔπεμπε, καὶ Μάλχος ἢ Ἀραβίας καὶ 'Ηρώδης ὁ 'Ιουδαίος, ἢτι δὲ Ἁμώνας ὁ Δυκαίων καὶ Γαλατῶν

βασιλεύς. ήν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Μήδων βασιλέως ἀπεσταλμένη βοήθεια. Καίσαρι δὲ νῆες ἦσαν πρὸς ἀλκήν πεντήκοντα καὶ διακόσια, στρατοῦ δὲ ὀκτὼ μυριάδες, ἵππεῖς δὲ παραπλήσιοι τὸ

3 πλῆθος τοῖς πολεμόις. ἡρχον δὲ 'Αντώνιος μὲν τῆς ἀπ' Εὔφρατον καὶ 'Ἀρμενίας μέχρι πρὸς τὸν Ἰώνιον καὶ Ἰλλυρίους, Καίσαρ δὲ ἀπ' Ἰλλυρίων τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν ἐσπέριον ὠκεανῶν καθηκούσης καὶ τῆς ἀπ' ὠκεανοῦ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ Τυρρηνικὸν καὶ Σικελικὸν πέλαγος. Διβύως δὲ τὴν Ἰταλία καὶ Γαλατία καὶ 'Ἰβηρία μέχρι στηλῶν 'Ἡρακλείων ἀντιπαρήκουσαν εἰς 'Καίσαρρ' τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ Κυρήνης μέχρις Αἰθιοπίας 'Αντώνιος.

LXII. Οὕτω δὲ ἄρα προσθήκη τῆς γυναικὸς ἦν ὅστε τῷ πεζῷ πολὺ διαφέρων ἐξούλετο τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τὸ κράτος εἶναι διὰ Κλεοπάτραν, καὶ ταύτα πληρωμάτων ἀπορία συναρπασμένως ὥραν ὑπὸ τῶν τριηροσκόπων ἐκ τῆς πολλὰ ἄρη τῆς Εὐλάδος ὀδοιπόρους, ὀνειλατάς, θεριστάς, ἐφήβους, καὶ οὔτε οὕτω πληρομένας τὰς ναῦς, ἀλλὰ τὰς πλείστας ἀποδεεῖς καὶ μοχθηρῶς πλεούσας.

2 Καίσαρ δὲ οὐ πρὸς ύψος οὔτε ὄγκον ἐπιδεικτικῶς
festa fashion; he also had one hundred thousand infantry soldiers and twelve thousand horsemen. Of subject kings who fought with him, there were Bocchus the king of Libya, Tarcondemus the king of Upper Cilicia, Archelaüs of Cappadocia, Philadelphus of Paphlagonia, Mithridates of Commagene, and Sadalas of Thrace. These were with him, while from Pontus Polemon sent an army, and Malschus from Arabia, and Herod the Jew, besides Amyntas the king of Lycaonia and Galatia; the king of the Medes also sent an auxiliary force. Caesar had two hundred and fifty ships of war, eighty thousand infantry, and about as many horsemen as his enemies. Antony’s authority extended over the country from the Euphrates and Armenia to the Ionian sea and Illyria; Caesar’s over the country reaching from Illyria to the Western Ocean and from the ocean back to the Tuscan; and Sicilian seas. Of Libya, the part extending opposite to Italy, Gaul, and Iberia as far as the pillars of Hercules, belonged to Caesar; the part extending from Cyrene as far as Armenia, to Antony.

LXII. But to such an extent, now, was Antony an appendage of the woman that although he was far superior on land, he wished the decision to rest with his navy, to please Cleopatra, and that too when he saw that for lack of crews his trierarchs were haling together out of long-suffering Greece wayfarers, mule-drivers, harvesters, and ephebi,¹ and that even then their ships were not fully manned, but most of them were deficient and sailed wretchedly. Caesar’s fleet, on the other hand, was perfectly equipped, and

¹ Young men approaching full military age, enrolled for preliminary training and service.
πετηγνιάσας ναυσίν, ευστρόφοις δὲ καὶ ταχείας καὶ πεπληρωμέναις ἀκριβῶς ἐξηρτυμένον ἐν Τάραντι καὶ Βρεντεσίῳ συνέχαν τὸ ναυτικόν, ἐπεμπτε πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἁξίων μὴ διατρίβειν τῶν χρόνον, ἀλλ' ἐρχεσθαι μετὰ τὸν δυνάμεων· αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ μὲν στόλῳ παρέξειν ὥρμοις ἀκωλύτους καὶ λιμένας, ὑποχωρήσειν δὲ τῷ πεζῷ τῆς παραλίας ι̣ππον δρόμον ἀπὸ ταλάττησι, μέχρι 3 ἀν ἀσφαλῶς ἀποβῇ καὶ στρατοπεδεύσῃτα. τούτοις ἀντικομπάζον Ἀντώνιος αὐτὸν μὲν εἰς μονομαχίαν προώκαλεῖτο, καίτερ ὁν πρεσβύτερος· εἰ δὲ φεύγοι τούτο, περὶ Φάρσαλον ἡξίου τοῖς στρατεύμασιν, ὡς πάλαι Καῖσαρ καὶ Πομπῆιος, διαγωνίασθαι. φθάνει δὲ Καῖσαρ, Ἀντώνιον περὶ τὸ Ἀκτιον ὥρμουτος, ἐν ϕ' τόπῳ νῦν ἡ Νικόπολις ἱδρυται, διαβαλῶν τὸν Ἰόνιον καὶ τῆς Ἡπείρου χαρίον ὁ Τορύπη καλεῖται κατασχών: θορυβουμένων δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον (ὑστερεὶ γὰρ ὁ πεζὸς αὐτοῖς) ἡ μὲν Κλεοπάτρα σκόπτουσα, "Τὶ δεινόν," ἐλεγεν, "εἰ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τορύπῃ κἀθηταί;"

LXIII. Ἀντώνιος δὲ, ἀμα ἡμέρα τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιπλεόντων, φοβηθεῖς μὴ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν ἐρήμως ἔλωσι τάς ναῦς, τοὺς μὲν ἑρέτας ὀπλίσας ἐπὶ τῶν καταστρωμάτων παρέταξεν ὅψεως ἑνεκα, τοὺς δὲ ταρσοὺς τῶν νεῶν ἑγείρας καὶ πετερώσας ἐκατέρωθεν ἐν τῷ στόματι περὶ τὸ Ἀκτιον ἀντιπρώπους συνεῖχεν, ὡς ἐνήρεις καὶ παρεσκευασμένος ἀμύ-2 νεσθαί. καὶ Καῖσαρ μὲν οὕτω καταστρατηγηθεῖς ἀπεχώρησεν. ἔδοξε δὲ καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ εὐμηχάνως

1 παραλίας Xylander's correction of the MSS. Ιταλιᾶς, adopted by both Sintenis and Bekker.

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consisted of ships which had not been built for a display of height or mass, but were easily steered, swift, and fully manned. This fleet Caesar kept assembled at Tarentum and Brundisium, and he sent to Antony a demand to waste no time, but to come with his forces; Caesar himself would furnish his armament with unobstructed roadsteads and harbours, and would withdraw with his land forces a day's journey for a horseman from the sea-shore, until Antony should have safely landed and fixed his camp. This boastful language Antony matched by challenging Caesar to single combat, although he was an older man than Caesar; and if Caesar declined this, Antony demanded that they should fight out the issue at Pharsalus, as Caesar and Pompey had once done. But while Antony was lying at anchor off Actium, where now Nicopolis stands, Caesar got the start of him by crossing the Ionian sea and occupying a place in Epeirus called Toruné (that is, ladle); and when Antony and his friends were disturbed by this, since their infantry forces were belated, Cleopatra, jesting, said: "What is there dreadful in Caesar's sitting at a ladle?"

LXIII. But Antony, when the enemy sailed against him at daybreak, was afraid lest they should capture his ships while they had no fighting crews, and therefore armed the rowers and drew them up on the decks so as to make a show; then he grouped his ships at the mouth of the gulf near Actium, their ranks of oars on either side lifted and poised for the stroke, and their prows towards the enemy, as if they were fully manned and prepared to fight. Caesar, thus outwitted and deceived, withdrew. Antony was also thought to have shown great skill in enclosing
Ερύμασι τισιν ἐμπεριλαβῶν ἀφελέσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους, τῶν ἐν κύκλῳ χωρίων ὀλίγον καὶ πονηρῶν ἔχοντων. εὐγνωμόνως δὲ καὶ Δομήτωρ προσηνέχθη παρὰ τὴν Κλεοπάτρας γυνῶμην. ἔπει γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἦδη πυρέττων εἰς μικρὸν ἐμβὰς ἀκάτιον πρὸς Κάισαρα μετέστη, βαρέως ἐνέγκων ὁ ’Αντώνιος ὁμος πᾶσιν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν θεραπότων ἀπέτεμψε.

3 καὶ Δομήτιος μὲν, ὥσπερ εἶτι τῷ μὴ λαθεῖν τὴν ἀπίστιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ προδοσίαν μεταβαλλόμενος, εὕθος ἐτελεύτησεν.

’Εγένετο δὲ καὶ βασιλεὼς ἀποστασεις, Ἄμυντου καὶ Δηισαρίου, πρὸς Κάισαρα. τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν ἐν παντὶ δυσπραγχοῦ καὶ πρὸς ἀπασαν ὑπερίζον βοήθειαν αὐθεὶς ἡνάγκαζε τῷ πεζῷ προσέχειν τοῦ ’Αντώνιου. ἔσχε δὲ καὶ Κανίδιον τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ πεζοῦ μεταβολὴ γυνῶμης παρὰ τὰ δεινά· καὶ συνεβούλευε Κλεοπάτραν μὲν ἀποτελέστει, ἀναχωρήσαντα δὲ εἰς Θράκην ἦ.

4 Μακεδονίαν πεζομαχία κρῖναι. καὶ γὰρ Δικόμης ὁ Γετῶν βασιλεὺς ὑπισχύειτο πολλῇ στρατίᾳ βοηθήσεως· οὐκ εἶναι δὲ αἰσχρὸν εἰ Κάισαρι γεγυμνασμένον περὶ τὸν Σικελικὸν πόλεμον ἐκστήσθει τῆς θαλάσσης, ἄλλα δεινὸν εἰ τῶν πεζῶν ἀγώνων ἐμπειρότατος ὁν Ἀντώνιος οὐ χρήσεται ρώμη καὶ παρασκευή τοσούτων ὀπλιτῶν, εἰς ναυὸς διανέμων καὶ καταναλίσκων τὴν ὁδὸν.

5 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ἐξενίκησε Κλεοπάτρα διὰ τῶν νεῶν κριθήναι τῶν πόλεμον, ἢδη πρὸς φυγὴν ὀρώσα, καὶ τιθεμένη τὰ καθ’ ἐαυτὴν, οὐχ ὅπου πρὸς
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the potable water within certain barriers and thus depriving the enemy of it, since the places round about afforded little, and that of bad quality. He also behaved with magnanimity towards Domitius, contrary to the judgment of Cleopatra. For when Domitius, who was already in a fever, got into a small boat and went over to Caesar, Antony, though deeply chagrined, nevertheless, sent off to him all his baggage, together with his friends and servants. And Domitius, as if repenting when his faithlessness and treachery became known, straightway died.

There were also defections among the kings, and Amyntas and Deiotarus went over to Caesar. Besides, since his navy was unlucky in everything and always too late to be of any assistance, Antony was again compelled to turn his attention to his land forces. Canidius also, the commander of the land forces, changed his mind in presence of the danger, and advised Antony to send Cleopatra away, to withdraw into Thrace or Macedonia, and there to decide the issue by a land battle. For Dicomes king of the Getae promised to come to their aid with a large force; and it would be no disgrace, Canidius urged, for them to give up the sea to Caesar, who had practised himself there in the Sicilian war; but it would be a strange thing for Antony, who was most experienced in land conflicts, not to avail himself of the strength and equipment of his numerous legionary soldiers, but to distribute his forces among ships and so fritter them away.

However, Cleopatra prevailed with her opinion that the war should be decided by the ships, although she was already contemplating flight, and was disposing her own forces, not where they would be
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΗΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ

tο νικᾶν ἔσται χρήσιμος, ἀλλ' άθεν ἀπεισῴ βάστα τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπολλυμένων. ἦν δὲ μακρὰ σκέλη κατατείνοντα πρὸς τὸν ναῦσταθμὸν τῆς στρατοπεδείας, ὃν ὅν ὁ Ἀντώνιος εἰώθει παρέναι 6 μηδὲν υφορόμενος. οἰκέτου δὲ Καίσαρι φράσαντος ὡς δυνατὸν εἴνα κατίνα διὰ τῶν σκελῶν συλλαβεῖν αὐτόν, ἔπεμψε τοὺς ἐνεδρεύοντας. οὗ δὲ παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἦλθον ὡστε συναρπάσαι τῶν προηγούμενον αὐτοῦ προεξαναστάντες· αὐτὸς δὲ δρόμῳ μόλις ὑπεξέφυγεν.

LXIV. Ὡς δὲ ναυμαχεῖν ἐδεδοκτο, τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἐνέπρησε ναύδι πλὴν ἐξήκοντα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, τὰς δὲ ἀρίστας καὶ μεγίστας ἀπὸ τρίηρους μέχρι δεκήρους ἑπλήρου, δισμυρίους ἐμβιβάζων ὑπλίτας καὶ δισχιλίους τοξότας. ἐνθα πεζομάχων ἀνδρα τῶν ταξιαρχῶν λέγουσι, παμπόλλους ἠγωνισμένου ἀγώνας Ἀντωνίφ καὶ κατατετριμμένον τὸ σῶμα, τοῦ Ἀντωνίου παρά 2 ὁντός ἀνακλαύσασθαι καὶ εἰπεῖν: "Ὡς αὐτὸκρατορ, τί τῶν τραυμάτων τούτων ἢ τοῦ ξίφους καταγγούν ἐν ξύλοις ποιηροῖς ἔχεις τὰς ἐλπίδας; Αἰγυπτίως καὶ Φοίνικες ἐν θαλάσσῃ μαχέσθωσαν, ἢμιν δὲ γῆς δός, ἐφ' ἣς εἰώθαμεν ἐστώτες ἀποθνήσκειν ἢ νικῶν τοὺς πολέμους." πρὸς ταύτα μηδὲν ἀποκρινόμενος, ἀλλὰ τῇ χειρὶ καὶ τῷ προσώπῳ μόνον οἶκον ἐγκελευσάμενος τῶν ἀνδρᾶς θαρρεῖν, παρῆλθεν, οὐ χρηστὰς ἔχον ἐλπίδας, οὐ γε καὶ τούς κυβερνήτας τὰ ἱστία βουλωμένους ἀπολυπεῖν ἢνάγκασεν ἐμβαλέσθαι καὶ κομίζειν, λέγων ὅτι δεῖ μηδένα φεύγοντα τῶν πολέμίων διαφυγεῖν.
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helpful in winning the victory, but where they could most easily get away if the cause was lost. Moreover, there were two long walls extending down to the naval station from the camp, and between these Antony was wont to pass without suspecting any danger. But a slave told Caesar that it was possible to seize Antony as he went down between the walls, and Caesar sent men to lie in ambush for him. These men came near accomplishing their purpose, but seized only the man who was advancing in front of Antony, since they sprang up too soon; Antony himself escaped with difficulty by running.

LXIV. When it had been decided to deliver a sea battle, Antony burned all the Egyptian ships except sixty; but the largest and best, from those having three to those having ten banks of oars, he manned, putting on board twenty thousand heavy-armed soldiers and two thousand archers. It was on this occasion, we are told, that an infantry centurion, a man who had fought many a battle for Antony and was covered with scars, burst into laments as Antony was passing by, and said: "Imperator, why dost thou distrust these wounds and this sword and put thy hopes in miserable logs of wood? Let Egyptians and Phoenicians do their fighting at sea, but give us land, on which we are accustomed to stand and either conquer our enemies or die." To this Antony made no reply, but merely encouraged the man by a gesture and a look to be of good heart, and passed on. And he had no good hopes himself, since, when the masters of his ships wished to leave their sails behind, he compelled them to put them on board and carry them, saying that not one fugitive of the enemy should be allowed to make his escape.

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LXV. Ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τρεῖς τὰς ἑφεξῆς μεγάλῳ πυνεύματι κυμαθένες τὸ πέλαγος τὴν μάχην ἐπέσχε, πέμπτῃ δὲ νηνεμίας καὶ γαλήνης ἀκλύστου γενομένης συνήσαν, Ἀντώνιος μὲν τὸ δεξίων κέρας ἔχων καὶ Ποπλικόλας, Κοῖλιος δὲ τὸ εὐώνυμον, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ Μάρκος ὑπέτο τοῦ εὐωνύμου τάξας Ἀγρίππαν αὐτῷ τὸ δεξίων κατέλιπε. τῶν δὲ πεξῶν τὸν μὲν Ἀντώνιον Κανίδιος, τὸν δὲ Καίσαρος Τάυρος ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάττης παρατάξαντες ἡσύχαζον. αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν ἡγεμόνων Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἐπεφοίτα πανταχόσε κοπῆτε, τοὺς στρατιώτας παρακαλῶν ύπὸ βρίθους τῶν νεών ὦσπερ ἐκ γῆς ἐδραίους μάχησθαι, τοῖς δὲ κυβερνηταῖς διακελεύόμενος ὀσπίτως ὀρμούσας ἀτρέμα ταῖς ναυσὶ δέχεσθαι τὰς ἐμβολὰς τῶν πολεμίων, τὴν περὶ τὸ στόμα δυσχωρίαν φυλάττοντας. Καίσαρι δὲ λέγεται μὲν ἔτι σκότους ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς κύκλω περιώντι πρὸς τὰς ναῦς ἀνθρωπος ἐλαύνων ὦν ἀπαντήσαι, πυθομένῳ δὲ τοῦνομα γυνωρίσας αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν. "Εμοὶ μὲν Ἐὐτυχὸς ὄνομα, τῷ δὲ ὅνι Νίκων." διὸ καὶ τοῖς ἐμβόλοις τὸν τόπον κοσμῶν ὦστερον ἔστησε χαλκοῦν ὦνον καὶ ἀνθρωπὸν. ἐπίδων δὲ τὴν ἄλλην παράταξιν, ἐν πλοίῳ πρὸς τὸ δεξίων κομισθέας ἐθαύμασεν ἀτρεμοῦντας ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς τοὺς πολεμίους· ἡ γὰρ ὄψις ἤν τῶν νεών ἐπ' ἀγκύραις ὀρμουσῶν. καὶ τοῦτο μέχρι πολλοῦ πεπεισμένος ἀνείχε τὰς ἑαυτοῦ περὶ ὁκτὼ στάδια
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LXV. During that day, then, and the three following days the sea was tossed up by a strong wind and prevented the battle; but on the fifth,¹ the weather becoming fine and the sea calm, they came to an engagement. Antony had the right wing, with Publicola, Coelius the left, and in the centre were Marcus Octavius and Marcus Insteius. Caesar posted Agrippa on the left, and reserved the right wing for himself. Of the land forces, that of Antony was commanded by Canidius, that of Caesar by Taurus, who drew them up along the sea and remained quiet. As for the leaders themselves, Antony visited all his ships in a row-boat, exhorting the soldiers, owing to the weight of their ships, to fight without changing their position, as if they were on land; he also ordered the masters of the ships to receive the attacks of the enemy as if their ships were lying quietly at anchor, and to maintain their position at the mouth of the gulf, which was narrow and difficult. Caesar, we are told, who had left his tent while it was yet dark and was going round to visit his ships, was met by a man driving an ass. Caesar asked the man his name, and he, recognizing Caesar, replied: “My name is Prosper, and my ass’s name is Victor.” Therefore, when Caesar afterwards decorated the place with the beaks of ships, he set up bronze figures of an ass and a man. After surveying the rest of his line of battle, he was carried in a small boat to his right wing, and there was astonished to see the enemy lying motionless in the narrows; indeed, their ships had the appearance of riding at anchor. For a long time he was convinced that this was really the case, and kept his own ships at a distance of about eight furlongs from the

¹ Sept. 2, 31 B.C.

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tῶν ἐναντίων ἀφεστώσας. ἔκτη δὲ ἦν ὥρα, καὶ πνεύματος αἰρομένου πελαγίου δυσανασχετούντες οἱ Ἀντωνίου πρὸς τὴν διατριβήν, καὶ τοῖς ὅψει καὶ μεγέθει τῶν οἰκείων νεῶν πεποιθότες ὡς 5 ἀπροσμάχοις, τὸ εὐνύμυμον ἐκύκρυσαν. ἵδιῶν δὲ Καῖσαρ ἡσθη καὶ πρύμνων ἐκρούσατο τῷ δεξιῷ, βουλόμενος ἐτὶ μάλλων ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου καὶ τῶν στενῶν ἐξώ τοὺς πολεμίους ἑπιστάσασθαι, καὶ περιπλέων εὑρέσει σκάφει τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ συμπλέκεσθαι πρὸς ναῦς ὑπὸ ὅγκου καὶ πληρωμάτων ὀλυγότητος ἀργάς καὶ βραδείας.

LXVI. Ἀρχομένου δὲ τού ἀγῶνος ἐν χερσὶν εἶναι, ἐμβολαί μὲν οὐκ ἦσαν οὐδὲ ἀναρρήξεις νεῶν, τῶν μὲν Ἀντωνίου διὰ βάρος ῥύμην οὐκ ἔχουσών, ἢ μάλιστα ποιεῖ τὰς τῶν ἐμβόλων πληγὰς ἐνεργοὺς, τῶν δὲ Καῖσαρος οὐ μόνον ἀντιπρόφοροι συμφέρεσθαι πρὸς χαλκώματα στέρεα καὶ τραχέα φυλασσομένων, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ κατὰ 2 πλευρὰν ἐμβολὰς διδόναι θαρρουσῶν. ἀπεθραύσων γὰρ τὰ ἐμβολαὶ βαδίσσω ἡ προσπέσοι σκάφει τετραγώνων ξύλων μεγάλων σιδήρῳ συνηρμοσμένων πρὸς ἀλληλα δεδεμένως. ἦν οὖν πεζομαχία προσφερής ὁ ἀγών. τὸ δὲ ἀληθέστερον εἰπτείν, τειχομαχία. τρεῖς γὰρ ἀμα καὶ τέσσαρες περὶ μίαν τῶν Ἀντωνίου συνείχοντο, γέρρους καὶ δόρας καὶ κοντοῖς χρωμένων καὶ πυροβόλους· οἱ δὲ Ἀντωνίου καὶ καταστάσεως ἀπὸν ἄνθρωπων πύργων ἐβαλλον.

3 Ἀγρίππου δὲ θάτερον κέρας εἰς κύκλωσιν ἐκτείνοντος, ἀντανάγειν Ποπλικόλας ἀναγκαζόμενος ἀπερρήγνυτο τῶν μέσων. ἡρωβουμένων δὲ

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enemy. But it was now the sixth hour, and since a wind was rising from the sea, the soldiers of Antony became impatient at the delay, and, relying on the height and size of their own ships as making them unassailable, they put their left wing in motion. When Caesar saw this he was delighted, and ordered his right wing to row backwards, wishing to draw the enemy still farther out from the gulf and the narrows, and then to surround them with his own agile vessels and come to close quarters with ships which, owing to their great size and the smallness of their crews, were slow and ineffective.

LXVI. Though the struggle was beginning to be at close range, the ships did not ram or crush one another at all, since Antony’s, owing to their weight, had no impetus, which chiefly gives effect to the blows of the beaks, while Caesar’s not only avoided dashing front to front against rough and hard bronze armour, but did not even venture to ram the enemy’s ships in the side. For their beaks would easily have been broken off by impact against vessels constructed of huge square timbers fastened together with iron. The struggle was therefore like a land battle; or, to speak more truly, like the storming of a walled town. For three or four of Caesar’s vessels were engaged at the same time about one of Antony’s, and the crews fought with wicker shields and spears and puntinng-poles and fiery missiles; the soldiers of Antony also shot with catapults from wooden towers.

And now, as Agrippa was extending the left wing with a view to encircling the enemy, Publicola was forced to advance against him, and so was separated from the centre. The centre falling into confusion
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toútwv kai sýmplekoménon tòis perí toú̂ 'Aρρούν-
tiou, ákrítou dé kai koivhês étì tìs naumachìas syne-
stwss, aífnidion ai Kłeophon έξèkounta vèhes
ófthèsan aírómenai pròs àpòploûn tà ìstìa kai
dià méson feúγουσαι tòvnu màxoménon ἵσαν γάρ
ópìsò tetagènai tòvnu megáloun, kai dièkptip-
tousai taraçhèn èpòìoun. òi de ènàntiói tháumá-
ξontes èðèwnto, tòi pneúmati chròmènas óròntes
kai èpéçhoùsas pròs tìn Pelopònênèn. ènìtha ðì
fàneron avtòi 'Ántíwos èpòíèsen ouîte ìrçòntos
ouîte èndòs ouîte ìlòs ìdîos logìsmòs ìdoiàkou-
mènou, ìllà' òpèr tìs pàiìzwv èîte, tìn ïwçìh
tòu èrwntos ìn ìallòtrìf sòmati ìgì, èlkòmènoν
ùpò tìs ìghnàkòs ìsòper sùmpetíkòs kai sùm-
mètaphèròmènou. ou γάρ èfèh tìn èkèînìs ìdòh
naìvn àpòploèousan, kai pántwn èkladòmènou kai
πρòdous kai àpòdras tòus ùpèr avtòu màxoménuν
kai ònìhìkòntas, eîs pèntèrhì mètembàsìs, 'Aleξà
tòu Íyrou kai Skèllìón múòn ouî àvtoì sùniv-
ìmtìν, èdîwke tìn àpolòlèkuniàì ἰδì kai
prosapòloûsàì avtòν.

LXVII. 'Èkèînì dé gýmòrìsàsa ñhmeîon ìpò
tìs neòs ìnèsxhæ. kai pròseedèthes ouîtò kai
ànàllhèthes èkèînìs mèn ouîte èidèn ouîte òfèthì,
pàrelbòn dé múòn eîs ïpòran èf' èawtoù ìkàsthò
swìtpì, tais ìhrèi'm àmfòtèræì èkîmènuò tìs
2 kefàlìh. èn tòutò dé lìbìnrìdè wòfèhèsan
díòkounaì para Kàìsàròs: ðì dé ànthìpròfì
épìstèrèfèn tìn naìvn keleùssàs tòs mèn ìllàs
ànèstèileν, Èvyròikòs ò' ò Dàkòwv ènèkèstò sò-
ßaròs, lògìhìn tìvà kàradàùnò ìpò tòu kata-

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and engaging with Arruntius,¹ although the sea-fight was still undecided and equally favourable to both sides, suddenly the sixty ships of Cleopatra were seen hoisting their sails for flight and making off through the midst of the combatants; for they had been posted in the rear of the large vessels, and threw them into confusion as they plunged through. The enemy looked on with amazement, seeing that they took advantage of the wind and made for Peloponnesus. Here, indeed, Antony made it clear to all the world that he was swayed by the sentiments neither of a commander nor of a brave man, nor even by his own, but, as someone in pleasantry said that the soul of the lover dwells in another’s body, he was dragged along by the woman as if he had become incorporate with her and must go where she did. For no sooner did he see her ship sailing off than he forgot everything else, betrayed and ran away from those who were fighting and dying in his cause, got into a five-oared galley, where Alexas the Syrian and Scellius were his only companions, and hastened after the woman who had already ruined him and would make his ruin still more complete.

LXVII. Cleopatra recognized him and raised a signal on her ship; so Antony came up and was taken on board, but he neither saw her nor was seen by her. Instead, he went forward alone to the prow and sat down by himself in silence, holding his head in both hands. At this point, Liburnian ships were seen pursuing them from Caesar’s fleet; but Antony ordered the ship’s prow turned to face them, and so kept them all off, except the ship of Eurycles the Laconian, who attacked vigorously, and brandished a

¹ The commander of Caesar’s centre, as Plutarch should have stated at lxv. 1.

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στρόματος ὡς ἀφήσων ἐπ' αὐτόν. ἔπιστάντος δὲ τῇ πρώᾳ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου καὶ "Τίς ὁδός," εἰπότος, "ὁ διώκων Ἀντώνιον;" "Ἐγώ," εἶπεν, "Ἕλυκλῆς ὁ Δαχάρως, τῇ Κάισαρος τύχῃ τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκδικῶν θάνατον." Ὁ δὲ Δαχάρης ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου ληστείας αὐτὰ περιπεσὼν ἐπελεκίσθη. πλὴν οὐκ ἐνέβαλεν ἕν Ἕλυκλῆς εἰς τὴν Ἀντωνίου ναῦν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἔτεραν τῶν ναυαρχίδων (δύο γὰρ ἦσαν) τῷ χαλκῷ ματι πατάξας περιερρόμβησε, καὶ ταύτην τε πλαγίαν περιπεσούσαν εἰλε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μίαν, ἐν ἑ 4 πολυτελεῖς σκευαὶ τῶν περὶ διάταν ἦσαν. ἀπαλλαγέντος δὲ τοῦτο πάλιν ὁ Ἀντώνιος εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ σχῆμα καθελὼν ἑσύχιαι ἤγει· καὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας καθ’ ἑαυτὸν ἐν πρώᾳ διαίτησις, εἰθ’ ὑπ’ ὀργῆς, εἰτ’ αἰδούμενος ἐκεῖνην, Ταυνάρῳ προσέχε. ἐνταύθα δ’ αὐτοὺς αἰ συνήθεις γυναῖκες πρῶτον μὲν εἰς λόγους ἄλληλοις συνήγαγον, εἰτα συνδειπνεῖν καὶ συγκαθεῦδειν ἔτεισαν. 5 "Ἡδὴ δὲ καὶ τῶν στρογγύλων πλοίων οὐκ ὀλίγα καὶ τῶν φίλων τινές ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς ἡθοῖοντο πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ἀγγέλλοντες ἀπολωλέναι τὸ ναυτικόν, οἴεσθαι δὲ τὸ πεζὸν συνεστάναι. Ἀντώνιος δὲ πρὸς μὲν Κανίδιον ἄγγελους ἐπεμπέν, ἁναχωρεῖν διὰ Μακεδονίας εἰς Ἀσίαν τῷ στρατῷ 6 κατὰ τάχος κελεύων, αὐτὸς δὲ μέλλων ἀπὸ Ταυνάρου πρὸς τὴν Διβύθην διαίρειν, ὅλκαδα μίαν, πολύ μὲν νόμισμα, πολλοὺ δὲ ἄξιας ἐν ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ κατασκευᾶς τῶν βασιλικῶν κομίζουσαν, ἐξελόμενος τοῖς φίλοις ἐπέδωκε κοινῇ, νείμασθαι καὶ σῶζειν εἰαύτους κελεύσας. ἀρνομένους δὲ καὶ κλαίοντας εὔμενῶς πάνω 290
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spear on the deck as though he would cast it at Antony. And when Antony, standing at the prow, asked, "Who is this that pursues Antony?" the answer was, "I am Eurycles the son of Lachares, whom the fortune of Caesar enables to avenge the death of his father." Now, Lachares had been beheaded by Antony because he was involved in a charge of robbery. However, Eurycles did not hit Antony's ship, but smote the other admiral's ship (for there were two of them) with his bronze beak and whirled her round, and as she swung round sideways he captured her, and one of the other ships also, which contained costly equipment for household use. When Eurycles was gone, Antony threw himself down again in the same posture and did not stir. He spent three days by himself at the prow, either because he was angry with Cleopatra, or ashamed to see her, and then put in at Taenarum. Here the women in Cleopatra's company at first brought them into a parley, and then persuaded them to eat and sleep together.

Presently not a few of their heavy transport ships and some of their friends began to gather about them after the defeat, bringing word that the fleet was destroyed, but that, in their opinion, the land forces still held together. So Antony sent messengers to Canidius, ordering him to retire with his army as fast as he could through Macedonia into Asia; he himself, however, since he purposed to cross from Taenarum to Libya, selected one of the transport ships which carried much coined money and very valuable royal utensils in silver and gold, and made a present of it to his friends, bidding them divide up the treasure and look out for their own safety. They refused his gift
καὶ φιλοφρόνως παραμυθησάμενος καὶ δεη-
7 θείας ἀπέστειλε, γράψας πρὸς Θεόφιλον τὸν ἐν
Κορίνθῳ δυνατήν ὅπως ἀσφάλειαν ἐκπορίσῃ
καὶ ἀποκρύψῃ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀχρι ἀν ἰλάσασθαι
Καισάρα δυνηθῶσιν. οὗτος ἦν Θεόφιλος Ἰπ-
τάρχου πατήρ τοῦ πλείστων παρὰ 'Ἀντωνίῳ
δυνηθέντος, πρῶτον δὲ πρὸς Καισάρα τῶν ἀπε-
λευθέρων μεταβαλομένου καὶ κατοικήσαντος
ὑστεροῦν ἐν Κορίνθῳ.

LXVIII. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τὰ κατὰ τὸν 'Αντω-
νίουν. ἐν 'Ακτίῳ δὲ πολὺν ὁ στόλος ἀντισχῶν
Καίσαρι χρόνον, καὶ μέγιστον βλαβεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ
κλούδωνος ὕψηλοι κατὰ πρώραν ἰσταμένου, μόλις
ὁρας δεκάτης ἀπείπε. καὶ νεκροὶ μὲν οὖ πλείους
ἐγένοντο πεντακισχίλιοι, ἐάλωσαν δὲ τριακόσιαι
2 νῆσες, ὃς αὐτὸς ἄνεγραψε Καίσαρ. ἦσθοντο δὲ
οὗ πολλοὶ πεφευγότος 'Αντωνίου, καὶ τοὺς πυθο-
μένους τὸ πρῶτον ἀπιστοὺς ἦν ὁ λόγος, εἰ δέκα καὶ
ἐννέα τάγματα πεζῶν ἀμφότεροι καὶ δισχιλίων
ἐπὶ μυρίων ἵππων ἀπολίποι σκέταται, καθάπερ
οὗ πολλάκις ἐπὶ ἀμφότερα τῇ τυχῇ κεχρημένος
οὐδὲ μυρίων ἄγωνων καὶ πολέμων μεταβολαῖς
3 ἐγγεγυμνασμένος. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται καὶ πόθον
τινὰ καὶ προσδοκίαν εἶχον ὡς αὐτίκα ποθὲν
ἐπιφανεσθομένου καὶ τοσαῦτην ἐπεδείχατον
πίστιν καὶ ἁρετὴν ὡς τῇ φυγὴς αὐτοῦ
φανερᾶς γενομένης ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τὰ συμμείναι, περιο-
ρώντες ἐπιπρεπὲις ἐμφύουμενος αὐτοῖς Καίσαρα.

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dὲ, τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Καιλίδου νῦκτωρ ἀποδράντος
καὶ καταλιπόντος τὸ στρατόπεδον, γενόμενοι πάν-
των ἔρημοι καὶ προδοθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἄρχοντων,
tῷ κρατοῦντι προσεχόρησαν.

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and were in tears, but he comforted them and be-
sought them with great kindness and affection, and
finally sent them away, after writing to Theophilus,
his steward in Corinth, that he should keep the men
in safe hiding until they could make their peace with
Caesar. This Theophilus was the father of Hippar-
chus, who had the greatest influence with Antony,
was the first of Antony's freedmen to go over to
Caesar, and afterwards lived in Corinth.

LXVIII. This, then, was the situation of Antony.
But at Actium his fleet held out for a long time
against Caesar, and only after it had been most
severely damaged by the high sea which rose against
it did it reluctantly, and at the tenth hour, give up
the struggle. There were not more than five thousand
dead, but three hundred ships were captured, as
Caesar himself has written. Only a few were aware
that Antony had fled, and to those who heard of it
the story was at first an incredible one, that he had
gone off and left nineteen legions of undefeated
men-at-arms and twelve thousand horsemen, as if he
had not many times experienced both kinds of for-
tune and were not exercised by the reverses of
countless wars and fightings. His soldiers, too, had
a great longing for him, and expected that he would
presently make his appearance from some quarter or
other; and they displayed so much fidelity and
bravery that even after his flight had become evident
they held together for seven days, paying no heed to
the messages which Caesar sent them. But at last,
after Canidius their general had run away by night
and forsaken the camp, being now destitute of all
things and betrayed by their commanders, they went
over to the conqueror.
'Εκ τούτου Καίσαρ μὲν ἐπ’ Ἀθήνας ἔπλευσε, καὶ διαλλαγεῖς τοὺς Ἐλληνικὸν περιόντα σίτου ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου διένεμε ταῖς πόλεσι πραττούσαις ἀθλίως καὶ περικεκομμέναις χρημάτων, ἀνδραπόδεων, ὑποζυγίων. ὁ γοῦν πρόπαππος ἡμῶν Νίκαρχος διηγεῖτο τοὺς πολίτας ἀπαντών ἀναγκάζεσθαι τοῖς ὦμοις καταφέρειν μέτρημα πυρῶν τεταγμένου ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς 'Αντίκυραν θάλασσαν, ὕπο μαστίγων ἐπιταχυνομένους· καὶ μίαν μὲν οὔτω φορὰν ἐνεγκείν, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν ἣδη μεμετρημένοι καὶ μέλλουσιν αἰρεσθαι νενικημένοιν 'Αντώνιον ἀγγελήναι, καὶ τοῦτο διασώσαι τὴν πόλιν εὐθὺς γὰρ τῶν 'Αντωνίου διοικητῶν καὶ στρατιωτῶν φυγόντων διανείμασθαι τὸν σίτου αὐτούς.

LXIX. 'Αντώνιος δὲ Λιβύης ἄφαμενος καὶ Κλεοπάτραν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐκ Παραιτονίου προπέμψας αὐτὸς ἀπέλαυεν ἐρημίας ἄφθονον, σὺν δυσὶ φίλοις ἀλῶν καὶ πλανώμενος Ἐλληνικὸν θεήτους ἀριστοκράτεις ῥητορικὸς, Ρωμαίων δὲ Λουκιλλίῳ, περὶ οὐ δὲ 'ετέρων γεγράφαμεν ὡς ἐν Φιλίπποισιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ διαφυγεῖν Βρούτον, αὐτὸς αὐτὸν, ὡς δὲ Βρούτος ὄν, ἐνεχείρισε τοῖς διώκοσι, καὶ διασωθεὶς ὑπ’ 'Αντωνίου διὰ τούτο, πιστὸς αὐτῷ καὶ βέβαιος ἀχρὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων καπρῶν παρέμεινεν. 2 ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν Λιβύῃ δύναμιν ὁ πεπιστευμένος ἀπέστησεν, ὀμησίας ἐαυτῶν ἀνελεῖν καὶ διακωλύθης ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων καὶ κομισθής εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν εὑρεῖ Κλεοπάτραν ἐπιτολμώσαν

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In consequence of this, Caesar sailed to Athens, and after making a settlement with the Greeks, he distributed the grain which remained over after the war among their cities; these were in a wretched plight, and had been stripped of money, slaves, and beasts of burden. At any rate, my great-grandfather Nicarchus used to tell how all his fellow-citizens were compelled to carry on their shoulders a stipulated measure of wheat down to the sea at Anticyra, and how their pace was quickened by the whip; they had carried one load in this way, he said, the second was already measured out, and they were just about to set forth, when word was brought that Antony had been defeated, and this was the salvation of the city; for immediately the stewards and soldiers of Antony took to flight, and the citizens divided the grain among themselves.

LXIX. After Antony had reached the coast of Libya and sent Cleopatra forward into Egypt from Paraetonium, he had the benefit of solitude without end, roaming and wandering about with two friends, one a Greek, Aristocrates a rhetorician, and the other a Roman, Lucilius, about whom I have told a story elsewhere.1 He was at Philippi, and in order that Brutus might make his escape, pretended to be Brutus and surrendered himself to his pursuers. His life was spared by Antony on this account, and he remained faithful to him and steadfast up to the last crucial times. When the general to whom his forces in Libya had been entrusted brought about their defection, Antony tried to kill himself, but was prevented by his friends and brought to Alexandria. Here he found Cleopatra venturing upon a hazardous

1 See the Brutus, chapter 1.
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ἐργὼ παραβόλω καὶ μεγάλῳ. τοῦ γὰρ εἰργοντος ἱσθμοῦ τὴν ἐρυθρὰν ἀπὸ τῆς κατ’ Ἀξυπτον θαλάσσης καὶ δοκοῦντος Ἀσίαν καὶ Διβύην ὀρίζειν, ἢ σφιγγεται μάλιστα τοῖς πελάγεσι καὶ βραχύτατος εὔρος ἔστι, τριακοσίων σταδίων ὄντων,

3 ἐνεχείρησεν ἁρασα τὸν στόλον ὑπερνεολκῆσαι, καὶ καθεῖσα τὰς ναύς εἰς τὸν ’Αραβικὸν κόλπον μετὰ χρημάτων πολλῶν καὶ δυνάμεως ἔξω κατοικείν, ἀποφυγοῦσα δουλείαν καὶ πόλεμον. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰς πρώτας ἀνελκομένας τῶν νέων οἱ περὶ τὴν Πέτραν ’Αραβεῖς κατέκαυσαν, ἐτεὶ δὲ ’Αντώνιος τὸν ἐν ’Ακτίῳ στρατὸν ἄγετο συμμένειν, ἐπαύσατο,

4 καὶ τὰς ἐμβολὰς ἐφύλαττεν. ’Αντώνιος δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπὼν καὶ τὰς μετὰ τῶν φίλων διατριβάς, οἴκησιν ἑναλον κατεσκεύαζεν αὐτῷ περὶ τὴν Φάρου, εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν χώμα προβαλών· καὶ διήγεν αὐτόθι φυγὰς ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τὸν Τίμωνος ἀγαπᾶν καὶ ξηλοῦν βίον ἐφασκεν, ὡς δὴ πεπονθὼς ὄμοια· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἄδικηθεὶς ὑπὸ φίλων καὶ ἀχαριστηθείς, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀπιστείν καὶ δυσχεραίνειν.

LXX. Ὅ δὲ Τίμων ᾧ ’Αθηναίος, καὶ οὕγον ἡλικία μάλιστα κατὰ τὸν Πελοποννησιακὸν πόλεμον, ὡς ἐκ τῶν ’Αριστοφάνους καὶ Πλάτωνος δραμάτων λαβεῖν ἔστι. κωμῳδεῖται γὰρ ἐν ἐκεῖνοι ὡς δυσμενῆς καὶ μισάνθρωπος· ἐκκλίνων δὲ καὶ διωθούμενοι ἀπασαν ἐντευξίν, Ἀλκιβιάδην, νέον δντα καὶ θραυσύς, ἦσταξετο καὶ κατεφίλει προθύμως. Ἀπημάντου δὲ θαυμάσαντος καὶ πυ-
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and great undertaking. The isthmus, namely, which separates the Red Sea\(^1\) from the Mediterranean Sea off Egypt and is considered to be the boundary between Asia and Libya, in the part where it is most constricted by the two seas and has the least width, measures three hundred furlongs. Here Cleopatra undertook to raise her fleet out of water and drag the ships across, and after launching them in the Arabian Gulf\(^1\) with much money and a large force, to settle in parts outside of Egypt, thus escaping war and servitude. But since the Arabians about Petra burned the first ships that were drawn up, and Antony still thought that his land forces at Actium were holding together, she desisted, and guarded the approaches to the country. And now Antony forsook the city and the society of his friends, and built for himself a dwelling in the sea at Pharos, by throwing a mole out into the water. Here he lived an exile from men, and declared that he was contentedly imitating the life of Timon, since, indeed, his experiences had been like Timon’s; for he himself also had been wronged and treated with ingratitude by his friends, and therefore hated and distrusted all mankind.

LXX. Now, Timon was an Athenian, and lived about the time of the Peloponnesian War, as may be gathered from the plays of Aristophanes and Plato. For he is represented in their comedies as peevish and misanthropical; but though he avoided and repelled all intercourse with men, he was glad to see Alcibiades, who was then young and headstrong, and showered kisses upon him. And when Apemantus

\(^1\) By Red Sea Plutarch here means the upper part of the Arabian Gulf.
θομένου τὴν αἰτίαν, φιλεῖν ἐφη τὸν νεανίσκον εἰδῶς ὅτι πολλῶν Ἀθηναίων κακῶν αἰτίος ἐσοτερ. 2 τὸν δὲ Ἀπήμαντον μόνον ὡς ὁμοίον αὐτῷ καὶ ζηλοῦντα τὴν δίαιταν ἐστὶν ὅτε προσέτοι καὶ ποτὲ τῆς τῶν Χοῦν οὔσης ἑορτῆς εἰστιῶντο καθ’ αὐτοὺς οἱ δύο, τοῦ δ’ Ὁπημάντου φήσαντος, "Ὡς καλόν, ὁ Τίμων, τὸ συμπόσιον ἡμῶν," "Εἴγε σὺ," ἐφη, "μὴ παρῆς." λέγεται δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἐκκλησιαζόντων ἀναβὰς ἔπι τὸ βῆμα ποιήσατι σιωπῆν καὶ προσδοκίαν μεγάλην διὰ τὸ παρά-
3 δοξὸν εἶτα εἴπειν. "Ἐστί μοι μικρὸν οἰκόπεδον, 949 ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, καὶ συκῆ τις ἐν αὐτῷ πέ-
φυκεν, ἐκ δὲ ἧδη συχνὸι τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπήγκασαν. μέλλων οὖν οἰκοδομεῖν τὸν τόπον ἐβουλῆθην ἰδιοσία προετείν, ἵνα, ἄν ἄρα τινὲς ἑθέλωσιν ὑμῶν, πρὶν ἐκκοπῆι τὴν συκῆν, ἀπάγξωνται." τελευτῆσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ταφέντος Ἀλήσι παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ὄλισθε τὰ προὔχοντα τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ, καὶ τὸ κύμα περιελθὼν ἄβατον καὶ ἀπροσπέλαστον ἅθρωπῳ πεποίηκε τὸν τάφον.
4 ἦν δὲ ἐπιγεγραμμένον:

ἐνθάδ’ ἀπορρήξας ψυχὴν βαρυδαίμονα κεῖμαι.
τούμορα δ’ οὐ πεύσεσθε, κακοὶ δὲ κακῶς ἀπό-
λοισθε.

καὶ τούτο μὲν αὐτὸν ἐτὶ ζῶντα πεποιηκέναι

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was amazed at this and asked the reason for it, Timon said he loved the youth because he knew that he would be a cause of many ills to Athens. This Apemantus alone of all men Timon would sometimes admit into his company, since Apemantus was like him and tried sometimes to imitate his mode of life; and once, at the festival of The Pitchers, the two were feasting by themselves, and Apemantus said: "Timon, what a fine symposium ours is!" "It would be," said Timon, "if thou wert not here." We are told also that once when the Athenians were holding an assembly, he ascended the bema, and the strangeness of the thing caused deep silence and great expectancy; then he said: "I have a small building lot, men of Athens, and a fig-tree is growing in it, from which many of my fellow citizens have already hanged themselves. Accordingly, as I intend to build a house there, I wanted to give public notice to that effect, in order that all of you who desire to do so may hang yourselves before the fig-tree is cut down." After he had died and been buried at Halae near the sea, the shore in front of the tomb slipped away, and the water surrounded it and made it completely inaccessible to man. The inscription on the tomb was:

"Here, after snapping the thread of a wretched life,
I lie.
Ye shall not learn my name, but my curses shall follow you."

This inscription he is said to have composed

1 _Choes-day_, the second day of the great festival in honour of Dionysus called Anthesteria. It was a day of libations to the dead.
Τίμων μισάνθρωπος ἐνοικέω. ἀλλὰ πάρελθε, οἰμώξειν εἴπας πολλὰ πάρελθε μόνον.

LXXI. Ταύτα μὲν περὶ Τίμωνος ἀπὸ πολλῶν ὀλίγα. τῷ δὲ Ἀντωνίῳ Κανίδιος τε τῆς ἀποβολῆς τῶν ἐν Ἀκτίφ δυνάμεων αὐτάγγελος ἦλθε, καὶ τοῦ Ἰουδαίου Ἡρώδην ἔχοντά τινα τάγματα καὶ σπείρας ἤκουσε Καίσαρι προσκεκχωρηκέναι, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὀμοίως δυνάστας ἀφίστασθαι καὶ 2 μὴν ἔτι παρεμένειν τῶν ἐκτός. οὐ μὴν διετάραξέ τι τούτων αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ ὥσπερ ἄσμενος τὸ ἐλπίζειν ἀποτεθειμένος, ὑπὸ καὶ τὸ φροντίζειν, τὴν μὲν ἐναλον ἐκείνην δίαιταν, ἂν Τιμώνειον ὀνόμαζεν, ἐξέλιπεν, ἀναληφθείς δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας εἰς τὰ βασίλεια πρὸς δεῖπνα καὶ πόλεως καὶ διανομᾶς ἔτρεψε τὴν πόλιν, ἐγγράφως μὲν εἰς ἐφήβους τὸν Κλεοπάτρας παῖδα καὶ Καίσαρος, 3 τὸ δὲ ἀπόρρυψον καὶ τέλειον ἴμάτιον Ἀντύλλορ τῷ ἐκ Φουλβίας περιτιθείς, ἐφ’ οἷς ἦμερας πολλὰς συμπόσια καὶ κώμοι καὶ θαλάς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν κατείχον. αὐτοὶ δὲ τὴν μὲν τῶν ἀρμηνευτικῶν ἐκείνην σύνοδον κατέλυσαν, ἐτέραν δὲ συνέταξαν οὔδεν τι λειτουρμένην ἐκείνης ἀβρότητι καὶ τρυφαῖς καὶ πολυτελείαις, ἂς συναποθαυματικῶς ἔκάλουν. ἀπεγράφωνο γὰρ οἱ φίλοι συναποθαυμασμένους ἐαυτούς, καὶ δἰηγοῦν εὐπαθοῦντες 4 ἐν δείπνων περιόδοις. Κλεοπάτρα δὲ φαρ-
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himself, but that in general circulation is by Callimachus:

"Timon, hater of men, dwells here; so pass along; Heap many curses on me, if thou wilt, only pass along."

LXXI. These are a few things out of many concerning Timon. As for Antony, Canidius in person brought him word of the loss of his forces at Actium, and he heard that Herod the Jew, with sundry legions and cohorts, had gone over to Caesar, and that the other dynasts in like manner were deserting him and nothing longer remained of his power outside of Egypt. However, none of these things greatly disturbed him, but, as if he gladly laid aside his hopes, that so he might lay aside his anxieties also, he forsook that dwelling of his in the sea, which he called Timoneum, and after he had been received into the palace by Cleopatra, turned the city to the enjoyment of suppers and drinking-bouts and distributions of gifts, inscribing in the list of ephebi the son of Cleopatra and Caesar, and bestowing upon Antyllus the son of Fulvia the toga virilis without purple hem, in celebration of which, for many days, banquets and revels and feastings occupied Alexandria. Cleopatra and Antony now dissolved their famous society of Inimitable Livers, and founded another, not at all inferior to that in daintiness and luxury and extravagant outlay, which they called the society of Partners in Death. For their friends enrolled themselves as those who would die together, and passed the time delightfully in a round of suppers. Moreover, Cleopatra was getting together collections

1 See the note on lxii. 1. Caesarion was to be educated as a Greek, Antyllus as a Roman. 2 Cf. chapter xxviii. 2.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ

μάκων θανασίμων συνήγε παντοδαπας δυνάμεις, οὔν έκάστης τό άνωδυνον ἑλέγχουσα προβάλλε
tοίς ἐπὶ θανάτῳ φρουρουμένοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐώρα
tάς μὲν ὠκυμόρους τήν ἀξύτητα τοῦ θανάτου δι’
όδύνης ἐπιφερούσας, τάς δὲ πραστέρας τάχος οὐκ
ἐχούσας, τῶν θηρίων ἀπεπειράτο, θεωμένης αὐτής
5 ἐτερον ἐτέρῳ προσφερόμενων. ἐποίει δὲ τούτο
καθ’ ἡμέραν καὶ σχεδὸν ἐν πάσι μόνον εὐρίσκε
τὸ δήμα τῆς ἀσπίδος ἄνευ σπασμοῦ καὶ στενα-
γμοῦ κάρον ὑπνώδη καὶ καταφρόν ἐφελκόμενον,
ἰδρόντι μαλακῷ τοῦ προσώπου, καὶ τῶν αἰσθη-
τηρίων ἀμαυρώσει παραλυμένων ραδίως καὶ
dυσχεραινότων πρὸς τὰς ἐξεγέρσεις καὶ ἀνακλί-
σεις, ἄστεροι οἱ βαθεῖσι καθεύδοντες.

LXXII. 'Αμα δὲ καὶ πρὸς Καίσαρα πρέσβεις
ἔπεμπον. εἰς Ἀσίαν, ἢ μὲν αὐτομένη τὴν ἐν
Αἰγύπτῳ τοῖς παισίν ἀρχήν, ἢ δὲ ἄξιὼν Ἀθήνησιν,
εἰ μὴ δοκοὶ περὶ Αἰγύπτου, ἰδιώτης καταβιώναι.
φίλων δὲ ἀπορία καὶ ἅπιστία διὰ τὰς αὐτομολίας
ὁ τῶν παιδῶν διδάσκαλος ἐπέμφθη πρεσβεύον

2 Εὐφρόνιος. καὶ γὰρ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Λαοδίκειος, γνω-
ρισθεὶς μὲν ἐν Ῥώμῃ διά Τιμαγένους καὶ πλείστουν
Ἐλλήνων δυνηθείς, γενόμενος δὲ τῶν Κλεοπάτρας
ἐπ’ Ἀντώνων ὁργάνω τὸ βιαστάτου καὶ τῶν
ὑπὲρ Ὀκταούνιας ἱσταμένων ἐν αὐτῷ λογισμῶν
ἀνατροπευτικός, ἐπέμφθη μὲν Ἡρώδη τὸν βασιλέα
950 τῆς μεταβολῆς ἐφέξων, αὐτοῦ δὲ καταμείνας καὶ
προδοὺς Ἀντώνων ἐτόλμησεν εἰς ὅψιν ἐξείρην
Καίσαρος, Ἡρώδη πεποίθως. ὄνησε δὲ αὐτὸν
οὐδὲν Ἡρώδης, ἀλλ’ εὐθὺς εἰρχθεῖς καὶ κομισθεῖς

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of all sorts of deadly poisons, and she tested the painless working of each of them by giving them to prisoners under sentence of death. But when she saw that the speedy poisons enhanced the sharpness of death by the pain they caused, while the milder poisons were not quick, she made trial of venomous animals, watching with her own eyes as they were set one upon another. She did this daily, and tried them almost all; and she found that the bite of the asp alone induced a sleepy torpor and sinking, where there was no spasm or groan, but a gentle perspiration on the face, while the perceptive faculties were easily relaxed and dimmed, and resisted all attempts to rouse and restore them, as is the case with those who are soundly asleep.

LXXII. At the same time they also sent an embassy to Caesar in Asia, Cleopatra asking the realm of Egypt for her children, and Antony requesting that he might live as a private person at Athens, if he could not do so in Egypt. But owing to their lack of friends and the distrust which they felt on account of desertions, Euphronius, the teacher of the children, was sent on the embassy. For Alexas the Laodicean, who had been made known to Antony in Rome through Timagenes and had more influence with him than any other Greek, who had also been Cleopatra's most effective instrument against Antony and had overthrown the considerations arising in his mind in favour of Octavia, had been sent to keep Herod the king from apostasy; but after remaining there and betraying Antony he had the audacity to come into Caesar's presence, relying on Herod. Herod, however, could not help him, but the traitor was at once confined and carried in fetters to his own
εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα δέσμιος ἔκει Καίσαρος κελαύσαντος ἀνηρέθη. τοιαύτην μὲν Ἀλεξάς ἔτι ξώντει δίκην Ἀντωνίῳ τῆς ἀπιστίας ἐξέτισε.

LXXIII. Καίσαρ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ὑπὲρ Ἀντωνίου λόγους οὐκ ἠνέσχητο. Κλεοπάτραν δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο μηδενὸς ἀμαρτήσεσθαι τῶν ἐπιεικῶν ἀνελοῦσαν Ἀντώνιον ἡ ἐκβαλοῦσα. συνέπεμψε δὲ καὶ παρὶ αὐτοῦ τινά τῶν ἀπελευθέρων Θύρσων, οὐκ ἀνόητον ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ ἀπιθάνως ἄν ἂρ' ἡγεμόνος νέου διαλεχθέντα πρὸς γυναῖκα σοβαράν καὶ θαυμαστῶν ὅσον ἔπι κάλλει φρονοῦσαν.

2 οὖτος ἐνυγχάνων αὐτῇ μακρότερα τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τιμώμενος διαφερόντως ὑπόνοιαν τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ παρέσχε, καὶ συλλαβῶν αὐτὸν ἐμαστύγωσεν, εἰτὰ ἄφηκε πρὸς Καίσαρα γράψας ὡς ἐντυφων καὶ περιφρονῶν παροξύνειν αὐτὸν, εὑπαρόξυντων ὑπὸ κακῶν ὄντα. "Σὺ δὲ εἰ μὴ φέρεις τὸ πράγμα," ἔφη, "μετρίως, ἔχεις ἐμὸν ἀπελευθέρων Ἰππαρχοῦ. τούτου κρεμάσας μαστύγωσον, ἵνα ἴσον ἔχωμεν."

3 ἐκ τούτου Κλεοπάτρα μὲν ἀπολυμομένη τὰς αἰτίας καὶ ὑπόνοιας ἐθεράπευσεν αὐτὸν περιττῶς καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῆς γενέθλιον ταπεινῶς διαγαγοῦσα καὶ ταῖς τύχαις πρεπόντως, τὴν ἑκείνου πᾶσαν ὑπερβαλλομένη λαμπρότητα καὶ πολυτέλειαν ἐώρησεν, ὥστε πολλοὺς τῶν κεκλημένων ἐπὶ τὸ δείπνου πένητας ἐλθόντας ἀπελθεῖν πλουσίους. Καίσαρα δὲ Ἀγρίππας ἄνεκαλεῖτο πολλάκις ἀπὸ Ῥώμης γράψων ὡς τῶν ἐκεῖ πραγμάτων τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ ποθοῦντων.

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country, where he was put to death by Caesar's orders. Such was the penalty for his treachery which Alexas paid to Antony while Antony was yet alive.

LXXIII. Caesar would not listen to the proposals for Antony, but he sent back word to Cleopatra that she would receive all reasonable treatment if she either put Antony to death or cast him out. He also sent with the messengers one of his own freedmen, Thyrsus, a man of no mean parts, and one who would persuasively convey messages from a young general to a woman who was haughty and astonishingly proud in the matter of beauty. This man had longer interviews with Cleopatra than the rest, and was conspicuously honoured by her, so that he roused suspicion in Antony, who seized him and gave him a flogging, and then sent him back to Caesar with a written message stating that Thyrsus, by his insolent and haughty airs, had irritated him, at a time when misfortunes made him easily irritated. “But if thou dost not like the thing,” he said, “thou hast my freedman Hipparchus; hang him up and give him a flogging, and we shall be quits.” After this, Cleopatra tried to dissipate his causes of complaint and his suspicions by paying extravagant court to him; her own birthday she kept modestly and in a manner becoming to her circumstances, but she celebrated his with an excess of all kinds of splendour and costliness, so that many of those who were bidden to the supper came poor and went away rich. Meanwhile Caesar was being called home by Agrippa, who frequently wrote him from Rome that matters there greatly needed his presence.

1 See chapter lxvii. 7.
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

LXXIV. Ἑσσχεν οὖν ἀναβολὴν ὁ πόλεμος τότε τοῦ δὲ χειμώνος παρελθόντος αὐθίς ἐπῆει διὰ Συρίας, ὥστε δὲ στρατηγοὶ διὰ Λιβύης. ἅλωτος δὲ Πηλουσίου λόγος ἦν ἐνδοῦνια Σέλευκον οὐκ ἄκουσά τῆς Κλεοπάτρας. ἢ δὲ ἐκείνον μὲν γυναίκα καὶ παῖδας Ἀντωνίῳ κτείναι παρεῖχεν, αὐτὴ δὲ θήκας ἔχουσα καὶ μνήματα κατεσκευασμένα περιττῶς εἰς τε κάλλος καὶ ύψος, ἃ 2 προσφοροδόμησε τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ἰσίδου, ἐνταῦθα τῶν βασιλικῶν συνεφόρει τὰ πλείστης ἀξίας σπουδῆς, χρυσόν, ἀργυρὸν, σμάραγδον, μαργαρίτην, ἐβενόν, ἐλέφαντα, κινάμωμον ἕπτα πᾶσι δὲ δάδα πολλήν καὶ στυππέιον, ὡστε δεῖσαντα περὶ τῶν χρημάτων Καίσαρα, μὴ τραπομενὴ πρὸς ἀπόγυωσιν ἡ γυνὴ διαφθείρῃ καὶ καταφλέξῃ τὸν πλοῦτον, ἂν τινας ἐλπίδας αὐτῇ φιλανθρώπους προσπέμπει ἀμα τῷ στρατῷ πορευόμενον ἐπὶ τὴν
3 πόλιν. ἰδρυθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸν ἰππόδρομον, Ἀντώνιος ἐπεξελθὼν ἠγωνίζατο λαμπρῶς καὶ τροπὴ τῶν Καίσαρος ἰππέων ἐποίησε, καὶ κατεδώξεν ἄχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου. μεγαλυνόμενος δὲ τῇ νίκῃ παρῆλθεν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια, καὶ τὴν Κλεοπάτραν κατεφίλησεν ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς, καὶ τῶν ἡγουσιμένων προθυμότατοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν συνέστησεν. ἢ δὲ ἀριστεῖον αὐτῷ θόρακα χρυσόν καὶ κράνος ἔδωκεν. ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν ὁ ἀνθρωπός λαβὼν ταῦτα διὰ νυκτὸς ἡτομολόησε πρὸς Καίσαρα.

LXXV. Πάλιν δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐπεμπε Καίσαρα μονομαχῆσαι προκαλοῦμενος. ἀποκριναμένου δὲ ἐκείνου πολλάς ὀδοὺς Ἀντωνίῳ παρεῖναι θανάτων,
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LXXIV. Accordingly, the war was suspended for the time being; but when the winter was over, Caesar again marched against his enemy through Syria, and his generals through Libya. When Pelusium was taken there was a rumour that Seleucus had given it up, and not without the consent of Cleopatra; but Cleopatra allowed Antony to put to death the wife and children of Seleucus, and she herself, now that she had a tomb and monument built surpassingly lofty and beautiful, which she had erected near the temple of Isis, collected there the most valuable of the royal treasures, gold, silver, emeralds, pearls, ebony, ivory, and cinnamon; and besides all this she put there great quantities of torch-wood and tow, so that Caesar was anxious about the treasure, and fearing lest the woman might become desperate and burn up and destroy this wealth, kept sending on to her vague hopes of kindly treatment from him, at the same time that he advanced with his army against the city. But when Caesar had taken up position near the hippodrome, Antony sallied forth against him and fought brilliantly and routed his cavalry, and pursued them as far as their camp. Then, exalted by his victory, he went into the palace, kissed Cleopatra, all armed as he was, and presented to her the one of his soldiers who had fought most spiritedly. Cleopatra gave the man as a reward of valour a golden breastplate and a helmet. The man took them, of course,—and in the night deserted to Caesar.

LXXV. And now Antony once more sent Caesar a challenge to single combat. But Caesar answered that Antony had many ways of dying. Then Antony,

1 Cf. chapter lxii. 3.
συμφρονήσας ὅτι τοῦ διὰ μάχης οὐκ ἦστιν αὐτῷ βελτίων θάνατος, ἐγνω καὶ κατὰ γῆν ἀμα καὶ θάλατταν ἐπιχειρεῖν. καὶ παρὰ δεῖπνον, ὡς λέγεται, τοὺς οἰκέτας ἐκέλευσεν ὑποχεῖν καὶ 2 προδυμότερον εὐωχεῖν αὐτῶν· ἄδηλον γὰρ, εἰ τούτῳ ποιήσομιν αὐριοῦ ἢ δεσπόταις ἐτέροις ὑπηρετήσουσιν, αὐτῶς δὲ κεῖσται σκελετὸς καὶ τὸ μηδὲν γενόμενος. τοὺς δὲ φίλους ἐπὶ τούτοις δακρύοντας ὀρῶν ἔφη μὴ προάξεω ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην, ἔξ ἦς αὐτῷ θάνατον εὐκλεῖα μᾶλλον ἢ σωτηρίαν ζητεῖν καὶ νίκην.

3 Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ λέγεται, μεσούσης σχεδόν, 951 ἐν ἒσχα καὶ κατηφεία τῆς πόλεως διὰ φόβον καὶ προσδοκίαν τοῦ μέλλοντος οὔσης, αἰφνίδιον ὄργανον τε παντοδαπῶν ἐμμελείς τινας φωνὰς ἀκούσθηναι καὶ βοήν ὥχλον μετὰ εὐασμῶν καὶ πηδήσεων σατυρικῶν, ῥοπερ θιάσον τινὸς οὐκ

4 ἄθορυβως ἐξελαύνοντος· εἶναι δὲ τὴν ὀρμὴν ὅμοι τι διὰ τῆς πόλεως μέσης ἐπὶ τὴν πύλην ἐξ ἐκ τῆς τετραμμένην πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ ταύτῃ τὸν ἄθορυβον ἐκπεσεῖν πλείστον γενόμενον. ἑδοκεῖ δὲ τοῖς ἀναλογιζόμενοι τὸ σημεῖον ἀπολείπειν ὁ θεὸς 'Αὐτώνον, ὃ μάλιστα συνεξομοιῶν καὶ συνοικεῖον ἐαυτὸν διετέλεσεν.

LXXVI. "Αμα δὲ ἦμερα τὸν πεζὸν αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῶν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως λόφων ἱδρύσας ἔθεατο τὰς νὰς ἀνηγμένας καὶ ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων προσφερομένας· καὶ περιμένων ἐργὸν τί παρ’ ἐκείνων ἴδειν ἡσύχαζεν. οἱ δὲ ὡς εὐγήθυς ἐγένοντο, ταῖς κάπαις 308
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conscious that there was no better death for him than that by battle, determined to attack by land and sea at once. And at supper, we are told, he bade the slaves pour out for him and feast him more generously; for it was uncertain, he said, whether they would be doing this on the morrow, or whether they would be serving other masters, while he himself would be lying dead, a mummy and a nothing. Then, seeing that his friends were weeping at these words, he declared that he would not lead them out to battle, since from it he sought an honourable death for himself rather than safety and victory.

During this night, it is said, about the middle of it, while the city was quiet and depressed through fear and expectation of what was coming, suddenly certain harmonious sounds from all sorts of instruments were heard, and the shouting of a throng, accompanied by cries of Bacchic revelry and satyric leapings, as if a troop of revellers, making a great tumult, were going forth from the city; and their course seemed to lie about through the middle of the city toward the outer gate which faced the enemy, at which point the tumult became loudest and then dashed out. Those who sought the meaning of the sign were of the opinion that the god to whom Antony always most likened and attached himself was now deserting him.

LXXVI. At daybreak,¹ Antony in person posted his infantry on the hills in front of the city, and watched his ships as they put out and attacked those of the enemy; and as he expected to see something great accomplished by them, he remained quiet. But the crews of his ships, as soon as they were near,

¹ Aug. 1, 30 B.C.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΥ, ἐκεῖνων τε ἀντασπασμένων μετεβάλλοντο, καὶ πάσας ἀμα ταῖς ναυσὶν ὁ στόλος εἰς γενόμενος ἔπεπλει πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἀντίπροφος. τοῦτο Ἀντώνιος ἰδὼν ἀπελείφθη μὲν εὐθὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ἵππων μεταβαλλομένων, ἡττηθεὶς δὲ τοῖς πεζοῖς ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ὑπὸ Κλεοπάτρας προδεδόσθαι βοῶν ὅσ δὲ ἐκεῖνη ἐπολέμησεν. ἡ δὲ τὴν ὀργὴν αὐτοῦ φοβηθεὶσα καὶ τὴν ἀπόνοιαν εἰς τὸν τάφον κατέφυγε καὶ τοὺς καταρράκτας ἀφῆκε κλείθροι καὶ μοχλοῖς καρτεροὺς ὄντας πρὸς δὲ Ἀντώνιον ἔπεμψε τοὺς ἀπαγγελοῦντας ὅτι τέθυκε. πιστεύσας δὲ ἐκείνους καὶ εἴπον πρὸς αὐτὸν, "Τί ἔτι μέλλεις, Ἀντώνιε; τὴν μόνην ἢ τύχη καὶ λουπὴν ἀφήρηκε τοῦ φιλοψυχεῖν πρόφασιν," εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον, καὶ τὸν θώρακα παραλύων καὶ διαστέλλων, "Ὡς Κλεοπάτρα," εἶπεν, "οὐκ ἀχθομαί σου στερούμενος. αὐτίκα γὰρ εἰς ταῦτον ἀφίξομαι ἀλλ' ὅτι γυναικὸς ὁ τηλικοῦτος αὐτοκράτωρ εὐψυχία πεφώραμαι λειπόμενος." Ην δὲ τις οἰκέτης αὐτοῦ πιστὸς Ἕρως ὄνομα. τοῦτον ἐκ πολλῶν παρακληκών, εἰ δεήσειν, ἀνελεῖν αὐτοῦ, ἀπῆτε τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν. ὁ δὲ σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος ἀνέσχε μὲν ὡς παίσων ἐκεῖνον, ἀποστρέψας δὲ τὸ πρὸσωπον ἐαυτοῦ ἀπέκτεινε. πεσόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς πόδας ὁ Ἀντώνιος "Εὐχαί, εἶπεν, "ὡς Ἕρως, ὅτι μὴ δυνηθείς αὐτὸς ἐμὲ ποιεῖν ὁ δεῖ διδάσκεις," καὶ παίσας διὰ τῆς κουλίας ἐαυτὸν ἀφῆκεν εἰς τὸ κλινίδιον. ἦν δὲ οὐκ εὐθυθάνατος ἢ πληγή. διὸ καὶ τῆς φορᾶς τοῦ αἵματος, ἔπει κατεκλίθη, παυσαμένης,
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saluted Caesar’s crews with their oars, and on their returning the salute changed sides, and so all the ships, now united into one fleet, sailed up towards the city prows on. No sooner had Antony seen this than he was deserted by his cavalry, which went over to the enemy, and after being defeated with his infantry he retired into the city, crying out that he had been betrayed by Cleopatra to those with whom he waged war for her sake. But she, fearing his anger and his madness, fled for refuge into her tomb and let fall the drop-doors, which were made strong with bolts and bars; then she sent messengers to tell Antony that she was dead. Antony believed the message, and saying to himself, “Why dost thou longer delay, Antony? Fortune has taken away thy sole remaining excuse for clinging to life,” he went into his chamber. Here, as he unfastened his breast-plate and laid it aside, he said; “O Cleopatra, I am not grieved to be bereft of thee, for I shall straightway join thee; but I am grieved that such an imperator as I am has been found to be inferior to a woman in courage.”

Now, Antony had a trusty slave named Eros. Him Antony had long before engaged, in case of need, to kill him, and now demanded the fulfilment of his promise. So Eros drew his sword and held it up as though he would smite his master, but then turned his face away and slew himself. And as he fell at his master’s feet Antony said: “Well done, Eros! though thou wast not able to do it thyself, thou teachest me what I must do”; and running himself through the belly he dropped upon the couch. But the wound did not bring a speedy death. Therefore, as the blood ceased flowing after he had lain down, he
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ἀναλαβὼν ἐδείτο τῶν παρόντων ἐπισφάττειν αὐτόν. οἱ δὲ ἐφευγοῦν ἐκ τοῦ δωματίου βοῶντος καὶ σφαδάζοντος, ἀχρὶ οὗ παρὰ Κλεοπάτρας ἦκε Διομήδης ὁ γραμματεύς, κομίζειν αὐτὸν ὡς ἐκείνην εἰς τὸν τάφον κελευσθεῖσ.

LXXVII. Γρούσ οὖν ὅτι ξῆ, προθύμως ἐκελευσεν ἀρασθαί τοὺς ὑπηρέτας τὸ σῶμα, καὶ διὰ χειρῶν προσεκομίσθη ταῖς θύραις τοῦ οἰκήματος. ἡ δὲ Κλεοπάτρα τὰς μὲν θύρας οὐκ ἄνεφξεν, ἐκ δὲ θυρίδων τινῶν φανεῖσα σειρὰς καὶ καλώδια καθιέ. καὶ τούτους ἑνάψαντων τὸν 'Αντώνιον ἀνείλκεν αὐτὴ καὶ δύο γυναῖκες, ἃς μόνος ἐδέξατο 2 μεθ' αὐτῆς εἰς τὸν τάφον. οὐδὲν ἐκείνου λέγονσιν οἰκτρότερον γενέσθαι οἱ παραγενομένοι θέαμα. πεφυμένους γὰρ αἴματι καὶ δυσθανατῶν ἐίλκετο, τὰς χεῖρας ὀρέγων εἰς ἐκείνην καὶ παραιωροῦμενος. οὐ γὰρ ἦν γυναικὶ βάδευν τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ μόλις ἡ Κλεοπάτρα ταῖν χεροῖν ἐμπεφυκυῖα καὶ κατατεινομένη τῷ προσώπῳ τὸν δεσμὸν ἀνελάμβανεν, ἐπικελευομένων τῶν κάτωθεν αὐτὴ καὶ 3 συναγωγιῶντων. δεξαμένη δὲ αὐτὸν ὀὖσας καὶ κατακλύσασα περιερρήξατο τοὺς πέπλους ἐπ' αὐτῷ, καὶ τὰ στέρνα τυπτομένη καὶ σπαράττουσα ταῖς χερσί, καὶ τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ αἵματος ἀναματτομένη, δεσπότην ἐκάλει καὶ ἄνδρα καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ· καὶ μικρὸν δεῖν ἐπιλέξαστο τῶν αὐτῆς κακῶν οἰκτῳ τῶν ἑκείνων. καταπαύσας δὲ τὸν θρήνουν αὐτῆς 'Αντώνιος ἤτησε πιεῖν οὐδὲν, εἴτε διψῶν, 4 εἴτε συντομοότερον ἐλπίζων ἀπολυθήσεσθαι. τιῶν δὲ παρῆνσεν αὐτῇ τὰ μὲν ἐαυτής, ἀν ἕ μη μετ' αἰσχύνης, σωτηρία τίθεσθαι, μάλιστα τῶν Καίσαρος ἑταίρων Προκλητῷ πιστεύουσαν, αὐτὸν 312
came to himself and besought the bystanders to give him the finishing stroke. But they fled from the chamber, and he lay writhing and crying out, until Diomedes the secretary came from Cleopatra with orders to bring him to her in the tomb.

LXXVII. Having learned, then, that Cleopatra was alive, Antony eagerly ordered his servants to raise him up, and he was carried in their arms to the doors of her tomb. Cleopatra, however, would not open the doors, but showed herself at a window, from which she let down ropes and cords. To these Antony was fastened, and she drew him up herself, with the aid of the two women whom alone she had admitted with her into the tomb. Never, as those who were present tell us, was there a more piteous sight. Smeared with blood and struggling with death he was drawn up, stretching out his hands to her even as he dangled in the air. For the task was not an easy one for women, and scarcely could Cleopatra, with clinging hands and strained face, pull up the rope, while those below called out encouragement to her and shared her agony. And when she had thus got him in and laid him down, she rent her garments over him, beat and tore her breasts with her hands, wiped off some of his blood upon her face, and called him master, husband, and imperator; indeed, she almost forgot her own ills in her pity for his. But Antony stopped her lamentations and asked for a drink of wine, either because he was thirsty, or in the hope of a speedier release. When he had drunk, he advised her to consult her own safety, if she could do it without disgrace, and among all the companions of Caesar to put most confidence in
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dè μὴ θρηνεῖν ἐπὶ ταῖς ύστάταις μεταβολαῖς, ἀλλὰ μακαρίζειν ὅν ἐτυγχάνει καλῶν, ἐπιφανεότατος ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος καὶ πλείστον ἱσχύσας καὶ νῦν οὐκ ἀγεννῶσ Ἡρωμαῖος ὑπὸ Ἡρωμαίου κρατηθείς.

LXXVIII. "Ὅσον δὲ ἀπολιπόντος αὐτοῦ Προκλήιος ἦκε παρὰ Καίσαρος. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐαυτὸν πατάξας ο Ἀντώνιος ψχετο πρὸς Κλεοπάτραν κομιζόμενος, Δερκεταῖος τις τῶν δορυφόρων λαβὼν τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποκρύψας ὑπεξῆλθε, καὶ δραμὼν πρὸς Καίσαρα πρῶτος ἤγγειλε τὴν Ἀντώνιου τελευτήν, καὶ τὸ ξίφος ἔδειξεν ἥμαγ-2 μένου. ο δὲ ὃς ἦκουσεν, ἐνδοτέρω τῆς σκηνῆς ἀποστάς ἀπεδάκρυσεν ἀνδρὰ κηδεστὴν γενόμενον καὶ συνάρχοντα καὶ πολλῶν ἁγώνων καὶ πραγμάτων κοινώνων. εἶτα τὰς επιστολὰς λαβὼν καὶ τοὺς φίλους καλέσας ἀνεγίνωσκεν ὡς εὐγνώμονα γράφοντο αὐτοῦ καὶ δίκαια φορτικὸς ἂν καὶ 3 υπερήφανος ἄει περὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἐκείνος. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τῶν Προκλῆιον ἔπεμψε κελεύσας, ἦν δύνηται, μάλιστα τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ζώσης κρατῆ-σαι καὶ γὰρ ἐφοβεῖτο περὶ τῶν χρημάτων, καὶ μέγα πρὸς δόξαν ἤγειτο τοῦ θριάμβου καταγαγείν ἐκείνην. εἰς μὲν οὖν χάρας τῷ Προκλῆῳ 4 συνέκληθεν οὐκ ἡθέλησεν ἐγένοντο δὲ λόγοι τῷ οίκηματι προσεξόντος ἔξωθεν αὐτοῦ κατὰ θύρας ἐπιπέδους, ἀποκεκλειμένας μὲν ὀχυρῶς, φωνῇ δὲ διέξοδον ἔχοισας. καὶ διελέγησαν ἡ μὲν αὐτοῦ-

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Proculeius, and not to lament him for his last reverses, but to count him happy for the good things that had been his, since he had become most illustrious of men, had won greatest power, and now had been not ignobly conquered, a Roman by a Roman.

LXXVIII. Scarcely was he dead, when Proculeius came from Caesar. For after Antony had smitten himself and while he was being carried to Cleopatra, Dercetaeus, one of his body-guard, seized Antony's sword, concealed it, and stole away with it; and running to Caesar, he was the first to tell him of Antony's death, and showed him the sword all smeared with blood. When Caesar heard these tidings, he retired within his tent and wept for a man who had been his relation by marriage, his colleague in office and command, and his partner in many undertakings and struggles. Then he took the letters which had passed between them, called in his friends, and read the letters aloud, showing how reasonably and justly he had written, and how rude and over-bearing Antony had always been in his replies. After this, he sent Proculeius, bidding him, if possible, above all things to get Cleopatra into his power alive; for he was fearful about the treasures in her funeral pyre, and he thought it would add greatly to the glory of his triumph if she were led in the procession. Into the hands of Proculeius, however, Cleopatra would not put herself; but she conferred with him after he had come close to the tomb and stationed himself outside at a door which was on a level with the ground. The door was strongly fastened with bolts and bars, but allowed a passage for the voice. So they conversed, Cleopatra
μένη τοῖς παισὶ τὴν βασιλείαν, ὁ δὲ θαρρεῖν καὶ πάντα πιστεύειν Καίσαρι κελεύων.


LXXX. Αὐτός δὲ Καίσαρ εἰσήλθανεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, Ἀρείῳ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ προσδιαλεγόμενος καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν ἐνδεδοκώς, ὦνα εὐθὺς ἐν τοῖς πολι-
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asking that her children might have her kingdom, and Proculeius bidding her be of good cheer and trust Caesar in everything.

LXXIX. After Proculeius had surveyed the place, he brought back word to Caesar, and Gallus was sent to have another interview with the queen; and coming up to the door he purposely prolonged the conversation. Meanwhile Proculeius applied a ladder and went in through the window by which the women had taken Antony inside. Then he went down at once to the very door at which Cleopatra was standing and listening to Gallus, and he had two servants with him. One of the women imprisoned with Cleopatra cried out, "Wretched Cleopatra, thou art taken alive," whereupon the queen turned about, saw Proculeius, and tried to stab herself; for she had at her girdle a dagger such as robbers wear. But Proculeius ran swiftly to her, threw both his arms about her, and said: "O Cleopatra, thou art wronging both thyself and Caesar, by trying to rob him of an opportunity to show great kindness, and by fixing upon the gentlest of commanders the stigma of faithlessness and implacability." At the same time he took away her weapon, and shook out her clothing, to see whether she was concealing any poison. And there was also sent from Caesar one of his freedmen, Epaphroditus, with injunctions to keep the queen alive by the strictest vigilance, but otherwise to make any concession that would promote her ease and pleasure.

LXXX. And now Caesar himself drove into the city, and he was conversing with Areius the philosopher, to whom he had given his right hand, in order that Areius might at once be conspicuous among the citizens, and
ταῖς περὶ βλεπτοῖς εἶναι καὶ θαυμάζοντο τιμώμενοι ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ διαπρεπῶς. εἰς δὲ τὸ γυμνάσιον εἰσελθὼν καὶ ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ βῆμα τι πεποιημένον, ἐκ πεπληγμένων ὑπὸ δέους τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ προσπιτόντων, ἀναστήματι κελεύσας ἔφη πάσης αἰτίας τὸν δήμον ἀφιέναι, πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τὸν κτίστην Ἀλέξανδρον, δεύτερον δὲ τῆς πόλεως θαυμάζων τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος. τρίτον δὲ

2 'Αρείῳ τῷ ἐταίρῳ χαρίζομενος. ταύτης δὴ τῆς τιμῆς ἐτυχεῖ παρὰ Καίσαρος Ἀρείου, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξητήσατο συχνοὺς· δὴν ἦν καὶ Φίλοστρατος, ἀνὴρ εἰπών μὲν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς τῶν πώποτε σοφιστῶν ἰκανώτατος, εἰσποίων δὲ μὴ προσηκόντως ἐαυτόν τῇ Ἀκαδημείᾳ. διὸ καὶ Καίσαρ αὐτοῦ βδελυγμένους τὸν τρόπον ὑποσίετο τὰς

3 δεήσεις. ὁ δὲ πάγωνα πολιῶν καθεὶς καὶ φαιὸν ἰμάτιον περιβαλόμενος ἐξόπισθεν Ἀρείῳ παρηκολούθει, τοῦτον αἰή τοὺς στίχους ἀναφθηγόμενος. σοφοὶ σοφοὶ σώζουσιν, ἀν ὅσιν σοφοί.

πυθόμενος δὲ Καίσαρ, καὶ τοῦ φθόνου μᾶλλον Ἕλεον η τοῦ δέους Φιλόστρατον ἀπαλλάξαι βοηλόμενος, διῆκε.

LXXXI. Τῶν δὲ Ἀντωνίου παῖδων ὁ μὲν ἐκ Φουλβίας Ἀντυλλος ὑπὸ Ἐθολώρου τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ παραδοθεῖς ἀπέθανε· καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποτελοῦτοι, ὁ παιδαγωγὸς ἀφελῶν ὅπως ἐφόρει περὶ τῶν τραχήλων πολυτιμῶτατον λίθους εἰς τὴν ζωὴν κατέρραψεν· ἀρνησάμενος δὲ καὶ φωραθεὶς ἀνεσταυρώθη. ταῦτα δὲ Κλεοπάτρας παιδία φρουρούμενα μετὰ τῶν τρεφόντων ἔλευθερον εἶχε δίαταν. Καίσαρίωνα δὲ

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be admired because of the marked honour shown him by Caesar. After he had entered the gymnasium and ascended a tribunal there made for him, the people were beside themselves with fear and prostrated themselves before him, but he bade them rise up, and said that he acquitted the people of all blame, first, because of Alexander, their founder; second, because he admired the great size and beauty of the city; and third, to gratify his companion, Areius. This honour Caesar bestowed upon Areius, and pardoned many other persons also at his request. Among these was Philostratus, a man more competent to speak extempore than any sophist that ever lived, but he improperly represented himself as belonging to the school of the Academy. Therefore Caesar, abominating his ways, would not listen to his entreaties. So Philostratus, having a long white beard and wearing a dark robe, would follow behind Areius, ever declaiming this verse:—

"A wise man will a wise man save, if wise he be."

When Caesar learned of this, he pardoned him, wishing rather to free Areius from odium than Philostratus from fear.

LXXXI. As for the children of Antony, Antyllus, his son by Fulvia, was betrayed by Theodorus his tutor and put to death; and after the soldiers had cut off his head, his tutor took away the exceeding precious stone which the boy wore about his neck and sewed it into his own girdle; and though he denied the deed, he was convicted of it and crucified. Cleopatra's children, together with their attendants, were kept under guard and had generous treatment.

τὸν ἐκ Καίσαρος γεγονέναι λεγόμενον ἢ μὲν μήτηρ ἔξετέμψε μετὰ χρημάτων πολλῶν εἰς τὴν Ἰνδικὴν δι᾽ Αἰθιοπίας, ἐτέρος δὲ παίδαγωγὸς ὁμοίος Θεοδώρῳ Ἄρων ἀνέπεισεν ἐπανελθεῖν, ὡς Καίσαρος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ βασιλείαν καλοῦντος. βουλευομένου δὲ Καίσαρος Ἀρείον εἰπεῖν λέγουσιν·

οὐκ ἄγαθὸν πολυκαισαρίς.¹

LXXXII. Τούτων μὲν οὖν ὑστερον ἀπέκτεινε μετὰ τὴν Κλεοπάτρας τελευτήν. Ἥντωνιον δὲ πολλών αὐτουμένων θάνατι καὶ βασιλείων καὶ στρατηγῶν, οὐκ ἀφείλετο Κλεοπάτρας τὸ σῶμα Καίσαρ, ἀλλὰ ἐθάπτητο ταῖς ἑκείνης χερσὶ πολυτελῶς καὶ βασιλικῶς, πᾶσιν ὡς ἔβουλετο χρησθαι λαβοῦσας. ἐκ δὲ λύπης ἄμα τοσαύτης καὶ ὀδύνης (ἀνεφλέγμην γὰρ αὐτής τὰ στέρνα τυπτομένης καὶ ἢλκωτο) πυρετῶν ἐπιλαβόντων ἡγάπησε τὴν πρόφασιν, ὡς ἀφεξομένη τροφῆς διὰ τούτο καὶ παραλύσουσα τοῦ ἥξιν ἀκωλύτως εὐαντήν. ἦν δὲ ιατρὸς αὐτής συνήθης ὁ Ὀλυμπός, ὁ φράσασα τάληθες ἐχρητὸς συμβούλῳ καὶ συνεφρύ τῆς καθαρίσεως, ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ Ὀλυμπός εἴρηκεν ἱστορίαν των τῶν πραγμάτων τούτων ἐκδεδωκώς. ὑπονοήσας δὲ Καίσαρ ἀπειλᾶς μὲν τινας αὐτή καὶ φόβους περὶ τῶν τέκνων προσέβαλλεν, ὡς ἑκείνη καθάπερ μηχανήμασιν ὑπηρείστετο καὶ παρεδίδον τὸ σῶμα θεραπεύειν καὶ τρέφειν τοῖς χρήζουσιν.

LXXXIII. Ἡ κεὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμέρας ὀλίγας διαλυπῶν ἐντευξόμενος αὐτή καὶ παρηγορήσων. ἢ δὲ ἔτυχε μὲν ἐν στιβάδι κατακειμένη ταπεινώς,
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But Caesarion, who was said to be Cleopatra's son by Julius Caesar, was sent by his mother, with much treasure, into India, by way of Ethiopia. There Rhodon, another tutor like Theodorus, persuaded him to go back, on the ground that Caesar invited him to take the kingdom. But while Caesar was deliberating on the matter, we are told that Areius said:—

"Not a good thing were a Caesar too many."

LXXXII. As for Caesarion, then, he was afterwards put to death by Caesar,—after the death of Cleopatra; but as for Antony, though many generals and kings asked for his body that they might give it burial, Caesar would not take it away from Cleopatra, and it was buried by her hands in sumptuous and royal fashion, such things being granted her for the purpose as she desired. But in consequence of so much grief as well as pain (for her breasts were wounded and inflamed by the blows she gave them) a fever assailed her, and she welcomed it as an excuse for abstaining from food and so releasing herself from life without hindrance. Moreover, there was a physician in her company of intimates, Olympus, to whom she told the truth, and she had his counsel and assistance in compassing her death, as Olympus himself testifies in a history of these events which he published. But Caesar was suspicious, and plied her with threats and fears regarding her children, by which she was laid low, as by engines of war, and surrendered her body for such care and nourishment as was desired.

LXXXIII. After a few days Caesar himself came to talk with her and give her comfort. She was lying on a mean pallet-bed, clad only in her tunic,
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eἰσιόντι δʼ αὐτῷ μονοχίτων ἀναπηδήσασα προσπίπτει, δεινός μὲν ἐξηγηρωμένη κεφαλὴν καὶ πρόσωπον, ὑπότρωμος δὲ τῇ φωνῇ καὶ συντηκτικῶς τὰς ὁψείς. ἦν δὲ πολλὰ καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸ στέρνου αἰκίας καταφανῆ καὶ ὀλως οὕθεν εὖ ὁδόκει τὸ σῶμα τῆς ψυχῆς ἐξειν ἕξειν βέλτιον. ἦ μὲν τοι χάρις ἐκεῖνη καὶ τὸ τῆς ὀρᾶς ἱταμὸν οὐ κατέσβεστο παντάπασιν, ἀλλὰ καίπερ οὕτως διακειμένης ἐνδοθέν ποθὲν ἐξέλαμπτε καὶ συνεπεφαίνετο τοῖς κινήμασι τοῦ προσώπου. κελεύσαντος δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτήν κατακλιθῆναι καὶ πλησίον αὐτοῦ καθίσαντος, ἦφατο μὲν τωσούτους δικαιολογίας εἰς ἀνάγκην καὶ φόβον Ἀντωνίου τὰ πεπραγμένα τρεπούσης, ἐνισταμένου δὲ πρὸς ἕκαστον αὐτὴ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐξελεγχομένη ταχύ πρὸς σίκτον μεθηρμόσατο καὶ δέησιν, ὡς δὴ τις αὖ

3 μάλιστα τοῦ ζῆν περιεχομένη. τελος δὲ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν χρημάτων ἀναγραφών ἔχουσα προσέδωκεν αὐτῷ. Σελεύκου δὲ τῶν τῶν ἐπιτρόπων ἐλέγχοντος ὡς ἑνὶ κρύπτουσαν καὶ διακλέπτουσαν, ἀναπηδήσασα καὶ τῶν τριχῶν αὐτοῦ λαβο-

4 μένη πολλὰς ἐνεφόρει τῷ προσώπῳ πληγάς. τοῦ δὲ Καίσαρος μειδῶντος καὶ καταπαύοντος αὐτῆς, “ἆλλ’ οὐ δεινὸν,” εἰπεν, ὡς Καίσαρ, εἰ σὺ μὲν ἡξίωσας ἀφικέσσαι πρὸς ἔμε καὶ προσεπεῖν οὕτω πράττοσαν, οἱ δὲ δούλοι μου κατηγοροῦσι εἰ τι τῶν γυναικείων ἀπεθέμην, οὐκ ἐμαυτὴ δήποτεν, ἡ τάλαινα, κόσμον, ἂλλ’ ὧς ὀκταούσα καὶ Λιβία τῇ σῇ μικρᾷ δούσα δι’ ἐκείνων ἤλεῳ σουν τύχομεν καὶ πραστέρου;” τούτως ὁ Καίσαρ ἤδετο, παντάπασιν αὐτὴν φιλοψυχεῖν οἰόμενος. εἰπὼν οὖν ὅτι καὶ ταύτα ἐπιτρέπει καὶ τᾶλλα πάσης

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but sprang up as he entered and threw herself at his feet; her hair and face were in terrible disarray, her voice trembled, and her eyes were sunken. There were also visible many marks of the cruel blows upon her bosom; in a word, her body seemed to be no better off than her spirit. Nevertheless, the charm for which she was famous and the boldness of her beauty were not altogether extinguished, but, although she was in such a sorry plight, they shone forth from within and made themselves manifest in the play of her features. After Caesar had bidden her to lie down and had seated himself near her, she began a sort of justification of her course, ascribing it to necessity and fear of Antony; but as Caesar opposed and refuted her on every point, she quickly changed her tone and sought to move his pity by prayers, as one who above all things clung to life. And finally she gave him a list which she had of all her treasures; and when Seleucus, one of her stewards, showed conclusively that she was stealing away and hiding some of them, she sprang up, seized him by the hair, and showered blows upon his face. And when Caesar, with a smile, stopped her, she said: "But is it not a monstrous thing, O Caesar, that when thou hast deigned to come to me and speak to me though I am in this wretched plight, my slaves denounce me for reserving some women's adornments, —not for myself, indeed, unhappy woman that I am, —but that I may make trifling gifts to Octavia and thy Livia, and through their intercession find thee merciful and more gentle?" Caesar was pleased with this speech, being altogether of the opinion that she desired to live. He told her, therefore, that he left these matters for her to manage, and that in all
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ἐλπίδος αυτῇ χρήσται λαμπρότερον, φχετο ἀπιών, ἐξηπατηκέναι μὲν οἰόμενος, ἐξηπατημένος δὲ μᾶλλον.

LXXXIV. Ἡν δὲ Κορνήλιος Δολοβέλλας ἐπιφανὴς νεανίσκος ἐν τοῖς Καῖσαρος ἑταίροις, οὗτος εἴχε πρὸς τὴν Κλεοπάτραν ὅπως ἀηδῶς· καὶ τότε χαρίζομενος αὐτῇ δειθείς κρύφα πέμψας ἐξήγγειλεν ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀναζεύγνυσι πεζῇ διὰ Συρίας, ἐκείνην δὲ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων 2 ἀποστέλλειν εἰς τρίτην ἡμέραν ἐγνώκεν. ἡ δὲ ἀκούσασα ταῦτα πρῶτον μὲν ἐδεήθη Καῖσαρος ὡς αὐτὴν ἐάση χοᾶς ἐπενεγκεῖν Ἀντωνίῳ· καὶ συγχωρήσαντος ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον κομισθείσα καὶ περιπεσοῦσα τῇ σοφῷ μετὰ τῶν συνήθων γυναικῶν, "Ὤ φίλε Ἀντώνιε," εἶπεν, "ἐδαπτόν μὲν ἑν ἑτερην ἐλευθέραις, σπένδω δὲ νῦν αἰχμάλωτος ὑύτα, καὶ φρονομενή ἐμὲ κοπητοῖς μῆτε θρήνοις αἰκίσασθαι τὸ δούλου τοῦτο σῶμα καὶ τηρώμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς κατὰ σοῦ θριάμβους.

3 ἄλλας δὲ μὴ προσδέχον τιμᾶς ἡ χοᾶς· ἀλλ’ αὐταί σου τελευταίαι Κλεοπάτρας ἀγομένης. ἡ ζώντας μὲν γὰρ ἡμᾶς οὕθεν ἀλλήλων διέστησε, κινδυνεύομεν δὲ τῷ θανάτῳ διαμείπψασθαι τοὺς τόπους· σὺ μὲν ὁ Ῥώμαιος ἐνταῦθα κείμενος, ἐγὼ δ’ ἡ δύστηνος ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, τοσοῦτο τῆς σῆς μεταλαβοῦσα χώρας μόνων. ἀλλ’ εἰ δὴ τις τῶν ἐκεῖ θεῶν ἄλκη καὶ δύναμις (οὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα προδώκαν ἡμᾶς), μὴ πρόῃ ξώσαν τὴν σεαυτοῦ γυναικα, μηδ’ ἐν ἐμὸι περιῆδης θριαμβευόμενον

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other ways he would give her more splendid treatment than she could possibly expect. Then he went off, supposing that he had deceived her, but the rather deceived by her.

LXXXIV. Now, there was a young man of rank among Caesar's companions, named Cornelius Dolabella. This man was not without a certain tenderness for Cleopatra; and so now, in response to her request, he secretly sent word to her that Caesar himself was preparing to march with his land forces through Syria, and had resolved to send off her and her children within three days. After Cleopatra had heard this, in the first place, she begged Caesar that she might be permitted to pour libations for Antony; and when the request was granted, she had herself carried to the tomb, and embracing the urn which held his ashes, in company with the women usually about her, she said: "Dear Antony, I buried thee but lately with hands still free; now, however, I pour libations for thee as a captive, and so carefully guarded that I cannot either with blows or tears disfigure this body of mine, which is a slave's body, and closely watched that it may grace the triumph over thee. Do not expect other honours or libations; these are the last that Cleopatra can bring thee. For though in life nothing could part us from each other, in death we are likely to change places; thou, the Roman, lying buried here, while I, the hapless woman, lie in Italy, and get only so much of thy country as my portion. But if indeed there is any might or power in the gods of that country (for the gods of this country have betrayed us), do not abandon thine own wife while she lives, nor permit a
σεαυτού, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα με κρύψου μετὰ σεαυτοῦ καὶ σύνθαψον, ὡς ἐμοὶ μυρίων κακῶν ὄντων οὐδὲν οὕτω μέγα καὶ δεινὸν ἔστιν ὡς ὁ βραχὺς οὗτος χρόνος δὲν σοῦ χωρὶς ἔξηκα."  

LXXXV. Τοιαύτα ὀλοφυραμένη καὶ στέψασα καὶ κατασπασμένη τὴν σορὸν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὴ λουτρὸν γενέσθαι. λουσαμένη δὲ καὶ κατα-
κλιθεῖσα λαμπρὸν ἁριστὸν ἥριστα. καὶ τις ἦκεν ἀπ' ἀγροῦ κίστην τινὰ κομίζων· τὸν δὲ φυλάκων ὁ τι φέροι πυθανομένων ἀνοίξας καὶ ἀφελῶν τὰ
2 θρία σύκων ἐπίπλεων τὸ ἀγγείον ἐδειξε. θαυμα-
σάντων δὲ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος μειδιάς παρεκάλει λαβεῖν οἱ δὲ πιστεύσαντες ἐκέλευσαν εἰσενεγκεῖν. μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἁριστὸν ἡ Κλεοπάτρα δέλτων ἔχουσα γεγραμμένη καὶ καταστημασ-
μένην ἀπέστειλε πρὸς Καῖσαρα, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκποδῶν ποιησαμένη πλὴν τῶν δυεῖν ἐκείνων γυναικῶν τὰς θύρας ἐκλεισε.

3 Καῖσαρ δὲ λύσας τὴν δέλτων, ὡς ἐνέτυχε λυταῖς καὶ ὀλοφυρμοῖς δεομένης αὐτὴν σὺν Ἀυτωνίῳ θάψαι, ταχὺ συνῆκε τὸ πεπραγμένον. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸς ὁρμησε βοηθεῖν, ἐπειτὰ τοὺς σκεφο-
μένους κατὰ τάχος ἐπεμψεν. ἐγεγόνει δ' ὦξι, τὸ
πάθος. δρόμῳ γὰρ ἐλθόντες καὶ τοὺς μὲν φυλά-
tοντας οὐδὲν ἤσθημένους καταλαβόντες, τὰς δὲ
θύρας ἀνοίξαντες, εὗρον αὐτὴν τεθυηκυῖαιν ἐν χρυσῇ
catakeménēn klíνη, kekosmēménnh basilikōs.

4 τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν ἡ μὲν Ἐφρᾶς λεγομένη πρὸς τοὺς
ποσίν ἀπέθυνσεν, ἡ δὲ Χάρμιον ἡδη σφαλλομένη
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triumph to be celebrated over thyself in my person, but hide and bury me here with thyself, since out of all my innumerable ills not one is so great and dreadful as this short time that I have lived apart from thee."

LXXXV. After such lamentations, she wraithed and kissed the urn, and then ordered a bath to be prepared for herself. After her bath, she reclined at table and was making a sumptuous meal. And there came a man from the country carrying a basket; and when the guards asked him what he was bringing there, he opened the basket, took away the leaves, and showed them that the dish inside was full of figs. The guards were amazed at the great size and beauty of the figs, whereupon the man smiled and asked them to take some; so they felt no mistrust and bade him take them in. After her meal, however, Cleopatra took a tablet which was already written upon and sealed, and sent it to Caesar, and then, sending away all the rest of the company except her two faithful women, she closed the doors.

But Caesar opened the tablet, and when he found there lamentations and supplications of one who begged that he would bury her with Antony, he quickly knew what had happened. At first he was minded to go himself and give aid; then he ordered messengers to go with all speed and investigate. But the mischief had been swift. For though his messengers came on the run and found the guards as yet aware of nothing, when they opened the doors they found Cleopatra lying dead upon a golden couch, arrayed in royal state. And of her two women, the one called Iras was dying at her feet, while Charmion, already tottering and heavy-headed, was

LXXXVI. Δέγεται δὲ τὴν ἀσπίδα κομισθῆναι σὺν τοῖς σύκοις ἐκείνοις καὶ τοῖς θρίοις ἄνωθεν ἐπικαλυφθεῖσαν, οὔτω γὰρ τὴν Κλεοπάτραν 955 κελεύσας, μηδὲ αὐτῆς ἐπισταμένης τῷ σώματι προσπεσείν τὸ θηρίον· ὡς δὲ ἀφαίρουσα τὸν σύκων ἐδειν, εἰπείν: "Ἐνταῦθα ἦν ἄρα τοῦτο;" καὶ τὸν βραχίονα παρασχεῖν τῷ δήγματι 2 γυμνῶσαν. οἱ δὲ τηρεῖσθαι μὲν ἐν ὕδραι τὴν ἀσπίδα καθεργημένην φάσκουσιν, ἡλακτὴ ἂν τιν τῆς χρυσῆ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἐκκαλουμένης αὐτῆς καὶ διαγραυμοῦσας ὁρμήσασαν ἐμφύναι τῷ βραχίονι. τὸ δὲ ἀληθῆς οὔδεὶς οἶδεν· ἐπεὶ καὶ φάρμακον αὐτὴν ἐλέχθη φορεῖν ἐν κυηστίδι κοίλη, τὴν δὲ κυνησίδα κρύπτειν τῇ κόμης. πλὴν οὔτε κηλίς ἔξηπθενς τοῦ σώματος οὔτε ἄλλο φαρμάκον 3 σημείον. οὐ μὴν οὔδε τὸ θηρίον ἐντὸς ὅφθη, συμφωνὸς δὲ τινας αὐτοῦ παρὰ θάλασσαν, ἣ τὸ δωμάτιον ἀφεῖρα καὶ θυρίδες ἦσαν, ἰδεῖν ἔφασκον. ἐνιοῦ δὲ καὶ τὸν βραχίονα τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ὀφθήναι δύο νυμμὰς ἔχουσα λεπτὰς καὶ ἀμυνδρᾶς· οἷς ἐοικε πιστεύσαι καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ. ἐν γὰρ τῷ θραμβῷ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας αὐτῆς εἰδὼλον ἐκοιμέστε καὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος ἐμπεφυκνίας. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὔτω λέγεται γενέσθαι.

4 Καῖσαρ δὲ, καίτερ ἀχθεσθεῖς ἔπει τῇ τελευτῇ τῆς γυναικός, ἐθαύμασε τὴν εὐγένειαν αὐτῆς.
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trying to arrange the diadem which encircled the queen's brow. Then somebody said in anger: "A fine deed, this, Charmion!" "It is indeed most fine," she said, "and befitting the descendant of so many kings." Not a word more did she speak, but fell there by the side of the couch.

LXXXVI. It is said that the asp was brought with those figs and leaves and lay hidden beneath them, for thus Cleopatra had given orders, that the reptile might fasten itself upon her body without her being aware of it. But when she took away some of the figs and saw it, she said: "There it is, you see," and baring her arm she held it out for the bite. But others say that the asp was kept carefully shut up in a water jar, and that while Cleopatra was stirring it up and irritating it with a golden distaff it sprang and fastened itself upon her arm. But the truth of the matter no one knows; for it was also said that she carried about poison in a hollow comb and kept the comb hidden in her hair; and yet neither spot nor other sign of poison broke out upon her body. Moreover, not even was the reptile seen within the chamber, though people said they saw some traces of it near the sea, where the chamber looked out upon it with its windows. And some also say that Cleopatra's arm was seen to have two slight and indistinct punctures; and this Caesar also seems to have believed. For in his triumph an image of Cleopatra herself with the asp clinging to her was carried in the procession. These, then, are the various accounts of what happened.

But Caesar, although vexed at the death of the woman, admired her lofty spirit; and he gave orders
καὶ ταφῆναι τὸ σῶμα σὺν 'Αντωνίῳ λαμπρῶς καὶ βασιλικῶς ἐκέλευσεν. ἐντίμου δὲ καὶ τὰ γύναια κηδείας ἔτυχεν αὐτοῦ προστάξαντος. ἑτελεύτησε δὲ Κλεοπάτρα μὲν ἐνὸς δέοντα τεσσαράκοντα ἐτη βιώσασα, καὶ τούτων δύο καὶ εἰκοσι βασιλεύσασα, συνάρξασα δὲ 'Αντωνίῳ 5 πλείω τῶν δεκατεσσάρων. 'Αντώνιον δὲ οἱ μὲν ἔξω, οἱ δὲ τρισὶ τὰ πεντήκοντα ὑπερβαλεῖν φασιν. αἰ μὲν οὖν 'Αντωνίου καθρέθησαν εἰκόνες, αἱ δὲ Κλεοπάτρας κατὰ χώραν ἐμείναν, Ἀρχιβίου τινὸς τῶν φίλων αὐτῆς δισχίλια τάλαντα Καίσαρι δόντος, ἵνα μὴ τὸ αὐτὸ ταῖς 'Αντωνίου πάθωσιν.

LXXXVII. 'Αντωνίου δὲ γενεὰν ἀπολιπόντος ἐκ τριῶν γυναικῶν ἔπτα παίδας, ὁ πρεσβύτατος 'Αντυλλος ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἀνηρέθη μόνος· τοὺς λοιποὺς δὲ Ὅκταονια παραλαβοῦσα μετὰ τῶν ἑξ ἐαυτῆς ἔθρεψε. καὶ Κλεοπάτραν μὲν τὴν ἐκ Κλεοπάτρας Ἰόβα τὸ χαριεστάτω βασιλείων συγκόκισεν, 'Αντώνιον δὲ τῶν ἐκ Φουλβίας οὕτω μέγαν ἔποιήσεν ὅστε τὴν πρώτην παρὰ Καίσαρι τιμὴν Ἀγρίππου, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν τῶν Διβίας παίδων ἔχουσών, τρίτον εἰναι καὶ δοκεῖν 2 'Αντώνιον. ἐκ δὲ Μαρκέλλου δυνείν αὐτῇ θυγατέρων οὐσῶν, ἐνὸς δὲ τίνος Μαρκέλλου, τούτον μὲν ἀμα παίδα καὶ γαμβρὸν ἐποίησατο Καίσαρ, τῶν δὲ θυγατέρας Ἀγρίππα τὴν ἐτέραν ἐδώκεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ Μάρκελλος ἑτελεύτησε κομιδὴ νεόγαμος καὶ Καίσαρι γαμβρὸν ἔχοντα πίστιν οὐκ εὑρότον ἤν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων φίλων ἑλέσθαι, λόγον ἦ Ὅκταονια προσήνεγκεν ὡς χρή τὴν Καίσαρος θυγατέρα λαβεῖν Ἀγρίππαν, ἀφέντα τὴν ἐαυτῆς. 3 πεισθέντος δὲ Καίσαρος πρῶτον, εἶτα Ἀγρίππου,
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that her body should be buried with that of Antony in splendid and regal fashion. Her women also received honourable interment by his orders. When Cleopatra died she was forty years of age save one, had been queen for two and twenty of these, and had shared her power with Antony more than fourteen. Antony was fifty-six years of age, according to some, according to others, fifty-three. Now, the statues of Antony were torn down, but those of Cleopatra were left standing, because Archibius, one of her friends, gave Caesar two thousand talents, in order that they might not suffer the same fate as Antony's.

LXXXVII. Antony left seven children by his three wives, of whom Antyllus, the eldest, was the only one who was put to death by Caesar; the rest were taken up by Octavia and reared with her own children. Cleopatra, the daughter of Cleopatra, Octavia gave in marriage to Juba, the most accomplished of kings, and Antony, the son of Fulvia, she raised so high that, while Agrippa held the first place in Caesar's estimation, and the sons of Livia the second, Antony was thought to be and really was third. By Marcellus Octavia had two daughters, and one son, Marcellus, whom Caesar made both his son and his son-in-law, and he gave one of the daughters to Agrippa. But since Marcellus died very soon after his marriage and it was not easy for Caesar to select from among his other friends a son-in-law whom he could trust, Octavia proposed that Agrippa should take Caesar's daughter to wife, and put away her own. First Caesar was persuaded by her, then Agrippa, where-
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τὴν μὲν αὐτῆς ἀπολαβοῦσα συνῆκισεν Ἀντωνίφ, τὴν δὲ Καίσαρος Ἀγρίππας ἔγγεμν. ἀπολειπο-μένων δὲ τῶν Ἀντωνίου καὶ Ὀκταούλως δυνεῖν θυγατέρων τὴν μὲν Δομίτιος Ἀννόβαρβος ἔλαβε, τὴν δὲ σωφροσύνη καὶ κάλλει περιβόητον Ἀντωνίαν Δρούσος, ὁ Δείσια νιός, πρόγονος δὲ Καίσαρος. ἐκ τούτων ἐγένετο Γερμανικὸς καὶ

4 Κλαύδιος· ὃν Κλαύδιος μὲν ὑστεροῦ ἦρξε, τῶν δὲ Γερμανικοῦ παῖδων Γάιος μὲν ἀρξα ἑπιφανῶς οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ἀνηρέθη μετά τέκνου καὶ γυναικὸς, Ἀγριππίνα δὲ νιόν ἐξ Ἀννόβαρβου Ὀκτυίου Δομίτιον ἔχουσα Κλαύδιος Καίσαρι συνάκησε, καὶ θέμενος τὸν νιόν αὐτῆς Κλαύδιος Νέρωνα Γερμανικὸν προσωνόμασεν. οὗτος ἀρξας ἐφ’ ἡμῶν ἀπέκτεινε τὴν μητέρα καὶ μικρὸν ἐδέησεν ὕπ’ ἐμπληξίας καὶ παραφροσύνης ἀνατρέψαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν, πέμπτος ἀπὸ Ἀντωνίου κατ’ ἀριθμὸν διαδοχῆς γενόμενος.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΥ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

I. Ἕπει τοίνυν μεγάλαι περὶ ἀμφότερος γεγό-ναις μεταβολαί, πρῶτον τὰ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῆς ἐπιφανείας σκοπώμεν, ὅτι τῷ μὲν ἦν πατρῷ καὶ προκατειργασμένα, μέγιστον ἵσχὺς αὐτοῦ Ἀντιγόνου τῶν διαδόχων καὶ πρὸ τοῦ Δημήτριον ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γενέσθαι τὰ πλείστα. τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπελ-2 θόντος καὶ κρατήσαντος· Ἀντωνίου δὲ χαρίεντος μὲν ἄλλος, ἀπολέμου δὲ καὶ μέγα μηδὲν εἰς δόξαν αὐτῷ καταλυπόντος γενόμενος πατρός, ἐπὶ τὴν

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upon she took back her own daughter and married her to young Antony, while Agrippa married Caesar's daughter. Antony left two daughters by Octavia, of whom one was taken to wife by Domitius Ahenobarbus, and the other, Antonia, famous for her beauty and discretion, was married to Drusus, who was the son of Livia and the step-son of Caesar. From this marriage sprang Germanicus and Claudius; of these, Claudius afterwards came to the throne, and of the children of Germanicus, Caius reigned with distinction, but for a short time only, and was then put to death with his wife and child, and Agrippina, who had a son by Ahenobarbus, Lucius Domitius, became the wife of Claudius Caesar. And Claudius, having adopted Agrippina's son, gave him the name of Nero Germanicus. This Nero came to the throne in my time. He killed his mother, and by his folly and madness came near subverting the Roman empire. He was the fifth in descent from Antony.

COMPARISON OF DEMETRIUS AND ANTONY

I. Since, then, both these men experienced great reversals of fortune, let us first observe, with regard to their power and fame, that in the one case these were acquired for him by his father and inherited, since Antigonus became the strongest of Alexander's successors, and before Demetrius came of age had attacked and mastered the greater part of Asia; Antony, on the contrary, was the son of a man who, though otherwise gifted, was yet no warrior, and could leave him no great legacy of reputation; and
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Καίσαρος ἑτόλμησεν ἀρχῆν, οὐδὲν αὐτῷ κατὰ γένος προσήκουσαν, ἐπλέειν, καὶ τοῖς ἐκεῖνῳ προ-
pοπονημένοις αὐτὸς ἐαυτὸν εἰσεποίησε διάδοχον. καὶ τοσούτων ἵσχυσεν, ἐκ μόνων τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὀρμώμενος, ὡστε δύο μοίρας τὰ σύμπαντα ποιησάμενος τὴν ἐτέραν ἐλέσθαι καὶ λαβεῖν τὴν ἐπιφανεστέραν, ἀπὸν δὲ αὐτὸς ὑπη-
ρέταις τε καὶ ὑποστρατήγοις Πάρθους τε νικήσαι πολλάκις καὶ τὰ περὶ Καύκασον ἔθνη βάρβαρα

3 μέχρι τῆς Κασπίας ὃσασθαι θαλάσσης. μαρ-
tύρια δὲ τοῦ μεγέθους αὐτῷ καὶ δι’ ἅ κακῶς ἀκούει. Δημήτριῳ μὲν γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ ἡγάπησε τὴν Ἀντιπάτρον Φίλαν ὡς κραίττονα συνοικήσαι παρ’ ἥμισίαν, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ ὁ Κλεοπάτρας γάμος ὑπενεδός ἦν, γυναικὸς ὑπερβαλομένης δυνάμει καὶ λαμπρότητι πάντας πλὴν Ἀρσάκου τοὺς καὶ αὐτὴν βασιλεῖσ. ἀλλ’ οὕτως ἐποίησε μεγαν ἑαυτὸν ὡστε τοὺς ἄλλους μειζόνων ἢ ἐβούλετο δοκεῖν ἄξιοι.

II. Ἡ μέντοι προοίμεσις, ἀφ’ ἃς ἐκτήσαντο τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀμεμπτὸς ἐπὶ 1 τοῦ Δημήτριον, κρατεῖν καὶ βασιλεύειν ἀνθρώπων εἴδισμένων κρατεῖσθαι καὶ βασιλεύεισθαι ζητοῦντος, ἡ δ’ Ἀντωνίου χαλε-
πῆ καὶ τυραννική, καταδουλουμένου τῶν Ρωμαίων δήμου ἁρτὶ διαφυγόντα τὴν ὑπὸ Καίσαρι μοναρ-

2 χίαν. ὥ δ’ οὖν μέγιστον αὐτῷ καὶ λαμπρότατον ἔστι τῶν εἰργασμένων, ὁ πρὸς Κάσσιον καὶ Βροῦτον πόλεμος, ἐπὶ τῷ τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τοὺς πολίτας ἀφελέσθαι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐπολεμήθη. Δημήτριος δὲ, καὶ 2 πρὶν eis τὰχας ἐλθεῖν ἄναγ-

1 ἐπὶ Bekker reads ἡ, with a single MS.
2 καὶ deleted by Bekker, after Schaefer.

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yet Antony had the courage to seek the power of Caesar, to which his birth gave him no claim, and to all that Caesar had wrought out before him he made himself the rightful successor. And so great strength did he attain, in reliance upon his own resources alone, that, after forcing a division of the empire into two parts, he chose one, and took the more splendid one of the two; and though absent himself, through his assistants and lieutenant-generals he defeated the Parthians many times, and drove the barbarous tribes about the Caucasus as far as the Caspian Sea. Moreover, even the things that brought him ill-repute bear witness to his greatness. For Antigonus was well pleased to have his son Demetrius marry Phila, the daughter of Antipater, in spite of her disparity in years, because he thought her a greater personage; whereas Antony’s marriage to Cleopatra was a disgrace to him, although she was a woman who surpassed in power and splendour all the royalties of her time except Arsaces. But he made himself so great that men thought him worthy of greater things than he desired.

II. As regards their resolution to win empire, this was blameless in the case of Demetrius, who sought to subdue and reign as king over men who were accustomed to subjection and kings; but in the case of Antony it was harsh and tyrannical, since he tried to enslave the Roman people when it had just escaped from the sole rule of Caesar. Moreover, as regards the greatest and most brilliant of his achievements, namely, the war against Cassius and Brutus, it was to deprive his country and his fellow citizens of their liberty that the war was waged. But Demetrius, even before he felt the constraints of adversity, kept on
καίας, ἐλευθερών τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἐξελαύνων τὰς φρουρὰς διετέλεσεν, οὐχ ὡσπερ Ἀντώνιος, ὅτι τοὺς ἐλευθερώσαντας τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνέκτεινεν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ, σεμνυνόμενος. ἐν τού·νυν ἐστὶ τῶν ἐπαινουμένων Ἀντώνιον, τὸ φιλόδωρον καὶ μεγαλόδωρον, ἐν ὅ τοσοῦτον ὑπεραίρει Δημήτριος ὥστε χαρίσασθαι τοὺς πολέμους ὅσα τοὺς φίλους οὐκ ἔδωκεν Ἀντώνιος. καίτοι ταφῆμα γε καὶ περιστάλην κελεύσας Βρούτον ἐκείνος εὐδοκίμησεν οὗτος δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀποθανόντας τῶν πολέμιον πάντας ἐκήδευσε καὶ τοὺς ἀλύτας Πτολεμαῖον μετὰ χρημάτων καὶ δωρεῶν ἀπέπεμψεν.

Π. Ἡβρισταὶ μὲν εὐτυχοῦντες ἀμφότεροι, καὶ πρὸς τρυφᾶς ἀνειμένοι καὶ ἄπολαύσεις. οὐκ ἂν εἴποι δὲ τις ὡς Δημήτριον ἐν εὐπαθείαις καὶ συνυσίαις ὅντα πράξεων καιρὸς ἐξέφυγεν, ἀλλὰ τῇ περιουσίᾳ τῆς σχολῆς ἐπεισήγη τὰς ἡδονὰς, καὶ τὴν Δάμαμνον ὡσπερ τὴν μυθικὴν ἀτεχνῶς παῖζον καὶ νυστάζον ἔποιεῖτο διαγωγῆ. ἐν δὲ ταῖς τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευαῖς οὐκ εἰχεν αὐτὸν τὸ δόρυ κιττόν, οὐδὲ μύρων ὁδώδει τὸ κράνος, οὐδὲ γεγανομένους καὶ ἀνθρώπος ἐπὶ τὰς μάχας ἐκ τῆς γυναικειωτίδος προήγει, κοιμῶν δὲ τοὺς βλάσους καὶ τὰ βακχεία καταπαύων ἀμφίπολος Ἀρεος ἀνιέρου, κατὰ τὸν Εὐρητίδην, ἐγώνετο, καὶ δι’ ἡδονὴν ή ῥαθυμίαν οὐθὲν ἀπλῶς ἐπταίσεν.

Ἀντώνιον δὲ, ὡσπερ ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς ὡρᾶμεν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τὴν Ὀμφάλην ὑφαινοῦσαν τὸ ῥόπαλον καὶ τὴν λεοντήν ἀστοράσας, οὕτω πολλάκις Κλεοπάτρα παροπλίσασα καὶ κατα-
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liberating Greece and expelling their garrisons from her cities, unlike Antony, whose boast was that he had slain in Macedonia the men who had given liberty to Rome. And besides, as regards their love of giving and the largeness of their gifts, one of the things for which Antony is lauded, Demetrius far surpassed in this, and bestowed more upon his enemies than Antony ever gave to his friends. It is true that for ordering the body of Brutus to be robed and buried Antony won a good name; but Demetrius gave obsequies to all his enemy's dead, and sent his prisoners back to Ptolemy with money and gifts.¹

III. Both were insolent in prosperity, and abandoned themselves to luxury and enjoyment. But it cannot be said that Demetrius, for all his pleasures and amours, ever let slip the time for action, nay, it was only when his leisure was abundant that he introduced his pleasures; and his Lamia, like the creature of fable, he made his pastime only when he was sportive or drowsy. But when he got ready for war, his spear was not tipped with ivy, nor did his helmet smell of myrrh, nor did he go forth to his battles from the women's chamber, sleek and blooming, but quieting down and stopping the revels and orgies of Bacchus, he became, in the words of Euripides,² a "minister of unhallowed Ares," and got not a single slip or fall because of his indolence or pleasures.

Antony, on the contrary, like Heracles in paintings where Omphalé is seen taking away his club and stripping off his lion's skin, was often disarmed by Cleopatra, subdued by her spells, and persuaded to

¹ See the Demetrius, xvii. 1.
θέλξασα συνέπεσεν ἀφέντα μεγάλας πράξεις ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν καὶ στρατείας ἀναγκαίας ἐν ταῖς περὶ Κάνωβου καὶ Ταφόστρων ἄκταις ἀλώειν καὶ παῖζεν μετ’ αὐτῆς. τέλος δὲ, ὡς ὁ Πάρις, ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἀποδρᾶς εἰς τοὺς ἑκείνης κατεδώτο κόλπους. μάλλον δὲ ὁ μὲν Πάρις ἦττηθεις ἐφυγεν εἰς τὸν θάλαμον, Ἀντώνιος δὲ Κλεοπάτραν διώκων ἔφυγε καὶ προήκατο τὴν νίκην.

IV. Ἔτη Δημήτριος μὲν, οὐ κεκωλμενόν, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου γεγονός ἐν ἔθει τοῖς Μακεδόνων βασιλεύσιν, ἐγάμει γάμους πλείονας, ὁσπερ Δυσσίμαχος καὶ Πτολεμαῖος, ἔσχε δὲ διὰ τιμῆς ὅσας ἐγήμεν. Ἀντώνιος δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ὁμοῦ δύο γυναικῶν ἡγάγετο, πρᾶγμα μηδενὶ Ρωμαίῳ τετολμημένου, ἔπειτα τὴν ἀστὴν καὶ δικαίως γαμῆθεισαν ἐξῆλασε τῇ ξένῃ καὶ μὴ κατά νόμους συνούσῃ χαριζόμενος. οἶθεν εἰκ γάμου τῷ μὲν οὐθέν, τῷ δὲ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν κακῶν ἀπήντησεν.

2 Ἀσέβημα μέντοι τοσοῦτον δι’ ἀσέλγειαν οὐθέν ταῖς Ἀντωνίου πράξεσιν ὅσον ταῖς Δημήτριου πρόσεστιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἱστορικὸς φασὶ καὶ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἡλικής εἰργεσθαι τὰς κύνας, διὰ τὸ τὴν μέξυν ἀμφανὴ μάλιστα τοῦτο ποιεῖσθαι τὸ ξύον· ὃ δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Παρθενών ταῖς τε πόρναις

3 συνήμα καὶ τῶν ἀστῶν κατετόρευσε πολλαῖς· καὶ τοις ἄν ἥκιστα τάς τοιαύτας τρυφᾶς καὶ ἀπολαύσεις οἶοι τιμέθειν κακοῦ, τῆς ὡμότητος, τοῦτο ἐνεστὶ τῇ Δημήτριος φιληδονία, περιδόντος, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀναγκάσαντος, οἰκτρῶς ἀποδανεὶν τὸν κάλλιστον καὶ σωφρονεστατον Ἀθηναίων, φεύγοντα τὸ καθυβρισθῆναι. συνεδόντι δὲ εἰπεὶν,
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drop from his hands great undertakings and necessary campaigns, only to roam about and play with her on the sea-shores by Canopus and Taphosiris. And at last, like Paris, he ran away from the battle and sank upon her bosom; although, more truly stated, Paris ran away to Helen's chamber after he had been defeated; but Antony ran away in chase of Cleopatra, and thereby threw away the victory.

IV. Further, Demetrius, in making several marriages, did not do what was prohibited, but what had been made customary for the kings of Macedonia by Philip and Alexander; he did just what Lysimachus and Ptolemy did, and held all his wives in honour. Antony, on the contrary, in marrying two wives at once, in the first place did what no Roman had ever dared to do; and in the second place, he drove away his Roman and lawfully wedded wife, in order to gratify the foreigner, with whom he was living contrary to law. Hence marriage brought no harm to Demetrius, but to Antony the greatest of his evils.

On the other hand, the lascivious practices of Antony are marked by no such sacrilege as are those of Demetrius. For historians tell us that dogs are excluded from the entire acropolis, because these animals couple without the least concealment; but the very Parthenon itself saw Demetrius cohabiting with harlots and debauching many Athenian women. And that vice which one would think least associated with such wanton enjoyments, namely, the vice of cruelty, this enters into Demetrius' pursuit of pleasure, since he suffered, or rather compelled, the lamentable death of the most beautiful and the most chaste of Athenians, who thus sought to escape his shameful treatment. In a word, Antony wronged
ΠΛΥΤΟΡΧΗΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ

'Αντώνιος μὲν έαυτόν διὰ τὴν ἀκρασίαν, Δημήτριος δὲ ἄλλους ἥδικησε.

V. Πρὸς μὲντοι γονεῖς ἁμεμπτὸν έαυτὸν εἰς ἄπαντα παρέσχεν οἱ Δημήτριος. 'Αντώνιος δὲ τὸν ἀδέλφον τῆς μητρὸς ἐξέδωκεν ἐπὶ τῷ Κικέρωνα ἀποκτείνα, πράγμα καὶ καθ’ έαυτό μιαρὸν καὶ ὁμόν, ὡς μόλις ἄν 'Αντώνιον ἐπ’ αὐτῷ συγγνώμης τυχεῖν, εἰ σωτηρίας τοῦ θείου μισθὸς ἦν οἱ Κικέρωνος θανάτος.

2 "Α τούνων ἐπιώρκησαν ἀμφότεροι καὶ παρεπτόνδησαν, ο μὲν 'Αρτάβαζων συλλαβῶν, ο δὲ 'Αλέξανδρον ἀποκτείνας, 'Αντωνίῳ μὲν ἔχει τὴν πρόφασιν ὀμολογομένην ἀπελεύθη γὰρ ἐν Μῆδως ὑπὸ 'Αρταβάζου καὶ προεδόθη Δημήτριον δὲ πολλοὶ λέγουσι ψευδεὶς αἰτίας, ἕφ’ οἷς ἔδρασε, πλασάμενον κατηγορεῖν ἀδικηθέντα, οὐκ ἀδικήσαντα ἀμώνασθαι.

Πάλιν δὲ τῶν μὲν κατορθωμάτων αὐτοῦργος οἱ Δημήτριος γέγονε καὶ τούναυτίον ο Άντωνίος, ἐν οἷς οὐ παρῆν, καλλίστας καὶ μεγίστας διὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀνηρεῖτο νίκας.

VI. 'Εξέπεσον δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀμφότεροι μὲν δὲ αὐτούς, οὐ μὴν ὀμοίως, ἀλλ’ ο μὲν ἐγκαταιρισθεῖς, ἀπέστησαν γὰρ αὐτοῦ Μακεδόνες, ο δὲ ἐγκαταλείπον, ἔφυγε γὰρ τοὺς ὑπέρ αὐτοῦ κυνικούς ὅστε τοῦ μὲν ἐγκλημα εἶναι τὸ δυσμενεῖς οὕτω πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεργάσασθαι τοὺς μαχομένους, τοῦ δὲ τὸ παρεσκευασμένη εὖνοιαν τοιάντην καὶ πίστιν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν.

2 Τὸ δὲ θάνατον οὐδετέρον μὲν ἔστιν ἐπαινέσαι, ψεκτὸς δὲ ο Νημητρίος μᾶλλον. αἰχμάλωτος τε γὰρ ὑπέμεινε γενέσθαι, καὶ καθερχθεῖς ἡγάτησεν

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himself by his excesses, while Demetrius wronged others.

V. Again, towards his parents Demetrius was in all respects blameless; whereas Antony surrendered his mother's brother for the privilege of killing Cicero, a deed in itself so abominable and cruel that Antony would hardly have been forgiven had Cicero's death been the price of his uncle's safety.

Further, as regards violations of oaths and treaties by both, in the seizure of Artabazus by the one, and the killing of Alexander by the other, for Antony there is the excuse which men admit to be valid, namely, that he had been deserted in Media by Artabazus and betrayed; but Demetrius, as many say, invented false accusations, upon which he acted, and denounced one who had been wronged by him; the murder was not retaliation for wrongs done to him.

And again, Demetrius was himself the author of his successes; Antony, on the contrary, won his greatest and fairest victories through his generals, on fields where he was not present.

VI. But the downfall of both was due to themselves, though the manner of it differed. Demetrius was deserted by others, for the Macedonians went away from him; whereas Antony deserted others, for he ran away from those who were risking their lives for him. Demetrius may therefore be blamed for making his soldiers so hostile to him, and Antony for abandoning a goodwill and confidence which was so much in evidence.

As for their deaths, neither is to be commended, but that of Demetrius is the more to be censured. For he suffered himself to be taken prisoner, and
ἐπικερδάναι τριετίαν, οὖν καὶ γαστρὶ καθάπερ τὰ ξύρα χειροήθης γενόμενος. Ἀυτώνιος δὲ δειλῶς μὲν καὶ οἰκτρῶς καὶ ἀτύμως, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πρὸ γε τοῦ κύριον γενέσθαι τὸν πολέμιον τοῦ σώματος ἑαυτὸν ἐξήγαγεν.
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was well content to add to his life three years of imprisonment. He was tamed, like a wild beast, by way of his belly and by wine. Whereas Antony took himself off,—in a cowardly, pitiful, and ignoble way, it is true, but at least before his enemy became master of his person.
PYRRHUS
ΠΥΡΡΟΣ

I. Θεσπρωτῶν καὶ Μολοσσῶν μετὰ τὸν κατάκλυσμὸν ἱστοροῦσι Φαέθοντα βασιλεύοντες πρῶτον, ἕνα τῶν μετὰ Πελασγοῦ παραγενομένων εἰς τὴν Ἡπείρον ἔνιοι δὲ Δευκάλιων καὶ Πύρραν εἰσαμένους τὸ περὶ Δωδώνην ἱερὸν αὐτοὶ κατοικοῦν ἐν Μολοσσοῖς. Χρόνῳ δὲ ὑστέρον Νεοπτόλεμος ὁ Ἀχιλλέως λαὸν ἁγαγὼν αὐτὸς τε τὴν χώραν κατέσχε τε διαδοχὴν βασιλέων ἀφ’ αὐτοῦ κατέλιπτε, Πυρρίδας ἐπικαλούμενους καὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ Πύρρος ἦν παιδικὸν ἐπωνύμιον, καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν παιδῶν ἐκ Δανάσσης τῆς Κλεοδαίου τοῦ Ἱλλοῦ γενομένων ἕνα Πύρρον ὠνόμασεν. ἐκ τούτου δὲ καὶ Ἀχιλλέως ἐν Ἡπείρῳ τιμᾶς ἰσοθέους ἐσχέν, Ἀσπετοῦ ἐπιχωρίῳ φωνῇ προσαγωγοῦμενος. μετὰ δὲ τῶν πρῶτους, τῶν διὰ μέσου βασιλέων ἐκβαρβαρωθέντων καὶ γενομένων τῇ τε δυνάμει καὶ τοῖς βίοις ἀμαυροτέρων, Θαρρύπον πρῶτον ἱστοροῦσιν Ἔλληνικοῖς ἔθεσι καὶ γράμμασι καὶ νόμοις φιλανθρώποις διακόσμησαν τὰς πόλεις ὀνομαστὸν γενέσθαι. Θαρρύπον δὲ Ἀλκέτας νῦν ἶν, Ἀλκέτα δὲ Ἀρύβας, Ἀρύβας δὲ καὶ Τριφάδος Αἰακίδης. οὗτος ἔγγυς τῆς Μένωνος τοῦ Θεσαλοῦ θυγατέρα Φθίαν, ἄνδρός εὐδοκιμοῦν περὶ τὸν Δαμικὸν πόλεμον γενομένου καὶ μέγιστον ἄξιωμα τῶν συμμάχων.
PYRRHUS

I. Historians tell us that the first king of the Thesprotians and Molossians after the flood was Phaethon, one of those who came into Epeirus with Pelasgus; but some say that Deucalion and Pyrrha established the sanctuary at Dodona and dwelt there among the Molossians. In after time, however, Neoptolemus the son of Achilles, bringing a people with him, got possession of the country for himself, and left a line of kings descending from him. These were called after him Pyrrhidae; for he had the surname of Pyrrhus in his boyhood, and of his legitimate children by Lanassa, the daughter of Cleodaeus the son of Hyllus, one was named by him Pyrrhus. Consequently Achilles also obtained divine honours in Epeirus, under the native name of Aspetus. But the kings who followed in this line soon lapsed into barbarism and became quite obscure, both in their power and in their lives, and it was Tharrhypas, historians say, who first introduced Greek customs and letters and regulated his cities by humane laws, thereby acquiring for himself a name. Alcetas was a son of Tharrhypas, Arybas of Alcetas, and of Arybas and Troas, Aeacides. He married Phthia, the daughter of Menon the Thessalian, a man who won high repute at the time of the Lamian war\(^1\) and acquired the highest authority

\(^1\) 323–322 B.C. See the Demosthenes, xxvii. 1.
μετὰ Δεωσθένην λαβόντος. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Φθίας
tῷ Αιακίδη γίνονται θυγατέρες Δηδάμεια καὶ
Τρώας, νῦν δὲ Πύρρος.
Π. Ἐπει δὲ στασιώσαντες οἱ Μολοσσοὶ καὶ
tῶν Αιακίδην ἐκβαλόντες ἔπηγάγοντο τοὺς Νεο-
πτολέμου παῖδας, οἱ μὲν φίλοι τοῦ Αιακίδου
dιεφθάρθησαν καταληφθέντες, τοῦ δὲ Πύρρου ἐτι
νήπιον ὄντα καὶ ξητοῦμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων
eκκλέψαντες οἱ περὶ Ἀνδρόκλειδην καὶ Ἀγγέλου
ἐφευγοῦν, οἰκέτας ὀλίγους καὶ γύναια τιθηνοῦμενα
τὸ παιδίον ἀναγκαίως ἐφελκόμενοι. καὶ διὰ
τοῦτο τῆς φυγῆς αὐτοῖς γενομένης δυσέργου καὶ
βραδέλας καταλαμβανόμενοι τὸ μὲν παιδίον
ἐγκειρίζουσιν Ἀνδρόκλειων καὶ Ἰππία καὶ Νεάν-
δρῳ, νεανίσκους οὕς πιστοῖς καὶ ῥωμαλοῖς,
ἀνὰ κράτος φεύγειν καὶ Μεγάρων ἔχεσθαι χωρίου
Μακεδονικοῦ προστάξαντες, αὐτοῖ δὲ τὰ μὲν
δεόμενοι, τὰ δὲ ἀπομαχόμενοι τοὺς διώκουσιν
3 ἐμπόδων ἦσαν ἀχρὶ δείλης ὤψίας. ἀποτραπο-
μένοι δὲ μόλις ἐκείνων μετέθεον τοὺς τῶν Πύρρου
κομίζοντας. ἦδη δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου καταδεδυκότος
ἐγγὺς γενόμενοι τῆς ἐλπίδος ἐξαίφνης ἀπεκό-
πησαν, ἐνυχώντες τῷ παρὰ τὴν πόλιν παραρ-
ρέοντας ποταμῷ, χαλεπῷ μὲν ὀφθήναι καὶ ἀγρίῳ,
πειρωμένοι δὲ διαβαίνειν παυτάπασιν ἀπορωτά-
τω. πολὺ τε ἡγὰρ ἐξέπιπτε Ρέμα καὶ ἔθελον
ἀμβρών ἐπιχειροῦμεν, καὶ τὸ σκότος ἐποίει πᾶντα
4 φοβερότερα. καθ’ αὐτοὺς μὲν οὖν ἀπέγνωσαν
ἐπιχειρεῖν παιδίον φέρομεν καὶ γύναια τὰ τρέ-
φοντα τὸ παιδίον, αἰσθόμενοι δὲ τῶν ἐπιχειρίων
τινὰς ἐν τῷ πέραν ἐστῶτας ἐδέοντο συλλαβέσθαι 384

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PYRRHUS

among the confederates after Leosthenes. Phthia
bore to Aeacides two daughters, Deîdameia and
Troas, and a son, Pyrrhus.

II. But factions arose among the Molossians, and
expelling Aeacides they brought into power the sons
of Neoptolemus.¹ The friends of Aeacides were
then seized and put to death, but Pyrrhus, who was
still a babe and was sought for by the enemy, was
stolen away by Androcleides and Angelus, who took
to flight. However, they were obliged to take along
with them a few servants, and women for the
nursing of the child, and on this account their flight
was laborious and slow and they were overtaken.
They therefore entrusted the child to Androcleion,
Hippias, and Neander, sturdy and trusty young men,
with orders to fly with all their might and make for
Megara, a Macedonian town; while they themselves,
partly by entreaties and partly by fighting, stayed
the course of the pursuers until late in the evening.
After these had at last been driven back, they
hastened to join the men who were carrying Pyrrhus.
The sun had already set and they were near their
hoped-for refuge, when suddenly they found them-
selves cut off from it by the river which flowed past
the city. This had a forbidding and savage look, and
when they tried to cross it, proved altogether im-
passable. For its current was greatly swollen and
violent from rains that had fallen, and the darkness
made everything more formidable. Accordingly,
they gave up trying to cross unaided, since they
were carrying the child and the women who cared
for the child; and perceiving some of the people of
the country standing on the further bank, they

A brother of Arybas, and therefore uncle of Aeacides.

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πρὸς τὴν διάβασιν, καὶ τὸν Πύρρον ἀνεδείκνυσαν
βοώντες καὶ ἰκετεύοντες. οἴ δὲ οὗ κατήκουν διὰ
5 τραχύτητα καὶ πάταγον τοῦ ρεύματος, ἀλλ' ἢν
diatrιβή τῶν μὲν βοώντων, τῶν δὲ μὴ συνιέντων,
ἀχρὶ τις ἐννοήσας καὶ περιελών δρυός φλοιὸν
ἐνέγραψε πόρπη γράμματα φράζοντα τὴν τε
χρείαιν καὶ τὴν τύχην τοῦ παιδός, εἶτα λίθῳ τὸν
φλοιὸν περιελίξας καὶ χρησάμενος οἶον ἔρματι
tῆς βολῆς ἀφήκεν εἰς τὸ πέραν ἐνοί δὲ φασὶ
6 σαυνίῳ περιπτήξαντας ἀκοντίσαι τὸν φλοιὸν. ὡς
d' οὖν ἀνέγνωσαν οἱ πέραν τὰ γράμματα καὶ
συνείδουν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ καιροῦ, κόπτοντες ξύλα
καὶ πρὸς ἀλληλα συνδέοντες ἐπεραίωντο. καὶ
κατὰ τύχην οἱ πρῶτοι αὐτῶν περαιώνοις Ἁχιλ-
λεύς τούνομα τὸν Πύρρον ἐδέξατο· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους
ὡς ἐτυχον άλλοι διεκόμιζον.

III. Οὕτω δὲ σωθέντες καὶ φθάσαντες τὴν
dιώξειν εἰς Ἰλλυρίους παρεγένωντο πρὸς Γλαυκίαν
tὸν βασιλέα· καὶ καθεξόμενον εὑρόντες οἶκοι
μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐν μέσῳ τὸ παιδίον ἐπὶ τῆς
γῆς κατέθεσαν. ὁ δὲ ἦν ἐπὶ γνώμης, Κάσσανδρου
dedoikῶς ἐχθρὸν ὄντα τοῦ Αἰακίδου, καὶ σιωπὴν
2 εἰχε πολὺν χρόνον βουλευόμενος. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ
ὁ Πύρρος ἀπ' αὐτομάτῳ προσερπύσας καὶ λαβό-
μενος τοῦ ἰματίου ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ προσέξαναστὰς
πρὸς τὰ γόνατα τοῦ Γλαυκίου γέλωτα πρῶτον,
εἶτα οίκτον παρέσχεν, ὥσπερ τις ἱκέτης ἐχό-
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besought their help in crossing, and showed them Pyrrhus, with loud cries and supplications. But the people on the other side could not hear them for the turbulence and splashing of the stream, and so there was delay, one party shouting what the other could not understand, until some one bethought himself of a better way. He stripped off a piece of bark from a tree and wrote thereon with a buckle-pin a message telling their need and the fortune of the child; then he wrapped the bark about a stone, which he used to give force to his cast, and threw it to the other side. Some say, however, that it was a javelin about which he wrapped the bark, and that he shot it across. Accordingly, when those on the other side had read the message and saw that no time was to be lost, they cut down trees, lashed them together, and made their way across. As chance would have it, the first of them to make his way across was named Achilles; he took Pyrrhus in his arms, and the rest of the fugitives were conveyed across by others in one way or another.

III. Having thus outstripped their pursuers and reached a place of safety, the fugitives betook themselves to Glaucias the king of the Illyrians; and finding him sitting at home with his wife, they put the little child down on the floor before them. Then the king began to reflect. He was in fear of Cassander, who was an enemy of Aecides, and held his peace a long time as he took counsel with himself. Meanwhile Pyrrhus, of his own accord, crept along the floor, clutched the king's robe, and pulled himself on to his feet at the knees of Glaucias, who was moved at first to laughter, then to pity, as he saw the child clinging to his knees and weeping like a formal
μενος καὶ δακρύων. ἔνιοι δὲ φασὶν οὐ τῷ Γλαυκίᾳ προσπεσεῖν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ βωμοῦ θεῶν προσαψάμενον ἐστάναι πρὸς αὐτὸν περιβαλόντα τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ τὸ πράγμα τῷ Γλαυκίᾳ θείον

3 φανήμαι. διὸ καὶ παραντίκα τὸν Πύρρον ἔνε- χείρισε τῇ γυναικί, κελεύσας ἃμα τοῖς τέκνοις τρέφεσθαι, καὶ μικρὸν ύστερον ἐξαιτουμένων τῶν πολεμίων, Κασάνδρου δὲ καὶ διακόσια τάλαντα διδόντος, οὐκ ἔξεδωκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γενόμενον δυο- καίδεκα ἐτῶν καταγαγὼν εἰς τὴν Ἡπειρον μετὰ δυνάμεως βασιλέα κατέστησεν.

4 "Ην δὲ ὁ Πύρρος τῇ μὲν ἴδεᾳ τοῦ προσώπου φοβερώστερον ἥχων ἡ σεμνότερον τὸ βασιλικόν, πολλοὺς δὲ ὀδόντας οὐκ εἶχεν, ἀλλ’ ἐν ὀστέον συνεχεῖς ἦν ἀνωθεν, οἷον λεπταῖς ἀμυχαις τὰς διαφυὰς ὑπογεγραμμένον τῶν ὀδόντων. τοῖς δὲ σταλησιῶσιν ἐδόκει βοηθεῖν, ἀλεκτρυόνα θύων λευκόν, ὑπτίων τε κατακειμένων τῷ δεξιῷ ποδὶ πιέζων ἀτρέμα τὸ σπλάγχνον. οὐδείς δὲ ἦν πένης οὐδὲ ἄδοξος οὕτως ὡστε μή τυχείν τῆς

5 ιατρείας δεηθείς. ἐλάμβανε δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀλεκτρυόνα θύσιας, καὶ τὸ γέρας τούτῳ ἡδίστον ἦν αὐτῷ. λέγεται δὲ τοῦ ποδὸς ἐκείνου τῶν μείζων δάκτυλον ἔχειν δύναμιν θείαν, ὡστε μετὰ τὴν τελευτην τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος κατακαίντος ἀπαθῆ καὶ ἄθικτον ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς εὑρέθηναι. ταύτα μὲν οὖν ὑστερον.

IV. Γενομένῳ δὲ περὶ ἐπτακαίδεκα ἔτη καὶ δοκοῦντι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχειν βεβαιῶς ἀποδημία τις

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suppliant. Some say, however, that the child did not supplicate Glaucias, but caught hold of an altar of the gods and stood there with his arms thrown round it, and that Glaucias thought this a sign from Heaven. Therefore he at once put Pyrrhus in the arms of his wife; bidding her rear him along with their children; and a little while after, when the child’s enemies demanded his surrender, and Cassander offered two hundred talents for him, Glaucias would not give him up, but after he had reached the age of twelve years, actually conducted him back into Epeirus with an armed force and set him upon the throne there.

In the aspect of his countenance Pyrrhus had more of the terror than of the majesty of kingly power. He had not many teeth, but his upper jaw was one continuous bone, on which the usual intervals between the teeth were indicated by slight depressions. People of a splenetic habit believed that he cured their ailment; he would sacrifice a white cock, and, while the patient lay flat upon his back, would press gently with his right foot against the spleen. Nor was any one so obscure or poor as not to get this healing service from him if he asked it. The king would also accept the cock after he had sacrificed it, and this honorarium was most pleasing to him. It is said, further, that the great toe of his right foot had a divine virtue, so that after the rest of his body had been consumed, this was found to be untouched and unharmed by the fire. These things, however, belong to a later period.

IV. When he had reached the age of seventeen years¹ and was thought to be firmly seated on his

¹ In 302 B.C.
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συνέτυχο, τών Γλαυκίου παιδών ἐνός, οἷς συνετε-θραπτο, γυναῖκα λαμβάνοντος. πάλιν οὖν οἱ Μολοττοὶ συστάντες ἐξέβαλον τοὺς φίλους αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ χρήματα διήρπασαν καὶ Νεοπτολέμῳ

2 παρέδωκαν ἕαυτοῖς. ὁ δὲ Πῦρρος οὖτω τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποβαλὼν καὶ γενόμενος πάντων ἐρήμος Δημήτριῳ τῷ 'Αντιγόνου προσέμεζεν ἕαυτόν, ἔχοντι τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ Δηίδαμειαν, ἢν ἔτι μὲν ὀψαν κόρην ὅνομαζον 'Αλεξάνδρου τοῦ 'Ρωξάνης γυναίκα, τῶν δὲ κατ᾽ ἐκείνους δυστυχήθεντών ὄραν ἔχουσαν αὐτὴν ἔγημεν ὁ Δημήτριος.

3 τῆς δὲ μεγάλης μάχης ἢν ἐν 'Ιψῳ πάντες οἱ βασιλεῖς ἡγουμένων, παρὼν ὁ Πῦρρος τοῖς περὶ Δημήτριον συμμετείχε μειράκιοι ὃν ἔτι, καὶ τοὺς καθ' ἕαυτόν ἐτρέψατο, καὶ διεφάνη λαμπρός ἐν 385 τοῖς μαχομένοις. πταίσαντα δὲ Δημήτριον οὐκ ἐγκατέλυσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τᾶς ἐν τῇ 'Ελλάδι πόλεις πιστευθεὶς διεφύλαξε, καὶ συμβάσεων αὐτῷ γενομένων πρὸς Πτολεμαίον ἔπλευσεν εἰς Δύνα-

4 πτον ὀμηρεύσων. καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ μὲν ἐν τε θήραις καὶ γυμνασίοις ἐπίδειξιν ἀλκῆς καὶ καρ-
tερίας παρεῖχε, τὴν δὲ Βερενίκην ὅρων μέγιστον δυναμένη ν καὶ πρωτεύουσαν ἀρετὴ καὶ φρονήσει τῶν Πτολεμαίων γυναικῶν, θεράπευε μάλιστα· καὶ δεινὸς ὃν ὑπελθεῖν ἐπ' ὥφελεία τοὺς κρείτ-
tονας, ωσπερ ὑπερόπτης τῶν ταπεινοτέρων, κόσμιος δὲ καὶ σώφρων περὶ δίαιταν, ἐκ πολλῶν

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throne, it came to pass that he went on a journey, when one of the sons of Glaucias, with whom he had been reared, was married. Once more, then, the Molossians banded together, drove out his friends, plundered his property, and put themselves under Neoptolemus.¹ Pyrrhus, thus stripped of his realm and rendered destitute of all things, joined himself to Demetrius the son of Antigonus, who had his sister Deidameia to wife. She, while she was still a girl, had been nominally given in marriage to Alexander, Roxana's son; but their affairs miscarried, and when she was of age Demetrius married her.² In the great battle which all the kings fought at Ipsus ³ Pyrrhus was present, and took part with Demetrius, though still a stripling. He routed the enemy opposed to him, and made a brilliant display of valour among the combatants. Moreover, though Demetrius lost the day, Pyrrhus did not abandon him, but kept guard over his cities in Greece which were entrusted to him,⁴ and when Demetrius made peace with Ptolemy, sailed to Egypt as hostage for him. Here, both in hunting and in bodily exercises, he gave Ptolemy proof of his prowess and endurance, and seeing that among the wives of Ptolemy it was Berenice who had the greatest influence and was foremost in virtue and understanding, he paid especial court to her. He was adept at turning to his own advantage the favour of his superiors, just as he was inclined to look down upon his inferiors, and since he was orderly and restrained in his ways of living, he was selected from among many young

¹ A grandson of the Neoptolemus mentioned in chapter ii. 1.  
² See the Demetrius, xxv. 2.  
³ In 301 B.C. · Cf. the Demetrius, chapters xxviii. f.  
⁴ Cf. the Demetrius, xxxi. 2.
νέων ἡγεμονικῶν προεκρίθη λαβεῖν Ἀντιγόνην γυναίκα τῶν Βερείκης θυγατέρων, ἦν ἐσχεν ἐκ Φιλίππου πρὸν ἡ Πτολεμαίως συνοικεῖν.

V. Μετὰ δὲ τὸν γάμον τούτον ἐτί μᾶλλον εὐδοκιμῶν, καὶ γυναικὸς ἀγαθής τῆς Ἀντιγόνης περὶ αὐτὸν ὤσις, διεπράξατο χρήματα λαβῶν καὶ δύναμιν εἰς Ἡπειροῦ ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀποσταλῆναι. καὶ παρῆν οὐκ ἀκούσει τοῖς πολλοῖς1 διὰ τὴν ἀπέχθειαν τοῦ Νεοπτόλεμον χαλέπως καὶ βιαῖως ἄρχοντος. πλὴν ἄλλα δεῖσας μὴ πρὸς τινά τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων ὁ Νεοπτόλεμος τράπηται, διαλύσεις ἔθετο καὶ φιλίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ κοινωνία τῆς ἀρχῆς.

χρόνου δὲ προῖντος ἦσαν οἱ παροξύνοντες αὐτοὺς κρύφα καὶ κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐμποιοῦντες ὑποψίας. ἡ μέντοι μάλιστα κινήσασα τὸν Πύρρον αἰτία λέγεται τοιαύτῃ ἀρχῆν λαβεῖν.

Εἰώθεισαν οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐν Πασσαρωνί, χωρίῳ τῆς Μολοττίδος, Ἀρείω Διὸς θύσαντες ὅρκομοιτείν τοῖς Ἡπειρώταις καὶ ὅρκίζειν, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἄρξειν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν

διαφυλάξειν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, ταῦτ' οὖν ἐδράτῳ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν βασιλέων παρόντων, καὶ συνήσαν ἀλλήλως μετὰ τῶν φίλων, δόρα πολλά τὰ μὲν διδόντες, τὰ δὲ λαμβάνοντες. ἔνταθα δὴ Γέλων, άνήρ πιστὸς Νεοπτόλεμῷ, δεξιωσάμενος φιλοφρόνως τὸν Πύρρον ἐδωρήσατο βοῶν ἀρωτήρων δυσὶ ξεύγεσι. ταῦτα Μυρτίλος ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ οἴνου παρὼν ἦτει τὸν Πύρρον ἐκείνου δὲ μὴ διδόντος, ἄλλ' ἐτέρφῳ, χαλεπῶς ἐνεγκών ὁ Μυρτίλος οὐκ

ἐλαθε τὸν Γέλωνα. καλέσασα οὖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ

1 τοῖς πολλοῖσ with Coraës and Blass: πολλοῖσ.
princes as a husband for Antigone, one of the daughters of Berenicé, whom she had by Philip before her marriage with Ptolemy.

V. After this marriage he was held in still greater esteem, and since Antigone was an excellent wife to him, he brought it to pass that he was sent into Epeirus with money and an army to regain his kingdom. Most people there were glad to see him come, owing to their hatred of Neoptolemus, who was a stern and arbitrary ruler. However, fearing lest Neoptolemus should have recourse to one of the other kings, he came to terms and made friendship with him on the basis of a joint exercise of the royal power. But as time went on there were people who secretly exasperated them against one another and filled them with mutual suspicions. The chief ground, however, for action on the part of Pyrrhus is said to have had its origin as follows.

It was customary for the kings, after sacrificing to Zeus Areius at Passaro, a place in the Molossian land, to exchange solemn oaths with the Epeirots, the kings swearing to rule according to the laws, and the people to maintain the kingdom according to the laws. Accordingly, this was now done; both the kings were present, and associated with one another, together with their friends, and many gifts were interchanged. Here Gelon, a man devoted to Neoptolemus, greeted Pyrrhus in a friendly manner and made him a present of two yoke of oxen for ploughing. Pyrrhus was asked for these by Myrtillus, his cup-bearer; and when Pyrrhus would not give them to him, but gave them to another, Myrtillus was deeply resentful. This did not escape the notice of

1 An obscure Macedonian.
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dείτπνος, ὡς δὲ φασίν ἔνιοι, καὶ χρησάμενος παρ'οίμων ὅραν ἔχοντι, λόγους προσήνεγκε παρακαλῶν ἐλέσθαι τὰ τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου καὶ φαρμάκοις διαφθείρα τὸν Πύρρον. ὦ δὲ Μυρτίλος ἐδέξατο μὲν τὴν πείραν ὡς ἐπαινῶν καὶ συμπεπειράμενος, ἐμήνυε δὲ τῷ Πύρρῳ καὶ κελεύσαντος ἐκείνου τὸν ἀρχιοικόχοον Ἀλέξικράτην τῷ Γέλωνι συνεστήσεν, ὡς δὴ μεθέξοντα τῆς πράξεως αὐτῶν ἐβούλετο γὰρ ἐν πλείσσιν ὁ Πύρρος τὸν ἔλεγχον γενέσθαι τοῦ ἀδικήματος. 5 οὕτω δὲ τοῦ Γέλωνος ἐξαπατωμένου συνεξαπατώμενος ὁ Νεοπτόλεμος, καὶ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ὁδῷ βαδίζεν ὁιόμενος οὐ κατείχεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ χαρᾶς ἐξέφερε πρὸς τοὺς φίλους. καὶ ποτὲ κωμάσας παρὰ τὴν ἀδελφὴν Καδμείαν ἐχρῆτο λαλιᾶ περὶ τούτων, οὕδενα συνακούειν οἰόμενος οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἴνα πλησίον ἄλλος ἢ Φαιναρέτη γυνὴ Σάμωνος τοῦ τὰ ποίμνια καὶ τὰ βουκόλια τῷ Νεοπτόλεμῳ διοικοῦντος, αὐτὴ δὲ ἀπεστραμμένη πρὸς τὸν τοῖ- 6 χον ἐπὶ κλώνης τινὸς ἐδόκει καθεὔδειν. συνήκονος δὲ πάντων γενομένη καὶ λαθοῦσα μεθ' ἡμέραν ἴκε πρὸς Ἀντιγόνην τὴν Πύρρου γυναῖκα, καὶ πάντα κατείπεν ὡσα τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἠκουσε λέγοντος. πυθόμενος δὲ ὁ Πύρρος ἐκεῖ μὲν ἡσυχίαν ἤγεν, ἐν δὲ θυσίᾳ καλεσάς ἐπὶ 7 δείτπνον τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον ἀπέκτεινεν, αἰσθῆμενος τῶν Ἑπειρωτῶν τοὺς κρατίστους προσέχοντας αὐτῷ, καὶ παρακελευσμένοις ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῷ Νεοπτολέμου, καὶ μὴ μερίδα μικρὰν ἔχοντα 386 βασιλείας ἀγαπᾶν, ἀλλὰ τῇ φύσει χρήσασθαι

1 τὸν τοῖχον with Coraës, Blass, and C: τοῖχον.
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Gelon, who therefore invited Myrtillus to supper, and even, as some say, enjoyed his youthful beauty as they drank; then he reasoned with him and urged him to become an adherent of Neoptolemus and to destroy Pyrrhus by poison. Myrtillus accepted the proposal, pretending to approve of it and to be persuaded, but informed Pyrrhus. He also, by the king’s orders, presented Alexicrates, the king’s chief cup-bearer, to Gelon, assuring him that he would take part in their enterprise; for Pyrrhus wished to have several persons who could testify to the intended crime. Thus Gelon was thoroughly deceived, and Neoptolemus as well, and as thoroughly, who, supposing that the plot was duly progressing, could not keep it to himself, but in his joy would talk about it to his friends. Once, in particular, after a revel at the house of his sister Cadmeia, he fell to prattling about the matter, supposing that no one would hear the conversation but themselves; for no one else was near except Phaenarete, the wife of Samon, a man who managed the flocks and herds of Neoptolemus, and Phaenarete was lying on a couch with her face to the wall and seemed to be asleep. But she heard everything, and next day went unobserved to Antigone the wife of Pyrrhus, and told her all that she had heard Neoptolemus say to his sister. When Pyrrhus learned of it, he kept quiet for a time, but on a day of sacrifice invited Neoptolemus to supper and killed him. For he was aware that the chief men among the Epeirots were devoted to himself and were eager to see him rid himself of Neoptolemus; also that they wished him not to content himself with having a small share of the kingdom, but to follow his natural bent and
μειζόνων πραγμάτων αντιλαμβανόμενου, καὶ τινὸς ὑποψίας ἃμα προσγενομένης τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον φθάσας ἀνελείω.

VI. Μεμνημένος δὲ Βερενίκης καὶ Πτολεμαίον παιδίων μὲν αὐτῷ γενόμενον ἐξ Ἀντιγόνης Πτολεμαίον ὄνομασεν, ὅκισας δὲ πόλιν ἐν τῇ χερσονήσῳ τῆς Ἡπείρου Βερονικίδα προσηγόρευσεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πολλὰ μὲν περινοῦ καὶ μεγάλα τῇ γνώμῃ, ταῖς δὲ ἐλπίδα μάλιστα καὶ πρῶτον ἀντιλαμβανόμενος τῶν πλησίου, εὑρεν ἐμφύναι τοῖς Μακεδώνων πράγμασιν ἐκ τοιᾶσσε δὲ τινὸς προφάσεως.

2 Τῶν Κασάνδρου παίδων ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἀντίπατρος τῆς τε μητέρας Θεσσαλονίκην ἄνευλε καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἤλαυνεν. ὁ δὲ πρὸς τε Δημήτριον ἐπέμψε δέομενος βοηθεῖν καὶ Πύρρον ἐκάλει. Δημητρίου δὲ ὑπὸ ἀσχολιῶν βραδύνοντος ἐπελθὼν ὁ Πύρρος ἤτησε μισθὸν τῆς συμμαχίας τῆς τε Στυμφαίαν καὶ τῆς Παραυαίαν τῆς Μακεδονίας, καὶ τῶν ἐπικτήτων ἐθνῶν Ἀμβρακίαν, Ἀκαρνανίαν, Ἀμφιλοχίαν. προεμένου δὲ τοῦ νεανίσκου ταῦτα μὲν αὐτὸς εἰχε φρονεραῖς καταλαβών, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ κτώμενος ἐκεῖνῳ περιέκοπτε τὸν Ἀντίπατρον. Λυσίμαχος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτοῦ μὲν ἤν ἐν ἀσχολίαις προθυμομένος Ἀντιπάτρῳ βοηθεῖν, εἰδὼς δὲ τὸν Πύρρον οὔδὲν ἄχαριστεῖν οὐδὲ ἄρνεισθαι Πτολεμαῖο βουλόμενον ἐπέμψε πλαστὰ γράμματα πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὡς Πτολεμαίῳ κελεύοντος ἀπαλλάττεσθαι τῆς στρατεύσεως τριακόσια τάλαντα παρὰ τούτων Ἀντιπάτρου λαβώντα. λύσας δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν

1 φθάσας Coraës and Blass, with most MSS.: φθάσαι.
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attempt greater things, and, now that some suspicion
had added its weight to other motives for the deed,
to anticipate Neoptolemus by taking him off first.

VI. And now, in honour of Berenice and Ptolemy,
he gave the name of Ptolemy to his infant son by Anti-
gone, and called the city which he had built on the
peninsula of Epeirus, Berenicis. After this, he be-
gan to revolve many large projects in his mind; but
his hopes were fixed first and more especially on
undertakings close at hand, and he found a way to
take direct part in Macedonian affairs, on grounds
something like the following.

Of Cassander’s sons, the elder, Antipater, killed
his mother Thessalonice and drove away his brother
Alexander.\(^1\) Alexander sent to Demetrius begging
for help, and also called upon Pyrrhus. Demetrius
was delayed by matters that he had in hand; but
Pyrrhus came, and demanded as a reward for his
alliance Stymphaea and Parauaea in Macedonia, and,
of the countries won by the allies, Ambracia, Acar-
nania, and Amphilochia. The youthful Alexander
gave way to his demands, and Pyrrhus took possession
of these countries and held them for himself with
garrisons; he also proceeded to strip from Antipater
the remaining parts of his kingdom and turn them
over to Alexander. Now Lysimachus the king, who
was eager to give aid to Antipater, was fully occupied
himself and could not come in person; but knowing
that Pyrrhus was desirous to do Ptolemy every favour
and refuse him nothing, he sent a forged letter to
him which stated that Ptolemy urged him to give up
his expedition on payment of three hundred talents
from Antipater. As soon as Pyrrhus opened the

\(^1\) Cf. the Demetrius, xxxvi. 1 f.
ο Πύρρος εὐθύς τὸ ράδιούργημα τοῦ Δυσιμάχου συνείδεν· οὔδε γὰρ ἦν ἡ συνήθης γεγραμμένη προσαγόρευσις, "Ὁ πατὴρ τῷ νῦι χαίρειν", ἀλλὰ, "Βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος βασιλεὶ Πύρρῳ χαίρειν." λοιδορήσας δὲ τὸν Δυσιμάχον ὅμως ἐποιεῖτο τὴν εἰρήνην, καὶ συνήσαν ὡς κατὰ 5 σφαγῶν ὅρκωμοτήσοντες. ἔτει δὲ ταύρου καὶ κάπρου καὶ κριοῦ προσαχθέντος ὁ κριῶς αὐτο-μάτως ἀπέθανε, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις γελᾶν ἐπήει, τὸν δὲ Πύρρον ὁ μάντις Θεόδωτος ὤμος διεκόλυσε, φήσας τὸ δαιμόνιον εὖ προσημαινεῖν τῶν τριῶν βασιλέων θάνατον. ὁ μὲν οὖν Πύρρος οὕτως ἀπέστη τῆς εἰρήνης.

VII. Τῷ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῶν πραγμάτων ἢδη κατάστασιν ἔχοντων ὁμοιός ὁ Δημήτριος ἀφίκετο· καὶ δῆλος μὲν ἦν εὐθὺς ἢκων μὴ δεομένῳ, καὶ φόβον παρείχε, ὅλας δὲ ἡμέρας συγγενόμενοι δὲ ἀπιστίας ἐπεβούλευσαν ἀλλήλους ἀμφότεροι, καὶ ροὶ δὲ χρησάμενος καὶ φθάσας ἀποκτίνωσιν ὁ Δημήτριος τὸ μειράκιον, καὶ βασιλεὺς ἀνηγορεύθη 2 Μακεδονίας. ἦν μὲν οὖν καὶ πρῶτον αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Πύρρον ἐγκλήματα, καὶ καταδρομαῖ τῆς Θεσσαλίας ἐγεγόνεισαν ὑπ’ ἐκείνου, καὶ τὸ σύμφωτον νόσημα ταῖς δυναστείαις, ἡ πλεονεξία, τὴν γειτνίασιν αὐτοῖς ἐπίφοβον καὶ ἀπίστων παρείχε, καὶ μᾶλλον έτι μετὰ τὴν τῆς Δηιδαμείας τελευτήν. ἔτει δὲ καὶ κατασχόντες ἀμφότεροι Μακεδονίας συνέπτητον εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ μείζονας 3 ἐλάμβανε προφάσεις ἡ διαφορά, Δημήτριος μὲν 362
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letter he perceived the fraud of Lysimachus; for the letter did not have the customary address, "The father, to the son, health and happiness," but instead, "King Ptolemy, to King Pyrrhus, health and happiness." Pyrrhus reviled Lysimachus for the fraud, but nevertheless made the desired peace, and they all met to ratify it with sacrificial oaths. However, after a bull, a boar, and a ram had been brought up for sacrifice, of its own accord the ram fell down dead. The rest of the spectators were moved to laughter, but Theodotus the seer prevented Pyrrhus from taking the oath by declaring that Heaven thus betokened in advance the death of one of the three kings. In this way, then, Pyrrhus was led to renounce the peace.

VII. Thus Alexander's affairs were already settled with the help of Pyrrhus, but nevertheless Demetrius came to him; and as soon as he arrived it was plain that he was not wanted, and he inspired only fear; and after they had been together a few days their mutual distrust led them to plot against each other. But Demetrius, taking advantage of his opportunity, got beforehand with the young prince and slew him, and was proclaimed king of Macedonia.\(^1\) Now, even before this there had been differences between him and Pyrrhus, and Pyrrhus had overrun Thessaly; \(^2\) and greed for power, the natural disease of dynasties, made them formidable and suspicious neighbours, and all the more after the death of Deidameia. And now that both of them had occupied part of Macedonia, they came into collision, and their quarrel was furnished with stronger grounds. Demetrius there-

\(^1\) Cf. the *Demetrius*, xxxvi. 2-6, xxxvii.
\(^2\) Cf. the *Demetrius*, xl. i
4 Πάνταυχων περιπεσών εἰς μάχην κατέστη, καὶ
tῶν στρατιωτῶν συμπεσόντων δεινὸς ἢ καὶ
μέγας ἀγών, μάλιστα κατὰ τοὺς ἤγεμόνας. ὦ τε
γὰρ Πάνταυχος ἀνδρεία καὶ χειρὶ καὶ ῥώμη
σώματος ἄριστος ὁν ὁμολογοῦμένως τῶν περὶ
Δημήτριου στρατηγῶν, καὶ θάρσος ἔχων καὶ
φρόνημα, προὐκαλεῖτο τὸν Πύρρον εἰς χεῖρας, ὦ
τε Πύρρος οὐδενὶ τῶν βασιλέων υφίσταμαι ἀλκῆς
καὶ τόλμης, καὶ τὴν Ἀχιλλέως δόξαν αὐτῶ δι
ἀρετὴν μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ γένος συνοικειοῦν βουλό-
μενος, ἐναντίος ἔχωρε διὰ τῶν προμάχων ἤπι τῶν

5 Πάνταυχων. ἢν δὲ δορατισμὸς τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτα
ἐν χερῶν γενόμενοι μετὰ τεχνὴς ἁμα καὶ βίας
ἐχρῶντο τοῖς ξίφεσι. λαβὼν δὲ ο Πύρρος ἐν
τραῦμα, δοὺς δὲ δυὸ, τὸ μὲν εἰς τὸν μηροῦν, τὸ
δὲ παρὰ τὸν τράχηλον, ἐτρέψατο καὶ κατέβαλε τὸν
Πάνταυχον. οὐ μὴν ἀνείλεν, ἀνηρπάγη γὰρ ὑπὸ
tῶν φίλων. οἱ δὲ Ἡπειρῶται τῇ νικῆ τοῦ
βασιλέως ἑπαρβέντες καὶ θαυμᾶσαντες τὴν
ἀρετὴν ἐβίασαν καὶ διέκοψαν τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν
Μακεδόνων, καὶ φεύγοντας διώκοντες ἀπέκτειναν
tε πολλοὺς καὶ πεντακισχιλίους ξόντας εἶλον.

VIII. ὦ δὲ ἀγὼν οὕτως οὐ τοσοῦτον ὄργῆς ὦν
ἐπαθὸν οὐδὲ μίσους ἐνέπλησε τοὺς Μακεδόνας
πρὸς τὸν Πύρρον, ὅσην δόξαν αὐτοῦ καὶ θαύμα

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fore made an expedition against the Aetolians and conquered them, and then, leaving Pantauchus there with a large force, he himself moved against Pyrrhus, and Pyrrhus, when he heard of it, against him. Owing to a mistake in the way, however, they passed by one another, and Demetrius, throwing his forces into Epeirus, plundered the country, while Pyrrhus, encountering Pantauchus, joined battle with him. There was a sharp and terrible conflict between the soldiers who engaged, and especially also between the leaders. For Pantauchus, who was confessedly the best of the generals of Demetrius for bravery, dexterity, and vigour of body, and had both courage and a lofty spirit, challenged Pyrrhus to a hand-to-hand combat; and Pyrrhus, who yielded to none of the kings in daring and prowess, and wished that the glory of Achilles should belong to him by right of valour rather than of blood alone, advanced through the foremost fighters to confront Pantauchus. At first they hurled their spears, then, coming to close quarters, they plied their swords with might and skill. Pyrrhus got one wound, but gave Pantauchus two, one in the thigh, and one along the neck, and put him to flight and overthrew him; he did not kill him, however, for his friends haled him away. Then the Epeirots, exalted by the victory of their king and admiring his valour, overwhelmed and cut to pieces the phalanx of the Macedonians, pursued them as they fled, slew many of them, and took five thousand of them alive. 2

VIII. This conflict did not fill the Macedonians with wrath and hate towards Pyrrhus for their losses, rather it led those who beheld his exploits

1 Cf. the Demetrius, xli. 1 f. 2 Cf. the Demetrius, xli. 2.
tῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ λόγου ἐνειργάσατο τοὺς ἰδοὺς τὰ ἔργα καὶ συνενεχθεῖσι κατὰ τὴν μάχην. καὶ γὰρ ὁψιν φοντό καὶ τάχος ἐοικέναι καὶ κίνημα τοῖς 'Αλεξάνδρου, καὶ τῆς φορᾶς ἐκείνου καὶ βίας παρὰ τοὺς ἀγώνας ἐν τούτῳ σκιάς τινας ὅρασθαι καὶ μιμήματα, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων βασιλέων ἐν πορφύραις καὶ δορυφόροις καὶ κλίσει τραχήλου καὶ τῷ μείζον διαλέγεσθαι, μόνον δὲ Πύρρου τοῖς ὄπλοις καὶ ταῖς χερσὶ ἐπιδεικνυμένου τὸν 'Αλέξανδρου.

2 Τῆς δὲ περὶ τάξεις καὶ στρατηγίας ἐπιστήμης αὐτοῦ καὶ δεινότητος ἐνεστὶ δείγματα λαβεῖν ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων ἂ περὶ τούτων ἀπόδειξις. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἀντίγονος ἐρωτηθεὶς τίς ἰσοτομίς τῶν στρατηγῶν, φάναι, “Πύρρος, ἄν γηράσῃ” περὶ τῶν καθ’ αὐτοῦ οὕτως ἀποφημάμενος μόνον. Ἀνιβάσας δὲ συμπάντων ἀπέφηνε τῶν στρατηγῶν πρῶτον μὲν ἐμπερίᾳ καὶ δεινότητι Πύρρου, Σκηπίωνα δὲ δεύτερον, ἐαυτοῦ δὲ τρίτον, ὡς ἐν 3 τοῖς περὶ Σκηπίωνος γέγραπται. καὶ ὅλως τούτῳ μελετῶν ἐοίκε καὶ φιλοσοφῶν ἂεὶ διατελεῖν ὁ Πύρρος, ὡς μαθημάτων βασιλικότατον, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας γλαφυρίας ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τίθεσθαι. λέ
gεται γὰρ ὡς ἐρωτηθεὶς ἐν τινὶ πότῳ, πότερον αὐτῷ φαίνεται Πύθων αὐλητής ἄμεινων ἡ Κα-
φισίας, εἰπεῖν ὅτι Πολυστέρχων στρατηγός, ὡς ταῦτα τῷ βασιλεῖ ζητεῖν ὡνὰ καὶ γινώσκειν προσήκον.
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and engaged him in the battle to esteem him highly and admire his bravery and talk much about him. For they likened his aspect and his swiftness and all his motions to those of the great Alexander, and thought they saw in him shadows, as it were, and imitations of that leader's impetuosity and might in conflicts. The other kings, they said, represented Alexander with their purple robes, their body-guards, the inclination of their necks, and their louder tones in conversation; but Pyrrhus, and Pyrrhus alone, in arms and action.

Of his knowledge and ability in the field of military tactics and leadership one may get proofs from the writings on these subjects which he left. It is said also that Antigonus, when asked who was the best general, replied, "Pyrrhus, if he lives to be old." This verdict of Antigonus applied only to his contemporaries. Hannibal, however, declared that the foremost of all generals in experience and ability was Pyrrhus, that Scipio was second, and he himself third, as I have written in my Life of Scipio. And in a word, Pyrrhus would seem to have been always and continually studying and meditating upon this one subject, regarding it as the most kingly branch of learning; the rest he regarded as mere accomplishments and held them in no esteem. For instance, we are told that when he was asked at a drinking-party whether he thought Python or Caphisias the better flute-player, he replied that Polysperchon was a good general, implying that it became a king to investigate and understand such matters only.

1 Cf. the Demetrius, xli. 3.  
2 See the Alexander, iv. 1.  
3 The "book" containing the Lives of Epaminondas and Scipio Africanus the Elder has been lost.
4 Ἔν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις ἐπιεικῆς καὶ πρᾶος ὅργην, σφοδρὸς δὲ καὶ πρόθυμος ἐν ταῖς χάρισιν. Ἀερόποτο γοῦν ἀποθανόντος οὐκ ἠνεγκε μετρίως, ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἄνθρωπινα πεπονθέναι φασκῶν, ἐαυτὸν δὲ μεμφόμενος καὶ κακίζων ὅτι μέλλων ἂεὶ καὶ βραδύνων χάριν οὐκ ἀπέδωκεν αὐτῷ. τὰ μὲν γὰρ χρέα καὶ κληρονόμοις ἐστὶν ἀποδοῦναι τῶν δανεισάντων, αἱ δὲ τῶν χαρίτων ἀμοίβαι μὴ γενόμεναι πρὸς αἰσθαναμένους ἀνίσθωσι τῶν χρηστῶν καὶ δίκαιων. ἐν δὲ Ἀμβρακίᾳ κακολόγοιν τινὰ καὶ βλάσφημοι ἄνθρωπον ὀιομένων δείν μεταστῆσαι τὸν Πύρρον "Αὐτοῦ μένων," ἔφη, "μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς ἐν ὀλίγοις ἡ περιέων πρὸς ἄπαντας ἄνθρωποις κακῶς λεγέτω." καὶ τοὺς παρ' οἷνον αὐτῶν λοιδορήσαντας, εἶτα ἔλεγχομένους ἡρώτησεν εἰ ταῦτα ἐἶπον· ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τῶν νεανίσκων ἐνός, "Ταῦτα, ὦ βασιλέως πλείονα δ' ἄν ἔτι τοῦτον εἰρήκειμεν, εἰ πλεῖων παρὴν οἶνος ἡμῖν," γελάσας ἀφήκε.

IX. Γυναῖκας δὲ πραγμάτων ἐνεκα καὶ δυναμεῶς πλείονας ἔγγυμε μετὰ τὴν Ἀντιγόνης τελευτήν. καὶ γὰρ Ἀὐτολέοντος τοῦ Παιώνων βασιλέως ἔλαβε θυγατέρα, καὶ Βιρκένναν τὴν Βαρδύλλιος τοῦ Ἰλλυρίων, καὶ Δάνασσαν τὴν Ἀγαθόκλεους τοῦ Συρακοσίου, προῖκα προσφερομένην αὐτῷ τὴν Κερκυραίων πόλιν ἠλωκυίαν ὑπὸ Ἀγαθόκλεους. ἐκ μὲν οὖν Ἀντιγόνης
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He was also kind towards his familiar friends, and mild in temper, but eager and impetuous in returning favours. At any rate, when Aeropus died, he was distressed beyond measure, declaring that Aeropus had indeed only suffered what was common to humanity, but that he blamed and reviled himself because he had always delayed and moved slowly in the matter and so had not returned his friend’s favour. For the debts due to one’s creditors can be paid back to their heirs; but if the favours received from friends are not returned while those friends can be sensible of the act, it is an affliction to a just and good man. Again, in Ambracia there was a fellow who denounced and reviled him, and people thought that Pyrrhus ought to banish him. “Let him remain here,” said Pyrrhus, “and speak ill of us among a few, rather than carry his slanders round to all mankind.” And again, some young fellows indulged in abuse of him over their cups, and were brought to task for it. Pyrrhus asked them if they had said such things, and when one of them replied, “We did, O King; and we should have said still more than this if we had had more wine.” Pyrrhus laughed and dismissed them.¹

IX. In order to enlarge his interests and power he married several wives after the death of Antigone. He took to wife, namely, a daughter of Autoleon, king of the Paeonians; Bircenna, the daughter of Bardyllis the Illyrian; and Lanassa, the daughter of Agathocles of Syracuse, who brought him as her dowry the city of Corcyra, which had been captured by Agathocles. By Antigone he had a son Ptolemy,

¹ The story is found also in Plutarch’s Morals, p. 184 d, and in Val. Max. 5, 1, ext. 3.

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Πολεμαίον ύδην ἐσχεν, ἐκ δὲ Δανάσσης Ἄλεξανδρον, Ἐλευθεριάν τοῦ, νεώτατον ἐκ Βηρκέννης. 2 καὶ πάντας ἀγαθοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἔθρεψατο καὶ διαπύρωσε, εὐθὺς ἐκ γενετῆς ἐπὶ τοῦτο θηγομένου ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. λέγεται γὰρ ὃς ἔρωτηθεὶς ὑφ' ἐνὸς αὐτῶν ἐτὶ παιδὸς ἄντως, τίνι καταλείψει τὴν βασιλείαν, εἰπεῖν, "Ὄσ ᾧν ὑμῶν τὴν μάχαιραν ἀξυτάτην ἐχει." τοῦτο δὲ οὐδὲν ἀποδεῖ τῆς τραγικῆς ἀράς ἐκείνης. "Θεκτὲο σιδήρῳ ὅμω διαλαχεῖν" τοὺς ἄδελφους. ὦτως ἀμικτὸς ἐστὶ καὶ θηριώδης ἡ τῆς πλεονεξίας ὑπόθεσις.

X. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην ταύτην ὁ Πύρρος ἐπανελθὼν οὐκαδε λαμπρὸς ὑπὸ δόξης καὶ φρονήματος ἔχαρε· καὶ Ἀετὸς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἡπειρωτῶν προσαγορευόμενος, "Δι’ ὑμᾶς," ἔλεγεν, "ἀετός εἰμι· πῶς γὰρ οὐ μέλλω, τοῖς ὑμετέροις ὅπλοις ὀστέρο τοις πυθμοῖς ἐπαιρόμενος;" ὁλίγῳ δὲ ὑστερον πυθόμενος νοσεῖν τὸν Δημήτριον ἐπισφαλῶς ἐνέβαλε μὲν ἐξαίφνης εἰς Μακεδόνιαν ὡς ἐπιδρομὴν τινα καὶ λεησσίαν πυησόμενοι,

2 παρ’ ὁλίγον δὲ ἠλθεὶ πάντων ὅμοι κρατήσαι καὶ λαβεῖν ἀμαχεί τὴν βασιλείαν, ἔλασας ἀχρὶ Ἐδέσσης μηδένος ἀμυνομένου, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ προστιθεμένων καὶ συστατεύωντων. αὐτὸν τε ἐθ ἐτὸν Δημήτριον ὁ κίνδυνος ἐξανέστησε παρὰ δύναμιν, οὐ τε φίλου καὶ ἡγεμόνας ὁλίγῳ χρόνῳ πολλοῦς ἀθροίσαντες ἐφρωμένος καὶ προβύψας ἐπὶ τὸν Πύρρον ὄρμησαν. ὁ δὲ ληστρικῶτερον ἀφιγμένος οὐκ ἐμείνεν, ἀλλὰ φεύγων μέρος τι τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπέβαλε καθ’ οὗ ἐπιθεμένων τῶν Μακεδόνων.

1 ἀξυτάτην with Blass: ἀξυτέραν.
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Alexander-by Lanassa, and Helenus, his youngest son, by Bircenna. He brought them all up to be brave in arms and fiery, and he whetted them for this from their very birth. It is said, for instance, that when he was asked by one of them, who was still a boy, to whom he would leave his kingdom, he replied: "To that one of you who keeps his sword the sharpest." This, however, meant nothing less than the famous curse of Oedipus in the tragedy;¹ that "with whetted sword," and not by lot, the brothers should "divide the house." So savage and ferocious is the nature of rapacity.

X. After this battle Pyrrhus returned to his home rejoicing in the splendour which his fame and lofty spirit had brought him; and when he was given the surname of "Eagle" by the Epirots, "Through you," he said, "am I an eagle; why, pray, should I not be? It is by your arms that I am borne aloft as by swift pinions." But a little while after, learning that Demetrius was dangerously sick, he suddenly threw an army into Macedonia, intending merely to overrun and plunder some parts of it. Yet he came within a little of mastering the whole country and getting the kingdom without a battle; for he marched on as far as Edessa without opposition from anyone, and many actually joined his forces and shared his expedition. And now Demetrius himself was roused by the peril to act beyond his strength, while his friends and commanders in a short time collected many soldiers and set out with zeal and vigour against Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus, however, had come more for plunder than anything else, and would not stand his ground, but fled, losing a part of his army on the march, under the attacks of the Macedonians.

¹ Euripides, Phoenissae, 68.
3 Οὐ μὴν ὁτι ραδίως καὶ ταχύ τὸν Πύρρον ἐξέβαλε τής χώρας ὁ Δημήτριος ἡμέλησεν, ἐγνωκὼς δὲ μεγάλων πραγμάτων ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ τὴν πατρίαν ἀρχὴν ἀνακτᾶσθαι δέκα μυρίας στρατοῦ καὶ ναυσὶ πεντακοσίαις σῶν ἔβούλετο τῷ Πύρρῳ προσπταῖσαι, οὕτῳ ἀπολιπεῖν Μακεδόνι πάροικον ἐργῳδή καὶ χαλεπόν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐσχόλαζε πολεμεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν, διαλυθεὶς καὶ θέμενος εἰρήνην οὕτως ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους βασιλεῖς τραπέζασαι. γενομένων δὲ διὰ ταῦτα τῶν ὁμολογίων, καὶ τῆς γνώμης ἀμα τῷ μεγέθει τῆς παρασκευής ἐκφανείσθη τοῦ Δημητρίου, φοβηθέντες οἱ βασιλεῖς διεπέμποντο πρός τὸν Πύρρον ἄγγελοὺς καὶ γράμματα, θαυμάζειν φάσκοντες εἰ τὸν αὐτὸν προέμενος καιρόν, ἐν τῷ Δημητρίῳ πολεμῆσαι περιμένει, καὶ δυνάμενοι Μακεδονίας ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτὸν πολλὰ πράττοντα καὶ ταραττόμενον, ἐκδέχεται καὶ σχολάζοντι καὶ μεγάλῳ γενομένῳ περὶ τῶν ἐν Μολοσσοῖς ἱερῶν καὶ τάφων διαγωνισασθαί, καὶ ταῦτα Κέρκυραν ἐναγχος ἀφηρημένος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῆς γυναικός. ἡ γὰρ Λάνασσα μεμψαμένη τὸν Πύρρον ὡς μᾶλλον προσέχοντα ταῖς βαρβάροις γυναιξίν εἰς Κέρκυραν ἀπεχώρησε, καὶ δεομένη γάμων βασιλικῶν ἐκάλει Δημήτριον, ἐπισταμένη μάλιστα τῶν βασιλέων ἐυκόλως ἔχοντα πρὸς γάμους γυναικῶν. ἐκεῖνος δὲ πλεύσας τῇ τῇ Δανάσσῃ συνῆλθε καὶ φρούραν ἐν τῇ πόλει κατέλιπε.
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However, because Demetrius had easily and speedily driven Pyrrhus out of the country, he did not leave him to his own devices, but now that he had determined to undertake a great enterprise and to recover his father's realm with a hundred thousand soldiers and five hundred ships, he did not wish to have collisions with Pyrrhus, nor yet to leave behind in him an enterprising and troublesome neighbour for the Macedonians. He wished, rather, since he had no time to wage war against Pyrrhus, to come to terms and make peace with him, and then turn his arms against the other kings. But after an agreement had been made between them for these reasons, the purpose of Demetrius became apparent, as well as the magnitude of his preparations, and the kings, in alarm, kept sending to Pyrrhus messengers and letters,¹ expressing their amazement that he should let slip his own opportunity for making war and wait for Demetrius to seize his; and that when he was able to drive Demetrius out of Macedonia, since he was now much occupied and disturbed, he should await the time when his adversary, at his leisure and after he had become great, could wage a decisive struggle with him for the sanctuaries and tombs of the Molossian land, an adversary who had just robbed him of Corcyra, and his wife besides. For Lanassa, who found fault with Pyrrhus for being more devoted to his barbarian wives than to her, had retired to Corcyra, whither, since she desired a royal marriage, she invited Demetrius, understanding that he, of all the kings, was most readily disposed to marry wives. So Demetrius sailed thither, married Lanassa, and left a garrison in the city.

¹ Cf. the Demetrius, xliiv. 1.
XI. Ταύτα πρὸς τὸν Πῦρρον οἱ βασιλεῖς γράφοντες ἀμα καὶ δι’ ἐαυτῶν ἢτι μέλλοντα καὶ παρασκευαζόμενον τὸν Δημήτριον ἐκίνουν. Πτολεμαῖος μὲν γὰρ ἐπιπλεύσας μεγάλῳ στόλῳ τὰς Ἐλληνιδὰς ἀφίστη πόλεις, Λυσίμαχος δὲ τὴν ἀνω Μακεδονίαν ἐκ Θράκης ἐμβαλὼν ἐπόρθει. Πῦρρος δὲ τούτων ἀμα συνεξαναστάς ἐπὶ Βέροιαν ἠλαινε, προσδοκῶν, ὅπερ συνέβη, Δημήτριον ὑπαντιάζοντα Λυσιμάχῳ τὴν κάτω χώραν ἀπο- λείψειν ἔρημον. ἐκείνης δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἔδοξε κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνοὺς ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου καλεῖσθαι τοῦ μεγάλου, καὶ παραγενόμενος κλινῆρη μὲν αὐτὸν ἰδεῖν, λόγων δὲ χρηστῶν τυχεῖν καὶ φιλοφροσύνης ἐπαγγελλομένου προθύμως βοηθῆσειν. αὐτοῦ δὲ τολμήσαντος εἰπεῖν, “Καὶ πῶς ἂν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, νοσῶν δυνατὸς εἰς ἔμοι βοηθεῖν;” αὐτῷ φάναι τῷ ὄνοματι, καὶ περιβάντα Νισαιόν ἔππον ἤγεισθαι.

3 Ταύτην ἰδὼν τὴν ὀψιν ἐπερρώσθη τάχει δὲ χρησάμενος καὶ διαδραμὼν τὰ μεταξὺ καταλαμβάνει τὴν Βέροιαν καὶ τὸ πλείστον αὐτὸθι τῆς στρατιᾶς ἱδρύσας τὰ λοιπά προσήγετο διὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν. ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος ἔπει ταύτα ἠκουσε καὶ πονηρῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ θόρυβον ἤσθητο τῶν Μακεδόνων, ἐδείσε πορρωτέρω προαγαγεῖν, μὴ πλησίον γενόμενοι βασιλέως Μακεδόνος καὶ δόξαν ἔχοντος μεταβάλωνται πρὸς αὐτῶν.

4 ὁθεν ἐπιστρέψας ἐπὶ τὸν Πῦρρον ἤγεν ὡς ξένου καὶ μισούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων. ἔπει δὲ παρεστρατοπέδευσεν αὐτόθι, πολλοὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς
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XI. Such letters the kings kept sending to Pyrrhus, and at the same time on their own part they assailed Demetrius while he was still waiting to complete his preparations. Ptolemy sailed up with a great fleet and tried to bring the Greek cities to revolt, while Lysimachus invaded upper Macedonia from Thrace and ravaged the country. So Pyrrhus, taking the field at the same time with these, marched against Beroea, expecting, as proved to be the case, that Demetrius would go to confront Lysimachus, and thus leave the lower country unprotected. That night Pyrrhus dreamed that he was called by Alexander the Great, and that when he answered the call he found the king lying on a couch, but met with kindly speech and friendly treatment from him, and received a promise of his ready aid and help. "And how, O King," Pyrrhus ventured to ask, "when thou art sick, canst thou give me aid and help?" "My name itself will give it," said the king, and mounting a Nisaean horse he led the way.

This vision gave Pyrrhus great assurance, and leading his army with all speed through the intervening districts he took possession of Beroea; then, stationing the greater part of his forces there, he proceeded to subdue the rest of the country through his generals. When Demetrius heard of this, and became aware of a pernicious uproar in his camp on the part of the Macedonians, he was afraid to lead them farther on, lest on coming into the neighbourhood of a Macedonian king of great renown they should go over to him. Therefore he turned back and led them against Pyrrhus, with the idea that he was a foreigner and hated by the Macedonians. But after he had pitched his camp over against Pyrrhus, many
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Βεροίας ἀφικνούμενοι τὸν Πύρρον ἐνεκωμίαξον, ὡς ἀμαχὸν μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς καὶ λαμπρὸν ἀνδρα, πράως δὲ καὶ φιλανθρώπως τοῖς ἠλωκόσι κρώ-
μενον. ἦσαν δὲ τινες οὐς αὐτὸς ὁ Πύρρος ἔγινα"κεῖ προσποιούμενους εἶναι Μακεδόνας, καὶ λέγοντας ὅτι υἱὸς καίρος ἦστι τῆς Δημητρίου βαρύτητος ἀπαλλαγήναι, πρὸς ἀνδρα δημοτικοῦ καὶ φιλοστρατιώτην μεταβαλομένους τοῦ Πύρρον.

5 έκ τούτου τὸ πλεῖστον ἀνηρέθιστο τῆς στρατιᾶς, καὶ τὸν Πύρρον ἐξήτουν περισκοπούντες. ἑτυχε
γὰρ ἀφηρημένος τὸ κράνος, ἀχρὶ οὐ συμφρονήσας καὶ πάλιν1 περιθέμενος ἐγνώσθη τῷ τε λόφῳ 
dιαπρέπουνται καὶ τοὺς τραγικοὶς κέρασιν, ὡστε τοὺς Μακεδόνας σύνθημα προστρέχοντας αἰτεῖν, ἀλλοὺς δὲ κλάδους δρυὸς ἀναστέφεσθαι διὰ τὸ

6 καὶ τοὺς περὶ ἐκείνου ἐστεφανώμενους ὅραν. ἦδη 
dὲ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν τινες ἐτόλμων λέγειν τὸν 
Δημητρίου ὡς ὑπεκείτας καὶ προέμενος τὰ πράγ-
ματα καλῶς δόξει βεβουλεύσθαι. τούτοις τοῖς 
λόγοις ὅμοιον ὅρων τὸ κίνημα τοῦ στρατοπέδου 
cαὶ φοβηθεὶς κρύφα διεξέπεσε, καυσία τινι καὶ 
λυτοὶ χλαμυδῖῳ περιστείλας ἑαυτὸν. ἐπελθὼν δὲ 
ὁ Πύρρος ἀμαχεὶ παρέλαβε τὸ στρατόπεδο καὶ 
βασίλευς ἀνηγορεύθη Μακεδόνων.

ΧΙΙ. Ἐπιφανέντος δὲ Λυσιμάχου καὶ κοινῶν 
ἐργον ἀμφοῖν ποιομένου τὴν Δημητρίου κατά-
λυσιν καὶ νέμεσθαι τὴν βασίλειαν ἀξιοῦντος, 
οὐπώ πάνω βεβαιῶς τοῖς Μακεδόσι πιστεῦσιν ὁ 
Πύρρος, ἀλλ’ ἀμφίβολος ὅν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐδέξατο 
tοῦ Λυσιμάχου τὴν πρόκλησιν, καὶ διενείμαντο

1 Before περιθέμενοι, with Blass: πάλιν συμφρονήσας.
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Beroeans came thither with loud praises of Pyrrhus; they said he was invincible in arms and a brilliant hero, and treated his captives with mildness and humanity. There were some also whom Pyrrhus himself sent into the camp; they pretended to be Macedonians, and said that now was the favourable time to rid themselves of Demetrius and his severity, by going over to Pyrrhus, a man who was gracious to the common folk and fond of his soldiers. In consequence of this, the greater part of the army was all excitement, and went about looking for Pyrrhus; for it chanced that he had taken off his helmet, and he was not recognised until he bethought himself and put it on again, when its towering crest and its goat's horns made him known to all. Some of the Macedonians therefore ran to him and asked him for his watchword, and others put garlands of oaken boughs about their heads because they saw the soldiers about him garlanded. And presently even to Demetrius himself certain persons ventured to say that if he quietly withdrew and renounced his undertakings men would think that he had taken wise counsel. He saw that this advice tallied with the agitation in the camp, and was frightened, and secretly stole away, after putting on a broad-brimmed hat and a simple soldier's cloak. So Pyrrhus came up, took the camp without a blow, and was proclaimed king of Macedonia.

XII. But now Lysimachus made his appearance, claimed that the overthrow of Demetrius had been the joint work of both, and demanded a division of the kingdom. So Pyrrhus, who did not yet feel entire confidence in the Macedonians, but was still doubtful about them, accepted the proposition of
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΥΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ

τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὴν χώραν πρὸς ἄλληλον.

2 τούτῳ δὲ οὖνε μὲν ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ κατέπαυσε τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς, ὡλίγῳ δὲ ύστερον ἐγνώσαν οὐκ ἀπαλλαγὴν ἔχθρας, ἀλλ’ ἐγκλημάτων καὶ διαφορᾶς ἀρχὴν πεποιήμενοι τὴν νέμησιν. οἷς γὰρ οὐ πέλαγος, οὐκ ὄρος, οὐκ ἀοίκητος ἐρημία πέρας ἐστὶ πλεονεξίας, οὐδ’ οἱ διαμοῦντες Εὐρώ-πην καὶ Ἀσίαν τέρμονες ὀρίζουσι τὰς ἑπτυμίας, πῶς ἄν ἀπτόμενοι καὶ ψαύνοντες ἀλλήλων ἄτρε-

3 μοίεν ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι μὴ ἄδικοῦντες, οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ πολεμοῦσι μὲν αἰεὶ, τὸ ἐπιβουλεύειν καὶ φθονεῖν ἐμφυτὸν ἔχοντες, δυνεῖν δὲ ὀνομάτων, ὡσπερ νομισμάτων, πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης, τῷ παρατυχόντι χρώνται πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον, οὐ πρὸς τὸ δίκαιον, ἐπεὶ βελτίωσι γε πολεμεῖν ὁμολογοῦν
tέσεις εἰσὶν ἡ τῆς ἄδικιας τὸ ἀργοῦ καὶ σχολάζων

4 δικαιοσύνην καὶ φιλίαν ὀνομαίζοντες. ἔδηλωσε δὲ ὁ Πύρρος· ἐμπόδων γὰρ αὐξομένῳ τῷ Δημήτριῳ πάλιν ἱστάμενος, καὶ κωλύων τὴν δύναμιν ὡσπερ ἐξ ἀρραστίας μεγάλης ἀναλαμβάνουσαν, ἐβοήθει τοῖς Ἑλλησι καὶ παρῆλθεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθηνα. ἀναβάς δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ θύσας τῇ θεῷ καὶ καταβάς αὐθημηρὸν ἄγαπαν μὲν ἐφίση τοῦ δήμου τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοιαν καὶ πίστιν, ἄν μέντοι σωφρονώσι μηδένα τῶν βασιλέων ἐτὶ παρῆσειν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν μηδὲ τὰς πύλας

5 ἀνοίξειν· ἐκ τούτου καὶ πρὸς Δημήτριον εἰρήνην ἐποιήσατο, καὶ μετ’ ὁλίγον χρόνον, εἰς Ἀσίαν 390

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Lysimachus, and they divided the cities and the territory with one another. This availed for the present, and prevented war between them, but shortly afterward they perceived that the distribution which they had made did not put an end to their enmity, but gave occasion for complaints and quarrels. For how men to whose rapacity neither sea nor mountain nor uninhabitable desert sets a limit, men to whose inordinate desires the boundaries which separate Europe and Asia put no stop, can remain content with what they have and do one another no wrong when they are in close touch, it is impossible to say. Nay, they are perpetually at war, because plots and jealousies are parts of their natures, and they treat the two words, war and peace, like current coins, using whichever happens to be for their advantage, regardless of justice; for surely they are better men when they wage war openly than when they give the names of justice and friendship to the times of inactivity and leisure which interrupt their work of injustice. And Pyrrhus made this plain; for, setting himself to hinder the growing power of Demetrius, and trying to prevent its recovery, so to speak, from a serious illness, he went to the help of the Greeks and entered Athens. Here he went up to the acropolis and sacrificed to the goddess, then came down again on the same day, and told the people he was well pleased with the confidence and goodwill which they had shown him, but that in future, if they were wise, they would not admit any one of the kings into their city nor open their gates to him. After this, he actually made peace with Demetrius, but in a little while, when Demetrius had
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ἀπάραντος αὐτοῦ, πάλιν πεισθείς ὑπὸ Δυσιμάχου Θετταλίαν ἀφίστη καὶ ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς φρουραῖς προσεπολέμει, βελτίωσι χρώμενος τοῖς Μακεδόσι στρατευμένοις ἡ σχολάζουσι, καὶ ὅλως αὐτὸς οὖν εὗ πρὸς ἥσυχιαν πεφυκὼς.

Τέλος δὲ Δημητρίου καταπολεμηθέντος ἐν Συρίᾳ Δυσιμάχος ἔτ' ἀδείας γενόμενος καὶ σχολάζων εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῶν Πύρρων ὄρμησε. καὶ καθημένου περὶ τὴν Ἑδέσσαν αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἁγοραῖς κομιζομέναις ἐπιτεσθών καὶ κρατήσας ἀπορίαν πρῶτον αὐτῷ περιέστησεν, εἰτα γράμμασι καὶ λόγοις διέφθειρε τοὺς πρώτους τῶν Μακεδόνων, ουειδίξων εἰ ξένων ἁνδρα καὶ προγόνων ἅει δεδουλευκότων Μακεδόσι δεσπότην ἐλόμενοι τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου φίλους καὶ συνήθεις ἀπωθοῦσι

7 Μακεδονίας. ἀναπειθομένων δὲ πολλῶν δεήσας ὁ Πύρρος ἀπελλάγη μετὰ τῆς Ἡπειρωτικῆς καὶ συμμαχίας δυνάμεως, ἀποβαλὼν Μακεδονίαν ὁ τρόπῳ παρέλαβεν. ὅθεν ὀὔτ' αἰτιάσθαι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἔχουσιν οἱ βασιλεῖς μετατιθεμένους πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον ἐκείνους γὰρ αὐτοὺς ταῦτα μιμοῦνται ποιοῦντες, ἀπιστίας καὶ προδοσίας διδασκάλους ὄντας, καὶ πλείονα νομίζοντας ὦφελείσθαι τὸν ἑλάχιστα τῷ δικαίῳ χρώμενον.

XIII. Τότε δ' οὖν εἰς Ἡπειρον ἔκπεσοντι τῷ Πύρρῳ καὶ προεμένῳ Μακεδονίαν ἡ μὲν τῦχῃ παρεῖχε χρήσθαι τοῖς παροῦσιν ὀπραγμόνως καὶ
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set out for Asia, he once more took the advice of Lysimachus and tried to bring Thessaly to revolt, besides waging war upon the garrisons of Demetrius in the Greek cities. For he found that the Macedonians were better disposed when they were on a campaign than when they were unoccupied, and he himself was by nature entirely averse to keeping quiet.

But at last, after Demetrius had been wholly overthrown in Syria, Lysimachus, who now felt himself secure, and had nothing on his hands, at once set out against Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus was in camp at Edessa, where Lysimachus fell upon his provision trains and mastered them, thus bringing him to straits; then, by letters and conferences he corrupted the leading Macedonians, upbraiding them because they had chosen as lord and master a man who was a foreigner, whose ancestors had always been subject to Macedonia, and were thrusting the friends and familiaris of Alexander out of the country. After many had thus been won over, Pyrrhus took alarm and departed with his Epeirots and allied forces, thus losing Macedonia precisely as he got it. Whence we see that kings have no reason to find fault with popular bodies for changing sides as suits their interests; for in doing this they are but imitating the kings themselves, who are their teachers in unfaithfulness and treachery, and think him most advantaged who least observes justice.

XIII. At this time, then, when Pyrrhus had been driven back into Epeirus and had given up Macedonia, Fortune put it into his power to enjoy what he had without molestation, to live in peace, and to

1 At the battle of Ipsus, 301 B.C. Cf. the Demetrius, chapter xlv. 2 Cf. chapter xi.
δεόμενος δ' οὖν ἔλαβε πραγμάτων καίνων τοιαύ-
2 την ὑπόθεσιν. Ῥωμαιοὶ Ταραντίνοις ἐπολέμουν·
οἱ δὲ μήτε φέρειν τὸν πόλεμον δυνάμενοι μήτε
θέσαι θρασύτητι καὶ μοχθερίᾳ δημαγωγῶν,
ἐβουλεύοντο ποιεῖσθαι Πύρρον ἡγεμόνα καὶ
καλεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ὡς σχολήν ἄγοντα
πλείστην τῶν βασιλέων καὶ στρατηγῶν ὄντα
dεινότατον. τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων καὶ νοῦν
ἐχόντων πολιτῶν οἱ μὲν ἄντικρυς ἐνιστάμενοι
πρὸς τὴν γνώμην ἔξετιπτον ὕπο κραυγῆς καὶ
βίας τῶν πολεμοποιῶν, οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ὀρόντες
3 ἀπέλευσαν τὰς ἐκκλησίας. εἰς δὲ τις ἀνήρ
ἐπιεικῆς, Μέτων ὀνομα, τῆς ἱμέρας ἐκείνης ἐν
ἡ τὸ δόγμα κυροῦν ἔμελλον ἐνστάσης καὶ τοῦ
dήμου καθεζομένου, λαβὼν στέφανον τῶν ἐώλων
καὶ λαμπάδιον, ὀσπερ οἱ μεθύοντες, αὐλητρίδος
ὑφηγομένης αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκώμαζεν.
οἷα δὲ ἐν ὄχλῳ δημοκρατίας κόσμον ὡς ἐχοῦσης
οἱ μὲν ἐκρότουν ἱδόντες, οἱ δὲ ἐγέλων, ἐκώλυνε δὲ
ομαίς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ γύναιον αὐλεῖν κάκεινον
ἀδεω ἐκείλευν εἰς μέσον 1 προελθόντα· 2 καὶ τούτῳ
4 ποιήσων ἐπίδοξος ἤν. γενομένης δὲ σιωπῆς

1 εἰς μέσον with Blass and most MSS: μέσον.
2 προελθόντα Blass, after Reiske: προσελθόντα.

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reign over his own people. But he thought it tedious to the point of nausea if he were not inflicting mischief on others or suffering it at others’ hands, and like Achilles could not endure idleness,

"but ate his heart away
Remaining there, and pined for war-cry and battle." ¹

Filled with such desires, then, he found ground for fresh undertakings in the following circumstances. The Romans were at war with the people of Tarentum, who, being able neither to carry on the war, nor yet, owing to the rashness and villainy of their popular leaders, to put an end to it, wished to make Pyrrhus their leader and summon him to the war, believing him to be most at leisure of all the kings, and a most formidable general. Of the elderly and sensible citizens, some who were directly opposed to this plan were overborne by the clamour and violence of the war party, and others, seeing this, abstained themselves from the assembly. But there was a certain worthy man, Meton by name, who, when the day on which the decree was to be ratified was at hand and the people were taking their seats in the assembly, took a withered garland and a torch, after the way of revellers, and came dancing in behind a flute-girl who led the way for him. Then, as will happen in a throng of free people not given to decorum, some clapped their hands at sight of him, and others laughed, but none tried to stop him; nay, they bade the woman play on her flute and called upon Meton to come forward and give them a song; and it was expected that he would do so. But when silence had been made,

¹ Iliad, i. 491 f.

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"Ἀνδρεῖς," ἐφ' ὡς ἴδον τῶν Ἰονίων, καλῶς ποιεῖτε παίζειν καὶ κωμάζειν, ἐως ἐξεστὶ, τοῖς βουλομένοις μὴ φθονοῦντες. εἰ δὲ σωφρονῆτε, καὶ πάντες ἀπολαύσετε ἐτι τῆς ἐλευθερίας, ὡς ἐτερα πράγματα καὶ βίον καὶ δίαιταν ἔξοντες ἡταν Πύρρος εἰς τὴν πόλιν παραγένηται." ταῦτα ῥηθέντα τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐπείσε τῶν Ταραντίνων, καὶ θρόνις διέδραμε τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὡς εὐ λεγο-5 μένων. οἱ δὲ τοὺς Ἰωμαῖους δεδιότες, μὴ γενομένης εἰρήνης ἐκδοθῶσι, τόν τε δὴμον ἐλοιδόροιν εἰ φέρει πράως ἐπικομαζόμενος οὕτως ἁσελγῆς καὶ παροινούμενος, τόν τε Μέτωνα συστραφέντες ἐξέβαλον.

Οὕτω δὲ τοῦ δόγματος κυρίου γενομένου πρέ-σβεις ἐπεμψαν εἰς Ἡπειρον, οὐχ αὐτῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν, δόρα τῷ Πύρρῳ κομίζοντας καὶ λέγοντας ὡς ἡγεμόνος ἤμφρονος δὲ δένται καὶ δόξαν ἔχοντος, δυνάμεις δὲ αὐτόθεν υπάρξοντες μεγάλαι παρὰ τε Δευκάδων καὶ Μεσσαπίων καὶ Σαυνιτῶν καὶ Ταραντίων εἰς δισμυρίους ἱππεῖς, πεζῶν δὲ ὅμοι πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα μυριάδας. ταῦτα οὐ μόνον αὐτὸν ἐπῆρε τὸν Πύρρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς Ἡπειρώταις προθυμίαν ἐνέβαλε καὶ ὄρμην τῆς στρατείας.

XIV. Ἡ ὑπὸ τις Κυνέας, Θεσσαλὸς ἀνήρ, τῷ μὲν φρονεῖν δοκῶν ἰκανὸς εἶναι, Δημοσθένους δὲ τοῦ ῥήτορος ἄκηκο ὕδόκει μόνος εὖ μάλιστα τῶν τότε λεγόντων οὖν ἐν εἰκόνι τῆς ἐκείνου δυνάμεως καὶ δεινότητος ἀναμμενῆσκεν τοὺς

1 μόνος εὖ μάλιστα Sintenis, with SG; Bekker corrects εὖ to ἣ (alone or most), after Bryan and Reiske, and is followed by Blass; AC have μάλιστα εὖ μόνος.
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he said: "Men of Tarentum, ye do well not to frown upon those who wish to sport and revel, while they can. And if ye are wise, ye will all also get some enjoyment still out of your freedom, assured that ye will have other business and a different life and diet when Pyrrhus has come into the city." These words brought conviction to most of the Tarentines, and a murmur of applause ran through the assembly. But those who were afraid that if peace were made they would be given up to the Romans, reviled the people for tamely submitting to such shameless treatment from a drunken reveller, and banding together they cast Meton out: 1

And so the decree was ratified, and the people sent ambassadors to Pyrrhus, 2 not only from their own number, but also from the Italian Greeks. These brought gifts to Pyrrhus, and told him they wanted a leader of reputation and prudence, and that he would find there large forces gathered from Lucania, Messapia, Saminium, and Tarentum, amounting to twenty thousand horse and three hundred and fifty thousand foot all told. This not only exalted Pyrrhus himself, but also inspired the Epeirots with eagerness to undertake the expedition.

XIV. Now, there was a certain Cineas, a man of Thessaly, with a reputation for great wisdom, who had been a pupil of Demosthenes the orator, and was quite the only public speaker of his day who was thought to remind his hearers, as a statue might, of that great orator's power and ability. Associating

1 Cf. Dionysius Hal., Excerpta ex lib. xix., 8.
2 In the summer of 281 B.C.
καὶ σίδηρος πολεμίων δράσεις ἀν.

2 ο γαῦν Πύρρος ἔλεγε πλείονας πόλεις ὑπὸ Κινέων
τοὺς λόγους ἢ τοῖς ὄπλοις ὑφ᾽ ἐαυτοῦ προσήχθαι καὶ
dιετέλει τὸν ἄνδρα τιμῶν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα καὶ
χρώμενοι. οὕτως οὖν τὸν Πύρρον ὄρμημένον τὸτε
ὁ Πύρρος, Ἦλληνις ἄξιόμαχος Ῥωμαίων κρατηθέντων, ἀλλ᾽
ἐξομβολίσθη ἤθες Ἐλληνικῆς ἄπασας, ἄλλος μέγας καὶ
ἀρέτην καὶ δύναμιν ἄλλω οὕτω τινὶ μᾶλλον ἀγνοεῖν
ἡ σοὶ προσήκεια. μικρὸν οὖν ἐπισχὼν ὁ Κινέας, ἦν Ἄλλος οὗτος, ἦν ἂν τῇ νίκῃ καὶ ὁ Πύρρος, ἦν ἂν τῇ νίκῃ,
καὶ ὁ Πύρρος ἦν ἂν τῇ νίκῃ καὶ ὁ Πύρρος
καὶ ὁ Πύρρος οὕπω τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ καθορῶν，“Ἑγγύς,” ἐπεν, "Ἅλλος Ἔπεν, "Ἅλλος Ἔπεν, "Εἰκότα," ἐφη, "Λέγεις," ὁ Κινέας: "Ἅλλος Ἐπεν ἂν τῷ τοῦτο πέρας
5 ἃ ἢν τῇ στρατείας, λαβέιν Σικελίαν; "Εἰκότα," photenissae 517 f., Kirchhoff.)
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himself with Pyrrhus, and sent by him as ambassador to the cities, he confirmed the saying of Euripides, to wit, "all can be won by eloquence

That even the sword of warring enemies might gain."

At any rate, Pyrrhus used to say that more cities had been won for him by the eloquence of Cineas than by his own arms; and he continued to hold Cineas in especial honour and to demand his services. It was this Cineas, then, who, seeing that Pyrrhus was eagerly preparing an expedition at this time to Italy, and finding him at leisure for the moment, drew him into the following discourse. "The Romans, O Pyrrhus, are said to be good fighters, and to be rulers of many warlike nations; if, then, Heaven should permit us to conquer these men, how should we use our victory?" And Pyrrhus said: "Thy question, O Cineas, really needs no answer; the Romans once conquered, there is neither barbarian nor Greek city there which is a match for us, but we shall at once possess all Italy, the great size and richness and importance of which no man should know better than thyself." After a little pause, then, Cineas said: "And after taking Italy, O King, what are we to do?" And Pyrrhus, not yet perceiving his intention, replied: "Sicily is near, and holds out her hands to us, an island abounding in wealth and men, and very easy to capture, for all is faction there, her cities have no government, and demagogues are rampant now that Agathocles is gone." "What thou sayest," replied Cineas, "is probably true; but will our expedition stop with the taking of Sicily?" "Heaven grant us," said Pyrrhus,
ἐφὶ ὁ Πῦρρος, "νικᾶν διδόῃ καὶ κατορθοῦν τούτοις δὲ προάγωσι χρησόμεθα πραγμάτων μεγάλων. τίς γὰρ ἂν ἀπόσχιτο Διβύθης καὶ Καρχηδόνος ἐν ἐφικτῷ γενομένῃ, ἢ Ἄγαθοκλῆς ἀποδράς ἐκ Συρακούσῶν κρύφα καὶ περάσας ναυσὶν ὅλγαις λαβεῖν παρ’ οὐδὲν ἢλθεν; ὅτι δὲ τοιτων κρατήσασιν ἡμῖν οὐδεὶς ἀντιστήσεται τῶν νῦν υβρίζωντων πολεμίων, τί ἂν λέγοι τις;"

6 "Ουδέν," ὁ Κινέας εἶπε: "δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι καὶ Μακεδονίαν ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἁρχεῖν ὑπάρξει βεβαιῶς ἀπὸ τηλικαύτης δυνάμεως. γενομένων δὲ πάντων ύπ’ ἡμῖν, τί ποιήσομεν;" καὶ ὁ Πῦρρος ἐπιγελάσας, "Σχολήν," ἔφη, "ἀξομεν πολλήν, καὶ κόθων, ὅ μακάριε, καθημερινὸς ἔσται, καὶ διὰ λόγων συνόντες ἀλλήλους εὐφρανοῦμεν." ἐνταῦθα δὴ τῶν λόγων καταστήσας τὸν Πῦρρον ὁ Κινέας, "Εἰτα," ἔφη, "τί νῦν ἐμποδῶν ἐστίν ἡμῖν βουλομένους κόθων χρήσθαι καὶ σχολάζειν μετ’ ἀλλήλων, εἰ ταῦτα ἔχομεν ἡδὴ καὶ πάρεστιν ἀπραγμόνως ἐφ’ ἄ δε’ αἵματος καὶ πόνων μεγάλων καὶ κυνδύνων μέλλομεν ἀφίξεσθαι, πολλὰ καὶ δράσαντες ἐτέρους κακὰ καὶ παθόντες;"

7 τούτων τοῖς λόγοις ἦνιασε μᾶλλον ἡ μετέθηκε τὸν Πῦρρον ὁ Κινέας, νοησάντα μὲν ὅσην ἀπέλειπεν εὐδαιμονίαν, ὅν δὲ ὠρέγετο τὰς ἐλπίδας ἀφεῖναι μὴ δυνάμενον.

XV. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἀπέστειλε τὸν Κινέαν τοῖς Ταραστίνοις στρατιώτας ἁγοντα τρισχιλίους; 388
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“victory and success so far; and we will make these contests but the preliminaries of great enterprises. For who could keep his hands off Libya, or Carthage, when that city got within his reach, a city which Agathocles, slipping stealthily out of Syracuse and crossing the sea with a few ships, narrowly missed taking? And when we have become masters here, no one of the enemies who now treat us with scorn will offer further resistance; there is no need of saying that.” “None whatever,” said Cineas, “for it is plain that with so great a power we shall be able to recover Macedonia and rule Greece securely. But when we have got everything subject to us, what are we going to do?” Then Pyrrhus smiled upon him and said: “We shall be much at ease, and we’ll drink bumpers, my good man, every day, and we’ll gladden one another’s hearts with confidential talks.” And now that Cineas had brought Pyrrhus to this point in the argument, he said: “Then what stands in our way now if we want to drink bumpers and while away the time with one another? Surely this privilege is ours already, and we have at hand, without taking any trouble, those things to which we hope to attain by bloodshed and great toils and perils, after doing much harm to others and suffering much ourselves.”

By this reasoning of Cineas Pyrrhus was more troubled than he was converted; he saw plainly what great happiness he was leaving behind him, but was unable to renounce his hopes of what he eagerly desired.

XV. First, then, he sent Cineas to Tarentum with three thousand soldiers; next, after numerous
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

επειτα πολλων ἱππηγῶν καὶ καταφράκτων καὶ
πορθμείων παντοδαπῶν ἐκ Τάραντος κομισθέντων
ἐνεβιβάζεν ἐλέφαντας εἰκοσι καὶ τρισχίλιους
ἱππεῖς, πεζοὺς δὲ δισμυρίους καὶ δισχίλιους
τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας πεντακοσίους. γενο-
μένων δὲ πάντων ἔτοιμων ἀναχθεὶς ἐπλευς· καὶ
μέσον ἔχων τῶν Ἰώνων ἁρπάζεται βορέα ἀνέμῳ
παρ’ ὀραν ἐκραγέντι. καὶ βιασθεὶς αὐτὸς μὲν
ἀρετὴ καὶ προθυμία ναυτῶν καὶ κυβερνητῶν
ἐξανέφερε καὶ προσανέγιγμεν τῇ γῇ πολυπόνως καὶ
παραβόλως, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους στόλους συγχυθέντος
καὶ τῶν νεῶν σκέδασθεισῶν αἰ μὲν ἀποσφαλεῖσαι
τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἐξεσώθησαν εἰς τὸ Ἰλβικόν καὶ
Σικελικόν πέλαγος, τὰς δὲ ύπερβαλέιν μὴ
dυνηθείς ἀκραν Ἰαπνυγίαν νῦξ τε κατελάμβανε,
καὶ πολλὴ καὶ χαλεπὴ θάλασσα παῖουσα πρὸς
χωρία δύσορμα καὶ τυφλὰ πάσας διέφθειρε πλὴν

3 τῆς βασιλικῆς. αὐτὴ δὲ πλαγίου 1 μὲν ἔτι ὄντος
τοῦ κύματος ήμύνετο καὶ διέφθειρε μεγέθει καὶ
ρώμη τὰς ἐπιβολὰς τῆς βαλάσσης· ἐπεὶ δὲ
περιέλθον ἀπὸ γῆς ἀπῆθα τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ
κίνδυνον εἶχεν ἡ ναῦς ἀντίπροφος ἱσταμένη πρὸς
κλύδωνα πολύν διαρραγήναι, τὸ δὲ ἐφένται αὐθίς
ἡγιρωμένῳ πελάγει καὶ πνεύματι τροπᾶς λαμ-
βάνοντι παντοδαπᾶς φέρεσθαι φοβερότερον ἐφαί-
νετο τῶν παρόντων κακῶν, ἅρας ὁ Πύρρος αὐτὸν

4 ἀφῆκεν εἰς θάλασσαν, καὶ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν
dορυφόρων εὐθὺς ἡν ἰμιλλα καὶ προθυμία
περὶ αὐτῶν. ἡ δὲ νῦξ καὶ τὸ κύμα μετὰ
ψόφον μεγάλου καὶ τραχείας ἀνακοπῆς χαλεπὴν
ἔποιει τὴν βοήθειαν, ὥστε μόλις ἡμέρας ἤδη

1 πλαγίου with Sinentis1, Blass, and the MSS.: πελαγίου.
PYRRHUS

cavalry-transport vessels, and passage-boats of every sort had been brought over from Tarentum, he put on board of them twenty elephants and three thousand horse, twenty thousand foot, two thousand archers, and five hundred slingers. When all was ready, he put out and set sail; but when he was half way across the Ionian sea he was swept away by a north wind that burst forth out of all season. In spite of its violence he himself, through the bravery and ardour of his seamen and captains, held out and made the land, though with great toil and danger; but the rest of the fleet was thrown into confusion and the ships were scattered. Some of them missed Italy and were driven off into the Libyan and Sicilian sea; others, unable to round the Iapygian promontory, were overtaken by night, and a heavy and violent sea, which drove them upon harbourless and uncertain shores, and destroyed them all except the royal galley. She, as long as the waves drove upon her side, held her own, and was saved by her great size and strength from the blows of the water; but soon the wind veered round and met her from the shore, and the ship was in danger of being crushed by the heavy surges if she stood prow on against them. However, to allow her again to be tossed about by an angry open sea and by blasts of wind that came from all directions, was thought to be more fearful than their present straits. Pyrrhus therefore sprang up and threw himself into the sea, and his friends and bodyguards were at once emulously eager to help him. But night and the billows with their heavy crashing and violent recoil made assistance difficult, so that it was not until day
μαραίνομένου τοῦ πνεύματος ἐκπεσεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, τῷ μὲν σώματι παντάπασιν ἀδυνάτως ἔχοντα, τόλμη δὲ καὶ ῥώμη τῆς ψυχῆς ἀνταλροντα 5 πρὸς τὴν ἀπορίαν. ἀμα δὲ οἱ τε Μεσσαπίοι, καθ' οὓς ἔξεβρασθῆ, συνέθεον βοηθοῦντες ἐκ τῶν παρόντων προθύμως, καὶ προσεφέροντο τῶν σωζόμενων ἐνιαυ νεῶν, ἐν αἰς ἦσαν ἵππεῖς μὲν ὀλίγοι παντάπασι, πεζοὶ δὲ δισχιλίων ἐλάττους, ἔλεφαντες δὲ δύο.

XVI. Τούτους ἀναλαβὼν ὁ Πύρρος ἐβάδιζεν εἰς Τάραντα. καὶ τοῦ Κινέου προαγαγόντος εἰς ἀπάντησιν, ὡς ἦσθετο, τοὺς στρατιώτας, παρελθῶν οὐδὲν ἀκόντων οὐδὲ πρὸς βίαν ἔπραττε τῶν Ταραντίων, ἐως ἀνεσώθησαν αἱ νῆες ἐκ τῆς βαλάττης καὶ συνῆλθεν ἡ πλείστη τῆς δυνάμεως.

2 τηνικάυτα δὲ ὅρων τὸ πλήθος, ἀνευ μεγάλης ἀνάγκης μήτε σώζεσθαι δύναμεν μήτε σώζειν, ἀλλ' οἷον ἐκείνου προπολεμοῦντος οἶκοι καθήσθαι περὶ λουτρὰ καὶ συνουσίας γενόμενον, ἀπέκλεισε μὲν τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ τοὺς περπάτους, ἐν οἷς ἀλύουντες ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων λόγῳ διεστρατήγουν, πότοι δὲ καὶ κώμους καὶ θαλάσσας ἀκαίρους ἀνείλεν, ἐκάλει δὲ πρὸς τὰ ὁπλα, καὶ περὶ τοὺς καταλόγους τῶν στρατευομένων ἀπαραίτητος ἢν καὶ λυπηρός, ὡστε πολλοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀπελθεῖν ἀπῆθεια τοῦ ἄρχεσθαι δουλείαν τὸ μὴ πρὸς ἤδονην ἥξιν καλοῦντας.

3 Ἐπεῖ δὲ Δαμβίνοις ὁ τῶν 'Ῥωμαίων ὑπατός ἡγγέλλετο πολλῆ στρατιά χωρεῖν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀμα
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had already come and the wind was dying away that he succeeded in gaining the shore, in body altogether powerless, but with boldness and strength of spirit still making head against his distress. The Messapians, among whom he had been cast forth, ran together with eager offers to assist as well as they could, and at the same time some of his ships that had escaped the storm came up; in these there were but a few horsemen all told, less than two thousand footmen, and two elephants.

XVI. With these Pyrrhus set out for Tarentum, where Cineas, on learning of his approach, led out his soldiers to meet him. Entering the city, he did nothing that was against the wishes of the Tarentines, nor did he put any compulsion upon them, until his ships came back in safety from the sea and the greater part of his forces were assembled. Then, however, seeing that the multitude were incapable, unless under strong constraint, of either saving themselves or saving others, but were inclined to let him do their fighting for them while they remained at home in the enjoyment of their baths and social festivities, he closed up the gymnasium and the public walks, where, as they strolled about, they fought out their country’s battles in talk; he also put a stop to drinking-bouts, revels, and festivals, as unseasonable, called the men to arms, and was stern and inexorable in his enrolment of them for military service. Many therefore left the city, since they were not accustomed to being under orders, and called it servitude not to live as they pleased.

And now word was brought to Pyrrhus that Laevinus the Roman consul was coming against him
τὴν Δευκανίαν διαπορθῶν, οὐδέπω μὲν οἱ σύμ-
μαχοι παρῆσαν αὐτῶ, δεινὸν δὲ ποιούμενος
ἀνασχέσθαι καὶ περιΐδειν τοὺς πολέμιους ἐγγυ-
tέρω προϊόντας ἠξῆθη μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, προ-
πέμψας κήρυκα πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, εἰ φίλου
ἐστιν αὐτοῖς πρὸ πολέμου δίκας λαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν
Ἰταλικῶν, αὐτῷ δικαστὴ καὶ διαλλακτὴ χρησα-
μένους. ἀποκριμαμένου δὲ τοῦ Δαμιένου μήτε
dιαλλακτὴν Πύρρον αἱρεῖσθαι Ῥωμαίους μήτε
dεδοικέαν πολέμιον, προελθὼν κατεστρατο-
πέδευσεν ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ πεδίῳ Πανδοσίας πόλεως
καὶ Ἡρακλείας. πυθόμενος δὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους
ἐγγὺς εἶναι καὶ πέραν τοῦ Σίριος ποταμοῦ κατα-
στρατοπεδεύειν, προσάππησε τῷ ποταμῷ θέας
ἐνεκα καὶ κατιδὼν τάξιν τε καὶ φυλακάς καὶ
κόσμον αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς στρατοπεδείας
393 ἔθαύμασε, καὶ τῶν φίλων προσαγορεύσας τὸν
ἐγγυτάτω, “Τάξις μέν,” εἶπεν, “ὡς Μεγάκλεις,
αὐτὴ τῶν βαρβάρων οὐ βάρβαρος, τὸ δὲ ἔργον
εἰσόμεθα.” καὶ διὰ φροντίδος ἔχων ἥδη τὸ
μέλλον ἔγνω τοὺς συμμάχους ἀναμένειν, τοῖς δὲ
Ῥωμαίοις, ἀν πρότερον ἐπιχειρῶσι διαβάλειν,
ἐπέστησε φυλακὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν
6 εἰρήσωσι. οἱ δὲ, ἀπερ ἐκείνοις ἔγνω περιμένειν,
φθήναι σπεῦδοντες, ἐνεχείρουν τῇ διαβάσει, κατὰ
πόρον μὲν οἱ πεζοί, πολλαχοῦθεν δὲ οἱ ἱππεῖς
dιεξελαύνουσι τῶν ποταμῶν, ὡστε δείσαντας τὴν
κύκλῳ αὐτῶν ἀναχωρεῖν τοὺς Ἔλληνας, αἰσθόμενον
δὲ τὸν Πύρρον καὶ διαταραχθέντα τοῖς μὲν
ήγερσι τοῦ πεζοῦ παρεγγυὰν εὐθὺς εἰς τάξιν
καθίστασθαι καὶ περιμένειν ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς, αὐτῶν
with a large army and plundering Lucania as he came. Pyrrhus had not yet been joined by his allies, but thinking it an intolerable thing to hold back and suffer his enemies to advance any nearer, he took the field with his forces, having first sent a herald to the Romans with the enquiry whether it was their pleasure, before waging war, to receive satisfaction from the Italian Greeks, employing him as arbiter and mediator. But Laevinus made answer that the Romans neither chose Pyrrhus as a mediator nor feared him as a foe. Pyrrhus therefore went forward and pitched his camp in the plain between the cities of Pandosia and Heracleia. When he learned that the Romans were near and lay encamped on the further side of the river Siris, he rode up to the river to get a view of them; and when he had observed their discipline, the appointment of their watches, their order, and the general arrangement of their camp, he was amazed, and said to the friend who was nearest him: "The discipline of these Barbarians is not barbarous; but the result will show us what it amounts to." He was now less confident of the issue, and determined to wait for his allies; but he stationed a guard on the bank of the river to check the Romans if, in the meantime, they should attempt to cross it. The Romans, however, anxious to anticipate the coming of the forces which Pyrrhus had decided to await, attempted the passage, their infantry crossing the river by a ford, and their cavalry dashing through the water at many points, so that the Greeks on guard, fearing that they would be surrounded, withdrew. When Pyrrhus saw this, he was greatly disturbed, and charging his infantry officers to form in line of battle at once and stand
dė tois ἵππευσι παρεξέλάσαι τρισχιλίως οὖσιν,
ἐλπίζοντα διαβάινοντας ἕτει καὶ διεσπασμένοις
7 ἀτάκτους λήψεσθαι τοὺς Ἄρωμαίους. ἔπει δ’
ἐώρα θυρεοὶς τε πολλοὺς ὑπερβαινομένους τοῦ
ποταμοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἐπελαύνοντας ἐν τάξει,
συστρέψας ἐνέβαλε πρῶτος, αὐτόθεν τε περίστος
ὡν ὀπλῶν κάλλης καὶ λαμπρότητι κεκοσμημένων
περιττῶς, καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἐπιδεικνύμενος ἐργοῖς οὐκ
ἀποδέουσαν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἁρετῆς· μάλιστα δὲ ὧτι τὰς
χεῖρας καὶ τὸ σώμα παρέχων τῷ ἀγώνι καὶ τοὺς
καθ’ αὐτὸν ἀμυνόμενος ἔρρωμένως οὐ συνεχεῖτο
8 τὸν λογισμὸν οὐδὲ τοῦ φρονεῖν ἐξέπιπτεν, ἀλλ’
ὡσπερ ἔξωθεν ἐφορῶν διεκυβέρνα τὸν πόλεμον,
αὐτὸς μεταθέων ἐκασταχόσε καὶ παραβοσθῶν
τοῖς ἐκβιάζεσθαι δοκοῦσιν.

"Ενθα δὴ Λεοννάτος ὁ Μακεδών ἀνδρα κατεδὼ
Ἰταλὸν ἐπέχοντα τῷ Πύρρῳ καὶ τὸν ἵππον
ἀντιπαρεξάγοντας καὶ συμμεθιστάμενον ἄει καὶ
συγκινούμενον, "Ὁρᾶς," εἶπεν, "ὁ βασιλεύ, τὸν
βάρβαρον ἔκεινον, ὁν ὁ μέλας ἵππος ὁ λευκότους
φέρει; μέγα τι βουλευομένῳ καὶ δεινῷ ὅμοιός
9 ἔστι. σοὶ γὰρ ἔνοµα καὶ πρὸς σὲ τέταται
πνεύματος μεστός ὃν καὶ θυμοῦ, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους
ἐὰ χαίρειν. ἀλλὰ σὺ φυλάττων τὸν ἄνδρα.”
καὶ ὁ Πύρρος ἀπεκρίνατο, "Τὸ μὲν εἰμαρμένον, ὥ
Λεοννάτε, διαφυγεῖν ἀδύνατον χαίρων δὲ οὔτε
οὕτος οὔτ’ ἄλλος τις Ἰταλῶν εἰς χείρας ἡμῖν
σύνεισιν.” ἔτοι ταῦτα προσδιαλεγομένων ὁ
Ἰταλὸς διαλαβὼν τὸ δόρυ καὶ συστρέψας τὸν
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under arms, he himself rode out with his three thousand horsemen, hoping to come upon the Romans while they were still crossing, and to find them scattered and in disorder. But when he saw a multitude of shields gleaming on the bank of the river and the cavalry advancing upon him in good order, he formed his men in close array and led them to the attack. He was conspicuous at once for the beauty and splendour of his richly ornamented armour, and showed by his deeds that his valour did not belie his fame; and this most of all because, while actively participating in the fight and vigorously repelling his assailants, he did not become confused in his calculations nor lose his presence of mind, but directed the battle as if he were surveying it from a distance, darting hither and thither himself and bringing aid to those whom he thought to be overwhelmed.

Here Leonnatus the Macedonian, observing that an Italian was intent upon Pyrrhus, and was riding out against him and following him in every movement from place to place, said: "Seest thou, O King, that Barbarian yonder, riding the black horse with white feet? He looks like a man who has some great and terrible design in mind. For he keeps his eyes fixed upon thee, and is intent to reach thee with all his might and main, and pays no heed to anybody else. So be on thy guard against the man." To him Pyrrhus made reply: "What is fated, O Leonnatus, it is impossible to escape; but with impunity neither he nor any other Italian shall come to close quarters with me." While they were still conversing thus, the Italian levelled his spear, wheeled his horse, and
10 ἵππου ὄρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν Πύρρον. εἰτα ἀμα παίει μὲν αὐτὸς τῷ δόρατι τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν ἵππον, παίει δὲ τὸν ἐκείνου παραβαλὼν ὁ Λεοννάτος. ἀμφοτέρων δὲ τῶν ἵππων πεσόντων τὸν μὲν Πύρρον οἱ φίλοι περισσότεροι ἀνήρτησαν, τὸν δὲ Ἰταλὸν μαχόμενον διέφθειραν. ἦν δὲ τῷ γέγει Φρεντανός, Ἰλης ἤγεμών, Ὀπλακος ὄνομα.

XVII. Τούτο δὲ ἐδίδαξε τὸν Πύρρον μᾶλλον φυλάττεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἵππεῖς ὅρων ἐνδιδόντας μετεπέμπετο τὴν φάλαγγα καὶ παρέταττεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν χλαμύδα καὶ τὰ ὅπλα παραδοῦσ᾽ ἐν τῶν ἐταίρων Μεγακλέει, τοὺς δὲ ἐκείνου τρόπων τινὰ κατακρύψας ἐαυτὸν ἐπήγα γε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. δεξιόμενοι δὲ ἐκείνων καὶ συμβαλόντων χρόνον τε πολὺν εἰστήκει τὰ τῆς μάχης ἀκριτα, καὶ τροπᾶς ἐπτὰ λέγεται φευγόντων ἀνάπαυλιν καὶ διωκόντων γενέσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἡ διάμειψις τῶν ὀπλῶν ἐν καρφῷ πρὸς σωτηρίαν αὐτοῦ γεγονοῦσα τοῦ βασιλέως ὅλους ἐδέχεσθε ἀνατρέψαι τὰ πράγματα καὶ διαφθείραι τὴν νίκην. πολλῶν γὰρ ἐφιεμένοις τοῦ Μεγακλέους, ὁ πρῶτος πατάξας καὶ καταβαλὼν αὐτὸν, ὄνομα Δεξίος, ἀφαρπάσας τὸ κράνος καὶ τὴν χλαμύδα τῷ Δαίβην προσπέπευσεν ἀναδεικνυόμενον ἀμα καὶ βοῶν ἀνηρη-κέναι τὸν Πύρρον. ἦν οὖν παρὰ τὰς τάξεις τῶν λαφύρων παραφερομένων καὶ ἀναδεικνυμένων τοῖς τε Ῥωμαίοις χαρὰ μετ᾽ ἀλαλαμοῦ καὶ τοῖς Ἁλλησίν ἀθυμία καὶ κατάπληξις, ἄχρι οὐ μαθῶι ὁ Πύρρος τὸ γινόμενον παρῆλαινε γυμνῷ τῷ προσώπῳ τὴν τε δεξίαν ὀρέγον τοῖς μαχομένοις καὶ τῇ φωνῇ σημαίνων ἐαυτὸν. τέλος δὲ τῶν.
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charged upon Pyrrhus. Then at the same instant
the Barbarian's spear smote the king's horse, and
his own horse was smitten by the spear of Leonnatus.
Both horses fell, but while Pyrrhus was seized and
rescued by his friends, the Italian, fighting to the
last, was killed. He was a Frentanian by race,
captain of a troop of horse, Oplax by name.¹

XVII. This taught Pyrrhus to be more on his
guard; and seeing that his cavalry were giving way,
he called up his phalanx and put it in array, while he
himself, after giving his cloak and armour to one of
his companions, Megacles, and hiding himself after
a fashion behind his men, charged with them upon
the Romans. But they received and engaged him,
and for a long time the issue of the battle remained
undecided; it is said that there were seven turns of
fortune, as each side either fled back or pursued.
And indeed the exchange of armour which the king
had made, although it was opportune for the safety
of his person, came near overthrowing his cause and
losing him the victory. For many of the enemy
assailed Megacles, and the foremost of them, Dexoüs
by name, smote him and laid him low, and then,
snatching away his helmet and cloak, rode up to
Laevinus, displaying them, and shouting as he did so
that he had killed Pyrrhus. Accordingly, as the spoils
were carried along the ranks and displayed, there was
joy and shouting among the Romans, and among the
Greeks consternation and dejection, until Pyrrhus,
learning what was the matter, rode along his line
with his face bare, stretching out his hand to the
combatants and giving them to know him by his
voice. At last, when the Romans were more than

¹ Cf. Dionysius Hal., Excerpta ex lib. xix., 12.
θηρίων εκβιαζομένων μάλιστα τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, καὶ τῶν ἵππων, πρὶν ἐγγὺς γενέσθαι, δυσαναχε- 
τούντων καὶ παραφερόντων τοὺς ἐπιβάτας, ἐπα-
γαγῶν τὴν Θετταλικήν ἵππον αὐτοῖς ταρασσο-
μένοις ἐτρέψατο πολλὸ φόνῳ.

4 Διονύσιος μὲν οὖν ὁλίγῳ τῶν πεντακισχιλίων 
καὶ μυρίων ἕλασσονες πεσεῖν ἱστορεῖ Ῥωμαίων, 
Ἰερώνυμος δὲ μόνους ἑπτακισχιλίων, τῶν δὲ 
πέρι Πύρρον ὁ μὲν Διονύσιος μυρίων καὶ τρισχι-
λίων, ὁ δὲ Ἰερώνυμος ἑλάττωνας τῶν τετρακι-
σχιλίων κράτιστοι δὲ ἦσαν οὕτως καὶ τῶν φίλων 
ὁ Πύρρος καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν οἷς μάλιστα χρώ-

5 μενος διετέλει καὶ πιστεύον αὐτέχαλεν. οὐ μὴν 
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔλαβε τῶν Ῥωμαίων 
ἐκλιποῦντων, καὶ πόλεις συμμαχίδας αὐτῶν προσ-
ηγάγετο, καὶ χώραν πολλὴν διεπόρθησε, καὶ 
προῆλθεν ὅσον μὴ πλέον στάδιον τριακόσιων 
ἀπόσχειν τῆς Ῥώμης. ἀφίκοντο δὲ αὐτῷ Δεν-
κανῶν τε πολλοὶ καὶ Σαυνιτῶν μετὰ τῆς μάχης, 
οὓς ἐμέμψατο μὲν ύστερησαντας, ἢν δὲ δῆλος 
ἡδόμενοι καὶ μέγα φρονῶν ὅτι μόνοι τοῖς μετ’ 
αὐτοῦ καὶ Ταραντίνους ἐκράτησε τῆς μεγάλης 
Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεως.

ΧVIII. Ῥωμαίοι δὲ Δαϊβίνου μὲν οὖν ἀπῆλ-
λαζαν τῇς ἄρχης. καὶ τοῖς λέγεται Γάιον Φαβρί-
kion εἰπεῖν ὡς οὖν Ῥητερώτα Ῥωμαίους, ἀλλὰ 
Πύρρος νενικήκειν Δαϊβίνου, οἴομεν οὖ 
τῆς δυνά-

meos, ἀλλὰ τῆς στρατηγίας γεγονέναι τῇ ἡτταν-
ἀναπληροῦντες δὲ τὰς τάξεις καὶ συντάττουντες 
ἐτέρας προθύμως, καὶ λόγους ἀδεεῖς καὶ σοβαροὺς 
περὶ τοῦ πολέμου λέγοντες, ἐκπληξὶν τῷ Πύρρῳ 
2 παρεῖχον. ἐδοξεύεν οὖν αὐτὸ τὸ πέμψαντι πρότερον 
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ever crowded back by the elephants, and their horses, before they got near the animals, were terrified and ran away with their riders, Pyrrhus brought his Thessalian cavalry upon them while they were in confusion and routed them with great slaughter.

Dionysius states that nearly fifteen thousand of the Romans fell, but Hieronymus says only seven thousand; on the side of Pyrrhus, thirteen thousand fell, according to Dionysius, but according to Hieronymus less than four thousand. These, however, were his best troops; and besides, Pyrrhus lost the friends and generals whom he always used and trusted most. However, he took the camp of the Romans after they had abandoned it, and won over to his side some of their allied cities; he also wasted much territory, and advanced until he was within three hundred furlongs' distance from Rome. And now, after the battle, there came to him many of the Lucanians and Samnites. These he censured for being late, but it was clear that he was pleased and proud because with his own troops and the Tarantines alone he had conquered the great force of the Romans.

XVIII. The Romans did not depose Laevinus from his consular office; and yet we are told that Caius Fabricius declared that it was not the Epeirots who had conquered the Romans, but Pyrrhus who had conquered Laevinus, Fabricius being of the opinion that the Roman defeat was not due to their army, but to its general; but they lost no time in filling up their depleted legions and raising others, used fearless and vehement language about the war, and thus filled Pyrrhus with consternation. He decided, therefore, to send to them first and find out whether they were
διάπειρον λαβεῖν τῶν ἀνδρῶν, εἰς συμβατικῶς ἔχοντα, ἡγοῦμένῳ τὸ μὲν ἐλεῖν τὴν πόλιν καὶ κρατῆσαι παντάπασιν ὡς μικρὸν ἔργον οὐδὲ τῆς παροῦσης δυνάμεως εἶναι, τὴν δὲ φιλίαν καὶ τὰς διαλύσεις κάλλιστα ἔχειν πρὸς δόξαν αὐτῶν μετὰ νίκην. πεμφθεὶς οὖν ὁ Κινέας ἐνετύγχανε τοῖς δυνατοῖς, καὶ δόρα παισίν ἀυτῶν καὶ γυναιξίν.

3 ἔπεμψε παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως. ἔλαβε δὲ οὕδεις, ἀλλ' ἀπεκρίναντο πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι ὅτι δημοσίᾳ σπουδῶν γενομένων καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν ὑπάρξει πρόθυμα τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ κεχαρισμένα. πρὸς δὲ τὴν σύγκλητον ἐπαγωγὰ τοῦ Κινέου πολλὰ καὶ φιλάνθρωπα διαλεχθέντος, ἁσμεῖοι μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν οὔδε ἐτοίμως ἐδέχοντο, καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρας τε τούς ἠλωκότας ἐν τῇ μάχῃ δίχα λύτρων ἀφίεντο αὐτοῖς τοῦ Πύρρου καὶ συγκατεργάσασθαι τὴν.

4 Ἰταλίαν ἐπαγγελλομένου, φιλίαν δὲ ἄντι τούτων εὐαρτὸ καὶ τοῖς Ταραστίνοις ἄδειαν, ἔτερον δὲ μηδὲν αἰτομένου. δήλοι γε μὴν ἦσαν ἐνδιδόντες οἱ πολλοὶ πρὸς τὴν εἰρήνην, ἠττημένοι τε μεγάλῃ μάχῃ καὶ προσδοκώντες ἔτεραν ἀπὸ μείζονος δυνάμεως, τῶν Ἰταλικῶν τῷ Πύρρῳ προσγεγούντον. ἔνθα δὲ Κλαύδιος Ὀμπίος, ἀνήρ ἐπιφανής, ὑπὸ δὲ γῆρως ἅμα καὶ πνεύμωσες ὄμματων ἀπειρηκώς πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ πεπαυμένος, ἀπαγγελλομένων τότε τῶν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ λόγου κατασχόντος ὡς μέλλει ψηφίζεσθαι τὰς διαλύσεις ἡ σύγκλητος, οὐκ ἐκαρτέρησεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς θεράποντας ἄρασθαι κελεύσας αὐτῶν ἐκομίζετο πρὸς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐν φορείῳ δὲ ἀγορᾶς.

5 γενόμενον δὲ πρὸς τazines θύρας οἱ μὲν παιδεῖς ἅμα τοῖς γαμβροῖς ὑπολαβόντες καὶ περισχόντες.

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disposed to come to terms, for he regarded the capture of their city and their complete conquest as a large task and one that was beyond his present force, whereas a friendly settlement with them after a victory would greatly enhance his reputation. Accordingly, Cineas was sent to Rome, where he had conferences with the men in authority, and sent their wives and children gifts in the name of his king. No one, however, would accept the gifts, but all replied, men and women alike, that if a peace were publicly concluded they also, on their part, would show goodwill and kindness to the king. Moreover, though Cineas made many kind and alluring proposals to the senate, not one of them was received there with alacrity or pleasure, although Pyrrhus offered to restore without a ransom their men who had been captured in the battle, and promised to assist them in the subjugation of Italy, and in return for these favours asked only friendship for himself, immunity for the Tarentines, and nothing else. Nevertheless, most of the senators were plainly inclined towards peace, since they had been defeated in one great battle, and expected another with a larger army, now that the Italian Greeks had joined Pyrrhus. At this point Appius Claudius, a man of distinction, but one whom old age and blindness had forced to give up all public activities, now that the message from the king had come and a report was rife that the senate was going to vote for the proposed cessation of hostilities, could not restrain himself, but ordered his attendants to take him up and had himself carried on a litter through the forum to the senate-house. When he had reached the door, his sons and sons-in-law took him up in their arms and brought
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εἰςήγουν, ἢ δὲ βουλὴ σιωπῆν αἰδομένη τὸν ἀνδρα μετὰ τιμῆς ἐσχεν.

XIX. Ὁ δὲ αὐτόθεν καταστάς, "Πρῶτορον μὲν," ἔφη, "τὴν περὶ τὰ ὄμματα τύχην ἀνιαρῶς ἔφερον, ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι, νῦν δὲ ἀχθομαί πρὸς τῷ τυφλῷ εἶναι μή καὶ κοφὸς ὑπὸ, ἀλλ′ ἄκοινον ἀσχρά βουλεύματα καὶ δόγματα ύμῶν ἀνατρέπωντα τῆς Ῥώμης τὸ κλέος. ποῦ γὰρ υἱῶν ὁ πρὸς ἀπαντάς ἀνθρώπους θρυλούμενος ἂει λόγος, ὡς, εἰ παρῆν ἐκεῖνος εἰς Ἰταλίαν ὁ μέγας Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ συνηνέχθη νέοις ἦμιν καὶ τοῖς πατράσι νήμων ἁκμάξουσιν, οὐκ ἂν ὑμνεῖτο νῦν ἄνικτος, ἀλλ′ ἢ φυγὼν ἂν ἢ που πεσόν ἐνταῦθα 2 τῆς Ῥώμης ἐνδοξότεραν ἀπέλιπε; ταῦτα μέντοι κενὴν ἀλαζονείαν καὶ κόμπου ἀποδείκνυτε, Χάσωνας καὶ Μολοσσοὺς, τὴν ἀεὶ Μακεδόνων λείαν, δεδιότες, καὶ τρέμοντες Πύρρον, δι τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου δορυφόρων ἔνα γοῦν ἂεὶ περιέπων καὶ θεραπεύων διατετέλεε, καὶ νῦν οὐ βοηθῶν τοῖς ἐνταῦθα μᾶλλον "Ελλησιν ἢ φεύγων τοὺς ἐκεὶ πολεμίους πλανᾶται περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἐπαγγελλόμενος ἦμιν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς δυνάμεως ἢ μέρος μικρὸν αὐτῷ Μακεδονίας οὐκ 3 ἠρκεσε διαφυλάξαι. μὴ τοῦτον οὖν ἀπαλλάξειν νομίζετε ποιησάμενοι φίλοι, ἀλλὰ ἐκείνους ἐπάξεσθαι καταφρονήσαντας ύμῶν ὡς πᾶσιν εὐ- κατεργάστων, εἰ Πύρρος ἀπεισὶ μὴ δοὺς δίκην ὅν
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him inside, and the senators, out of regard for the man, kept respectful silence.

XIX. Then Appius raised himself up where he was and said: "Up to this time, O Romans, I have regarded the misfortune to my eyes as an affliction, but it now distresses me that I am not deaf as well as blind, that I might not hear the shameful resolutions and decrees of yours which bring low the glory of Rome. For what becomes of the words that ye are ever reiterating to all the world, namely, that if the great Alexander of renown had come to Italy and had come into conflict with us, when we were young men, and with our fathers, when they were in their prime, he would not now be celebrated as invincible, but would either have fled, or, perhaps, have fallen there, and so have left Rome more glorious still? Surely ye are proving that this was boasting and empty bluster, since ye are afraid of Chaonians and Molossians, who were ever the prey of the Macedonians, and ye tremble before Pyrrhus, who has ever been a minister and servitor to one at least of Alexander's bodyguards,¹ and now comes wandering over Italy, not so much to help the Greeks who dwell here, as to escape his enemies at home, promising to win for us the supremacy here with that army which could not avail to preserve for him a small portion of Macedonia. Do not suppose that ye will rid yourselves of this fellow by making him your friend; nay, ye will bring against you others, and they will despise you as men whom anybody can easily subdue, if Pyrrhus goes away without having been punished for his insults, but

¹ Referring sarcastically to his relations with Ptolemy and Demetrius.
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ὑβρισεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσλαβὼν μισθόν τὸ ἔπεγ- γελάσαι Ῥωμαίοις Ταραντίνους καὶ Σαιννίτας.”

Τοιαύτα τοῦ Ἀπίπου διαλεχθέντος ὀρμῆ παρέ-
στη πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸν Κινέαν
ἀποσέμπουσιν ἀποκρινάμενοι Πῦρρον ἤξελθόντα
4 τῆς Ἰταλίας, οὕτως, εἴ δέοιτο, περὶ φιλίας καὶ
συμμαχίας διαλέγεσθαι, μέχρι δὲ ώς πάρεστιν ἐν
ὀπλοῖς, πολεμήσειν αὐτῷ Ῥωμαίους κατὰ κράτος,
καὶ μυρίους ἐτί Λαβίνιους τρέψηται μαχόμενος.
λέγεται δὲ Κινέαν, ἐν φό ταῦτα ἔπραττεν, ἀμα
ποιησάμενον ἔργον καὶ σπουδάσαντα τῶν τε βίων
γενόσθαι θεατήν καὶ τῆς πολιτείας τήν ἁρετήν
5 κατανοῆσαι, καὶ διὰ λόγον ἔλθόντα τοῖς ἀρίστοις
τά τε ἀλλα τῷ Πῦρρῳ φράσαι, καὶ εἰπεῖν ὡς ἡ
σύγκλητος αὐτῷ βασιλέων πολλῶν συνεδρίων
φανείη, περὶ δὲ τοῦ πλῆθους δεδιέναι, μὴ πρὸς
τῶν φανὼν Δερναίαν ὕδραν μαχόμενοι· διπλα-
σίους γὰρ ὤδη τῷ ὑπάτῳ τῶν παρατεταγμένων
πρότερον ἤθροίσθαι, καὶ πολλάκις εἰναι τοσού-
τους ἐτί τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὁπλα φέρειν δυναμένους.

XX. Ἐκ τούτων πρέσβεις ἀφίκωντο περὶ τῶν
αἰχμαλώτων οἱ περὶ Γάιον Φαβρίκιον, οὐ τελε-
στον ἐφή Ῥωμαίους λόγον ἔχειν ο Κινέας ὡς
ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ πολεμικοῦ, πένητος δὲ ἵσχυ-
ρῶς. τούτων οὖν ο Πῦρροι ἰδία φιλοφρονούμενος
ἐπειδή λαβεῖν χρυσίον, ἐπ’ οὐδενὶ δήθεν αἰσχρῷ,
φιλίας δὲ τι καὶ ξενίας ἐποιομάζων τούτο σύμ-
2 βολον. ἀπωσαμένου δὲ τοῦ Φαβρίκιον τότε μὲν

1 τὸ with Blass: τοῦ.
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actually rewarded for them in having enabled Tarantines and Samnites to mock at Romans."

After Appius had thus spoken, his hearers were seized with eagerness to prosecute the war, and Cineas was sent back with the reply that Pyrrhus must first depart out of Italy, and then, if he wished, the Romans would talk about friendship and alliance; but as long as he was there in arms, they would fight him with all their might, even though he should rout in battle ten thousand men like Laevinus. It is said, too, that Cineas, while he was on this mission, made it his earnest business at the same time to observe the life and manners of the Romans, and to understand the excellences of their form of government; he also conversed with their best men, and had many things to tell Pyrrhus, among which was the declaration that the senate impressed him as a council of many kings, and that, as for the people, he was afraid it might prove to be a Lernaean hydra for them to fight against, since the consul already had twice as many soldiers collected as those who faced their enemies before, and there were many times as many Romans still who were capable of bearing arms.

XX. After this, an embassy came from the Romans to treat about the prisoners that had been taken. The embassy was headed by Caius Fabricius, who, as Cineas reported, was held in highest esteem at Rome as an honourable man and good soldier, but was inordinately poor. To this man, then, Pyrrhus privately showed kindness and tried to induce him to accept gold, not for any base purpose, indeed, but calling it a mark of friendship and hospitality. But Fabricius rejected the gold, and for that day Pyrrhus
Χαμηλεκα, τῇ δ' ὑστεραία βουλόμενος αὐτὸν ἐκπλήξαι μὴπωθετήν ἐλέφαντος γεγενημένον, ἐκέλευσε τῶν θηρίων τὸ μέγιστον ἐξόπισθεν αὐτοῖς παραστήσαι κοινολογομένοις, αὐλαίαν παρατείναντας. ἔγενετο δὲ τὰτατά καὶ σημείωσε δοθέντος ἡ μὲν αὐλαία παρήχθη, τὸ δὲ θηρίον ἀφιν τὴν τε προνομαίαν ἀράμευον ὑπερέσχε τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ Φαβρίκιον καὶ φωνὴν ἄφηκε φοβερὰν 3 καὶ τραχείαν. ο ὃδε ἡρέμα μεταστραφείς καὶ διαμειδιάσας πρὸς τὸν Πύρρον εἶπεν, "Ὡς θεές με τὸ χρυσίον ἐκίνησεν οὔτε σήμερον τὸ θηρίον." ἐν δὲ τῷ δείπνῳ λόγων παντοδαπῶν γενομένων, πλείστων δὲ περὶ τῆς Ἐκλάδος καὶ τῶν φιλοσοφούντων, ἔτυχε ποὺς ὁ Κινέας ἐπιμνησθεὶς τοῦ Ἐπικούρου, καὶ διήλθεν ἄλεγον περὶ θεῶν καὶ πολεμείας καὶ τέλους, τὸ μὲν ἐν ἑδονῇ τιθέμενοι, πολεμείαν δὲ φεύγοντες ὡς βλάβην καὶ σύγχυσιν τοῦ μακαρίου, τὸ δὲ θεῖον ἀπωτάτῳ χάριτος καὶ ὀργῆς καὶ τοῦ μέλει ώμῶν εἰς ἀπράγμωνα 4 βίον καὶ μεστὸν εὐπάθειῶν ἀποκίξοντες. ἔτι δὲ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ἀνακραγὼν ὁ Φαβρίκιος, "Ὡ Ἡράκλεις," εἶπε, "Πῦρρῳ τὰ δόγματα μέλοι ταῦτα καὶ Σαυνίτας, ἐως πολεμοῦσι πρὸς ἡμᾶς."

.Std Οὔτω δὲ θαυμάσας τὸ φρόνημα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τὸ ἄθος ὁ Πύρρος ἐτι μᾶλλον ὄργετο φιλίαν ἀντὶ πολέμου πρὸς τὴν πόλιν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι. 396 κάκεινον ἱδιὰ παρεκάλει ποιησάμενον τὰς διαλύσεις ἐπεσθαὶ καὶ συζήν μετ' αὐτοῦ, πρῶτον ὁντα πάντων τῶν ἐταίρων καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν. ὁ δὲ ἄθυσχὴ λέγεται πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν, "Ἀλλ' οὔδὲ
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let him alone; on the following day, however, wishing to frighten a man who had not yet seen an elephant, he ordered the largest of these animals to be stationed behind a hanging in front of which they stood conversing together. This was done; and at a given signal the hanging was drawn aside, and the animal suddenly raised his trunk, held it over the head of Fabricius, and emitted a harsh and frightful cry. But Fabricius calmly turned and said with a smile to Pyrrhus: "Your gold made no impression on me yesterday, neither does your beast to-day." Again, at supper, where all sorts of topics were discussed, and particularly that of Greece and her philosophers, Cineas happened somehow to mention Epicurus, and set forth the doctrines of that school concerning the gods, civil government, and the highest good, explaining that they made pleasure the highest good, but would have nothing to do with civil government on the ground that it was injurious and the ruin of felicity, and that they removed the Deity as far as possible from feelings of kindness or anger or concern for us, into a life that knew no care and was filled with ease and comfort. But before Cineas was done, Fabricius cried out and said: "O Hercules, may Pyrrhus and the Samnites cherish these doctrines, as long as they are at war with us."

Thus Pyrrhus was led to admire the high spirit and character of the man, and was all the more eager to have friendship with his city instead of waging war against it; he even privately invited him, in case he brought about the settlement, to follow his fortunes and share his life as the first and foremost of all his companions and generals. But Fabricius, as we are told, said quietly to him: "Nay, O King, this
σοι τούτο, βασιλεῦ, λυσιτελές ἐστιν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἱ νῦν σε τιμῶντες καὶ θαυμάζοντες, ἂν ἐμοὶ πείραν λάβωσιν, ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ μᾶλλον ἐθελήσουσιν ἢ 5 σοῦ βασιλεύεσθαι” τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ Φαβρίκιος. ὁ δὲ Πύρρος οὐ πρὸς ὄργην οὐδὲ τυραννικὸς ἐδέξατο τὸν λόγον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἀπήγγειλε τοῦ Φαβρικίου τὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐκείνῳ μόνῳ διεπίστευσεν, ὅπως, εἰ μὴ ψηφίσαιτο τὴν εἰρήνην ἡ σύγκλητος, ἀσπασάμενοι τοὺς προσήκοντας καὶ τὰ Κρόνια διεστάσαιτε ἀποπεμφθέιν πάλιν πρὸς αὐτόν. καὶ ἀπεπέμφθησαν μετὰ τὴν ἔορτήν, τῷ ὑπολει- φθέντι τῆς θουλῆς ζημίαν θάνατον ψηφίσαμένης.

XXI. Μετὰ ταῦτα τοῦ Φαβρικίου τὴν ἁρχὴν παραλαβόντος ἤκειν ἀνὴρ εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολὴν κομίζων, ἢν ἔγραψεν ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως ἱατρὸς ἐπαγγελλόμενος φαρμάκως ἀναι- ρήσεως τὸν Πύρρον, εἰ χάρις αὐτῷ παρ’ ἐκείνων ὁμολογηθείη λύσαντι τὸν πόλεμον ἄκινδυνος. ὁ δὲ Φαβρίκιος δυσχεράνας πρὸς τὴν ἄδικιαν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, καὶ τὸν συνάρχοντα διαθείς όμοιώς, ἔπεμψε γράμματα πρὸς τὸν Πύρρον κατὰ τάχος 2 φυλάττεσθαι τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν κελεύων. εἰχε δὲ οὖτως τὰ γεγραμμένα: “Γάιος Φαβρίκιος καὶ Κόιντος Αἰμίλιος ὑπατοὶ Ῥωμαῖοι Πύρρῳ βασιλεῖ χαίρειν. οὐτε φίλον εὐτυχῆς ξοικας εἶναι κριθῆς οὔτε πολέμου. γνώσῃ δὲ τὴν πεμ- φθείσαν ἡμῖν ἐπιστολὴν ἀναγνούσι, ὅτι χρηστοῖς
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would not be to thy advantage; for the very men who now admire and honour thee, if they should become acquainted with me, would prefer to have me as their king rather than thee.” Such a man was Fabricius. And Pyrrhus did not receive the speech with anger or like a tyrant, but actually reported to his friends the magnanimity of Fabricius, and entrusted his prisoners of war to him alone, on condition that, in case the senate should not vote for the peace, they should be sent back again to him, though they might first greet their relatives and celebrate the festival of Saturn. And they were so sent back after the festival, the senate having voted a penalty of death for any that stayed behind.

XXI. After this, and when Fabricius had assumed the consulship,¹ a man came into his camp with a letter for him. The letter had been written by the physician of Pyrrhus, who promised that he would take the king off by poison, provided that the Romans would agree to reward him for putting an end to the war without further hazard on their part. But Fabricius, who was indignant at the iniquity of the man, and had disposed his colleague to feel likewise, sent a letter to Pyrrhus with all speed urging him to be on his guard against the plot. The letter ran as follows: “Caius Fabricius and Quintus Aemilius, consuls of Rome, to King Pyrrhus, health and happiness. It would appear that thou art a good judge neither of friends nor of enemies. Thou wilt see, when thou hast read the letter which we send, that the men with whom thou art at war are

¹ The chronology of the story is at fault here. Fabricius and Aemilius were consuls in 278, the year after the battle at Asculum described in §§ 5 ff.
καὶ δικαίως ἀνδράσι πολεμεῖς, ἀδίκοις δὲ καὶ 
κακοῖς πιστεύεις. οὐδὲ γὰρ ταῦτα σῇ χάριτι 
μηνύομεν, ἀλλ’ ὅπως μὴ τὸ σῶν πάθος ἦμιν 
διαβολῆν ἐνέγκῃ καὶ δόλῳ δόξωμεν, ὡς ἀρετῇ μὴ 
δυνάμενοι, καταργάσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον." ἔν-
τυχῶν τούτως τοῖς γράμμασιν ὁ Πύρρος καὶ τὴν 
ἐπιβουλὴν ἐξελέγξας τὸν μὲν ἱατρὸν ἐκόλασε, 
Φαβρικίῳ δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἁμοιβὴν ἔδωρεῖτο 
προῖκα τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, καὶ πάλιν ἐπεμψε τὸν
Κινέαν διαπραξάμενον αὐτῷ τὴν εἰρήνην. οἱ δὲ 
Ῥωμαίοι, μήτε εἰ χάρις ἐστὶ παρὰ πολεμίου, μήτε 
eἰ μισθὸς τοῦ μὴ ἀδικηθῆναι, λαβεῖν προῖκα τοὺς 
ἀνδρας ἀξιωσάντες ἵσους ἀπέλυσαν αὐτῷ Ταραν-
tῖνων καὶ Σαυνιτῶν, περὶ δὲ φίλίας καὶ εἰρήνης 
οὐδὲν εἰὼν διαλέγεσθαι πρὶν ἀράμενος τὰ ὀπλὰ 
καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐξ Ἰταλίας αἷς ἦλθε ναυσίν 
ἀποπλεύσῃ πάλιν εἰς Ἰταλίαν.
5 Ἑκ τούτου μάχης ἄλλης τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῆς 
deομένων ἀναλαβῶν τὴν στρατιὰν ἐχώρει, καὶ 
περὶ Ἀσκλποῦ πόλιν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις συνάγας καὶ 
βιαζόμενοι πρὸς χωρία δύσιππα καὶ ποταμῶν 
ὑλώδη καὶ τραχύν, ἐφοδοῦν τῶν θηρίων οὐ λαβῶν-
tῶν ὅστε προσμῆξαι τῇ φάλαγγῃ, τραυμάτων 
pολλῶν γενομένων καὶ νεκρῶν πεσόντων, τότε 
μὲν διεκρίθη μέχρι νυκτὸς ἀγωνισάμενος. τῇ δ’ 
ὑστεραίᾳ στρατηγὴν δι’ ὀμαλοῦ τὴν μάχην θέσθαι 
καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς γενέσθαι τῶν 
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honourable and just, but that those whom thou trustest are unjust and base. And indeed we do not give thee this information out of regard for thee, but in order that thy ruin may not bring infamy upon us, and that men may not say of us that we brought the war to an end by treachery because we were unable to do so by valour." When Pyrrhus had read this letter and got proof of the plot against his life, he punished the physician, and as a requital to Fabricius and the Romans made them a present of his prisoners of war, and once more sent Cineas to negotiate a peace for him. But the Romans would not consent to receive the men for nothing, either as a favour from an enemy, or as a reward for not committing iniquity against him, and therefore released for Pyrrhus an equal number of Tarentines and Samnites whom they had taken; on the subject of friendship and peace, however, they declared they would allow nothing to be said until Pyrrhus had taken his arms and his army out of Italy and sailed back to Epeirus on the ships that brought him.

Consequently, Pyrrhus found himself obliged to fight another battle, and after recuperating his army he marched to the city of Asculum, where he engaged the Romans. Here, however, he was forced into regions where his cavalry could not operate, and upon a river with swift current and wooded banks, so that his elephants could not charge and engage the enemy’s phalanx. Therefore, after many had been wounded and slain, for the time being the struggle was ended by the coming of night. But on the next day, designing to fight the battle on level ground, and to bring his elephants to bear upon the ranks of the enemy, Pyrrhus occupied betimes the
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πολλά καταμέτρασε ακοντίσματα και τόξευματα τούς θηρίους επήγε μετά ρώμης καὶ βίας πυγμής καὶ συνεπεκαθρομήν τὴν δύναμιν. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς διακλίσεις καὶ τὰς αντιπαραγωγάς τὰς προτέρων οὐκ ἔχοντες, ἦν ἐπιπέδου συνεφέροντο κατὰ στόμα καὶ σπεύδοντες ὠσποδίζαντο τοὺς ὀπλίτας πρὶν ἐπιβῆναι τὰ θηρία, δεινοὺς περὶ τὰς σαρίσκας τῶν ξιφῶν ἀγώνας εἶχον, ἀφειδοῦντες εὐανῶν καὶ τὸ τρόφισαν καὶ καταβάλειν ὀρῶντες, τὸ δὲ παθεῖν εἰς οὐδὲν τιθέμενοι. χρόνῳ δὲ πολλῷ λέγεται μὲν ἀρχῇ τροπῆς καὶ αὐτὸν γενέσθαι τὸν Πύρρον ἔπερεισαντα τοῖς ἀντιτεταγμένοις, τὸ δὲ πλείστον ἀλήθείς καὶ βία τῶν ἐλεφάντων κατειργάσατο, χρήσασθαι τῇ ἀρετῇ πρὸς τὴν μάχην τῶν Ῥωμαῖων μὴ δυναμένων, ἀλλ' οἷον ἔφοδο κύματος ἡ σεισμοῦ κατερέιποντος οἰομένων δεῖν ἔξιστασθαι, μηδὲ ὑπομένειν ἀπράκτους ἀποθνήσκειν, ἐν τῷ μηδὲν ὠφελεῖν πάντα πάσχοντας τὰ χαλεπώτερα.

8 Τῆς δὲ φυγῆς οὐ μακράς εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον γενομένης ἐξακισχίλιοι ἕποθανεῖν φησι τῶν Ῥωμαίων Ἰερώνυμοι, τῶν δὲ περὶ Πύρρον ἐν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν ἀνενεχθῆναι τρισχίλιος πεντακοσίους καὶ πέντε τεθνηκότας. ὁ μέντοι Διονύσιος οὔτε δύο περὶ Ἀσκληπίου μάχας οὔτε ὁμολογομένην ἤταν ἰστορεῖ γενέσθαι Ῥωμαίων, ἀπαξ δὲ μέχρι δυσμῶν ἠλίου μαχασμένους μόλις ἀπαλλαγμένες, τοῦ Πύρρου τρωθέντος ὑσσῷ τῶν βραχίων καὶ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἀμα Πολυσίων.¹

¹ Δαυνίων with Blass, in agreement with Dionys. Hal. xx. 3: Σαμνιών.
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unfavourable parts of the field with a detachment of his troops; then he put great numbers of slingers and archers in the spaces between the elephants and led his forces to the attack in dense array and with a mighty impetus. So the Romans, having no opportunity for sidelong shifts and counter-movements, as on the previous day, were obliged to engage on level ground and front to front; and being anxious to repulse the enemy’s men-at-arms before their elephants came up, they fought fiercely with their swords against the Macedonian spears, reckless of their lives and thinking only of wounding and slaying, while caring naught for what they suffered. After a long time, however, as we are told, they began to be driven back at the point where Pyrrhus himself was pressing hard upon his opponents; but the greatest havoc was wrought by the furious strength of the elephants, since the valour of the Romans was of no avail in fighting them, but they felt that they must yield before them as before an onrushing billow or a crashing earthquake, and not stand their ground only to die in vain, or suffer all that is most grievous without doing any good at all.

After a short flight the Romans reached their camp, with a loss of six thousand men, according to Hieronymus, who also says that on the side of Pyrrhus, according to the king’s own commentaries, thirty-five hundred and five were killed. Dionysius, however, makes no mention of two battles at Asculum, nor of an admitted defeat of the Romans, but says that the two armies fought once for all until sunset and then at last separated; Pyrrhus, he says, was wounded in the arm by a javelin, and also had his baggage
Διαρπασάντων, ἀποθανεῖν δὲ καὶ Πύρρου καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἄνδρας ὑπὲρ μυρίων πεντακισχιλίων ἐκατέρων.

Διελύθησαν δὲ ἀμφότεροι καὶ λέγεται τὸν Πύρρου εἰπεῖν πρὸς τινὰ τῶν συνηδομένων αὐτῷ, "Ἄν ἔτι μίαν μάχην Ῥωμαίων νικήσωμεν, ἀπὸ-10 λούμεθα παντελῶς." πολὺ μὲν γὰρ ἀπωλῶλει μέρος ἦς ἄγων ἦκε δυνάμεως, φίλοι δὲ καὶ στρατηγοὶ πλὴν ὅλων ἀπαντεῖς, μεταπέμπεσθαι δὲ οὐκ ἦσαν ἔτεροι, καὶ τοὺς αὐτόθι συμμάχους ἀμβλυτέρους ἑώρα, τοῖς δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ὀσπερ ἐκ πηγῆς οἰκοδεν ἐπιρρεούσης ἀναπληροῦμεν εὐπό-ρως καὶ ταχὺ τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ταῖς ἦτταις οὐκ ἀποβάλλοντας τὸ θαρρεῖν, ἄλλα καὶ ρώμην καὶ φιλονεικίαιν ὑπ’ ὀργῆς ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον προσ-λαμβάνοντας.

XXII. Ἐν τοιαύταις δὲ ὅταν ἀπορίας εἰς ἕλπίδας αὐτὶ πάλιν καίναι ἐνέπεσε καὶ πράγματα διχοστα-σίαν ἔχουσα τῆς γνώμης. ἀμα γὰρ ἤκουν ἐκ μὲν Σικελίας ἄνδρες Ἀκράγαντα καὶ Συρακούσας καὶ Λεοντίνους ἐγχειρίζοντες αὐτῷ, καὶ δεόμενοι Καρ-χηδονίους τε συνεκβαλεῖν καὶ τῶν τυράννων ἀπαλάξαι τὴν νήσου, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀγγέλ-λοντες ὡς Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Κεραυνὸς ἀπόλλωλε συμπεσῶν Γαλάταις μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ νῦν ἄν ἐν καὶρῷ μάλιστα δεομένοις βασιλέως Μακε-2 δόσι παραγένωστο. πολλὰ δὴ τὴν τύχην μεμψά-μενος ὅτι πράξεων μεγάλων ὑποθέσεις εἰς ἐνα 416
plundered by the Daunians; and there fell, on the side of Pyrrhus and on that of the Romans, over fifteen thousand men.

The two armies separated; and we are told that Pyrrhus said to one who was congratulating him on his victory, "If we are victorious in one more battle with the Romans, we shall be utterly ruined." For he had lost a great part of the forces with which he came, and all his friends and generals except a few; moreover, he had no others whom he could summon from home, and he saw that his allies in Italy were becoming indifferent, while the army of the Romans, as if from a fountain gushing forth indoors, was easily and speedily filled up again, and they did not lose courage in defeat, nay, their wrath gave them all the more vigour and determination for the war.

XXII. But while he was involved in such perplexities, new hopes once more inspired him, and projects which divided his purposes. For at one and the same time there came to him from Sicily men who offered to put into his hands the cities of Agrigentum, Syracuse, and Leontini, and begged him to help them to drive out the Carthaginians and rid the island of its tyrants; and from Greece, men with tidings that Ptolemy Ceraunus with his army had perished at the hands of the Gauls, and that now was the time of all times for him to be in Macedonia, where they wanted a king. Pyrrhus rated Fortune soundly because occasions for two great undertakings had come to him at one time,

1 Auxiliaries of the Romans from Arpinum in Apulia.
2 The son of Ptolemy I. of Egypt. In 280 B.C. he had basely assassinated Seleucus, and made himself king of Macedonia.
καιρὸν αὐτῷ συνήνεγκε, καὶ νομίζων ὡς ἀμφοτέρων ὑπαρχόντων ὑπολλύναι θάτερον, διηνέχθη τοῖς λογομοιοῖς πολὺν χρόνον. εἰτα τοῖς Σικελικοῖς μειζόνων ὑποκείσθαι πραγμάτων δοκούντων, Δι-
3 βύης ἐγγύς εἶναι δοκούσης, ἐπὶ ταῦτα τρέφας Κινέαν μὲν ἐυθὺς ἐξέπεμψε προδιαλεξόμενον, ὡσπερ εἰσέβει, ταῖς πόλεσιν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖς Ταρ-
αντίνοις δυσανασχετοῦσιν ἐμβαλὼν φροῦραν, καὶ ἀξιούσιν ἡ παρέχειν ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἥκε, συμπολεμοῦντα Ἐρμαίων, ἢ τὴν χώραν προέμενον αὐτῶν ἀπο-
λιτεῖν τὴν πόλιν ὅταν παρέλαβε, μηδὲν ἐτπεικές ἀποκρινάμενος, ἀλλὰ προστάξας ἠςυχίαν ἀγείν καὶ περιμένειν τὸν ἑαυτὸν καιρὸν, ἐξέπλευσεν.
4 Ἀγαμέμνων δὲ αὐτῷ Σικελίας ἂ μὲν ἡλπίσεν ἐυθὺς ἀπῆλυτα βέβαια, καὶ παρεῖχον αἱ πόλεις ἑαυτῶς προθύμως, τῶν δὲ ἀγώνως καὶ βίας δεσ-
θέντων οὐδὲν ἀντείχε τὸ πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ τρειμυρίοις πεζοῖς καὶ δισχίλιοις πεντακοσίοις ἱππεύσι καὶ διακοσίας ναυσιν ἐπίῳ τούς τε Φοίνικας ἐξίζησε καὶ κατεστρέφετο τὴν ἐπικράτειαν αὐτῶν. τοῦ δὲ Ἐρυκος ἐχυρωτάτου τῶν χωρίων ὄντος καὶ πολ-
λούς ἁμυνομένους ἠχότος ἐγὼν βιώξεθαι πρὸς τὰ τείχη. καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς γενομένης ἑτοίμης ἐνεύσατο τὴν πανοπλίαν, καὶ προσέθων ἐγώ ἐξετό τῷ Ἡρακλεί ποιήσαιν ἀγώνα καὶ θυσίαν ἀριστεῖον, 398 ἄν τοῦ γενός καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἁξίων ἀγωνι-
ςτήν αὐτὸν ἀποδείξῃ τοῖς Σικελίαν οἰκοῦσιν Ἐλλησι. τῇ δὲ σάλπιγγις σημήνας καὶ τοῖς βέλεσι τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀνασκεδάσας καὶ τὰς κλίμακας 6 προσαγαγὼν πρῶτος ἐπέβη τοῦ τείχους. ἀντι-

1 προσέθων with Blass: προσέθων.

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and thinking that the presence of both meant the loss of one, he wavered in his calculations for a long time. Then Sicily appeared to offer opportunities for greater achievements, since Libya was felt to be near, and he turned in this direction, and forthwith sent out Cineas to hold preliminary conferences with the cities, as was his wont, while he himself threw a garrison into Tarentum. The Tarentines were much displeased at this, and demanded that he either apply himself to the task for which he had come, namely to help them in their war with Rome, or else abandon their territory and leave them their city as he had found it. To this demand he made no very gracious reply, but ordering them to keep quiet and await his convenience, he sailed off.

On reaching Sicily,¹ his hopes were at once realized securely; the cities readily gave themselves up to him, and wherever force and conflict were necessary nothing held out against him at first, but advancing with thirty thousand foot, twenty-five hundred horse, and two hundred ships, he put the Phoenicians to rout and subdued the territory under their control. Then he determined to storm the walls of Eryx, which was the strongest of their fortresses and had numerous defenders. So when his army was ready, he put on his armour, went out to battle, and made a vow to Heracles that he would institute games and a sacrifice in his honour, if the god would render him in the sight of the Sicilian Greeks an antagonist worthy of his lineage and resources; then he ordered the trumpets to sound, scattered the Barbarians with his missiles, brought up his scaling-ladders, and was the first to mount

¹ Early in the year 278 B.C.
ΧΧΧΙΙ. Τών δὲ περὶ Μεσσηνίαν Βαρβάρων, Μαμερτίνων δὲ καλομέμων, πολλὰ τοῖς Ἑλληνισὶν ἐνοχλοῦντων, ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ φόρου πεποιημένων υποτελεῖσθαι, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ μαχιῶν ὄντων, διὸ καὶ προσηγορεύθησαν Ἀρχίοι γλώσσῃ τῇ Δατίνῳ, τοὺς μὲν φορολόγους συνλαβὼν ἀπέκτεινε, αὐτοὺς δὲ νικήσας μάχῃ πολλὰ τῶν φρούρων 2 ἔξεκοψε. Καρχηδονίοις δὲ συμβατικῶς ἔχοντι, καὶ χρήματα βουλομένων τελεῖν, εἰ γένοιτο φιλία, καὶ νᾶς ἀποστέλλειν, ἀπεκρινάτο πελεόνων ἐφιέμενος μίαν εἶναι διάλυσιν καὶ φιλίαν πρὸς αὐτούς, εἰ πᾶσαι ἐκλιπόντες Σικελίαν ὁρῷ χρῶντο τῇ Δι- 3 βυκῇ θαλάσσῃ πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνας. εὐτυχία δὲ καὶ ρώμη τῶν παρόντων ἐπαιρόμενος, καὶ διώκων τὰς ἐπιδίας ἐφ' αἷς ἀπ' ἀρχής ἐπλευσε, πρώτης δὲ Λιβύης ἐφιέμενος καὶ νᾶς ἔχων πολλᾶς πλη-
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the wall. Many were the foes against whom he strove; some of them he pushed from the wall on either side and hurled them to the ground, but most he laid dead in heaps about him with the strokes of his sword. He himself suffered no harm, but was a terrible sight for his enemies to look upon, and proved that Homer was right and fully justified in saying that valour, alone of the virtues, often displays transports due to divine possession and frenzy. After the capture of the city, he sacrificed to the god in magnificent fashion and furnished spectacles of all sorts of contests.

XXIII. The Barbarians about Messana, called Mamertines, were giving much annoyance to the Greeks, and had even laid some of them under contribution. They were numerous and warlike, and therefore had been given a name which, in the Latin tongue, signifies martial. Pyrrhus seized their collectors of tribute and put them to death, then conquered the people themselves in battle and destroyed many of their strongholds. Moreover, when the Carthaginians were inclined to come to terms and were willing to pay him money and send him ships in case friendly relations were established, he replied to them (his heart being set upon greater things) that there could be no settlement or friendship between himself and them unless they abandoned all Sicily and made the Libyan Sea a boundary between themselves and the Greeks. But now, lifted up by his good fortune and by the strength of his resources, and pursuing the hopes with which he had sailed from home in the beginning, he set his heart upon Libya first; and since many of the ships

1 As in Iliad, v. 185; vi. 101; ix. 238.
ρωμάτων ἐπιδεεῖς ἤγειρεν ἐρέτας, οὐκ ἐπιεικῶς ἐνυγχάνων οὐδὲ πράξεις ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἀλλὰ δεσποτικῶς καὶ πρὸς ὅργην βιαζόμενος καὶ κολάζων, οὐκ εὐθὺς ὡς οὐδὲ ἐν ἀρχῇ τοιοῦτος, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπέρων τῷ πρὸς χάριν ὁμιλεῖν καὶ πάντα πιστεύειν καὶ μηδὲν ὑποχλεῖν ὑπαγόμενος, εἶτα γινόμενος ἐκ δημαγωγοῦ πύραννος ἀχαριστίας τῇ χαλεπότητι καὶ ἀπιστίας προσωφλίσκανε δόξαν.

4 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ταύτα μὲν ὡς ἀναγκαία συνεχώρουν, καίπερ δυσφοροῦντες· ἔπει δὲ Θοῖνωνα καὶ Σωσίστρατον, ἀνδρας ἱγεμόνικους ἐν Συρακούσαις, οἱ πρῶτοι μὲν αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν ἐπείσαν εἰς Σικελίαν, ἔλθοντι δὲ τῆς πόλεως εὐθὺς ἐνεχείρησαν καὶ πλείστα συγκατεργάσαντο τῶν Σικελικῶν, μὴτε ἀγείν σὺν αὐτῷ μήτε ἀπολείπειν βουλόμενος ἐν ὑποψίας εἰς, καὶ Σωσίστρατος μὲν ἀπέστη

5 φοβηθεῖς, Θοῖνωνα δὲ τὰ αὐτὰ φρονεῖν αἰτιασάμενος ἀπέκτεινεν, οὐ κατὰ μικρὸν οὐδὲ καθ’ ἐν αὐτῷ μεθίστατο τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλὰ δεινοῦ τινος μίσους ἐγχειρήμου ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς αὐτὸν αἱ μὲν προσετέθεντο Καρχηδονίους, αἱ δὲ ἐπήγγευσεν Μαμερτίνους. ἀποστάσεις δὲ ὅρῳ ἀπαντα καὶ νεωτερισμοῦ καὶ σύστασιν ἰσχυρὰν ἐφ’ αὐτὸν, ἐδέξατο γράμματα Σαυνιτῶν καὶ Ταραντίνων μόλις ἀντεχόντων ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐταῖς πρὸς τὸν

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that he had were insufficiently manned, he began to collect oarsmen, not dealing with the cities in an acceptable or gentle manner, but in a lordly way, angrily putting compulsion and penalties upon them. He had not behaved in this way at the very beginning, but had even gone beyond others in trying to win men's hearts by gracious intercourse with them, by trusting everybody, and by doing nobody any harm. But now he ceased to be a popular leader and became a tyrant, and added to his name for severity a name for ingratitude and faithlessness.

Nevertheless the Sicilians put up with these things as necessary, although they were exasperated; but then came his dealings with Thoenon and Sosistratus. These were leading men in Syracuse, and had been first to persuade Pyrrhus to come into Sicily. Moreover, after he had come, they immediately put their city into his hands and assisted him in most of what he had accomplished in Sicily. And yet he was willing neither to take them with him nor to leave them behind, and held them in suspicion. Sosistratus took the alarm and withdrew; but Thoenon was accused by Pyrrhus of complicity with Sosistratus and put to death. With this, the situation of Pyrrhus was suddenly and entirely changed. A terrible hatred arose against him in the cities, some of which joined the Carthaginians, while others called in the Mamertines. And now, as he saw everywhere secessions and revolutionary designs and a strong faction opposed to him, he received letters from the Samnites and Tarentines, who had been excluded from all their territories, could with difficulty maintain the war

1 Cf. Dionysius Hal., Excerpta ex lib. xx., 8.
ΠΟΛΕΜΟΝ, ΕΙΡΓΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΔΕ ΤΗΣ ΧΩΡΑΣ ΑΠΑΣΗΣ ΚΑΙ
6 ΔΕΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΒΟΥΘΕΙΝ. ΤΟΥΤΟ ΔΕ ΗΝ ΕΥΠΡΕΠΕΙΑ ΜΗ
ΦΥΓΗΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΜΗΔΕ ΑΠΟΓΝΩΣΙΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΠΟΠΛΟΥΝ ΤΩΝ
ΑΥΤΟΘΙ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΩΝ. ΤΟ ΔΕ ΆΛΗΘΕΣ ΟΥ ΔΥΝΑΜΕΝΟΣ
ΚΡΑΤΕΙΝ ΣΙΚΕΛΙΑΣ ΩΣΠΕΡ ΝΕΩΣ ΤΑΡΑΧΘΕΙΣΗΣ, ΆΛΛ
ΈΚΒΑΣΙΝ ΖΗΤΩΝ, ΑΥΘΙΣ ΕΡΡΙΓΕΝΕ ΕΑΥΤΟΝ ΕΙΣ 'ΙΤΑΛΙΑΝ.
ΛΕΓΕΤΑΙ ΔΕ ΑΠΑΛΛΑΤΤΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΗΔΗ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΝΗΣΟΥ
ΑΠΙΔΩΝ ΕΙΠΕΙΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΑΥΤΩΝ. "ΟΛΑΝ ΑΠΟΛΕΙ-
ΠΟΜΕΝ, Ο ΦΙΛΟΙ, ΚΑΡΧΗΔΟΝΙΟΙ ΚΑΙ 'ΡΩΜΑΙΟΙ ΠΑΛ-
ΑΙΣΤΡΑΝ." ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΜΕΝ, ΩΣΠΕΡ ΕΙΚΑΣΘΗ, ΜΕΤ' ΟΥ
ΠΟΛΥΝ ΧΡΟΝΟΝ ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ.

XXIV. ΤΩΝ ΔΕ ΒΑΡΒΑΡΩΝ ΣΥΣΤΑΝΤΩΝ ΕΠ' ΑΥ-
ΤΟΝ ΑΠΟΠΛΕΟΝΤΑ, ΚΑΡΧΗΔΟΝΙΟΙ ΜΕΝ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΠΟΡΘΜΟ
ΝΑΥΜΑΧΗΣΑΣ ΑΠΕΒΑΛΕ ΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΝ ΠΟΛΛΑΣ, ΤΑΙΣ ΔΕ
ΑΛΛΑΙΣ ΚΑΤΕΦΥΓΕ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ 'ΙΤΑΛΙΑΝ. ΜΑΜΕΡΤΙΝΟΙ
ΔΕ ΜΥΡΙΩΝ ΟΥΚ ΕΛΑΤΤΟΥΣ ΠΡΟΔΙΑΒΑΝΤΕΣ ΑΝΤΙΤΑΞΑ-
ΘΑΙ ΜΕΝ ΕΦΟΒΗΘΗΣΑΝ, ΕΝ ΔΕ ΤΑΙΣ ΔΥΣΧΩΡΙΑΙΣ
ΕΠΙΤΙΘΕΜΕΝΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΠΙΤΤΟΝΤΕΣ ΑΠΑΝ ΤΟ ΣΤΡΑ-
ΤΕΥΜΑ ΣΥΝΕΤΑΡΑΧΑΝ. ΕΠΕΣΕ ΔΕ ΔΥΟ ΘΗΡΙΑ ΚΑΙ
ΣΥΧΝΟΙ ΤΩΝ ΩΠΙΣΘΟΦΥΛΑΚΟΥΝΤΩΝ ΑΠΕΘΝΗΣΑΝ.

2 ΑΥΤΟΣ ΟΥΝ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΟΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΑΡΕΛΑΣΑΣ ΗΜΥΝΕΤΟ
ΚΑΙ ΔΙΕΚΙΝΔΥΝΕΕΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΆΝΔΡΑΣ ΗΣΚΗΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΜΑΧΕΣ-
ΘΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΘΥΜΟΕΙΔΕΙΣ. ΠΛΗΓΕΙΣ ΔΕ ΤΗΝ ΚΕΦΑΛΗΝ ΞΙΦΕΙ
ΚΑΙ ΜΙΚΡΟΝ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΜΑΧΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΑΣ ΕΤΙ ΜΑΛΛΟΥ
ΕΠΗΡΕ ΤΟΥΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΙΟΥΣ. ΕΙΣ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΥ ΠΡΟ ΤΩΝ
ΑΛΛΩΝ ΕΠΙΔΡΑΜΩΝ, ΑΝΗΡ ΤΩ ΤΕ ΣΩΜΑΤΙ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΚΑΙ
ΤΟΙΣ ΟΠΛΟΙΣ ΛΑΜΠΡΟΣ, ΕΧΡΗΤΟ ΤΗ ΦΩΝΗ ΘΡΑΣΥΤΕΡΑ
3 ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΕΛΘΕΙΝ ΕΚΕΛΕΝΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ, ΕΙ ΤΗ. ΠΑΡΟΞΥΝΘΕΙΣ
ΔΕ Ο ΠΥΡΡΟΣ ΕΠΕΣΤΡΕΨΕ ΒΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΥΠΑΣΠΙΣΤΩΝ, ΚΑΙ
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even in their cities, and begged for his assistance. This gave him a fair pretext for his sailing away, without its being called a flight or despair of his cause in the island; but in truth it was because he could not master Sicily, which was like a storm-tossed ship, but desired to get out of her, that he once more threw himself into Italy. And it is said that at the time of his departure he looked back at the island and said to those about him: "My friends, what a wrestling ground for Carthaginians and Romans we are leaving behind us!" And this conjecture of his was soon afterwards confirmed.

XXIV. But the Barbarians combined against him as he was setting sail. With the Carthaginians he fought a sea-fight in the strait and lost many of his ships, but escaped with the rest to Italy; and here the Mamertines, more than ten thousand of whom had crossed in advance of him, though they were afraid to match forces with him, yet threw his whole army into confusion by setting upon him and assailing him in difficult regions. Two of his elephants fell, and great numbers of his rearguard were slain. Accordingly, riding up in person from the van, he sought to ward off the enemy, and ran great risks in contending with men who were trained to fight and were inspired with high courage. And when he was wounded on the head with a sword and withdrew a little from the combatants, the enemy were all the more elated. One of them ran forth far in advance of the rest, a man who was huge in body and resplendent in armour, and in a bold voice challenged Pyrrhus to come out, if he were still alive. This angered Pyrrhus, and wheeling round in spite of his guards, he pushed
μετ’ ὀργῆς αἵματι πεφυρμένοις καὶ δεινὸς ὀφθήναι τὸ πρόσωπον ὁσάμενος δι’ αὐτῶν καὶ φθάσας τὸν βάρβαρον ἔπληξε κατὰ τὴς κεφαλῆς τοῦ ξίφει πληγὴν ῥώμη τῇ τῆς χειρὸς ἁμα καὶ βαφῆς ἀρετῆς τοῦ σιδήρου μέχρι τῶν κάτω διαδραμοῦσαν, ὅστε ἐνὶ χρόνῳ περιπεσεῖν ἐκατέρωσε τὰ μέρη τοῦ σώματος διχοτομηθέντος. τούτῳ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐπέσχε τοῦ πρόσωπο χωρεῖν, ὡς τινα τῶν κρειττῶν ἰαμάσαντας καὶ καταπλαγέντας τὸν Πύρρον. ὁ δὲ τὴν ἀλλην ὅδον ἄδεως διεξελθὼν ἦκεν εἰς Τάραντα, διομυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ τρισχιλίους ἵππεις κομίζων. ἀναλαβὼν δὲ τῶν Ταραντίνων τοὺς κρατίστους, εὕθυς ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἤγεν ἐν τῇ Σαυνίτιδι στρατοπεδεύοντας.

XXV. Τῶν δὲ Σαυνίτων τὰ τε πράγματα διέφθαρτο, καὶ τοῦ φρονήματος ύψεῖτο, κεκρατημένοι μάχαις πολλαῖς ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων. ἐνὶ δὲ τι καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πύρρον ὀργῆς διὰ τὸν εἰς Σικελίαν πλοῦν ὅθεν οὗ πολλοὶ τούτων αὐτῶν συνήλθον. πάντας δὲ νείμας δίχα τους μὲν εἰς τὴν Λευκανίαν ἔπεμψε ἄντιληψομένους τοῦ ἐτέρου τῶν ὑπάτων, ὡς μὴ βοηθοῖς, τοὺς δὲ ἤγεν αὐτῶς ἐπὶ Μάνιον Κούριον περὶ πόλιν Βενεουστίου ἰδρυμένου ἐν ἀσφαλεί καὶ περιμένουτα τὴν ἐκ τῆς Λευκανίας βοήθειαν. ἔστι δ’ ὅτε καὶ μάντεων αὐτῶν οἰωνοῖς καὶ ἱεροῖς ἀποτρέποντων ἡσύχαξε. σπεύδων οὖν ὁ Πύρρος ἐπιθέσθαι τούτοις, πρὶν ἐκεῖνοὺς ἐπελθεῖν, ἀνδρὰς τε τοὺς κρατίστους καὶ 426
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his way through them—full of wrath, smeared with blood, and with a countenance terrible to look upon, and before the Barbarian could strike dealt him such a blow on the head with his sword that, what with the might of his arm and the excellent temper of his steel, it cleaved its way down through, so that at one instant the parts of the sundered body fell to either side. This checked the Barbarians from any further advance, for they were amazed and confounded at Pyrrhus, and thought him some superior being. So he accomplished the rest of his march unmolested and came to Tarentum, bringing twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse. Then, adding to his force the best troops of the Tarentines, he forthwith led them against the Romans, who were encamped in the country of the Samnites.

XXV. But the power of the Samnites had been shattered, and their spirits were broken, in consequence of many defeats at the hands of the Romans. They also cherished considerable resentment against Pyrrhus because of his expedition to Sicily; hence not many of them came to join him. Pyrrhus, however, divided his army into two parts, sent one of them into Lucania to attack the other consul, that he might not come to the help of his colleague, and led the other part himself against Manius Curius, who was safely encamped near the city of Beneventum and was awaiting assistance from Lucania; in part also it was because his soothsayers had dissuaded him with unfavourable omens and sacrifices that he kept quiet. Pyrrhus, accordingly, hastening to attack this consul before the other one came up, took his best men and his most

1 In the autumn of 276 B.C.
τῶν θηρίων τὰ μαχημάτα τα λαβὼν νυκτὸς ὠρμη-3 σεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. περιώντι δὲ αὐτῷ μακ-ρὰν καὶ δασεῖαν ὑλαὶς ὁδὸν ὄντες ἀντέσχε τὰ φῶτα, καὶ πλάναι τοῖς στρατιωταῖς συνετύχουν καὶ πέρι ταῦτα ἡμομένης διατριβής ἢ τε νυὲ ἐπέλυπε καὶ καταφανῆς ἢ ἀμ’ ἡμέρα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπερχό-μενος ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων, ὥστε θόρυβον πολὺν καὶ κίνησιν παρασχεῖν.

Οὐ μήν ἀλλὰ τῶν ἱερῶν τῳ Μανίῳ γενομένων, καὶ τοῦ καροῦ βοθεῖν ἀναγκαζόντω, ἐξελθὼν ἐνέβαλε τοῖς πρῶτοι καὶ τρεψάμενος ἐφόβησε πάντας, ὥστε καὶ πεσεῖν ὄνκ ὁλίγους καὶ τῶν 4 ἐλεφάντων τινὰς ἀλώνιαν καταλειφθέντας. αὕτη τοῦ Μάνιον ἢ νίκη κατήγαγε μαχούμενον εἰς τὸ πεδίον καὶ συμβαλὼν ἐκ προδήλου τὸ μὲν ἐτρέ-ψατο τῶν πολεμίων, ἐστὶ δ’ ἢ βιασθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων καὶ συσταλείς πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον τοὺς φύλακας ἐκάλει συνχοὺς ἐφεστώτας τῷ χάρακι 5 μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων καὶ ἀκμῆτας. οἱ δὲ ἐπιθυμεῖτε ἐκ τῶν ὥρατον ὕμφαρων καὶ τὰ θηρία βάλλοντες ἡμᾶς κακαί ἀποστρέφεσθαι καὶ φυγῇ χωροῦντα διὰ τῶν συμμάχων ὅπισώ ταραχὴν ἀπεργάσασθαι καὶ συγχυσίων, ἢ τὸ νίκημα παρέδωκε τοῖς Ρω-μαίοις, ἀμα δὲ καὶ τὸ κράτος τῆς ἡγεμονίας. καὶ γὰρ φρόνιμα καὶ δύναμιν καὶ δόξαν ὡς ἁμαχοὶ προσαλαβόντες ἐκ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐκείνης καὶ τῶν ἀγώνων Ἰταλίαν μὲν εὐθὺς, ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὦστερον Σικελίαν κατέσχον.

XXVI. Οὐτώ μὲν ἐξέπεσε τῶν Ἰταλικῶν καὶ 400 Σικελικῶν ὁ Πύρρος ἐλπίδων, ἐξεκτῇ χρόνων ἀνα-λώσας περί τοὺς ἐκεῖ πολέμους, καὶ τοῖς 1 πράγ-1 τοῖς Coraës and Bekker have tois μεν, after Muretus.

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warlike elephants and set out by night against his camp. But since he took a long circuit through a densely wooded country, his lights did not hold out, and his soldiers lost their way and straggled. This caused delay, so that the night passed, and at daybreak he was in full view of the enemy as he advanced upon them from the heights, and caused much tumult and agitation among them.

Manius, however, since the sacrifices were propitious and the crisis forced action upon him, led his forces out and attacked the foremost of the enemy, and after routing these, put their whole army to flight, so that many of them fell and some of their elephants were left behind and captured. This victory brought Manius down into the plain to give battle; here, after an engagement in the open, he routed the enemy at some points, but at one was overwhelmed by the elephants and driven back upon his camp, where he was obliged to call upon the guards, who were standing on the parapets in great numbers, all in arms, and full of fresh vigour. Down they came from their strong places, and hurling their javelins at the elephants compelled them to wheel about and run back through the ranks of their own men, thus causing disorder and confusion there. This gave the victory to the Romans, and at the same time the advantage also in the struggle for supremacy. For having acquired high courage and power and a reputation for invincibility from their valour in these struggles, they at once got control of Italy, and soon afterwards of Sicily.

XXVI. Thus Pyrrhus was excluded from his hopes of Italy and Sicily, after squandering six years' time in his wars there, and after being worsted in his
μασιν ἐλαττωθεῖς, τὸ δὲ ἀνδρεῖον ἀνίκητον ἐν ταῖς ἡτταῖς διαφυλάξας· καὶ νομοθεῖς ἐμπειρία μὲν πολεμικὴ καὶ χειρὶ καὶ τόλμη πολὺ πρῶτος εἶναι τῶν καθ’ αὐτὸν βασιλέων, ἀ δὲ ταῖς πράξεσιν ἐκτάτο ταῖς ἐπίσειν ἀπολλύναι, δι’ ἔρωτα τῶν ἀπόντων οὐδὲν εἰς ὦ δεῖ θέσθαι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων φθάσας. ὅθεν ἀπεικάζειν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀντίγονος κυβευτῆ πολλὰ βάλλοντι καὶ καλὰ, χρήσθαι δὲ οὐκ ἐπισταμένῳ τοῖς πεσοῦσι.

Κομίσας δὲ εἰς Ἡπειρὸν ὀκτακισχίλιον πεζοὺς καὶ πεντακοσίους ἵππεις, χρήματα δὴ οὐκ ἔχων ἔξηθει πόλεμον ὃ θρέψει τὸ στρατεύμα. καὶ τινῶν Γαλατῶν αὐτῷ προσγενομένων ἐνέβαλεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν Ἀντίγονον τοῦ Δημητρίου βασιλεύοντος ὡς ἀρπαγὴ καὶ λεησσάσα χρησόμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πόλεις ἐλάμβανε συχνὰς καὶ στρατιωταὶ δισχίλιοι μετέστησαν ὡς αὐτὸν, ἐλπίσας τι πλέον ὁρμησαν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον καὶ περὶ τὰ στενὰ προσπέσων συνετάραξε τῆς στρατιῶν ἀπασαν. οἳ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς οὐραγίας τοῦ Ἀντίγονον τεταγμένοι Γαλάται, συχνὸν τὸ πλῆθος ὄντες, ὑπέστησαν εὐρύστως· καὶ καρτερᾶς μάχης γενομένης τούτων μὲν οἱ πλεῖστοι κατεκόπησαν, οἳ δὲ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἡγεμόνες ἐγκαταλαμβανόμενοι παρέδωκαν ἐαυτοὺς καὶ τὰ θηρία πάντα. προσλαβὼν δὲ ὁ Πύρρος τηλικαῦτα, καὶ τῇ τύχῃ μάλλον ἢ τοῖς λογισμοῖς χρώμενος, ἐπῆχε τῇ φάλαγγε τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀναπεπλημμένης ταραχῆς καὶ φόβου διὰ τὴν ἤτταν. ὅθεν ἐμβολὴς μὲν ἔσχοντο καὶ 430
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undertakings, but he kept his brave spirit unconquered in the midst of his defeats; and men believed that in military experience, personal prowess, and daring, he was by far the first of the kings of his time, but that what he won by his exploits he lost by indulging in vain hopes, since through passionate desire for what he had not he always failed to establish securely what he had. For this reason Antigonus used to liken him to a player with dice who makes many fine throws but does not understand how to use them when they are made.

He returned to Epeirus with eight thousand foot and five hundred horse, and since he had no money he sought for a war by which he could maintain his army. Some Gauls joined him, and he thereupon made an incursion into Macedonia, where Antigonus the son of Demetrius was reigning, designing to strip and plunder the country. But after he had taken a great number of cities and two thousand Macedonian soldiers had come over to him, he began to hope for greater things, and set out to attack Antigonus, and falling upon him in a narrow pass, threw his whole army into confusion. The Gauls who formed the rearguard of Antigonus, a numerous body, made a sturdy resistance; but after a fierce battle most of these were cut to pieces, while those who had charge of the elephants were hemmed in and surrendered themselves and all their animals. Then Pyrrhus, thus greatly strengthened, and consulting his good fortune rather than his judgment, advanced upon the phalanx of the Macedonians, which was filled with confusion and fear because of their previous defeat. For this

1 Late in the year 274 B.C.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

μάχης πρὸς αὐτὸν, τὴν δὲ δεξιὰν προτείνων καὶ
στρατηγούς καὶ ταξιάρχους ἀνακαλούμενος, ἀπαν-
tας ὁμαλῶς ἀπέστησε τοὺς πέζους τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου.
5 κάκεινοι μὲν ὑποφεύγων ἀμαθῶν ἱππέων ὁλίγοις
τῶν παραλίων τινὰς πόλεων κατέσχεν, ὁ δὲ Πύρ-
ρος ἐν εὐτυχήμασι τοσοῦτοι μέγιστον αὐτῷ πρὸς
dόξαν οἴμενος διαπεράχθαι τὸ περὶ τοὺς Γα-
λάτας, τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ λαμπρότατα τῶν λαφύ-
ρων ἀνέθηκεν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς 'Ἰτωνίδος Ἀθηνᾶς,
tὸ δὲ τὸ ἐλεγεῖον ἐπιγράψας:

Τοὺς θυρεοῦς ὁ Μολοσσός Ἰτωνίδη δώρον Ἀθάνα
Πῦρος ἀπὸ θρασέων ἐκρέμασεν Γαλατῶν,
pάντα τὸν Ἀντιγόνου καθέλων στρατόν· οὐ μέγα
θαύμα·

χρητοὶ καὶ νῦν καὶ πάρος Αἰακίδαι.

6 μετὰ τὴν μάχην δὲ εὐθὺς ἀνελάμβανε τὰς πόλεις.
tῶν δὲ Ἀἰγαίων κρατήσας τὰ τῇ ἄλλα χαλεπῶς
ἐχρήσατο τοὺς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ φρουρὰν Γαλατικῆν
ἐν τῇ πόλει κατέλιπε τῶν μετ’ αὐτοῦ στρατευο-
μένων. οἱ δὲ Γαλάται γένος ἀπληστότατον χρη-
μάτων δήτες ἐπέθεντο τῶν βασιλέων αὐτοῦ κεκηδεμένων
tῶν τάφους ὅρυττειν, καὶ τὰ μὲν
χρήματα διήρπασαν, τὰ δὲ ὅστα πρὸς ὑβρίν διέρ-
7 ρύσαν. τούτῳ κούφως ἔδοξε καὶ ὁλιγώρος ἐνεγκεῖν
ὁ Πῦρος, ἣ δῆ ἀσχολίας τινὰς ὑπερθέμενος ἡ
παρεῖς ὅλως διὰ φόβον τὸ κολάσαι τοὺς βαρβάρο-
ους· ὅθεν ἦκουσε κακῶς ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων.
οὔτω δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῷ βεβαιώτητα καὶ
σύστασιν ἐχόντων μόνιμον, ἡωρεῖτο τῇ γνώμῃ

1 τῶν ἰππεῶν ὁλίγοις supplied by Blass, in conformity with
the translation of Amyot: ἀμα τῶν παραλίων.

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reason they refrained from engagement or battle with him, whereupon Pyrrhus, stretching out his right hand and calling upon the generals and captains, brought over to him all the infantry of Antigonus in a body. So Antigonus took to flight with a few of his horsemen, and occupied some of the seaboard cities; while Pyrrhus, thinking that amid so many successes his achievement against the Gauls condu
duced most to his glory, dedicated the most beautiful and splendid of the spoils in the temple of Athena Itonis, with the following elegiac inscription:

"These shields, now suspended here as a gift to Athena Itonis, Pyrrhus the Molossian took from valiant Gauls, after defeating the entire army of Antigonus; which is no great wonder; for now, as well as in olden time, the Aeacidae are brave spearmen."

After the battle, however, he at once proceeded to occupy the cities. And after getting Aegae into his power, besides other severities exercised upon its inhabitants he left as a garrison in the city some of the Gauls who were making the campaign with him. But the Gauls, a race insatiable of wealth, set themselves to digging up the tombs of the kings who had been buried there; the treasure they plundered, the bones they insolently cast to the four winds. This outrage Pyrrhus treated with lightness and indifference, as it was thought; he either postponed punishment because he had some business on hand, or remitted it altogether because he was afraid to chastise the Barbarians; and on this account he was censured by the Macedonians. Moreover, before his affairs were securely and firmly established, his thoughts swung
παλιν πρὸς ἐτέρας ἐλπίδας. καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἀντίγο-
νον ἐφυβρίζων ἀναίσχυντον ἐκάλει μὴ λαμβάνοντα
θοίματιον, ἀλλ' ἐτι τὴν πορφύραν φοροῦντα.
Κλεονύμου δὲ τοῦ Σπαρτιάτου παραγενομένου καὶ
καλοῦντος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Δακεδαίμονα προθύμως
ὑπήκουσεν.

8 Ὅς ὁ δὲ Κλεώνύμος ὦν μὲν γένους βασιλικοῦ,
δοκῶν δὲ βιαίος εἶναι καὶ μοναρχικὸς οὔτ' εὔνοιαν
οὔτε πίστιν ἔχειν, ἀλλ' Ἀρεώς ἐβασίλευε. καὶ
τούτῳ μὲν ἐν ἡν κοινὸν ἐγκλήμα καὶ πρεσβύτερον
αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας· γυναικα δὲ καλὴν καὶ
γένους βασιλικοῦ Χιλωνίδα τὴν Δεωτυχίδου
πρεσβύτερος διὸν ἔγνημεν ὁ Κλεώνύμος. ἡ δὲ
Ἀκροτάτῳ τῷ Ἀρεώς ἐπιμανεῖσα, μειρακίῳ καθ'
ὁραν ἀκμάζοντι, λυπηρὸν ἔρωντι τῷ Κλεονύμῳ
καὶ ἀδοξὸν ὁμοῦ παρεῖχε τὸν γάμον· οὐδένα γὰρ
ἐλάνθανε Σπαρτιάτῶν καταφρονοῦμενος ὑπὸ τῆς

9 γυναικὸς. οὔτω δὲ τῶν κατ' οἷκον ἀνιαρῶν τοῖς
πολιτικοῖς προσγενομένων ὑπ' ὀργῆς καὶ βαρυ-
θυμίας ἐπῆγε τῇ Σπάρτῃ τὸν Πύρρον, ἔχοντα
δισμυρίους καὶ πεντακισχίλιους πεζούς, δισχιλίους
ὁ ἵππεις, ἐλέφαντας δὲ εἰκοσιτέσσαρας, ὥστε τῷ
μεγέθει τῆς παρασκευῆς εὐθὺς εἶναι κατάδηλον
οὐ Κλεωνύμῳ τὴν Σπάρτην, ἀλλὰ τὴν Πελοπό-
νησον ἑαυτῷ κτῶμεν, ἔπει τῷ γε λόγῳ καὶ πρὸς
αὐτοὺς ἑξάρνος ἵνα τοὺς Δακεδαίμονίους πρεσβεύ-
σαντας εἰς Μεγάλην πόλιν. ἐφ' ἀρε ἐλευθερώσων
τὰς ὑπ' Ἀντιγόνῳ πόλεις ἀφίχθαι, καὶ νὴ Δία

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again towards new hopes. He railed at Antigonus and called him a shameless man for not laying aside the purple and wearing a common robe; and when Cleonymus the Spartan came and invited him to come to Lacedaemon, he readily listened to him.

Now, Cleonymus was of royal lineage, but because he was thought to be of a violent and arbitrary temper, he enjoyed neither goodwill nor confidence at home, but Areus was king there. This was one general ground of complaint which he had against his fellow citizens, and it was of long standing. Besides, Cleonymus in his later years had married Chilonis the daughter of Leotychides, a beautiful woman of royal lineage; but she had fallen desperately in love with Acrotatus the son of Areus, a young man in the flower of his age, and thus rendered his marriage distressing to Cleonymus, since he loved her, and at the same time disgraceful; for every Spartan was well aware that the husband was despised by his wife. Thus his domestic vexations added themselves to his political disappointment, and in indignation and wrath he brought Pyrrhus against Sparta.1 Pyrrhus had twenty-five thousand foot and two thousand horse, besides twenty-four elephants, so that the magnitude of his preparations made it clear at once that he was not aiming to acquire Sparta for Cleonymus, but the Peloponnesus for himself. And yet his professions were all to the contrary, and particularly those which he made to the Lacedaemonian ambassadors themselves when they met him at Megalopolis. He told them he had come to set free the cities which were subject to Antigonus, yes, and that he was going to

1 In 272 B.C.
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tous neotérous paídaçai eis Sparaṭh, ei μη ti kωλύει, πέμψων èntraφησομένουs tois Lакωνικοῖs ètheis, ὡς toútω pléoun exoiein ἥδη tωn pántωn bαsiλέωn. tauta pλαττόμενοs kai paráγωn tουs èntυγχάνονταs aútω kαt’ oδόν, ὡς πρώτωn ἤπατo tῆs Lακωνικῆs ἀρπαγῆν ἐποιεῖτο kai leγλασιανè
èγκαλούντωn dè tωn πρέσβεων, ὦτi μη kαταγείλαs pόλεμον ἔξενυμχη πρὸs aútουs, "Ἀλλ’ oυδ’ ὑμᾶs," ἔφη, "τοὺς Ἑπαρτιάταs ἵσμεν ὦ τι ἄν μέλλητε ποιεῖν èτέρωs προλέγονταs." eis dè tωn παρόντωn, ònoma Mανδροκλείδαs, èπε τῇ φωνῇ λακωνίζων: "Ἀι μὲν ἐσι tύ γε θεός, οὐδὲν μη πάθωμεν: οὐ γὰρ ἀδικεύμεν· αἰ δ’ ἀνθρωπος, ἐσεῖται καὶ τεῦ κάρρων ἄλλος."

XXVII. Ἐκ τούτων κατέβαινεν ἐπὶ τὴν Δακεδαίμονα· καὶ τοῦ Kλεωνύμου κελεύοντος ἔξ ἐφόδου προσβαλεῖν φοβηθεῖς ο Πύρρος, ὡς λέγεται, μὴ διαρπάζωσιν οἱ στρατιώται τὴν πόλιν ἐν νυκτὶ προσπεσόντες, ἐπέσχεν, εἶπὼν ὅτι ταύτῳ ποιήσουσι μεθ’ ἡμέραν. αὐτοῖ τε γὰρ ἠσαν ὀλίγοι καὶ ἀπαράσκευοι διὰ τὸ αἰφνίδιον, ὦ τε Ἄρεως οὐκ ἐτύγχανε παρῶν, ἄλλ’ ἐν Κρήτῃ Γορτυνίοις πολεμομένοις βοηθῶν· καὶ τούτῳ δὴ μάλιστα τὴν πόλιν ἔσωσε δι’ ἐρημίαν καὶ ἀσθένειαν κατα-2 φρονήσεσιν. ὥς μὲν γὰρ Πύρρος οὐδένα μαχείσθαι νομίζων κατηνικάσατο, τοῦ δὲ Κλεωνύμου την οἰκίαν οἶ τε φίλοι καὶ εἰλωτες οὕτως ἐκόσμησαν 436
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send his younger sons to Sparta, if nothing prevented, to be brought up in the Lacedaemonian customs, that so they might presently have the advantage over all other princes. With these fictions he beguiled those who came to meet him on his march, but as soon as he reached Laconian territory he began to ravage and plunder it. And when the Spartan ambassadors upbraided him for making war upon them without previous declaration, he said: "Yet we know that you Spartans also do not tell others beforehand what you are going to do." Whereupon one of those who were present, Mandrocleidas by name, said to him in the broad Spartan dialect: "If thou art a god, we shall suffer no harm at thy hands; for we have done thee no wrong; but if a man, another will be found who is even stronger than thou."

XXVII. After this, he marched down against the city of Sparta. Cleonymus urged him to make the assault as soon as he arrived, but Pyrrhus was afraid, as we are told, that his soldiers would plunder the city if they fell upon it at night, and therefore restrained them, saying that they would accomplish just as much by day. For there were but few men in the city, and they were unprepared, owing to the suddenness of the peril; and Areus was not at home, but in Crete, whither he was bringing military aid for the Gortynians. And this, indeed, more than anything else, proved the salvation of the city, which its weakness and lack of defenders caused to be despised. For Pyrrhus, thinking that no one would give him battle, bivouacked for the night, and the friends and Helot slaves of Cleonymus adorned and furnished his house in the expectation
καὶ παρεσκεύασαν ὡς δειπνήσουτος τοῦ Πύρρου παρ' αὐτῷ.

Γενομένης δὲ νυκτὸς οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι πρώτον μὲν ἐβουλεύσαντο τὰς γυναίκας εἰς Κρήτην ἀποστέλλειν, αἱ δὲ ἀντέστησαν. Ἀρχιδαμία δὲ καὶ ξίφος ἔχουσα πρὸς τὴν γερουσίαν ἤλθεν ἐγκαλοῦσα τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν γυναικῶν, εἰ γὰρ αὐτὰς

3 ἀξιοῦσι τῆς Σπάρτης ἀπολομένης. ἔπειτα τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν πολεμίων παράλληλον ἔγνωσαν ἐμβαλόντες τάφρου ἐνθὲν καὶ ἐνθὲν αὐτής στήσαι τὰς ἀμάξας, μέχρι τοῦ μέσου τῶν τροχῶν καταχώσαστε, ὡς ἔδραν ἔχουσα δυσεκβίαστον ἐμποδῶν ὧσι τοῖς θηρίοις. ἀρχαμένοις δὲ ταύτα πράττειν ἦκον αὐτοῖς τῶν παρθένων καὶ γυναικῶν αἱ μὲν ἐν ἰματίοις, καταξοσάμεναι τοὺς χειμώνισκους, αἱ δὲ μονοχιτώνες, συνεργάσοµεναι τοῖς

4 πρεσβυτέροις. τοὺς δὲ μάχεσθαι μέλλοντας ἔκελευον ἰσυχάζειν, καὶ λαβοῦσα μέτρον αὐταλ καθ' αὐτὰς ἔξειργάσαντο τῆς τάφρου τὸ τρίτον μέρος. ἦν δὲ τὸ μὲν πλάτος αὐτής πῆχεων ἔξ, τὸ δὲ βάθος τεττάρων, τὸ δὲ μῆκος ὄκταπλεθρόν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Φύλαρχος, ὡς δ' Ἰερώνυμος, ἐλαττὸν.

5 ἀμα δ' ἡμέρα κινοµένων τῶν πολεµίων τὰ ὀπλα τοῖς νέοις ὀρέγουσαι καὶ παραδιδοῦσαι τὴν τάφρον ἀμύνειν καὶ φυλάττειν ἐκέλευον, ὡς ἤδυ μὲν νυκὰν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τῆς πατρίδος, εὐκλεῖς δὲ θυνήσκεις ἐν χερσὶ μητέρων καὶ γυναικῶν ἄξιως τῆς Σπάρτης πεσόντας. ἡ δὲ Χιλωνίς, ἐκπολύον ὧσα καθ' ἐαυτὴν, βρόχου εἰχεν ἐνηµέµενον, ὡπὼς ἐπὶ τῷ Κλεονύµῳ μὴ γένοιτο τῆς πόλεως ἀλούσης. 402

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that Pyrrhus would take supper there with its owner.

When night had come, the Lacedaemonians at first took counsel to send their women off to Crete, but the women were opposed to this; and Archidamia came with a sword in her hand to the senators and upbraided them in behalf of the women for thinking it meet that they should live after Sparta had perished. Next, it was decided to run a trench parallel with the camp of the enemy, and at either end of it to set their waggons, sinking them to the wheel-hubs in the ground, in order that, thus firmly planted, they might impede the advance of the elephants. When they began to carry out this project, there came to them the women and maidens, some of them in their robes, with tunics girt close, and others in their tunics only, to help the elderly men in the work. The men who were going to do the fighting the women ordered to keep quiet, and assuming their share of the task they completed with their own hands a third of the trench. The width of the trench was six cubits, its depth four, and its length eight hundred feet, according to Phylarchus; according to Hieronymus, less than this. When day came and the enemy were putting themselves in motion, these women handed the young men their armour, put the trench in their charge, and told them to guard and defend it, assured that it was sweet to conquer before the eyes of their fatherland, and glorious to die in the arms of their mothers and wives, after a fall that was worthy of Sparta. As for Chilonis, she withdrew from the rest, and kept a halter about her neck, that she might not come into the power of Cleonymus if the city were taken.
XXVII. Αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ὁ Πῦρρος ἐβιάζετο κατὰ στόμα τοῖς ὀπλίταις πρὸς ἀσπίδας πολλὰς τῶν Σπάρτιτῶν αὐτισματοποιημένας, καὶ τάφρον ὅπεράτην οὐδὲ βάσιν ἀσφαλῆ τοῖς μαχομένοις παρέχουσαν ὑπὸ χαυνότητος. ὁ δὲ παῖς Πτολεμαῖος, ἔχων δισχείλιον Θάλατας καὶ Χαϊώνων λογάδας, ἐξελίξας τὴν τάφρον ἐπειρᾶτο κατὰ τὰς ἀμάξας ὑπερβαίνειν. αἱ δὲ ὑπὸ βάθους καὶ πυκνότητος οὐ μόνον τούτοις τὴν ἔφοδον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς Ὁδεκαδαίμονίσις δύσεργοι ἑποίουν τὴν βοήθειαν.

2 ἀνασπῶντων δὲ τῶν Γαλατῶν τοὺς τροχούς καὶ ὑποσυρόντων τὰς ἀμάξας εἰς τὸν ποταμόν, κατιδών τὸν κίνδυνον ὁ νεανίας Ἀκρότατος καὶ τὴν πόλιν διαδραμὼν μετὰ τριακοσίων περιήλθε τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, οὐποτὸς ὅπερ οὕτως τινας συγκλονίσας, ἐως προσέβαλε τοῖς ἑσχάτοις καὶ μεταβαλόντας ἣνάγκασε μάχεσθαι πρὸς ἐαυτὸν, ὅθομένωσιν ὑπ᾽ ἀλλήλων εἰς τὴν τάφρον καὶ περὶ ταῖς ἀμάξαις πίπτοντας, ἀκρι ὡς φόνῳ πολέμῳ μόλις ἀνεκόπησαν. ἐθεώντο δὲ οἱ τοὺς προσβύτεροι καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν τὸ πλῆθος ἀριστεύοντα τὸν Ἀκρότατον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπεσεῖ πάλιν διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τάξιν, αἵματος κατάπλεως καὶ γαύρος, ὑπὸ τῆς νίκης ἐπηρμένος, καὶ μεῖξον ἐδοξε γεγονέναι καὶ καλλίων ταῖς Δακαινίαις, καὶ τὴν Χιλωνίδα τοῦ ἔρωτος ἔξηλον. τῶν δὲ προσβυτέρων τινὲς ἐπηκολούθουν βοῶντες: "Ὅρις, Ἀκρότατε, καὶ οἴμε τὰν Χιλωνίδα, μόνον παῖς μάχες ἀγαθοῦς τὰ Σπάρτα ποίει."  

3 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν Πῦρρον αὐτὸν ἠσχυρᾶς μάχης συνεπτώσης ἀλλοι τοὺς λαμπρῶς ἡγοῦντο, καὶ

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XXVIII. Pyrrhus himself, then, with his men-at-arms, tried to force his way directly against the many shields of the Spartans which confronted him, and over a trench which was impassable and afforded his soldiers no firm footing owing to the freshly turned earth. But his son Ptolemy, with two thousand Gauls and picked Chaonians, went round the trench and tried to force a passage where the waggons were. These, however, being so deeply planted in the earth and so close together, made not only his onset, but also the counter-efforts of the Lacedaemonians, a difficult matter. The Gauls pulled the wheels up and were dragging the waggons down into the river; but the young Acrotatus saw the danger, and running through the city with three hundred men got round behind Ptolemy without being seen by him, owing to some depressions in the ground, and at last fell upon his rear ranks and forced them to turn about and fight with him. And now the Barbarians crowded one another into the trench and fell among the waggons, and finally, after great slaughter, were successfully driven back. The elderly men and the host of women watched the brilliant exploit of Acrotatus. And when he went back again through the city to his allotted post, covered with blood and triumphant, elated with his victory, the Spartan women thought that he had become taller and more beautiful than ever, and envied Chilonis her lover. Moreover, some of the elderly men accompanied him on his way, crying: “Go, Acrotatus, and take to thyself Chilonis; only, see that thou begettest brave sons for Sparta.”

A fierce battle was also waged where Pyrrhus himself led, and many Spartans made a splendid
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΗΣ ΛΙΒΕΩΝ

Φύλλιος ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀντισχῶν καὶ πλείστους ἀποκτείνας τῶν βιαζομένων, ὡς ἕσθεν τραυματων πλήθει παραλυμένοις ἕαυτῶν, ἐκεῖτι τίνι τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων τῆς χώρας ἐξεσε ἐντὸς τῶν ὀπλῶν, ὡστε μὴ γενέσθαι τὸν νεκρὸν ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις.

XXIX. Νυκτὸς δὲ ἡ μάχη διεκρίθη· καὶ κοιμόμενος ὁ Πύρρος ὄψιν εἶδε τοιαύτην. ἔδοκες βάλλεσθαι κεραυνοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τήν Λακεδαίμονα καὶ φλέγεσθαι πᾶσαν, αὐτὸν δὲ χάρειν. ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς χαρᾶς ἐξεγρόμενος τοὺς τῇ ἡγεμόνας ἐκέλευν ἐν παρασκευῇ τὸν στρατὸν ἔχειν, καὶ τοῖς φίλοις διηγεῖτο τὸν ὅνειρον ὡς ληφόμενος κατὰ κράτος τὴν πόλιν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι θαυμασίως ἔπειθοντο, Δυσιμάχω δὲ οὔκ ἠρέσκεν ἡ ὄψις, ἀλλ’ ἐφὶ δεδιέναι μή, καθάπερ τὰ βαλλόμενα τοῖς κεραυνοῖς ἀνέμβατα μένει χωρία, καὶ τῷ Πύρρῳ προσημαίνῃ τὸ θεῖον ἀνείσοδον ἔσεθαι τῇ πόλιν. ὁ δὲ Πύρρος εἰπὼν ὅτι ταῦτα μὲν ἐστὶ πυλαϊκῆς ὀχλα-γωγίας καὶ ἀσοφίαν ἔχοντα πολλῆν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ δεῖ τὰ ὁπλα διὰ χειρῶν ἔχοντας ὑποβάλλειν ἑαυτοῖς,

Εἰς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ Πύρρου,

ἔξανέστη καὶ προσῆγεν ἀμ’ ἕμέρα τοῦ στρατοῦ.

3 Ἡμύνοντο δὲ προθυμίαι καὶ ἀρετῇ παρὰ δύναμιν οἱ Λακεδαίμονιοι καὶ παρῆσαν αἱ γυναῖκες ὀρέγ-
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fight, but particularly Phyllius, who surpassed all in
the tenacity of his resistance and the numbers of
the on-rushing enemy whom he slew; and when he
perceived that his powers were failing from the
multitude of the wounds he had received, he made
way for one of his comrades in the line, and fell
inside the ranks, that his dead body might not come
into the hands of the enemy.

XXIX. Night put an end to the battle; and
Pyrrhus, as he slept, had the following vision. He
dreamed that Sparta was smitten with thunderbolts
from his hand and was all ablaze, and that he was
filled with joy. His joy waked him from sleep,
and he commanded his officers to get the army ready
for action, and narrated his dream to his friends,
convinced that he was going to take the city by
storm. Most of them, then, were fully persuaded
that he was right, but Lysimachus was not pleased
with the vision; he said he was afraid lest, as
places smitten by thunderbolts are kept free from
the tread of men, the Deity might be indicating in
advance to Pyrrhus also that the city was not to be
entered by him. But Pyrrhus declared that this
was nonsense intended for the crowd, and great
folly, and calling upon his hearers to take their arms
in their hands and act upon the belief that

"One is the best of all omens, to fight in defence of
Pyrrhus," 1

rose up, and at day-break led forth his army.

But the Lacedaemonians defended themselves with
an alacrity and bravery beyond their strength; the

1 An adaptation of Iliad, xii. 243, by substituting "Pyrr-
rhus" for "one's country" (Πῆρρον for πάτρης).

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οὐσαι βέλη, καὶ σιτία καὶ ποτὸν τοῖς δεομένοις προσφέρουσαι, καὶ ἀναλαμβάνουσαι τοὺς τιτρωσκομένους. τὴν τε τάφρον οἱ Μακεδόνες χοῦν ἐπειρῶντο, πολλὴν συμφοροῦντες θλῆν, ὑφ᾽ ἦς ὀπλα καὶ σώματα νεκρῶν ἑπιχειρεῖσθαι ἀπεκρύπτετο. καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων βοηθοῦντων ὀφθη παρὰ τὴν τάφρον καὶ τὰς ἁμάξας ὁ Πύρρος ἵππω βιαζόμενος εἰς τὴν πόλιν. κραυγῆς δὲ τῶν κατὰ τοῦτο τεταγμένων γενομένης καὶ δρόμου καὶ ὄλολυγοῦ τῶν γυναικῶν, ἢδη διεξελαύνοντε τῷ Πῦρρῳ καὶ προσκειμένῳ τοῖς κατὰ πρόσωπον ἔξηλατο Κρητηκῷ βέλει πληγεὶς ὁ ἵππος ύπὸ τὴν γαστέρα, καὶ κατέβαλε δυσθανατῶν τῶν Πῦρρον εἰς τοὺς οἴκιον εἰς κατάντεις. ἑρυθρομένων δὲ περὶ τοῦτον τῶν ἐταίρων ἐπέδραμον οἱ Σπαρτιάται, καὶ χρώμενοι τοῖς βέλεσιν ἔξωσαν ἀπαντάς. ἐκ δὲ τοῦτον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην μάχην ἔπαινεν, οἰόμενος ἐνδώσειν τοὺς Δακεδαιμονίους, σχεδὸν ἀπάντων κατατρωμένων αὐτοῖς, πεπτωκότων δὲ πολλῶν. ἡ δ᾽ ἀγαθή τύχη τῆς πόλεως, εἰτε πειρὰμ ἀρετῆς λαμβάνουσα τῶν ἀνδρῶν, εἴθ᾽ εαυτῆς, ὀς τὴν ἑπόροις ἄχει δύναμιν, ἀπόδειξιν διδοῦσα, μοχθηρᾶς ἢδη τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων ἐχόντων τὰς ἐπιδίδας Ἀμεινίαν τε Φωκέα, τῶν Ἀντιγόνου στρατηγῶν, ἐκ Κορίνθου βοηθῶσοντα παρεισήγαγε μετὰ ξένων, καὶ τοῦτον ἀρτί δεδεγμένων ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτοῖς Ἀρεώς ἥκεν ἐκ Κρήτης δισχιλίους στρατιώτας κομίζων. αἰ τε ἰΔ γυναίκες εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας.
women, too, were at hand, proffering missiles, distributing food and drink to those who needed them, and taking up the wounded. The Macedonians tried to fill up the trench, collecting and throwing into it great quantities of materials, beneath which the arms and dead bodies were hidden away. And when the Lacedaemonians tried to put a stop to this, Pyrrhus was seen forcing his way on horseback past the trench and the waggons into the city. But the men stationed at this point raised a shout, and there was a concourse and shrieking of the women, and just as Pyrrhus was riding through the waggons and attacking the men in front of him, his horse was wounded in the belly by a Cretan javelin and leaped to one side, and in his death agony threw Pyrrhus upon steep and slippery ground. His companions were thrown into confusion around him, and the Spartans, running upon them and making good use of their missiles, drove them all off. After this, Pyrrhus brought the fighting to a stop at other points also, thinking that the Spartans would make some concessions, now that almost all of them were wounded and many had fallen. But now the good fortune of the city, either because she was satisfied with the bravery of its men, or because she would show forth the great power which she herself has in desperate crises, brought to their aid from Corinth, when the hopes of the Spartans were already sorry, Ameinias the Phocian, one of the generals of Antigonus, with mercenary troops; and no sooner had he been received into the city than Areus the Spartan king came from Crete, bringing with him two thousand soldiers. So the women at once dispersed to their
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ἐσκεδάσθησαν, οὐδὲν ἔτι πολυπραγμονεῖν ἁξιοῦσαί
tῶν πολεμικῶν, καὶ τοὺς παρ’ ἡλικίαν ἐν τοῖς
ὄπλοις ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης γενομένους ἀφέντες αὐτούς ἐπὶ
tὴν μάχην ἔταξαν.

XXX. Τὸν δὲ Πύρρον ἔσχε μὲν τις ἀλή καὶ
φιλοτιμία μᾶλλον διὰ τοὺς προσγεγονότας κρα-
tῆσαι τῆς πόλεως· ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπέραινε, πληγὰς
λαβὼν ἀπέστει καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθει διανοοῦ-
μενος αὐτόθι χειμάσαι. τὸ δὲ χρεῶν ἦν ἀφυκτον.
ἐν γὰρ Ἀργεὶ στάσει ἦν Ἀριστέου πρὸς Ἀρίστιπ-
πον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Ἀρίστιππος ἐδόκει χρῆσθαι φίλω
τῷ Ἀντιγόνῳ, φθάσας ὁ Ἀριστέας ἐκάλει τὸν

2 Πύρρον εἰς τὸ Ἀργος. ὁ δὲ ἐλπίδας ἐξ ἐλπίδων
ἂν κυλίνδων, καὶ ταῖς μὲν εὐτυχίαις ἐπ’ ἄλλας
χρώμενος ἀφορμαῖς, ἃ δὲ ἐπταΐεν ἐτέρους βουλό-
μενος ἀναπληρῶν πράγμασιν, οὔτε ἦτταν οὔτε
νίκην ὅρον ἐποιεῖτο τοῦ ταράττεσθαι καὶ ταρά-
τευν. εὐθὺς οὖν ἀνεξεύγνυεν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀργος. ὁ δὲ
Ἀρεὺς ἐνέδρας τε πολλὰς ὑφεῖς καὶ καταλαβὼν
tὰ χαλεπώτατα τῆς ὁδοῦ περιέκοπτε τοὺς Γα-
λάτας καὶ τοὺς Μολοσσοὺς ὀπισθοφυλακοῦντας.

3 Τῷ δὲ Πύρρῳ προείρητο μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀλόβων
γενομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ μάντεως ἀποβολὴ τινος τῶν
ἀναγκαίων, παρὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τότε τῷ θορύβῳ
καὶ τῷ κινήματι τὸν λογισμὸν ἐκκρουσθεὶς ἐκέ-
λευσε τὸν υἱὸν Πτολεμαίου λαβόντα τοὺς ἑταῖρος
παραβοθεῖν, αὐτὸς δὲ θάττον ἐκ τῶν στεινῶν

4 ἐφελκόμενος τὴν στρατιὰν ὑπῆγεν. ὅξειας δὲ περὶ
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homes, since they no longer thought it meet to busy themselves with the work of war, and the men, after dismissing from their ranks those of unmilitary age whom necessity had brought there, arrayed themselves for battle.

XXX. Pyrrhus, too, was more than ever possessed by a fierce ambition to become master of the city, now that reinforcements had come to it; but since he could accomplish nothing, and met with fresh losses, he went away, and fell to ravaging the country, purposing to spend the winter there. But Fate was not to be escaped. For at Argos there was a feud between Aristeas and Aristippus; and since Aristippus was thought to enjoy the friendship of Antigonus, Aristeas hastened to invite Pyrrhus into Argos. Pyrrhus was always entertaining one hope after another, and since he made one success but the starting point for a new one, while he was determined to make good each disaster by a fresh undertaking, he suffered neither defeat nor victory to put a limit to his troubling himself and troubling others. At once, therefore, he broke camp and set out for Argos. But Areus, by setting frequent ambushes and occupying the most difficult points on the march, kept cutting off the Gauls and Macedonians who brought up the rear for Pyrrhus.

Now, it had been foretold to Pyrrhus by his seer, in consequence of sacrifices where no liver could be found, that he was to lose one of his kindred; but here, unhappily, owing to the agitation and tumult among his rear-guard, he forgot himself, and ordered his son Ptolemy with his comrades to go to the rescue, while he himself drew his army more quickly out of the narrow pass and led them forward. A
τὸν Πτολεμαίον μάχης γενομένης, καὶ τῶν ἐπι-
λέκτων Δακεδαιμονίων, ὄν Εὐάλκος ἥγειτο, τοὺς
μαχαμένους πρὸ αὐτοῦ συμπλεκομένων, ἀνὴρ
πλήκτης καὶ δραμεῖν ὁξύς, Ὀρνυσός ὄνομα, Κρής
'Απτεράῖος, ἐκ πλαγίων παραδραμῶν ἀγωνιζό-
μενον ἐκθύμως τὸν νεανίσκου ἐπάταξε καὶ κατέ-
βαλε. πεσόντος δὲ ἐκείνου καὶ τροπῆς γενομένης
τῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ, οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι διώκοντες καὶ
κρατοῦντες ἔλαθον εἰς τὸ πεδίον συνεμβαλλόντες
καὶ ἀποληθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, ἐφ’ οὗς ὁ
Πύρρος ἀρτὶ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ παιδὸς ἀκηκὼς
καὶ περιπαθῶν ἐπέστρεψε τοὺς ἵππεῖς τῶν
Μολοσσῶν. καὶ πρῶτος εἰσελάσας ἐνεπίμπλατο
φόνου τῶν Δακεδαιμόνων, ἀεὶ μὲν τις ἀμαχὸς καὶ
dεινὸς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις φαινόμενος, τότε δὲ ὑπερ-
βάλλων τὸλμη καὶ βία τοὺς προτέρους ἀγώνας.

6 ἔπει δὲ ἐπέβαλε τῷ Εὐάλκῳ τὸν ἱπποῦ, ὡ μὲν ἐκ
πλαγίου παραστὰς μικρὸν ἐδέσπε τῷ ἐξεῖ τὴν
ἐπὶ τῆς ἄνω χεῖρα διακόψαι τοῦ Πύρρου, τὴν
dὲ ἤμαι πατάξας ἀπέκοψεν. ὃ δὲ Πύρρος ἀμα τῇ
πληγῇ τοῦ δόρατος διελάσας ἐκείνων ἀπερρύη τὸν
ἵππο, καὶ πεζὸς ἤδη πάντας ἐπὶ τῷ Εὐάλκῳ
μαχαμένους ἀπέκτεινε τοὺς λογάδας. καὶ μέγα
tοῦτο τῇ Ὁσπάρτῃ παρανάλωμα τοῦ πολέμου πέ-
ρας ἔχοντος ἐποίησεν ἡ φιλοτιμία τῶν ἀρχόντων.

XXXI. ὃ δὲ Πύρρος ὥσπερ ἐναγμοῦν τινα
tῷ παιδί τελέσας καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐπιτάφιον ἀγωνι-
sάμενος, καὶ πολὺ τῆς λύπης ἐν τῷ πρὸς τοὺς
πολεμίους ἀφεῖς θυμῷ, προήχετ᾽ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀργος.
καὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἥδη πυθανόμενος ἐπὶ τῶν 404
ἀκρών ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεδίου καθῆσθαι, περὶ τὴν Ναυ-

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fierce battle raged where Ptolemy was, and while a band of picked Spartans under the command of Evalcus engaged the soldiers who were fighting in front of him, a man of stout arm and swift foot, Oryssus by name, of Aptera in Crete, ran up on one side of the young prince as he was fighting spiritedly, smote him, and laid him low. Upon Ptolemy’s fall and the rout of his company, the Spartans pursued, carrying all before them, and before they were aware of it had dashed out into the plain and were cut off by the infantry of Pyrrhus. Against this band of Spartans Pyrrhus, who had just heard of the death of his son and was in anguish, turned his Molossian horsemen. He himself charged at their head, and sated himself with Spartan blood. He had always shown himself invincible and terrible in arms, but now his daring and might surpassed all previous displays. When he set his horse upon Evalcus, the Spartan stepped aside and had almost cut off with his sword the bridle-hand of Pyrrhus; as it was he hit the rein and severed it. Pyrrhus transfixed the Spartan with a thrust of his spear, and at the same instant fell off his horse, and fighting on foot, at once proceeded to slay all the picked band which was fighting over the body of Evalcus. This great additional loss to Sparta when the war was already at an end was due to the ambition of the commanders.

XXXI. So Pyrrhus, after accomplishing as it were an expiation for his son and celebrating his obsequies with a brilliant contest, having also vented much of his grief in his fury against the enemy, led his army on towards Argos. And when he learned that Antigonus was already posted on the heights com-
πλίαν ἐστρατοπέδευσε. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία κήρυκα πρὸς τὸν 'Αντίγονον ἐπεμψε, λυμεώνα τε καλῶν καὶ προκαλούμενος εἰς τὸ πεδίον καταβάντα δια-
2 γωνίσασθαι περὶ τῆς βασιλείας. οὗ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο τὴν μὲν αὐτὸς στρατηγίαν ὅπλων μᾶλλον ἡ
καίρων εἶναι, τῷ δὲ Πύρρῳ πολλὰς ὅδοις ἀνεφ-
γέναι πρὸς θάνατον, εἰ ζῆν μὴ σχολάζει. πρὸς δὲ
ἀμφοτέρους πρέσβεις ἦκον εἷς "Αργους, ἀπαλλά-
tεσθαι δεόμενοι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐὰν μηδετέρους
gενομένην, εὐνοῦν δὲ οὐσαν ἀμφοτέρους. ὁ μὲν οὖν
'Αντίγονος ἐπείθετο καὶ τὸν ύπὸν ἐδίδου τοῖς
'Αργείοις ὁμηρούν, ὁ δὲ Πύρρος ὁμολόγει μὲν ἀπαλ-
lαγήσεσθαι, μὴ παρέχων δὲ πίστιν ὑποπτότερος
ἡ.
3 Γίνεται δὲ σημείον αὐτῷ τε τῷ Πύρρῳ μέγα,
τῶν γὰρ βοῶν τεθυμένων αἱ κεφαλαὶ κείμεναι χω-
ρίς ἡδί τάς τε γλώττας ὁφθησαν προβάλλουσαι
καὶ περίεχομένει τῶν ἑαυτῶν φόνον, ἐν τῇ
tῇ πόλει τῶν 'Αργείων ἡ τοῦ Λυκείου προφήτης
'Απόλλωνος ἐξέδραμε βοῶσα νεκρῶν ὅραν καὶ
φόνου κατάπλεω τὴν πόλιν, τὸν δ' ἁρτὸν ἐπὶ τῶν
ἀγώνα χωροῦσα, εἶτα φρούδου εἶναι.

XXXII. Σκότους δὲ πολλοὺ προσμέξασι ὁ Πύρ-
ρος τοῖς τείχεσι, καὶ πύλῃν εὐρῶν ἢν Διαμπερῆς
καλούσιν ἀνεφριμένην υπὸ τοῦ 'Αριστέου αὐτοῖς,
ἀρχὶ μὲν τοῦ παρασκευαστὶ τῶν Γαλάτας τοὺς
παρ' αὐτὸς καὶ τὴν ἀγορᾶ καταλαβεῖν ἐλάνθανε;
της δὲ πύλης τοὺς ἐλέφαντας οὐ δεχομένης καὶ
dιὰ τοῦτο τοὺς πύργους αὐτῶν ἀφαιροῦντων, εἶτα
πάλιν ὑπὸ σκότει καὶ τορύβῳ περιτιθέντων καὶ
γενομένης διατριβῆς, οἱ Ἀργείοι συναισθάμενοι
πρὸς τὴν 'Ασπίδα καὶ τοὺς ὄχυροὺς τόπους
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manding the plain, he pitched his camp near Nauplia. On the following day he sent a herald to Antigonus, calling him a robber, and challenging him to come down into the plain and fight with him for the kingdom. But Antigonus replied that in conducting a campaign he relied more upon opportunities than upon arms, and that many roads to death lay open to Pyrrhus if he was tired of life. And now to both kings came ambassadors from Argos, entreating them to go away and allow the city to be neutral, but well-disposed towards both. Antigonus, accordingly, consented, and gave his son to the Argives as a hostage; Pyrrhus also agreed to go away, but since he gave no pledge, he remained under suspicion.

Moreover, Pyrrhus himself had a significant portent; for the heads of his sacrificed cattle, though they already lay apart from the bodies, were seen to put out their tongues and lick up their own gore. And besides this, in the city of Argos the priestess of Apollo Lyceius ran forth from the temple crying that she saw the city full of corpses and slaughter, and that the eagle which visited the scene of combat presently vanished away.

XXXII. At dead of night Pyrrhus came up to the walls of the city, and finding that the gate called Diaprepes had been thrown open for them by Aristeas, was undiscovered long enough for his Gauls to enter the city and take possession of the marketplace. But the gate would not admit his elephants, and therefore the towers had to be taken off their backs and put on again when the animals were inside, in darkness and confusion. This caused delay, and the Argives, taking the alarm, ran up to the Aspis and other strong places of the city, and sending
ἀνέθεουν, καὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἐκάλουν πέμποντες. 2 ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐγγὺς προσελάσας ἐφηδρευε, τοὺς δὲ στρατηγοὺς καὶ τὸν υἱὸν εἰσέπεμψε συχνὴν βοήθειαν ἄγοντας. ἦκε δὲ καὶ Ἄρεως ἕχων χιλίων Κρήτας καὶ Σπαρτιάτας τοὺς ἐλαφροτάτους. καὶ πάντες ἄμα τοῖς Γαλάταις προσβαλόντες εἰς πολὺν θόρυβον κατέστησαν αὐτούς. ὁ δὲ Πύρρος εἰσίων μετ᾽ ἀλαλαγμοῦ καὶ βοής παρὰ τὴν Κυλάραβιν, ὥς οἱ Γαλάται τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀντιλάλαξαν οὐκ ἵππον οὐδὲ θαρραλέον, εἰκασε ταραττομένων εἶναι τὴν φωνὴν καὶ πονοῦντων.

3 ἐπήγαγον οὖν θάπτων, ὡθῶν τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ τῶν ἱππέων δυσδούντας ἐν τοῖς ὀχετοῖς, διὸ πόλις ἐστὶ μεστή, καὶ κινδυνεύοντας. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἀσάφεια πολλή τῶν δρωμέων καὶ παραγγελλομένων ἐν νυκτομαχία, καὶ πλάναι καὶ διασπασμοὶ περὶ τοὺς στενωποὺς, καὶ στρατηγίας οὐδὲν ἔργον ὑπὸ σκότους καὶ βοής ἀκρίτου καὶ στενότητος, ἀλλὰ διέτριβον ἀλλὰς περιμένοντες ἀμφότεροι τὴν ἡμέραν.

4 Ἡδὴ δὲ διαλάμποντος ἢ τε Ἀστίως ὁπλῶν περίπλεως πολεμίῶν ὀφθείσα τὸν Πύρρον διετάραξε, καὶ τῆς ἄγορᾶς ἐν πολλοῖς ἀναθήμασι κατιδὼν λύκου χαλκοῦ καὶ ταύρων ὀλον εἰς μάχην ἀλλήλως συνιόντας ἐξεπλάγη, χρησμὸν τινα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀνενεγκῶν παλαιῶν, ὡς ἀποθανεῖν αὐτῷ πεπρωμένου ὅταν λύκον ἴδη ταύρφι μαχόμενον.

5 ταύτα δὲ Ἀργείωι πάθους ὑπομνήματα παλαιῶν

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to Antigonus called upon him for help. Antigonus marched up close to the city, and lying in wait there himself, sent his generals and his son inside with a considerable relief-force. Areus also came, with a thousand Cretans and Spartans (the most lightly armed). All these troops united in an assault upon the Gauls and threw them into great confusion. And Pyrrhus, who now entered the city with shouts and cries by way of Cylarabis,\(^1\) noticed that the Gauls did not answer his men with any vigour or courage, and therefore conjectured that their response was that of men confounded and in distress. Accordingly, he led on faster, pushing along the horsemen in front of him, who were making their way with difficulty among the water-conduits, of which the city is full, and were in peril of their lives from them. And now, in this night-battle, there was great uncertainty as to what commands were given and how the commands were carried out; men straggled and lost their way among the narrow streets, and generalship was of no avail owing to the darkness, confused shouting, and confined spaces; both parties therefore were unable to accomplish anything and waited for the day.

But when at last it began to grow light, the sight of the Aspis filled with armed enemies greatly disturbed Pyrrhus; moreover, among the numerous votive-offerings in the marketplace he caught sight of a wolf and bull in bronze, represented as closing with another in battle, and he was dumbfounded, for he called to mind an ancient oracle regarding himself which declared that it was fated for him to die when he saw a wolf fighting with a bull. Now, the Argives say that these figures were set up in

\(^1\) A gymnasium just outside the city towards the East.
γενενήσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς λέγουσι. Δαναὸς γὰρ, ὅτε πρῶτον ἐπέβη τῆς χώρας κατὰ τὰ Πυράμια τῆς Θυρεάτιδος, εἰς Ἀργος πορευομένων λύκον φανήναι ταῦρῳ μαχόμενον· θέμενον δὲ τὸν Δαναὸν ὡς ὁ λύκος εἰς πρὸς αὐτοῦ (ξένον γὰρ ὄντα τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ἐπιτίθεσθαι καθάπερ αὐτὸν), ἐφορᾶν τὴν μάχην, καὶ τοῦ λύκου κρατήσαντος Ἀπόλλωνι Δυκεῖῳ προσευξάμενον ἐπιχειρῆσαι καὶ περιγενέσθαι, στάσει Γελάνορος, δὲ τὸτε τῶν Ἀργείων ἐβασίλευεν, ἐκπεσόντος. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀνάθημα τούτον εἶχε τὸν λόγον.

XXXIII. Πρὸς δὲ τὴν ὤψιν ὁ Πύρρος ἀμα καὶ τῷ μηδὲν ὄν ἡλπίζει προχωρεῖν ἄθυμῳ ἀναστρέφειν διενοεῖτο· τὰς δὲ πύλας στενὰς οὕσας φοβούμενος ἐπεμψε πρὸς τὸν νίον Ἐλευθορα ἐμαρᾷ τῆς πολλῆς δυνάμεως ἐξω καταλειμμένων, κελεύων τοῦ τείχους διασκάπτειν καὶ δέχεσθαι τοὺς ἐκπίπτως τούτας, ἀν ἐνοχλῶσιν οἱ πολέμιοι. σπουδὴ δὲ καὶ θορύβῳ τοῦ πεμφθέντος οὔδὲν σαφὲς ἀπαγγέλλοντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαμαρτίας γενομένης, τῶν θηρίων τὰ λοιπὰ καὶ στρατιώτας ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς κράτιστους ὁ νεανίσκος εἰσω διὰ τῶν πυλῶν ἐχώρει τῷ πατρὶ βοηθήσων. ἔτυχε δὲ ὁ Πύρρος ἀναστρέφων ἦδη. καὶ μέχρι μὲν ἡ ἀγορὰ παρεῖχεν ὑπεξάγοντι χώραν καὶ μαχομένῳ, ἐκ μεταβολῆς ἢμύνετο τοὺς ἐπιφερο-3 μένους· ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς ἁγορᾶς εἰς τὸν στενωπὸν ἐξωθεὶς τὸν ἐπὶ τὴν πύλην ἀνήκοντα συνέπιπτε τοῖς ἐπιβοηθοῦσιν ἐξ ἐναντίας προσφερομένους, οι

1 ἡλπίζε Coraës, Bekker, and Blass, with the MSS.: ἡλπίσε.
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their market-place as memorials of an ancient event. Namely, when Danaïs first landed in the country, near Pyramia in the district of Thyreatis, and was on his way to Argos, he saw a wolf fighting with a bull; and conceiving that he himself was represented by the wolf (since both were strangers and were attacking the natives), he watched the battle to its end, and when the wolf had prevailed, paid his vows to Apollo Lyceius (the wolf-god), attacked the city, and was victorious, after Gelanor, who was at that time king of Argos, had been driven out by a faction. This, then, was the significance of the dedication.¹

XXXIII. Dejected at this sight, as well as because none of his hopes were being realized, Pyrrhus purposed to retreat; but fearing the narrowness of the gates he sent to his son Helenus, who had been left outside the city with the greater part of the forces, ordering him to tear down part of the wall and succour those who rushed out through the breach, in case the enemy molested them. Owing to the haste and tumult, however, the messenger brought no clear orders, but actually made a mistake, and the young prince, taking the rest of the elephants and the best of his soldiers, marched through the gate into the city to help his father. But Pyrrhus was already on the retreat. And as long as the market-place afforded him room for withdrawing and fighting, he would turn and repel his assailants; but after he had been driven out of the market-place into the narrow street which led up to the gate, and encountered those who were rushing to his aid from the opposite direction, some of these could not hear

¹ Cf. Pausanias, ii. 19, 3.
μὲν οὐχ ὑπήκουν ὑποχωρεῖν βοῶντος αὐτοῦ, τοὺς
dὲ καὶ πάνυ προθύμους ὁντας εἰργον οἱ κατόπιν
4 ἀπὸ τῆς πύλης ἐπιχεόμενοι. καὶ γὰρ ὁ μέγιστος
ἐλέφας ἐν τῇ πύλῃ πλάγιος παραπεσὼν καὶ βρυ-
χώμενος ἐμποδῶν ἐκεῖτο τοῖς ἀποτρεπομένοις, καὶ
tῶν προεισεληνυθότων ἔτερος, ὃ Νίκων ὅνομα ἦν,
ἀπορρέντα τὸν ἐπιστάτην ὑπὸ τραυμάτων ζητῶν
ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ φερόμενος πρὸς τούναντιον τοῖς
ὑπεξάγουσιν, ἀνέμιξε φίλους ὦμοι καὶ πολεμίους
5 ὅθουμένοις ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ· καὶ περιέππιτον ἀλλήλοις,
ἐὼς εὐρὼν νεκρὸν ἀνέιλετο τῇ προβοσκίδι, καὶ
tοῖς ὀδούσιν ἀμφότεροι ὑπολαβὼν ἀνέστρεφε
πάλιν ὃσπερ ἐμμανής, ἀνατρέπων καὶ διαφθείρων
tοῦς ἐνυγχάνοντας. οὕτω δὲ θλιβομένων καὶ
συμπλωμένων πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὕδεις οὐδὲν ἐαυτῷ
καθ’ ἕνα χρῆσθαι δυνατός ἦν, ἀλλ’ ὃσπερ ἐν
σώμα συγγεγομφωμένον ἐαυτῷ τὸ πᾶν πλήθος
ἐλάμβανε πολλὰς ἀποκλίσεις καὶ μεταβολὰς ἐπ’
6 ἀμφότερα. καὶ μάχαι μὲν ἦσαν ὄλγα πρὸς τοὺς
ἐναπολαμβανομένους ἀεὶ τῶν πολεμίων ή προσ-
κειμένους ὁπισθεν, πλείστα δὲ ἑαυτοὺς εἰργά-
ζοντο κακά. σπασάμενον γὰρ τὸ ξίφος ἢ κλίναντα
λόγχην οὐκ ἦν ἀναλαβεῖν οὐδὲ καταθέσθαι πάλιν,
ἀλλ’ ἐχώρει δ’ ὄν ἐτυχε τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα, καὶ
περιπέπτοντες ἀλλήλοις ἐθνησκον.

XXXIV. Ο δὲ Πύρρος ἔφορὼν τὸν περιέχοντα
χειμὼν καὶ κλύδωνα, τὴν μὲν στεφάνην, ἢ διά-
σημον ἦν τὸ κράνος, ἀφελών ἔδωκε τινὶ τῶν ἐταί-
ρων, αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ ὑπ’ ψυχὲ πεποιθὼς εἰς τοὺς
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him when he called out to them to withdraw, and those who did, even though they were very ready to obey him, were kept from doing so by those who were pouring in behind them from the gate. For the largest of the elephants had fallen athwart the gateway and lay there roaring, in the way of those who would have turned back; and another elephant, one of those which had gone on into the city, Nicon by name, seeking to recover his rider, who had fallen from his back in consequence of wounds, and dashing in the face of those who were trying to get out, crowded friends and foes alike together in a promiscuous throng, until, having found the body of his master, he took it up with his proboscis, laid it across his two tusks, and turned back as if crazed, overthrowing and killing those who came in his way. Thus crushed and matted together not a man of them could act at all for himself, but the whole multitude, bolted together, as it were, into one body, kept rolling and swaying this way and that. Little fighting could be done against those of the enemy who were continually being caught up into their ranks or attacking them from the rear, and they wrought most harm to themselves. For when a man had drawn his sword or poised his spear, he could not recover or sheathe his weapon again, but it would pass through those who stood in its way, and so they died from one another's blows.

XXXIV. But Pyrrhus, seeing the stormy sea that surged about him, took off the coronal, with which his helmet was distinguished, and gave it to one of his companions; then, relying on his horse, he plunged in among the enemy who were pursuing

1 "De travers tout au beau milieu de la porte" (Amyot).
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ ΛΙΒΕΤΟΣ

ἐπομένους τῶν πολεμίων ἐνέβαλε, καὶ δόραι πληγείς διὰ τοῦ θώρακος οὐ καρίαν πληγῆν οὐδὲ μεγάλην ἐπέστρεψε κατὰ τοῦ πατάξαντος, δε ἦν Ἀργείος, οὐ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, ἀλλὰ πενεχρᾶς καὶ πρεσβυτέρας νίσχος γυναικός. αὕτη τότε θεωμένη τὴν μάχην ὁσπερ αἰ λοιπαὶ γυναίκες ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγους, ὡς ἐπέγγυσ συνεστώτα τῷ Πύρρω τὸν νιόν, ἐκπαθῆς γενομένῃ πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον, ἀρασα κεραμίδα ταῖς χεραῖς ἀμφοτέρας ἀφήκεν ἐπὶ τὸν Πύρρον. ἐμπεσούσης δὲ τῇ κεφαλῇ κατὰ τοῦ κράνους, καὶ τῶν σφοινύλων πρὸς τὴν βάσιν τοῦ τραχύλου συντριβέντων, αἱ τε ὅψεις συνεχύθησαν αὐτοῦ καὶ προήκαντο τὰς ἡρίας αἰ χεῖρες. αὐτὸς δὲ κατενεχθεὶς παρὰ τὸν τοῦ Δικυμνίου σηκὼν ἔπεσεν ύπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἀγνοούμενος. Ζώπυρος δὲ τῆς τῶν παρὰ Ἀντιγόνῳ στρατευμένων καὶ δύο ἡ τρεῖς ἔτεροι προσδραμόντες καὶ κατανοήσαντες εἰς τίνα θυρῶνα παρείλκυσαν αὐτῶν ἀρχόμενον ἐκ τῆς πληγής ἀναφέρεσθαι. σπασαμένου δὲ τοῦ Ζώπυρου μάχαιραν Ἰλλυρικῆν ὡς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμοῦντος ἐνέβλεψε δεινόν, ὡστε τὸν Ζώπυρον περίφθου πενεχυμένον, καὶ τὰ μὲν τρέμουτα ταῖς χερσί, τὰ δὲ ἐπιχειροῦντα, θορύβου δὲ και ταραχῆς μεστὸν ὄντα, μὴ κατʼ ὀρθὸν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὸ στόμα καὶ τὸ γένειον ἀποτέμοντα βρα-

4 δεῖσσα καὶ μόλις ἀποσπάσαι τὴν κεφαλὴν. ἥδη δὲ σύνδηλν ἦν τὸ γεγονός πλεῖστο, καὶ προσδραμὸν ὁ Ἀλκυονεύς ἤτησε τὴν κεφαλὴν ὡς ἀν κατανοήσων. λαβὼν δὲ ἀφίππευσε πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, καὶ καθεξομένῳ μετὰ τῶν φίλων προσέβαλε. θεασάμενος δὲ καὶ γνοὺς ὁ Ἀντίγονος τὸν μὲν νιόν

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him. Here he was wounded by a spear which pierced his breastplate—not a mortal, nor even a severe wound—and turned upon the man who had struck him, who was an Argive, not of illustrious birth, but the son of a poor old woman. His mother, like the rest of the women, was at this moment watching the battle from the house-top, and when she saw that her son was engaged in conflict with Pyrrhus, she was filled with distress in view of the danger to him, and lifting up a tile with both her hands threw it at Pyrrhus. It fell upon his head below his helmet and crushed the vertebrae at the base of his neck, so that his sight was blurred and his hands dropped the reins. Then he sank down from his horse and fell near the tomb of Licymnius,¹ unrecognised by most who saw him. But a certain Zopyrus, who was serving under Antigonus, and two or three others, ran up to him, saw who he was, and dragged him into a door-way just as he was beginning to recover from the blow. And when Zopyrus drew an Illyrian short-sword with which to cut off his head, Pyrrhus gave him a terrible look, so that Zopyrus was frightened; his hands trembled, and yet he essayed the deed; but being full of alarm and confusion his blow not fall true, but along the mouth and chin, so that it was only slowly and with difficulty that he severed the head. Presently what had happened was known to many, and Alcyoneus, running to the spot, asked for the head as if he would see whose it was. But when he had got it he rode away to his father, and cast it down before him as he sat among his friends. Antigonus, however, when he saw and recognised the head, drove his son

¹ Cf. Pausanias, ii. 22, 8.
άπήλασε τῇ βακτηρίᾳ παίων καὶ καλῶν ἐναγῇ καὶ βάρβαρον, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν χλαμύδα προθέμενος τοῖς ὃμμασιν ἐδάκρυσεν, Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ πάππου μνησθέις καὶ Δημητρίου τοῦ πατρός, οἰκείων παραδευματων εἰς τῆςς μεταβολῆς.

5 Τὴν μὲν οὖν κεφαλῆν καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Πύρρου κοσμήσας ἔκαυσεν· ἔπει δὲ ὁ Ἁλκινοὺς τῷ Ἐλένῳ περιτυχὼν ταπεινῷ καὶ χλαμύδιον λιτῶν ἀμπεχομένῳ φιλανθρώπῳ ἐνέτυχε καὶ τῷ πατρὶ προσήγγισεν, ἰδὼν ὁ Ἀντίγονος "Βελτίωνα μέν," εἶπεν, "ὁ παῖ, ταύτα τῶν προτέρων, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ νῦν ὁρθῶς τῷ μὴ περιελεῖν τὴν ἔσθητα ταύτην, ή μᾶλλον ἠμᾶς κατασχύνει τοὺς κρατεῖν δοκοῦντας."

6 ἐκ τούτου φιλοφρονησάμενος καὶ κοσμήσας τὸν Ἐλενοῦ ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Ἡπείρον, καὶ τοῖς φίλοις τοῦ Πύρρου πράως ἐνετύχατο τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως πάσης κύριος γενόμενος.

1 ἰπτερων Bekker adopts the πρότερον of Muretus.
PYRRHUS

away, smiting him with his staff and calling him impious and barbarous; then, covering his face with his cloak he burst into tears, calling to mind Antigonus his grandfather and Demetrius his father, who were examples in his own family of a reversal of fortune.

The head and body of Pyrrhus, then, Antigonus caused to be adorned for burial and burned; and when Alcyoneus found Helenus in an abject state and wearing a paltry cloak, and spoke to him kindly and brought him into the presence of his father, Antigonus was pleased with his conduct, and said: "This is better, my son, than what thou didst before; but not even now hast thou done well in allowing this clothing to remain, which is a disgrace the rather to us who are held to be the victors." Then, after showing kindness to Helenus and adorning his person, he sent him back to Epeirus, and he dealt mildly with the friends of Pyrrhus when he became master of their camp and of their whole force.
CAIUS MARIUS
ΓΑΙΟΣ ΜΑΡΙΟΣ

I. Γαῖον Μαρίου τρῖτον οὐκ ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν ὄνομα, καθάπερ ὁ Ἰοῦν Ἐρωταῖος καὶ ὁ Ἡμίτονος ἐστὶν, σαφῶς δὲ Δενδών, νομίζων τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἔλοντος· ὁ γὰρ Ἀχαῖᾳς τοῦτο γε τῆς πράξεως ἐπώνυμον γέγονεν· ὁ Ἀφρικανὸς σεβασμὸι καὶ ὁ Ἀρκαδικὸς Μετέλλως. ἔξοι καὶ μάλιστα Ποσειδώνιος ἐλέγχειν οἶεται τοῦ τῷ τρίτων ὄνομα Ῥωμαίως κύριον εἶναι νομίζοντας, ὁλον τὸν Κάμπλλον καὶ τὸν Μάρκελλον καὶ τὸν Κάτωνα· γίνεσθαι γὰρ ἀν ἀνωνύμουςτοι ἀπὸ μονῶν τῶν δυτικῶν προσαγορευομένους. λαμβάνει δὲ ἐαυτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦτο τῷ λόγῳ πάλιν αὐτὸς ἀνωνύμους ποιεῖ· τὰς γυναῖκας· ὀυδέμια γὰρ γυναῖκι τίθεται τῶν ὄνομάτων τῷ πρῶτῳ, ὧπερ οἴεται κυρίος ὄνομα Ῥωμαίως ὑπάρχειν ὁ Ποσειδώνιος.

3 τῶν δὲ ἄλλων τὸ μὲν κοινὸν ἀπὸ συγγενείας, τῶν Πομπηίων καὶ τῶν Μαλλίων καὶ τῶν Κορυνηλίων ὁσπέρ ἢ Ἡρακλείδας τῆς εἰς ὁποία καὶ Πελοπίδας, τούτω δὲ προσαγορικῶν εἶς ἐπιθέτου πρὸς τὰς φύσεις ἢ τὰς πράξεις ἢ τὰ τοῦ σώματος εἴδη καὶ πάθη τίθεσθαι, τὸν Μακρίνον καὶ τὸν Τουρκοῦτον καὶ τὸν Σύλλαν (οἵον ἐστιν ὁ Μυήμων ἢ ὁ Γρυππός ἢ ὁ Καλλίνικος). εἰς μὲν οὖν ταῦτα

1 ἀν ἀνωνύμους Ziegler, after Schaefer: ἀνωνύμους.
2 ποιεῖ Bekker and Ziegler, after Coraës: ποιεῖται.

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CAIUS MARIUS

I. Of a third name for Caius Marius we are ignorant, as we are in the case of Quintus Sertorius the subduer of Spain, and of Lucius Mummius the captor of Corinth; for Mummius received the surname of Achaëicus from his great exploit, as Scipio received that of Africanus, and Metellus that of Macedonicus. From this circumstance particularly Poseidonius thinks to confute those who hold that the third name is the Roman proper name, as, for instance, Camillus, Marcellus, or Cato; for if that were so, he says, then those with only two names would have had no proper name at all. But it escapes his notice that his own line of reasoning, if extended to women, robs them of their proper names; for no woman is given the first name, which Poseidonius thinks was the proper name among the Romans. Moreover, of the other two names, one was common to the whole family, as in the case of the Pompeii, the Manlii, or the Cornelii (just as a Greek might speak of the Heracleidae or the Pelopidae), and the other was a cognomen or epithet, given with reference to their natures or their actions, or to their bodily appearances or defects, Macrinus, for example, or Torquatus, or Sulla (like the Greek Mnemon, Grypus, or Callinicus). However,

1 The full name of a Roman citizen consisted of a praenomen (the "given," or "proper" name), a nomen designating his family or gens, and a cognomen, which was also hereditary. Women rarely had a praenomen, or "proper" name, but bore the family name only.
πολλὰς δίδωσιν ἐπιχειρήσεις ἡ τῆς συνθείας ἀνωμαλία.

II. Τῆς δὲ ὀψεως τῆς Μαρίου λιθήνθη εἰκόνα κειμένην ἐν Ῥαβένη τῆς Γαλατίας ἐθεώμεθα πάνυ τῇ λεγομένῃ περὶ τὸ ἱθὸς στρυφνότητι καὶ πικρία πρέπουσαν. ἀνδρώδης γὰρ φύσει καὶ πολεμικὸς γενόμενος, καὶ στρατιωτικῆς μᾶλλον ἡ πολιτικῆς παιδείας μεταλαβὼν, ἀκρατοῦ ἐν ταῖς 2 ἔξουσίαις τὸν θυμὸν ἔσχε. Λέγεται δὲ μὴτε γράμματα μαθεῖν Ἕλληνικὰ μὴτε γλώττῃ πρὸς μηδὲν Ἕλληνίδι χρήσαται τῶν σπουδῆς ἔχομενων, ὡς γελοίον γράμματα μανθάνειν ὅν οἱ διδάσκαλοι δουλεύοιεν ἐτέροις. μετὰ δὲ τὸν δεύτερον θρίαμβον ἐπὶ ναῷ τῶν καθιερώσει θέας Ἕλληνικᾶς παρέχων, εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἔλθων καὶ μόνον καθίσας 3 εὐθὺς ἀπαλλαγήναι. ὡσπερ οὖν Ἑυνοκράτεις τῷ φιλοσόφῳ σκυθρωποτέρῳ δοκοῦντι τὸ ἱθὸς εἶναι πολλάκις εἰσθεὶς λέγειν ὁ Πλάτων, "Ω μακάριε Ἑυνοκράτε, θὰ ποιήσῃ Χάρισιν," οὕτως εἰ τὴς ἔπεισε Μαρίον θυεῖν ταῖς Ἕλληνικᾶς Μούσαις καὶ Χάρισιν, οὐκ ἀν ἐκπρεπεστάταις στρατηγίαις καὶ πολιτείαις ἀμορφοτάτην ἐπέθεσε κορωνίδα, ὑπὸ θυμοῦ καὶ φιλαρχίας ἄρον καὶ πλεονεξίων ἀπαρηγορήτων εἰς ὁμότατον καὶ ἀγριώτατον γῆρας ἐξοκείλας. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν πράξεων αὐτῶν εὐθὺς θεωρεῖσθω.

III. Γενόμενος δὲ γονέων παντάπασιν ἄδόξων, αὐτουργῶν δὲ καὶ πενήτων, πατρὸς μὲν ὀμονύμου, μητρὸς δὲ Φουλκινίας, ὃς ποτὲ πόλιν εἶδε καὶ 466
in these matters the irregularity of custom furnishes many topics for discussion.

II. As for the personal appearance of Marius, we have seen a marble statue of him at Ravenna in Gaul, and it very well portrays the harshness and bitterness of character which are ascribed to him. For since he was naturally virile and fond of war, and since he received a training in military rather than in civil life, his temper was fierce when he came to exercise authority. Moreover, we are told that he never studied Greek literature, and never used the Greek language for any matter of real importance, thinking it ridiculous to study a literature the teachers of which were the subjects of another people; and when, after his second triumph and at the consecration of some temple, he furnished the public with Greek spectacles, though he came into the theatre, he merely sat down, and at once went away. Accordingly, just as Plato was wont to say often to Xenocrates the philosopher, who had the reputation of being rather morose in his disposition, "My good Xenocrates, sacrifice to the Graces," so if Marius could have been persuaded to sacrifice to the Greek Muses and Graces, he would not have put the ugliest possible crown upon a most illustrious career in field and forum, nor have been driven by the blasts of passion, ill-timed ambition, and insatiable greed upon the shore of a most cruel and savage old age. However, his actual career shall at once bring this into clear view.

III. Born of parents who were altogether obscure—poor people who lived by the labour of their own hands (Marius was his father’s name, Fulcinia that of his mother), it was not till late that he saw the city
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tῶν ἐν πόλει διατριβῶν ἐγεύσατο, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον
χρόνον ἐν κώμῃ Κιρραιάτων τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος διαίταιν
εἰσε, πρὸς μὲν ἀστείον καὶ γλαφυρὸν βίον ἀγροι-
kotέραν, σώφρονα δὲ καὶ ταῖς πάλαι Ῥωμαίων
2 τροφαίς ἔοικυίαν. πρώτην δὲ στρατείαν στρα-
tευσάμενος ἐπὶ Κελτίβηρας, ὅτε Σκηπίων Ἀφρι
κανὸς Νομαντίαν ἐπολιόρκησε, τὸν στρατηγὸν ὅνι
ἐλάνθανεν ἀνδρείᾳ τῶν ἄλλων νέων διαφέρων καὶ
tὴν μεταβολὴν τῆς διαίτης, ἢν ὑπὸ τρυφῆς καὶ
πολυτελείας διεφθαρμένους ἐπῆγε τοῖς στρατεύ-
μασιν ὁ Σκηπίων, εὐκολώτατα προσδεχόμενος.
λέγεται δὲ καὶ πολέμιον ἀνδρα συστάς κατα-
3 βαλεῖν ἐν ὅψει τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. διὸ ταῖς τε ἄλλαις
προήγητο τιμαίς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ποτὲ λόγου μετὰ
δείπνου ἐμπεσοντος ὑπὲρ στρατηγῶν, καὶ τῶν
παρόντων ἐνὸς εἰς ἀληθῶς διαπορήσαντος εἰς
πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἐρομένου τὸν Σκηπίωνα τίνα δὴ
tοιοῦτον ἔξει μετ’ ἐκεῖνον ἡγεμόνα καὶ προστάτην
ὁ Ῥωμαίων δήμος, ὑπερκατακειμένον τοῦ Μαρίου
τῇ χειρὶ τῶν ὄμων ἥρεμα πατάξασιν ὁ Σκηπίων,
“Τάχα δὲ τοῦτον,” ἐπεν. οὔτως εὐφυής ἢν ὁ μὲν
ἐκ μειρακίου φανήναι μέγας, ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς
tὸ τέλος νοῆσαι.

IV. Τὸν δ’ οὖν Μάριον ὑπὸ ταύτης λέγεται
μάλιστα τῆς φωνῆς, ὡσπερ ὑπὸ θείας κληδόνος,
ἐπαρθέντα ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ὄρμησαι πρὸς τὴν πολι-
tείαν, καὶ τυχέων δημαρχίας Κεκιλίου Μετέλλου

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or got a taste of city ways. In the meantime he lived at Cirrhaeaton,\(^1\) a village in the territory of Arpinum, in a manner that was quite rude when compared with the polished life of a city, but temperate, and in harmony with the rearing which the ancient Romans gave their children. His first service as a soldier was in a campaign against the Celtiberians, when Scipio Africanus was besieging Numantia,\(^2\) and he attracted the notice of his general by excelling the other young men in bravery, and by his very cheerful acceptance of the changed regimen which Scipio introduced into his army when it was spoiled by luxury and extravagance. It is said, too, that he encountered and laid low an enemy in the sight of his general. Therefore he was advanced by his commander to many honours; and once, when the talk after supper had to do with generals, and one of the company (either because he really wished to know or merely sought to please) asked Scipio where the Roman people would find any such chieftain and leader to follow him, Scipio, gently tapping Marius on the shoulder as he reclined next him, said: "Here, perhaps." So gifted by nature were both men; the one in showing himself great while still a young man, and the other in discerning the end from the beginning.

IV. So, then, Marius, filled with high hopes, we are told, by this speech of Scipio in particular, as if it were a divine utterance in prophecy, set out upon a political career, and was made tribune of the people\(^3\) with the assistance of Caecilius Metellus, of

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\(^1\) Probably a corruption for Cereatae.
\(^2\) 134–133 B.C.
\(^3\) In 119 B.C., at the age of thirty-eight.
σπουδάσαντος, ού τὸν οἶκον ἔξ ἀρχῆς καὶ πατρό-

2 θευ ἐθεράπευν. ἐν δὲ τῇ δημαρχίᾳ νόμον τινὰ

περὶ ψηφοφορίας γράφοντος αὐτοῦ δοκούντα τῶν
dυνατῶν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὴν περὶ τὰς κρίσεις ἱσχύν,

ἐνιστάμενος Κόττας ὁ ὑπατος συνέπεσε τὴν βου-

λὴν τῷ μὲν νόμῳ μᾶχεσθαι, τοῦ δὲ Μάριον καλεῖν

λόγον ὑφέξοντα. καὶ τοῦ δόγματος τούτου γρα-

φέντος εἰσελθὼν ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἔπαθε νέον πάθος ἀπὸ

μηδενὸς λαμπροῦ προεληλυθότος ἀρτι πρὸς τὴν

πολιτείαν, ἀλλ’ ἐαυτῷ διδοὺς ἢδη φρονεῖν ἠλίκον

αἰ μετέπειτα πράξεις ἐδώκαν, ἦπειλησε τὸν Κότ-

tαν ἀπάξειν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον, εἰ μὴ διαγράψειε

3 τὸ δόγμα. τοῦ δὲ πρὸς Μέτελλον τραπομένου καὶ
gνώμην ἔρωτώντος, Μέτελλος μὲν ἀναστὰς συν-

ηγορεῖ τῷ ὑπάτῳ, Μάριος δὲ τὸν ὑπηρέτην μετα-

πεμψάμενος ἔξωθεν ἐκέλευεν ἀπάγειν αὐτῶν τὸν

Μέτελλον εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον. ἐκεῖνον δὲ τοὺς

ἀλλοὺς ἐπικαλομένου δημάρχους ἐβοήθει μὲν

οὐδεὶς, ἢ δὲ σύγκλητος εἰξασα προῆκατο τὸ δόγμα.

καὶ λαμπρὸς ἐξελάσας ὁ Μάριος εἰς τὸ πλῆθος

ἐκύρωσε τὸν νόμον, δόξας ἀκαμπτος μὲν εἶναι

πρὸς φόβον, ἀτρεπτος δὲ ὑπ’ αἰδοὺς, δεινὸς δὲ

κατὰ τὴς βουλῆς ἀνιστασθαι χάριτι τῶν πολλῶν

dημαχωγῶν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ταύτην μὲν ταχέως

μετέτησαν ἐτέρῳ πολιτεύματι τὴν δόξαν. νόμον

γὰρ εἰσφερομένου περὶ σῖτου διανομῆς τοῖς πολι-

ταις ἐναντιωθεῖς ἔρρωμενεστατα καὶ κρατήσας,

εἰς τὸ ἵσσον ἐαυτὸν κατέστησε τῇ τιμῇ πρὸς 408

ἀμφοτέρους ὡς μηδετέροις παρὰ τὸ συμφέρον

χαριζόμενος.

V. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν δημαρχίαν ἀγορανομίαν τὴν

μείξονα παρήγγειλε. δύο γὰρ εἰσὶ τάξεις ἀγο-

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whose house he had always been an hereditary adherent. While serving as tribune he introduced a law concerning the mode of voting, which, as it was thought, would lessen the power of the nobles in judicial cases; whereupon Cotta the consul opposed him and persuaded the senate to contest the law, and to summon Marius before it to explain his procedure. The senate voted to do this, and Marius appeared before it. He did not, however, behave like a young man who had just entered political life without any brilliant services behind him, but assumed at once the assurance which his subsequent achievements gave him, and threatened to hale Cotta off to prison unless he had the vote rescinded. Cotta then turned to Metellus and asked him to express his opinion, and Metellus, rising in his place, concurred with the consul; but Marius called in the officer and ordered him to conduct Metellus himself to prison. Metellus appealed to the other tribunes, but none of them came to his support, so the senate gave way and rescinded its vote. Marius therefore came forth in triumph to the people and got them to ratify his law. Men now thought him superior to fear, unmoved by respect of persons, and a formidable champion of the people in opposition to the senate. However, this opinion was quickly modified by another political procedure of his. For when a law was introduced providing for the distribution of grain to the citizens, he opposed it most strenuously and carried the day, thereby winning for himself an equal place in the esteem of both parties as a man who favoured neither at the expense of the general good.

V. After his tribuneship, he became a candidate for the higher aedileship. For there are two classes
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ρανομών, ἢ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν δίφρων τῶν ἀγκυ-
λοπόδων, ἐφ' ὧν καθεξαίμενοι χρηματίζουσιν,
ἐχουσά τούνομα τῆς ἀρχῆς, τὴν δ' ὑποδειστέραν
dημοτικήν καλοῦσιν. ὡταν δὲ τοὺς ἐντιμοτέρους
ξενοταί περὶ τῶν ἐτέρων πάλιν τὴν ψήφων λαμ-

2 βάλουσιν. ὡς οὖν ὁ Μάριος φανερὸς ἦν λειτομένος
ἐν ἐκείνῃ, ταχὺ μεταστᾶς αὖθις ἦτει τὴν ἐτέραν.
δόξας δὲ θρασύς εἶναι καὶ αὐθάδης ἀπέτυχε· καὶ
dυσὶν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μᾶ περιπέσων ἀποτεύξεσιν, ὃ
μηδεὶς ἔπαθεν ἄλλος, οὐδὲ μικρὸν υφήκατο τοῦ
φρονήματος, ύστερον δὲ οὗ πολλῷ στρατηγίαν
μετελθὼν ὀλίγον ἐδέησεν ἐκπεσεῖν, ἐσχάτος δὲ
πάντων ἀναγορευθεῖς δίκην ἐσχε δεκασίῳ.

3 Μάλιστα δὲ ύποψιάν παρέσχε Κασσίου Σα-
βάκωνος οἰκέτης ὁθεὶς ἑντὸς τῶν δρυφάκτων
ἀναμεμμεγένος τοῖς φέρουσι τὰς ψήφους· ὁ γὰρ
Σαβάκων ἦν ἐταῖρος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Μαρίων.
κληθεὶς οὖν οὗτος υπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν ἐφή διὰ τὸ
καῦμα διψήσας ὦδωρ ψυχρὸν αἰτήσαι καὶ τὸν
οἰκέτην ἔχοντα ποτήριον εἰσελθεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν,

4 εἰτ' εὐθὺς οἴχεσθαι πιόντος. οὗτος μὲν οὖν υπὸ
tῶν μετὰ ταῦτα τιμητῶν ἐξέπεσε τῆς βουλῆς,
ἐπιτήδειος εἶναι παρεῖν τοῦτο δόξας ἢ διὰ τὴν
ψευδομαρτυρίαν ἢ διὰ τὴν ἀκρασίαν· ἔπὶ δὲ τῶν
Μάριων καὶ Γάιος Ἐρέννιος μάρτυς εἰσαχθεῖς οὐκ
ἐφ' ψάριον εἶναι καταμαρτυρεῖν πελατῶν, ἀλλὰ
tῶν νόμον ἀφιέναι ταύτης τῆς ἀνάγκης τούς
πάτρωνας (οὗτος γὰρ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς προστάτας

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of aediles, one taking its name of "curule" from the chairs with curving feet on which the magistrates sit in the exercise of their functions, the other, and the inferior, being called "plebeian." When the superior aediles have been elected, the people cast a second vote for the others. Accordingly, when it was clear that Marius was losing his election to the higher office, he immediately changed his tactics and applied for the other. But men thought him bold and obstinate, and he was defeated; nevertheless, although he had met with two failures in one day, a thing which had never happened to any candidate before, he did not lower his assurance in the least, but not long afterwards became a candidate for the praetorship ¹ and narrowly missed defeat; he was returned last of all, and was prosecuted for bribery.

Suspicion was chiefly aroused by the sight of a servant of Cassius Sabaco inside the palings among the voters; for Sabaco was an especial friend of Marius. Sabaco was therefore summoned before the court, and testified that the heat had made him so thirsty that he had called for cold water, and that his servant had come in to him with a cup, and had been gone away after his master had drunk. Sabaco, however, was expelled from the senate by the censors of the next year, and it was thought that he deserved this punishment, either because he had given false testimony, or because of his intemperance. But Caius Herennius also was brought in as a witness against Marius, and pleaded that it was contrary to established usage for patrons (the Roman term for our representatives at law) to bear witness against clients, and that the law relieved them of this necessity; and

¹ In 115 B.C.
καλοῦσι), τοῦ δὲ 'Ερευνίων οίκου τοὺς Μαρίου γονεῖς καὶ Μάριον αὐτῶν ἔξ ἄρχης γεγονέναι 5 πελάτας. ἀποδεξαμένων δὲ τὴν ἀπόρρησιν τῆς μαρτυρίας τῶν δικαστῶν αὐτὸς ἀντείπει ὁ Μάριος πρὸς τὸν 'Ερέυνην ὡς, ὅτε πρῶτον ἄρχων ἀνηγορεύθη, τὸν πελάτην ἐκβεβηκὼς· ὅπερ ἦν ὁ οὐ παντάπασιν ἄληθες. ἄρχη γὰρ οὐ πᾶσα τοῦ νέμειν προστάτην ἀπαλλάσσει τοὺς τυχόντας αὐτοὺς καὶ γένος, ἀλλ’ ἵ τὸν ἀγκυλόποδα δίφρον ὁ νόμος δίδωσιν. οὖ μὴν ἀλλὰ ταῖς πρώταις ἡμεραῖς ἐν τῇ δίκη κακῶς πράττον ὁ Μάριος καὶ χαλεποῖς χρώμενοι τοῖς δικασταῖς, τῇ τελευταίᾳ παραλόγως ἀπέφυγεν ἵσων τῶν ψήφων γενομένων.

VI. 'Εν μὲν οὖν τῇ στρατηγίᾳ μετρίως ἐπαινούμενον ἑαυτὸν παρέσχε. μετὰ δὲ τὴν στρατηγίαν κλήρῳ λαβὼν τὴν ἐκτὸς Ἰβηρίαν λέγεται καθάρας ληστηρίων τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἄνημερος οὕσαν ἐτι τοῖς ἑθισμοῖς καὶ θηριώδῃ, καὶ τὸ ληστεύειν οὕτω τότε τῶν Ἰβήρων οὐχὶ κάλλιστον ἠγουμένων. ἐν δὲ τῇ πολιτείᾳ γενόμενος οὐκ εἰχὲν οὔτε πλοῦτον οὔτε λόγον, οἷς ἦγον οἱ τότε μάλιστα 2 τιμώμενοι τοῦ δήμου. αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν ἀνάτασιν τοῦ φρονήματος καὶ τὸ περὶ τοὺς πόνους ἐνδελεχῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ δημοτικὸν τῆς διαίτης ἐν τινὶ σπουδῆ τιθεμένων τῶν πολιτῶν ἥξιον τῇ τιμῇ πρὸς δύναμιν, ὡστε καὶ γάμον γῆμα λαμπρὸν οἰκίας ἐπιφανοῦς τῆς Καισάρων Ἰουλία, ἡς ἦν ἀδελφοῦς Καίσαρ ὁ χρόνοις ὑστερον Ῥωμαίων μέγιστος γενόμενος καὶ τι καὶ οἰκειότητα ζηλώσας Μάριον, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γέγραπται.
not only the parents of Marius but Marius himself had originally been clients of the house of the Herennii. The jurors accepted this plea in avoidance of testimony, but Marius himself contradicted Herennius, declaring that as soon as he had been elected to his magistracy he had ceased to be a client; which was not altogether true. For it is not every magistracy that frees its occupants (as well as their posterity) from their relations to a patron, but only that to which the law assigns the curule chair. However, although during the first days of the trial Marius fared badly and found the jurors severe towards him, on the last day, contrary to all expectation, there was a tie vote and he was acquitted.

VI. Well, then, for his praetorship Marius got only moderate commendation. After his praetorship, however, the province of Farther Spain was allotted to him, and here he is said to have cleared away the robbers, although the province was still uncivilized in its customs and in a savage state, and robbery was at that time still considered a most honourable occupation by the Spaniards. But when he returned to political life, he had neither wealth nor eloquence, with which the magnates of the time used to influence the people. Still, the very intensity of his assurance, his indefatigable labours, and his plain and simple way of living, won him a certain popularity among his fellow citizens, and his honours brought him increasing influence, so that he married into the illustrious family of the Caesars and became the husband of Julia, who was the aunt of that Caesar who in after times became greatest among the Romans, and in some degree, because of his relationship, made Marius his example, as I have stated in his Life.\footnote{See the \textit{Caesar}, v. 1 f.}
3 ἦ πε δὲ Μαρίῳ καὶ σωφροσύνην μαρτυροῦσι καὶ καρτερίας, ὃς δείγμα καὶ τὸ περὶ τὴν χειρουργίαν ἔστιν. ἵξιὼν γάρ, ὡς έοικε, μεγάλων ἀνάπλεως ἀμφω τὰ σκέλη γεγονός καὶ τὴν ἀμορφίαν δυσχεραίνων ἐγνώ παρασχεῖν ἕαυτὸν τῷ ιατρῷ καὶ παρέσχειν ἄδετος θάτερον σκέλος, οὖνδε κινηθεὶς οὕδε στενάξας, ἀλλὰ καθεστώτι τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ μετὰ σωπῆς υπερβολᾶς τινας ἀλγηδώνων ἐν ταῖς τομαῖς ἀνασχόμενος. τοὺ δ’ ιατροὶ μετίοντος ἐπὶ θάτερον οὐκέτι παρέσχε, φήσας ὅραν τὸ ἐπανόρθωμα τῆς ἀλγηδώνου οὐκ ἂξιον.

VII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κεκίλιος Μέτελλος ἀποδειχθεὶς 409 ἐπὶ τὸν κατὰ Ἰουγούρθα πόλεμον ὑπατὸς στρατηγὸς εἰς Διβύνην ἐπηγάγετο πρεσβευτὴν Μάριον, ἐνταῦθα πράξεων μεγάλων καὶ λαμπρῶν ἄγωνων ἐπιλαβόμενος τὸ μὲν αὐξένων τὸν Μέτελλον, ὡσπερ οἱ λοιποί, καὶ πολιτεύομαι πρὸς ἐκείνον εἰ ἀσθενεῖς. ἵξιὼν δὲ οὐχ ὑπὸ Μετέλλου κεκλήσθαι πρεσβευτῆς, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς τύχης εἰς εὐφυέστατον καίρον ὁμοῦ καὶ μέγιστον εἰσάγεσθαι πράξεων 2 θέατρου, ἐπεδείκνυτο πάσαν ἀνδραγαθίαν. καὶ πολλὰ τοῦ πολέμου δυσχερῆ φέροντος οὔτε τῶν μεγάλων τινὰ πόνων ὑποτρέψας οὔτε τῶν μικρῶν ἀπαξιόσας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ὀμοτίμους εὐβουλία καὶ προνοία τοῦ συμφέροντος ύπερβαλλόμενος, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας ύπὲρ εὐτελείας καὶ καρτερίας διαμιλλόμενος εὐνοιαν ἐσχε πολλῆν 3 παρ’ αὐτοῖς. ὅλως μὲν γὰρ ἔοικε τοῦ κάμνειν 476
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There is testimony both to the temperance of Marius, and also to his fortitude, of which his behaviour under a surgical operation is a proof. He was afflicted in both legs, as it would appear, with varicose veins, and as he disliked the deformity, he resolved to put himself into the physician’s hands. Refusing to be bound, he presented to him one leg, and then, without a motion or a groan, but with a steadfast countenance and in silence, endured incredible pain under the knife. When, however, the physician was proceeding to treat the other leg, Marius would suffer him no further, declaring that he saw the cure to be not worth the pain.

VII. When Caecilius Metellus the consul was appointed commander-in-chief for the war against Jugurtha,¹ he took Marius with him to Africa in the capacity of legate. Here, in essaying great exploits and brilliant struggles, Marius was not careful, like the rest, to enhance the glory of Metellus and conduct himself in his interests; and deeming that he had not so much been called by Metellus to the office of legate as he was being introduced by Fortune into a most favourable opportunity as well as a most spacious theatre for exploits, he made a display of every sort of bravery. And though the war brought many hardships, he neither shunned any great labour, nor disdained any that were small, but surpassed the officers of his own rank in giving good counsel and foreseeing what was advantageous, and vied with the common soldiers in frugality and endurance, thereby winning much goodwill among them. For as a general thing it would seem that every man finds

¹ In 109 B.C.
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ἐκάστῳ παραμυθία τὸ συγκάμμον ἐκουσίας εἶναι·
dokei γὰρ ἀφαίρεῖν τὴν ἁνάγκην ἥδιστον δὲ Ἡρωᾶς θέαμα στρατιώτη στρατηγὸς ἐσθίων ἐν
ὄψει κοινὸν ἄρτον ἢ κατακείμενος ἐπὶ στιβάδος
eὐτελοῦς ἢ περὶ ταφρείαν τινὰ καὶ χαράκωσιν
ἐργον συνεφαπτόμενος. οὐ γὰρ οὕτως τοὺς τιμῆς
καὶ χρημάτων μεταδίδοντας ὡς τοὺς πόνου καὶ
κινδύνου μεταλαμβάνοντας ἄγεμόνας βαυμάζουσιν,
ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀγαπῶσι τῶν ῥαθυμεῖν ἐπιτρεπόντων
τοὺς συμπονείν ἐθέλοντας,

4 Ταῦτα πάντα ποιῶν ὁ Μάριος καὶ διὰ τούτων
touς στρατιώτας δημαγωγῶν ταχὺ μὲν ἐνέπλησε
τὴν Διβύθην, ταχὺ δὲ τὴν Ἡρωᾶς, ὄνοματος καὶ
dόξης, τῶν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου τοῖς οἶκοι γραφῶν
τῶν ὡς οὔκ ἔστι πέρας οὐδὲ ἀπάλλαγῃ τοῦ πρὸς
τὸν βάρβαρον πολέμου μὴ Γάιον Μάριον ἐλομένους
ὑπατον.

VIII. Ἐφ’ οἷς δὴ πολὺ ὁ Μέτελλος ἀχθόμενος.
μάλιστα δὲ αὐτῶν ἦν αὐτὸ τὸ περὶ Τουρπίλλιων.
οὕτως γὰρ ὁ ἄνθρωπος μὲν ἐκ πατέρων ξένως τῷ
Μέτελλῳ καὶ τὸτε τὴν ἔπει τῶν τεκτόνων ἔχων
ἀρχὴν συνεστράτευε· φρουρῶν δὲ Βάγαν, πόλιν
μεγάλην, καὶ τῷ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας,
ἀλλὰ πρᾶσσε καὶ φιλανθρώπος αὐτοῖς προσ-
φέρεσθαι πιστεύων, ἔλαθεν ὑποχείριος τοῖς πολε-
μίοις γενόμενοι. παρεδέξαντο γὰρ τὸν Ἰουγούρθαν,
tὸν δὲ Τουρπίλλιων οὐδὲν ἡδίκησαν, ἀλλὰ σφόν
2 ἐξαιτητισάμενοι δῆκαν. ἔσχεν οὖν αἰτίαν προ-
δοσίας· καὶ παρὼν ὁ Μάριος τῇ κρίσει σύμβουλος

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solace for his labours in seeing another voluntarily share those labours; this seems to take away the element of compulsion; and it is a most agreeable spectacle for a Roman soldier when he sees a general eating common bread in public, or sleeping on a simple pallet, or taking a hand in the construction of some trench or palisade. For they have not so much admiration for those leaders who share honour and riches with them as for those who take part in their toils and dangers, but have more affection for those who are willing to join in their toils than for those who permit them to lead an easy life.

By doing all these things and thereby winning the hearts of the soldiers, Marius soon filled Africa, and soon filled Rome, with his name and fame, and men in the camp wrote to those at home that there would be no end or cessation of the war against the Barbarian unless they chose Caius Marius consul.

VIII. At all this Metellus was evidently displeased. But it was the affair of Turpilius that most vexed him. This Turpilius was an hereditary guest-friend of Metellus, and at this time was serving in his army as chief of engineers. But he was put in charge of Vaga, a large city, and because he relied for safety on his doing the inhabitants no wrong, but rather treating them with kindness and humanity, he unawares came into the power of the enemy; for they admitted Jugurtha into their city. Still, they did Turpilius no harm, but obtained his release and sent him away safe and sound. Accordingly, a charge of treachery was brought against him; and Marius, who was a member of the council which tried the case,
αὐτὸς τέ οἱ πικρὸς ἢ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων παράξυνε
toὺς πλείστους, ὥστε ἄκουτα τὸν Μέτελλον
ἐκβιασθῆναι καὶ καταψηφίσασθαι θάνατον τοῦ
ἀνθρώπου. μετ’ ὁλίγον δὲ τῆς αἰτίας ψευδοῦς
φανείσης, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι συνήθος τῷ Μέτελλῳ
βαρέως φέροντι, Μάριος δὲ χαίρων καὶ ποιούμενος
ἵδιον τὸ ἔργον οὐκ ἃχυνετο λέγειν περιών ὡς
αὐτὸς εἴη προστετριμμένος ἀλάστορα τῷ Μετέλλῳ
ξενοκτόνου.

3 Ἐκ τούτου χαρέρως ἀπηχθάνουσα· καὶ λέγεται
ποτε τοῦ Μαρίου παρόντος οἶλον ἐφύβριζον ὁ
Μέτελλος εἴπειν, "Σὺ δὴ καταλυτὶ ἡμᾶς, ὡ
γενναίε, πλεῖν ἐπ’ οἶκου διανοῇ καὶ παραγγέλ-
λειν ὑπατεῖαν; οὐ γὰρ ἀγαπήσεις, ἀν τῷ μόσφο
παιδὶ
tούτῳ συνυπατεύσῃς;" ἦν δὲ ὁ παῖς τότε τοῦ

4 Μετέλλου παντάπασι μειράκιοι. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα
τοῦ Μαρίου σπουδάζουτος ἀφεθήναι, πολλὰς
ἀναβολὰς ποιησάμενος, ἑτὶ δόδεκα λειτομένων
ἡμερῶν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ὑπάτων ἀνάδειξιν, ἀφήκεν
αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ πολλὴν ἄπο στρατοπέδου τὴν ἐπὶ
θάλασσαν εἰς Ἰτύκην ὀδὸν ἡμέραις δυσὶ καὶ μιὰ
νυκτὶ συνελὼν ἔθνε πρὸ τοῦ πλοῦ. καὶ λέγεται
τὸν μάντιν εἰπείν ὡς ἀπίστους τίνας τὸ μέγεθος
καὶ κρείττονας ἐπίδοσι ἀπάσης εὐπραξίας προ-

5 φαίνοι τῷ Μαρίῳ τῷ δαιμόνιον. ὁ δὲ τούτους
ἐπαρθεὶς ἀνήχθη. καὶ τὸ πέλαγος τεταρταῖος
οὐρίῳ πνεύματι περάζας αὐτίκα τε τῷ δὴμῳ πο-
θεινός ἀφθη, καὶ προαχθεῖς ὑπὸ τινὸς τῶν δημάρ-
χων εἰς τὸ πλῆθος ἐπὶ πολλαῖς κατὰ τοῦ Μετέλ-
λου διαβολαῖς ἤτειτο τὴν ἄρχην, ὑπισχυνούμενος
ἡ κτενεῖν ἢ ξώντα λήψεσθαι τὸν Ἰουγοῦρθαν.
Caius Marius

was himself bitter, and exasperated most of the others against the accused, so that Metellus was reluctantly forced to pass sentence of death upon him. After a short time, however, the charge was found to be false, and almost everybody sympathized with Metellus in his grief; but Marius, full of joy and claiming the condemnation as his own work, was not ashamed to go about saying that he had fastened upon the path of Metellus a daemon who would avenge the murder of a guest-friend.

In consequence of this there was open enmity between the two men; and we are told that on one occasion when Marius was present Metellus said to him as if in mockery: "Dost thou purpose to leave us, my good Sir, and sail for home, and stand for the consulship? Pray will it not satisfy thee to be fellow-consul with this my son?" Now the son of Metellus was at this time a mere stripling. However, Marius was eager to be dismissed, and so, after making many postponements, and when only twelve days remained before the election of consuls, Metellus dismissed him. Marius accomplished the long journey from the camp to Utica and the sea in two days and one night, and offered sacrifice before he sailed. And the seer is said to have told him that the Deity revealed for Marius successes that were of incredible magnitude and beyond his every expectation. Elated by this prophecy he put to sea. In three days he crossed the sea with a favouring wind, and was at once welcomed gladly by the populace, and after being introduced to the assembly by one of the tribunes, he first made many slanderous charges against Metellus, and then asked for the consulship, promising that he would either kill Jugurtha or take him alive.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

IX. 'Αναγορευθεὶς δὲ λαμπρῶς εὐθὺς ἐστρα-
tολόγει, παρὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ τὴν συνήθειαν πολὺν
tὸν ἀποροῦν καὶ φαύλουν ¹ καταγραφῶν, τῶν πρό-
σθεν ἡγεμόνων οὐ προσδεχομένων τοὺς τοιούτους,
ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν καλῶν, τὰ ὅπλα μετὰ
tιμῆς τοῖς ἄξιοις νεμόντων, ἐνέχυρον τὴν οὐσίαν.

2 ἐκάστου τιθέναι δοκοῦντος. οὐ μὴν ταῦτα γε
μάλιστα διέβαλε τὸν Μάριον, ἀλλ’ οἱ λόγοι
θρασεῖς ὑπεροψία καὶ ὑβρεῖ τοὺς πρώτους
ἐλύτουν, σκῦλὸν τε βοῶτος αὐτοῦ τὴν ὑπατείαν
φέρεσθαι τῆς τῶν εὐγενῶν καὶ πλούσιων μαλακίας,
καὶ τραύμασιν οἰκείοις πρὸς τὸν δήμου, οὐ μνήμασι
νεκρῶν οὐδὲ ἀλλοτριάς εἰκόσι νεανιεύσθαι.

3 πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀτυχήσαντας ἐν Διβύθη
στρατηγοῦς, τοῦτο μὲν Βηστίαν, τοῦτο δὲ Ἀλ-
βίνον, ἀνθρώπους οἰκῶν μὲν ἐπιφανῶν, αὐτοὺς δὲ
tύχῃ σφαλέντας, ἀπολέμουσι καὶ δι’ ἀπειρίαν
πταίσαντας ὀνομάζων, ἐπινεφάνετο τῶν παρόντων
eἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνων οἴονται προγόνους αὐτὸς
μᾶλλον ἄν εὐξασθαι παραπλησίους ἐκγόνους ἀπο-
λεῖπειν, ἀτε δὴ μηδὲ αὐτοὺς δὲ εὐγένειαν, ἀλλ’ ὑπ’
ἀρτῆς καὶ καλῶν ἔργων ἐνδόξους γενομένους.

4 ταῦτα δὲ ὁ κενῶς οὐδὲ ἀλαζονικὸς ἐλεγεν οὐδὲ
μάτην ἀπεχθάνεσθαι τοῖς δυνατοῖς βουλόμενος,
ἀλλ’ ὁ δῆμος αὐτοῦ, ἡδομένος τῇ βουλῇ προ-
tηλακιζομένῃ καὶ λόγῳ κόμπῳ μετρῶν ἀεὶ φρο-
νήματος μέγαθος, ἐξεκούφισε, καὶ συνεξώρμα μὴ

¹ φαύλον van Herwerden: δούλον.

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IX. He was triumphantly elected,¹ and at once began to levy troops. Contrary to law and custom he enlisted many a poor and insignificant man, although former commanders had not accepted such persons, but bestowed arms, just as they would any other honour, only on those whose property assessment made them worthy to receive these, each soldier being supposed to put his substance in pledge to the state. It was not this, however, that brought most odium upon Marius, but the boldly insolent and arrogant speeches with which he vexed the nobles, crying out that he had carried off the consulship as spoil from the effeminacy of the rich and well-born, and that he had wounds upon his own person with which to vaunt himself before the people, not monuments of the dead nor likenesses of other men. Often, too, he would mention by name the generals in Africa who had been unsuccessful, now Bestia, and now Albinus, men of illustrious houses indeed, but unfortunate themselves, and unwarlike, who had met with disaster through lack of experience; and he would ask his audience if they did not think that the ancestors of these men would have much preferred to leave descendants like himself, since they themselves had been made illustrious, not by their noble birth, but by their valour and noble deeds. Such talk was not mere empty boasting, nor was his desire to make himself hated by the nobility without purpose; indeed the people, who were delighted to have the senate insulted and always measured the greatness of a man's spirit by the boastfulness of his speech, encouraged him, and incited him not to spare

¹ For the year 107 B.C., at the age of fifty.
φείδεσθαι τῶν ἀξιολόγων, χαριζόμενον τοῖς πολλοῖς.

X. Ὡς δὲ διέπλευσεν εἰς Διβύνην, Μέτελλος μὲν ἦττων τοῦ φθόνον γενόμενος, καὶ περιπαθῶν ὅτι, κατεργασμένου τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῦ καὶ μηδὲν ὑπόλοιπον ἢ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰουνγούρθα λαβεῖν ἐχοντος, ἤκει Μάριος ἐπὶ τὸν στέφανον καὶ τὸν θρίαμβον, εἴ τις πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀχαριστίας ἡξημένους, οὐκ υπέμεινεν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ συνελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπεξεχωρήσε, Ρουτίλιος δὲ τὸ στρατευμα τῷ Μαρίῳ παρέδωκε, προσβενὴς γεγονὼς τοῦ Μέτελλου. καὶ περιῆλθε τῆς νέμεσις ἐν τῷ τέλει τῶν πράξεων Μάριον. ἀφηρέθη γὰρ ὑπὸ Σύλλα τὴν τοῦ κατορθώματος δόξαν, ὡς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου Μέτελλος. διὸ τρόπων δὲ, ἀφηγήσομαι βραχέως, ἐπεῖ τὰ καθ’ ἕκαστον μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς περὶ Σύλλα γέγραπται.

Βόκχως ὁ τῶν ἀνώ βαρβάρων Βασίλευς ὁ πενθερὸς Ἰουνγούρθα, καὶ πολεμοῦντι μὲν οὐ πάνυ τι συναλμμένοι ἔδοκει, προβαλλόμενοι αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀπιστίαν, καὶ τὴν αὐξησιν δεδοικώς. ἐπεὶ δὲ φεύγων καὶ πλανώμενος ἐκεῖνον ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης ἔθετο τῶν ἐλπίδων τελευταῖον καὶ κατήρε πρὸς αὐτὸν, αἰσχυνὶ μᾶλλον ὡς ἰκέτην ἢ δὲ εὔνοιαν ὑποδεξάμενοι διὰ χειρὸς εἰχε, φαινεροὶ μὲν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ παραιτούμενοι Μάριον καὶ γράφων ὡς ὦκ ἀν ἐκδοθη καὶ παρρησιαζόμενος, κρύφα δὲ βουλεύων προδοσίαν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ, καὶ μεταπεμπόμενος Δεύκιον Σύλλαν, ταμίαν μὲν ὄντα Μαρίον, χρήσιμον δὲ τῷ Βόκχῳ γεγενημένον ἐπὶ στρατείας. ὅς δὲ πιστεύεσα ἄνεβη πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Σύλλας,
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men of high repute if he wished to please the multitude.

X. When he had crossed to Africa, Metellus, now become a victim of jealousy, and vexed because, after he had brought the war to an end and had nothing further to do except to seize the person of Jugurtha, Marius was coming to enjoy the crown and the triumph,—a man whose ingratitude towards his benefactor had raised him to power,—would not consent to meet him, but privately left the country while Rutilius, who had become his legate, handed over the army to Marius. And in the end a retribution fell upon Marius; for Sulla robbed him of the glory of his success, as Marius had robbed Metellus. How this came to pass, I will narrate briefly, since the details are given more at length in my Life of Sulla.¹

Bocchus, the king of the Barbarians in the interior, was a son-in-law of Jugurtha, and apparently gave him little or no assistance in his war, alleging his faithlessness as an excuse, and fearing the growth of his power. But when Jugurtha in his flight and wandering felt compelled to make him his last hope and sought haven with him, Bocchus received him, more out of regard for his position as a suppliant than from goodwill, and kept him in his hands. So far as his open acts were concerned, Bocchus entreated Marius in behalf of his father-in-law, writing that he would not give him up and assuming a bold tone; but secretly he planned to betray him, and sent for Lucius Sulla, who was quaestor for Marius and had been of some service to Bocchus during the campaign. But when Sulla had come to him in all confidence,

¹ Chapter iii.
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εσχε μὲν τις τροπή γυνώμης καὶ μετάνοια τὸν βάρβαρον, ἡμέρας τε συγχάς δεινέχθη τῷ λογισμῷ, βουλευόμενος ή παραδοῦναι τὸν Ἰουγούρθαν ἢ μηδὲ τὸν Σύλλαν ἀφεῖναι τέλος δὲ τὴν προτέραν κυρώσας προδοσίαν, ἐνεχείρησε τῷ Σύλλα ξώντα τὸν Ἰουγούρθαν.

5 Καὶ τὸντο πρώτον ὑπήρξεν αὐτοῖς σπέρμα τῆς ἀνηκέστου καὶ χαλεπῆς ἐκείνης στάσεως, ἡ μικροῦ ἐδέχεσθαι τὴν Ρώμην. πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐβούλοντο τοῦ Σύλλα τὸ ἔργον εἶναι τῷ Μαρίῳ φθονοῦντες, αὐτὸς τε Σύλλας σφαγίδα ποιησάμενος ἐφορεῖ γλυφῆν ἐχουσαν ἐγχειριζόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Βόκχου τὸν Ἰουγούρθαν ἐαυτῷ. καὶ ταύτη χρώμενος αἰὲ διετελεῖ φιλότιμον ἀνδρα καὶ πρὸς κοινωνίαν δόξης ἀγνώμονα καὶ δύσερην ἐρεθίζων τὸν Μάριον, ἐναγόντων μάλιστα τῶν ἑχθρῶν τῶν ἐκείνου, καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τοῦ πολέμου καὶ μέγιστα τῷ Μετέλλῳ, τὰ δ’ ἐσχατὰ καὶ τὸ πέρας αὐτοῦ Σύλλα προστιθέντων, ὡς παύσαιτο θαυμάζων καὶ προσέχων ἐκείνῳ μάλιστα πάντων ὁ δήμος.

XI. Ταχὺ μέντοι τῶν φθόνον τούτον καὶ τὰ μῦθο καὶ τὰς διαβολὰς ἀπεσκέδασε τοῦ Μαρίου καὶ μετέστησεν ὁ κατασχὼν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας κύδνυσοι, ἀμα τῷ πρῶτον ἐν χρείᾳ μεγάλου στρατηγοῦ γενέσθαι καὶ περισκέψασθαι τὴν πόλιν ὁ χρωμένη κυβερνήτη διαφεύγεται κλύδων πολέμου τοσοῦτον, οὐδενός ἀνασχόμενος τῶν ἀπὸ γένους μεγάλων ἢ πλουσίων οἴκων ἐπὶ τὰς ὑπατικὰς κατόντων ἀρχαιοειδὰς, ἀλλ’ ἀπόντα τὸν 2 Μάριον ἀναγορευσάντων. ἄρτι γὰρ ἀπηγγελμένης αὐτοῖς τῇ Ἰουγούρθᾳ συλλήψεως αἱ περὶ Τευ-486
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the Barbarian experienced a change of heart and felt repentant, and for many days wavered in his plans, deliberating whether to surrender Jugurtha or to hold Sulla also a prisoner. Finally however, he decided upon his first plan of treachery, and put Jugurtha alive into the hands of Sulla.

This was the first seed of that bitter and incurable hatred between Marius and Sulla, which nearly brought Rome to ruin. For many wished Sulla to have the glory of the affair because they hated Marius, and Sulla himself had a seal-ring made, which he used to wear, on which was engraved the surrender of Jugurtha to him by Bocchus. By constantly using this ring Sulla provoked Marius, who was an ambitious man, loath to share his glory with another, and quarrelsome. And the enemies of Marius gave Sulla most encouragement, by attributing the first and greatest successes of the war to Metellus, but the last, and the termination of it, to Sulla, that so the people might cease admiring Marius and giving him their chief allegiance.

XI. Soon, however, all this envy and hatred and slander of Marius was removed and dissipated by the peril which threatened Italy from the west, as soon as the state felt the need of a great general and looked about for a helmsman whom she might employ to save her from so great a deluge of war. Then the people would have nothing to do with anyone of high birth or of a wealthy house who offered himself at the consular elections, but proclaimed Marius consul\(^1\) in spite of his absence from the city. For no sooner had word been brought to the people of the capture of Jugurtha than the

\(^1\) For the year 104 B.C.
τόνων καὶ Κίμβρων φήματι προσέπιπττόν, ἀπιστίαν 
μὲν ἐν ἀρχῇ παρασχούσαι πλήθους τε καὶ ρώμης 
tῶν ἑπερχομένων στρατῶν, ὡστερον δὲ τῆς ἀλη-
θείας ὑποδεέστερα φανεῖσαι. μυριάδες μὲν γὰρ 
αἱ μάχαι τριάκοντα σὺν ὀπλοῖς ἔχοντες, ὃρλοι 
dὲ παῖδων καὶ γυναικῶν ἑλέγοντο πολλῷ πλείους 
συμπεριώγεσθαι, γῆς χρήζοντες ἢ θρέψει τοσοῦ-
tου πλῆθος, καὶ πόλεων ἐν αἷς ἰδρυθέντες βιῶσον-
tαι, καθάπερ πρὸ αὐτῶν ἐπυνθάνοντο Κελτῶν 
τῆς Ἰταλίας τὴν ἀρίστην κατασχεῖν Τυρρηνῶν 
3 ἀφελομένους. αὐτοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἀμεξία τῇ πρὸς 
adέρους, μὴκε τε χώρας ἢν ἐπῆλθον, ἡγισώντο, 
tίνες δὲ τες ἀνθρώπων ἢ πόθεν ὀρμηθέντες ὁσπὲρ 
vέφος ἐμπέσοιεν Γαλατία καὶ Ἰταλία. καὶ μάλιστα 
mὲν εἰκάζοντο Γερμανικὰ γένη τῶν καθηκόντων ἐπὶ 
tῶν βόρειων ὠκεανῶν εἶναι τοῖς μεγέθεσι τῶν 
σωμάτων καὶ τῇ χαροπότητι τῶν ἀμμάτων, καὶ ὅτι 
Κίμβρων ἐπονομάζουσι Γερμανοὶ τοὺς ληστάς.
4 Εἰςδὲ δὲ οὗ τὴν Κελτικὴν διὰ βάθος χώρας καὶ 
mέγεθος ἀπὸ τῆς ἑξῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τῶν ὑπαρκτῶν 
κλιμάτων πρὸς ἡλιον ἀνίσχοντα κατὰ τὴν 
Μαιώτων ἐπιστρέφουσαν ἀπτεσθαί τῆς Ποντικῆς 
Σκυθίας λέγοντι, κἀκεῖθεν τὰ γένη μεμίχθαι. 
tούτους ἔξαρσάντας οὐκ ἐκ μᾶς ὀρμῆς οὐδὲ 
συνεχῶς, ἀλλὰ ἔτους ὀρὰ καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἐνιαυτὸν 
eῖς τούμπροσθεν ἀεὶ χωροῦντας πολέμῳ χρόνον 
5 πολλοῖς ἐπελθεῖν τὴν ἡπειρον. διὸ καὶ πολλὰς 
kατὰ μέρος ἐπικλήσεις ἐχόντων κοινῇ Κελτοσκύ-
θας τὸν στρατὸν ἀνόμαζον.

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reports about the Teutones and Cimbri fell upon their ears. What these reports said about the numbers and strength of the invading hosts was disbelieved at first, but afterwards it was found to be short of the truth. For three hundred thousand armed fighting men were advancing, and much larger hordes of women and children were said to accompany them, in quest of land to support so vast a multitude, and of cities in which to settle and live, just as the Gauls before them, as they learned, had wrested the best part of Italy from the Tyrrhenians and now occupied it. They themselves, indeed, had not had intercourse with other peoples, and had traversed a great stretch of country, so that it could not be ascertained what people it was nor whence they had set out, thus to descend upon Gaul and Italy like a cloud. The most prevalent conjecture was that they were some of the German peoples which extended as far as the northern ocean, a conjecture based on their great stature, their light-blue eyes, and the fact that the Germans call robbers Cimbri.

But there are some who say that Gaul was wide and large enough to reach from the outer sea and the subarctic regions to the Maeotic Lake on the east, where it bordered on Pontic Scythia, and that from that point on Gauls and Scythians were mingled. These mixed Gauls and Scythians had left their homes and moved westward, not in a single march, nor even continuously, but with each recurring spring they had gone forward, fighting their way, and in the course of time had crossed the continent. Therefore, while they had many names for different detachments, they called their whole army by the general name of Galloscythians.
"Ἀλλοι δὲ φασὶ Κιμμερίων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ύφ᾽ Ἑλλήνων τῶν πάλαι γνωσθὲν οὐ μέγα γενέσθαι τοῦ παντὸς μόριον, ἀλλὰ φυγὴν ἣ στάσιν τινὰ βιασθεῖσαν ὑπὸ Σκυθῶν εἰς Ἀσίαν ἀπὸ τῆς Μαιώτιδος διαπερᾶσαι Δυνάμιος ἤγουμένου, τὸ δὲ πλείστων αὐτῶν καὶ μαχιμώτατον ἐπ᾽ ἐσχάτοις οἰκοῦν παρὰ τὴν ἔξω θάλασσαν γῆν μὲν νέμεσθαι σύκιον καὶ ὑλώδη καὶ δυσήλιον πάντῃ διὰ βάθος 6 καὶ πυκνότητα ὄρυμών, οὐς μέχρι τῶν Ἐρυκνίων εἰσω διήκειν, οὐρανὸν δὲ εἰληχέναι καθ᾽ ὁ δοκεῖ μέγα λαμβάνων ὁ πόλος ἐξαρμα διὰ τὴν ἐγκλωσιν τῶν παραλλήλων ὄλγου ἀπολείπεν τοῦ κατὰ κορυφὴν ἱσταμένου σημείου πρὸς τὴν οἰκησίν, αἱ τε ἡμέραι βραχύτητι καὶ μὴκει πρὸς τὰς νύκτας ἱσαι κατανεμεῖσθαι τὸν χρόνον διὸ καὶ τὴν εὐπορίαν τοῦ μυθεύματος Ὀμήρῳ γενέσθαι πρὸς τὴν νεκύιν. ἦνθεν οὖν τὴν ἐφόδου εἶναι τῶν βαρ-βάρων τούτων ἐπὶ τὴν Ἡπείρον, Κιμμερίων μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, τότε δὲ Κίμμης ὑπὸ ἄμεσον προσα-γορομένων. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν εἰκασμῷ μᾶλλον 412 ἢ κατὰ βέβαιαν ἱστορίαν λέγεται.

7 Τὸ δὲ πλῆθος οὐκ ἠλαττοῦ, ἀλλὰ πλέον εἶναι τοῦ λεγέντος ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἱστορηταί. θυμὸν δὲ καὶ τὸλμαν ἀνυπόστατοι καὶ χειρῶν ἔργα παρὰ τὰς μάχας δεξιότητι καὶ βία τυρώς ἐνικότες ἐπῆ-σαι, οὐδενός ἀντέχοντος αὐτῶν πρὸς τὴν ἐφόδου, ἀλλὰ πάντων μὲν, ὅσους ἐπηλθοῦν, ἐν λόγῳ λείας ἀγομένων καὶ φερομένων, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ μεγάλων Ἡρωμαϊκῶν στρατοπέδων καὶ στρατηγῶν, ὅσοι προεκάθησαν τῆς ἐκτὸς Ἀλπέων Γαλατίας, ἀνηρ- 9 πασμένων ἁκλεως· οἱ καὶ μάλιστα τὴν φορὰν

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Others, however, say that the Cimmerians who were first known to the ancient Greeks were not a large part of the entire people, but merely a body of exiles or a faction which was driven away by the Scythians and passed from the Maeotic Lake into Asia under the lead of Lygdamis; whereas the largest and most warlike part of the people dwelt at the confines of the earth along the outer sea, occupying a land that is shaded, wooded, and wholly sunless by reason of the height and thickness of the trees, which reach inland as far as the Hercynii; and as regards the heavens, they are under that portion of them where the pole gets a great elevation by reason of the declination of the parallels, and appears to have a position not far removed from the spectator's zenith, and a day and a night divide the year into two equal parts; which was of advantage to Homer in his story of Odysseus consulting the shades of the dead.¹ From these regions, then, these Barbarians sallied forth against Italy, being called at first Cimmerians, and then, not inappropriately, Cimbri. But all this is based on conjecture rather than on sure historical evidence.

Their numbers, however, are given by many writers as not less, but more, than the figure mentioned above. Moreover, their courage and daring made them irresistible, and when they engaged in battle they came on with the swiftness and force of fire, so that no one could withstand their onset, but all who came in their way became their prey and booty, and even many large Roman armies, with their commanders, who had been stationed to protect Transalpine Gaul, were destroyed ingloriously; indeed,

¹ Odyssey, Book XI. See vv. 14 ff., describing the Cimmerians.
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αὐτῶν κακῶς ἀγωνισάμενοι κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμης ἐπεσπάσαντο. νυκτισάντες γὰρ οἷς ἐνέτυχον, καὶ χρημάτων πολλῶν κρατήσαντες, ἔγνωσαν μηδαμοῦ γῆς ἐαυτοὺς ἱδρύειν, πρὶν ἀνατρέψωσι τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ διαπορθήσωσι τὴν Ἰταλίαν.

XII. Ταῦτα Ῥωμαιοὶ πυθανόμενοι πολλαχῶθεν, ἐκάλουν Μάριον ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν. καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ὑπάτου ἀπεδείχθη, τοῦ μὲν νόμου κωλύοντος ἀπόντα καὶ μὴ διαλιπόντα χρόνου ὁρισμένον ἀὕθες αἱρεῖσθαι, τοῦ δὲ δήμου τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας ἐκβαλόντος. ἤγοντο γὰρ οὔτε νῦν πρῶτον εἶξειν τῷ συμφέροντι τοῦ νόμου, οὔτε ἀλογωτέραν εἶναι τὴν παροῦσαν αἰτίαν ἐκείνης δι' ἣν τὸν Σκηπτίωνα παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ὑπατον ἀπεδείξαν, οὐ φοβοῦμενοι τὴν ἐαυτῶν ἀποβαλεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὴν Καρχηδονίων ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἀνελεῖν.

2 ταῦτα ἐδοξεῖ καὶ Μάριος ἐκ Λιβύης μετὰ τοῦ στρατεύματος διακομισθεὶς αὐτάς Καλάνδαις Ἰανουαρίας, ἴπτὸ τοὺς ἀρχὴν ἄγουσι Ῥωμαιοί, τὴν τε ὑπατεῖαν ἀνέλαβε καὶ τὸν θράμβου εἰσήλασεν, ἀπιστοῦ ἐπιδειξάμενος θέαμα Ῥωμαιοῖς Ἰουγούρθαν αἰχμαλωτοῦν, οὐ ξόντος οὐδ' ἂν εἰς ἡπιστε πολεμίων κρατήσαι· οὔτω τοῖς ἦν ποικίλοις ἀνὴρ τῆς ἡμέρᾳς ὁμίλησαι καὶ πανοργία πολλή 3 μεμυγμένον ἔχων τὸ θυμοειδές. ἀλλ' ἐξέστη γε

1 See chapter xi. 1. Marius was still in Africa.

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by their feeble resistance they were mainly instrumental in drawing the on-rushing Barbarians down upon Rome. For when the invaders had conquered those who opposed them, and had got abundance of booty, they determined not to settle themselves anywhere until they had destroyed Rome and ravaged Italy.

XII. Learning of these things from many quarters, the Romans summoned Marius to the command. And he was appointed consul for the second time,\(^1\) although the law forbade that a man in his absence and before the lapse of a specified time should be elected again; still, the people would not listen to those who opposed the election. For they considered that this would not be the first time that the law had given way before the demands of the general good, and that the present occasion demanded it no less imperatively than when they had made Scipio consul contrary to the laws,\(^2\) although at that time they were not fearful of losing their own city, but desirous of destroying that of the Carthaginians. This course was adopted, Marius came across the sea from Africa with his army, and on the very Calends of January, which with the Romans is the first day of the year, assumed the consulship and celebrated his triumph, exhibiting to the Romans Jugurtha in chains. This was a sight which they had despaired of beholding, nor could any one have expected, while Jugurtha was alive, to conquer the enemy; so versatile was he in adapting himself to the turns of fortune, and so great craft did he combine with his courage. But we are told that when he had

\(^2\) In 147 B.C., when Scipio had not reached the age required by law.
πομπευθεῖς, ὡς λέγουσι, τότε τοῦ φρονεῖν· καὶ μετὰ τὸν θριάμβον εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἐμπεσῶν, ὡς οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ βία περιέρρησαν τῶν χιτωνίσκων, οἱ δὲ σπεύδουσε ἀφελέσθαι βία τὸ χρυσοῦν ἐλλόβιον ἀμα τὸν λοβὸν συναπέρρησαν, ὡσθεὶς δὲ γυμνὸς εἰς τὸ βάραθρον κατεβλήθη, μεστὸς ὁν ταραχῆς καὶ διασεσηρῶς, "Ἡράκλεις," εἶπεν,
4 "ὡς ψυχρὸν ὑμῶν τὸ βαλανεῖον." ἀλλὰ τοῦτον μὲν ἐξ ἡμέραις ζυγομαχήσαντα τῷ λιμῷ καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἐσχάτης ὁρᾶς ἐκκερμασθέντα τῆς τοῦ ζην ἐπιθυμίας εἶχεν ἄξια δίκη τῶν ἀσθενμάτων.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ θριάμβῳ κομισθήναι λέγουσι χρυσοῦ μὲν ἐπτὰ καὶ τρισχιλίας λίτρας, ἀργύρῳ δὲ ἀσήμου πεντακισχιλίας ἐπτακοσίας ἐβδομήκοντα πέντε, νομίσματος δὲ δραχμᾶς ἐπτακισχιλίας ἐπὶ μυρίαν ὀκτώ καὶ εἰκοσι.

5 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν πομπὴν ὁ Μάριος σύγκλητον ἡθροισεν ἐν Καπετωλίῳ καὶ παρῆλθε μὲν εἰτε λαθὼς αὐτὸν εἰτε τῇ τύχῃ χρώμενος ἀγροκότερον ἐν τῇ θριαμβικῇ κατασκευῇ, ταχύ δὲ τὴν βουλὴν ἀχθεσθείσαν αἰσθόμενος ἐξελέστη καὶ μεταλαβὼν τὴν περιπόρφυρον αὕθις ἠλθεν.

Χ. Εν δὲ τῇ στρατείᾳ τὴν δύναμιν διεπόνει καθ' ὄδον ἐξασκῶν δρόμοις τε παντοδαποῖς καὶ μακραῖς ὁδοιπορίαις, εαυτῷ δὲ ἀχθοφορεών ἀναγκαζόν καὶ αὐτούργειν τὰ πρὸς τὴν διαίτην, ὅστε καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τοὺς φιλοσόφους καὶ σιωπῆ μετ' εὐκολίας τὰ προστασσόμενα ποιοῦντας ἡμῖνος Μαριανοῦ καλείσθαι. καὶ τοις τινές αὐτίναν ἔτέραν
2 τοῦ λόγου τοῦτον νομίζουσι. Σκεπτίωνος γὰρ, ὃτε Νομαντιῶν ἐπολιόρκηι, βουληθέντος ἐπιδειν μὴ
been led in triumph he lost his reason; and that when, after the triumph, he was cast into prison, where some tore his tunic from his body, and others were so eager to snatch away his golden ear-ring that they tore off with it the lobe of his ear, and when he had been thrust down naked into the dungeon pit, in utter bewilderment and with a grin on his lips he said: "Hercules! How cold this Roman bath is!" But the wretch, after struggling with hunger for six days and up to the last moment clinging to the desire of life, paid the penalty which his crimes deserved.

In the triumphal procession there were carried, we are told, three thousand and seven pounds of gold, of uncoined silver five thousand seven hundred and seventy-five, and in coined money two hundred and eighty-seven thousand drachmas.

After the procession was over, Marius called the senate into session on the Capitol, and made his entry, either through inadvertence or with a vulgar display of his good fortune, in his triumphal robes; but perceiving quickly that the senators were offended at this, he rose and went out, changed to the usual robe with purple border, and then came back.

XIII. Setting out on the expedition, he laboured to perfect his army as it went along, practising the men in all kinds of running and in long marches, and compelling them to carry their own baggage and to prepare their own food. Hence, in after times, men who were fond of toil and did whatever was enjoined upon them contentedly and without a murmur, were called Marian mules. Some, however, think that this name had a different origin. Namely, when Scipio was besieging Numantia,¹ he wished to inspect

¹ Cf. chapter iii. 2.
μόνον τὰ ὅπλα μηδὲ τοὺς ἦππους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ὀρεῖς καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας, ὅπως ἐκάστοις ἐξηρευνήθησαν καὶ παρασκευασμένα τυγχάνοι, προσαγαγεῖν τὸν Μάριον ἦππον τε καλλίστα τεθραμμένον ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἥμισον εὐθέα καὶ πράσσεσυ καὶ ῥώμη διαφέροντα πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων· ἵσθεντος οὖν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τοῖς τοῦ Μαρίου θρέμμασι καὶ πολλάκις αὐτῶν μνησθέντος, οὕτως ἄρα τοὺς σκώπτοντας ἐν ἑπαίνῳ τὸν ἐνδελεχὴ καὶ τλήμονα καὶ φιλόπονον Μαριανὸν ἥμισον προσαγορεύειν.

XIV. Εὐτύχισμα δὲ δοκεῖ τῷ Μαρίῳ μέγα γενέσθαι. τῶν γὰρ βαρβάρων ὢσπερ τινὰ παλύρωσιν τῆς ὀρμῆς λαβόντων καὶ ῥυντῶν πρὸτερον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, χρόνον ἐσχε καὶ τὰ σώματα γυμνάσαι τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὰ φρουήματα πρὸς τὸ θάρρειν ἀναρρώσαι, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, αὐτὸς οἷος ἦν 2 κατανοηθήναι. τὸ γὰρ ἐν ἀρχῇ σκυθρωπὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ τὰς τιμωρίας δυσμελικτὸν ἑυσθείσι μηδὲν ἀμαρτάνειν μηδὲ ὑπειθεῖν ἀμα τῶν δικαίων σωτηρίων ἐφαίνετο, τὴν τε τοῦ θυμοῦ σφοδρότητα καὶ τὸ τραχὺ τῆς φωνῆς καὶ ἀγριωπὸν τοῦ προσώπου συντρεφόμενον κατὰ μικρόν ὤν ἀυτὸς ἐνόμιζον εἶναι φοβερὸν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πολεμίους. 3 μάλιστα δὲ ἦ περὶ τὰς κρίσεις ὀρθότης αὐτοῦ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἤρεσκεν· ἦς καὶ τοιὸν δεῖ δείγμα λέγεται.

Γαῖος Δούσιος ἀδελφιδοὺς αὐτοῦ τεταγμένος ἐφ’ ἡγεμονίας ἐστρατεύετο, τἀλλα μὲν ἀνήρ οὐ δοκῶν εἶναι πονηρός, ἦττων δὲ μειρακίων καλῶν. οὕτως ἦρα νεανίσκου τῶν ὑφ’ αὐτῷ στρατευομένων,
not only the arms and the horses, but also the mules and the waggons, that every man might have them in readiness and good order. Marius, accordingly, brought out for inspection both a horse that had been most excellently taken care of by him, and a mule that for health, docility, and strength far surpassed all the rest. The commanding officer was naturally well pleased with the beasts of Marius and often spoke about them, so that in time those who wanted to bestow facetious praise on a persevering, patient, laborious man would call him a Marian mule.

XIV. And now, as it would seem, a great piece of good fortune befell Marius. For the Barbarians had a reflux, as it were, in their course, and streamed first into Spain. This gave Marius time to exercise the bodies of his men, to raise their spirits to a sturdier courage, and, what was most important of all, to let them find out what sort of a man he was. For his sternness in the exercise of authority and his inflexibility in the infliction of punishment appeared to them, when they became accustomed to obedience and good behaviour, salutary as well as just, and they regarded the fierceness of his temper, the harshness of his voice, and that ferocity of his countenance which gradually became familiar, as fearful to their enemies rather than to themselves. But it was above all things the uprightness of his judicial decisions that pleased the soldiers; and of this the following illustration is given.

Caius Lusius, a nephew of his, had a command under him in the army. In other respects he was a man of good reputation, but he had a weakness for beautiful youths. This officer was enamoured of one of the young men who served under him, by name
δύομα Τρεβώνιον, καὶ πολλάκις πειρῶν οὐκ
4 ἔτυγχανε· τέλος δὲ νῦκτωρ ὑπηρέτην ἀποστείλας
μετεπέμπτε τὸν Τρεβώνιον· ὁ δὲ νεανίας ἦκε
μὲν, ἀντειτεῖν γάρ οὖν ἐξῆν καλούμενον, εἰσαχ-
θείς δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν σκηνὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιχειροῦντα
βιάζεσθαι σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος ἀπέκτεινε. ταύτα
ἐπράξκη τοῦ Μάριου μὴ παρόντος· ἐπανέλθων
5 δὲ προῦθηκε τῷ Τρεβώνιῳ κρίσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλῶν
κατηγοροῦντων, οὔδενὸς δὲ συνηγοροῦντος, αὐτὸς
ἐυθαρσῶς καταστὰς διηγήσατο τὸ πράγμα καὶ
μάρτυρας ἔσχεν ὅτι πειρῶντι πολλάκις ἀντείτηε
τῷ Λουσίῳ καὶ μεγάλων διδομένων ἐπ' οὔδενὶ
προῆκατο τὸ σῶμα, θαυμάσας ὁ Μάριος καὶ
ἡσθεὶς ἐκέλευσε τὸν πάτριον ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀριστείαις
στέφανον κομισθῆναι, καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὸς ἐστεφά-
νωσε τὸν Τρεβώνιον ὡς κάλλιστον ἔργον ἐν θαρῇ
παραδειγμάτων δεομένω καλῶν ἀποδεενμένων.
6 Τούτῳ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπαγγέλθην οὐχ ἦκιστα
τῷ Μάριῳ συνέπραξε τὴν τρίτην ὑπαιτείαν· ἀμα
δὲ καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἔτους ἀρα προσδοκίμων
ὅτων ἐβούλουντο μετὰ μηδενὸς ἄλλου στρατηγοῦ
κινδυνεύσαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς. οὐ μὴν ἦκον ὡς προσ-
εδοκῶντο ταχέως, ἀλλὰ πάλιν διήλθε τῷ Μάριῳ
7 ὁ τῆς ὑπαιτείας χρόνος. ἐνισταμένων δὲ τῶν ἄρ-
χαιρεσίων καὶ τοῦ συνάρχοντος αὐτοῦ τελευτή-
σαντος, ἀπολιπὼν ἐπὶ τῶν δυνάμεων Μάνιον
Ἀκύλλιον αὐτὸς ἦκεν εἰς Ῥώμην. μετιόντων δὲ
πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν τήν ὑπαιτείαν, Λούκιος
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Trebonius, and had often made unsuccessful attempts to seduce him. But finally, at night, he sent a servant with a summons for Trebonius. The young man came, since he could not refuse to obey a summons, but when he had been introduced into the tent and Caius attempted violence upon him, he drew his sword and slew him. Marius was not with the army when this happened; but on his return he brought Trebonius to trial. Here there were many accusers, but not a single advocate, wherefore Trebonius himself courageously took the stand and told all about the matter, bringing witnesses to show that he had often refused the solicitations of Lusius and that in spite of large offers he had never prostituted himself to anyone. Then Marius, filled with delight and admiration, ordered the customary crown for brave exploits to be brought, and with his own hands placed it on the head of Trebonius, declaring that at a time which called for noble examples he had displayed most noble conduct.

Tidings of this were brought to Rome and helped in no small degree to secure for Marius his third consulship; at the same time, too, the Barbarians were expected in the spring, and the Romans were unwilling to risk battle with them under any other general. However, the Barbarians did not come as soon as they were expected, and once more the period of Marius's consulship expired. As the consular elections were at hand, and as his colleague in the office had died, Marius left Manius Aquillius in charge of the forces and came himself to Rome. Here many men of great merit were candidates for the consulship, but Lucius Saturninus, who had more

1 For the year 103 B.C.
ΠΛΥΤΟΡΝΗΣ' LIVES

Σατορνίνος ο μάλιστα των δημάρχων άγων το πλήθος, ύπο του Μαρίου τεθεραπευμένος ἐδη-μηγόρει, κελεύων ἐκείνων ὑπατον αἰρείσθαι. θρυμπομένου δὲ τοῦ Μαρίου καὶ παρατείσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν φάσκοντος ὡς δὴ μὴ δειμένου, προ-δότην αὐτῶν ὁ Σατορνίνος ἀπεκάλει τῆς πατρίδος

8 ἐν κινδύνῳ τοσούτῳ φεύγοντα τὸ στρατηγεῖν. καὶ φανερὸς μὲν ἢ ἀπιθάνως συνυποκρινόμενος τὸ προσπόμημα τῷ Μαρίῳ, τὸν δὲ καίρου ὅρατος οἱ πολλοὶ τῆς ἐκείνου δεινοτητος ἀμα καὶ τύχης δεόμενον ἐφηφίσαντο τὴν τετάρτην ὑπατείαν, καὶ συνάρχοντα Κάτλον αὐτῷ Δουτάτιον κατέστησαν, ἀνδρα καὶ τιμώμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἄριστων καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς οὐκ ἐπαχθή.

XV. Πυθανόμενος δὲ τοὺς πολέμους ὁ Μάριος ἐγγὺς εἶναι διὰ ταχέων ὑπερέβαλε τὰς Ἀλπεῖς καὶ τεχίσας στρατόπεδον παρὰ τῷ Ροδανῷ ποταμῷ συνήγερε εἰς αὐτὸ χορηγίαν ἀφθονον, ὡς μηδέποτε παρὰ τὸν τοῦ συμφέροντος λογισμὸν ἐκβιασθεὶς δὲ ἐνδειαὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων εἰς μάχην

2 καταστήματι. τὴν δὲ κομβήν ὅλω ἐδείκτι τῷ στρατεύματι μακρὰν καὶ πολυτελὴ πρότερον οὕσαν πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν, αὐτός εἰργάσατο ῥαδίαν καὶ ταχεῖαν, τὰ γὰρ στόματα τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ, πρὸς τὰς ἀνακόπας τῆς θαλάττης, ἱλύν τε πολλήν λαμβάνοντα καὶ θίνα πηλῆ βαθεὶ συμπεπιλημένην ὑπὸ τοῦ κλῦνος, χαλεπῶν καὶ ἐπίτοπων καὶ βραδύπορον τοῖς οἰκογενεῖς ἐποίει τὸν ἐισπλοῦν.

3 ο δὲ τρέψας ἐνταῦθα τὸν στρατὸν σχολάζοντα τάφρον μεγάλην ἐνέβαλε, καὶ ταύτῃ πολὺ μέρος τοῦ ποταμοῦ μεταστήσας περιήγαγεν εἰς ἐπιτή-

1 ἴδει Κοραῖος, Μέρκερ, καὶ Ζίγελερ, after Reiske; ἰδεῖτο.

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influence with the people than any other tribune, was won over by the flattering attentions of Marius, and in his harangues urged the people to elect Marius consul. Marius affected to decline the office and declared that he did not want it, but Saturninus called him a traitor to his country for refusing to command her armies at a time of so great peril. Now, it was clear that Saturninus was playing his part at the instigation of Marius, and playing it badly, too, but the multitude, seeing that the occasion required the ability as well as the good fortune of Marius, voted for his fourth consulship, and made Catulus Lutatius his colleague, a man who was esteemed by the nobility and not disliked by the common people.

XV. Learning that the enemy were near, Marius rapidly crossed the Alps, and built a fortified camp along the river Rhone. Into this he brought together an abundance of stores, that he might never be forced by lack of provisions to give battle contrary to his better judgment. The conveyance of what was needful for his army, which had previously been a long and costly process where it was by sea, he rendered easy and speedy. That is, the mouths of the Rhone, encountering the sea, took up great quantities of mud and sand packed close with clay by the action of the billows, and made the entrance of the river difficult, laborious, and slow for vessels carrying supplies. So Marius brought his army to the place, since the men had nothing else to do, and ran a great canal. Into this he diverted a great part of the river and brought it round to a suitable place

\footnote{102 B.C.}
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déon aígialón, báthû mèn kai naûi megálalos épo-
chon, leión dé kai áklystou stoîma labyȗsain pròs
tìn thállassan. auth mèn ouû éti ap’ ékeînou
thn epoxumian fylâttee.

4 Tôn dé bárbárov dielóntovn sfâs autouv diá
Kîmbrôi mèn élachon dia Nwrików ánôthev énì
Kátolon choreîn kai tìn párodon ékeînhn biažê-
sthai, Teûtones dé kai ‘Ambrowes diá Legûwov énì

5 Márióv para thálattan. kai Kîmbrôs mèn égîneto
pleiôn h diatribh kai méllesis, Teûtones dé kai
‘Ambrowes árantès eûthûs kai dielóntes tìn en
mèsoi chóran éfainonti pîlêthei te âpeîro kai
dysoptostoi tà eîdh, fôyghonn te kai thôrûbou
ouç êterous òmooi. peribalómevoi dê tou pédiou
mêga mèros1 kai stratupedwûsantês proûka-
loûnto touto Máriou eîs mâchn.

XVI. ‘O dê touûvon mèn ouç eîfrountizev, én dê
 tôi chárake toûs stratwûtas suneîche, kai kathê-
pêteto pîkrôs tòn thrasunomênw, kai toûs pro-
pîptontas âpò thûmûoi kai máxhêthai bouloymênous
prodotás âpêkâleí tîs patrôîdos. ou gàr upèr
thrambôi tûn filotimían einâi kai trpoûwvn,
all’ òpws vérhos tosoûton polêmou kai skhetîn

2 wosâmenvoi diaswôsouni tûn ‘Italían. taûta mèn
îdîa pròs toûs ëgemônas kai toûs òmôtîmous ëlege,
toûs dê stratwûtas upèr tûn chárakos ëstaîs ânâ
mèros kai thêásthai kèleûwv eiðîže tûn mòrfhûn
ânêxhêthai tôn polêmîwv kai tûn ëfooûn ùpoménein

1 mèga mèros Coraës and Bekker, after Reiske: mèga.
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on the coast, a deep bay where large ships could float, and where the water could flow out smoothly and without waves to the sea. This canal, indeed, still bears the name of Marius.¹

The Barbarians divided themselves into two bands, and it fell to the lot of the Cimbri to proceed through Noricum in the interior of the country against Catulus, and force a passage there, while the Teutones and Ambroges were to march through Liguria along the sea-coast against Marius. On the part of the Cimbri there was considerable delay and loss of time, but the Teutones and Ambrones set out at once, passed through the intervening country, and made their appearance before Marius. Their numbers were limitless, they were hideous in their aspect, and their speech and cries were unlike those of other peoples. They covered a large part of the plain, and after pitching their camp challenged Marius to battle.

XVI. Marius, however, paid no heed to them, but kept his soldiers inside their fortifications, bitterly rebuking those who would have made a display of their courage, and calling those whose high spirit made them wish to rush forth and give battle traitors to their country. For it was not, he said, triumphs or trophies that should now be the object of their ambition, but how they might ward off so great a cloud and thunder-bolt of war and secure the safety of Italy. This was his language in private to his officers and equals; but he would station his soldiers on the fortifications by detachments, bidding them to observe the enemy, and in this way accustomed them not to fear their shape or dread their cries,

¹ Cf. Strabo, iv. 8 (p. 183).
ολως ουσαν ἀλλόκοτον καὶ θηριώδη, σκευήν τε καὶ
cίνησιν αυτῶν καταμανθάνειν, ἀμα τῷ χρόνῳ τὰ
φαινόμενα δεινὰ ποιουμένους τῇ διανοίᾳ χειροθήκῃ
diὰ τῆς ὤψεως· ἤγείτο γὰρ πολλὰ μὲν ἐπιψευ-
dεσθαί τῶν οὐ προσόντων τὴν καινότητα τοῖς
φοβεροῖς, ἐν δὲ τῇ συνήθειᾳ καὶ τὰ τῇ φύσει δεινὰ
3 τὴν ἐκπλήξειν ἀποβάλλειν. τῶν δὲ οὐ μόνον ἡ
καθ’ ἡμέραν ὄψις ἀφήρει τι τοῦ θάμβους, ἀλλὰ
καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀπειλὰς τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τῶν
κόμπων ὅπως ἄνεκτον ὀντα θυμός αὐτοῖς παριστά-
μενος ἔξεθέρμανε καὶ διέφλεγε τὰς ψυχὰς, οὐ
μόνον ἀγόντων καὶ φερόντων τὰ πέριε ἄπαντα
τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ χάρακι ποιουμένων
προσβολάς μετὰ πολλῆς ἀσελγείας καὶ θρασύ-
tητος, ὡστε φωνάς καὶ διαγανακτήσεις τῶν
4 στρατιωτῶν πρὸς τὸν Μάριον ἐκφερεσθαί. "Τίνα
dὴ καταγγοὺς ἀνανδρίαν ἡμῶν Μάριος εἰργεῖ
μάχης ὡσπερ γυναῖκας ὑπὸ κλειμέα καὶ θυρωροῖς;
φέρε, παθόντες ἀνδρῶν πάθος ἐλευθέρων ἐρώμεθα
πότερον ἄλλους ἀναμένει μαχουμένους ὑπὲρ τῆς
Ἰταλίας, ἡμῖν δὲ λειτουργοῖς χρήσεται διὰ παν-
tός, ὅταν δέηται τάφροις ὁρύσσειν καὶ πηλῶν
5 ἐκκαθαίρειν καὶ ποταμοὺς τινας παρατρέπειν; ἐπὶ
tαύτα γὰρ, ὡς οὐκεν, ἤσκει τοὺς πολλοῖς πόνοις
ἡμᾶς, καὶ ταύτα τῶν ὑπατείων ἀποδειξάμενος
ἔργα τοῖς πολίταις ἑπάνεισιν. ἡ τὰ Κάρβωνος
αὐτῶν φοβεῖ καὶ Καπίώνος, οὐς ἐνίκησαν οἱ
πολέμιοι, πολὺ μὲν αὐτοὺς τῆς Μαρίου δόξης καὶ
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which were altogether strange and ferocious; and to make themselves acquainted with their equipment and movements, thus in course of time rendering what was only apparently formidable familiar to their minds from observation. For he considered that their novelty falsely imparts to terrifying objects many qualities which they do not possess, but that with familiarity even those things which are really dreadful lose their power to affright. And so in the case of his soldiers, not only did the daily sight of the enemy lessen somewhat their amazement at them, but also, when they heard the threats and the intolerable boasting of the Barbarians, their anger rose and warmed and set on fire their spirits; for the enemy were ravaging and plundering all the country round, and besides, often attacked the Roman fortifications with great temerity and shamelessness, so that indignant speeches of his soldiers reached the ears of Marius. "What cowardice, pray, has Marius discovered in us that he keeps us out of battle like women under lock and key? Come, let us act like freemen and ask him if he is waiting for other soldiers to fight in defence of Italy, and will use us as workmen all the time, whenever there is need of digging ditches and clearing out mud and diverting a river or two. For it was to this end, as it would seem, that he exercised us in those many toils,¹ and these are the achievements of his consulships which he will exhibit to his fellow-citizens on his return to Rome. Or does he fear the fate of Carbo and Caepio, whom the enemy defeated?² But they were far behind Marius in reputation and excellence, and

¹ Cf. chapter xiii. 1.
² Carbo in 113 B.C., Caepio in 105 B.C. See the Dictionary of Proper Names.
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ἀρετῆς ἀποδέοντας, πολὺ δὲ χείρονα στρατὸν ἄγοντας; ἀλλὰ καὶ παθεῖν τι δρόντας, ὡς ἐκείνοι, κάλλιον ἢ καθήσθαι πορθομένων τῶν συμμάχων θεατάς.

XVII. Ταύτ' ἀκούον οἱ Μάριος ᾧδετο, καὶ κατε-πράϊνεν αὐτοῖς ὡς οὐκ ἐκείνοις ἀπιστῶν, ἀλλὰ ἐκ τῶν λογίων τὸν τῆς νίκης ἁμα καιρὸν καὶ τόπον ἐκδεχόμενος. καὶ γὰρ τινα Σύραν γυναίκα, Μάρ-θαν ὄνομα, μαυτεύσθαι λεγομένην ἐν φορείῳ κατακειμένην σεμνῶς περιήγητο, καὶ θυσίας ἔθυεν ἐκείνῃς κελευούσης. ἣν πρότερον μὲν ἀπῆλασεν ἡ σύγκλητος ἐντυχεῖν ὑπὲρ τούτων βουλομένην 2 καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα προθεσπίζουσαν, ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς τὰς γυναίκας εἰσιοῦσα διάπειραν ἐδίδου καὶ μάλι-στα τῇ Μαρίου παρακαθίζουσα παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τῶν μονομάχων ἐπιτυχώς προηγόρευε τὸν μέλ-λοντα νικᾶν, ἀναπεμφθεῖσα πρὸς Μάριον ὑπ’ ἐκείνης ἐθαυμαζέτο. καὶ τὰ πολλὰ μὲν ἐν φορείῳ παρεκομίζετο, πρὸς δὲ τὰς θυσίας κατ' ἑαυτῆς φοι-νικίδα διπλὴν ἐμπεπορτημένη καὶ λόγχην ἀναδε-3 δεμένην ταῦτας καὶ στεφανώμασι φέρουσα. τούτῳ μὲν οὐν τὸ δράμα πολλοῖς ἀμφισβήτησιν παρεῖχεν, εἰτε πεπεισμένοι ὡς ἀληθῶς εἰτε πλαττόμενος καὶ συνυποκρινόμενος ἐπιδείκνυται τὴν ἀνθρώπων.

Τὸ δὲ περὶ τοὺς γυναίκας ἐδαφόματο Ἀξίου Ἀλέ-ξανδρος ο Μύνδιος ἱστορηκε. δύο γὰρ ἐφαίνοντο πρὸ τῶν κατορθωμάτων ἅϊ περὶ τὰς στρατεύσις 506
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led an army that was far inferior to his. Surely it is better to do something, even if we perish as they did, rather than to sit here and enjoy the spectacle of our allies being plundered.”

XVII. Marius was delighted to hear of such expressions, and tried to calm the soldiers down by telling them that he did not distrust them, but in consequence of certain oracles was awaiting a fit time and place for his victory. And indeed he used to carry about ceremoniously in a litter a certain Syrian woman, named Martha, who was said to have the gift of prophecy, and he would make sacrifices at her bidding. She had previously been rejected by the senate when she wished to appear before them with reference to these matters and predicted future events. Then she got audience of the women and gave them proofs of her skill, and particularly the wife of Marius, at whose feet she sat when some gladiators were fighting and successfully foretold which one was going to be victorious. In consequence of this she was sent to Marius by his wife, and was admired by him. As a general thing she was carried along with the army in a litter, but she attended the sacrifices clothed in a double purple robe that was fastened with a clasp, and carrying a spear that was wreathed with fillets and chaplets. Such a performance as this caused many to doubt whether Marius, in exhibiting the woman, really believed in her, or was pretending to do so and merely acted a part with her.

The affair of the vultures, however, which Alexander of Myndus relates, is certainly wonderful. Two vultures were always seen hovering about the armies of Marius before their victories, and accompanied
καὶ πάρηκολούθουν γνωριζόμενοι χαλκοῖς περιδεραίοις· ταῦτα δὲ οἱ στρατιώται συλλαβόντες αὐτούς περιήγαν, εἶτα ἀφίκαν· ἐκ δὲ τούτου γνωρίζοντες ἢσπάζοντο αὐτοὺς οἱ στρατιώται· καὶ φανέρων ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐξόδοις ἔχαρον ὡς ἀγαθὸν τι πράξοντες.

4 Πολλῶν δὲ σημείων προφαινομένων τὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ χαρακτῆρα κοινῶν εἶχεν, ἐκ δὲ Ἀμερίας καὶ Τουδέρτου, πόλεων Ἑταλικῶν, ἀπηγγέλθη νυκτὸς ὁφθαι κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν αἰχμάς τε φλογοειδεῖς καὶ θυρεοὺς διαφερομένους τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτα συμπίπτοντας. ἀλλὰς καὶ σχήματα καὶ κινήματα λαμβάνοντας οία γίνεται μαχομένων ἀνδρῶν, τέλος δὲ τῶν μὲν ἐνδιδόντων, τῶν δὲ ἐπιφερομένων,

5 πάντας ἐπὶ δυσμᾶς ῥυήμαι. περὶ τούτον δὲ πως τοῦ χρόνου ἀφίκετο καὶ Βατάκης ἐκ Πεσσωνίντος ὁ τῆς μεγάλης μητρὸς ιερεύς, ἀπαγγέλλων ὡς ἡ θεός ἐκ τῶν ἀνακτόρων ἐφθέγξατο αὐτῷ νίκην καὶ κράτος πολέμου Ρωμαίως ὑπάρχειν. τῆς δὲ συγκλήτου προσεμένης καὶ τῇ θεῷ ναὸν ἐπινίκιον ἱδρύσασθαι ψηφισμενής, τὸν Βατάκην εἰς τὸν δήμον προελθόντα καὶ ταῦτα βουλόμενον εἰπεῖν ἐκώλυσε δημαρχῶν Αὔλων Πομπήιος, ἀγύρτην ἀποκαλῶν καὶ πρὸς ὦβριν ἀπελαύνων τοῦ βήματος. οὗ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ ἄνθρωπον πίστιν παρέσχεν. οὐ γὰρ ἐφθῆ τῆς ἐκκλησίας λυθεῖσης ὁ Αὔλως εἰς οἶκον ἐπανελθεῖν, καὶ πυρετὸς ἐξήνθησεν αὐτῷ τοσοῦτον ὦστε πᾶσι καταφανῆ γενόμενον καὶ περιβόητον ἐντὸς ἐβδόμης ἡμέρας ἀποθανεῖν.

6 aitwos oi stratwota with Reiske: tois stratwotas, which Bekker and Ziegler bracket.

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them on their journeys, being recognized by bronze rings on their necks; for the soldiers had caught them, put these rings on, and let them go again; and after this, on recognizing the birds, the soldiers greeted them, and they were glad to see them when they set out upon a march, feeling sure in such cases that they would be successful.

Many signs also appeared, most of which were of the ordinary kind; but from Ameria and Tuder, cities of Italy, it was reported that at night there had been seen in the heavens flaming spears, and shields which at first moved in different directions, and then clashed together, assuming the formations and movements of men in battle, and finally some of them would give way, while others pressed on in pursuit, and all streamed away to the westward. Moreover, about this time Bataces, the priest of the Great Mother,¹ came from Pessinus announcing that the goddess had declared to him from her shrine that the Romans were to be victorious and triumphant in war. The senate gave credence to the story and voted that a temple should be built for the goddess in commemoration of the victory; but when Bataces came before the assembly and desired to tell the story, Aulus Pompeius, a tribune of the people, prevented him, calling him an impostor, and driving him with insults from the rostra. And lo, this did more than anything else to gain credence for the man's story. For hardly had Aulus gone back to his house after the assembly was dissolved, when he broke out with so violent a fever that he died within a week, and everybody knew and talked about it.

¹ Cybelé, Mother of the Gods.
ΧVIII. Οἱ δὲ Τεῦτονες ἔπεχείρησαν μὲν ἡσυχάζοντος τοῦ Μαρίου πολιορκεῖν τὸ στρατόπεδον, βέλεσι δὲ πολλοῖς ἐντυχόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ χάρακος φερομένους καὶ τινας εἰς αὐτῶν ἀποβαλόντες ἐγνωσαν εἰς τούμπροσθεν χωρεῖν ὡς ὑπερβαλόντες ἄδεως τὰς Ἀλπεῖς καὶ συσκευασάμενοι παρῆμειβον τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Ῥωμαίων, τότε δὴ μάλιστα παμπληθεὶς μήκει καὶ χρόνῳ τῆς παρόδου φανέντες· ἤμεραις γὰρ ἐξ λέγονται τὸν χάρακα τοῦ Μαρίου παραμείψα-2 σθαί συνεχῶς ὑδεύνοντες. ἐπορεύοντο δὲ ἐγγύς, πυνθανόμενοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων μετὰ γέλωτος εἰ τι πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας ἐπιστέλλοιν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἔσεσθαι ταχέως παρ' αὐταῖς. ἔπει δὲ παρῆλθαν οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ προῆσαν, ἄρας καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπηκολουθεὶς σχέδην, ἐγγύς μὲν ἀεὶ καὶ παρ' αὐτοὺς ἐκέινους ἱδρυόμενος, ὅχυραὶ δὲ χρώμενος στρατοπεδείαις καὶ χωρία καρτερὰ προβαλλόμενος, ὡστε 3 ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ νυκτερεύειν. οὕτω δὴ προϊόντες ἐγένοντο πρὸς τοῖς καλουμένοις ὧδαις Σεξτίοις, ὅθεν ἐδει πορευθέντας οὐ πολλὴν ἕδον ἐν ταῖς Ἀλπεσιν εἶναι. διὸ δὴ καὶ Μάριος ἐνταῦθα παρεσκευάζετο μάχεσθαι, καὶ κατέλαβε τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τόπον ἵσχυρὸν μὲν, ὃδερ δὲ ἄφθονον οὐκ ἔχοντα, βουλόμενος, ὡς φασί, καὶ τοῦτο 416 4 παροξύνα τοὺς στρατιώτας. πολλῶν γε τοῖς δυσχεραινούντων καὶ διψήσειν λεγόντων, δείξας τῇ χειρὶ ποταμὸν τινα ρέοντα πλησίον τοῦ βαρ-βαρικοῦ χάρακος, ἐκεῖθεν αὐτοῖς ἐφησεν εἶναι 510
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XVIII. But the Teutones, since Marius kept quiet, attempted to take his camp by storm; many missiles, however, were hurled against them from the fortifications, and they lost some of their men. They therefore decided to march forward, expecting to cross the Alps without molestation. So they packed up their baggage and began to march past the camp of the Romans. Then, indeed, the immensity of their numbers was made specially evident by the length of their line and the time required for their passage; for it is said they were six days in passing the fortifications of Marius, although they moved continuously. And they marched close to the camp, inquiring with laughter whether the Romans had any messages for their wives; "for," said they, "we shall soon be with them." But when the Barbarians had passed by and were going on their way, Marius also broke camp and followed close upon them, always halting near by and at their very side, but strongly fortifying his camps and keeping strong positions in his front, so that he could pass the night in safety. Thus the two armies went on until they came to the place called Aquae Sextiae, from which they had to march only a short distance and they would be in the Alps. For this reason, indeed, Marius made preparations to give battle here, and he occupied for his camp a position that was strong, but poorly supplied with water, wishing, as they say, by this circumstance also to incite his soldiers to fight. At any rate, when many of them were dissatisfied and said they would be thirsty there, he pointed to a river that ran near the barbarian fortifications, and told them they could get water there, but the

XIX. Οἱ μὲν οὖν στρατιώται καίπερ ἄσχαλλοντες ἐπείθουσι τῆς. δὲ θεραπείας τὸ πλήθος οὐτ’ αὐτοὶ ποτὸν οὖθ’ ὑποζυγίοις ἔχοντες ἀθρόοι κατέβαινον ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν, οἱ μὲν ἄξιοι, οἱ δὲ πελέκεις, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ ξίφη καὶ λόγχας ἀμά τοῖς ὕδριοι ἀναλαβόντες, ὥς καὶ διὰ μάχης ὑδρευσόμενοι. τούτοις τὸ πρῶτον ὅλοι προσεμάχοντο τῶν πολεμίων ἔτυχον γὰρ ἀριστῶντες οἱ πολλοὶ 2 μετὰ λοιπῶν, οἱ δὲ ἐλούοντο. ῥήγησιν γὰρ αὐτῷ ναμάτων θερμῶν πηγὰς ὁ χόρος καὶ μέρος τι περὶ ταύτα τοὺς βαρβάρους εὔπαθοντας καὶ πανηγυρίζοντας ἡδονή καὶ θαύματι τοῦ τόπου κατέλαβον οἱ 'Ρωμαῖοι. πρὸς δὲ τὴν κραυγὴν πλειόνων συντρεχόντων τῷ τε Μαρίῳ χαλαστὸν ἦν ἔτι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπισχέοι περὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν δεδιότας, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων τὸ μαχιμώτατον μέρος, ύφ᾽ οὗ προήττητο 'Ῥωμαῖοι μετὰ Μαλλίου καὶ Καπίνους πρότερον ('Αμβρωνες ὄνομαξοντο καὶ πλῆθος ὑπὲρ τρισμυρίους αὐτοί καθ' ἐαυτοὺς ἦσαν), ἀναίξαντες ἔτι τὰς πανοπλίας 3 ἐχώρουν. τὰ μὲν οὖν σώματα πλησμονῇ βεβαρημένοι, τοῖς δὲ φρονήμασι γαῦροι καὶ διακεχυμένοι πρὸς τὸν ἄκρατον, οὐκ ἀτάκτους οὐδὲ μανιώδεσι φερόμενοι δρόμοις οὐδὲ ἀναρθρον ἀλαλαγόνων ἱέντες, ἀλλὰ κρούοντες ὑθμῷ τὰ ὀπλα καὶ συναλ-
price of it was blood. "Why, then," they said, "dost thou not lead us at once against the enemy, while our blood is still moist?" To which Marius calmly replied: "We must first make our camp strong."

XIX. His soldiers, accordingly, though reluctant, obeyed; but the throng of camp-servants, who had no water either for themselves or their beasts, went down in a body to the river, some taking hatchets, some axes, and some also swords and lances along with their water-jars, determined to get water even if they had to fight for it. With these only a few of the enemy at first engaged, since the main body were taking their meal after bathing, and some were still bathing. For streams of warm water burst from the ground in this place, and at these the Romans surprised a number of the Barbarians, who were enjoying themselves and making merry in this wonderfully pleasant place. Their cries brought more of the Barbarians to the spot, and Marius had difficulty in longer restraining his soldiers, since they had fears now for their servants. Besides, the most warlike division of the enemy, by whom at an earlier time the Romans under Manlius and Caepio had been defeated (they were called Ambrones and of themselves numbered more than thirty thousand), had sprung up from their meal and were running to get their arms. However, though their bodies were surfeited and weighed down with food and their spirits excited and disordered with strong wine, they did not rush on in a disorderly or frantic course, nor raise an inarticulate battle-cry, but rhythmically clashing their arms and leaping to the sound they

1 Cf. chapter xvi. 5.
Λόμενοι πάντες ἁμα τὴν αὐτῶν ἐφθέγγοντο
πολλάκις προσηγορίαν Ἀμβρωνες, εἰτὲ ἀνα-
καλοῦμενοι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς, εἰτὲ τοὺς πολεμίους τῇ
4 προδηλώσει προεκφοβοῦντες. τῶν δὲ Ἱταλικῶν
πρώτου καταβαίνοντες ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς Διγνες, ὡς
ἡκουσαν βοῶντων καὶ συνῆκαν, ἀντεφώνουν καὶ
αὐτοὶ τὴν πάτριον ἐπίκλησιν αὐτῶν εἶναι· σφᾶς
γὰρ αὐτοὺς οὕτως κατὰ γένους ὀνομάζουσι Διγνες.
πυκνὸν οὖν καὶ παράλληλον ἀντίχειρ πρὸς εἰς
χείρας συνελθεῖν τὸ ἀναφωνήμα· καὶ τῶν στρατῶν
ἐκατέροις ἀνὰ μέρος συναναφθεγγομένων καὶ
φιλοτιμομένων πρῶτον ἀλλήλους τῷ μεγέθει
τῆς βοῆς ὑπερβαλέσθαι, παρώξυνε καὶ διηρεῖθη
τὸν θυμὸν ἡ κραυγή.

5 Τοὺς μὲν οὖν Ἀμβρωνας δίεσπασε τὸ ἐρίθρον·
οὐ γὰρ ἐφθάσαν εἰς τάξειν καταστήματε διαβάντες,
ἀλλὰ τοὺς πρώτος εὐθὺς μετὰ δρόμου τῶν Δι-
γνῶν προσπεσοῦνταν ἐν χερσὶν ἣν ἡ μάχη τοῖς
δὲ Διγνοὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιβοηθοῦσιν καὶ
φερομένων ἄνωθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους βιασθέν-
6 τες ἐτρόποντο. καὶ πλεῖστοι μὲν αὐτὸν περί τὸ
ἐρίθρον ὄθούμενοι κατὰ ἄλληλων ἐπαίοντο καὶ
κατεπίμπλασαν φόνον καὶ νεκρῶν τὸν ποταμὸν,
τοὺς δὲ διαβάντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μὴ τολμῶντας ἀνα-
στρέφειν ἐκτείνων ἄχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ τῶν
7 ἀμαξῶν φεύγοντας. ἑνταῦθα δὲ αἱ γυναῖκες ἀπ-
ἀντώσαι μετὰ ξυφῶν καὶ πελέκεων δεινῶν τετρι-
γυνίαι καὶ περίδυμον ἡμύνοντο τοὺς φεύγοντας
ὄμοισ καὶ τοὺς διώκοντας, τοὺς μὲν ὡς προδότας,
toὺς δὲ ὡς πολεμίους, ἀναπεφυρμέναι μαχομένοις
καὶ χερσὶ γυμναῖς τοὺς τε θυρεοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων

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would frequently shout out all together their tribal name Ambrones, either to encourage one another, or to terrify their enemies in advance by the declaration. The first of the Italians to go down against them were the Ligurians, and when they heard and understood what the Barbarians were shouting, they themselves shouted back the word, claiming it as their own ancestral appellation; for the Ligurians call themselves Ambrones by descent. Often, then, did the shout echo and reecho from either side before they came to close quarters; and since the hosts back of each party took up the cry by turns and strove each to outdo the other first in the magnitude of their shout, their cries roused and fired the spirit of the combatants.

Well, then, the Ambrones became separated by the stream; for they did not all succeed in getting across and forming an array, but upon the foremost of them the Ligurians at once fell with a rush, and the fighting was hand-to-hand. Then the Romans came to the aid of the Ligurians, and charging down from the heights upon the Barbarians overwhelmed and turned them back. Most of the Ambrones were cut down there in the stream where they were all crowded together, and the river was filled with their blood and their dead bodies; the rest, after the Romans had crossed, did not dare to face about, and the Romans kept slaying them until they came in their flight to their camp and waggons. Here the women met them, swords and axes in their hands, and with hideous shrieks of rage tried to drive back fugitives and pursuers alike, the fugitives as traitors, and the pursuers as foes; they mixed themselves up with the combatants, with bare hands tore
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ἀποστείψαι καὶ τῶν ἔπιλαμβανόμεναι, καὶ τραύματα καὶ διακόπας σωμάτων ὑπομένουσαι, μέχρι τελευτῆς ἀήττητοι τοῖς θυμοῖς. τὴν μὲν οὖν παραποτάμου μάχην οὕτω κατὰ τύχην μᾶλ-λον ἣ γνώμη τοῦ στρατηγοῦ γενέσθαι λέγομαι.

XX. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλοῖς τῶν Ἀμβρώνων· οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διαφθείραντες ἀνεχώρησαν ὑπίσω καὶ σκότος ἐπέσχεν, οὐκ ἀσπέρ ἐπὶ εὐνυχήματι τοσοῦτον τὸν στρατὸν ἐδέξαντο παιὰνες ἐπινίκιοι καὶ πότῳ καὶ τὸ σκῆνας καὶ ψυχοφροσύναν περί δεῖπνα καὶ τὸ πάντων ἡδίστον ἀνδράσιν εὐνυχῶς μεμαχημένοι, ὑπονόησαν, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνην μάλιστα 2 τὴν νύκτα φοβερὰν καὶ ταραχόδη διήγαγον. ἦν μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀχαράκτων τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἀτέίχιστων, ἀπελείποντο 1 δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐτι πολλά καὶ μυριάδες ἀήττητοι, καὶ συμμεμειγμένων τούτων ὅσοι διαπεφεύγεσαν τῶν Ἀμβρώνων, ὅδυρμος ἢν διὰ νυκτὸς, οὐ κλαυθμοῖς οὐδὲ στεναγ-μοῖς ἀνθρώπων ἐνδοξῷ, ἀλλὰ θηρομηγῆ καὶ βρύχημα μεμιγμένον ἀπειλᾶει καὶ θρήνοις άναπεμπόμενον ἐκ πλῆθους τοσοῦτον ἐκ τῆς περιβε

3 ὅρη καὶ τὰ κοίλα τοῦ ποταμοῦ περιεφόνει. καὶ κατείχε φρικώδης ἥχος τὸ πεδίον, τοὺς δὲ Ῥω-μαίους δέος, αὐτὸν τὸν Μάριον ἐκπλήξεις ἀ-κοσμὸν τινα καὶ ταραχόδη νυκτομαχίαν προσ-δεχόμενον. οὐ μὴν ἐπῆλθον οὕτω νυκτὸς οὕτε τῆς ἐπιούσις ἡμέρας, ἀλλὰ συντάττοντες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ παρασκευάζομεν διετέλουν.

4 'Εν τούτῳ δὲ Μάριος, ἠσαν γὰρ ἐκ κεφαλῆς τῶν βαρβάρων νάπατι περικλινεῖς καὶ κατάσκοιοι

1 ἀπελείποντο, Bekker adopts Coraës' correction to ἀπελεί-ποντο.
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away the shields of the Romans or grasped their swords, and endured wounds and mutilations, their fierce spirits unvanquished to the end. So, then, as we are told, the battle at the river was brought on by accident rather than by the intention of the commander.

XX. After destroying many of the Ambrones the Romans withdrew and night came on; but in spite of so great a success the army did not indulge in paeans of victory, or drinking in the tents, or friendly converse over suppers, or that sweetest of all delights for men who have fought and won a battle, gentle sleep, but that night more than any other was spent in fears and commotions. For their camp was still without palisade or wall, and there were still left many myriads of the Barbarians who had met with no defeat. These had been joined by all the Ambrones who survived the battle, and there was lamentation among them all night long, not like the wailings and groans of men, but howlings and bellowings with a strain of the wild beast in them, mingled with threats and cries of grief, went up from this vast multitude and echoed among the surrounding hills and over the river valley. The whole plain was filled with an awful din, the Romans with fear, and even Marius himself with consternation as he awaited some disorderly and confused night-battle. However, the Barbarians made no attack either during that night or the following day, but spent the time in marshalling their forces and making preparations.

Meanwhile, since the position of the Barbarians was commanded by sloping glens and ravines that were
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δρυμοίς αὐλῶνες, ἐνταῦθα Κλαύδιον Μάρκελλον ἐκπέμπει μετὰ τρισχιλίων ὀπλιτῶν, ἐνεδρεύσαι κελεύσας κρύφα καὶ μαχαμένοις ἔξοπσθεν ἐπί-
φανήματ. τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους δειπνήσαντας ἐν ὄρᾳ καὶ κοιμηθέντας ἀμὴ ἡμέρα, συνέταττε πρὸ τοῦ χάρακος ἀγαγών, καὶ προεξέρεμπε τοὺς ἱππέας
5 εἰς τὸ πεδίον. θεασάμενοι δὲ οἱ Τεῦτονες οὐκ ἴνεσχοντο καταβαίνοντας αὐτοῖς ἐξ ἴσου δια-
γωνίζεσθαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, ἀλλὰ σὺν τάχει καὶ δι’ ἀργῆς ὀπλισάμενοι τῷ λόφῳ προσέβαλον. ὁ
dὲ Μάριως ἐκασταχοῦ διαπέμπτων τοὺς ἤγεμόνας ἐστάναι καὶ καρτερεῖν παρεκάλει, πελασάντων δὲ
eἰς ἐφικτὸν ἐξακοντίσαι τοὺς ύσσούς, ἔτα χρῆ-
σθαι ταῖς μαχαίραις καὶ τοῖς θυρεοῖς ἀντερέσαν-
6 τας βιάζεσθαι τῶν γὰρ τόπων ἐπισφαλῶν ὄντων
ἐκεῖνοι οὔτε τόνον ἐξειν τὰς πληγὰς οὔτε ρώμην
tὸν συνασπισμὸν, ἐν περιτροπῇ καὶ σάλῳ τῶν
σωμάτων ὄντων διὰ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν. ταῦτα ἀμα
pαρῆνε καὶ δρῶν ἐωράτο πρῶτος οὖνεν γὰρ
ἤσκητο χεῖρον τὸ σῶμα, καὶ πάντας πολὺ τῇ
tόλμῃ παρῆλλαττεν.

XXI. Ὡς οὖν ἀντιστάντες αὐτοῖς οἱ Ῥωμαίοι καὶ συμπεσόντες ἐσχῶν ἄνω φερομένους, ἐκθλι-
βόμενοι κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπεχώρουν εἰς τὸ πεδίον καὶ τῶν πρώτων ἦδη καθισταμένων εἰς τάξιν ἐν
toῖς ἐπιτέδοις βοή καὶ διασπασμὸς ἦν περὶ τοὺς
ὀπίσθεν. ὁ γὰρ καιρὸς οὐκ ἔλαθε τὸν Μάρκελλον,
ἀλλὰ τῆς κραυγῆς ὑπὲρ τοὺς λόφους ἄνω φερο-
μένης ἀναστήσας τοὺς μετ’ αὐτοῦ δρόμῳ καὶ
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shaded by trees, Marius sent Claudius Marcellus thither with three thousand men-at-arms, under orders to lie concealed in ambush until the battle was on, and then to show themselves in the enemy's rear. The rest of his soldiers, who had taken supper in good season and then got a night's sleep, he led out at day-break and drew up in front of the camp, and sent out his cavalry into the plain. The Teutones, seeing this, could not wait for the Romans to come down and fight with them on equal terms, but quickly and wrathfully armed themselves and charged up the hill. But Marius, sending his officers to all parts of the line, exhorted the soldiers to stand firmly in their lines, and when the enemy had got within reach to hurl their javelins, then take to their swords and crowd the Barbarians back with their shields; for since the enemy were on precarious ground their blows would have no force and the locking of their shields no strength, but the unevenness of the ground would keep them turning and tossing about. This was the advice he gave his men, and they saw that he was first to act accordingly; for he was in better training than any of them, and in daring far surpassed them all.

XXI. Accordingly, the Romans awaited the enemy's onset, then closed with them and checked their upward rush, and at last, crowding them back little by little, forced them into the plain. Here, while the Barbarians in front were at last forming in line on level ground, there was shouting and commotion in their rear. For Marcellus had watched his opportunity, and when the cries of battle were borne up over the hills he put his men upon the run and
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ἀλαλαγμῷ προσέπιπτε κατὰ νότου, κτεῖνών τοὺς
2 ἐσχάτους. οἴ δὲ τοὺς πρὸ αὐτῶν ἐπιστρώμενοι
tαχὺ πάν τὸ στρατεύμα ταραχῆς ἐνέπλησαν, οὐ
πολὺν τε χρόνον ἡνέχοντο παϊόμενοι διεχόθεν,
ἀλλὰ τὴν τάξιν λύσαντες ἐφευγον. οἴ δὲ Ἶρωμαῖοι
dιώκοντες αὐτῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ δέκα μυριάδας ἡ
ζώντας εἶλον ἡ κατέβαλον, σκηνῶν δὲ καὶ ἀμαξῶν καὶ
χρημάτων κρατήσαντες, ὡσα μὴ διεκλάτη, Μάριον
λαβεῖν ἐψηφίσαντο. καὶ δωρεάς ταύτης λαμπρο-
tάτης τυχῶν οὐδὲν ἀξιον ἔχειν δὲν ἐστρα-
tήγησεν ἐνομίσθη διὰ τὸ τοῦ κινδύνου μέγεθος.

3 "Ετεροι δὲ περὶ τῆς δωρεᾶς τῶν λαφύρων οὐχ
όμολογοῦσιν, οὐδὲ περὶ τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν πεσόν-
tων. Μασσαλίτας μέντοι λέγουσι τοῖς ὀστέοις
περιθρηγῶσαι τοὺς ἀμπελώνας, τὴν δὲ γῆν, τῶν
νεκρῶν καταναλωθέντων ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ διὰ χειμῶνος
ὀμβρῶν ἐπιπεσόντων, οὕτως ἐκλυπανθήναι καὶ
gενέσθαι διὰ βάθους περίπλεω τῆς σπεδόνος
ἐνδύσης ὡστε καρπῶν ὑπερβάλλουν εἰς ὅρας
πλῆθος ἐξευγκείν καὶ μάρτυρησαι τῷ Ἀρχιλόχῳ
λέγοντι πιαίνεσθαι πρὸς τοῦ τοιοῦτοι τὰς ἄρούρας.

4 ἐπιεικῶς δὲ ταῖς μεγάλαις μάχαις ἔξαισίοις
ἂντος ἐπικαταρρήγυνθαι λέγουσιν, εἰτε δαι-
μονίου τινὸς τὴν γῆν καθαροῖς καὶ διϊπτέσιν
ἀγριότονος ὑδασί καὶ κατακλύζοντος, εἰτε τοῦ
φόνου καὶ τῆς σπεδόνος ἐξαιείσθης ὑγρᾶν καὶ
βαρείαν ἀναθυμᾶσιν, ὡς τὸν ἀέρα συνίστησιν
εὐτρεπτὸν ὑντα καὶ ῥαδίου μεταβάλλειν ἀπὸ
σμικροτάτης ἐπὶ πλείστων ἀρχῆς.
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fell with loud shouts upon the enemy's rear, where he cut down the hindmost of them. Those in the rear forced along those who were in front of them, and quickly plunged the whole army into confusion, and under this double attack they could not hold out long, but broke ranks and fled. The Romans pursued them and either slew or took alive over a hundred thousand of them, besides making themselves masters of their tents, waggons, and property, all of which, with the exception of what was pilfered, was given to Marius by vote of the soldiers. And though the gift that he received was so splendid, it was thought to be wholly unworthy of his services in the campaign, where the danger that threatened had been so great.

There are some writers, however, who give a different account of the division of the spoils, and also of the number of the slain. Nevertheless, it is said that the people of Massalia fenced their vineyards round with the bones of the fallen, and that the soil, after the bodies had wasted away in it and the rains had fallen all winter upon it, grew so rich and became so full to its depths of the putrefied matter that sank into it, that it produced an exceeding great harvest in after years, and confirmed the saying of Archilochus that "fields are fattened" by such a process. And it is said that extraordinary rains generally dash down after great battles, whether it is that some divine power drenches and hallows the ground with purifying waters from Heaven, or that the blood and putrefying matter send up a moist and heavy vapour which condenses the air, this being easily moved and readily changed to the highest degree by the slightest cause.

1 Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graeci, ii. 4 pp. 428 f.
XXII. Μετά δὲ τὴν μάχην ὁ Μάριος τῶν βαρβαρικῶν ὅπλων καὶ λαφύρων τὰ μὲν ἐκπρεπὴ καὶ ὀλόκληρα καὶ πομπικὴν ὄψιν τῷ θριάμβῳ δυνάμενα παρασχεῖν ἐπέλεξε, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐπὶ πυρᾶς μεγάλης κατασωρεύσας τὸ πλῆθος ἔθυσε
2 θυσίαν μεγαλοπρεπῆ, καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ παρεστώτος ἐν ὅπλοις ἔστεφανωμένου περιζωσάμενος αὐτός, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστίν, ἀναλαβὼν τὴν περιπόρφυρον καὶ λαβὼν δᾶδα καιομένην καὶ δι᾽ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν χειρῶν ἀνασχῶν πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἔμελλεν ὕψησιν τῇ πυρᾷ· καὶ προσελάύνοντες ἦποις ἐωρῶντο φίλοι σὺν τάχει πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὅστε πολλὴν γενέσθαι σιωπὴν καὶ προσδοκίαν
3 ἀπάντων. ἔπει δὲ ἐγχύσῃ Ἰσαάκ, ἀποπηδήσαντες ἐδεξιοῦντο τὸν Μάριον, εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τὸ πέμπτον αὐτὸν ὑπατον ἠρήσθαι, καὶ γράμματα περὶ τούτων ἀπέδοσαν. μεγάλης οὖν χαρᾶς τοῖς ἐπινικίοις προσγενομένης ὁ τε στρατὸς ὑφ’ ἱδονῆς ἐνοπλίῳ τοῖς κρότῳ καὶ πατάγῳ συνηλάξαν, καὶ τῶν ἡγεμῶν τὸν Μάριον αὖθις ἀναδούντων δάφνης στεφάνως ἐνήψε τὴν πυρὰν καὶ τὴν θυσίαν ἐπετελεῖσθεν.

XXIII. Ἡ δὲ μῆθεν ἐώσα τῶν μεγάλων εὐτυχιμάτων ἀκρατον εἰς ἱδονὴν καὶ καθαρόν, ἀλλὰ μίξει κακῶν καὶ ἁγαθῶν ποικίλλουσα τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον ἢ τύχη τῆς ἡ νέμεσις ἢ πραγμάτων ἀναγκαία φύσις οὐ πολλαῖς ὑστερον ἡμέραις ἐπήγαγε τῷ Μαρίῳ τῆς περὶ Κάττλον τοῦ συν-άρχοντος ἀγγελίαν, ὥσπερ ἐν εὐδίᾳ καὶ γαληνῇ νέφος, αὖθις ἔτερον φόβον καὶ χειμώνα τῇ Ρώμῃ
2 περιστήσασα. οὖ γὰρ δὴ Κάττλος ἀντικαθήμενος τοῖς Κίμβροις τὰς μὲν ὑπερβολὰς τῶν Ἀλπεων
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XXII. After the battle, Marius collected such of the arms and spoils of the Barbarians as were handsome, entire, and fitted to make a show in his triumphal procession; all the rest he heaped up on a huge pyre and set on foot a magnificent sacrifice. The soldiers had taken their stand about the pyre in arms, with chaplets on their heads, and Marius himself, having put on his purple-bordered robe and girt it about him, as the custom was, had taken a lighted torch, held it up towards heaven with both hands, and was just about to set fire to the pyre, when some friends were seen riding swiftly towards him, and there was deep silence and expectancy on the part of all. But when the horsemen were near, they leaped to the ground and greeted Marius, bringing him the glad news that he had been elected consul for the fifth time,¹ and giving him letters to that effect. This great cause for rejoicing having been added to the celebration of their victory, the soldiers, transported with delight, sent forth a universal shout, accompanied by the clash and clatter of their arms, and after his officers had crowned Marius afresh with wreaths of bay, he set fire to the pyre and completed the sacrifice.

XXIII. However, that power which permits no great successes to bring a pure and unmixed enjoyment, but diversifies human life with a blending of evil and of good—be it Fortune, or Nemesis, or Inevitable Necessity, within a few days brought to Marius tidings of his colleague Catulus, which, like a cloud in a calm and serene sky, involved Rome in another tempest of fear. For Catulus, who was facing the Cimbri, gave up trying to guard the passes of the

¹ For the year 101 B.C.
ἀπέγνω φυλάσσειν, μη κατὰ πολλὰ τὴν δύναμιν μέρη διαιρεῖν ἀναγκαζόμενος ἀσθενῆς γένοιτο, καταβὰς δ’ εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὸν Ἀττι- σῶνα ποταμὸν λαβών πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ φραξάμενος πρὸς τὰς διαβάσεις ἐκατέρωθεν ἱσχυρὸς χαρα- κώμασιν, ἔξευξε τὸν πόρον, ὡς ἐπιβοηθεῖν εἰ ἡ τοῖς πέραν, εἰ πρὸς τὰ φρούρια βιάζοιτο διὰ τῶν 3 στενῶν οἱ βάρβαροι. τοῖς δὲ τοσούτων περείχῃ ὑπεροψίας καὶ θράσοις κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὡστε ῥώμης καὶ τόλμαν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι μᾶλλον ἡ πράτ- τοντες τὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων γνµνοι μὲν ἰνέχοντο νυφόμενοι καὶ διὰ πάγων καὶ χιόνος βαθείας τοῖς ἁκροῖς προσέβαινον, ἀνωθὲν δὲ τοὺς θυρεοὺς πλατεῖς ύποτιθέντες τοῖς σώμασιν, εἶτα ἀφίεντες αὐτοὺς ὑπεφέροντο κατὰ κρημνῶν ὁλισθήματα 4 καὶ λισσάδας ἄχανεῖς ἐχόντων. ὡς δὲ παρα- στρατοπεδεύσαντες ἐγγὺς καὶ κατασκεψάμενοι τὸν πόρον ἠρξαντο χοῦν, καὶ τοὺς πέριξ λόφους ἀναρρηγνύντες, ὦσπερ οἱ γύναικες, ἀμα δένδρα πρόρριζα καὶ κρημνῶν σπαράγματα καὶ γῆς κολωνούς ἐφόρουν εἰς τὸν ποταμόν, ἐκθλίβοντες τὸ ἱεῦμα καὶ τός ἐρείδουσι τὰ ξεύγματα βάθροις ἐφίεντες βάρη μεγάλα συρόμενα κατὰ ῥοῦν καὶ τιμάττουτα ταῖς πληγαῖς τὴν γέφυραν, ἀποδει- λιάσαντες οἱ πλείστοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐξέλιπον τὸ μέγα στρατόπεδον καὶ ἀνεχόμοιν. 5 Ἔνθα δὴ Κάττλος ἔδειξεν ἑαυτόν, ὦσπερ χρή τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ τέλειον ἄρχοντα, τὴν αὐτοῦ δοξᾶν ἐν ὑστέρῳ τῶν πολιτῶν τιθέμενων. ἔπει γὰρ οὐκ ἐπειθεῖ τοὺς στρατιῶτας μένειν, ἀλλ’ ἐώρα περι- δεώς ἀναξενηγήντας, ἀρασθαί κελεύσας τὸν ἁτὸν 41
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Alps, lest he should be weakened by the necessity of dividing his forces into many parts, and at once descended into the plains of Italy. Here he put the river Atiso between himself and the enemy, built strong fortifications on both banks of it to prevent their crossing, and threw a bridge across the stream, that he might be able to go to the help of the people on the other side in case the Barbarians made their way through the passes and attacked the fortresses. But these Barbarians were so contemptuous and bold in following their enemies that, more by way of displaying their strength and daring than because it was necessary at all, they endured the snow-storms without any clothing, made their way through ice and deep snow to the summits, and from there, putting their broad shields under them and then letting themselves go, slid down the smooth and deeply fissured cliffs. After they had encamped near the stream and examined the passage, they began to dam it up, tearing away the neighbouring hills, like the giants of old, carrying into the river whole trees with their roots, fragments of cliffs, and mounds of earth, and crowding the current out of its course; they also sent whirling down the stream against the piles of the bridge heavy masses which made the bridge quiver with their blows, until at last the greater part of the Roman soldiers played the coward, abandoned their main camp, and began to retreat.

And now Catulus, like a consummately good commander, showed that he had less regard for his own reputation than for that of his countrymen. For finding that he could not persuade his soldiers to remain, and seeing that they were making off in terror, he ordered his standard to be taken up, ran to the
eis toûs prôtous tôn āperchoîmenôn órmhse drômôf kai prôtos ëgeîto, bouloîmenos autôn tô aîschrôn, ãllâ mê tîs patrídîs gënesâthai, kai dôkeîn mû fêugontas, ãll' êpomênoûs tô stratêgî phoiê- 
6 sthâi tîn âpochôrîshin. Ôi dê bârbaroi tô mév pêran tôû 'Aïtisônos frouîrion épelhôntes élabôn, kai tôûs autôthi 'Rwmaiôus ândrôv kraitîstous gënomêneûs kai prokînûnvedûsantâs âxiôs tîs patrídîs thumâsântes ùpôspôndous fêhîkav, ómôsântes tôv xalikîwv tayrôu, ón ûstereîn âlônta metà tîn màkhôn eîs tîn Kâtlou fassôn oikian ûspere akrothînîn tîs vikhs komisthînai. Tîn dê 
chôravn êrhmôn bothèias epîchûntes épôrthoun.

XXIV. 'Epî toûtoû ekaleîto Mârîos eîs tîn
. 'Rômwn kai paragvenômenos, pântovn autôn oio-
mênov thriambeûseiv kai tîs boulîs prothômws 
phêfisamênhs, òvâ ëziwseiv, eîte tôus stratîütas kai 
sunagwognistâs ápostereîthai tîs filotîmîas 
mê bouloîmenos, eîte prôs tô parônta tharrûnôw 
tô plêthos, òvâ tî tûchî tîs pôleos parakatati-
thêmênoûs tîn tôwv prôtovn kataorhômatoûn dôxan êv 
tôis deuteîrôiis lamprôteran ápodôthosomêmnh.

2 dialêgheîs dê tô parâkonta tô kaiwv kai prôs 
tôv Kâtlou êzôrmhshas, toûtov te parathûrîne kai 
tôûs autôn metepémpeto stratîùtâs èk 
Galatías. òs dê fêhîkouv, ìaîbâs tôv 'Hrîdanòn 
eîrgehîn épereîtho tîs èntos 'Italîas tôûs bar-
bârîous. Ôi dê tôûs Teûtovas ekdêxeîthai kai 
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foremost of the retiring troops, and put himself at their head, wishing that the disgrace should attach to himself and not to his country, and that his soldiers, in making their retreat, should not appear to be running away, but following their general. The Barbarians attacked and captured the fortress on the further side of the Atiso, and they so much admired the Romans there, who showed themselves bravest of men and fought worthily of their country, that they let them go on parole, making them take oath upon the bronze bull. This was subsequently captured, after the battle, and was carried, we are told, to the house of Catulus as the chief prize of the victory. But the country was now destitute of defenders, and the Barbarians inundated and ravaged it.

XXIV. In view of these things Marius was summoned to Rome. When he had arrived there, it was the general expectation that he would celebrate the triumph which the senate had readily voted him. But he refused to do so, either because he did not wish to deprive his soldiers and comrades-in-arms of their due honours, or because he would encourage the multitude in view of the present crisis by entrusting the glory of his first success to the fortune of the state, in the hope that it would be returned to him enhanced by a second. Having said what was suitable to the occasion, he set out to join Catulus, whom he tried to encourage, while at the same time he summoned his own soldiers from Gaul. When these had come, he crossed the Po and tried to keep the Barbarians out of the part of Italy lying this side of the river. But the Barbarians declined battle, alleging that they were waiting for

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θαυμάζειν ὡς βραδυνώτων φάσκοντες ἀνεβάλλοντο τὴν μάχην, εἰτε ἀγνοοῦντες οὔτως τὴν ἑκείνων φθορᾶν, εἰτε βουλόμενοι δοκεῖν ἀπιστεῖν.


XXV. Ός δὲ ἀπηγγέλθη ταῦτα τοῖς Κύμβροις, αὐθις ἔξ ἀρχής ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ τὸν Μάριον ἡσυχάζοντα καὶ διαφυλάττοντα τὸ στρατόπεδον. λέγεται δὲ εἰς ἑκείνην τὴν μάχην πρῶτον ὑπὸ Μαρίου καυσοτομηθῆναι τὸ περὶ τοὺς ὅσσον. τὸ γὰρ εἰς τὸν σίδηρον ἐμβλημα τοῦ ἕμιτον πρῶτον μὲν ἢν δυσὶ περόναις κατειλημμένον σιδηρᾶς, τότε δὲ ὁ Μάριος τὴν μὲν, ὡσπερ εἶχεν, εἴασε, τὴν δ’ ἔτεραν εἴξεσέν ἕμιτον ἢλων εὐθραυστὸν ἀντ’ αὐτῆς.
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their brethren the Teutones and wondered why they were so long in coming; this was either because they were really ignorant of their destruction, or because they wished to have the appearance of disbelieving it. For they terribly mishandled those who brought tidings of it, and sent to Marius demanding territory for themselves and their brethren and enough cities for them to dwell in. When Marius asked their ambassadors whom they meant by their brethren, they said they meant the Teutones. At this, all the other Romans who heard them burst out laughing, and Marius scoffingly said: "Then don't trouble yourselves about your brethren, for they have land, and they will have it forever—land which we have given them." The ambassadors understood his sarcasm and fell to abusing him, declaring that he should be punished for it, by the Cimbri at once, and by the Teutones when they came. "Verily," said Marius, "they are here, and it will not be right for you to go away before you have embraced your brethren." Saying this, he ordered the kings of the Teutones to be produced in fetters; for they had been captured among the Alps, where they were fugitives, by the Sequani.

XXV. When these things had been reported to the Cimbri, they once more advanced against Marius, who kept quiet and carefully guarded his camp. And it is said that it was in preparation for this battle that Marius introduced an innovation in the structure of the javelin. Up to this time, it seems, that part of the shaft which was let into the iron head was fastened there by two iron nails; but now, leaving one of these as it was, Marius removed the other, and put in its place a wooden pin that could easily
2 ἐνέβαλε, τεχνάζων προσπεσόντα τὸν ύσσον τῷ θυρεῷ τοῦ πολεμίου μὴ μένειν ὅρθων, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ξυλίνου κλασθέντος ἢλιου καμπήν γίνεσθαι περὶ τὸν σίδηρον καὶ παρέλκεσθαι τὸ δόρυ, διὰ τὴν στρεβλότητα τῆς αἰχμῆς ἐνεχόμενον.

Βοιώριξ δὲ ὁ τῶν Κίμβρων βασιλεὺς ὀλγοστὸς προσπεύσας τῷ στρατοπέδῳ προωκαλεῖτο τὸν Μάριον, ἤμεραν ὀρίσαντα καὶ τόπον, προελθεὶν 3 καὶ διαγωνίσασθαι περὶ τῆς χώρας. τοῦ δὲ Μαρίου φήσαντος οὐδέποτε Ῥωμαίους συμβούλους κεχρῆσθαι περὶ μάχης τοῖς πολεμίοις, ὃν μὴν ἄλλα καὶ χαριεῖσθαι τοῦτο Κίμβροις, ἤμεραν μὲν ἐθέντο τὴν ἀπ’ ἐκείνης τρίτην, χώραν δὲ τὸ πεδίον τὸ περὶ Βερκέλλας, Ῥωμαίοις μὲν ἐπιτήδειον ἐνυπάσασθαι, τῶν δὲ ἀνάχυσιν τῷ πλήθει παρασχεῖν.

4. Τηρήσαντες οὖν τὸν ὀρισμένον χρόνον ἀντιπαρετάσσοντο, Κάτλος μὲν ἔχασε δισμύριον καὶ τριακοσίων στρατιώτας, οἱ δὲ Μαρίου δισχίλιοι μὲν ἐπὶ τρισμύριοι ἐγένοντο, περιέσχουν δὲ τὸν Κάτλου ἐν μέσῳ νεμηθέντες εἰς ἐκάτερον κέρας, ὡς Σύλλα, ἡγωνισμένος ἐκείνην τὴν μάχην, 5 γέγραφε. καὶ φησὶ τὸν Μάριον ἐλπίσαντα τοῖς ἀκροὶς μάλιστα καὶ κατὰ κέρας συμπεσεῖν τὰς φάλαγγας, ὡς ἂδιος ἢ νίκη τῶν ἐκείνου στρατιωτῶν γένοιτο καὶ μὴ μετάσχοι τοῦ ἄγωνος ὦ Κάτλος μηδὲ προσμίξει τοῖς πολεμίοις, κόλπωμα τῶν μέσων, ὡσπερ εἰσθεν ἐν μεγάλοις μετώποις, λαμβανόντων, οὕτω διαστήσαι τὰς δυνάμεις.
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be broken. His design was that the javelin, after striking the enemy’s shield, should not stand straight out, but that the wooden peg should break, thus allowing the shaft to bend in the iron head and trail along the ground, being held fast by the twist at the point of the weapon.

And now Boeorix the king of the Cimbri, with a small retinue, rode up towards the camp and challenged Marius to set a day and a place and come out and fight for the ownership of the country. Marius replied that the Romans never allowed their enemies to give them advice about fighting, but that he would nevertheless gratify the Cimbri in this matter. Accordingly, they decided that the day should be the third following, and the place the plain of Vercellae, which was suitable for the operations of the Roman cavalry, and would give the Cimbri room to deploy their numbers.

When, therefore, the appointed time had come, the Romans drew up their forces for battle. Catulus had twenty thousand three hundred soldiers, while those of Marius amounted to thirty-two thousand, which were divided between both wings and had Catulus between them in the centre, as Sulla, who fought in this battle, has stated. He says also that Marius hoped that the two lines would engage at their extremities chiefly and on the wings, in order that his soldiers might have the whole credit for the victory and that Catulus might not participate in the struggle nor even engage the enemy (since the centre, as is usual in battle-fronts of great extent, would be folded back); and therefore arranged the

1 In his Memoirs; cf. the Sulla, iv. 3.
δομοια δε και των Κάτλον αυτων ἀπολογεῖσθαι περὶ
tουτων ἱστοροῦσι, πολλὴν κατηγοροῦντα τοῦ
Μαρίου κακοθειειαν πρὸς αὐτὸν.
Τοῖς δὲ Κίμβρωι τὸ μέν πεζὸν ἐκ τῶν ἐρυμάτων
καθ' ἡσυχίαν προῆι, βάθος ἱσον τῷ μετώπῳ
ποιοῦμενοι. ἐκάστη γάρ ἐπέσχε πλευρὰ σταδίους
7 τριάκοντα τῆς παρατάξεως: οἱ δὲ ἵππες μύροι
καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι τὸ πλῆθος ὄντες ἔξιλασαν
λαμπροί, κράνη μὲν εἰκασμένα θηρίων φοβερῶν
χάμασι καὶ προτομαῖ ἵδιομόρφους ἔχοντες, ἃς
ἐπαιρομένους λόφοις πετρωτοῖς εἰς ύψος ἐφαίνοντο
μείζονοι, θώραξι δὲ κεκοσμημένοι σιδηροῖς, θυρεοῖς
δὲ λευκοῖς στιλβοῦσε. ἀκόντισμα δὲ ἢν ἐκάστῳ
διβολία· συμπεσόντες δὲ μεγάλαις ἔχρωντο καὶ
βαρείαις μαχαίραις.
XXVI. Τότε δὲ υψί κατὰ στόμα προσεφέροντο
tοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκκλίνοντες ἐπὶ δεξία ὑπῆγον
αὐτοὺς κατὰ μικρόν, ἐμβάλλοντες εἰς τὸ μέσον
αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν πεζῶν ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς παρατεταγ-
μένων. καὶ συνείδον μὲν οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατη-
γοὶ τὸν δόλον, ἔπισχεὶ δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας
οὐκ ἐφθησαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐνὸς ἐκβοήσαντος διτι φεύγου-
2 σιν οἱ πολέμοι, πάντες ὀρμησάν διώκειν. καὶ
τὸ πεζὸν ἐν τούτῳ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπῆι καθάπερ
πέλαγος ἄχανες κινοῦμενοι. ἑνταῦθα νυψάμενος
ο Μάριος τὰς χείρας καὶ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν ἀνα-
σχῶν εὑξάτο τοῖς θεοῖς κατὰ ἑκατόμβης. εὑξάτο
δὲ καὶ Κάτλος ὁμοίως ἀνασχῶν τὰς χεῖρας καθιε-
ρώσειν τὴν τύχην τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης. τὸν δὲ
Μάριον καὶ βύσαντα λέγεται τῶν ιερῶν αὐτῷ
δειχθέντων μέγα φθεγξάμενοι εἰπεῖν· "Ἑμή ἡ
νίκη."
forces in this manner. And we are told that Catulus himself also made a similar statement in defence of his conduct in the battle, and accused Marius of great malice in his treatment of him.

As for the Cimbri, their foot-soldiers advanced slowly from their defences, with a depth equal to their front, for each side of their formation had an extent of thirty furlongs; and their horsemen, fifteen thousand strong, rode out in splendid style, with helmets made to resemble the maws of frightful wild beasts or the heads of strange animals, which, with their towering crests of feathers, made their wearers appear taller than they really were; they were also equipped with breastplates of iron, and carried gleaming white shields. For hurling, each man had two lances; and at close quarters they used large, heavy swords.

XXVI. At this time, however, they did not charge directly upon the Romans, but swerved to the right and tried to draw them along gradually until they got them between themselves and their infantry, which was drawn up on their left. The Roman commanders perceived the crafty design, but did not succeed in holding their soldiers back; for one of them shouted that the enemy was taking to flight, and then all set out to pursue them. Meanwhile the infantry of the Barbarians came on to the attack like a vast sea in motion. Then Marius, after washing his hands, lifted them to heaven and vowed a hecatomb to the gods; Catulus also in like manner lifted his hands and vowed that he would consecrate the fortune of that day. It is said, too, that Marius offered sacrifice, and that when the victims had been shown to him, he cried with a loud voice: “Mine is the victory.”
Λευκομένης δὲ τῆς ἑφόδου πρᾶγμα νεμεσθὴν παθεῖν τὸν Μάριον οἱ περὶ Σύλλαν ἱστοροῦσιν. κοινορτοῦ γὰρ ἄρθέντος, οἶνον εἰκός, ἀπλέτον καὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἀποκεκρυμμένων, ἐκείνων μὲν, ὡς τὸ πρῶτον ὄρμησε πρὸς τὴν δίωξιν, ἐπισπασμένον τὴν δύναμιν ἀστοχήσας τῶν πολεμίων καὶ παρενεχθέντα τῆς φάλαγγος ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ διαφέρεσθαι πολὺν χρόνον, τῷ δὲ Κάτλῳ τῶν Βαρβάρων ἀπὸ τύχης συγκέντρωσαν, καὶ γενέσθαι τὸν ἀγώνα κατ’ ἐκείνον καὶ τους ἐκείνου μάλιστα στρατιώτας, ἐν οἷς αὐτὸς ὁ Σύλλας τετάχθαι φησί· συναγωνίσασθαι δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τὸ καύμα καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἀντιλάμποντα τοῖς Κύμβροις. δεινοὶ γὰρ οὗτοι ὑπομεῖναι κρύῆν, καὶ τόποις ἐντεθραμμένοι σκιεροῖς, ὡς λέλεκται, καὶ ψυχροῖς, ἀνετρέποντο πρὸς τὸ θάλπος, ἱδρώτα τε μετὰ ἀσθματος πολὺν ἐκ τῶν σωμάτων ἀφιέντες καὶ τοὺς θυρεούς προβαλλόμενοι πρὸ τῶν προσώπων, ἅτε δὴ καὶ μετὰ τροπὰς θέρους τῆς μάχης γενομένης, ἂς ἀγουσὶ Ῥωμαίοι πρὸ τριῶν ἡμερῶν τῆς νουμηνίας τοῦ νῦν μὲν Ἀὐγοῦστον, τότε δὲ Σέξτιλίου μηροῖς. ὃνυσε δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ θαρρεῖν ὁ κοινορτοῦ ἀποκρύφας τοὺς πολεμίους. οὐ γὰρ κατείδον ἐκ πολλῷ τὸ πλήθος, ἀλλὰ δρόμῳ τοῖς κατ’ αὐτοὺς ἐκαστοὶ προσμέχαντες ἐν χερσίν ἠσάν, ὡπό τῆς ὤψεως μὴ προεκφοβηθέντες. οὗτο δ’ ἦσαν διάπονοι τὰ σώματα καὶ κατηθληκότες ὃς μῆτε ἱδρύντα τινα μήτε ἀσθμαίνοντα Ῥωμαίων ὀφθήναι διὰ πνίγους τοσούτου καὶ μετὰ δρόμου

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After the attack had begun, however, an experience befell Marius which signified the divine displeasure, according to Sulla. For an immense cloud of dust was raised, as was to be expected, and the two armies were hidden from one another by it, so that Marius, when he first led his forces to the attack, missed the enemy, passed by their lines of battle, and moved aimlessly up and down the plain for some time. Meanwhile, as chance would have it, the Barbarians engaged fiercely with Catulus, and he and his soldiers, among whom Sulla says he himself was posted, bore the brunt of the struggle. The Romans were favoured in the struggle, Sulla says, by the heat, and by the sun, which shone in the faces of the Cimbri. For the Barbarians were well able to endure cold, and had been brought up in shady and chilly regions, as I have said. They were therefore undone by the heat; they sweated profusely, breathed with difficulty, and were forced to hold their shields before their faces. For the battle was fought after the summer solstice, which falls, by Roman reckoning, three days before the new moon of the month now called August, but then Sextilis. Moreover, the dust, by hiding the enemy, helped to encourage the Romans. For they could not see from afar the great numbers of the foe, but each one of them fell at a run upon the man just over against him, and fought him hand to hand, without having been terrified by the sight of the rest of the host. And their bodies were so inured to toil and so thoroughly trained that not a Roman was observed to sweat or pant, in spite of the great heat and the run with which they

1 Chapter xi. 5 f.
2 a.d. III. Kalendas Augusti.

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tên suvbâxewos gevoîmenvs, ós tôn Kátلوح autŏn 421 istoreiûn légonvsi megalûvontav toûs stratoiástas.

XXVII. Tô men oûn plêîston méros kai maχi-

mâtavon tûn polêmîwv autŏn katekôpîv kai gar

 tôs ùper toû mî diaspâsîav tîn tâxîn oî

prômakhoi maîrâis álûsæi prôs álhlîwv suven-

xîmenvoi diâ tôv zowstîrôwv anadadêmenvîs toûs de

feûngontas õsastvtes prôs tô xarákîwv tragików-

tâtov õvnetû̄ghavon pâthesiv. ãî gar gwnaîkes

eti tôv amâxvôn melenévovnes efesetôsai toûs te

feûngontas êkteinov, aî meû àndras, aî de àdelfoûs,
aî de pateras, kai tôa nîpia tôv tèkwn àpâng-

xovsai tâiês xeravên èrrîptovôn ùp tôv tûs trôkhov

kai tôvès pôdas tôv ùpoûgîwv, àutûs de àpêspha-

tov. mîav de fason ek ákron rûmov kremeveîv

tà paîdía tôv àutûs sfurîwv àfimaxèna brôkos

3 èkatêrosthvn ërtîsçav toûs de àndras àporîa

dévdrov toûs kêrasî tôv sbîwv, toûs de tôv

skêleîi proosdév toûs àutûv trakhîlous, eîtâ

ekentra prosofarontav èkallomévov tôv sbîwv

èfelkômmenvos kai patoumêmîv àpóllovshav. plîn

câîper ouîov àutûv diafðabarètvov, èlâwosan ùpér

ek muvîmâdav: aî de tôv pèsôtvôn èlêgîvto dîs

tosâûtav geenêshav.

4 Tô mêv oûn xërîmatav dihîpavov oî Marîouv

stratîwvtaî, tâ de lâfûva kai tôs sêmââvov kai

 tôs sâlpîvgaîs eîs tô Kátلوح stratôpêdev ànê-

veîthvav legouvsî. ò kai mâlistâ tekmirov

xërîshav tôv Kátلوح âs kat' àutûv h vîkî gevoîtov.

kai mêntov kai tôvès stratîwvtaîs, âs èôkêv, èmpe-

soûvîs èridorîs, ãrêthvav oîouv diavîtai prêsbeîs
came to the encounter. This is what Catulus himself is said to have written in extolling his soldiers.

XXVII. The greatest number and the best fighters of the enemy were cut to pieces on the spot; for to prevent their ranks from being broken, those who fought in front were bound fast to one another with long chains which were passed through their belts. The fugitives, however, were driven back to their entrenchments, where the Romans beheld a most tragic spectacle. The women, in black garments, stood at the waggons and slew the fugitives—their husbands or brothers or fathers, then strangled their little children and cast them beneath the wheels of the waggons or the feet of the cattle, and then cut their own throats. It is said that one woman hung dangling from the tip of a waggon-pole, with her children tied to either ankle; while the men, for lack of trees, fastened themselves by the neck to the horns of the cattle, or to their legs, then plied the goad, and were dragged or trampled to death as the cattle dashed away. Nevertheless, in spite of such self-destruction, more than sixty thousand were taken prisoners; and those who fell were said to have been twice that number.

Now, the enemy’s property became the booty of the soldiers of Marius, but the spoils of battle, the stands, and the trumpets, were brought, we are told, to the camp of Catulus; and Catulus relied chiefly upon this as a proof that the victory was won by his men. Furthermore, the dispute for the honour of the victory arose among the soldiers, as was natural, and the members of an embassy from Parma were

1 Catulus wrote a history of his consulship, of which Cicero speaks in terms of high praise (Brutus, 35, 132 ff.).
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Παρμιτῶν παρόντες, οὐς οἱ Κάτλου διὰ τῶν πολεμίων νεκρῶν ἀγοντες ἐπεδείκνυστο τοῖς ἐαυτῶν ὑποσώ ἰαπαπεραμένους γνώριμοι δ’ ἦσαν ὑπὸ γραμμάτων, τούνομα τοῦ Κάτλου παρὰ τὸ ξύλον 5 αὐτῶν ἐγχαράξαντος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῷ Μαρίῳ προετίθετο σύμπαυ τὸ ἔργον ἦ τε προτέρα νίκη καὶ τὸ πρόσχημα τῆς ἀρχῆς. μάλιστα δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ κτίστη τε Ῥώμης τρίτον ἐκείνον ἀνηγόρευν, ὡς οὔχ ἦττονα τοῦ Κελτικοῦ τούτον ἀπεσμένον τὸν κύδυνον, εὐθυμούμενοι τε μετὰ παῖδων καὶ γυναικῶν ἐκαστοι κατ’ οἶκον ἀμα τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ Μαρίῳ δείπνου καὶ λοιβής ἀπήρχοτο, καὶ θριαμβεύειν μῶν οξίον ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς θριάμ-6 βους. οὐ μὴν ἐθριάμβευσεν οὕτως, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοῦ Κάτλου, μέτριον ἐπὶ τηλικαύτας εὐτυχίας βουλόμενος παρέχειν ἑαυτόν· ἐστι δὲ ὁ τι καὶ τοὺς στρατιωτὰς φοβηθέν τρεπεταγμένους, εἰ Κάτλος ἀπείργατο τῆς τιμῆς, μηδὲ ἐκείνον ἐδυν θριαμβεύειν.

XXVIII. Πέμπτην μὲν οὖν ὑπατείαν διείπτε-τῆς δὲ ἔκτης ὡς οὐδὲ εἰς πρώτης ὀρέγετο, θερα-πείαις τὸν δήμον ἀναλαμβάνων καὶ πρὸς χάριν ἐνδιδοὺς τοὺς πολλοὺς, οὐ μῶνον παρὰ τὸν ὅγκον καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἄξιομα τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν ύγρός τις εἶναι βουλόμενος καὶ 2 δημοτικὸς, ἦκιστα τοιοῦτος πεφυκός. ἀλλ’ ἦν, ὡς λέγουσι, πρὸς πολιτείαν καὶ τοὺς ἐν ὁχλοῖς

1 Marius was consul still, while Catulus had not been re-elected, and was only pro-consul.

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chosen to act as arbitrators. These men the soldiers of Catulus conducted among the dead bodies of the enemy, which were clearly seen to have been pierced by their javelins; for these could be known by the name of Catulus which had been cut into the shaft. However, the entire success was attributed to Marius, both on account of his former victory and of his superior rank.\textsuperscript{1} Above all, the people hailed him as the third founder of Rome,\textsuperscript{2} on the ground that the peril which he had averted from the city was not less than that of the Gallic invasion; and all of them, as they made merry at home with their wives and children, would bring ceremonial offerings of food and libations of wine to Marius as well as to the gods, and they were insistent that he alone should celebrate both triumphs. Marius, however, would not do this, but celebrated his triumph with Catulus, wishing to show himself a man of moderation after a course of so great good fortune. Perhaps, too, he was afraid of the soldiers, who were drawn up and ready, in case Catulus were deprived of his honour, to prevent Marius also from celebrating a triumph.

XXVIII. Thus, then, his fifth consulship was coming to an end; but he was as eager for a sixth as another would have been for his first. He tried to win over the people by obsequious attentions, and yielded to the multitude in order to gain its favour, thus doing violence, not only to the dignity and majesty of his high office, but also to his own nature, since he wished to be a compliant man of the people when he was naturally at farthest remove from this. In confronting a political crisis or the tumultuous

\textsuperscript{2} With Romulus and Camillus. See the \textit{Camillus}, xxxi. 2.
θορύβους ὑπὸ φιλοδοξίας ἀτολμότατος, καὶ τὸ παρὰ τὰς μάχας ἀνέκπληκτον καὶ στάσιμον ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἀπέλειπεν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν τυχόντων ἐπαίνων καὶ ψόγων ἔξιστάμενον. καὶ τοι λέγεται Καμερίνων ἀνδρας ὁμοίως χίλιοις διαπρεπῶς ἀγωνισμένους ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δωρη- σάμενος πολιτεία, δοκοῦντος εἶναι τοῦτο παρα- νόμον καὶ τινῶν ἐγκαλούντων, εἰπεῖν ὅτι τοῦ νόμου διὰ τῶν τῶν ὄπλων ψόφον οὐ κατακούσειεν.

3 οὐ μὴν ἄλλα μᾶλλον ἔοικεν ἐκπλήσσεσθαι καὶ δεδιέναι τὴν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις κραυγήν. ἐν μὲν γε τοῖς ὁπλοῖς ἄξιῶμα καὶ δύναμιν ἐλήμεν διὰ τὴν χρείαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ πολιτείᾳ περικοπτόμενος τὰ πρωτεία κατέφευγεν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν εὐνοιαν καὶ χάριν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέγιστος γενέσθαι τὸ βέλ-

4 τιστὸς εἶναι προϊόμενος. πᾶσι μὲν οὖν προσέκρουε τοῖς ἀριστοκρατίκοις, μάλιστα δὲ ὀρρωδῶν τῶν Μέτελλον ἡχοιστημένου ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ φύσει δι' 422 ἀρετὴν ἀληθῆ πολεμοῦντα τοῖς οὐ κατὰ τὸ βέλ-

5 τιστὸν ὑποδυμένον τὰ πλήθη καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν δημαγωγοῦσιν, ἐπεβουλεύε τῆς πόλεως ἐκβαλείν τῶν ἀνδρα. καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ Γλαυκίαν καὶ Σατορ-

νίνου, ἀνθρώπους ἡθοποιότατοι καὶ πλῆθος ἀποροῦν καὶ θορυβοῦσαν ὑπ' αὐτοῖς ἔχοντας, οἰκειωσάμενος ἐκάθερε νόμους δι' αὐτῶν. καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἐπάρασ κατεμάχουσα ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καὶ κατεστα-

σίαζε τὸν Μέτελλον. ὡς δὲ Ῥουτίλιος ἱστορεῖ, 540
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throng, we are told, his ambition made him most timorous, and that undaunted firmness which he showed in battle forsook him when he faced the popular assemblies, so that he was disconcerted by the most ordinary praise or blame. And yet we are told that when he had bestowed citizenship upon as many as a thousand men of Camerinum for conspicuous bravery in the war, the act was held to be illegal and was impeached by some; to whom he replied that the clash of arms had prevented his hearing the voice of the law. However, he appeared to be in greater fear and terror of the shouting in the popular assemblies. At any rate, while in war he had authority and power because his services were needed, yet in civil life his leadership was more abridged, and he therefore had recourse to the goodwill and favour of the multitude, not caring to be the best man if only he could be the greatest. The consequence was that he came into collision with all the aristocrats. It was Metellus, however, whom he especially feared, a man who had experienced his ingratitude, and one whose genuine excellence made him the natural enemy of those who tried to insinuate themselves by devious methods into popular favour and sought to control the masses by pleasing them. Accordingly, he schemed to banish Metellus from the city. For this purpose he allied himself with Saturninus and Glaucia, men of the greatest effrontery, who had a rabble of needy and noisy fellows at their beck and call, and with their assistance would introduce laws. He also stirred up the soldiery, got them to mingle with the citizens in the assemblies, and thus controlled a faction which could overpower Metellus. Then, according to Rutilius, who is generally a lover
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tά μὲν ἄλλα φιλαλήθης ἀνήρ καὶ χρηστός, ἵδια δὲ τῷ Μαρίῳ προσκεκρούκως, καὶ τῆς έκτης ἐτυχεν ὑπατείας ἀργύριον εἰς τὰς φυλὰς καταβαλὼν πολὺ καὶ πριάμενος τῷ Μέτελλον ἐκκρούσατι τῆς ἀρχῆς, Οὐαλλέριῳ δὲ Φλάκκῳ ὑπηρέτην μᾶλλον ἢ συνάρχοντα τῆς ὑπατείας λαβείν. 6 οὔδεν μέντοι τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ πλὴν μόνῳ Κορβίνῳ Οὐαλλερίῳ τοσαύτας ὑπατείας ἐδώκεν οὗ ἄδημος, ἄλλ' ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης εἰς τὴν τελευταίαν ἔτη πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα γενέσθαι λέγοντι, Μάριος δὲ μετὰ τὴν πρώτην τὰς πέντε ρύμη ματί τύχης διέδραμε.

XXIX. Καὶ μάλιστα ἐπεὶ τὴν τελευταίαν ἐφθονεῖτο, πολλά συνεξαμαρτάνων τοῖς περὶ τὸν Σατορνίνον. ὃν ἦν καὶ ὁ Νωνίου φόνος, διὸ ἀντιπαραγγέλλοντα δημαρχίαν ἀπέσφαξεν ὁ Σατορνίνος. εἶτα δημαρχῶν ἐπῆγε τὸν περὶ τῆς χώρας νόμον, ὃ προσεγγίσατο τὴν σύγκλητον ὅμοιον προσελθοῦσαν, ἢ μὴν ἐμμενείν οἷς ἄν ὁ δῆμος ψηφίσατο καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν ὑπεναντιώσετο. 2 τούτῳ τοῦ νόμου τὸ μέρος προσποιούμενος ἐν τῇ βουλῇ διώκειν ὁ Μάριος οὐκ ἐφή δέξεσθαι 1 τὸν ὄρκον, οὐδὲ ἄλλον οἴεσθαι σωφρονῶντα· καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ μοχθηρός ἦν ὁ νόμος, ὑβριν εἶναι τὰ τοιαῦτα τῆς βουλῆς διδόναι βιαζομένην, ἀλλὰ μὴ πειθοὶ μηδὲ ἐκούσαν. ταῦτα δὲ ἀυχοὶ οὕτως φρονών ἔλεγεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ Μετέλλῳ ἀπάτην περιτιθεῖσιν ἀφεκτον.

1 δέξεσθαι Coraës, Bekker, and Ziegler, after Reiske δέξασθαι.

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of truth and an honest man, but had a private quarrel with Marius, he actually got his sixth consulship by paying down large sums of money among the tribes, and by buying votes made Metellus lose his election to the office, and obtained as his colleague in the consulship Valerius Flaccus, who was more a servant than a colleague. And yet the people had never bestowed so many consulships upon any other man except Corvinus Valerius. In the case of Corvinus, however, forty-five years are said to have elapsed between his first and his last consulship; whereas Marius, after his first consulship, ran through the other five without a break.

XXIX. In this last consulship¹ particularly did Marius make himself hated, because he took part with Saturninus in many of his misdeeds. One of these was the murder of Nonius, whom Saturninus slew because he was a rival candidate for the tribuneship. Then, as tribune, Saturninus introduced his agrarian law, to which was added a clause providing that the senators should come forward and take oath that they would abide by whatsoever the people might vote and make no opposition to it. In the senate Marius made pretence of opposing this part of the law, and declared that he would not take the oath, and that he thought no other sensible man would; for even if the law were not a bad one, it was an insult to the senate that it should be compelled to make such concessions, instead of making them under persuasion and of its own free will. He said this, however, not because it was his real mind, but that he might catch Metellus in the toils of a fatal

¹ 100 B.C.
3 αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ εἰς ἀρετής καὶ δεινότητος μερίδα τὸ
ψεύσασθαι τιθέμενος λόγον οὐδένα τῶν πρὸς τὴν
σύγκλητον ὁμολογημένων ἦσεν ἔμελλε, τὸν δὲ
Μέτελλον εἶδὼς βέβαιον ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν “ἀλήθειαν
ἀρχὴν μεγάλης ἀρετῆς” κατὰ Πίνδαρον ἤγομενον
ἐβούλετο τῇ πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἁρνήσει προλη-
φθέντα καὶ μὴ δεξάμενον τὸν ὄρκον εἰς ἀνήκεστον
ἐμβαλείν πρὸς τὸν δήμου ἔχθραν. ὁ καὶ συνέβη.

4 Τοῦ γὰρ Μέτελλου φήσαντος μὴ ὀμόσειν, τότε
μὲν ἡ βουλὴ διελύθη, μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρας ολίγας τοῦ
Σατορνίνου πρὸς τὸ βήμα τοὺς συγκλητικοὺς
ἀνακαλομένου καὶ τὸν ὄρκον ὀμνύειν ἀναγκά-
ζοντος ὁ Μάριος παρεῖθαν, γενομένης σιωπῆς καὶ
πάντων εἰς ἐκείνου ἀνηρτημένων, μακρὰ χαίρειν
φράσας τοῖς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ νεανιευθείσιν ἀπὸ φωνῆς,
οὐχ οὖτω πλατὺν ἔφη φορεῖν τὸν τράχηλον ὡς
προαποφαίνεσθαι καθάπαξ εἰς πράγμα τηλικοῦ-
τον, ἀλλ’ ὀμείσθαι καὶ τῷ νόμῳ πειθαρχῆσειν,
εἰπερ ἐστὶ νόμος· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο προσέδηκε τὸ
5 σοφὸν ὀσπερ παρακάλυμμα τῆς αἰσχύνης. ὁ μὲν
οὖν δήμος ἡσθεῖς ὀμόσαντος ἀνεκρότησε καὶ
κατευφύμησε, τοὺς δὲ ἄριστους κατήφεια δεινὴ
cαὶ μῖσος ἐσχὲ τοῦ Μαρίου τῆς μεταβολῆς.
ἀμυνομεν οὖν ἀπαντὲς ἐφεξῆς δεδοτες τὸν δήμου
ἀχρι Μετέλλου. Μέτελλος δὲ, καίπερ ἀντιβολοῦν-
tων καὶ δεομένων τῶν φίλων ὀμόσαι καὶ μὴ περι-
βαλεῖν ἐαυτὸν ἐπιτιμίοις ἀνηκέστοις, ὁ κατὰ τῶν
μὴ ὀμνύοντων ὁ Σατορνίνος εἰσέφερεν, οὐχ ύφή-

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trick. For he himself regarded lying as part of a man's excellence and ability, made no account of his agreements with the senators, and did not intend to keep them; whereas he knew that Metellus was a steadfast man, who thought with Pindar that "truth is the foundation of great excellence," and he therefore wished to bind him beforehand by a statement to the senate that he would not take the oath, and then have his refusal to do so plunge him into a hatred on the part of the people that could never be removed. And this was what came to pass.

For Metellus declared that he would not take the oath, and the senate broke up for a while; but after a few days Saturninus summoned the senators to the rostra and tried to force them to take the oath. When Marius came forward there was silence, and the eyes of all were fastened upon him. Then, bidding a long farewell to all his boastful and insincere expressions in the senate, he said his throat was not broad enough to pronounce an opinion once for all upon so important a matter, but that he would take the oath, and obey the law, if it was a law; adding this bit of sophistry as a cloak for his shame. The people, then, delighted at his taking the oath, clapped their hands in applause, but the nobles were terribly dejected and hated Marius for his change of front. Accordingly, all the senators took the oath in order, through fear of the people, until the turn of Metellus came; but Metellus, although his friends earnestly entreated him to take the oath and not subject himself to the irreparable punishments which Saturninus proposed for those who should

1 Fragment 221 (Boeckh).
6 κατο τού φρονήματος ουδὲ ὤμοσεν, ἀλλ' ἐμμένων τῷ ἥθει καὶ πάν παθεῖν δεινόν ἐπὶ τῷ μηθέν αἰσχρόν ἐργάσασθαι. παρεσκευασμένος ἀπῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, διαλεγόμενος τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ὡς τὸ κακόν τι πράξαι φαύλον εἴη, τὸ δὲ καλὸν μὲν, ἀκινδύνως δὲ, κοινὸν, ἰδιον δὲ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ τὸ 7 μετὰ κινδύνων τὰ καλὰ πράσσειν. ἐκ τούτου ψηφίζεται Σατορνίνος ἐπικηρύξε τοὺς ὑπάτους ὅπως πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος καὶ στέγης εἰργηται Μέτελλος· καὶ τὸ φαυλότατον αὐτοῖς τοῦ πλήθους παρὴν ἐτοιμὸν ἀποκτινώναι τὸν ἀνδρα. τῶν δὲ βελτίστων περιπαθοῦντων καὶ συντρεχόντων πρὸς τὸν Μέτελλον οὐκ εὖ στασιάζειν δι' αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ ἀπῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐμφρον ὁ λογισμῷ χρησάμενος. ""Ἡ γαρ ἀμειώνων," ἐφη, "τῶν πραγμάτων γενομένων καὶ τοῦ δήμου μετανοήσαντος ἀφίξομαι παρακαλούμενος, ἢ μενόντων ὦμοιον ἀπηλλάχθαι κράτιστον." ἀλλὰ γαρ ὅσης μὲν ἀπελαυνεν εὐνοίας παρὰ τὴν φυγήν καὶ τιμῆς Μέτελλος, δὲν δὲ τρόπον ἐν Ῥόδῳ φιλοσοφῶν διητῆθη, βέλτιων ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκεῖνου γραφομένους εἰρήσεται.

XXX. Μάριος δὲ τὸν Σατορνίνον ἀντὶ τῆς ὑπουργίας ταύτης ἐπὶ πάν προῖντα τόλμης καὶ δυνάμεως περιορᾶν ἀναγκαζόμενος, ἔλαβεν οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν ἀπεργασάμενος κακοῦ, ἀλλ' ἀντικρύσ ὡπλοὺς καὶ σφαγαῖς ἐπὶ τυραννίδα καὶ πολιτείας ἀνατροπὴν πορεύομενον. αἰδούμενος δὲ τοὺς κρατίστους, θεραπεύων δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς, ἔργον ἀνελεύθερον ἐσχίτως ύπέμεινε καὶ παλιμβολον. 2 ἐλθόντων γὰρ ὡς αὐτὸν ὑπὸ νύκτα τῶν πρῶτων
refuse, would not swerve from his purpose or take
the oath, but, adhering to his principles and prepared
to suffer any evil rather than do a shameful deed,
he left the forum, saying to those about him that to
do a wrong thing was mean, and to do the right
thing when there was no danger was any man's way,
but that to act honourably when it involved dangers
was peculiarly the part of a good and true man.
Upon this, Saturninus got a vote passed that the
consuls should proclaim Metellus interdicted from
fire, water, and shelter; and the meanest part of
the populace supported them and was ready to
put the man to death. The best citizens, however,
sympathised with Metellus and crowded hastily
about him, but he would not allow a faction to
be raised on his account, and departed from the
city, following the dictates of prudence. "For,"
said he, "either matters will mend and the people
will change their minds and I shall return at their
invitation, or, if matters remain as they are, it is best
that I should be away." But what great goodwill
and esteem Metellus enjoyed during his exile, and
how he spent his time in philosophical studies at
Rhodes, will be better told in his Life.¹

XXX. And now Marius, who was forced, in return
for this assistance, to look on quietly while Saturninus
ran to extremes of daring and power, brought about
unawares a mischief that was not to be cured, but
made its way by arms and slaughter directly towards
tyrranny and subversion of the government. And
since he stood in awe of the nobles, while he courted
the favour of the multitude, he was led to commit
an act of the utmost meanness and duplicity. For
when the leading men had come to him by night

¹ No such Life is extant.
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ἀνδρῶν καὶ παρακαλοῦντων ἐπὶ τὸν Σατορίνιον, ἔτεραις θύραις ἐκεῖνον ὑπεδέξατο τούτων ἀγω- 
ούντων. εἰτα πρόφασιν λέγων πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους 
κοιλίας διάρροιαν, νῦν μὲν ὡς τούτους, νῦν δὲ ὡς 
ἐκεῖνον ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἀνὰ μέρος διατρέχων 
3 συνέκρουε καὶ παρώξυνεν. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ τῆς 
βουλῆς καὶ τῶν ἰππέων συνισταμένων καὶ ἀγα- 
νακτούντων ἐξήμεγκεν εἰς ἀγορὰν τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ 
καταδιωχθέντας αὐτούς εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον εἶλε 
딥εὶ τοὺς γὰρ όχετοις ἀπέκοψεν, οἱ δ' ἀπει- 
πόντες ἐκεῖνον ἐκάλουν καὶ παρέδωκαν σφᾶς 
αὐτοὺς διὰ τῆς λεγομένης δημοσίας πίστεως. 
4 ἐπεὶ δὲ παντοῖος γενόμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ σῶσαι τοὺς 
ἀνδρὰς οὐδὲν ὄνησεν, ἄλλα κατιόντες εἰς ἀγορὰν 
ἀναρέθησαν, ἐκ τούτου τοῖς τε δυνατοῖς ἀμα καὶ 
τῷ δήμῳ προσκεκρουκός, τιμητεῖας παραπεσοῦ- 
σης ἐπίδοξας ἢν οὐ μετῆλθεν, ἀλλ' εἰάσεν ἐτέρους 
ὑποδεστέρους αἱρεθῆναι, δεδιῶς ἀποτυχείν. ἄλλως 
δὲ αὐτὸς ἐκαλλωπίζετο πολλοῖς μὴ θέλειν ἀπεχ- 
θάνεσθαι τοὺς βίους αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἡθη πικρῶς 
ἐξετάζων.

XXXI. Δόγματος δὲ εἰσφερομένου Μέτελλον 
ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς ἀνακαλεῖσθαι, πολλὰ καὶ διὰ 
λόγων καὶ δι' ἔργων μάτην ἐναντιωθεῖς τέλος 
ἀπεῖπε: καὶ δεξαμένου τὴν γνώμην τοῦ δήμου 
προθύμως, οὐχ ὑπομένων κατερχόμενον ἐπιδείν 
tὸν Μέτελλον ἐξέπλευσεν εἰς Καππαδοκίαν καὶ 
Γαλατίαν, λόγῳ μὲν ἀποδώσων ἃς εὑξατο τῇ 
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and were trying to incite him against Saturninus, without their knowledge he introduced Saturninus into the house by another door; then, pretending to both parties that he had a diarrhoea, he would run backwards and forwards in the house, now to the nobles and now to Saturninus, trying to irritate and bring them into collision. However, when the senate and the knights began to combine and give utterance to their indignation, he led his soldiers into the forum, forced the insurgents to take refuge on the Capitol, and compelled them to surrender for lack of water. For he cut off the water-conduits; whereupon they gave up the struggle, called Marius, and surrendered themselves on what was called the public faith. Marius did all he could to save the men, but it was of no avail, and when they came down into the forum they were put to death. This affair made Marius obnoxious alike to the nobles and to the people, and when the time for electing censors came he did not present himself as a candidate, although everyone expected that he would, but allowed other and inferior men to be elected, for fear that he would be defeated. However, he tried to put a good face upon his conduct by saying that he was unwilling to incur the hatred of many citizens by a severe examination into their lives and manners.

XXXI. When a decree was introduced recalling Metellus from exile, Marius opposed it strongly both by word and deed, but finding his efforts vain, at last desisted; and after the people had adopted the measure with alacrity, unable to endure the sight of Metellus returning, he set sail for Cappadocia and Galatia,1 ostensibly to make the sacrifices which he

1
μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν θυσίας, ἐτέραν δὲ τῆς ἀποδημίας ἡμᾶς ἡμᾶς
2 ἔχων ὑπόθεσιν λαυθάνουσαν τοὺς πολλούς. ἀφυής
γὰρ δὲν πρὸς εἰρήνην καὶ ἀπολύτευτος, ηὐξημένος
de τοὺς πολέμους, εἶτα κατὰ μικρὸν αὖθις ὑπὸ
ἀργίας καὶ ἱσυχίας ἀπομαραίνεσθαι τὴν δύναμιν
αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν δόξαν οἴόμενος, ἐξῆτει καὶ καὶ
πραγμάτων ἀρχών. ἦλπιζε γὰρ τοὺς βασιλεῖς
συνταράξας καὶ Μιθριδάτην ἐπίδοξον ὅντα πολέ-
μῆσειν ἀναστήσας καὶ παροξύνας, εὐθὺς ἐπὶ αὐτῶν
ηγεμῶν ἀἱρεθήσεται καὶ νέων μὲν τὴν πόλιν
θριάμβων, σκύλων δὲ Ποντικῶν καὶ πλούτου
3 βασιλικοῦ τοῦ οἴκου ἐμπλῆσεν. διὸ καὶ Μιθ-
ριδάτου πάση χρησαμένου θεραπεία καὶ τιμῆ πρὸς
αὐτῶν οὐ καμφθεῖς οὔτε ὑπείρας, ἀλλ' εἰπὼν, "Ἡ
μεῖζον, ὁ βασιλεύ, πειρῶ δύνασθαι Ῥωμαῖοι, ἡ
ποίει σιωπῆ τὸ προστασσόμενον," ἐξέπληξεν αὐ-
tῶν, ὡς φωνῆς μὲν πολλάκις, παρρησίας δὲ τότε
πρῶτον ἀκούσαντα Ῥωμαϊκῆς.

XXXII. Ἐπανελθὼν δὲ εἰς Ῥώμην οἰκίαν ἐδεί-
ματο τῆς ἁγορᾶς πλησίον, εἶτε, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐλεγε,
tοὺς θεραπεύοντας αὐτὸν ἐνοχλεῖσθαι μη βουλό-
μενος μακρὰν βαδίζοντας, εἴτε τούτῳ αὐτῶν οἰ-
μενος εἶναι τῷ μη πλείονας ἄλλων ἐπὶ θύρας
αὐτοῦ φοιτῶν. τὸ δ' οὐκ ἦν ἄρα τοιοῦτον. ἀλλ' ὀμιλίας χάριτι καὶ πολιτικὰς χρείαις ἐτέρων
λειτομένος ὥσπερ ὅργανον πολεμικὸν ἐπ' εἰρή-
2 ψης παρημελεῖτο. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἤττου
ἡχθετο παρευδοκιμούμενοι, σφόδρα δὲ αὐτῶν ἦνια
Σύλλας ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς ἐκείνου αὐξανόμενος φθόνου
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had vowed to the Mother of the Gods, but really having another reason for his journey which the people did not suspect. He had, that is, no natural aptitude for peace or civil life, but had reached his eminence by arms. And now, thinking that his influence and reputation were gradually fading away because of his inactivity and quietude, he sought occasions for new enterprises. For he hoped that if he stirred up the kings of Asia and incited Mithridates to action, who was expected to make war upon Rome, he would at once be chosen to lead the Roman armies against him, and would fill the city with new triumphs, and his own house with Pontic spoils and royal wealth. For this reason, though Mithridates treated him with all deference and respect, he would not bend or yield, but said: "O King, either strive to be stronger than Rome, or do her bidding without a word." This speech startled the king, who had often heard the Roman speech, but then for the first time in all its boldness.

XXXII. On returning to Rome, he built a house for himself near the forum, either, as he himself said, because he was unwilling that those who paid their respects to him should have the trouble of coming a long distance, or because he thought that distance was the reason why he did not have larger crowds at his door than others. The reason, however, was not of this nature; it was rather his inferiority to others in the graces of intercourse and in political helpfulness, which caused him to be neglected, like an instrument of war in time of peace. Of all those who eclipsed him in popular esteem he was most vexed and annoyed by Sulla, whose rise to power was due to the jealousy which the nobles felt towards Marius,
τῶν δυνατῶν καὶ τὰς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον διαφόρας ἀρχὴν πολιτείας ποιούμενος. ἔπει δὲ καὶ Βόκχος ὁ Νομᾶς σύμμαχος �Serviōn ἀναγεγραμμένου ἐστησεν ἐν Καπετωλίῳ Νικαὶ τροπαϊοφόρος καὶ παρ’ αὐταίς ἐν εἰκόσι χρυσαῖς Ἰουγούρθαν ἐγ- χειριζόμενον ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ Σύλλα, τοῦτο ἐξέστησεν ὅργῃ καὶ φιλονεικίᾳ Μάριου, ὡς Σύλλα περι- στῶντος εἰς ἑαυτὸν τὰ ἔργα, καὶ παρεσκευάζετο 3 βία τὰ ἀναθήματα καταβάλλειν. ἀντεφιλονείκει δὲ Σύλλας, καὶ τὴν στάσιν ὅσον οὕτω φερομένην εἰς μέσον ἐπέσχεν ὁ συμμαχικὸς πόλεμος ἔξα- φυς ἔπε τὴν πόλιν ἀνάρραγες. τὰ γὰρ μαχιμώ- τατα τῶν Ἰταλικῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ πολυανθρωπότατα κατὰ τὴς Ῥώμης συνεστησαν καὶ μικρὸν ἐδέησαν συγχέαι τὴν ἱγεμονίαν, οὐ μόνον ὅπλοις ἐρρωμένα καὶ σώματι καὶ τόλμαις στρατηγῶν καὶ δεινότητι χρησάμενα θαυμασταί καὶ ἀντι- πάλοις.

XXXIII. Οὕτως ὁ πόλεμος τοῖς πάθεσι ποικί- λοις γενόμενος καὶ ταῖς τύχαις πολυπρωτάτατος ὅσον Σύλλα προσέθηκε δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως, τοσοῦτον ἄφειλε Μαρίου. βραδὺς γὰρ ἐφάνη ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς, ὅκυνε τε περὶ πάντα καὶ μελλή- σσεως ὑπόπλεως, εἴτε τοῦ γῆρως τὸ δραστήριον ἐκεῖνο καὶ θερμόν ἐν αὐτῷ κατασβεννύντος (ἐξη- κοστὸν γὰρ ἦδη καὶ πέμπτου ἔτος ὑπερέβαλλεν), εἴτε, ὦς αὐτὸς ἔλεγε, περὶ νεῦρα γεγονός νοσόδης καὶ σώματι δύσεργος ὃν ὑπέμενε παρὰ δύναμιν 2 αἰσχυνῇ τὰς στρατείας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε μάχῃ τοῖς μεγάλῃ νικήσας ἔξακισχίλους ἀνείλε τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ λαβὴν οὐδαμῇ παρέσχεν αὐ-
and who was making his quarrels with Marius the basis of his political activity. And when Bocchus the Numidian, who had been designated an ally of the Romans, set up trophy-bearing Victorias on the Capitol, and by their side gilded figures representing Jugurtha surrendered by him to Sulla, Marius was transported with rage and fury to see Sulla thus appropriating to himself the glory of his achievements, and was making preparations to tear down the votive offerings. But Sulla too was furious, and civil dissension was just on the point of breaking out, when it was stopped by the Social War, which suddenly burst upon the city. That is, the most warlike and most numerous of the Italian peoples combined against Rome, and came within a little of destroying her supremacy, since they were not only strong in arms and men, but also had generals whose daring and ability were amazing and made them a match for the Romans.

XXXIII. This war, which was varied in its events and most changeful in its fortunes, added much to Sulla’s reputation and power, but took away as much from Marius. For he was slow in making his attacks, and always given to hesitation and delay, whether it was that old age had quenched his wonted energy and fire (for he was now past his sixty-sixth year), or that, as he himself said, a feeling of shame led him to go beyond his powers in trying to endure the hardships of the campaign when his nerves were diseased and his body unfit for work. However, even then he won a great victory in which he slew six thousand of the enemy; and he never allowed them to get a grip upon him, but even when he was

1 90–89 B.C. See the Sulla, vi. 1 f.
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tοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ περιταφρευόμενος ἦνέσχετο καὶ χλεναζόμενος καὶ καλούμενος οὐ παρωξύνθη. λέγεται δὲ Ποπλίον Σιλώνος, ὃς μέγιστον εἶχε τῶν πολεμίων ἄξιομα καὶ δύναμιν, εἰπόντος πρὸς αὐτόν, “Εἰ μέγας εἰ στρατηγός, ὃ Μάριε, διαγω-
νισαι καταβάς,” ἀποκρίνασθαι, “Σὺ μὲν οὖν, εἰ μέγας εἰ στρατηγός, ἀνάγκασον με διαγωνίσασθαι
μὴ βουλόμενον.” πάλιν δὲ ποτε τῶν μὲν πολε-
μίων καιρὸν ἐπιχειρήσεως παραδόντων, τῶν δὲ Ἡρωμαίων ἀποδειλιασάντων, ὡς ἀνεχώρησαν ἀμ-
ϕότεροι, συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τοὺς στρατιώ-
tας, “Ἀπορῶ,” φησί, “πότερον εἶπω τοὺς πολε-
μίους ἀναδροτέρους ἢ ὕμᾶς: οὔτε γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τὸν
νώτον ὕμων οὔτε ὑμεῖς ἐκεῖνων τὸ ἱνὸν ἰδεῖν ἐδυ-
νήθητε.” τέλος δὲ ἀφῆκε τὴν στρατηγίαν ὡς
ἐξαδυνατών τῷ σώματι διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν.

XXXIV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦδη τῶν Ἰταλικῶν ἐγκεκλι-
kότων ἐμνηστεύοντο πολλοὶ τὸν Μιθριδατικὸν
πόλεμον ἐν Ὑπόμη διὰ τῶν δημαγωγῶν, παρὰ
πάσαν ἐπίπεδα Σουλπίκιος δήμαρχος, ἀνὴρ θρα-
ςύτατος, παραγαγὼν Μάριον ἀπεδείκνυεν ἀνθύ-
πατον στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτην. καὶ ὁ δήμος
diέστη, τῶν μὲν αἱρομένων τὰ Μάριον, τῶν δὲ 
Σύλλαν καλούντων καὶ τὸν Μάριον ἐπὶ θερμᾶ
κελευνόντων εἰς Βαΐας βαδίζειν καὶ τὸ σῶμα
θεραπεύειν ὑπὸ τε γῆρως καὶ ἱεμμάτων ἀπειρη-
κός, ὡς αὐτὸς ἔλεγε. καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἐκεί περὶ Μιση-
νοὺς τῷ Μαριῳ πολυτελῆς οἰκία, τρυφᾶς ἔχουσα

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hemmed about with trenches bided his time, and was not unduly irritated by their insults and challenges. We are told that Publius Silo, who had the greatest authority and power among the enemy, once said to him, “If thou art a great general, Marius, come down and fight it out with us”; to which Marius answered, “Nay, but do thou, if thou art a great general, force me to fight it out with you against my will.” And at another time, when the enemy had given him an opportunity to attack them, but the Romans had played the coward, and both sides had withdrawn, he called an assembly of his soldiers and said to them: “I do not know whether to call the enemy or you the greater cowards; for they were not able to see your backs, nor you their napes.” At last, however, he gave up his command, on the ground that his infirmities made him quite incapable of exercising it.

XXXIV. But when the Italians had at last made their submission, and many persons at Rome were suing for the command in the Mithridatic war, with the aid of the popular leaders, contrary to all expectation the tribune Sulpicius, a most audacious man, brought Marius forward and proposed to make him pro-consul in command against Mithridates. The people were divided in opinion, some preferring Marius, and others calling for Sulla and bidding Marius go to the warm baths at Baiae and look out for his health, since he was worn out with old age and rheums, as he himself said. For at Baiae, near Cape Misenum, Marius owned an expensive house, which had appointments more luxurious and effeminate

1 Pompaedius Silo, leader of the Marsi. Cf. the Cato Minor, ii. 1-4.

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καὶ διαίτας θηλυτέρας ἢ κατ’ ἄνδρα πολέμων τοσούτων καὶ στρατευών αὐτούργον. ταῦτην λέγεται μυριάδων ἔπτα ἡμίσους Κορυνήλα πρεσβείας χρόνον δ’ οὐ τάνν πολλοῦ γενομένου Λεύκιος Λεύκολλος ὁνεῖται μυριάδων πεντίκοντα καὶ διακοσίων οὕτως ταχέως ἀνέδραμεν ἡ πολυτέλεια καὶ τοσαύτην ἐπίδοσιν τὰ πράγματα πρὸς τρυφῆν ἐλαβεν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ Μάριος φιλοτίμως πάνω καὶ μειρακιωδῶς ἀποτριβόμενος τὸ γῆρας καὶ τὴν ἀσθενείαν ὁσημέρα κατέβαινει εἰς τὸ πεδίον, καὶ μετὰ τῶν νεανίσκων γυμναζόμενος ἐπεδείκνυε τὸ σῶμα κούφων μὲν ὦπλοι, ἐποχον δὲ ταῖς ἱππασίαις, καίπερ οὐκ εὐσταλής γεγονὼς ἐν γῆρα τῶν ὄγκων, ἀλλ’ εἰς σάρκα περιπληθή καὶ βαρεῖαι ἐνδεδωκώς.

4 'Ενίοις μὲν οὖν ἦρεσκε ταῦτα πράττον, καὶ κατόντες ἐθέωντο τὴν φιλοτιμίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς ἀμιλλάς, τοῖς δὲ βελτίστοις ὀρῶσιν οἰκτείρειν ἐπῆει τὴν πλεονεξίαν καὶ τὴν φιλοδοξίαν, ὅτι πλουσιότατος ἐκ πένητος καὶ μέγιστος ἐκ μικροῦ γεγονὼς ὁρὸν οὖκ οἴδει εὐτυχίας, οὐδὲ θαυμαζόμενος ἀγαπά καὶ ἀπολαύων ἐν ἰσυχίᾳ τῶν παρόντων, ἀλλ’ ὀσπερ ἐνδεχὴς ἀπάντων εἰς Καππα-δοκίαν καὶ τὸν Εὔξεινον Πόντον ἄρας ἐκ θριάμβων καὶ δόξης ἐκφέρει τοσοῦτον γῆρας, Ἀρχελάω καὶ Νεοπτολέμω τοῖς Μιθριδάτου σατράπαις διαμα-χούμενος. αἱ δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα τοῦ Μαρίου δικαι-ολογίαι παντάπασιν ἐφαίνοντο ληρώδεις· ἔφη γὰρ ἐθελείν τὸν υἱὸν ἀσκήσας παρὼν αὐτὸς ἐπὶ στρατείας.

5 Ταῦτα τὴν πόλιν ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων ὑπολογός γεγενημένην καὶ νοσοῦσαν ἀνέρρηξεν,
than became a man who had taken active part in so many wars and campaigns. This house, we are told, Cornelia bought for seventy-five thousand drachmas; and not long afterwards Lucius Lucullus purchased it for two million five hundred thousand. So quickly did lavish expenditure spring up, and so great an increase in luxury did life in the city take on. Marius, however, showing a spirit of keen emulation that might have characterized a youth, shook off old age and infirmity and went down daily into the Campus Martius, where he exercised himself with the young men and showed that he was still agile in arms and capable of feats of horsemanship, although his bulk was not well set up in his old age, but ran to corpulence and weight.

Some, then, were pleased to have him thus engaged, and would go down into the Campus and witness his emulation in competitive contests; but the better part were moved to pity at the sight of his greed and ambition, because, though he had risen from poverty to the greatest wealth and from obscurity to the highest place, he knew not how to set bounds to his good fortune, and was not content to be admired and enjoy quietly what he had, but as if in need of all things, and after winning triumphs and fame, was setting out, with all his years upon him, for Cappadocia and the Euxine sea, to fight it out with Archelaüs and Neoptolemus, the satrap of Mithridates. And the justification for this which Marius offered was thought to be altogether silly; he said, namely, that he wished to take part personally in the campaign in order to give his son a military training.

XXXV. These things brought to a head the secret disease from which the state had long been suffering,
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εὐφυσέστατον εὐρόντος ὀργανοῦ Μαρίου πρὸς τὸν κοινὸν ὄλεθρον τὸ Σουλπίκιον θράσος, ὅς διὰ τάλλα πάντα θαυμάζον καὶ ξηλῶν τὸν Σατορνί-νον ἀτολμίαν ἑπεκάλει τοῖς πολιτεύμασιν αὐτοῦ καὶ μέλλησιν. αὐτὸς δὲ μὴ μέλλων ἐξακοσίους μὲν εἶχε περὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἱππικῶν οἰνὸν δορυφόρους, καὶ τούτους ἀντισύγκλητον ὀνόμαζεν, ἐπελθὼν δὲ μεθ᾽ διπλῶν ἐκκλησιάζουσι τοῖς ὑπάτοις τοῦ μὲν ἐτέρου φυγόντος ἐξ ἀγορᾶς τῶν νῦν ἐγκαταλαβὼν ἀπέσφαξε, Σύλλας δὲ παρὰ τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Μαρίου διωκόμενος, οὐδενὸς ἀν προσδοκήσαντος, εἰςέπεσε· καὶ τοὺς μὲν διώκοντας ἔλαθε δρόμῳ παρενεχθέντας, ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ δὲ Μαρίον λέγεται κατὰ θύρας ἐτέρας ἀσφαλῶς ἀποπεμφθεὶς διεκπε-3 σεῖν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. αὐτὸς δὲ Σύλλας ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν οὐ φησὶ καταφυγεῖν πρὸς τὸν Μάριον, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπαλλαχθῆναι βουλευσόμενος ὑπὲρ ὧν Σουλπίκιος ἡμάγκαζεν αὐτὸν ἀκοῦτα ψηφίσασθαι, περισχῶν ἐν κύκλῳ ξίφος γυμνοῖς καὶ συνελάσας πρὸς τὸν Μάριον, ἅχρι οὐ προελ-θὼν ἐκείθεν εἰς ἀγορὰν, ὡς ἤξιον ἐκεῖνοι, τὰς 4 ἀπραξίας ἐλυσε. γενομένων δὲ τούτων ὡς τοῦ σουλπίκιος ἢδη κρατῶν ἐπεχειροτόνησε τῷ Μαρίῳ τὴν στρατηγίαν, ὡς τῷ Μάριος ἐν παρα-σκευῇ τῆς ἐξόδου καθειστήκει, καὶ δύο χιλιάρ-χους ἐξέσπεμψε· παραληψομένους τὸ Σύλλα στρά-
Caius Marius

and Marius found a most suitable instrument for the destruction of the commonwealth in the audacity of Sulpicius, who was in all things an admirer and an imitator of Saturninus, except that he charged him with timidity and hesitation in his political measures. Sulpicius himself was not a man of hesitation, but kept six hundred of the Knights about him as a body-guard, which he called his anti-senate; he also made an attack with armed men upon the consuls as they were holding an assembly, and when one of them fled from the forum, Sulpicius seized his son and butchered him; Sulla, however, the other consul, as he was being pursued past the house of Marius, did what no one would have expected and burst into the house. His pursuers ran past the house and therefore missed him, and it is said that Marius himself sent him off safely by another door so that he came in haste to his camp. But Sulla himself, in his Memoirs, says he did not fly for refuge to the house of Marius, but withdrew thither in order to consult with Marius about the step which Sulpicius was trying to force him to take (by surrounding him with drawn swords and driving him to the house of Marius), and that finally he went from there to the forum and rescinded the consular decree for the suspension of public business, as Sulpicius and his party demanded.1 When this had been done, Sulpicius, who was now master of the situation, got the command conferred upon Marius by vote of the people; and Marius, who was making his preparations for departure, sent out two military tribunes to take over the command of Sulla's army.

1 These proceedings are much more clearly narrated in the Sulla, chapter viii. Cf. also Appian, Bell. Civ. i. 55.
teuma. Σύλλασ δέ τούς στρατιώτας παροξύνας (ήσαν δὲ τρισμυρίων καὶ πεντακισχιλίων οὐ μείους ὁπλίται) προῆγαγεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην. τοὺς δὲ χιλιάρχους, οὓς ἐπέπεμψε Μάριος, προσπεσόντες οἱ στρατιώται διέφθειραν.

5 Πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ Μάριος ἐν Ῥώμη τῶν Σύλλα φίλων ἀνηρίκει, καὶ δούλοις ἐλευθερίαιν ἐκήρυττεν ἐπὶ συμμαχία. λέγονται δὲ τρεῖς μόνοι προσγενέσθαι. μικρά δ' ἀντιστάσεις ἐσελάσαντι τὸν Σύλλα καὶ ταχέως ἐκβιασθεὶς ἐφυγε. τῶν δὲ περὶ αὐτόν, ὡς πρῶτον ἐξέπεσε τῆς πόλεως, διασπαρέντων, σκότους ὄντος εἰς τῶν ἐπαυλίων αὐτοῦ Σολώνιον κατέφυγε. καὶ τὸν μὲν νιύν ἔπεμψεν ἐκτὸς Μονκίου τοῦ πενθεροῦ χωρίων οὐ μακρὰν ὄντων τὰ ἐπίτη- δεια ληψόμενον, αὐτὸς δὲ καταβας εἰς Ωστίαν, φίλου τινὸς Νουμερίου πλοῖον αὐτῷ παρασκευά- σαντος, οὐκ ἀναμείνας τὸν νῦν, ἀλλὰ Γράνιον ἔχων μεθ' αὐτοῦ τὸν πρόγονον ἐξέπλευσεν. οὗ δὲ 426 νεανίας, ὡς ἤλθεν εἰς τὰ χωρία τοῦ Μονκίου, λαμβάνων τι καὶ σκευαζόμενος ἡμέρας καταλαβούσης οὐ παντάπασι τοὺς πολέμιους ἔλαθεν, ἀλλ' ἦλθον ἵπτεις ἐλαύνοντες καθ' ὑπόνοιαν ἐπὶ 7 τῶν τόπων οὗ ὁ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐπιμελητής προϊόν- μενος ἔκρυψε τὸν Μάριον ἐν ἀμάξῃ κυάμους ἀγούσῃ, καὶ βοῦς ὑποδέξασα ἀπήντα τοῖς ἵππεισιν εἰς τόλμων ἐλαύνων τὴν ἀμάξαν. οὕτω δὲ πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν τῆς γυναικὸς ὁ Μάριος διακομισθείς καὶ λαβὼν ὄσων ἐδείτο νυκτὸς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἤκει καὶ νέως ἐπιβάς εἰς Διβύνη πλεοῦσης ἀπετέρασεν.

XXXVI. 'Ο δὲ πρεσβύτης Μάριος ὡς ἀνήχθη, πνεύματι φορός κομιζόμενος παρὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν

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Sulla, however, called upon his soldiers (who were no fewer than thirty-five thousand legionaries) to resent this, and led them forth against Rome. His soldiers also fell upon the tribunes whom Marius had sent and slew them.

Marius, too, put to death many of Sulla's friends in Rome, and proclaimed freedom to the slaves if they would fight on his side. It is said, however, that only three of them joined his ranks, and after a feeble resistance to Sulla's entry into the city he was speedily driven out and took to flight.¹ As soon as he had made his escape from the city his companions were scattered, and since it was dark, he took refuge at one of his farmsteads, called Soloniuim. He also sent his son to get provisions from the estate of his father-in-law, Mucius, which was not far off, while he himself went down to the coast at Ostia, where a friend of his, Numerius, had provided a vessel for him. Then, without waiting for his son, but taking his step-son Granius with him, he set sail. The younger Marius reached the estate of Mucius, but as he was getting supplies and packing them up, day overtook him and he did not altogether escape the vigilance of his enemies; for some horsemen came riding towards the place, moved by suspicion. When the overseer of the farm saw them coming, he hid Marius in a waggon loaded with beans, yoked up his oxen, and met the horsemen as he was driving the waggon to the city. In this way young Marius was conveyed to the house of his wife, where he got what he wanted, and then by night came to the sea, boarded a ship that was bound for Africa, and crossed over.

XXXVI. The elder Marius, after putting to sea, was borne by a favouring wind along the coast of

¹ Cf. the Sulla, chapter ix.
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έφοβήθη Γεμίνιον τινα των ἐν Ταρρακίνῃ δυνατῶν ἐχθρὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῖς ναύταις προείπειν εἰργε-σθαι Ταρρακίνης. οἱ δὲ ἔβουλοντο μὲν αὐτῷ χαρίζομεν, τοὺς δὲ πνεύματος εἰς πελάγιον μεθι-σταμένου καὶ κλύδωνα κατάγοντος πολὺν οὐτε τὸ πορθμεῖον ἐδόκει περικλυζόμενον ἀνθέξειν, τοῦ τε Μάριου δυσφοροῦντος καὶ κακῶς ἔχοντος ὑπὸ ναυτίας μόλις ἀντιλαμβάνονται τῶν περὶ τὸ

2 Κύρκαιον αἰγιαλῶν. τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος αὐξανομένου καὶ τῶν συτίων ἐπιλειπόντων ἐκβοῶντες ἐπλάξουτο πρὸς οὐδένα σκοπόν, ἀλλ’ οὐλα συμβαίνει ταῖς μεγάλαις ἀπορίαις ἀεὶ φεύγειν ἐκ τοῦ παρόντος ὡς χαλεπώτατον καὶ τὰς ἐπιπόδες ἔχειν ἐν τοῖς ἀδήλητοις. ἐπεὶ πολεμία μὲν ἐκείνοις ἡ γῆ, πολεμία δὲ ἡ θάλασσα, φοβερὸν δὲ ἡ ἀνθρώποις περι-πεσεῖν, φοβερὸν δὲ μὴ περιπεσεῖν δι᾿ ἐνδειαν τῶν

3 ἀναγκαῖων. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ ὁψὶ που βοτήρουν ὀλίγοις ἐνυγχάνουσιν, οὐ δοῦναί μὲν οὐδὲν ἔσχον αὐτοῖς δεομένους, ἡγωρίας τοῖς Μάριου ἐκέλευν ἄπαλλαττεσθαί τὴν ταχῖστην ὀλίγον γὰρ ἐμπρόσθεν αὐτῶθι κατὰ ζήτησιν αὐτοῦ συχ-νοῦς ἵππεας ὄφθηναι διεξαλύνουσα. ἐν παντὶ δὴ γεγονὼς ἀπορίας, μαλλιστα δὲ νηστεία τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν ἀπαγορευόντων, τότε μὲν ἐκτραπόμενος τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ καταβαλῶν ἑαυτὸν εἰς ὥλην βαθεῖαν ἐπιτόνως διενικτέρευσε. τῇ δ’ ὑστεραῖς συνηγ-μένος ὑπ’ ἐνδειας καὶ τῷ σώματι πρὶν ἐκλενύσθαι παντάπασι χρήσασθαι βουλόμενος ἔχωρει παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν, ἐπιθαρσύνων τοὺς ἐπομένους καὶ

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Italy; but since he was afraid of one Geminius, who was a powerful man in Terracina and an enemy of his, he told his sailors to keep clear of Terracina. The sailors were willing enough to do as he wished, but the wind veered round and blew towards the shore, bringing in a heavy surge, and it was thought that the vessel would not hold out against the beating of the waves; besides, Marius was in a wretched plight from sea-sickness, and therefore they made their way, though with difficulty, to the coast near Circeii. Then, as the storm was increasing and their provisions were failing, they landed from the vessel and wandered about. They had no definite object in view, but, as is usual in cases of great perplexity, sought always to escape the present evil as the most grievous, and fixed their hopes on the unknown future. For the land was their enemy, and the sea an enemy as well; they were afraid they might fall in with men, and they were afraid they might not fall in with men because they had no provisions. However, late in the day they came upon a few herdsmen; these had nothing to give them in their need, but they recognized Marius and bade him go away as fast as he could; for a little while before numerous horsemen had been seen riding about there in search of him. Thus at his wits’ end, and, what was worst of all, his companions fainting with hunger, he turned aside for the while from the road, plunged into a deep forest, and there spent the night in great distress. But the next day, compelled by want, and wishing to make use of his strength before it failed him altogether, he wandered along the shore, trying to encourage his companions, and begging them not to
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δεόμενος μή προαποκάμνειν τής τελευταίας ἐλπίδος, ἐφ' ἦν ἐαυτὸν φυλάττει μαντεύμασι παλαιοῖς
πιστεύσων. νέος γὰρ δὲν ἔτι παντελῶς καὶ διατρίβων κατ' ἀγρόν ὑποδέξασθαι τῷ ἰματίῳ καταφερομένην ἀετοῦ νεοτιάν ἐπτὰ νεοττοὺς ἔχουσαν· ιδόντας δὲ τοὺς γονεῖς καὶ θαυμάσαντας διαπνεύθανεσθαι τῶν μάντων· τοὺς δὲ εἶπεῖν ὡς ἐπιφανεστάτος ἀνθρώπων ἔσοιτο καὶ τὴν μεγίστην ἡγεμονίαν καὶ ἀρχήν ἐπτάκις αὐτὸν λαβεῖν ἀναγκαῖον εἶπ.

6 Ταῦτα οἱ μὲν ἀληθῶς τῷ Μαρίῳ συντυχεῖν οὕτω λέγοντες, οἱ δὲ τοὺς τότε καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἄλλην φυγὴν ἀκούσαντας αὐτοῦ καὶ πιστεύσαντας ἀναγράψαι πράγμα κομιδή μυθῶδες. ἀετὸς γὰρ οὗ τίκτει πλεῖον τῶν δυνεῖν, ἄλλα καὶ Μουσαῖον ἐψείσθαι λέγοντι εἰς τοῦ τόν ἀετοῦ, ὡς

Τρία μὲν τίκτει, δύο δὲ ἐκλέπτει, ἐν δὲ ἄλεγίζει. ¹

τὸ μέντοι πολλάκις ἐν τῇ φυγῇ καὶ ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἀπορίαις Μάριον εἰπεῖν ὡς ἄχρις ἐβδόμης ὑπατείας προεισών, ὁμολογούμενον ἐστίν. 

XXXVII. Ἡδὴ δὲ Μιντούρης, πόλεως Ἰταλκῆς, ὅσον εἰκοσὶ σταδίων ἄπεχοντες ὀρὼσιν ἵππεων ἴλην πρόσωθεν ἐλαύνοντας ἔπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ κατὰ τῆς ὀλκάδος δύο φερομένας. ὡς οὖν ἐκαστὸς ποδῶν εἰχὲ καὶ ρώμης καταδραμόντες ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ καταβαλόντες ἐαυτοῦ προσενήχοντο ταῖς νανσί. καὶ λαβόμενοι τῆς ἐτέρας οἱ περὶ τοῦ Γράνιον ἀπεπέρασαν εἰς τὴν

¹ Os τρία μὲν κτλ., as cited in Aristotle, Hist. An. vi. 6 (p. 563a, 17).

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give up the struggle before his last hope could be realized, for which he was still reserving himself in reliance on ancient prophecies. When, that is, he was quite young and living in the country, he had caught in his cloak a falling eagle's nest, which had seven young ones in it; at sight of this, his parents were amazed, and made enquiries of the seers, who told them that their son would be most illustrious of men, and was destined to receive the highest command and power seven times.

Some say that this really happened to Marius; but others say that those who heard the story from him at this time and during the rest of his flight, believed it, and recorded it, though it was wholly fabulous. For, they say, an eagle does not lay more than two eggs at one time, and Musaeus also was wrong when, speaking of the eagle, he says:

"Three indeed she layeth, and two hatcheth, but one only doth she feed."1

However, that Marius, during his flight and in his extremest difficulties, often said that he should attain to a seventh consulship, is generally admitted.

XXXVII. But presently, when they were about twenty furlongs distant from Minturnae, an Italian city, they saw from afar a troop of horsemen riding towards them, and also, as it chanced, two merchant vessels sailing along. Accordingly, with all the speed and strength they had, they ran down to the sea, threw themselves into the water, and began to swim to the ships. Granius and his party reached one of the ships and crossed over to the opposite

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2 ἀντικρὺς νῆσον. Αἰναρία καλεῖται· αὐτὸν δὲ Μάριον βαρὺν ὄντα τῷ σώματι καὶ δυσμεταχειριστὸν οἰκεῖαι δύο μόλις καὶ χαλεπῶς ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης ἐξάραντες εἰς τὴν ἔτεραν ἑθεντο ναῦν, ἣδε τῶν ἱππέων ἐφεστώτων καὶ διακελευομένων ἀπὸ γῆς τοῖς ναύσις κατάγειν τὸ πλοῖον ἡ τὸν Μάριον ἐκβαλόντας αὐτοὺς ἀποπλεῖν ὑπὲρ χρῆ-ξοιεν. ἱκετεύοντος δὲ τοῦ Μαρίου καὶ δακρύνοντος, οἱ κύριοι τῆς ὀλκάδος ὡς ἐν ὀλίγῳ πολλᾶς ἐπὶ ἀμφότερα τῆς γνώμης τροπὰς λαβῶντες ὅμως ἀπεκρίναντο τῶν ἵππων ὑπὲρ μὴ προέσθαι τὸν Μάριον. ἱκείων δὲ πρὸς ὁργὴν ἀπελασάντων αὐθίς ἐτέρων γενόμενοι λογισμῶν κατεφέροντο πρὸς τὴν γῆν· καὶ περὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Δίων ποταμοῦ διάχυσιν λυμνώθη λαμβάνοντος ἀγκύρας βαλόμενοι παρακάλουν αὐτὸν ἐκβῆναι καὶ τροφὴν ἐπὶ γῆς λαβεῖν καὶ τὸ σῶμα θεραπεύσαι κεκακωμένον, ἀχρὶ οὗ φορὰ γένηται· γύγνεσθαι δὲ τὴν εἰσθησίαν ὁραν τοῦ πελαγίου μαρανομένου καὶ τῶν ἐλών αὖραν ἀναδιδόντων ἐπιεικῶς διαρκῆ. 4 ἡμᾶς πεισθεὶς ὁ Μάριος ἐπράττει· καὶ τῶν ναυ-τῶν ἑξέλομένων αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν κατακλώνεις ἐν τοῖς πόρῳπορρωτάτῳ τοῦ μέλλοντος εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν. οἱ δὲ εὐθὺς ἐπιβάντες ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν καὶ τὰς ἁγκύρας ἀναλαβόντες ἔθεεν, ὡς οὕτε καλῶν ἐκδόουν τὸν Μάριον αὐτοῖς οὕτε σώζειν ἄσφαλές. οὕτω δὴ πάντων ἔρημος· ἀπολειφθεὶς πολὺς μὲν χρόνον ἀναβίετο ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκτῆς ἔκειτο, μόλις δὲ πῶς ἀναλαβὼν ἐαυτὸν ἐπορεύετο ταλαι-πόρως ἀνοδίαις· καὶ διεξελθὼν ἐλη βαθέα καὶ τάφρους ὑδατος καὶ τῆλον γεμοῦσας ἐπιτυγχάνει καλύβη λυμνουργοῦ γέροντος, ὅταν περιπετεσὶς ἱκέ-
CAIUS MARIUS

island, Aenaria by name; Marius himself, who was heavy and unwieldy, two slaves with toil and difficulty held above water and put into the other ship, the horsemen being now at hand and calling out from the shore to the sailors either to bring the vessel to shore or to throw Marius overboard and sail whither they pleased. But since Marius supplicated them with tears in his eyes, the masters of the vessel, after changing their minds often in a short time, nevertheless replied to the horsemen that they would not surrender Marius. The horsemen rode away in a rage, and the sailors, changing their plan again, put in towards the shore; and after casting anchor at the mouth of the Liris, where the river expands into a lake, they advised Marius to leave the vessel, take some food ashore with him, and recruit his strength after his hardships until a good wind for sailing should arise; this usually arose, they said, when the wind from the sea died away and a tolerably strong breeze blew from the marshes. Marius was persuaded to follow their advice; so the sailors carried him ashore, and he lay down in some grass, without the slightest thought of what was to come. Then the sailors at once boarded their vessel, hoisted anchor, and took to flight, feeling that it was neither honourable for them to surrender Marius nor safe to rescue him. Thus, forsaken of all men, he lay a long time speechless on the shore, but recovered himself at last and tried to walk along, the lack of any path making his progress laborious. He made his way through deep marshes and ditches full of mud and water, until he came to the hut of an old man who got his living from the water. At his feet Marius fell

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teue γενέσθαι σωτήρα καὶ βοηθὸν ἀνδρός, εἰ διαφύγω τὰ παρόντα, μεῖζονας ἐλπίδων ἀμοιβάς ἀποδώσοντος. οὐ δὲ ἄνθρωπος, εἰτε πάλαι γυνῶσκων εἰτε πρὸς τὴν ὦσιν ὡς κρείττονα θαυμάσας, ἀναπαυόμην μὲν ἐφ’ ἐσωμένῳ τὸ σκηνύδριον ἔξαρκείν, εἰ δὲ τινὰς ὑποφεύγων πλάξουτο κρύψειν
6 αὐτὸν ἐν τόπῳ μάλλον ἑσυχίαν ἔχοντι. τοῦ δὲ Μάριου δεθήντος τούτο ποιεῖν, ἀγαγὼν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ἔλος καὶ πτήξαι κελεύσας ἐν χωρίῳ κόλπῳ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπέβαλε τὸν τε καλάμων πολλοὺς καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἐπιφέρων ὦλης ὅσῃ κοῦφη καὶ περιπέσειν ἄβλαβος δυναμένη.

XXXVIII. Χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διαγενομένου ψόφος αὐτὸ καὶ θύρωσις ἀπὸ τῆς καλύβης προσέπεσαν. οὐ γὰρ Γεμύνιος ἢ Ταρρακίνης ἔπειρε πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν δίωξιν, ἃν ἔνιοι κατὰ τὰς τοὺς ἐκεῖ προσελθόντες ἐξεφόβοισι καὶ καταβόθινος τοῦ γέροντος ὡς ὑποδεδεγμένου καὶ κατακρυβόντος
2 πολέμοιο Ῥωμαίων. ἐξαναστάσις οὖν ὁ Μάριος καὶ ἀποδυσάμενος καθήκειν εὐαυτὸν εἰς τὴν λίμνην ὕδωρ παχὺ καὶ τελματῶδες ἔχουσαν. ὅθεν οὐ διέλαθε τοὺς ζητοῦντας, ἀλλ’ ἀνασπάσθεις βορίβόρου κατὰπλεως γυμνὸς εἰς Μιντούρνας ἄνηχθη καὶ παρεδόθη τοῖς ἄρχουσιν. ἢν γὰρ εἰς ἀπασαν ἡδὲ πόλιν ἐξενενεγμένον παράγγελμα περὶ τοῦ Μάριον δημοσία διώκειν καὶ κτείνειν τοὺς λαβόντας. ὦμως δὲ βουλεύσασθαι πρότερον ἐδόκει τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ κατατίθενται τὸν Μάριον εἰς οἰκίαν Φαννίας γυναικὸς οὐκ εὐμενῶς δοκοῦσης ἔχειν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξ αἰτίας παλαιᾶς.

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down and besought him to save and help a man who, in case he escaped his present perils, would recompense him beyond all his hopes. Then the man, who either knew Marius from of old or saw that in his face which won the regard due to superior rank, told him that if he merely wanted to rest, the cabin would suffice, but that if he was wandering about trying to escape pursuers, he could be hidden in a place that was more quiet. Marius begged that this might be done, and the man took him to the marsh, bade him crouch down in a hollow place by the side of the river, and threw over him a mass of reeds and other material which was light enough to cover without injuring him.

XXXVIII. Not much time had elapsed, however, when a din and tumult at the hut fell upon the ears of Marius. For Geminius had sent a number of men from Terracina in pursuit of him, some of whom had chanced to come to the old man's hut, and were frightening and berating him for having received and hidden an enemy of Rome. Marius therefore rose from his hiding-place, stripped off his clothes, and threw himself into the thick and muddy water of the marsh. Here he could not elude the men who were in search of him, but they dragged him out all covered with slime, led him naked to Minturnae, and handed him over to the magistrates there. Now, word had already been sent to every city that Marius was to be pursued by the authorities and killed by his captors. But nevertheless, the magistrates decided to deliberate on the matter first; so they put Marius for safe-keeping in the house of a woman named Fannia, who was thought to be hostile to him on account of an ancient grievance.
'Ην γὰρ ἀνήρ τῇ Φαννία Τιτίννιος· τούτου διαστᾶσα τὴν φερνὴν ἀπῆτει λαμπρὰν οὔσαν. ὥς δὲ μοιχείαν ἐνεκάλει· καὶ γίνεται Μάριος ὑπατεύων τὸ ἔκτων δικαστῆς. ἔπει δὲ τῆς δίκης λεγομένης ἐφαίνετο καὶ τὴν Φαννίαν ἀκόλαστον γεγονέναι καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα τοιαύτην εἰδότα λαβεῖν καὶ συμβιώσαι πολὺν χρόνον, ἀμφοτέρους δυσχεράνας τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα τὴν φερνὴν ἐκέλευσεν ἀποδοῦναι, τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς ἁτιμίας ἐνεκα τῇ καταδίκῃ χαλκοῦς τέσσαρας προσετίμησεν.

5 Οὐ μὴν ἦ γε Φαννία τότε πάθος γυναικὸς ἡδικημένης ἔλαβεν, ἀλλ’ ὡς εἰδε τὸν Μάριον, πορρωτάτω γενομένη τοῦ μυησικακείν, ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐπεμελεῖτο καὶ παρεθάρρυνεν αὐτὸν. ὁ δὲ κάκεινην ἐπήνει καὶ θαρρεῖν ἔφασκε· σημεῖον γὰρ αὐτῷ γεγονέναι χρήστον. ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτον.

'Ως ἀγόμενος πρὸς τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῆς Φαννίας ἔγεγότας, τῶν θυρῶν ἀνοιχθεῖσῶν δόνος ἐνδοθεν ἐκώρει δρόμῳ, πίομενος ἀπὸ κρῆνης ἐγγὺς ἀπορρεύσῃς· 6 προσβλέψας δὲ τῷ Μαρίῳ λαμυρὸν τι καὶ γεγεν-θὸς ἐστὶ πρῶτον ἐναντίον, εἰτα φωνὴν ἀφῄει λαμπρὰν καὶ παρεσκῆτησε παρ’ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ γαυ-ρότητος. ἐξ οὐ συμβαλλὼν ὁ Μάριος ἔφασκεν ὡς διὰ θαλάσσης αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἡ διὰ γῆς ὑποδέεκνυσι σωτηρίαν τὸ δαιμόνιον· τὸν γὰρ ὄνον οὐ προσέ-χοντα τῇ ξηρᾷ τροφῇ πρὸς τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπ’ αὐτὸν τραπέζησαι.

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Fannia, that is, had been married to Titinnius; but she had separated herself from him and demanded back her dowry, which was considerable. Her husband, however, had accused her of adultery; and Marius, who was serving in his sixth consulship, had presided over the trial. When the case was pleaded, and it appeared that Fannia had been a dissolute woman, and that her husband had known this and yet had taken her to wife and lived with her a long time, Marius was disgusted with both of them, and decreed that the husband should pay back his wife’s dowry, while at the same time he imposed upon the woman, as a mark of infamy, a fine of four coppers.

However, at the time of which I speak, Fannia did not act like a woman who had been wronged, but when she saw Marius, she put far from her all resentment, cared for him as well as she could, and tried to encourage him. Marius commended her, and said he was of good courage; for an excellent sign had been given him. And this sign was as follows.

When, as he was led along, he had come to the house of Fannia, the door flew open and an ass ran out, in order to get a drink at a spring that flowed hard by; with a saucy and exultant look at Marius the animal at first stopped in front of him, and then, giving a magnificent bray, went frisking past him triumphantly. From this Marius drew an omen and concluded that the Deity was indicating a way of escape for him by sea rather than by land; for the ass made no account of its dry fodder, but turned from that to the water.

After explaining this to Fannia, Marius lay down
παύετο, τὴν θύραν τοῦ δωματίου προσθείναι κελεύσας.

XXXIX. Βουλευμένοις δὲ τοῖς ἁρχουσι καὶ συνέδροις τῶν Μιντούρνησίων ἔδοξε μὴ μέλλειν, ἀλλὰ διαχρήσασθαι τῶν ἄνδρα. καὶ τῶν μὲν πολιτῶν οὐδεὶς ὑπέστη τὸ ἔργον, ἑπεκεῖ δὲ Γαλάτης τὸ γένος ἡ Κύμβρος (ἀμφοτέρως γὰρ ἱστορεῖται) λαβὼν ἐξίφος ἐπεισήλθεν αὐτῷ. τοῦ δὲ οἰκήματος ἐν ϑ᾽ ἔτυχε μέρει κατακείμενος οὐ πάνυ λαμπρὸν φῶς ἔχοντος, ἀλλ' ὄντος ἐπισκίου, λέγεται τὰ μὲν ὄμματα τοῦ Μάριου φλόγα πολλὴν ἐκβάλλοντα τῷ στρατιώτῃ φανήσας, φωνὴν δὲ μεγάλην ἐκ τοῦ παλισκίου γενέσθαι, "Σὺ δὴ τομάς, ἀνθρωπε, Γαίον Μάριον ἄνελεῖν;" ἐξῆλθεν οὖν εὐθὺς ὁ βάρβαρος φυγῆ, καὶ τὸ ξίφος ἐν μέσῳ καταβαλὸν ἐχώρει διὰ θυρῶν, τοῦτο μόνον βοῶν, "Οὐ δύναμαι Γαίον Μάριον ἀποκτείναι."

3 πάντας οὖν ἐκπλήξεις ἔσχεν, εἶτα οἶκτος καὶ μετάνοια τῆς γνώμης καὶ κατάμεμψεις ἑαυτῶν ὡς Βούλευμα βεβουλευκότων ἄνομον καὶ ἀχάριστον ἐπ' ἄνδρι σωτηρὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ὥς μὴ βοηθήσαι δεινοῦ ἦν. "Τιω δ' οὖν ὅτι χρήξει φυγῆς, ἀναπτησόμενος ἀλλαχοθί τὸ μεμορμένον. ἡμεῖς δὲ εὐχόμεθα μὴ νεμεσθῇς θεοῦς Μάριον ἀπορον καὶ γνωμὸν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκβαλοῦσιν." ὑπὸ τοιούτων λογισμῶν εἰςπεσόντες ἄδροι καὶ περισχόντες

4 αὐτὸν ἐξῆγον ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. ἄλλον δὲ ἄλλο τι προθύμως ὑπηρετοῦντος καὶ σπευδόντων ἀπάντων ἐγίνετο τριβῆ τοῦ χρόνου. τὸ γὰρ τῆς λεγομένης Μαρίκας ἄλλος, δὲ σέβονται καὶ παρα-φυλάττουσι μηθέν ἐκείθεν ἐκκομισθήναι τῶν

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to rest alone, after ordering the door of the apartment to be closed.

XXXIX. Upon deliberation, the magistrates and councillors of Minturnae decided not to delay, but to put Marius to death. No one of the citizens, however, would undertake the task, so a horseman, either a Gaul or a Cimbrian (for the story is told both ways), took a sword and went into to the room where Marius was. Now, that part of the room where Marius happened to be lying had not a very good light, but was gloomy, and we are told that to the soldier the eyes of Marius seemed to shoot out a strong flame, and that a loud voice issued from the shadows saying: "Man, dost thou dare to slay Caius Marius?" At once, then, the Barbarian fled from the room, threw his sword down on the ground, and dashed out of doors, with this one cry: "I cannot kill Caius Marius." Consternation reigned, of course, and then came pity, a change of heart, and self-reproach for having come to so unlawful and ungrateful a decision against a man who had been the saviour of Italy, and who ought in all decency to be helped. "So, then," the talk ran, "let him go where he will as an exile, to suffer elsewhere his allotted fate. And let us pray that the gods may not visit us with their displeasure for casting Marius out of our city in poverty and rags." Moved by such considerations, they rushed into his room in a body, surrounded him, and began to lead him forth to the sea. But although this one and that one were eager to do him some service and all made what haste they could, still there was delay. For the grove of Marica, as it was called, which was held in veneration, and from which nothing was permitted to be carried out that had ever
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eἰσκομισθέντων, ἐμποδῶν ἦν τῆς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ὁδοῦ, καὶ κύκλῳ περιόλυτας ἐδεῖ βραδύνειν, ἀχρὶ οὗ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τις ἐκβοηχος ἐφη μηδεμίαν ἅβατον μηδ' ἀπόρετον ὁδὸν εἶναι δι' ἦς σώζεται Μάριος. καὶ πρῶτος αὐτὸς λαβὼν τι τῶν κομηξομένων ἐπὶ ναῦν διὰ τοῦ τόπου διεξήλθε.

XL. Τοιαύτη προβυμία ταχὺ πάντων συμπορισθέντων καὶ Βηλαίου τινὸς ναύν τῷ Μαρίῳ παρασχόντος, ὡς ύστερον πίνακα τῶν πράξεων ἐκείνων γραψάμενος ἀνέθηκεν εἰς τὸ ιερὸν οὗν ἐμβάς ὁ Μάριος ἀνήχθη, τῷ πνεύματι φέροντι χρόμενος ἐφέρετο πῶς κατὰ τύχην πρὸς Αἰναρίαν τὴν νήσου, ὅτου τὸν Γρανίου καὶ τοὺς ἀλλοὺς 2 φίλους εὐρών ἐπέλει μετ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ Διβύνης. ὑδατὸς δὲ ἐπιλιπόντως αὐτοὺς ἀναγκαίως Σικελίᾳ κατὰ τὴν Ἐρυκίνην προσέσχον. ἔτυχε δὲ περὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐκείνους ὁ Ῥωμαῖοι ταμίας παραφυλάσσων, καὶ μικρὸν μὲν αὐτὸν ἀποβάντα τὸν Μάριον εἶλεν, ἀπέκτεινε δὲ περὶ ἐκκαίδεκα τῶν υδρευμένων. Μάριος δὲ κατὰ στουδὴν ἀναχθεὶς καὶ διαπεράςας τὸ πέλαγος πρὸς Μήνυγγα τὴν νήσου, ἐνταῦθα διαπυνθόμεται πρῶτον ὡς ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ διασέσωται μετὰ Κεθήνου καὶ πορεύονται πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Νομάδων Ἰάμψαν, δεη-3 σῶμενοι βοήθειν. ἐφ' οίς μικρὸν ἀναπνεύσας ἐθάρρησεν ἀπὸ τῆς νῆσου πρὸς τὴν Καρχηδονίαν 429 προσβάλειν.

Ἐστρατηγεὶ δὲ τῆς Διβύνης τότε Σεξτίλιος, ἀνὴρ Ῥωμαῖος, οὔτε φαύλον οὔθὲν οὔτε χρηστὸν ἐκ Μαρίων προειληφός, ἀλλ' ὤσον ἀπ' οἷτον τι προσδοκόμενος ὑφελήσειν. ἀρτι δὲ αὐτοῦ μετ'
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been carried in, lay between them and the sea as they were going, and if they went round it they must needs lose time. At last, however, one of the older men cried out and said that no path could forbid men’s steps and passage if it were the path of safety for Marius. And the speaker himself was the first to take some of the things that were being carried to the ship and pass through the holy place.

XL. Everything was speedily provided through such readiness as this, and a certain Belaeus furnished a ship for Marius. Belaeus afterwards had a painting made representing these scenes, and dedicated it in the temple at the spot where Marius embarked and put to sea. Favoured by the wind he was borne along by chance to the island of Aenaria, where he found Granius and the rest of his friends, and set sail with them for Africa. But their supply of fresh water failed, and they were compelled to touch at Erycina in Sicily. In this neighbourhood, as it chanced, the Roman quaestor was on the watch, and almost captured Marius himself as he landed; he did kill about sixteen of his men who came ashore for water. Marius therefore put out to sea with all speed and crossed to the island of Meninx, where he first learned that his son had come off safely with Cethegus, and that they were on their way to Iampsas the king of Numidia, intending to ask his aid. At this news Marius was a little refreshed, and made bold to push on from the island to the neighbourhood of Carthage.

The Roman governor of Africa at this time was Sextilius, a man who had received neither good nor ill at the hands of Marius, but whom, as it was expected, pity alone would move to give him aid. Hardly, however, had Marius landed with a few companions,
ολίγων ἀποβεβηκότος ὑπηρέτης ἀπαντήσαις καὶ
kαταστᾶς ἐναντίον εἶπεν, "Ἄπαγορεύει σοι Σέξ-
tίλιος ὁ στρατηγὸς, ὁ Μάριος, Λιβύης ἐπιβαίνειν
eῖ δὲ μή, φησίν ἀμυνεῖν τοῖς τῆς βουλῆς δόγμασιν,
4 ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι πολεμίζων χρώμενος." ταῦτα ἀκού-
σαντα τὸν Μάριον ὑπὸ λύτης καὶ βαρυθυμίας
ἀπορία λόγων ἔσχε, καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἦν
ἔγε δεινὸν εἰς τὸν ὑπηρέτην ἀποβλέπων. ἔρωμένον
δὲ ἐκείνων τί φράζει καὶ τί λέγει πρὸς τὸν στρατη-
gόν, ἀπεκρίνατο μέγα στενάξας," Ἀγγέλλε τοίνυν
ὅτι Γάιον Μάριον ἐν τοῖς Καρχηδόνος ἐρείπιοις
φυγάδα καθεξόμενον εἶδες," οὐ κακῶς ἀμα τὴν
τὴν πόλεως ἐκείνης τūχην καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μετα-
βολὴν ἐν παραδείγματος λόγῳ θέμενος.

5 Ἔν τούτῳ δὲ Ἡλάμψας ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Νομάδων
ἐπαμφοτερίζων τοῖς λογουσμοῖς ἐν τιμῇ μὲν ἦγε
τοὺς περὶ τὸν νέον Μάριον, ἀπείνα τὸν ἀκρο-
λομένους ἐκ τινος ἀεὶ προφάσεως κατείχε, καὶ
δήλος ἦν ἐπ᾽ οὖν ἐντὸς ἡρηστῷ ποιούμενος τὴν ἀνα-
βολὴν. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα συμβαίνει τοῖς εἰκότων
αὐτοῖς πρὸς σωτηρίαν. ὁ γὰρ νέος Μάριος, εὐπρε-
πης ὅν τὴν ὄψιν ἤνια τῶν παλαικίδων τοῦ
βασιλέως παρὰ ἄξιων πράττων, ὁ δὲ οίκτος ὤντος

6 ἀρχὴ καὶ πρόφασις ἦν ἑρωτος. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον
ἀπετρίβετο τὴν ἀνθρωπον ὡς δὲ οὕτε φυγὴς
ἐτέραν ὁδὸν ἔφαρ καὶ τὰ παρ᾽ ἐκείνης στουδαίο-
tερον ἡ πρὸς ἡδοὴν ἀκόλαστον διεπράττετο,
δεξάμενος τὴν φιλοφροσύνην καὶ συνεκπεμφθεῖς
ὑπ᾽ αὐτῆς ἀπέδρα μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ διέφυγε
πρὸς τὸν Μάριον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀλλήλους ἡσπάσαντο,
πορευόμενοι παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐντυγχάνουσι
σκορπίοις μαχαμένους καὶ τὸ σημεῖον ἑφάνη τῷ
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when an official met him, stood directly in front of him, and said: "Sextilius the governor forbids thee, Marius, to set foot in Africa; and if thou disobeyest, he declares that he will uphold the decrees of the senate and treat thee as an enemy of Rome." When he heard this, Marius was rendered speechless by grief and indignation, and for a long time kept quiet, looking sternly at the official. Then, when asked by him what he had to say, and what answer he would make to the governor, he answered with a deep groan: "Tell him, then, that thou hast seen Caius Marius a fugitive, seated amid the ruins of Carthage." And it was not inaptly that he compared the fate of that city with his own reversal of fortune.

Meanwhile Iampsas the king of Numidia, hesitating which course to take, did indeed treat the younger Marius and his party with respect, but always had some excuse for detaining them when they wished to go away, and clearly had no good end in view in thus postponing their departure. However, something occurred which, though not at all extraordinary, led to their escape. The younger Marius, that is, being a handsome fellow, one of the concubines of the king was pained to see him treated unworthily, and this feeling of compassion ripened into love. At first, then, Marius repelled the woman's advances; but when he saw that there was no other way of escape for him and his friends, and that her behaviour was based on a genuine affection, he accepted her favours; whereupon she helped him in getting off, and he ran away with his friends and made his escape to his father. After father and son had embraced one another, they walked along the sea-shore, and there they saw some scorpions fighting, which the elder
7 Μαρίων πονηρόν. εύθυς οὖν ἀλιάδος ἐπιβάντες εἰς Κέρκιναν διεπέρων, νῆσον ἀπέχουσαν οὐ πολὺ τῆς ἡπείρου· καὶ τοσούτων ἐφθασαν ὅσον ἀνηγμένων αὐτῶν ἰππεῖς ὀρᾶσθαι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐλαύνοντας ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων οὐδεν ἀνήχθησαν. τούτων οὖν εὐδενὸς ἐλάττων κίνδυνον ἐδοξεῖν ἐκφυγεῖν ὁ Μάριος.

XLI. Ἔν δὲ Ῥώμη Σύλλας μὲν ἕκοιτο τοῖς Μιθριδάτου πολεμείν στρατηγοῖς περὶ Βοιωτίαν, οἱ δὲ ὑπατοὶ στασίσαντες ἐχώρων εἰς ὅπλα. καὶ μάχης γενομένης Ὁκτάβιος μὲν κρατήσας ἐξέβαλε Κίνναν ἐπιχειροῦντα τυραννικῶτερον ἀρχεῖν, καὶ κατέστησαν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Κορνήλιον Μέρούλλαν ὑπατον, ὁ δὲ Κίννας ἐκ τῆς ἀλλῆς Ἰταλίας συναγαγὼν δύναμιν αὕτης διεσπολέμει 2 πρὸς αὐτούς. ταῦτα τῷ Μαρίῳ πυνθανομένῳ πλεῦσαι τὴν ταχίστην ἐφαίνετο· καὶ παραλαβὼν ἐκ τῆς Διβύς Μαυρουσίων τινὰς ἰππότας καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας τινὰς καταφερομένων, συναμφότερος οὐ πλείονας χιλίων γενομένους, ἀνήχθη· προσβαλὼν δὲ Ἡ Τελαμώνις τῆς Τυρρηνίας καὶ ἀποβας ἐκήρυττε δούλως ἐλευθερίαν· καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ γεωργοῦντων καὶ νεμόντων ἐλευθέρων κατὰ δόξαν αὐτοῦ συντρέχοντων ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀναπείθων τοὺς ἀκμαίοτάτους ἐν ἡμέραις ὀλίγαις χείρᾳ μεγάλῃν ἡθοσε ὁ τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς ἐπιλήσουσεν.

3 Εἰδὼς δὲ τῶν μὲν Ὁκτάβιον ἀριστον ἄνδρα καὶ τῶν δικαίωτος τρόπῳ Βουλόμενον ἀρχεῖν, τὸν δὲ Κίνναν ὑποττῶν τε τῷ Σύλλα καὶ πολεμοῦντα τῇ

1 ἀνήχθη. προσβαλὼν δὲ with Coraës: μεθ' ἐν ἀνήχθῃ, προσβαλὼν.
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Marius regarded as a bad omen. At once, therefore, they boarded a fishing-boat and crossed over to the island of Cercina, which was not far distant from the mainland; and scarcely had they put out from land when horsemen sent by the king were seen riding towards the spot whence they had sailed. It would seem that Marius never escaped a greater peril than this.

XLI. But in Rome, Sulla was heard of as waging war with the generals of Mithridates in Boeotia; and the consuls quarrelled and were resorting to arms. A battle took place, Octavius won the day, cast out Cinna, who was trying to be too arbitrary in his rule, and put Cornelius Merula in his place as consul; whereupon Cinna assembled a force from the other parts of Italy and made war anew upon Octavius and his colleague. When Marius heard of these things, he thought best to sail thither as fast as he could; so taking with him from Africa some Moorish horsemen, and some Italians who had wandered thither, the number of both together not exceeding a thousand, he put to sea. Putting in at Telamon in Tyrrhenia, and landing there, he proclaimed freedom to the slaves; he also won over the sturdiest of the free farmers and herdsmen of the neighbourhood, who came flocking down to the sea attracted by his fame, and in a few days had assembled a large force and manned forty ships.

And now, knowing that Octavius was a most excellent man and wished to rule in the justest way, but that Cinna was distrusted by Sulla and was making

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καθεστώσῃ πολιτεία, τούτῳ προσνέμεως ἐαυτὸν ἔγνω μετὰ τῇς δυνάμεως. ἔπεμψεν οὖν ἐπαγγελήμενος ὡς ὑπάτῳ πάντα ποιήσειν τὰ προστασσόμενα. δεξαμένου δὲ τοῦ Κίννα καὶ προσαγορεύσαντος αὐτοῦ ἀνθύπατον, ῥάβδους δὲ καὶ 430 τᾶλλα παράσημα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀποστείλαντος, οὐκ ἐφη πρέπειν αὐτοῦ ταῖς τύχαις τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλ' ἐσθήτη φαύλη κεχρημένος καὶ κομῶν ἀφ' ἂς ἐφύγεν ἡμέρας, ὑπὲρ ἐβδομήκοντα γεγονὸς ἐτη βάδην προσήη, Βουλόμενος μὲν ἔλεεινός εἶναι, τῷ δὲ οἴκτῳ συμμέκιτο τὸ οίκειον τῆς ὄψεως αὐτοῦ πλέον τὸ φοβερόν, καὶ διέφαινεν ἡ κατήφεια τὸν θυμὸν οὐ τεταπεινωμένον, ἀλλ' ἐξηγηρωμένον ὑπὸ τῆς μεταβολῆς.

XLII. Ἀσπασάμενος δὲ τῶν Κίνναν καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐντυχών εὐθὺς εἰχετὸ τοῦ ἔργου καὶ μεγάλην μεταβολὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐποίησε. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ναυσὶ τὰ σιτηγὰ περικόπτων καὶ τοὺς ἐμπόρους λημέζόμενος ἐκράτησε τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ἐπείτα τὰς παραλίους πόλεις ἐπιπλέων ἦρει. τέλος δὲ τὴν Ὀστίαν αὐτὴν λαβὼν ἐκ προδοσίας τὰ τε χρήματα διήρπασε καὶ τῶν ἄθρωπων τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ γεφυρώσας τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπέκοψε κομιδὴ τὰς ἐκ θαλάσσης εὐπορίας τῶν 2 πολεμίων. ἄρας δὲ τῷ στρατῷ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔχωρει καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Ἰανούκλον ὅρος κατέσχεν, οὐ τοσοῦτον ἀπειρία τοῦ Ὄκταβλου τὰ πράγματα βλάπτοντος, ὅσον ἀκριβεία τῶν δικαιών προιέμενον τὰ χρειότητα παρὰ τὸ συμφέρον, ὃς 580
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war upon the established constitution, he determined to join Cinna with his forces. Accordingly he sent to Cinna and offered to obey him in everything as consul. Cinna accepted his offer, named him pro-consul, and sent him the fasces and other insignia of the office. Marius, however, declared that these decorations were not suited to his fortunes, and in mean attire, his hair uncut since the day of his flight, being now over seventy years of age, came with slow steps to meet the consul. For he wished that men should pity him; but with his appeal for compassion there was mingled the look that was natural to him and now more terrifying than ever, and through his downcast mien there flashed a spirit which had been, not humbled, but made savage by his reverses.

XLII. After greeting Cinna and presenting himself to Cinna's soldiers, he at once began his work and greatly changed the posture of affairs. In the first place, by cutting off the grain-ships with his fleet and plundering the merchants, he made himself master of the city's supplies; next, he sailed to the maritime cities and took them; and finally, he seized Ostia itself, which was treacherously surrendered to him, plundering the property there and killing most of its inhabitants, and by throwing a bridge across the river completely cut off the enemy from such stores as might come by sea. Then he set out and marched with his army towards the city, and occupied the hill called Janiculum. Octavius damaged his own cause, not so much through lack of skill, as by a too scrupulous observance of the laws, wherein he unwisely neglected the needs of the hour. For though many urged him to call the slaves to arms
γε πολλῶν κελευόντων αὐτὸν ἐπ' ἔλευθερία καλεῖν τοὺς οἰκέτας οὐκ ἔφη δούλωις μεταδόσειν τῆς πατρίδος, ἦς Γαύιον Μάριον εἴργει τοῖς νόμοις
3 ἀμύνων. ἔπει δὲ Μέτελλος νῖός Μετέλλου τοῦ στρατηγῆσαντος ἐν Διβύῃ καὶ διὰ Μάριον ἐκπεσόντος ἤκεν εἰς Ῥώμην καὶ πολὺ τοῦ Ὀκταβίου στρατηγικότερος ἐφαίνετο, καταληπότης οἱ στρατιώται τὸν Ὀκτάβιον ἤκεν ὡς ἐκεῖνον ἄρχειν δεόμενοι καὶ σώζειν τὴν πόλιν· εὖ γὰρ ἀγωνιείσθαι καὶ κρατήσειν ἐμπειρον ἥγεμον καὶ δραστήριον λαβόντες. ἀγανακτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Μετέλλου καὶ κελεύοντος ἀπείναι πρὸς τὸν ὑπατον, ψχοντο πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. ὑπεξέστη δὲ καὶ Μέτελλος ἀπογνών την πόλιν.

4 Ὀκτάβιον δὲ Χαλδαῖοι καὶ θυταί τινες καὶ σιβυλλισται πείσαντες ἐν Ῥώμῃ κατέσχον, ὡς εὖ γενησομένων. ὁ γὰρ ἀνήρ οὗτος δοκεῖ, τάλλα Ῥωμαίων εὐγνωμονεστάτους γενόμενοι καὶ μάλιστα δὴ τὸ πρόσχημα τῆς ὑπατείας ἀκολάκευτον ἐπὶ τῶν πατρίων ἐθῶν καὶ νόμων ὡσπερ διαγραμμάτων ἀμεταβόλων διαφυλάξας, ἀρρωστιὰ τῇ περὶ ταῦτα χρήσασθαι, πλείονα συνὼν χρόνου ἀγύρταις καὶ μάντειν ἢ πολιτικοῖς καὶ πολεμικοῖς

5 ἀνδράσιν. οὗτος μὲν οὐχ πρὶν εἰσελθεῖν τὸν Μάριον, ὑπὸ τῶν προπεμφθέντων ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος καταστασθεῖς ἐσφάττετο· καὶ λέγεται διάγραμμα Χαλδαίκον ἐν τοῖς κόλποις αὐτοῦ φονευθέντος εὑρεθῆναι. καὶ τὸ πράγμα πολλὴν ἀλογίαν ἐίχε, τὸ δὲν ἦγεμόνων ἐπιφανεστάτων Μάριον μὲν 582
under promise of freedom, he said he would not make bondmen members of the state from which he was trying to exclude Marius in obedience to the laws. Moreover, when Metellus (son of the Metellus who had commanded in Africa and had been banished through the intrigues of Marius) came to Rome, it was thought that he was far superior to Octavius as a general, and the soldiers forsook Octavius and came to him, entreating him to take the command and save the city; for they would make a good fight, they said, and win the victory if they got a tried and efficient leader. Metellus, however, was indignant at them and bade them go back to the consul; whereupon they went off to the enemy. Metellus also left the city, despairing of its safety.

But Octavius was persuaded by certain Chaldaeans, sacrificers, and interpreters of the Sibylline books to remain in the city, on the assurance that matters would turn out well. For it would seem that this man, although he was in other ways the most sensible man in Rome, and most careful to maintain the dignity of the consular office free from undue influence in accordance with the customs of the country and its laws, which he regarded as unchangeable ordinances, had a weakness in this direction, since he spent more time with charlatans and seers than with men who were statesmen and soldiers. This man, then, before Marius entered the city, was dragged down from the rostra by men who had been sent on before, and butchered; and we are told that a Chaldaean chart was found in his bosom after he had been slain. Now, it seems very unaccountable that, of two most illustrious commanders, Marius
 zrobię to μη καταφρονήσαι μαντικής, Ὀκτάβιον δὲ ἀπολέσαι.

XLIII. Οὕτω δὴ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐχόντων ἡ
βουλή συνελθοῦσα πρέσβεις εξέπεμψε πρὸς
Κίνναν καὶ Μάριον, εἰσιέναι καὶ φείδεσθαι δεομένῃ
tῶν πολιτῶν. Κίννας μὲν οὖν ὡς ὑπάτος ἐπὶ τοῦ
δίφρου καθήμενος ἐχρημάτιζε καὶ φιλανδρώτως
ἀποκρίσεις ἔδωκε τοῖς πρέσβεσι, Μάριος δὲ τὸ
δίφρω παρειστήκει φθεγγόμενος μὲν οὐδὲν, ὑπο-
δηλών δὲ ἁεὶ τῇ βαρύτητι τοῦ προσώπου καὶ τῇ
στυγνότητι τοῦ βλέμματος ὡς εὐθὺς ἐμπλήσων

2 φῶνων τὴν πόλιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀναστάντες ἐβάδιζον,
Κίννας μὲν εἰσῆλθε δορυφορόμενος, Μάριος δὲ
παρὰ ταῖς πύλαις ὑποστὰς εἰρωνεύετο πρὸς ὅργην,
φυγάς εἶναι λέγων καὶ τὴς πατρίδος εἰργαζόμενος
κατὰ τὸν νόμον, εἰ δὲ χρῆξοι τις αὐτοῦ παρόντων,
ἐτέρα ψήφῳ λυτέον ἐνία τὴν ἐκβάλλουσαν, ὡς
ὅτι νόμιμος τίς ἂν ἀνήρ καὶ κατωθὶ εἰς πόλιν

3 ἔλευθέραν. ἐκάλει δὴ τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἀγοράν καὶ
πρὸ τοῦ τρεῖς ἡ τέτταρας φυλᾶς ἑνεγκείν τὴν
ψήφον ἀφεῖς τὸ πλάσμα καὶ τὴν φυγαδεκτὴν
ἐκείνην δικαιολογίαν κατήκει, δορυφόρους ἔχων
λογάδας ἐκ τῶν προσπεφοιτηκότων δούλων, οὐς
Βαρδωνίους προσηγόρευεν. οὕτω πολλοὺς μὲν
ἀπὸ φονῆς, πολλοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ νεόματος ἀνήρουν
προστάσσοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τέλος ᾿Αγχάριον,
ἄνδρα βουλευτὴν καὶ στρατηγικοῦ, ἐντυγχάνοντα
τῷ Μαρίῳ καὶ μὴ προσαγορευθέντα καταβάλ-
λουσιν ἐμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ ταῖς μαχαίραις τύπτου-
τες. ἐκ δὲ τούτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοις ἀσπα-
σαμένους μὴ προσαγορεύσειε μηδὲ ἀντασπάσαιτο,
tοῦτο αὐτὸ σύμβολον ἢν ἀποσφάττειν εὐθὺς ἐν

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should succeed by regarding divinations, but Octavius should be ruined.

XLIII. Matters being at this pass, the senate met and sent a deputation to Cinna and Marius, begging them to enter the city and spare the citizens. Cinna, accordingly, as consul, seated on his chair of office, received the embassy and gave them a kindly answer; but Marius, standing by the consul's chair without speaking a word, made it clear all the while, by the heaviness of his countenance and the gloominess of his look, that he would at once fill the city with slaughter. After the conference was over they moved on towards the city. Cinna entered it with a body-guard, but Marius halted at the gates and angrily dissembled, saying that he was an exile and was excluded from the country by the law, and if his presence there was desired, the vote which cast him out must be rescinded by another vote, since, indeed, he was a law-abiding man and was returning to a free city. So the people were summoned to the forum; and before three or four of the tribes had cast their votes, he threw aside his feigning and all that petty talk about being an exile, and entered the city, having as his body-guard a picked band of the slaves who had flocked to his standard, to whom he had given the name of Bardyaei. These fellows killed many of the citizens at a word of command from him, many, too, at a mere nod; and at last, when Ancharius, a man of senatorial and praetorial dignity, met Marius and got no salutation from him, they struck him down with their swords before the face of their master. After this, whenever anybody else greeted Marius and got no salutation or greeting in return, this of itself was a signal for the man's
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taις ὁδοῖς, ὡστε καὶ τῶν φίλων ἐκαστόν ἀγωνίας μεστὸν εἶναι καὶ φρίκης ὀσάκης ἀσπασόμενοι τῷ Μαρίῳ πελάξοιεν κτεινομένων δὲ πολλῶν Κίννας μὲν ἄμβλυς ἦν καὶ μεστὸς ἡδῆ τοῦ φονεῦειν, Μάριος δὲ καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀκμάζοντι τῷ θυμῷ καὶ διψῶντι διὰ πάντων ἔχωρει τῶν ὀπωσ-5 σῶν ἐν ὑποψίᾳ γεγονότων. καὶ πᾶσα μὲν ὄδος, πᾶσα δὲ πόλις τῶν διωκόντων καὶ κυνηγητῶν τοὺς ὑποφεύγοντας καὶ κεκρυμμένους ἔγεμεν. ἡλέγχετο δὲ καὶ ξενίας καὶ φίλης πίστις οὐδὲν ἔχουσα παρὰ τὰς τύχας βέβαιον· ὅλιγοι γὰρ ἐγένοντο παντάπασιν οἱ μὴ προδότες αὐτοῖς τοὺς 6 παρὰ σφῶς καταφυγόντας. ἄξιον οὖν ἀγασθαι καὶ θαυμάσαι τοὺς τοῦ Κορνυότου θεράποντας, οἱ τὸν δεσπότην ἀποκρύψαντες οἴκοι, νεκρὸν δὲ τινά τῶν πολλῶν ἀναρτήσαντες ἐκ τοῦ τραχύλου καὶ περιθέντες αὐτῷ χρυσοῦν δακτύλων ἐπεδείκνυσιν τοῖς Μαρίου δορυφόροις καὶ κοσμημάτωσι ὡς ἐκείνον αὐτῶν ἐθαπτον. ὑπενόησε δὲ οὐδείς, ἀλλ’ οὗτοι λαθῶν ὁ Κορνυότος ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκετῶν εἰς Γαλατίαν διεκομίσθη.

XLIV. Χρηστῷ δὲ καὶ Μάρκος ’Αντώνιος ὁ ῥήτωρ φίλω χρησάμενος ἔτυχησε. ὁ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ἦν μὲν πένης καὶ δημοτικός, ὑποδεξάμενος δὲ πρῶτον ἄνδρα Ῥωμαίων καὶ φιλοφρονούμενος ἐκ τῶν παρόντων, οἰκέτην ἔπεμψε πρὸς τινά τῶν ἐγγοὺς κατῆλων ληψόμενον οἶνον. διαγενομένου δὲ ἑπιμελέστερου καὶ βελτίωνα μετρήσαι κελεύον-τος ἤρωτησεν ὁ κάτηλος ὁ τι παθῶν οὕχι τοῦ 586
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slaughter in the very street, so that even the friends of Marius, to a man, were full of anguish and horror whenever they drew near to greet him. So many were slain that at last Cinna’s appetite for murder was dulled and sated; but Marius, whose anger increased day by day and thirsted for blood, kept on killing all whom he held in any suspicion whatsoever. Every road and every city was filled with men pursuing and hunting down those who sought to escape or had hidden themselves. Moreover, the trust men placed in the ties of hospitality and friendship was found to be no security against the strokes of Fortune; for few there were, all told, who did not betray to the murderers those who had taken refuge with them. All the more worthy of praise and admiration, then, was the behaviour of the slaves of Cornutus. They concealed their master in his house; then they hung up by the neck one of the many dead bodies that lay about, put a gold ring on its finger, and showed it to the guards of Marius, after which they decked it out as if it were their master’s body and gave it burial. Nobody suspected the ruse, and thus Cornutus escaped notice and was conveyed by his slaves into Galatia.

XLIV. Marcus Antonius also, the orator, found a faithful friend, but it did not save him. For this friend, who was a poor plebeian and had received into his house a leading man of Rome, whom he wished to entertain as well as he could, sent a slave to a neighbouring innkeeper to get some wine. As the slave tasted the wine more carefully than usual and ordered some of better quality, the innkeeper asked him what was the reason that he did not buy the
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νέον, ὡσπερ εἰσθεν ὡνεῖται καὶ δημοτικόν, ἀλλὰ 2 τοῦ σπουδαίου καὶ πολυτελοῦς. ἀπλῶς δὲ πως ἐκεῖνον φράσαντος ἂς πρὸς συνήθη καὶ γνώριμον, ὅτι Ἐάρκον Ἀντώνιον ὁ δεσπότης ἐστια παρ' αὐτῷ κρυπτόμενον, ἀσεβὴς καὶ μιαρὸς ὅν ὁ κάπηλος ἀμα τῷ τῶν οἰκέτην ἀπελθεῖν αὐτὸς συνέτεινε πρὸς Μάριον ἧδη περὶ δείπνου ὑντα, καὶ προσαχθεῖς ὡμολόγησε παραδώσειν αὐτῷ τὸν 3 Ἀντώνιον. ἀκούσας οὖν ἐκεῖνος ἐκκραγεῖν λέγεται μέγα καὶ ταῖς χερσίν ὡφ' ἱδονῆς ἀνακροτῆσαι: καὶ μικροῦ μὲν ἐδέσθην ἑξαναστάς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων φέρεσθαι, τῶν δὲ φίλων κατασχόντων Ἀν- νιον ἐπεμπε καὶ στρατιώτας μετ' αὐτοῦ κελεύσας κατὰ τάχος τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κομίζειν. ὡς οὖν ἦκον ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν, ὁ μὲν Ἀννιος ὑπέστη παρὰ τὰς θύρας, οί δὲ στρατιώται διὰ κλιμάκων ἀναβάντες εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον καὶ θεασάμενοι τὸν Ἐντώνιον ἄλλος ἄλλον ἐπὶ τὴν σφαγὴν ἀνθ' 4 ἐαυτοῦ παρεκάλει καὶ προῦβαλλετο. τοιαύτῃ δὲ τις ἦν, ὡς ἐοίκε, τοῦ ἄνδρος ἢ τῶν λόγων σειρῆς καὶ χάριν, ὅστε ἄρξαμένου λέγειν καὶ παρατείνει- σθαι τὸν θάνατον ἄψασθαι μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησεν οὐδὲ ἀντιβλέψαι, κάτω δὲ κύψαντες ἐδάκρυνον ἄπαντες. διατριβὴς δὲ γενομένης ἀναβάς ὁ Ἀννιος ὅρα τὸν μὲν Ἐντώνιον διαλεγόμενον, τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας ἐκπεπληγμένους καὶ κατακεκηλημένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. κακίσος οὖν ἐκεῖνος καὶ προσ- δραμῶν αὐτὸς ἀποτέμενε τὴν κεφαλὴν.

5 Κάτσλος δὲ Δουτάτιος Μαρίω συνάρξας καὶ 588
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new and ordinary wine as usual, instead of wanting some that was choice and expensive. The slave, in his great simplicity, conscious that he was dealing with an old acquaintance, told him that his master was entertaining Marcus Antonius, who was concealed at his house. As soon as the slave had gone home, the innkeeper, who was an impious and pestilent fellow, hastened in person to find Marius, who was already at supper, and on being introduced, promised to betray Antonius to him. When Marius heard this, as we are told, a loud cry burst from his lips and he clapped his hands for joy; he actually came near springing from his seat and hurrying to the place himself, but his friends restrained him; so he sent Annius and some soldiers with him, ordering them to bring him the head of Antonius with all speed. Accordingly, when they were come to the house, Annius stopped at the door, while the soldiers climbed the stairs and entered the room. But when they beheld Antonius, every man began to urge and push forward a companion to do the murder instead of himself. So indescribable, however, as it would seem, was the grace and charm of his words, that when Antonius began to speak and pray for his life, not a soldier had the hardihood to lay hands on him or even to look him in the face, but they all bent their heads down and wept. Perceiving that there was some delay, Annius went upstairs, and saw that Antonius was pleading and that the soldiers were abashed and enchanted by his words; so he cursed his men, and running up to Antonius, with his own hands cut off his head.

Again, the friends of Catulus Lutatius, who had been a colleague of Marius in the consulship, and
συνθεραμβεύσας ἀπὸ Κύμβρων, ἔπει πρὸς τοὺς δεομένους ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ παρατουμένους ὁ Μάριος τοσοῦτον μόνον ἔπει, "Ἤποθανείν δεῦ, κατακλεισάμενος εἰς οἰκημα καὶ πολλοὺς ἄνθρακας ἐκξωπυρῆσας ἀπεπνύη.

6 Ῥιππομένων δὲ τῶν σωμάτων ἀκεφάλων καὶ πατομένων ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἔλεος οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλὰ φρίκη καὶ τρόμος ἀπάντων πρὸς τὴν ὅψιν. ἦνία δὲ μάλιστα τὸν δήμον ἡ τῶν καλομένων Βαρδυαίων ἁσέλγεια. τοὺς γὰρ δεσπότας ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις σφάττοντες ἔσχυνον μὲν αὐτῶν παῖδας, ἐμῖγγυντο δὲ βία ταῖς δεσποίναις, ἀκατάσχετοι δὲ ἦσαν ἀρπάζοντες καὶ μιαφονοῦντες, ἡώς οἱ περὶ Κίνναν καὶ Σερτώριον συμφυρησάντες ἐπέθεντο κοιμομένοις αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ κατή-κόντισαν ἀπαντας.

XLV. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὠσπερ τροπαῖα τινος ἀμεβούσης ἐφοίτων ἀγγελοὶ πανταχόθεν ὡς Σύλλας συνηηρηκὼς τὸν Μιθριδατικὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὰς ἐπαρχίας ἀνειληφὼς ἐπιπλέοι μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως. καὶ τούτο βραχεῖαν ἐπίσχεσιν ἐποίησε καὶ παῦλαν ὁλίγην ἀφάτων κακῶν, ὦσον οὗπο τὸν πόλεμον ἤκειν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς οἰομένων. ὑπατος μὲν οὖν ἀπεδείχθη τὸ ἔβδομον Μάριος, καὶ προ-ελθὼν αὐταῖς Καλάνδαις Ἰανουαρίας, ἔτους ἄρχῃ, Σέξτον τινὰ Λουκίων κατεκρήμνισεν ὁ κάκεινος καὶ τῇ πόλει τῶν αὖθις ἐδόκει κακῶν γεγονέναι σημεῖον μέγιστον.

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with him had celebrated a triumph over the Cimbri, interceded for him and begged Marius to spare his life; but the only answer they could get was: "He must die." Catulus therefore shut himself up in a room, lighted up a great quantity of charcoal, and was suffocated.

But headless trunks thrown into the streets and trampled under foot excited no pity, though everybody trembled and shuddered at the sight. The people were most distressed, however, by the wanton licence of the Bardyaei, as they were called, who butchered fathers of families in their houses, outraged their children, violated their wives, and could not be checked in their career of rapine and murder until Cinna and Sertorius, after taking counsel together, fell upon them as they were asleep in their camp, and transfixed them all with javelins.¹

XLV. Meanwhile, as if a change of wind were coming on, messengers arrived from all quarters with reports that Sulla had finished the war with Mithridates, had recovered the provinces, and was sailing for home with a large force. This gave a brief stay and a slight cessation to the city's unspeakable evils, since men supposed that the war was all but upon them. Accordingly, Marius was elected consul for the seventh time, and assuming office on the very Calends of January,² which is the first day of the year, he had a certain Sextus Lucinus thrown down the Tarpeian rock. This was thought to be a most significant portent of the evils that were once more to fall both upon the partisans of Marius and upon the city.

¹ Cf. the Sertorius, v. 5. ² 86 B.C.
Αὐτὸς δὲ ἦδη τοῖς τε πόνοις ἀπειρηκὼς καὶ ταῖς φροντίσεις οἷον ὑπέραντος δὲν καὶ κατάπονος, τὴν ψυχὴν πρὸς τοσαύτην αὐθίς ἐπίνοιαν νέον πολέμου καὶ καίνων ἄγωνων καὶ φόβων ὑπὸ ἐμπειρίας δεινῶν καὶ καμάτου τρέμουσαν οὐκ ἄνέφερε, λογιζόμενος ὡς οὐ πρὸς Ὀκτάβιον οὐδὲ Μερούλλαν σύγκλυδος ὁμίλου καὶ στασιώδους ὄχλου στρατηγοὺς ὁ κίνδυνος ἔσοντο, Σύλλας δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐπεισίν ὁ τῆς πατρίδος αὐτοῦ ἔξελάσας πάλαι, νῦν δὲ Μιθριδάτην συνεσταλκὼς εἰς τὸν Εὔξεινον Πόντον. ὑπὸ τοιούτων θραυσμένος λογισμῶν, καὶ τὴν μακρὰν ἄλην αὐτοῦ καὶ φυγὰς καὶ κινδύνους διὰ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἐλαυνομένου λαμβάνων πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν, εἰς ἀπορίας ἐνέπτυπτε δεινὰς καὶ νυκτερινὰ δείματα καὶ ταραχώδεις ὄνειρους, ἀεὶ τινος ἀκούειν φθεγγομένου δοκῶν
dειναὶ γὰρ κοίται καὶ ἀποχομένοιο λέοντος.

μάλιστα δὲ πάντων φοβούμενος τὰς ἀγρυπνίας ἐνέβαλεν εἰς πότους ἑαυτὸν καὶ μέθας ἀώρους καὶ παρ᾽ ἡλικίαν, ὡσπερ ἀπόδρασιν τῶν φροντιῶν τὸν ὑπνον μηχανώμενον. τέλος δὲ ὡς ἢκε τις ἀπαγγέλλων ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, νέοι προσπύπτοντες αὐτῷ φόβοι, τὰ μὲν δέει τοῦ μέλλοντος, τὰ δὲ ὡσπερ ἄχθει καὶ κόρῳ τῶν παρόντων, ὑπὸς βραχείας ἐπιγεγομένης εἰς νόσου κατηνέχθη πλευρίτων, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Ποσειδώνιος ὁ φιλόσοφος, αὐτὸς εἰσελ-
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But Marius himself, now worn out with toils, deluged, as it were, with anxieties, and wearied, could not sustain his spirits, which shook within him as he again faced the overpowering thought of a new war, of fresh struggles, of terrors known by experience to be dreadful; and of utter weariness. He reflected, too, that it was not Octavius or Merula in command of a promiscuous throng and a seditious rabble against whom he was now to run the hazard of war, but that the famous Sulla was coming against him, the man who had once ejected him from the country, and had now shut Mithridates up to the shores of the Euxine Sea. Tortured by such reflections, and bringing into review his long wandering, his flights, and his perils, as he was driven over land and sea, he fell into a state of dreadful despair, and was a prey to nightly terrors and harassing dreams, wherein he would ever seem to hear a voice saying:—

"Dreadful, indeed, is the lion's lair, even though it be empty." ¹

And since above all things he dreaded the sleepless nights, he gave himself up to drinking-bouts and drunkenness at unseasonable hours and in a manner unsuited to his years, trying thus to induce sleep as a way of escape from his anxious thoughts. And finally, when one came with tidings from the sea, fresh terrors fell upon him, partly because he feared the future, and partly because he was wearied to satiety by the present, so that it needed only a slight impulse to throw him into a pleurisy, as Poseidonius the philosopher relates, who says that he

¹ A hexameter verse of unknown authorship.
τῇ καὶ διαλεξθήμαι περὶ ὅν ἐπέρεσθεν ἡ ἡ
νοσοῦντε φάσκων αὐτῷ. Γάρ τις Πείσων, ἀνὴρ ἑστερικός, ἱστορεῖ τὸν Μάριον ἀπὸ δείπνου
περιπατοῦντα μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἐν λόγοις γενέσθαι
περὶ τῶν καθ’ ἑαυτὸν πραγμάτων, ἀνωθεν ἀρξά-
μενον καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ ἀμφότερα πολλάκις μεταβολᾶς
ἀφηγησάμενον εἰπεῖν ὡς ὦκ. ἔστι νοῦν ἔχοντος
ἀνδρὸς ἐτί τῇ τύχῃ πιστεύειν ἑαυτόν· ἐκ δὲ τούτο-
του τοὺς παρόντας ἀσφασάμενον καὶ κατακλυ-
6 θέντα συνεχῶς ἡμέρας ἐπτὰ τελευτῆσαι. τινὲς δὲ
τῆς φιλοτιμίας αὐτοῦ φασίν ἐν τῇ νόσῳ παντᾶ-
πασιν ἀποκαλυφθείσαν εἰς ἀτοπον ἐξοκεῖλαι
παρακοπῆν, οἴομένου τὸν Μιθριδατίκον στρατη-
γεὺς πόλεμον, εἰτα, ὡσπερ ἐπ’ αὐτῶν εἰώθει τῶν
ἀγώνων, σχήματα παντοδαπὰ καὶ κινήματα
σώματος μετὰ συντόνου κραυγῆς καὶ πυκνῶν
7 ἀλαλαγμάτων ἀποδιδόντος. οὕτως δεινὸς αὐτῷ
καὶ δυσπαράμύθητος ἐκ φιλαρχίας καὶ ζηλοτυπίας
ἔρως ἐντετήκει τῶν πράξεων ἐκείνων. διὸ ἔτη
μὲν ἐβδομήκοντα βεβιωκός, ὑπατος δὲ πρῶτος
ἀνθρώπων ἐπτάκις ἀνηγορευμένος, οἰκών τε καὶ
πλοῦτον ἄρκοντα βασιλείας ὁμοῦ πολλαῖς
κεκτημένους, ὀδύρετο τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τύχην ὡς ἐνδεχὴ 433
καὶ ἀτελῆς ὃν ἐπόθει προαποθνήσκων.

XLVI. Πλάτων μὲν οὖν ἡ ἡ δι πρὸς τῷ τελευτῶν
γενόμενος ὑμνεῖ τὸν αὐτοῦ δαίμονα καὶ τὴν τύχην,
ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ἀνθρώπος, εἰτα” Ἐλλην, οὔ βάρ-
βαρος οὐδὲ ἀλογον τῇ φύσει θηρίον γένοιτο, πρὸς
dὲ τούτοις, ὅτι τοῖς Σωκράτους χρόνους ἀπήντησεν
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went in personally and conversed with Marius on the subjects of his embassy after Marius had fallen ill. But a certain Caius Piso, an historian, relates that Marius, while walking about with his friends after supper, fell to talking about the events of his life, beginning with his earliest days, and after recounting his frequent reversals of fortune, from good to bad and from bad to good, said that it was not the part of a man of sense to trust himself to Fortune any longer; and after this utterance bade his friends farewell, kept his bed for seven days consecutively, and so died. Some, however, say that his ambitious nature was completely revealed during his illness by his being swept into a strange delusion. He thought that he had the command in the Mithridatic war, and then, just as he used to do in his actual struggles, he would indulge in all sorts of attitudes and gestures, accompanying them with shrill cries and frequent calls to battle. So fierce and inexorable was the passion for directing that war which had been instilled into him by his envy and lust of power. And therefore, though he had lived to be seventy years old, and was the first man to be elected consul for the seventh time, and was possessed of a house and wealth which would have sufficed for many kingdoms at once, he lamented his fortune, in that he was dying before he had satisfied and completed his desires.

XLVI. Plato, however, when he was now at the point of death, lauded his guardian genius and Fortune because, to begin with, he had been born a man and not an irrational animal; again, because he was a Greek and not a Barbarian; and still again, because his birth had fallen in the times of Socrates.
2 ἡ γένεσις αὐτοῦ. καὶ νὰ Δία τὸν Ταρσέα λέγουσιν Ἄντιπατρόν ὁσαύτως ὑπὸ τὴν τελευτὴν ἀναλογιζόμενον διὰ τῆς μακαρίων ἡδὲ τῆς εἰς Ἀθήνας ὁικοθεν εὐπλοίας ἐπιλαβέσθαι, καθάπερ φιλοχρήστου τῆς τύχης ἀπασάν δόσιν εἰς μεγάλην χάριν τιθέμενον καὶ σῶζοντα τῇ μυήμῃ διὰ τέλους, ἦς οὖν εἶσιν ἀνθρώπῳ ταμιεῖον ἀγαθῶν βεβαιότερον. τοὺς δὲ ἀμνήμονας καὶ ἀνοίτους ὑπεκρεί τὰ γνωρίμενα μετὰ τοῦ χρόνου· διὸ μηθὲν στέγοντες μηδὲ διατηροῦντες ἀνευρέτως καὶ κενοὶ μὲν ἀγαθῶν, πλήρεις δὲ ἐλπίδων πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἀποβλέπουσί, τὸ παρὸν προϊέμενοι. καὶ τοῦ τὸ μὲν ἄν ἡ τύχη κωλύσαι δύνατο, τὸ δὲ ἀναφαίρετον ἐστὶν·

3 ἀλλ' ὅμως τούτῳ τῆς τύχης ὡς ἀλλότριον ἐκβάλλοντες ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἄδηλον ὀνειρώττουσιν, εἰκότα πάσχοντες. πρὶν γὰρ ἄρι βίων καὶ παιδείας ἔδραν ὑποβαλέσθαι καὶ κρητίδα τοὺς ἕξωθεν ἀγαθοῖς, συνάγοντες αὐτὰ καὶ συμφοροῦντες ἐμπλήσαι τῆς ψυχῆς οὐ δύνανται τὸ ἀκόρεστον.

4 Ἀποθνῄσκει δ' οὖν Μάριος ἡμέρας ἐπτακαίδεκα τῆς ἐβδόμης ὑπατείας ἐπιλαβῶν. καὶ μέγα ἔσχε παραντίκα τὴν Ῥώμην χάρμα καὶ θάρσος ὡς χαλεπῆς τυραννίδος ἀπηλλαγμένη· ὀλίγαις δὲ ἡμέραις ἦσθοντο νέον ἀντηλλαγμένοι καὶ ἀκμαζόντα ἀντὶ πρεσβύτου δεσπότην τοσαύτην ὁ νῦς αὐτοῦ Μάριος ὑμότητα καὶ πικρίαν ἀπεδείξατο, τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ δοκιμωτάτους ἀναίρων.

5 δόξας δὲ καὶ τολμητῆς καὶ φιλοκίνδυνος εἶναι 596
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And indeed they say that Antipater of Tarsus, when he was in like manner near his end and was enumerating the blessings of his life, did not forget to mention his prosperous voyage from home to Athens, just as though he thought that every gift of a benevolent Fortune called for great gratitude, and kept it to the last in his memory, which is the most secure storehouse of blessings for a man. Unmindful and thoughtless persons, on the contrary, let all that happens to them slip away as time goes on; therefore, since they do not hold or keep anything, they are always empty of blessings, but full of hopes, and are looking away to the future while they neglect the present. And yet the future may be prevented by Fortune, while the present cannot be taken away; nevertheless these men cast aside the present gift of Fortune as something alien to them, while they dream of the future and its uncertainties. And this is natural. For they assemble and heap together the external blessings of life before reason and education have enabled them to build any foundation and basement for these things, and therefore they cannot satisfy the insatiable appetite of their souls.

So, then, Marius died, seventeen days after entering upon his seventh consulship. And immediately Rome was filled with great rejoicing and a confident hope that she was rid of a grievous tyranny; but in a few days the people perceived that they had got a new and vigorous master in exchange for the old one; such bitterness and cruelty did the younger Marius display, putting to death the best and most esteemed citizens. He got the reputation of being bold and fond of danger in fighting his enemies, and
πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν ἄρχῃ παῖς Ἀρεώς ὀνομάζετο, ταχύ δὲ τοὺς ἔργοις ἐλεγχόμενοι αὐθις Ἀφροδίτης νίος ἐκαλεῖτο. τέλος δὲ κατακλεισθεὶς εἰς Πραιεστὸν ὑπὸ Σύλλα καὶ πολλὰ φιλοσοφησάς μάτην, ὥς ἦν ἀφυκτα τῆς πόλεως ἀλισκομένης, αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέκτεινεν.
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in the beginning was called a son of Mars; but his deeds soon showed what he really was, and he was called instead a son of Venus. And finally he was shut up in Praeneste by Sulla, and after many vain attempts to save his life, when the city was captured and he could not escape, he slew himself.¹

¹ See the Sulla, xxxii. 1.
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A

Actium, 279, 293, 297, a promontory of Acrarnania in northern Greece, at the entrance of the Ambracian gulf.

Aeacides, 59, 347, king of Epeirus and father of Pyrrhus. He was driven from his kingdom in 317 B.C., and recalled in 313, during which year he was defeated and slain by the forces of Cassander.

Aegae, 433, a town in central Macedonia, the burial place of the royal line.

Aemilius, 411, Quintus Aemilius Papus, consul in 282 and 278 B.C. and censor in 275. In all these offices he had Calus Fabricius as colleague.

Aegopus, the Macedonian, 47, 369, not otherwise known.

Agathocles (1), 61, 369, 387 f., tyrant of Syracuse, 210–289 B.C. He also assumed the title of King of Sicily.

Agathocles (2), 77, 117 f., a son of Lysimachus the king of Thrace, sent against Demetrius in 287 B.C. murdered in 284.

Agrippa, 215, 285 f., 305, 331 f., Marcus Vipsanius A., fellow-student of Octavius Caesar at Apollonia, and an intimate friend. He was one of the leading men of the Augustan age. He lived 63–12 B.C.

Agrippina, 333, Agrippina the Younger, daughter of Germanicus and grand-daughter of Agrippa. In 28 A.D. she married Domitius Ahenobarbus, who died in 40. In 49 she married her uncle, the emperor Claudius.

Ahenobarbus, 333, see Domitius (3). Albinus, 483, Spurius Postumius A., was consul in 110 B.C. and conducted the war against Jugurtha unsuccessfully. He was condemned for treasonable relations with Jugurtha.

Alyoneus, 459 f., a son of Antigonus Gonatas, not otherwise mentioned.

Alexander (1), 355, Roxana's son by Alexander the Great, born in 323 B.C., and taken to Macedonia by Antipater in 320. On the death of Antipater in 319, Roxana fled with her son to Epeirus, where he was betrothed to Delfamela, the daughter of King Aeacides. After his restoration to Macedonia by Aeacides in 317, he was imprisoned with his mother by Cassander, and both were murdered in 311.

Alexander (2), 87–91, 341, 361f., 381, a son of Cassander by Thessalonicë, the sister of Alexander the Great.

Alexander (3), 371, a son of Pyrrhus and Lanassa, not otherwise mentioned.

Alexander (4), 135, a son of Demetrius and Delfamela, not otherwise known.

Alexander (5), 23, son of Polysperchon, was sent by his father in

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318 B.C. to wrest Athens from the power of Cassander (see the Phocion, xxxii.). He was assassinated at Sicyon in 314.

Alexander (6), 219, 263, son of Antony and Cleopatra, graced the triumph of Octavius Caesar at Rome, and was there reared by Octavia (see the Antony, lxxvii. 1).

Alexander (7), 245, 249, of Antioch, a friend of Antony, not otherwise known.

Alexander of Myndus (in Caria), 507, a Greek writer on zoology, of uncertain date.

Alexas the Laodicean, 303 f., not otherwise known.

Alexas the Syrian, 289, not otherwise known.

Amanus, 132 f., a range of mountains between Cilicia and Syria, at the head of the gulf of Issus.

Amorgus, 29, an island in the Aegean Sea, south-east of Naxos.

Amphissa, 199, the chief town of the Ozolian Locrians, about seven miles west of Delphi.

Ancharia, 207, first wife of Calus Octavius. Plutarch erroneously identifies her daughter Octavia with the Octavia who was the daughter of Atia.

Anthesterion, 61 f., the eighth month of the Attic calendar, answering to parts of February and March.

Anticyra, 295, a town in Phocis, on a bay of the Corinthian gulf.

Antigenidas, 5, a celebrated Theban flute-player and poet in the times of Alexander the Great.

Antigone, 357 f., 369, daughter of Berenice and first wife of Pyrrhus.

Antigonus (1), 7-77, 333 f., 387, 431, surnamed the One-eyed, king of Asia, father of Demetrius Polliorcetes. He fell in the battle of Ipsus (301 B.C.).


Antigonus the Jew, 219, king of Judaea. His rival, Herod, was made king of Judaea by the Roman senate, through the influence of Antony. Antigonus was then defeated and captured by Herod (with the assistance of the Roman general Sosius), and delivered over to Antony, who had him executed (37 B.C.).

Antiochus (1), 71, 77, 93-97, 129 f., Antiochus I., son of Seleucus and king of Syria, killed in battle with the Gauls 261 B.C.

Antiochus (2), of Commagenæ, 213 f., established in power by Pompey (64 B.C.), and a supporter of Pompey against Caesar. He died shortly before 31 B.C.

Antipater (1), 33, 91, 335, 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.

Antipater (2), 87, 91, 361, son of Cassander by Thessalonice the sister of Alexander the Great. After the death of his brother Alexander, Antipater fled for refuge to Lysimachus, who had him put to death.

Antipater of Tarsus, 597, a Stoic philosopher who was flourishing in 144 B.C.

Antiphon, 197. It is uncertain which of the many men of this name is meant.

Antonia (1), 333, elder daughter of Antony and Octavia. Her son by Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus Cneius Domitius, was the father of Nero.

Antonia (2), 333, younger daughter of Antony and Octavia. She lived to see her grandson Caligula emperor in 37 A.D.

Antonius (1), 587 f., Marcus Antonius the orator, grandfather of the triumvirs, 143-37 B.C. He was consul in 99, censor in 97, and a partisan of Sulla. Cicero often speaks of him as one of the greatest of Roman orators.

Antonius (2), 139, Marcus Antoninus Creticus, father of the triumvir.
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In 74 B.C. he was given command of the Roman fleet in order to clear the Mediterranean of pirates but he failed ignominiously and was defeated in an attack upon Crete. His surname was given him in derision. He was avaricious and rapacious.

Antonius (3), 157, Caius Antonius, uncle of the triumvirs. He served under Sulla in the Mithridatic war, and was expelled from the senate for plundering the allies. He was Cicero's colleague in the consulship in 63 B.C., and in 59 was convicted of extortion in his province of Macedonia, in spite of the defence of his conduct by Cicero.

Antonius (4), 171, 185, Caius Antonius, elder brother of the triumvir. He was consul in 41 B.C., and was besieged by Octavius Caesar in Perusia, and compelled to surrender. His life was spared, however, and he was even given command in Spain. Nothing more is heard of him.

Antonius (5), 171, 203, Lucius Antonius, younger brother of the triumvir. He was consul in 41 B.C., and was besieged by Octavius Caesar in Perusia, and compelled to surrender. His life was spared, however, and he was even given command in Spain. Nothing more is heard of him.

Antonius (6), 331, 333, Julius Antonius, younger son of the triumvir by Fulvia. He received great favours from Augustus, and was consul in 10 B.C. But in consequence of an intrigue with Julia, the daughter of Augustus, he was condemned to death in 2 B.C., and took his own life.

Antyllus, 301, 319, 331 (cf. 199 f.), a name given by Greek writers to Marcus Antonius, the elder son of the triumvir by Fulvia. The name is probably a corruption of the diminutive Antonillus. According to Dion Cassius (ii. 8, 4), Antony sent Antyllus to appease Octavius Caesar after the battle of Actium.

Apama the Persian, 77, daughter of Spitamenes the Bactrian prince, and married to Seleucus in 325 B.C., when Alexander and his principal officers took oriental wives.

Apelles, 53, the most celebrated of Greek painters. He flourished at the courts of Philip and Alexander of Macedon.

Apeamantus, 297 f., not otherwise known.

Apollonia, 171, an ancient Greek city of Illyria. Towards the end of the Roman republic it became a famous seat of learning.

Aquae Sextiae, 511, a Roman colony in southern Gaul, founded in 122 B.C., and named from its hot and cold springs, and from its founder, the pro-consul Sextius Calvinus. It is the modern Aix.

Aquillus, 499, Manius A., consul in 101 B.C., and in 88 one of the consular legates to prosecute the war against Mithridates. He fell into the hands of Mithridates, who put him to a cruel death.

Archidamia, 439, mentioned only in this connection.

Archidamus, 85, Archidamus IV., king of Sparta. It was in 296 B.C. that he was defeated by Demetrius.

Archilochus, 87, 213, of Paros, one of the earliest Iolian lyric poets, flourishing in 650 B.C.

Ares, 317, 321, a philosophe of the Stoic school, is said to have been a teacher of Augustus.

Ares, 425 f., 445 f., 453, Ares I., king of Sparta 309–265 B.C. He fell in a battle with the Macedonians at Corinthis, and was succeeded by his son Acrotatus.

Ariobarzanes, 11, Ariobarzanes II., king of Pontus 363–337 B.C.

Aristaeas, 447, 451, a citizen of Argos who invited Pyrrhus into the city. His rival, Aristippus, favoured Antigonus Gonatas.

Aristobulus, 143, a prince of Judaea, captured and carried to Rome by Pompey in 63 B.C. In 57 he escaped and stirred up war

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Anew in Judaea, but was again captured and sent to Rome by Gabinius. In 49 he was released and sent home by Julius Caesar, but was poisoned to death on the journey by emissaries of Pompey. Aristocrates, 295, not otherwise known.

Aristodemus, 21, 39, 41, a friend and flatterer of Antigonus I., sent by him in 315 B.C. to maintain his interests in Peloponnesus against Cassander. The mission for Demetrius in 306 is the last we hear of him.

Arpinum, 460, an ancient city of the Volsciarns, on the river Liris, the birth-place of Marius and Cicero.

Arruntius, 289, perhaps the Lucius Arruntius who was consul in 22 B.C.

Arsaces, 335, probably Arsaces XV. (Phraates IV.), king of the Parthians 37–2 B.C.

Artabazus, 341, clearly an error for Artavasdes (cf. the Antony, 1. 4).

Artavasdes, 221, 225, 253 f. (341), king of Armenia 55–30 B.C. After the battle of Actium, Cleopatra had him put to death, and sent his head to his inverteate enemy, Artavasdes of Media.

Asculum, 413 f., a city in the interior of Apulia.

Asinius, 157, a friend of Antony, otherwise little known.

Atia, 207, daughter of Marcus Atius Balbus and Julia (the sister of Julius Caesar). She was married to Caius Octavius, by whom she was the mother of Octavius Caesar, afterwards Augustus.

Attalus (1), 275, probably Attalus I., king of Pergamum 241–197 B.C.

Attalus (2), 47, Attalus III., surnamed Philometor, king of Pergamum 138–133 B.C. In his will he made the Romans his heirs.

Axius, 105, the principal river of Macedonia, flowing past Pella into the Thracian gulf.

B

Baiæ, 555, a watering place on the coast of Campania, in the bay between Cape Misenum and Puteoli.

Beneventum, 427, one of the chief cities of Samnium, in central Italy, east of Capua. It was called Maleventum until 268 B.C., when a Roman colony was established there.

Berenice, 355 f., 361, came to Egypt from Macedonia in attendance on Ptolemy's bride Eurydice, the daughter of Antipater. She secured the succession for her son, Ptolemy Philadelphus, who paid her divine honours after her death. Theocritus celebrates her virtues in Ídyl xvi.

Beroea, 111, 375 f., a city in the northern part of Macedonia, about thirty miles from Pella, the capital. Cf. Acts, xvi. 10, 14.

Berytus, 255, a Phoenician city on the coast north of Tyre and Sidon. It became a Roman colony, and was favoured and adorned by Agrippa.

Bestia, 483, Lucius Calpurnius B., tribune of the people in 121 B.C., and consul in 111. He made a disgraceful peace with Jugurtha, for which he was tried and condemned in 110.

Bibulus, 149, Lucius Calpurnius B., aedile in 65 B.C., praetor in 62, and consul in 59, in each case a colleague of Julius Caesar. He was Pompey's admiral in 49, and died in 48, before the battles at Dyrhachium.

Bircennia, 369 f., wife of Pyrrhus, not otherwise mentioned.

Bocchoris, 67, an ancient Egyptian king and legislator, of the ninth century B.C.

Bocchus, 485 f., king of Mauretania, and betrayer of Jugurtha to the Romans in 106 B.C.

Boedromion, 61 f., the third Attic month, answering nearly to our September.

Brundisium, 155, 215, 279, an important city on the eastern coast of Italy (Calabria), with a fine harbour. It was the natural
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point of departure from Italy to the East, and was the chief naval station of the Romans in the Adriatic.

Brutus, 163, Decimus Junius B., surnamed Albinus after his adoption by Aulus Postumius Albinus, the consul of 99 B.C. He was widely employed, highly esteemed and richly rewarded by Julius Caesar, and yet joined his murderers. After Caesar's death he opposed Antony successfully, but fell a victim to the coalition between Antony and Octavius in 43 B.C.

C

Caepio, 505, 513, 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 (cf. the Camillus, xix. 7) he was brought to trial for misconduct in the war, condemned, and thrown into prison.

Caesar, 179 f., Lucius Julius C., uncle of Antony, consul in 64 B.C., legate of Julius Caesar in Gaul in 52. He took no active part in the struggle between Pompey and Caesar, but sided with the aristocracy against Antony. After his life was saved by his sister we hear nothing of him.

Caesarion, 261, 301, 321, according to Cleopatra, her son by Julius Caesar. He was born in 47 B.C.

Caius, 333, Caius Caesar Caligula, youngest son of Germanicus, emperor 37-41 A.D.

Callimachus, 301, a celebrated grammarian, critic, and poet of the Alexandrine period, chief librarian at Alexandria from about 260 B.C. till his death about 240.

Calpurnia, 171, daughter of the Lucius Calpurnius Piso who was consul in 58 B.C. She became the wife of Julius Caesar in 59. See the Caesar, lxiii.

Calvisius, 271, Caius C. Statianus, one of the legates of Julius Caesar in the civil war, and governor of Africa in 45 B.C. He commanded the fleet of Octavius Caesar in the war with Sextus Pompeius.

Canidius, 215, 235, 265, 281, 285, 201 f., 301, Lucius Canidius Crassus, brought about a union between Antony and Lepidus in 43 B.C., and was consul in 40. After the battle of Actium he was put to death by Octavius Caesar.

Canopus, 203, 339, a town in Egypt, about fifteen miles east of Alexandria, on one of the mouths of the Nile.

Capito, 217, Caius Fontelles C., had been sent in 37 B.C. to restore friendship between Octavius and Antony.

Cappadocia, 13, a central district of Asia Minor.

Carbo, 505, Cnaeus Papilius C., was consul with Cinna in 85 B.C. On Sulla's return from the East and victorious advance upon Rome, Carbo fled to Libya, but was taken prisoner by Pompey and cruelly put to death (see the Pompey, chapter x.).

Cassander, 19, 41, 53, 77 f., 87, 91, 351 f., 361, a son of Antipater the regent of Macedonia. He was master of Athens from 318 to 307 B.C., when Demetrius Poliorcetes took possession of the city. He died in 297.

Cassandraeia, 113, a city founded by Cassander on the site of the ancient Potidaea, in the Chalcidic peninsula of eastern Macedonia.

Cassius, 151 f., Quintus C. Longinus, tribune of the people with Antony in 49 B.C., and made governor of Further Spain by Julius Caesar, where he had been praetor and quaestor in 54. Here he renewed the most shameless exactions. He was lost at sea in 47.

Cataonia, 121, one of the divisions of Cappadocia.

Catius, 501, 503, 523 ff., 527, 531-539, 589, Quintus Lutatius Catu-
lus, consul in 102 B.C. with Marius, a highly educated man, author of orations and poems, and of a history of his consulship and the Cimbrian war.

Celaenae, 17, a city of Phrygia at the sources of the Maeander (Xenophon, Anab. 1. 2, 7).

Cenchreae, 55, the eastern harbour-town of Corinth.

Causus, 125, a city in southern Caria with a commodious port.

Censorinus, 187, Lucius Marcus C., a partisan of Antony, praetor in 43 B.C., consul in 39, and afterwards governor of Macedonias.

Cerameicus, 29 f., the Inner Cerameicus is meant, which extended from the Dipylion gate through the agora between the Areopagus and the Hill of the Nymphs.

Chaoians, 405, 441, one of the chief tribes of Epeirus.

Chersonese, Syrian, 129, 133, a name given to the valley of the Orontes about the city of Apameia.

Cinesas, 385 f., 393, 403, 407 f., 413, 419, minister and faithful friend of Pyrrhus, and the most eloquent man of his day. His mission to Sicily is the last we hear of him, and he must have died before Pyrrhus returned to Italy in 276 B.C.

Cinna, 507 f., 585 f., 591, 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 had hoped to prevent the landing of Sulla.

Circeli, 361, a maritime town of Latium, at the foot of Mons Circelius.

Claudius (1), 403 f., 407, Appius Claudius Caecus, censor in 312 B.C. and consul in 317 and 296, in which last year he was victorious over the Samnites. His speech in reply in reply to Cinaes was extant in Cicero's time (Cicero, Brutus, 16, 62).

Claudius (2), 333, Tiberius Claudius Drusus Nero Germanicus, fourth Roman emperor (41–54 A.D.).

Cleon, 27, the Athenian demagogue and leader of the war party 426–422 B.C. See the Nicia, chapters vii. f.

Cleonymus, 97, 435 f., younger son of Cleomenes II. king of Sparta, excluded from the throne on his father's death in 309 B.C.

Cleopatra (1), 161–339 passim, daughter of Ptolemy Auletes the king of Egypt, born about 69 B.C. On the death of her father in 51, she became queen of Egypt in conjunction with her younger brother Ptolemy.

Cleopatra (2), 219, 331, daughter of Antony and Cleopatra, born in 40 B.C. By Juba she had a son Ptolemy, who succeeded his father as king of Numidia.

Clodia (or Claudia), 181, daughter of Clodius by Fulvia. She was betrothed to Octavius Caesar in 43 B.C., but he never regarded her as his wife, and sent her back to her mother at the outbreak of the Perusian War (alluded to in the Antony, xxx. 1).

Clodius, 141, 161, Publius Claudius (Clodius) Pulcher, son of the Appius Claudius mentioned in the Sulla, xxix. 3. He became the most venomous foe of Cicero (cf. the Cicero, chapters xxxix.–xxxx.).

Coelius (or Caellus), 285, the text is corrupt, and the name should probably be Sossius (or Sosius).

Commagené, 213, 277, the northernmost district of Syria.

Corcyra, 369, 373, an island in the Ionian Sea opposite Epeirus, the modern Corfu.

Cornelia, 557, daughter of Scipio Africanus the Elder, mother-in-law of Scipio Africanus the Younger, and mother of the Gracchi.

Cornutus, 436, probably the Marcus Cornutus who had served with distinction in the Marisc war (90 B.C.).
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Corhagus (or Corhaeua), 7, a Macedonian otherwise unknown.
Corvirus, 543, Marcus Valerius C., 371-271 B.C., five times dicta
tor and six times consul.
Cotta, 471, Lucius Aurelius C., consul in 119 B.C.
Craterus, 33, one of the ablest
officers of Alexander the Great,
and a man of noble character.
He fell in battle against Eumenes
in 321 B.C. See the Eumenes,
chapters v. ff.
Crates, the philosopher, 117, of
Athens, became head of the
Academy about 270 B.C. His
writings are not preserved.
Curio, 141, 149, Caius Scribonius C.,
an able orator, and reckless
and profligate. He was tribune of
the people in 50 B.C., and sold his
support to Caesar, who made him
praetor in Sicily in 49. Thence
he crossed into Africa to attack
the Pompeian forces there, but
was defeated and slain (Caesar,
Bell. Civ., ii. 23-44).
Curius, 427 f., Manius Curius Dentat-
tus, consul in 290 B.C., during
which year he celebrated two
triumphs, one over the Samnites
and one over the Sabines. He
was consul again in 278, when
Pyrrhus returned to Italy from
Scilly. In 274 he was consul for
the third time, and continued the
war against the allies of Pyrrhus.
Then he retired to his Sabine
farm for the remainder of his
days, dying in 270.
Cydnus, 193, a river in eastern
Cilicia, on which was the city of
Tarsus.
Cyrenæ, 135, a Greek city on the
northern coast of Africa, in
commercial relations with Carth-
age, Greece, and Egypt.
Cyrrhestica, 123, 213, a district in
northern Syria, south of Com-
magenæ.

D

Danaüs, 455, mythical ancestor of
the Danaï, migrating from Egypt
into Greece.
Deidameia, 50, 73, 79, 135, 349, 355,
363, sister of Pyrrhus, and one of
the many wives of Demetrius.
She died in 300 B.C.
Dellius, 191 f., 273, a Roman knight
transacting business in Asia,
where he joined Dolabella in
44 B.C., and afterwards Antony.
He wrote a history of Antony's
war with the Parthians, to which
Plutarch is indirectly much in-
debted. Horace dedicated to
him the third Ode of Book ii.
Demetrias, 135, a city at the head
of the Pagasean gulf, founded by
Demetrius Poliorcetes about 290
B.C.
Demetrias the Phalerean, 19 f., 25
a celebrated rhetorician and
orator (346-283 B.C.). He was
regent of Athens for Cassander
from 318 to 307.
Demochares (1), of Leuconoë, 57 f.,
was married to the mother of
Demosthenes.
Demochares (2), of Soli, not other-
wise known.
Deucalion, 347, a mythical king
of Phthia in Thessaly, the Noah of
the Greek legend of the flood.
Dexòius, 399, known only from this
exploit, which, in Frontinus,
Strat., ii. 4, 9, is attributed to
Laevinus.
Dicomes, 281, king of the Getae, not
otherwise mentioned.
Dionysius, 401, 415, of Halicarnass-
sus, came to Rome in 29 B.C.,
where he published his great work
on the history of Rome in 7 B.C.
Dium, 87, an important maritime
town in S.E. Macedonia.
Dodona, 347, a town in Epeirus,
seat of the most ancient oracle
of Zeus.
Dolabella (1), 157-165, Publius
Cornellius D., the profligate and
debt-ridden son-in-law of Cicero.
He took part with Caesar, but
approved of his murder, and
completed the consulship for the
remainder of the year 44. He
was outlawed and declared a

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public enemy on account of his extortion in Asia, and committed suicide.
Dolabella (2), 325, Publius Cornelius D., son of the preceding. He was consul in 10 A.D.
Domitius (1), 231, 265, 281, Cnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, son of the Ahenobarbus who fell at Pharsalus (see the Pompey, lxix.1) pardoned by Caesar, but a follower of Brutus and Cassius, reconciled to Antony in 40 B.C.
Domitius (2), 333, Lucius D. Ahenobarbus, son of the preceding. He was consul in 16 B.C., and afterwards celebrated a triumph for campaigns in Germany. He died in 25 A.D.
Domitian (3), 333 (Ahenobarbus), Cnaeus D. Ahenobarbus, son of the preceding, and father of the emperor Nero. He was consul in 32 A.D. His life was filled with flagrant and unnatural crimes.
Domitian (4), 333, Lucius Domitian Ahenobarbus, the original name of the emperor Nero. After his adoption by the emperor Claudius he was called Nero Claudius Caesar Drusus Germanicus.
Dromichaeata, 99, 133, king of the Getae, known only from his victory over Lysimachus.
Dromocleides the Spheidian, 33, 85, not otherwise known.
Drusus, 333, Nero Claudius D. Germanicus, son of Livia by Tiberus Claudius Nero, born in 38 B.C., a younger brother of the emperor Tiberius. He conducted great campaigns against the Gauls and Germans, and died in the field at the age of thirty-one.

E
Edessa, 107, 381, a city in northern Macedonia, the ancient capital of the country.
Eumenes, 13, a famous philosopher and poet of Acragas (Agrigentum) in Sicily, flourishing in 440 B.C.
Epicurus, 83, 409, founder of the philosophical school named from him, born in Samos, 342 B.C., died at Athens, 270 B.C.
Erasistratus, 93 f., one of the most celebrated physicians of antiquity. After his residence at the court of Seleucus, he lived at Alexandria in the practice of his profession. He was still living in 258 B.C.
Eumenes, 275, probably Eumenes II. is meant, king of Pergamum 197–159 B.C.
Eurycles the Laconian, 289 f., not otherwise known.
Eurydice (1), 33, 135, one of the wives of Demetrius, not otherwise known.
Eurydice (2), 117, daughter of Antipater and wife of Ptolemy Lagus. Jealous of Berenice, she withdrew from the court of Egypt and was now (287 B.C.) residing at Miletus.

F
Fabricius, 401, 407 f., 411 f., Caius F. Luscinius, consul in 282 and 278 B.C. with Aemilius Papus, and censor with him in 275. A fine example of old Roman simplicity and integrity.
Flaccus, 543, Lucius Valerius F., colleague of Marius in the consulship of 100 B.C., and censor in 97 with Marcus Antonius the orator. In 86 he was made consul with Cinna and sent to Asia to conduct the war against Mithridates. Here he was murdered by Fimbria (see the Sulla, xii. 9, with note).
Frentani, 399, the Frentani were a hardy people of central Italy, allied to the Samnites, by whom they were bordered on the West.
Fulvia, 161 f., 181, 197 f., 203–207, 217, 261, 267, 301, wife of Antony. She had previously been the wife of Clodius the demagogue, and of Curio, the friend and legate of Julius Caesar.
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She redeemed what had been a dissolute life by her passionate devotion to Antony.

Furnius, 271, Caius Furnius, tribune of the people in 50 B.C., a friend of Cicero, and yet a faithful adherent of Antony. After the battle of Actium he was reconciled to Octavius Caesar, by whom he was highly honoured.

G

Gabinius, 143, 155, Aulus G., tribune of the people in 66 B.C., praetor in 61, and consul with Piso in 58, the year during which Cicero was exiled. He was recalled from his province of Syria in 55, prosecuted for taking bribes, and exiled. He died in 48.

Gallicus (1), 235 f., Flavius G., not otherwise known.

Gallicus (2), 317, Caius Cornelius G., a distinguished poet and orator at Rome who stood in high favour with Octavius Caesar, and served him in high command. After Cleopatra's death he was made prefect of Egypt. He afterwards fell from the emperor's favour, and, to escape exile, took his own life.

Gaza, 13, an ancient city and stronghold in southern Palestine.

Germanicus, 333, Germanicus Caesar, son of Nero Claudius Drusus, nephew of the emperor Tiberius, and brother of the emperor Claudius. His extraordinary fame and popularity at Rome awakened the jealousy of Tiberius and led to his death in 19 A.D.

Glauceia, 541, Caius Servilius G., praetor in 100 B.C., a partisan of Marius, and a partner of Saturninus in the popular tumults of that year. He perished with Saturninus. Cicero compares him to the Athenian demagogue Hyperbolus (Brutus, 62, 224).

H

Halae, 299, a town in N.E. Boeotia, near the sea.

Halicarnassus, 19, a large and strong Dorian city in S.W. Caria.

Helenus, 371, 455, 461, son of Pyrrhus by Lanassa, the daughter of Agathocles (erroneously by Bircenna, 371). Nothing further is known of him.

Heraclea, 395, a Greek city in Lucania on the gulf of Tarentum. It was at this time in alliance with Tarentum against Rome.

Hercyni, 491, tribes in central and southern Germany.

Herennius, 473 f., Caius H., tribune of the people in 80 B.C., and opposed to Sulla. After the death of Sulla, he joined Sertorius in Spain (76-72 B.C.). See the Pompey, xviii. 3.

Herod, 277, 301 f., Herod the Great, made king of Judaea in 40 B.C. by the Roman senate, at the behest of Antony. His title was confirmed by Augustus, to whom he remained loyal till his death in 4 B.C. Cf. Matthew, chapter 11.

Hieronymus, 97, 401, 415, of Carthage, a historian of the times following the death of Alexander the Great. He was a friend and companion of Eumenes (cf. the Eumenes, xii.) and after the death of Eumenes became a friend of Antigonus, then of Demetrius his son, and finally of Antigonus Gonatas. The death of Pyrrhus (272 B.C.) is mentioned in his history.

Hipparchus, 293, 305, a friend of Antony, not otherwise known.

Hirtius, 175, Aulus H., a warm friend and supporter of Julius Caesar, consul in 43 B.C. He fell in gallantly leading an assault upon Antony’s troops (cf. the Cicero, xli. 3 f.).

Hortensius, 185, Quintus H. Hortensius, son of the great orator Hortensius, though apparently cast off by his father on account of his dissolute habits. He joined Caesar in 49 B.C., and served under
him in important commands (cf. the *Caesar*, xxxii. 2). In 44 B.C.
he held the province of Macedon, and Brutus was to succeed him.

Hybreas, 189, of Mysia, in Caria,
reputed to be the greatest orator
of his time. His works are lost.

Hyrodes, 211, 219, another form of
Orodes, Orodes I., the same as
Arsaces XIV., the king of the
Parthians who defeated Crassus
in 53 B.C.

I

Ialysus, 51, mythical founder of the
city of Ialysus in Rhodes.

Iampsas (Hiempsal), 575 f., king
of Numidia. He was expelled
from his kingdom by Domitius
Ahenobarbus, the leader of the
Marian party in Africa, but was
reinstated by Pompey in 81 B.C.
Cf. the *Pompey*, xii. 4.

Iapygia promontory, 391. Iapygia
was a Greek name of the S.E.
district of Italy, called Calabria
by the Romans.

Iolcus, 135, an ancient and famous
city at the head of the Pagassaean
gulf, the assembling place for
Jason's Argonauts. It was
merged in Demetrias.

Ipsus, 71, 81, 355, a village in
southern Phrygia.

Isis, 263, 307, an Egyptian goddess,
identified with the Demeter of
the Greeks.

J

Juba, 331, Juba II., king of
Mauritania. He lived from
50 B.C. to about 20 A.D., was
educated at Rome, and became
a learned and voluminous writer.
Among his works was a History
of Rome.

Jugurtha, 477, 481, 485 f., 493, 553,
king of Numidia 112-106 B.C.
He was brought a prisoner to
Rome, and starved to death in
104.

Julia, 139, 181, daughter of the

Lucius Julius Caesar who was
consul in 90 B.C., and mother of
Antony. She fled from Rome in
41, but returned to Italy with
her son in 39, after she had aided
in reconciling him with Octavius
Caesar.

L

Labienus, 197, 205, 211, son of the
Labienus who fell at Munda in
45 B.C. After the murder of
Julius Caesar he joined the party
of Brutus and Cassius, and was
sent by them into Parthia, where
he proved a formidable enemy of
Octavius and Antony. He
was not slain in his battle with
Vindidius, but fled in disguise to
Cilicia, where he was discovered
and killed by a freedman of
Octavius.

Lachares, 81 f., an Athenian
demagogue who made himself
tyrant of the city in 296 B.C.
According to Pausanias (i. 25, 7),
he was murdered at Coroneia in
Boeotia shortly after his flight
from Athens.

Leovinus, 393 f., 399 f., 407, Publius
Valerius L., one of the consuls in
280 B.C., known only from this
campaign against Pyrrhus. The
tradition is through Dionysius of
Halicarnassus, who copied
Hieronymus, who had access to
the Memoirs of Pyrrhus.

Lamis, 37, 45, 55, 61-67, mistress
of Demetrius.

Lamprias, 199 f., the grandfather of
Plutarch, a convivial soul.

Lanassa, 369 f., 373, daughter of
Agathocles, wife of Pyrrhus, and
then of Demetrius.

Lentulus (1), 139 f., Publius Corne-
lius L. Sura, was consul in
71 B.C., but in the following year
was expelled from the senate.
This led him to join the con-
sspiracy of Catiline.

Lentulus (2), Lucius Cornelius L.
Crus, consul in 49 B.C., and author
of the violent measures which
drove the tribunes, Antony and Curio, to Caesar at Ravenna. On the outbreak of civil war he joined Pompey in the East, fled with him from Pharsalus, and was put to death in Egypt. See the *Pompey*, lxxx. 4.

Leonattus the Macedonian, 397 f., known only from this incident.

Leosthenes, 349, an Athenian general of the league for expelling the Macedonians from Greece after the death of Alexander. He died during the siege of Lamia (323 B.C.).

Leotychides, 435, son of the Spartan king Agis II., excluded from the throne by Lysander (cf. the *Lysander*, chapter xxii.).

Lepidus, 153, 161, 169, 175–183, 205, Marcus Aemilius L., joined the party of Caesar in 49 B.C., and was Caesar's consular colleague in 46. After Caesar's murder he sided with Antony, and as member of the triumvirate received Spain and Narbonese Gaul as his provinces, then, in 40, Africa, where he remained till 36. He was then deposed from the triumvirate. He lived till 13 B.C.

Lernaean hydra, 407, a fabled monster haunting the marshy district in south-eastern Argolis, slain by Heracles in his second labour.

Libo, 155, Lucius Scribonius L., an adherent of Pompey in the civil war, and legate of Bibulus on Pompey's fleet, succeeding Bibulus in the supreme command. He afterwards served under Sextus Pompeius, but deserted him for Antony in 35 B.C. He was consul with Antony in 34.

Licymnius, 459, a mythical personage, half-brother of Alcméné the mother of Heracles. He was slain by Tlepolemus the son of Heracles.

Liris, 567, one of the principal rivers of central Italy, flowing S.W. into the sea near Minturnae. Lissus, 155, a coast-town in southern Illyria.

Livia, 323, 221 f., Livia Drusilla, married first to Tiberius Claudius Nero, but in 35 B.C. Octavius took her in marriage from her husband. To her first husband she bore Tiberius (afterwards emperor) and Drusus. She bore Augustus no children, but had unbounded influence over him. She died in 29 A.D.

Lucania, 385, 395, 401, 427, a district of southern Italy, west of Apulia and north of Bruttium.

Lucius, 591. Sextus L., not otherwise known.

Lupercalia, 165, a shepherds' festival in honour of the rustic god Faunus, held in Rome February 15. Cf. the *Caesar*, lixi. 1.

Lygdamis, 491, leader of the Cimmerians in their invasion of Lydia in the seventh century B.C. Cf. Herodotus, i. 15.

Lyncus the Samian, 65, distinguished as comic poet and historian, brother of Duris the historian, and contemporary with Menander in the latter half of the fourth century B.C.

Lysimachus (1), 31–133 passim, 339, 361 f., 375–381, an officer of Alexander the Great, not prominent during Alexander's life, but afterwards king of Thrace. He fell in battle with Seleucus, 281 B.C.

Lysimachus (2), 443, a companion of Pyrrhus, not otherwise known.

Lutatius, 501, 589, see Catulus.
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They seized Messana in 310 B.C., and became a formidable power. They passed finally under the dominion of Rome.

Manlius, 513, Cnaeus Manlius Maximus, consul in 105 B.C. He obtained Transalpine Gaul as his province, where he was defeated by the Gauls, chiefly owing to quarrels with his colleague, Servilius Caepio.

Marcellus (1), 519, Marcus Claudius M., prominent later (80 B.C.) in the Marsic war, and an orator of some merit (cf. Cicero, Brutus, 36, 138).

Marcellus (2), 149, 207, 381, Calus Claudius Marcellus, consul in 50 B.C., a friend of Cicero and Pompey, and an uncompromising foe of Julius Caesar. He took no part in the civil war, and was pardoned by Caesar. As husband of Octavia, the sister of Octavius Caesar, he had considerable influence. He is last heard of about 41 B.C.

Marcellus (3), 381, Calus Claudius M., son of the preceding, born in 43 B.C. He married Julia, the daughter of Augustus, in 25, and was also adopted by Augustus. He died in 23. Cf. Vergil, Aeneid, vi. 860–886.

Massalia (Massilia), 213 a town in southern Gaul, east of the Rhone, the modern Marseilles.

Megaclis, 399, known only from this incident.

Menelaus, 35–39, a brother of Ptolemy Lagus, and commander of his fleet. He is not otherwise known.

Meninx, 575, an island off the north coast of Africa, near Carthage.

Merula, 579, 593, Lucius Cornelius M., chosen consul in 87 B.C., after Cinna had fled the city, by the partisans of Sulla. On the return of Marius and Cinna in the same year, he was summoned to trial for illegally exercising the consulate, and committed suicide.

Messapia, 385, 393, like Iapygia, a name given by the Greeks to the south-eastern district of Italy, called Calabria by the Romans.

Metellus (1), 465, Quintus Caecilius M. Macedonicus, was praetor in 148 B.C., and received Macedonia as his province, where he was superseded by Lucius Mummius before he could complete the conquest of Greece. He celebrated a triumph, however, in 146, was consul in 143, and died in 115.

Metellus (2), 469, Lucius Caecilius M. Dalmaticus, consul in 119 B.C., and winner of a bloodless triumph over the Dalmatians.

Metellus (3), 477 ff., 485 f., 541–547, 649, 536, Quintus Caecilius M. Numidicus, consul in 109 B.C., and conqueror of Jugurtha, but supplanted by Marius. He was unjustly expelled from the senate, and went into exile, from which he was recalled in 99, largely through the efforts of his son, Metellus Pius.

Metellus (4), 583, Quintus Caecilius M. Pius, son of the preceding. He was 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 to prosecute the war against Sertorius. He died about 63.

Meton, 383 f., known only from this incident.

Minturnae, 565, 569, 573, a town of Latium, on the river Liris, about three miles from the sea.

Misenum, 207, a promontory and port on the coast of Campania. It was a station for the Roman fleet in the times of Augustus and the Empire.

Mithridates, 11 f., Mithridates II., king of Pontus 337–302 B.C. At the time here noted (318 B.C.) he was at the court of Antigonus as a subject vassal.

Mithridates (2), 245, 249, not otherwise known.

Mithridates (3), 551, 555 f., 579, 593, the sixth king of Pontus bearing this name, commonly called Mithridates the Great, 120–83 B.C.,
the most formidable enemy of the Romans in the East. Mithridates of Commagenê, 277. not otherwise known.

Molossians, 405, 447 f., one of the chief tribes of Epeirus.

Monaeses, 219 f., 245, not otherwise known.

Mummius, 465, Lucius Mummius Achaicus, consul in 146 B.C., conqueror of Greece, destroyer of Corinth, founder of the Roman province of Achaia. He was also censor in 142, with Scipio Africanus the Younger.

Munychia, 19, 23 f., 85, the acropolis of the Peiraeus.

Munychion, 63, the tenth month of the Attic calendar, answering to parts of April and May.

Musaeus, 565, a mythical personage, to whom various poetical works were assigned.

Mutina, 175, an important city in Cisalpine Gaul, south of the Po, the modern Modena.

Cinna, and supporter of the aristocratic party while Sulla was absent in the East.

Octavianus (2), 285, was an adherent of Pompey in 49 B.C., and served successfully on Pompey's fleet. After the battle of Pharsalus he fled to Africa, and after that of Thapsus claimed joint command with Cato (see the Cato Minor, l.x.v, 2). He is not heard of after the battle of Actium.

Olympia, 51, mother of Alexander the Great, put to death in 316 B.C. by order of Cassander.

Olympus, 321, a physician and historian, not otherwise known.

Omphalé, 337, a mythical queen of Lydia, whom Heracles served for three years.

Ostia, 561, 581, a city of Latium at the mouth of the Tiber, the seaport of Rome.

P

Pandosia, 395, a small city of Lucania near Heraclea, to be distinguished from the city of Pandosia in Bruttium.

Pansa, 175, Caius Vibius P., a devoted friend of Julius Caesar, who made him governor of Cisalpine Gaul in 49 B.C., and consul for the year 43 with Hirtius.

Pantaechus, 101, 365, had been an officer of Alexander the Great.

Patrae, 23, 275, a town on the coast of Achaia near the entrance to the Corinthian gulf, the modern Patras.

Patreaces, 121, a Macedonian Greek in the service of Seleucus I., the king of Syria. He was author of a trustworthy geographical work on India and other eastern regions, which is cited by Strabo.

Paulus, 179, Lucius Aemilius Paulus (or Paulius), brother of Lepidus the triumvir. He was consul in 50 B.C., and a determined foe of Julius Caesar. But Caesar bribed him into allegiance (see
the Caesar, xxxix. 3). After Caesar's death, Paulus returned to the aristocratic party, and was proscribed by the triumvirs. He escaped death, however, and fled to Miletus, where he died soon afterwards.

Pelagus, 347, mythical ancestor of the Pelasgians, the earliest inhabitants of Greece.

Pella, 107, was made the capital of Macedonia by Philip II., and was the birthplace of Alexander the Great. It was west of the river Axios, and some fifteen miles from the sea.

Pelusium, 143 f., 307, a strong frontier-town on the eastern branch of the Nile.

Pergamum, 271, in Mysia, capital of the kingdom founded by Eumenes in 263 B.C.

Perseus, 135, the last king of Macedonia, 179-168 B.C. See the Aemilius Paulus, x.-xxxvii.

Pessinus, 509, a town of Galatia in Asia Minor, famed for its rich temple of Cybélé.

Petra, 297, chief city of the district of Arabia which borders Egypt on the N.E. It lay about halfway between the Dead Sea and the Arabian Gulf.

Pharos, 203, 297, an island off Alexandria, artificially united with the mainland.

Pharsalus, in Thessaly, the scene of the decisive battle between Pompey and Caesar in 48 B.C.

Phila, 33 f., 51, 65, 77 f., 91, 113, 117, 135, daughter of Antipater and wife of Demetrius, a virtuous and gifted woman, faithfully devoted to Demetrius in spite of all his marital sins.

Philip, 51, 59, 105, Philip II. of Macedonia, father of Alexander the Great, reigned 359-336 B.C.

Philippides, 31, one of the principal poets of the New Comedy at Athens, flourishing in 325 B.C.

Philetas, 197 f., 201, known only from these incidents.

Phylarchus, 459, of Naucratis and Athens, a historian flourishing in 215 B.C., to whom Plutarch is much indebted in his Agis and Cleomenes, and his Pyrrhus.

Phraata, 223, 227, 253, a place somewhere in ancient Media which served as a residence for the Parthian kings. It was probably named from Phraates.

Phraates, 219, 223, 229 f., Phraates IV. or Arsaces XV. (this latter name continuing that of the founder of the line), king of Parthia, a man of cruelty and treachery. His son was stolen and carried to Rome, and was surrendered to his father by Augustus on condition of the return of the Roman standards and prisoners captured from Crassus. These were actually returned to Rome in 20 B.C.

Phraortes, 255, apparently an error for Phraates.

Piso, 595, Gaius P., not definitely known.

Plancus, 177, 269, Lucius Munatius P., a friend of Julius Caesar, serving under him in Gaul and during the civil war. After Caesar's death he went over to Antony, was consul in 42 B.C., and governor of Syria in 35. He deserted Antony for Octavius Caesar in 32. It was on his proposal that the title of Augustus was conferred upon Octavius in 27.

Pleistarchus, 77 f., son of Antipater and brother of Cassander. After the battle of Ipsus (301 B.C.) he received the province of Cilicia. After his expulsion from this by Demetrius nothing further is heard of him.

Polemon, 275 f., Polemon I., made king of Pontus about 36 B.C. by Antony. He ransomed himself from the Parthians, and continued to co-operate with Antony. After the battle of Actium he made his peace with Octavius, and was by him confirmed in his kingdom. He died about 2 B.C.

Polysperchon, 23, 367, a distinguished officer of Alexander the
Great, appointed by Antipater to succeed him in the regency. He connived at some of the worst crimes of Cassander. He is last heard of in 303 B.C.

Pompeius (1), 509; Aulus P., not otherwise known.

Pompeius (2), 207 f., 217, 263, Sextus P., younger son of Pompey the Great by his third wife, escaped after the battle of Munda (45 B.C.), and was active against the triumvirate until his death in 35.

Poseidonius, 485, 503, a famous Stoic philosopher, of Apamela in Syria, a contemporary of Cicero, taught at Rhodes, and was resident at Athens and Rome.

Pothinus, 275, one of the guardians of the young Ptolemy when Caesar came to Egypt. He was put to death by Caesar (cf. the Caesar, xliviii. f.). The name must therefore be used oratorically here.

Priene, 267, one of the twelve Ionian cities in Asia Minor, north of Miletus.

Proculeius, 315 f., Cornelius P. (Plutarch calls him Proculeius), a wealthy Roman knight, afterwards highly honoured by Augustus. Horace mentions him with praise (Carm. ii. 2, 5 f.).

Protagenius, 51 f., of Caunus in Caria, one of the most celebrated of Greek painters, contemporary with Apelles, flourishing in 330 B.C.

Ptolemy (1), 13–117 passim, 227 f., 355, 361, 375, Ptolemy Lagus, king of Egypt 306–283, the most far-sighted and successful of the officers of Alexander the Great.

Ptolemy (2), 109, Ptolemy IV., surnamed Philopator, king of Egypt 222–205 B.C.

Ptolemy (3), Ptolemy XI., commonly known as Ptolemy Auletes, restored to the throne of Egypt in 55 B.C. through Pompey's influence. He never regained the goodwill of his people, and died in 51.

Ptolemy (4), 361, 369, 441, 449, son of Pyrrhus and Antigone, was left in charge of his father's kingdom at the age of fifteen, when Pyrrhus set out for Italy in 280 B.C.

Ptolemy (5), 263, son of Antony and Cleopatra, surnamed Philadelphus. After the death of Antony his life was spared by Octavius Caesar, and he was brought up by Octavia with her own children. Nothing more is heard of him.

Publicola, 285 f., Lucius Gellius P., deserted to the side of Octavius and Antony from that of Brutus and Cassius, and was made consul in 36 B.C. He probably perished at the battle of Actium.

Pyrrha, 347, mythical wife of the mythical Deucalion (cf. Horace, Carm. 1. 2, 6).

Pythodorus, 61, the Torch-bearer, an official in the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries. See the Alcibiades, xxii. 3.

Q

Quinda, 77, a city of Cilicia, later called Anazarbus.

R

Rhosus, 77, probably a place on the N.W. coast of Syria, below the gulf of Issus.

Rutilius, 541, Publius Rutilius Rufus, statesman and orator, consul in 105 B.C. He was convicted of peculation in his pro-consulship of Asia (99 B.C.), and retired to Smyrna for the rest of his days. He wrote a History of Rome in Greek.

S

Sabaco, 473, Cassius S., not otherwise known.

Sadaias, 277, king of Thrace, not otherwise known.

617
Salamis, 37 f., 87, a city on the eastern coast of Cyprus.
Samnium (Samnites), 385, 401, 407 f., 407 f., 413, 423, 427, a mountainous district in central Italy, east of Latium and Campania. The Samnites did not make final submission to Rome until 272 B.C.
Samosata, 213, the royal residence of the district of Commagenê, situated on the upper Euphrates.
Saturn, 411, Italian god of agriculture. For the festival of the Saturnalia, see the note on the Sulla, xviii. 6.
Saturinus, 499 f., 541-549, 559, Lucius Appuleius Saturinus, a Roman noble who allied himself with Marius and the popular party, tribune of the people in 102 and 100 B.C., in which last year he perished at the hands of a mob.
Scipio (1), 465, Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus the Elder, 234-183 B.C.
Scipio (2), 469, 493 f., Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus the Younger, son of Aemilius Paulus, adopted by Publius Scipio the son of the conqueror of Hannibal, 185-129 B.C.
Seleucus (1), 17-133 passim, Seleucus I., surnamed Nicator, founder of the Syrian dynasty, king of Syria 306-280 B.C.
Seleucus (2), 307, apparently an officer serving under Antony and Cleopatra.
Sicyon, 205, a city of Achaea in Northern Peloponnesus, near the Corinthian Gulf.
Sidon, 255, a Phoenician city on the coast of Palestine, north of Tyre.
Silanus, 273, Marcus S., not otherwise known.
Siris, 395, a river of Lucania flowing east into the gulf of Tarentum.
Soeigenses, 125, not otherwise definitely known.
Sossius (or Sosius), 215, Cornelius S., consul in 66 B.C., followed the fortunes of Antony, who made him governor of Syria and Cilicia in place of Ventidius. He commanded the left wing of Antony’s fleet at Actium, escaped from the battle, and was pardoned by Octavius.
Statianus, 223, Oppius S., not otherwise known.
Stilpo, 23 f., founder of a Megarian school of philosophy. Little is known of his life.
Stratocles, 27-33, 57-63, an Athenian orator and demagogue of disreputable character, but persuasive speech.
Sulla, 465, see the Coriolanus, x1. 2-4, with the note.
Sulpicius, 555, 559, Publius S. Rufus, one of the most famous orators of his time. He was at first an aristocrat in politics, and as such was made tribune of the people in 88 B.C. But he became the creature of Marius, and was put to death by Sulla (cf. the Sulla, x. 1).

Taenarum, 291, the southern promontory of Laconia, in Peloponnesus.
Tapho-siris, 339, a town in Libya about twenty-five miles west of Alexandria. It contained a “Tomb of Osiris.”
Tarentum, 215 f., 279, 383 f., 389 f., 313, 401 f., 407, 413, 419, 423, 427, a wealthy and powerful Greek city in S.E. Italy, at the head of the gulf named from it. It was a Spartan colony, founded about 708 B.C.
Taurus, 119, an extensive mountain range of southern Asia Minor.
Taurus, 285, Statillus T., a distinguished general under Octavius, consul in 26 B.C., and prefect of Rome during the absence of Augustus in 16.
Telamon, 579, a city on the coast of Etruria (Tyrrenia).
Terracina (Tarracina), 563, 569, a maritime city of Latium, about ten miles from Circei.
Thessalonícë, 87, wife of Cassander, and sister of Alexander the Great.
Timagenês, 303, of Alexandria, carried prisoner to Rome in 55 B.C., where he regained his freedom and taught rhetoric successfully, enjoying the favour of Augustus for a while.
Timon the Misanthrope, 297 ff., is said to have died in consequence of refusing to have a surgeon set a broken limb.
Titius, 235, 269, Marcus T., owed his life to Sextus Pompeius, but when Sextus was captured in Asia, Titius put him to death. He deserted Antony for Octavius Caesar, by whom he was made consul in 31 B.C.
Torquatus, 465, a cognomen formed from "torques," a chain stripped from a fallen foe.
Trebellius, 157, Lucius T., tribune of the people in 47 B.C., and a colleague of Dolabella. He afterwards, to placate Antony, tried to carry the very measures in which he had opposed Dolabella.
Trebonius, 167, Caius T., tribune of the people in 55 B.C., and an instrument of the first triumvirs. He was afterwards legate of Caesar in Gaul, and was loaded with favours by him, but still joined his murderers. He was sent out as pro-consul to Asia in 43, where he was slain by Dolabella, who was acting for Antony against Brutus and Cassius.

U

Utica, 481, a Phoenician colony from Tyre, older than Carthage, on the N.W. coast of Africa, about twenty-seven miles from Carthage.

V

Varius, 179, Lucius Varius, surnamed CotyIon (or Cotyla), had been aedile in 44 B.C., and had served Antony during the siege of Mutina in 43.
Ventidius, 209-215, Publius V. Bassus, a native of Picenum, and brought to Rome as prisoner of war in 89 B.C., where he was manumitted. He served with distinction under Julius Caesar in the civil war, and after the death of Caesar joined Antony. After his triumph nothing is heard of him.

X

Xenocrates the Philosopher, 467, a native of Chalcidon in Bithynia, and a disciple at Athens of Aeschines the Socratic. He lived 396-314 B.C.
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