Plutarch's Lives

Plutarch, Bernadotte Perrin
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

X
PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

---

**Volume I.**

THESAURUS AND ROMULUS.
LYCURGUS AND NUMA.
SOLON AND PUBLICOLA.

**Volume II.**

THEMISTOCLES AND CAMILLUS.
ARISTIDES AND CATO MAJOR.
CIMON AND LUCULLUS.

**Volume III.**

PERICLES AND FABRIUS MAXIMUS.
NICIAS AND CRASSUS.

**Volume IV.**

ALCIBIADES AND CORIOLANUS.
LYSANDER AND SULLA.

**Volume V.**

AGESILAUS AND POMPEY.
PELOPIDAS AND MARCELLUS.

**Volume VI.**

DION AND BRUTUS.
TIMOLEON AND AEMILIUS PAULUS.

**Volume VII.**

DEMOSTHENES AND CICERO.
ALEXANDER AND CAESAR.

**Volume VIII.**

sertorius and Eumenes.
phocion and cato the younger.

**Volume IX.**

DEMETRIUS AND ANTONY.
PYRRHUS AND CAIUS MARIUS.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
BERNADOTTE PERRIN

IN ELEVEN VOLUMES
X

AGIS AND CLEOMENES, AND TIBERIUS
AND CAIUS GRACCHUS
PHILOPOEMEN AND FLAMININUS

LONDON: WILLIAM HEINEMANN
NEW YORK: G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
MCMXXI
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 a 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. No attempt has been made 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) or to the new text of the Lives by Lindskog and Ziegler (Teubner). In the present edition, the reading which follows the colon in the brief critical notes is that of the Teubner Sintenis, and also, unless stated in the note, that of the Tauchnitz Bekker.

In May, 1920, Professor Perrin put the finishing touches upon the eleventh and last volume of this series of the Lives of Plutarch for the "Loeb Classical Library," a task which he had undertaken nine years before. On August 31, 1920, he died after a brief illness, having nearly completed his seventy-third year. During the nine years, of which he
PREFATORY NOTE

devoted the leisure hours to the translation of his favourite author, the very magnitude of the task, and the inspiration of the hope that he might leave behind him a version of the Lives that would make the famous men of ancient Greece and Rome, so wonderfully depicted by the great biographer, as familiar to the next generation as they were to the youth in his own boyhood, seemed to sustain and strengthen his powers. The wide and discriminating experience with modern men of action which the translator possessed, combined with the classical historian's special knowledge of the times which he was called upon to interpret after Plutarch, an author whom he had studied with sympathetic interest for many years, gave Professor Perrin peculiar qualifications for the task; and the English-speaking world already knows with what eminent success he achieved it.

The American Editor, who had been called in constant consultation by Professor Perrin during the progress of the work, has by the wish of his family undertaken to see the present and final volume through the press. Volume XI, which will contain an extensive General Index, will, it is hoped, be published in 1922.

THE EDITORS.
CONTENTS

PREFATORY NOTE .................................................. V
ORDER OF THE PARALLEL LIVES IN THIS EDITION .......... viii
TRADITIONAL ORDER OF THE PARALLEL LIVES .......... ix
AGIS AND CLEOMENES .......................................... 1
TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS .............................. 143
COMPARISON OF AGIS AND CLEOMENES AND THE 
   GRACCHI ...................................................... 241
PHILOPOEMEN ...................................................... 255
TITUS FLAMININUS .............................................. 321
COMPARISON OF PHILOPOEMEN AND TITUS ................. 387
DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES ................................ 395
ORDER OF THE PARALLEL LIVES IN THIS EDITION IN THE CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF THE GREEK LIVES.

VOLUME I.
(1) Theseus and Romulus. Comparison.
(2) Lycurgus and Numa. Comparison.
(3) Solon and Publicola. Comparison.

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

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

VOLUME IV.
(6) Alcibiades and Coriolanus. Comparison.
(12) Lysander and Sulla. Comparison.

VOLUME V.
(8) Pelopidas and Marcellus. Comparison.

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

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

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

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

VOLUME X.
(10) Philopoemen and Flamininus. Comparison.

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

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

(23) Artaxerxes.
(24) Aratus.
(25) Galba.
(26) Otho.
AGIS AND CLEOMENES
ΑΓΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΗΣ

ΑΓΙΣ

1. Οὐκ ἀτόπως τινὲς οὖν ἐνθάντας συγκείσθαι πρὸς τῶν φιλοπόλεως ὑπονοοῦσι τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰξίου μαθὴν, ὡς δὴ λαβόντι τὴν νεφέλην ἀντὶ τῆς Ἡρας καὶ τῶν Κενταῦρων οὕτως γενομένων. καὶ γὰρ οὕτω τῆς ἀρετῆς ὠσπέρ εἰδώλω οἱ τῇ δόξῃ συνόντες, οὐδὲν εἰλικρινές οὐδ' ὄμολογημένου, ἀλλὰ νόθα καὶ μικτὰ πολλὰ πράττουσιν, ἀλλὸτε ἄλλας φορὰς φερόμενοι, ξίλοις καὶ πάθεσιν ἑπακολουθοῦντες, ὅπερ οἱ Σοφοκλέους βοτήρες ἐπὶ τῶν ποιμνίων λέγουσιν.

τούτως γὰρ οὕτως δεσποτάτα δουλεύομεν, καὶ τῶν ἀνάγκη καὶ σιωπῶντων κλέειν.

2 ὅπερ ἀληθῶς οἱ πρὸς ἐπιθυμίας ὀχλῶν καὶ ὀρμᾶς πολιτευόμενοι πάσχοντες, δουλεύοντες καὶ ἀκολουθοῦντες ἵνα δημαγωγοὶ καὶ ἄρχοντες ὁνομάζονται. καθάπερ γὰρ οἱ προφετεῖς τὰ ἐμπροσθεν προορώμενοι τῶν κυβερνητῶν ἀφορῶσι πρὸς ἐκεῖνον καὶ τὸ προστασσόμενον ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου ποιοῦσιν, οὕτως οἱ πολιτευόμενοι καὶ πρὸς δόξαν ὁρῶντες ὑπηρέται μὲν τῶν πολλῶν εἰς ὃν, ὅνομα δὲ ἄρχοντων ἔχουσιν.
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

AGIS

I. Not without rhyme or reason is the supposition of some writers that the tale about Ixion—how it was the cloud that he embraced instead of Hera and begat from thence the Centaurs—has an application to lovers of glory. For such men, consorting with glory, which we may call an image of virtue, produce nothing that is genuine and of true lineage, but much that is bastard and monstrous, being swept now along one course and now along another in their attempts to satisfy desire and passion. The herdsmen of Sophocles say,¹ in speaking of their flocks:

"Of these, indeed, though masters, we are yet the slaves,
And to them we must listen even though they’re dumb."

And this, in truth, is the experience of public men who act in conformity with the desires and impulses of multitudes, making themselves attendants and slaves in order that they may be called popular leaders and rulers. For just as a ship’s lookout, who sees what lies ahead before the ship’s captain does, nevertheless turns to him for orders and does what he ordains, so the public man whose eyes are fixed on glory is a servant of the multitude, although he has the name of ruler.

II. Ὅ μὲν γὰρ ἀπηκριβωμένος καὶ τελείως ἀγαθὸς οὖν ἄν ὄλως δόξης δέοιτο, πλὴν ὅση πάροδον ἐπὶ τὰς πράξεις διὰ τοῦ πιστεύεσθαι\textsuperscript{1} δίδωσι νέῳ δὲ ἔτι ὅντι καὶ φιλοτίμῳ δοτέον ἀπὸ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων καὶ δόξη τι καλλωπίσασθαι καὶ κομπάσαι. φυόμεναι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς τηλικοῦτοις αἱ ἀρεται καὶ βλαστάνουσαι τὸ στο κατορθοῦμενον, ὡς φησι Θεόφραστος, ἐκβεβαιοῦνται τοῖς ἐπαίνοις, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν αὐξονται μετὰ φρονήματος ἐπαι-2 ῥόμεναι. τὸ δὲ ἀγαν πανταχοῦ μὲν ἐπισφαλές, ἐν δὲ ταῖς πολιτικαῖς φιλοτιμίαις ὀλέθριον. ἐκφέ-ρει γὰρ εἰς μιαν καὶ παραφροσύνην ὑπαίθρων ἐξουσίας μεγάλης ἐπιλαβομένους, ὡς τὸ καλὸν ἐνδοξὸν εἶναι ἑλάσων, ἀλλ' ἀγαθὸν ἵγωνται τὸ ἐνδοξὸν εἶναι. ὁπερ\textsuperscript{2} οὖν Φωκίων πρὸς ’Ἀντί-πατρον ἀξιοῦντα τῷ παρ' αὐτοῦ τῶν μὴ καλῶν "Οὐ δύνασαι," εἶπεν, "ἂμα καὶ φίλῳ Φωκίωνι χρῆθαι καὶ κόλακι," τούτο λεκτέον ἡ ὀμοίων τι 3 τοῦτο πρὸς τοὺς πολλούς: "Οὐ δύνασθε τὸν αὐτοῦ ἐχειν καὶ ἀρχοῦντα καὶ ἀκόλουθον." ἔπει συμβαίνει γε καὶ οὖτος τὸ τοῦ δράκοντος, οὐ φησιν ὁ μύθος τὴν οὐρὰν τῇ κεφαλῇ στασιάσασαν ἄξιον ἥγεσθαι παρὰ μέρος καὶ μή διὰ παντὸς ἀκολουθεῖν ἑκεῖνη, λαβοῦσαν δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτὴν τε κακῶς ἀπαλλάττειν ἀνοικ περενομένην καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν καταξάειν, τυφλοὶς καὶ κωφοῖς μέρεσιν ἀναγκαζομένην παρὰ φύσιν ἐπεσθαι. 4 τούτο πολλοὺς τῶν προς χάριν ἀπαντὰ πεπολῖτευ-μένων ὥραμεν πεπονθότας ἐξαρτήσαντες γὰρ

\textsuperscript{1} διὰ τοῦ π., Coraës, Bekker, and Ziegler, after Bryan: καὶ διὰ τοῦ π.
\textsuperscript{2} ὁπερ Blass and Ziegler (with S5 p.m.): ὁπερ.
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

II. The man, indeed, whose goodness is complete and perfect will have no need at all of glory, except so far as glory gives him access to achievement by reason of the confidence men have in him; but a man who is still young and is fond of honours may be allowed to plume and exalt himself somewhat even upon glory, provided that glory is the outcome of noble deeds. For the virtues, which are incipient and budding in the young, are confirmed in their proper development, as Theophrastus says, by the praises of men, and complete their growth under the incentive of pride. But excess is everywhere harmful, and in the case of men who cherish political ambitions, it is deadly; for it sweeps them away into manifest folly and madness as they grasp after great power, when they refuse to regard what is honourable as glorious, but consider that what is glorious is good. Therefore, what Phocion said to Antipater, who demanded from him some dishonourable service, "Thou canst not have Phocion as thy friend and at the same time thy flatterer," this, or something akin to this, must be said to the multitude: "Ye cannot have the same man as your ruler and your slave." Since in this case also one certainly can apply the fable of the serpent whose tail rebelled against its head and demanded the right to lead in turn instead of always following; so it took the lead, and by the folly of its progress got itself into mischief and lacerated the head, which was compelled, contrary to nature, to follow a part that had neither eyes nor ears. This, as we see, has been the experience of many of the men whose whole political activity is directed towards the winning of popular favour; they made themselves dependent on the multitude, which is borne
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

αὐτοὺς ὀχλῶν εἰκή φερομένων οὐτ' ἀναλαβεῖν ὑστερον οὕτ' ἐπιστήσατι τὴν ἀταξίαν ἐδυνήθησαν.

Ταύτα δὲ ἤμιν εἰς τὴν παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν δόξαν ἐπήλθεν εἰπεῖν ἐννοῆσαι ἥλικην ἔχει δύναμιν ἐκ τῶν Τιβερίῳ καὶ Γαίῳ τοῖς Γράγχοις συμπεσόντων, οὑς κάλλιστα μὲν φύντας, κάλλιστα δὲ τραφέντας, καλλίστῃ δὲ τῆς πολιτείας ὑπόθεσιν λαβόντας, ἀπώλεσεν οὐχ οὕτως ἐπιθυμία δόξης ἀμετρος, ὡς φόβος ἄδοξας ἐκ προφάσεως οὐκ ἄγεννοις πεφυκός. μεγάλην γὰρ εὐνοιαν προειληφότες παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν ἴσχύνθησαν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν ὁσπερ χρέος. ἀμιλλάμενοι δ' ἀεὶ πολιτεύμασι χρηστοίς τὰς τιμὰς ὑπερβάλλεσθαι, καὶ τιμώμενοι μᾶλλον ἐξ ὧν ἐπολιτεύοντο κεχαρισμένως, καὶ τούτου τὸν τρόπον ἰσχυρότημα πρὸς τε τὸν δήμου ἐαυτοὺς καὶ τὸν δήμον πρὸς ἐαυτοὺς ἐκκαύσαντες, ἔλαθον ἄγαμενοι πραγμάτων ἐν οἷς οὐκέτ' ἦν τὸ ἐπιμείναι καλὸν, αἰσχρὸν δ' ἦδη τὸ πάνσασθαι.

Ταύτα μὲν οὖν ἐπικρινεῖσ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς διηγήσεως. παραβάλωμεν δὲ αὐτοῖς Δακωνικὸν ζεύγος δημαγωγῶν, Ἀγίν καὶ Κλεομένην τοὺς βασιλεῖς. καὶ γὰρ οὕτω τὸν δήμον αὔξουτες, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνοι, καὶ πολιτείαν καλὴν καὶ δικαίαν ἐκελεουσίαν πολῶν χρόνων ἀναλαμβάνουτες, ὑμοίως ἄπηχθανοντο τοῖς δυνατοῖς μὴ βουλομένοις ἀφεῖναι τὴν συνήθη πλεονεξίαν. ἀδελφοὶ μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἦσαν.
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

about at random, and then could neither recover themselves nor put a stop to the progress of disorder.

These remarks upon the glory which comes from the favour of the multitude I have been led to make because I was reminded of its great influence by the fortunes of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus. They were men of most generous natures, and had a most generous rearing, and adopted most generous political principles; and yet they were ruined, I will not say by an immoderate desire for glory, but rather by a fear of losing it. And this fear had no unworthy origin. For after they had enjoyed great kindness from their fellow citizens, they were ashamed to leave it unpaid, like a debt of money; and so they were forever striving by the excellence of their political services to surpass the honours conferred upon them, and were honoured all the more in consequence of their grateful political services. In this way, after kindling an equal ardour in themselves towards the people and in the people towards themselves, they engaged in enterprises wherein, though they knew it not, it was no longer honourable for them to persist, and already disgraceful for them to stop.

As to this matter, however, my reader will judge for himself from my narrative; and I shall compare with the Gracchi a pair of popular leaders in Sparta, Agis and Cleomenes the kings. For these also tried to exalt the people, just as the Gracchi did, and tried to restore an honourable and just civil polity which had lapsed for a long time; and like the Gracchi they incurred the hatred of the nobles, who were unwilling to relax their wonted greed. It is true that the
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

άλληλων οἱ Δάκωνες, συγγενοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄδελφης ἦσαντο πολιτείας, ἀρχὴν τοιαύτην λαβόντες.

III. Ἐπεὶ παρεισέδω πρῶτον εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ ξῆλος, καὶ συνηκολούθησε τοῦ πλούτου τῇ μὲν κτήσει πλεονεξία καὶ μικρολογία τῇ δὲ χρήσει καὶ ἀπολαύσει τριφή καὶ μάλακτι καὶ πολυτελεία, τῶν πλείστων ἐξέπεσεν ἡ Σπάρτη καλῶν, καὶ ταπεινά πράττουσα παρ’ ἄξιον διετέλει μέχρι τῶν χρόνων ἐκείνων ἐν οἷς Ἐ. Αγις καὶ 2 Δεσφίδας ἐβασίλευσεν, Ἐ. Αγις μὲν Ἐβρυποπτίδης καὶ Εὐδαμίδα παῖς, ἔκτοσι ἀπὸ Ἐ. Αγισιλάου τοῦ διαβάντος εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ μέγιστον Ἐλλήνων δυνηθέντος. ἦν γὰρ Ἐ. Αγισιλάου μὲν Ἐ. Αρχίδαμος ὁ περὶ Μανδρίου τῆς Ἰταλίας ὑπὸ Μεσσαπίων ἀποθανόν, Ἐ. Αρχιδάμος δὲ πρεσβύτερος μὲν ὕπο Ἐ. Αγις, Εὐδαμίδας δὲ νεότερος, ὡς Ἐ. Αγιδης ὑπὸ Ἐ. Αντιπάτρου περὶ Μεγάλην πόλιν ἀναιρεθέντος ἀτέκνου, τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχε, τοῦτο δὲ Ἐ. Αρχίδαμος, Ἐ. Αρχιδάμος δὲ ἔτερος Εὐδαμίδας, Εὐδαμίδα

3 δὲ Ἐ. Αγις, περὶ οὗ τάδε γέγραφαν Δεσφίδας δὲ ὁ Κλεωνίμου τῆς μὲν ἐτέρας οἰκίας ἦν Ἐ. Αγιάθης, ὁγδοσὶ δὲ ἀπὸ Παυσανίου τοῦ νεκρήσαντος ἐν Πλαταίας μάχῃ Μαρδόνιον. Παυσανίας γὰρ υἱὸν ἔσχε Πλειστώνακτα, Πλειστώναξ δὲ Παυσανίας, οὐ φυγόντος εἰς Τεγέαν ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος ὁ τε πρεσβύτερος υἱὸς Ἐ. Αγισίππολος ἐβασίλευσε καὶ τοῦτον τελευτήσαντος ἀτέκνου Κλεομβρότος

4 ὁ νέωτερος. ἔκ δὲ Κλεομβρότου πάλιν ἄλλος Ἐ. Αγισίππολος ἦν καὶ Κλεομένης, διὸ Ἐ. Αγισίππολος μὲν οὕτε ἠρέξε πολῖν χρόνου οὕτε παῖδας ἔσχε, Κλεομένης δὲ βασιλεύσας μετὰ Ἐ. Αγισίππολοι τῶν
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

Spartans were not brothers; still, they adopted political courses which were kindred and brother to one another. The occasion was as follows.

III. When once the love of silver and gold had crept into the city, closely followed by greed and parsimony in the acquisition of wealth and by luxury, effeminacy, and extravagance in the use and enjoyment of it, Sparta fell away from most of her noble traits, and continued in a low estate that was unworthy of her down to the times when Agis and Leonidas were kings. Agis was of the Eurypontid royal house, a son of Eudamidas, and the sixth in descent from the Agesilaüs who crossed into Asia and became the most powerful Greek of his time. For Agesilaüs had a son Archidamus, who was slain by the Messapians at Mandurium in Italy; Archidamus had an elder son Agis, and a younger son Eudamidas, who, after Agis was slain by Antipater at Megalopolis leaving no issue, became king; Eudamidas was succeeded by Archidamus, Archidamus by another Eudamidas, and Eudamidas by Agis, the subject of this Life. Leonidas, on the other hand, the son of Cleonymus, was of the other royal house, the Agiad, and was eighth in descent from the Pausanias who defeated Mardonius at Plataea. For Pausanias had a son Pleistoanax, and Pleistoanax a son Pausanias, upon whose exile and flight from Sparta to Tegea his elder son Agesipolis became king; Agesipolis, dying without issue, was succeeded by a younger brother Cleombrotes, and Cleombrotes, in turn, had two sons, Agesipolis and Cleomenes, of whom Agesipolis reigned only a short time and left no sons, while Cleomenes, who became king after him, lived to

1 In 338 B.C.  2 In 330 B.C.  3 In 244 B.C.
4 In 395 B.C. See the Lysander, xxx. 1.
μὲν πρεσβύτερον τῶν υἱῶν Ἀκρότατον ἔτι ξόν ἀπέβαλε, νεώτερον δὲ Κλεώνυμον κατέλιπεν, δι' οὐκ ἐβασίλευσεν, ἀλλ' Ἀρεως υἱὸς δὲν Κλεομένου, Ἀκρότατος δ' υἱὸς Ἀρεως δὲ πεσόντος περὶ Κόρωνθον υἱὸς δὲν Ἀκρότατος τὴν βασιλείαν 5 κατέσχεν. ἀπέθανε δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἦττιθείς μάχα 797 περὶ Μεγάλην πόλιν ὑπὸ Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ τυράννου, καταλυτῶν ἐγκύμωνα τὴν γυναίκα. παιδίου δὲ ἀρρενος γενομένου Δεσπίδας ὁ Κλεωνύμος τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν ἔσχεν, εἰτα πρὶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γενέσθαι τελευτήσαντος, οὕτως εἰς αὐτὸν ἡ βασιλεία περιήλθεν οὐ πάνυ τοῖς πολίταις εὐάρμοστον ὅντα. 6 καίπερ γὰρ ἐγκεκλικτῶν ἦδη τῇ διαφθορᾷ τοῦ πολιτεύματος ὁμαλῶς ἀπάντων, ἢν τις ἐν τῷ Δεσπίδα τῶν πατρῴων ἐπιφανῆς ἐκδιαίρησις, ἄτε δὴ χρόνον ἡλιούδημένῳ πολῶν ἐν αὐλαῖς σατραπικαῖς καὶ τεθεραπευκότι Σέλευκον, εἰτα τὸν ἐκείθεν ὅγκον εἰς Ἑλληνικὰ πράγματα καὶ νόμιμον ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἐμμελῶς μεταφέροντι.

IV. Ὄ δὲ Ἀγις οὕτω πολὺ παρῆλλαττεν εὐφυίᾳ καὶ φρονήματι ψυχῆς οὐ μόνον τοῦτον, ἀλλὰ σχεδόν ἀπαντας ὅσοι μετ' Ἀγασίλαιον τὸν μέγαν ἐβασίλευσαν, ὅστε μηδέπω γεγονὼς εἰκοστὸν ἔτος, ἐγνωριμένος δὲ πλούτους καὶ τρυφαῖς γυναικῶν, τῆς τε μητρὸς Ἀγασίστράτας καὶ τῆς μάμμης Ἀρχιδαμίας, αἱ πλείστα χρήματα Δακεδαιμονίων ἐκέκτην, πρὸς τε τὰς ἡδονὰς εὐθὺς ἀπισχυρήσασθαι, καὶ τὸν ἐπιπρέψαι μάλιστα τῇ χάριτι
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

lose his elder son Acrotatus, but left behind him a younger son Cleonymus; Cleonymus, however, did not come to the throne, but Areus,¹ who was a nephew of Cleomenes and son of Acrotatus; Areus fell in battle at Corinth,² and his son Acrotatus came to the throne; Acrotatus also was defeated and slain at Megalopolis, by the tyrant Aristodemus, leaving his wife with child; and after she had given birth to a son, Leonidas the son of Cleonymus was made the child’s guardian. But the young king died before reaching manhood, and the kingship therefore devolved upon Leonidas,³ who was altogether unacceptable to the people. For although the destruction of the constitution had already led to a general decline in manners, there was in Leonidas a very marked departure from the traditions of his country, since for a long time he had frequented oriental courts and had been a servile follower of Seleucus, and now sought to transfer the pride and pomp which prevailed abroad into Hellenic relations and a constitutional government, where they were out of place.

IV. Agis, on the contrary, far surpassed in native excellence and in loftiness of spirit not only Leonidas, but almost all the kings who had followed the great Agesilaüs. Therefore, even before he had reached his twentieth year, and although he had been reared amid the wealth and luxury of women, namely, his mother Agesistrata and his grandmother Archidamia (who were the richest people in Sparta), he at once set his face against pleasures. He put away from his person the adornments which were thought to

¹ See the Pyrrhus, xxvi. 8 ff.
² In 265 B.C., in battle with Antigonus Gonatas.
³ About 256 B.C.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΒΙΟΕΣ

τῆς μορφῆς οραίας δοκούντα περισσάς τοῦ σώματος, καὶ πᾶσαν ἐκδύσας καὶ διαφυγῶν πολυτέλειαν, ἐγκαλλωπίζεσθαι τῷ τριβωνίῳ, καὶ δεῖπνα καὶ λουτρὰ καὶ διαίτας Δακωνίκας ξητεῖν, καὶ λέγειν ὡς οὐδέν δέοιτο τῆς βασιλείας, εἰ μὴ δὲ αὐτὴν ἀναλήψοιτο τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὴν πάτριον ἀγωγήν.

V. Ἀρχῆν μὲν οὖν διαφθορὰς καὶ τοῦ νοσεῖν ἔσχε τὰ πράγματα τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων σχεδὸν ἀφ’ οὗ τῆς ‘Ἀθηναίων καταλύσαντες ἤγερον χρυσόν τε καὶ ἄργυρίον κατέπλησαν ἑαυτοῦς. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν οἴκων ὑπὸ τὸς Δυκούρηγος ὁρίσε φυλαττόντων ἀριθμὸν ἐν ταῖς διαδοχαῖς, καὶ πατρὸς παιδὸ τὸν κληρὸν ἀπολείποντος, ἀμῶς γέ πως ἡ τάξις αὐτὴ καὶ ἱσότης διαμένουσα τήν πόλιν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνέφερεν ἀμαρτημάτων.

2 ἔφορεύσας δὲ τὶς ἀνήρ δυνατός, αὐθάδης δὲ καὶ χαλέπος τὸν τρόπον, Ἐπιτάδεος ὄνομα, πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ γενομένης διαφορᾶς ἤγραψεν ἐξείνα τῶν οἰκῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν κλήρον φὶ τὶς ἐθέλοι καὶ ξύντα δουμαι καὶ καταλιπεῖν διατιθέ-3 μενον. οὗτος μὲν οὖν αὐτοῦ τινα θυμὸν ἀπο-πιμπλᾶς ἰδιον εἰσῆγεγκε τὸν νόμον οἷς δὲ ἄλλοι πλεονεξίας ἐνεκα δεξάμενοι καὶ κυρώσαντες ἀπώ-λεσαν τὴν ἀρίστην κατάστασιν. ἐκτὸντο γὰρ ἀφειδῶς ἤδη παρωθοῦντες οἱ δυνατοὶ τοὺς προσή-κοντος ἐκ τῶν διαδοχῶν καὶ ταχύ τῆς εὐπορίας εἰς ὀλίγους συνρυάσης πενία τὴν πόλιν κατέσχεν, ἀσχολίαν τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀνελευθερίαν ἐπιφέρουσα
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

befit the grace of his figure, laid aside and avoided every extravagance, prided himself on his short Spartan cloak, observed sedulously the Spartan customs in his meals and baths and general ways of living, and declared that he did not want the royal power at all unless by means of it he could restore the ancient laws and discipline.

V. And here I may say that the Lacedaemonian state began to suffer distemper and corruption soon after its subversion of the Athenian supremacy filled it with gold and silver. However, since the number of families instituted by Lycurgus¹ was still preserved in the transmission of estates, and father left to son his inheritance, to some extent the continuance of this order and equality sustained the state in spite of its errors in other respects. But when a certain powerful man came to be ephor who was headstrong and of a violent temper, Epitadeus by name, he had a quarrel with his son, and introduced a law permitting a man during his lifetime to give his estate and allotment to any one he wished, or in his will and testament so to leave it. This man, then, satisfied a private grudge of his own in introducing the law; but his fellow citizens welcomed the law out of greed, made it valid, and so destroyed the most excellent of institutions. For the men of power and influence at once began to acquire estates without scruple, ejecting the rightful heirs from their inheritances; and speedily the wealth of the state streamed into the hands of a few men, and poverty became the general rule, bringing in its train lack of leisure for noble pursuits and occupations unworthy of freemen, along with envy and

¹ See the Lycurgus, viii. f.
μετὰ φθόνου καὶ δυσμενείας πρὸς τοὺς ἐχοντας. 4 ἀπελευθῆσαν οὖν ἐπτακοσίων οὐ πλείονες Σπαρτιάται, καὶ τούτων ἵσως ἐκατον ἦσαν οἱ γῆν κεκτημένοι καὶ κλήρον· ὁ δ’ ἄλλος ὅχλος ἄπορος καὶ ἄτιμος ἐν τῇ πόλει παρεκάθητο, τοὺς μὲν ἐξωθὲν πολέμους ἄργως καὶ ἀπροθύμως ἀμυνόμενος, ἀεὶ δὲ τίνα καιρὸν ἐπιτηρῶν μεταβολῆς καὶ μεταστάσεως τῶν παρόντων.

VI. Διὰ ταῦτα δὴ καλὸν ὁ Ἀγίος, ὃσπερ ἦν, ποιούμενος ἐξισώσαι καὶ ἀναπληρῶσαι τὴν πόλιν, ἐπειράτο τῶν ἀνθρώπων. οἱ μὲν οὖν νέοι ταχὺ καὶ παρ’ ἐλπίδας ὑπήκουσαν αὐτῷ, καὶ συναπεδύσαντο πρὸς τὴν ἄρετήν, ὃσπερ ἐσθῆτα τὴν δίαιταν 2 ἐπ’ ἐλευθερία συμμεταβάλλοντες. τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων, ἄτε δὴ πόρρω διαφθορᾶς γεγονότων, συνέβαινε τοῖς πλείστοις ὃσπερ ἐπὶ δεσπότην ἀγομένους ἐκ δρασμοῦ δεδιέναι καὶ τρέμειν τὸν Δυκιόργον, καὶ καθῆπτοντο τοῦ Ἁγίου ὀδυρομένου τὰ παρόντα πράγματα καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἀξίωμα τῆς Σπάρτης ἐπιποθοῦντος. Δύσανδρος δὲ ὁ Δίβυς καὶ Μαυδροκλείδας ὁ Ἐκφάνους, ἔτι δὲ Ἁγησίλαος ἀπεδέξαντο καὶ συμπαρώμησαν 3 αὐτοῦ τὴν φιλοτιμίαν. ἦν δὲ Δύσανδρος μὲν ἐν δόξῃ μάλιστα τῶν πολιτῶν, Μαυδροκλείδας δὲ δεινότατος Ἐπλήνων πράγματα συσκευάσασθαι καὶ τὸ συνετὸν τοῦτο καὶ δολερὸν τόλμη μεμγμένον ἔχων. Ἁγησίλαον δὲ θείον ὁντα τοῦ βασιλεῶς καὶ δυνατῶν εἰπεῖν, ἄλλως δὲ μαλακῶν καὶ φιλοχρήματον, ἐμφανῶς μὲν ὁ νῖος Ἰππομέδων

14
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

hatred towards the men of property. Thus there were left of the old Spartan families not more than seven hundred, and of these there were perhaps a hundred who possessed land and allotment; while the ordinary throng, without resources and without civic rights, lived in enforced idleness, showing no zeal or energy in warding off foreign wars, but ever watching for some opportunity to subvert and change affairs at home.

VI. Agis, therefore, thinking it a noble achievement, as it was, to equalize and restore to full numbers the body of citizens, began to sound the inclinations of people. The young men, as he found, quickly and beyond his expectations gave ear to him, and stripped themselves for the contest in behalf of virtue, like him casting aside their old ways of living as worn-out garments in order to attain liberty. But most of the older men, since they were now far gone in corruption, feared and shuddered at the name of Lycurgus as if they had run away from their master and were being led back to him, and they upbraided Agis for bewailing the present state of affairs and yearning after the ancient dignity of Sparta. Lysander, however, the son of Libys, Mandrocleidas the son of Ecphanes, as well as Agesilaüs, approved of the king's aspirations and supported him in them. Lysander was in the highest repute among the citizens, and Mandrocleidas was the ablest Greek of his time in setting schemes on foot, and his sagacity and craft were mingled with daring; Agesilaüs, who was the king's uncle on his mother's side, and a powerful orator, though otherwise effeminate and avaricious, was openly urged on and encouraged by his son
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

ἐκείνει καὶ παρεθάρρυνεν, εὐθόκιμος ἐν πολλοῖς πολέμοις ἄνηρ καὶ μέγα δὲ εὐνοιαν τῶν νέων
dυνάμενος. ἡ δὲ ἀληθῶς ἀναπέσασα τὸν Ἀγγισί-
λαον αἰτία τῶν πραττομένων μεταμεσχεῖν ὅφλημά-
tων πλήθος ἦν, ὃς ἦλπιζεν ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι
μεταβάλλων τὴν πολιτείαν. ὡς οὖν τάξιστα
προσηγάγετο τούτον ὁ Ἀγις, εὐθὺς ἐπιχειρεῖ μετ’
αὐτοῦ τὴν μητέρα πείθειν, ἀδελφὴν οὐσαν τοῦ
Ἀγησιλάου, πληθεὶ δὲ πελατῶν καὶ φίλων καὶ
χρεωστῶν μέγα δυναμένην ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ πολλὰ
tῶν κοινῶν διαπραττομένην.

VII. Ἡ δὲ ἀκούσασα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἑξεπλάγη
καὶ κατέπαυε τὸ μειράκιον ὡς οὔτε δυνατῶν οὔτε
λυσιτελῶν ἐφιέμενον· ἐπεῖ δὲ ταύτα μὲν ὁ Ἀγη-
σίλαος ἐδίδασκεν ὡς καλῶς ἔξει καὶ πραχθῆσεται
συμφερόντως, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐδείκτο τῆς
μητρὸς ἐπιδοῦναι πρὸς δόξαν αὐτῶ καὶ φιλοτιμίαν
τῶν πλούτων, ὡς χρήμασι μὲν οὐ δυνάμενος πρὸς
τοὺς ἄλλους βασιλείας ἑξισωθῆμαι (σατραπῶν γὰρ
οἰκέτας καὶ δούλους ἐπιτρόπων Πτολεμαίου καὶ
Σελεύκου κεκτῆσθαι πλείονα συμπάντων ὁμοί
τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ βασιλέων), ἐὰν δὲ σωφροσύνη καὶ
λυτότητι καὶ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ τὰς ἐκείνων ὑπερ-
βαλόμενος τρυφὰς ἱσότητα καὶ κοινωνίαν κατα-
στήσῃ τοῖς πολίταις, ὅνομα καὶ δόξαν ὃς ἀληθῶς
βασιλέως μεγάλου κτησόμενος, οὕτω μετέτεσσον
ταῖς γυναικῶς αἱ γυναῖκες ὑπὸ τῆς φιλοτιμίας
ἐπαρθεῖσαι τοῦ νεανίσκου, καὶ τοσαύτῃ κατε-
3 σχέδησαν ὅλων ἐπιπνοιά πρὸς τὸ καλὸν, ὡστε τὸν

16
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

Hippomedon, who had won fair fame in many wars, and had great influence because he stood in favour with the young men. But what really induced Agesilaüs to take part in the king's enterprise was the multitude of his debts, of which he hoped to rid himself by changing the constitution. As soon, then, as Agis had won over Agesilaüs, he straightway sought with the aid of his uncle to persuade his mother, who was a sister of Agesilaüs, and owing to the multitude of her retainers, friends, and debtors, had great influence in the state and took a large part in public affairs.

VII. When she heard her son's plea, she was at first amazed, and tried to stop the young man from attempting what she thought was neither possible nor profitable; but Agesilaüs tried to show her that the king's project would be feasible and its accomplishment advantageous, and the king himself besought his mother to contribute her wealth for the advancement of his ambition and glory. For in the matter of property, he said, he could not equal the other kings (since the servants and slaves of the satraps and overseers of Ptolemy and Seleucus had larger possessions than all the kings of Sparta put together); but if in self-restraint, simplicity, and magnanimity he should surpass their luxury, and thereby establish equality and community of possession among his citizens, he would win the name and fame of a really great king. The women, lifted up by the young man's high ambition, were so changed in their purposes, and possessed, as it were, by so great an inspiration to take the noble course, that they joined in urging and hastening on the projects of
μὲν Ἀγιν συνεξορμᾶν καὶ συνεπιταχύνειν, μετα-
πεμπομένας δὲ τοὺς φίλους παρακαλεῖν καὶ ταῖς ἀλλαῖς διαλέγεσθαι γυναῖξιν, ἄτε δὴ τοὺς Δακεδαι-
μούς ἐπισταμένας κατηκόουσας οὖντας ἀεὶ τῶν γυναικῶν, καὶ πλείον ἐκείναις τῶν δημοσίων ἢ
tῶν ἱδίων αὐτοῦ πολυπραγμονεῖν διότας.

Ἡν δὲ τότε τῶν Δακονικῶν πλούτων ἐν ταῖς γυναιξὶ τὸ πλείστον, καὶ τούτῳ τὴν πράξιν τῷ

4 Ἀγιδι δύσεργον καὶ χαλεπὴν ἔποιήσεν. ἀντε-
stῆσαι γὰρ αἱ γυναῖκες οὐ μόνον τρυφῆς ἐκπι-
πτούσαι δὲ ἀπειροκαλίαν εὐδαιμονιζόμενης, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμὴν καὶ δυναμίν, ἤν ἐκ τοῦ πλούτειν ἐκαρ-
pοῦντο, περικοπτομένην αὐτῶν ὀρδάσαι. καὶ πρὸς
tὸν Δεσφίδαν τραπόμεναι παρεκάλουν ὅταν πρε-
sβύτερον ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι τοῦ Ἀγίδος καὶ τὰ

5 τραπόμενα διακωλύειν. ἔβουλετο μὲν οὖν ὁ Δεσφίδας τοῖς πλουσίοις βοηθεῖν, δεδώς δὲ τὸν
dήμου ἐπιθυμοῦντα τῇ μεταβολῆς οὐδὲν ἀντε-
pατείς φανερῶς, λάθρα δὲ τὴν πράξιν ἐξήτει
κακουργεῖν καὶ διαφθείρειν ἠτυχόχρονος τοῖς ἁρ-
χοις καὶ διαβάλλων τὸν Ἀγίν ὡς τυραννιδος

μισθὸν τοῖς πένησι τὰ τῶν πλουσίων προτείνοντα,
καὶ γῆς μεταδόσει καὶ χρεῶν ἀφέσει πολλοὺς

ὡνούμενον ἐαυτῷ δορυφόρους, οὐ τῇ Σπάρτῃ
pολίτας.

VIII. Οὐ μὴν ἄλλα διαπραξῆμενος ὁ Ἀγίς
ἐφορον γενέσθαι τὸν Δύσανδρον, εὐθὺς εἰσεφεῖρε δὲ
αὐτὸν ὄχθραν εἰς τοὺς χέρους, ἢς ἦν κεφάλαια
χρεῶν μὲν ἀφεθῆναι τοῖς ὀφείλοντας, τῆς δὲ γῆς

ἀναδασθείσης τὴν μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ Πελλήνην
χαράδρου πρὸς τὸ Ταῦγετον καὶ Μαλέαν καὶ
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

Agis, sent for their friends among the men and invited them to help, and held conference with the women besides, since they were well aware that the men of Sparta were always obedient to their wives, and allowed them to meddle in public affairs more than they themselves were allowed to meddle in domestic concerns.

Now, at this time the greater part of the wealth of Sparta was in the hands of the women, and this made the work of Agis a grievous and difficult one. For the women were opposed to it, not only because they would be stripped of the luxury which, in the general lack of higher culture, made their lives seem happy, but also because they saw that the honour and influence which they enjoyed in consequence of their wealth would be cut off. So they had recourse to Leonidas, and besought him, since he was an older man, to withstand Agis and hinder what he was trying to accomplish. Leonidas, accordingly, was desirous of aiding the rich, but he feared the people, who were eager for a revolution. He therefore made no open opposition to Agis, but secretly sought to damage his undertaking and bring it to nought by slandering him to the chief magistrates, declaring that he was purchasing a tyranny by offering to the poor the property of the rich, and by distribution of land and remission of debts was buying a large body-guard for himself, not many citizens for Sparta.

VIII. However, Agis procured Lysander's election as ephor, and at once employed him to introduce a bill into the senate,¹ the chief provisions of which were that debtors should be relieved of their debts, and that the land should be divided up, that which lay between the water-course at Pellene and Taygetus,

¹ About 243 B.C.
Σελασίαν κλήρους γενέσθαι τετρακισχιλίους πεντακοσίους, τὴν δ' ἐξω μυρίους πεντακισχιλίους· 2 καὶ ταύτην μὲν τοὺς ὅπλα φέρειν δυναμένους τῶν περιοίκων μερισθῆναι, τὴν δὲ ἑντὸς αὐτοῖς Ἀρχαῖοι Ἀστριάταις· ἀναπληρωθῆναι δὲ τούτους ἐκ τῆς περιοίκου καὶ ξένων, ὅσοι τροφῆς μετασχηκότες ἔλευθεροι καὶ χαρίεντες ἄλλοι τοὺς σώμασι καὶ καθ' ἡλικίαν ἀκμάζοντες ἔλευσιν σύνταξιν δὲ τούτων εἰς πεντεκαίδεκα γενέσθαι φιδίτια κατὰ τετρακοσίους καὶ διακοσίους, καὶ διαίταιν ἦν ἐξέχων οἱ πρόγονοι διαίτασθαι.

IX. Γραφείσης δὲ τῆς ῥήτρας, καὶ τῶν γερόντων εἰς ταύτο ταῖς γνώμαις οὐ συμφερομένων, ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγόν ὁ Δόκανδρος αὐτός τε διελέχθη τοῖς πολίταις, καὶ Μανδροκλέιδα καὶ Ἀργίλας ἐδέσμι ἡ δ' ἄλιγχων ἐντυφώντος αὐτοῖς περιδεῖν ἐρριμέμονον τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς Σπάρτης, ἀλλὰ τῶν τε προτέρων χρησμῶν μημονεύσαν, τὴν φιλοχρησμοῦσίν μιᾷ ὀλέθριον τῇ Σπάρτῃ φυλάττεσθαι διακελευομένων, καὶ τῶν ἐναγχώς ἐκ Πασίφας κεκομισμένων αὐτοῖς.

2 Ἡρών δὲ Πασίφας καὶ μαντεῖον ἦν ἐν Θαλάμαις τιμώμενον, ἢν τινες μὲν ἱστοροῦσι τῶν Ἀτλαντιδῶν μίαν οὔσαν ἐκ Δίος τὸν Ἀμμωνα τεκεῖν, τινὲς δὲ Κασάνδραν τὴν Πρᾶμον τελευτήσαν ἐνταῦθα καὶ διὰ τὸ πᾶσι φάνειν τὰ μαντεῖα Πασίφας προσαγορεθεῖσαν. ὁ δὲ Φύλαρχος Ἀμύκλα θυγατέρᾳ, Δάφνῃ τούνομα, φησίν ἐπιφεύγουσαν Ἀπόλλωνα βουλόμενον αὐτῇ μιγῆναι, καὶ μεταβαλόμεναν εἰς τὸ φυτὸν, ἐν τιμῇ τοῦ θεοῦ 3 γενέσθαι καὶ μαντικῆν λαβεῖν δύναμιν. ἔφασαν
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

Malea, and Sellasia, into forty-five hundred lots, and that which lay outside this into fifteen thousand; that this larger land should be apportioned among those of the provincials who were capable of bearing arms, and the smaller among the genuine Spartans; that the number of these Spartans should be filled up from the provincials and foreigners who had received the rearing of freemen and were, besides, of vigorous bodies and in the prime of life; and that these should be formed into fifteen public messes by four hundreds and two hundreds, and should practise the mode of life which the ancient Spartans had followed.

IX. The “rhetra” was introduced in the senate, and the senators were divided in opinion. Lysander therefore called together a general assembly and discussed the matter himself with the citizens, and Mandrocleidas and Agesilaüs begged them not to suffer the insolent opposition of a few to blind them to the prostration of Sparta’s dignity, but to call to mind the earlier oracles which bade them beware of the love of riches as a fatal thing for Sparta, as well as the oracles which had lately been brought to them from Pasiphaë.

Now there was a temple of Pasiphaë at Thalamae, and her oracle there was held in honour. Some say that Pasiphaë was one of the daughters of Atlas, and the mother of Ammon by Zeus, and some that Cassandra the daughter of Priam died at Thalamae, and was called Pasiphaë because she declared her oracles to all. Phylarchus, however, says that she was a daughter of Amyclas, Daphne by name, and that, fleeing the embraces of Apollo, she was changed into the tree of like name, after which she was honoured by the god with the gift of prophetic power. Be
οὖν καὶ τὰ παρὰ ταύτης μαντεία προστάτευεν τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις ἵσους γενέσθαι πάντας καθ' ἐν ὁ Δυκαλάχος ἦν ἀρχής ἔταξε νόμον. ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς Αγις εἰς μέσον παρελθὼν καὶ βραχέα διαλέγετε ἐφη συμβολὰς διδόναι τῇ πολιτείᾳ μεγίστας ἢ καθίστησι· τὴν γὰρ αὐτοῦ πρῶτον ὁμιλιαν εἰς μέσον τιθέναι, πολλὴν μὲν οὖσαν ἐν τοῖς γεωργομένοις καὶ νεμομένοις, ἄνευ δὲ τούτων ἐξακόσια τάλαντα νομίσματος ἔχουσαν· τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ τὰς μητέρας ποιεῖν καὶ τοὺς φίλους καὶ οἰκείους, πλουσιοτάτους ὄντας Σπαρτιατῶν.

Χ. Ὁ μὲν οὖν δῆμος ἐξεπλάγη τῆς μεγαλοφυχίας τοῦ νεανίσκου, καὶ περιχαρῆς ἦν ὡς δι' ἐτῶν ὁμοῦ τι διακοσίων ἐπηγότος ἄξιον τῆς Σπάρτῆς βασιλέως· ὁ δὲ Λεωνίδας τότε δὴ μάλιστα πρὸς τούκαντίον ἐφιλονείκησε. Λογιζόμενος γὰρ ὅτι ταύτὰ μὲν ἀναγκασθήσεται ποιεῖν, οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ χάριν ἔξει παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις, ἀλλὰ πάντων ὁμοίως ἄκεκτηνται κατατιθεμένων μόνῳ τῷ ἀρξαμένῳ προσθήσουσι τὴν τιμήν, ἡρῴτα τὸν Ἄγιν εἰ δίκαιον ἄνδρα καὶ σπουδαῖον ἢ γείται γεγονέναι Δυκαλάχον. ὁμολογήσαντος δ' ἐκείνου, “Ποῦ τούπων,” ἐφη, “Δυκαλάχος ἡ χρεὼ ἀποκοπᾶς ἐδώκεν ἡ ξένους κατέταξεν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν, δ' οὖν δὲ ὅλος ἑνόμιζεν ἤγιαίνειν τὴν πόλιν μὴ χρωμένην ξενηλασίας;”

Ὁ δὲ Ἄγις ἀπεκρίνατο μὴ θαυμάζειν τὸν Λεωνίδαν, εἰ τεθραμμένος ἐν ξένη καὶ πεπαιδο-

1 ὅμοι τι διακοσίων Blass (Fuhr): ὅμοι τριακοσίων.
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

this as it may, it was now said that the oracles brought from this goddess ordained that all Spartans should be on an equality according to the original law made by Lycurgus. And finally, King Agis came forward and after a brief discourse said that he offered very large contributions to the constitutions which he was trying to establish; for in the first place he put into the common stock his own estate, which included extensive tillage and pasture, and apart from this six hundred talents in money; and, besides, his mother and his grandmother did likewise, together with their relatives and friends, and they were the wealthiest among the Spartans.

X. The people, accordingly, were filled with amazement at the magnanimity of the young man, and were delighted, feeling that after a lapse of nearly two hundred years a king had appeared who was worthy of Sparta; but Leonidas, now more than ever, strove in opposition. For he reasoned that he would be compelled to do as Agis had done, and that he would not get the same gratitude for it among the citizens, but that if all the rich alike made their property a part of the common fund, the honour for it would be given to him alone who had led the way. He therefore asked Agis if he thought that Lycurgus had shown himself a just and worthy man, and when Agis said that he did, "When, then," said Leonidas, "did Lycurgus either grant abolition of debts or admit foreigners into citizenship—a man who held that the state was in no healthy way at all if it did not practise expulsion of foreigners?"

But Agis replied that he was not astonished to find Leonidas, who had been reared in foreign lands and
ποιημένος ἐκ γάμων σατραπικῶν ἀγγοεῖ τὸν Δυκαύργον, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ὀφεῖλεν καὶ δανείζειν ἡμα
3 τῷ νομίσματι συνεξεβάλεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, τῶν δὲ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ξένων τοὺς τοὺς ἐπιτηδεύμασι καὶ ταῖς διαίταις ἀσυμφύλους μᾶλλον ἐδυσχέραινε· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνους ἠλαυνεν οὐ τοῖς σώμασι πολεμοῦν, ἂλλὰ τοὺς βίους αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς τρόπους δεδιώσας, μή συναναχωροῦμενοι τοὺς πολίτας τρυφῆς καὶ μαλακίας καὶ πλεονεξίας ἐντέκωσι ξήλων ἐπει τέρπαν ἄν καὶ Ῥάλητα καὶ Φερεκύδην ξένους ὄντας, ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ Δυκαύργῳ διεσέλυον ἄδοντες καὶ φιλοσοφοῦντες, 4 ἐν Σπάρτῃ τιμηθῆναι διαφερόντως. "Σὺ δὲ Ἐκπρέπῃ μὲν," ἐφησεν, "ἐπαινεῖς, δε τὸ τυραύνων Φρύνιδος τοῦ μουσικοῦ σκεπάρῳ τᾶς δύο τῶν ἐννέα χορδῶν ἐξέτεμε, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ Τιμοθέων πάλιν τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πράζαντας, ἡμᾶς δὲ μέμφη τρυφὴν καὶ πολυτέλειαν καὶ ἁλαζονείαν ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης ἀναιροῦντας, ὡςπερ οὐχὶ κακείων τὸ ἐν μουσικῇ σοβαρόν καὶ περίττον ὅπως ἐνταῦθα μὴ προέλθῃ φυλαττομένων, ὅπου γενομένων βίων καὶ τρόπων ἀμετρία καὶ πλημμέλεια τὴν πόλιν ἀσύμφωνον καὶ ἀνάρμοστον ἑαυτὴν πεπόθηκεν."

XI. Ἐκ τοῦτον τῷ μὲν Ἀγαῖοι τὸ πλῆθος ἐπηκολουθήσαν, οἱ δὲ πλούσιοι τοὺς τε Δεονίδαν παρεκάλουν μὴ σφᾶς προέσθαι, καὶ τοὺς γέροντας, οἷς τὸ κράτος ἦν ἐν τῷ προβουλεύειν, δεόμενοι καὶ πείθοντες ἑσχύσαν, ὡςον ἐν πλείωνας γενέ-2 σθαί τοὺς ἀποψηφισμένους τὴν ῥήτραν. οἱ δὲ Δύσανδρος ἐστὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων ὤρμησε τὸν Δεω-24
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

had children by an oriental marriage, ignorant that Lycurgus had banished from the state debts and loans along with coined money, and that foreigners in the cities were held by him in less displeasure than men to whom the Spartan practices and ways of living were not congenial; these, indeed, he sought to drive away, not because he was hostile to their persons, but because he feared lest their lives and manners should contaminate the citizens, and breed in them a love of luxury, effeminacy, and greed; for certainly Terpander and Thales and Pherecydes were foreigners, and yet, because the teachings of their songs and philosophy always accorded with those of Lycurgus, they were held in surpassing honour at Sparta. "Thou praisest Ectrepes," said Agis, "who, as ephor, cut out with an edze two of the nine lute-strings of Phrynis the musician, and likewise the magistrates in the time of Timotheus, who did the same thing in their turn, but thou blamest me for trying to remove luxury, extravagance, and ostentation from Sparta, as if those magistrates also were not on the watch to prevent the pompous and superfluous in music from making such advances here that the consequent excess and discord in lives and manners would render the state dissonant and incongruous."

XI. After this, the common people took sides with Agis, but the men of wealth entreated Leonidas not to abandon them. And by prayers and arguments with the senators, whose power lay in their privilege of presenting all measures to the people, they so far prevailed that by a single vote the proposed rhetra was rejected. Lysander, however, who was still ephor, set on foot an indictment of Leonidas by virtue of
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

νίδαν διώκειν κατὰ δὴ τινα νόμον παλαιῶν, δε
οὐκ ἐὰ ν τὸν Ἡρακλείδην ἐκ γυναικὸς ἀλλοδαπῆς
tεκνοῦσθαι, τὸν δὲ ἀπελθόντα τῆς Σπάρτης ἐπὶ
μετοικισμῷ πρὸς ἄτερους ἀπουσίσκειν κελεύει.
tαῦτα κατὰ τοῦ Δεσνίδα λέγειν ἄτερους διδάξας,
αὐτὸς παρεφύλαττε μετὰ τῶν συναρχῶντων τὸ
σημεῖον.

3 Ἡστί δὲ τοιώνδε: δι' ἐτῶν ἐννέα λαβόντες οἱ
ἐφοροὶ νῦκτα καθαρὰν καὶ ἀσέληνον, σωπὴ καθέ-
ζουντε ρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀποβλέπουντες. ἔδων οὖν
ἐκ μέρους τινὸς εἰς ἄτερον μέρος ἁστὴρ διάξη,
κρίνοντε τοὺς βασιλέως ὡς περὶ τὸ θεῖον ἔξα-
μαρτάνοντας, καὶ καταπαύουσι τῆς ἀρχῆς, μέχρι
ἀν ἐκ Δελφῶν ἡ Ὀλυμπίας χρησιμὸς ἐλθὲ τοῖς
ἡλικόσι τῶν βασιλέων βοηθῶν.

4 Τούτῳ δὴ τὸ σημεῖον αὐτῷ ἔγενενέα λέγων ὁ
Δύσανδρος κρίσιν τῷ Δεσνίδα προῦθηκε, καὶ
μάρτυρις παρεῖχεν ὡς ἐκ γυναικὸς Ἀσιανῆς, ἦν
τῶν Σελεύκου τινὸς ὑπάρχον αὐτῷ συνοικίσαντος
ἐσχε, τεκνώσατο δύο παιδία, δυσχεραίνομενος δὲ
καὶ μισοῦμενος ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπανέλθοι παρὰ
γνώμην οὐκαδὲ, καὶ διαδοχῆς ἔρημον ἀνέλυσε τὸ
5 βασιλειαν. ἅμα δὲ τῇ δίκῃ Κλεόμβροτον ἐπειδὴ
tῆς βασιλείας ἀντιποιεῖσθαι, γαμβρὸν ὄντα τοῦ
Δεσνίδα, γένους δὲ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ. φοβηθεῖς οὖν
ὁ Δεσνίδας ἰκέτης γίνεται τῆς Χαλκιδίκου, καὶ
συνικέτευνεν ἡ θυγάτηρ τῷ πατρί, τὸν Κλεόμ-
βροτον ἀπολλυόμα. καλομένου δὲ πρὸς τὴν
dίκην αὐτοῖς καὶ μὴ καταβαίνοντος, ἔκεινον
26
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

an ancient law which forbade any descendant of Heracles to beget children by a foreign woman, and ordained that anyone who left Sparta to settle among foreigners should be put to death. After instructing others to spread these charges against Leonidas, he himself, with his colleagues, proceeded to observe the traditional sign from heaven.

This is observed as follows. Every ninth year the ephors select a clear and moonless night, and in silent session watch the face of the heavens. If, then, a star shoots across the sky, they decide that their kings have transgressed in their dealings with the gods, and suspend them from their office, until an oracle from Delphi or Olympia comes to the succour of the kings thus found guilty.

This sign Lysander now declared had been given him, and indicted Leonidas, and produced witnesses showing that he was the father of two children by a woman of Asia who had been given him to wife by one of the lieutenants of Seleucus; and that owing to the woman’s dislike and hatred of him he had come back home against his own wishes, where he had assumed the royal dignity, to which there was then no direct successor. Besides bringing this indictment, Lysander tried to persuade Cleombrotus to lay claim to the royal dignity. Cleombrotus was a son-in-law of Leonidas, and one of the royal line. Leonidas, accordingly, took fright, and fled as a suppliant to the temple of Athena of the Brazen House. His daughter also forsook Cleombrotus and became a suppliant with her father. When Leonidas was summoned to his trial and did not appear, he was

1 Plutarch here merges two separate laws. Cf. the Lycurgus, xxvii. 3.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ἀποψηφισάμενοι τὴν βασιλείαν τῷ Κλεομβρότῳ παρέδωκαν.

XII. Ἔν τούτῳ δὲ τῆς ἄρχης ὁ Λύσανδρος ἀπηλλάγη τοῦ χρόνου διελθόντος. οἱ δὲ κατα-
σταθέντες ἔφοροι τὸν μὲν Λεωνίδαν ἀνέστησαν ἰκετεύοντα, τῷ δὲ Λυσάνδρῳ καὶ τῷ Μανδρο-
κλείδᾳ δίκην ἐπῆγον ὡς παρὰ τὸν νόμον χρεῶν ἀποκοπᾶς καὶ γῆν ἀναδάσασθαι ψηφισαμένοις.

2 κινδυνεύοντες οὐν ἔκεινοι πείθουσι τοὺς βασιλεῖς ὁμοῦ γενομένους χαῖρειν εὰν τὰ τῶν ἐφόρων βου-
λεύματα. τούτῳ γὰρ τὸ ἀρχεῖον ἵσχυς ἐκ δια-
φορᾶς τῶν βασιλέων, τῷ τὰ βελτίωνα λέγοντι προστιθέμενον τὴν ψήφον, ἦταν ἀτερος ἐρίζη πρὸς τὸ συμφέρων ἀμφοὺς δὲ ταῦτα βουλευο-
μένων ἄλυτον εἶναι τὴν ἐξουσίαν, καὶ παρανόμως μαχεῖσθαι πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς, ὁν μαχομένων διαίται καὶ βραβεύειν αὐτοῖς εἶναι προσήκον,

3 οὐχὶ πολυπραγμονεῖν ὀμοφρονοῦντων. οὕτω δὴ πεισθέντες ἀμφότεροι καὶ μετὰ τῶν φίλων εἰς
ἀγορᾶν καταβάντες ἀνέστησαν μὲν ἐκ τῶν δίφρων τοὺς ἐφόρους, ἅλλους δ' ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἀπέδειξαν,
ἀν εἰς ἦν Ἀγησίλαος. ὀπλάσαντες δὲ τῶν νέων
πολλοὺς καὶ λύσαντες τοὺς δεδεμένους ἐγένοντο
φοβεροὶ τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις ὡς πολλοὺς ἀποκτε-

4 νοῦντες. ἀπέθανε δὲ οὐδεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
Λεωνίδαν εἰς Τεγέαν ὑπεξιόντα βουληθέντος
dιαφθείραι τοῦ Ἀγησίλαον, καὶ πέμψαντος ἐπ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν οἶδον ἅνδρας, πυθόμενος ὡς 'Αγιας

• 28
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

deposed, and Cleombrotus was made king in his place.¹

XII. At this point, Lysander’s term expired and he went out of office. The new board of ephors encouraged Leonidas to leave his suppliant’s asylum, and brought an indictment against Lysander and Mandrocleidas for violating the law in proposing an abolition of debts and a distribution of land. Thus put in legal peril, Lysander and Mandrocleidas persuaded the two kings to act together and disregard the edicts of the ephors; for that board of magistrates, they said, derived its power from dissension between the two kings, by giving their vote to the king who offered the better advice, whenever the other was at variance with the public good; but when the two kings were in accord, their power was indissoluble, and it would be unlawful for the ephors to contend against them, although when the kings were in contention with one another it was the privilege of the ephors to act as arbiters between them, but not to interfere when they were of one mind. Persuaded by these arguments, both the kings went with their friends into the market place, removed the ephors from their seats, and appointed others in their stead, one of whom was Agesilaüs.² Then they armed a large body of young men and set free all who were in prison, thus striking fear into their opponents, who thought they would put many of them to death. No one, however, lost his life at their hands; on the contrary, when Agis learned that Agesilaüs had plotted to make away with Leonidas as he was trying to withdraw to Tegea, and had sent men to assault him on the road, he sent out another company of

¹ About 242 B.C. ² See chapter vi. 3 f.
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

ἐτέρους ἀπέστειλε πιστοὺς, οί τῶν Δεωνίδων
περισχόντες ἀσφαλῶς εἰς Τεγέαν κατέστησαν.

XIII. Οὔτω δὲ τῆς πράξεως αὐτοῖς ὁδῷ βαδι-
ζούσης καὶ μηδενὸς ἐνισταμένου μηδὲ διακω-
λύοντος, εἰς ἀνήρ, Ἀγησίλαος, ἀνέτρεψε πάντα
καὶ διελυμένατο, κάλλιστον διανόμα καὶ Δακω-
νικότατον αἰσχύστῳ νοσήματι τῇ φιλοπλούτιᾳ
2 διαφθείρας. ἔπειδὴ γὰρ ἐκέκτητο μὲν ἐν τοῖς
μάλιστα πολλῆν καὶ ἀγαθὴν χώραν, ὄφειλε δὲ
πάμπολλα, μὴ τις διαλύσαι δυνάμενος τὰ χρέα
μήτε τὴν χώραν προεσθαί βουλόμενος ἐπείσε τὸν
'Αγνώ ὀς ἄμφοτέρων μὲν ἄμα πραττόμενοι μέγας
ἐσοίτο περὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁ νεωτερισμός, εἰ δὲ τῇ
τῶν χρεῶν ἀφέσει θεραπευθεῖν οἱ κτηματικοὶ
πρότερον, εὐκολῶς ἀν αὐτῶν καὶ καθ’ ἰσχύιαν
3 υστερον ἐνδεξομένων τὸν ἀναδασμόν. ταῦτα δὲ
καὶ τοῖς περὶ Δύσαινδρον ἔδοκε, συνεξαπατώ-
μένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου, καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν
χρεωστῶν γραμματεία συνενέγκαντες εἰς ἀγορᾶν,
ἀ κλάρια καλοῦσι, καὶ πάντα συνθέντες εἰς ἐν
συνέπρησαν. ἀρθείσης δὲ φλογὸς οἱ μὲν πλοῦ-
σοι καὶ δανειστικοὶ περιπαθοῦντες ἀπῆλθον, ὁ
δὲ Ἀγησίλαος υστερ ἐφυβρίζων οὐκ ἐφὴ λαμ-
πρότερον ἐωρακέναι φῶς οὔδε πῦρ ἐκεῖνον καθα-
ρώτερον.

4 Ἀξιόυντων δὲ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ τὴν γῆν εὐθὺς
νέμεσθαι καὶ τῶν βασιλέων οὔτω ποιεῖν κε-
λευόντων, ἀσχολίας τινὰς ἐμβάλλων ὁ Ἀγησί-
λαος ἀεὶ καὶ προφάσεις λέγων παρῆγε τῶν
χρόνον, ἅρκη, οὐ στρατεύσει συνεβή τῇ Ἱγδι,
μεταπεμπομένων τῶν Ἀχαιῶν συμμάχων δυτῶν

1 καὶ καθ' ἰσχύιαν Coraës and Ziegler: καθ’ ἰσχύιαν.

30

Digitized by Google
trusted followers who took Leonidas under their protection and brought him safely to Tegea.

XIII. Thus the enterprise of the kings was making good progress and no one tried to oppose or hinder them, when one man, Agesilaüs, upset and ruined everything. He allowed a most shameful disease of avarice to wreck a most noble and most truly Spartan plan. For since he was an exceedingly large owner of valuable land, but owed huge sums of money, being unable to pay his debts and unwilling to give up his lands, he persuaded Agis that if both his projects should be carried through at the same time the resulting convulsion in the state would be great; but that if the men of property should first be won over by a remission of their debts, they would afterwards accept the distribution of land contentedly and quietly. This was also the opinion of Lysander, who was deceived in like manner by Agesilaüs. So they caused the mortgages (the Spartans call them "klaria," or allotment pledges) to be brought into the market-place, heaped them altogether, and set fire to them. As the flames rose, the men of wealth and the lenders of money went away with heavy hearts; but Agesilaüs, as if in mockery of them, declared that his eyes had never seen a brighter or purer flame than that.

And now the multitude demanded also that the land should at once be divided, and the kings gave orders that this should be done; but Agesilaüs would always interpose some obstacle or make some excuse, and so consumed time until it became the duty of Agis to head a military expedition, when the Achaeans, who were their allies, sent
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

βοήθειαν ἐκ Δακεδαίμονος. Αἰτωλοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἐπίδοξοι διὰ τῆς Μεγαρικῆς ἐμβαλόντες εἰς Πελοπόννησον καὶ τοῦτο κωλύσουν Ἄρατος ὁ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν στρατηγὸς ἠθροίζε δύναμιν καὶ τοῖς ἐφόροις ἔγραψε.

XIV. Οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀγιων εὐθὺς ἐξέπεμπτον ἐπηρμένον τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ καὶ προθυμίᾳ τῶν συστρατευμένων. νέοι γὰρ ὄντες οἱ πλείστοι καὶ πέντες, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν χρεῶν ἄδειαν ἔχοντες ἦδη καὶ λευμένοι, τοὺς δὲ ἁγροὺς ἔλπιζοντες, ἀν ἔπανελθον ἐκ τῆς στρατείας, νεμηθῆσθαι, θαυμαστοὺς τῷ Ἀγίῳ παρεῖχον ἐαυτοὺς. 2 καὶ θέαμα ταῖς πόλεσιν ἦσαν ἄβλαβῶς καὶ πράσω καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἄψοφητι διαπορευόμενοι τὴν Πελοπόννησον, ὡστε θαυμάζειν καὶ διαλογίζεσθαι τοὺς Ἥλληνας οὓς ἦν ἡ ἁρὰ κόσμος Δακωνικοῦ στρατεύματος Ἀγησίλαον ἔχοντος ἢ Λύσανδρον ἐκείνου ἢ Δεωνίδαν τὸν παλαιὸν ἡγουμένου, ὅπου πρὸς μειράκιον ὀλίγον δείν νεώτατον ἀπάντων αἰδώς τοσαῦτη καὶ φόβος ἐστὶ

3 τῶν συστρατευμένων. 1 καὶ μέντοι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ νεανίσκος εὐτελεία καὶ φιλοσοφία καὶ τῷ μηδὲν ἰδιώτου λαμπρότερον ἄμφισθαι καὶ ὠπλίσθαι σεμνώμενος ἄξιοθέτας ἢν καὶ ξηλωτὸς ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἐπεὶ τοῖς γε πλουσίοις οὐκ ἤρεσκεν ὁ νεωτερισμὸς αὐτοῦ, δεδιόσι μὴ κίνημα καὶ παράδειγμα τοῖς πανταχόσε δήμοις γένηται.

XV. Συμμίξας δὲ τῷ Ἀράτῳ περὶ Κόρινθον ὁ Ἄγιος ἦτο βουλευομένῳ περὶ μάχης καὶ παρατάξεως πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐπεδείξατο καὶ προθυμίαν πολλὴν καὶ τὸλμαν οὐ μανικὴν οὐδὲ

1 συστρατευμένων Blass: στρατευμένων.
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

for aid from Sparta. For the Aetolians were expected to invade Peloponnesus by way of Megara; and Aratus, the general of the Achaeans, in an effort to prevent this, was assembling a force and wrote a letter to the ephors.

XIV. These at once sent out Agis, who was exalted in spirit by the ambition and ardour of the soldiers under him. For being young men for the most part and poor, and having now immunity from their debts and absolution, and expecting that they would receive allotments of land if they returned from the expedition, their devotion to Agis was astonishing. And they were a spectacle to the cities as they marched through the Peloponnesus without doing any injury, without rudeness, and almost without noise, so that the other Greeks were amazed and asked themselves what must have been the discipline of a Spartan army under the command of the great Agesilaüs, or the famous Lysander, or Leonidas of old, since towards a stripling who was almost the youngest of the whole army so great reverence and fear were felt by his soldiers. And indeed the young man himself, owing to his simplicity, his love of hardships, and the pride he took in clothing and arming himself with no more splendour than a common soldier, won the admiration and devotion of the multitudes; for to the rich, certainly, his innovating ways were not pleasing, owing to a fear that they might prove a disturbing force and set a bad example among the common people everywhere.

XV. Aratus, when Agis joined him near Corinth, was still deliberating whether or not to meet the enemy in open battle. Here Agis displayed great ardour, and courage which was sane and calculating.
άλογιστον. ἐφι γὰρ αὐτῷ μὲν δοκεῖν διαμά-
χεσθαι καὶ μὴ παριέναι τῶν πόλεμον εἰσώ, τὰς
πύλας τῆς Πελοποννήσου προεμένους, ποιήσειν
dὲ τὸ δοκοῦν Ἀράτω· καὶ γὰρ πρεσβύτερον τε
εἶναι καὶ στρατηγεῖν Ἀχαίων, οίς οὐχὶ προσ-
tάξων οὔδὲ ἥγησόμενος, ἀλλὰ συστρατευσόμενος
ήκοι καὶ βοηθῆσων.
2 Ὅ δὲ Σινωπεύς Βάτων αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔθελεν μά-
χεσθαί φησὶ τῶν Ἀγιω Ἀράτου κελεύοντος, οὐκ
ἐντετυχκὼς οἰς Ἀράτος γέγραφε περὶ τούτων,
ἀπολογιζόμενος ὅτι βέλτιον ἤγειτο, τοὺς καρ-
ποὺς σχεδὸν ἀπαντας συγκεκομμένων ἡδὴ τῶν
γεωργῶν, παρελθεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ μάχῃ δια-
κινδυνεύσαι περὶ τῶν ὅλων.
3 Ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν Ἀράτος ἀπέγνω μάχεσθαι καὶ
τοὺς συμμάχους ἐπαινέσας διαφήκε, θαυμασθεὶς
ὁ Ἀγιὸς ἀνεξεύγυνεν, ἡδὴ τῶν ἐνδοῦ ἐν Σπάρτῃ
θόρυβον πολὺν ἐχόντων καὶ μεταβολὴν,
XVI. Ὡ γὰρ Ἀγησίλαος ἔφορεύσω, ἀπηλλαγ-
μένως οἶς ταπεινῶς ἦν πρότερον, οὐδενὸς ἐφείδετο
φέροντος ἀργύριον ἀδικήματος, ἀλλὰ μήνα τρισ-
καδέκατον, οὐκ ἄπαιτούσης τότε τῆς περιόδου,
παρὰ τὴν νεομισμένην τάξιν τῶν χρῶν ἐνέβαλε
τοὺς τέλεσι καὶ παρέπραττε. δεδιὼς δὲ τοὺς
ἀδικουμένους καὶ μισούμενος ὑπὸ πάντων ἔτρεψε
μαχαιροφόρους, καὶ φυλαττόμενος ὑπὸ τούτων
2 κατέβαινεν εἰς τὸ ἀρχεῖον. καὶ τῶν βασιλέων
τού μὲν ὅλως καταφρονεῖν, τὸν δὲ Ἀγιὼ ἐβούλετο
34
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

For he declared that in his opinion it was best to fight a decisive battle and not to abandon the gate of the Peloponnesus and suffer the enemy to pass inside: "However," he said, "I will do as seems best to Aratus, for Aratus is an older man, and is general of the Achaean; I did not come hither to be their leader or to give them orders, but to give them aid and share their expedition."

Baton of Sinopé, however, says that Agis himself was unwilling to give battle although Aratus urged it; but Baton has not read what Aratus wrote about this matter, urging in self-defence that he thought it better, now that the husbandmen had gathered in almost all their crops, to suffer the enemy to pass by, instead of risking everything in battle.

When, therefore, Aratus decided not to give battle, and dismissed his allies with praises for their proffered aid, Agis, who had won universal admiration, led his forces back to Sparta, where there was already much commotion and a revolution.

XVI. For Agesilaüs, who was one of the ephors, being now freed from what had kept him in restraint before, shrank from no injustice that brought him money, nay, contrary to the customary arrangement of the calendar, and when the time for it had not yet come, he inserted a thirteenth month and exacted the taxes for it. Moreover, in fear of the victims of his injustice and hated by all men, he kept an armed bodyguard, and would go down to his magistracy under their protection. And as for the kings, he wished men to think that he utterly despised the one,

1 In his "Commentaries." See the Aratus, iii. 2.
2 This was regularly done thrice during a period of nine years, but in distinctly specified years. The object was to equalize the lunar and solar years.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

dokeîn dià t'hn suggréveinav mállon ëi dià t'hv
basileiéan ën tìn tímì tîdèsbai. diédwke ën
lógon òws kai aúðis ëfóreúsow.

Δiò kai thàsou vn òpokindunévantas stis éxhroî
cai svustánstes ek Tegéas ònafaúndon tón Lëswídan
êtì t'hv ãrhìna kathgagouv, ëdèwos kai tòn pollèn
theasaménoi. òrghiçontas gár pefevakiménoi tìs
3 chôras ùn vënmbhèís. tòn mèn oûn 'Agêsílaoû
 hô vìos 'Ippomédoun, deómenvos tòn politeúian kai
pâsì pròsphiles òwn di' ãndrágáthian, ïpexhîgan
kai dièswse: tòn dè basilewos òn mèn 'Agis épì
thìn Xalikísikou kateúngon, ò dè Kleòmbrotos eîs
tò tô Pòséidómou ierôn élthôn iéketeu: kai gár
ëdokèi tou'tô mállon òn Lëswídanas xaléptos eînai,
kai parèis tòn 'Agin épì tou'tôn ãnébë stratiw-
tas ëxhwn: kai kathgôrexe met' òrhgè oti gambròs
ôvn èpèbôúleusen avtô kai thìn basileiéan aféi-
leto kai svneixeîba tìs patrídou.

XVII. 'O mèn oûn Kleòmbrotos ou'dèn eîxh
èpseùn, ìnlì òpòrhménois èkáthto kai svôptw. ò
dè Xilwízis, ò tôu Lëswídan òyugâth, prôterou
mèn àdikouménì fô tô patrí svnhîkëito, kai tòu
Kleòmbrotou tôu basileián paralabóntos àpò-
stás ò tôu patrôs svmmoráv èthérâpeue, kai
parònti mèn svnikèteu, fêýgontos dè penvòusa
kai xaléptos ëxhousa pròs tôu Kleòmbrotou
diètelai, tôte dè àv pálin tâs tûchais svmmeta-
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

and held Agis in some slight honour more because of his near relationship than because he was king. He also spread reports that he was going to be ephor again.

For this reason his enemies lost no time in taking the great hazard, and banding together, openly brought home Leonidas from Tegea to exercise the royal power. Even the common people were glad to see this done, for they were incensed at their deception in the promised division of the land. Agesilaius, accordingly, was taken out of the country and saved by his son Hippomedon, who entreated his fellow-citizens, and was beloved of all because of his valour; and as for the kings, Agis fled for refuge to the temple of Athena of the Brazen House, while Cleombrotus went as a suppliant to the sanctuary of Poseidon;¹ for Leonidas was thought to be more bitter against him, and in fact he left Agis unmolested and went up against Cleombrotus with soldiers. And when he arrived he denounced Cleombrotus angrily because, though a son-in-law, he had plotted against him, robbed him of the royal power, and helped in driving him from the country.

XVII. Cleombrotus, on his part, had naught to say for himself, but sat perplexed and speechless; Chilonis, however, the daughter of Leonidas, who before this had felt herself wronged in the wrongs done to her father, and when Cleombrotus was made king had left him and ministered to her father in his misfortunes,—sharing his suppliant life while he was in the city, and in his exile continually grieving for him and cherishing bitter thoughts of Cleombrotus—at this

¹ On the promontory of Taenarum. See the Cleomenes, xxii. 5.
βάλλουσα μετά τον ἁνδρὸς ἰκέτας ὁφθη καθε-ζομένη, περιβεβληκουιά ταῖς χεῖρας ἐκείνῳ καὶ τῶν παιδίων τὸ μὲν ἐνθεν, τὸ δ’ ἐνθεν ὑφ’ αὐτῆς ἐχούσα. θαυμαζόντων δὲ πάντων καὶ δακρυώντων ἔπι τῇ χρηστότητι καὶ φιλοστοργίᾳ τῆς γυναικός, ἄψαμένη τῶν πέπλων καὶ τῆς κομῆς ἀτημελῶς ἐχόντων, “Τούτο,” εἶπεν, “ὦ πάτερ, ἐμοὶ τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὴν ὃψιν ὑμῖν ὁ Κλεομμβρότος περιέ-θεικεν ἐλεος, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ τῶν σῶν κακῶν καὶ τῆς σῆς φύγης μεμένηκε μοι σύντροφον καὶ σύνοικον τὸ πένθος. πότερον οὖν δεῖ με σοῦ βασιλεῦσόν τοῦ Ἐπάρτη καὶ νικώντος ἐγκαταβιώναι ταῦτας ταῖς συμφοράῖς, ἡ λαβεῖν ἑσθήτα λαμπρὰν καὶ βασιλικήν, ἐπιδοῦσαν ὑπὸ σοῦ τὸν παρθένιον ἀνδρα φονεύσαι; δς εἰ μὴ παρατεῖται σε μηδὲ πείθει τέκνων καὶ γυναικός δάκρυσι, χαλεπω-τέραν ἢ σύ βουλεῖ δίκην υφέξει τῆς κακοβουλίας ἐπιδοῦν ἐμὲ τὴν φιλτάτην αὐτῷ προσποθανόσαν. τίνι γὰρ ἐμὲ δεῖ ζήν παρρησία πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας γυναίκας, ἢ μήτε παρ’ ἁνδρὸς δεομένη μήτε παρὰ πατρὸς ἐλεος ἐστιν; ἅλλα καὶ γυνὴ καὶ θυγάτηρ συνατυχεῖν καὶ συνατιμαξέσθαι τοῖς ἐμαυτῆς ἐγενόμην. τούτῳ μὲν οὖν εἰ καὶ τὶς ἦν λόγος ἐνπρετῆς, ἐγὼ τούτου ἀφειλόμην τότε σοὶ συν-εξετασθείν καὶ καταμαρτυρήσασα τῶν ὑπὸ τούτου γενομένων σὺ δὲ αὐτῷ τὸ ἄδικημα ποιεῖς εὐαπολόγητον, οὔτω μέγα καὶ περιμάχητον ἀπο-φαίνων τῷ βασιλεύειν ὡστε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ γαμβροῦς φονεύειν καὶ τέκνων ἀμελεῖν εἶναι δίκαιον.”

XVIII. Ἡ μὲν Χίλωνις τοιαῦτα ποτισμένη τὸ τε πρόσωπον ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπέθηκε τοῦ Κλεομμβρότου, καὶ τὸ βλέμμα διεφθαρμένον καὶ
time changed back again with the changed fortunes of the men, and was seen sitting as a suppliant with her husband, her arms thrown about him, and a little child clinging to her on either side. All beholders were moved to wonder and tears at the fidelity and devotion of the woman, who, touching her robes and her hair, alike unkempt, said: "This garb, my father, and this appearance, are not due to my pity for Cleombrotus; nay, ever since thy sorrows and thine exile grief has been my steadfast mate and companion. Must I, then, now that thou art king in Sparta and victorious over thine enemies, continue to live in this sad state, or put on the splendid attire of royalty, after seeing the husband of my youth slain at thy hands? That husband, unless he persuades and wins thee over by the tears of his wife and children, will pay a more grievous penalty for his evil designs than thou desirest, for he shall see me, his most beloved one, dead before he is. For with what assurance could I live and face the other women, I, whose prayers awakened no pity in either husband or father? Nay, both as wife and as daughter I was born to share only the misfortune and dishonour of the men nearest and dearest to me. As for my husband, even if he had some plausible excuse for his course, I robbed him of it at that time by taking thy part and testifying to what he had done; but thou makest his crime an easy one to defend by showing men that royal power is a thing so great and so worth fighting for that for its sake it is right to slay a son-in-law and ignore a child."

XVIII. Uttering such supplications Chilonis rested her face upon the head of Cleombrotus and turned
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

συντετηκός ὑπὸ λύπης περιήγηκεν εἰς τοὺς παρόντας. ο ὁ δὲ Ἑλεώνδας διαλεξθεὶς τοῖς φίλοις τὸν μὲν Κλεόμβροτον ἐκέλευσεν ἀναστάντα φεύγειν, τῆς δὲ παιδὸς μένειν ἐδείτο καὶ μὴ καταληπτέων ἑαυτὸν οὔτω φιλούντα καὶ δεδωκότα χάριν τὴν τοῦ ἄνδρος αὐτῇ σωτηρίαν. οὐ μὴν ἔπεισεν, ἀλλ' ἀνισταμένω τῷ ἄνδρι θάτερον τῶν παιδίων ἐγχειρίσασα, θάτερον ὁ ἀναλαβούσα καὶ προσκυνήσασα τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ ἕθεον συνεξήλθεν, ὡστε εἰ μὴ πάνω διεθαρμένος ἡν ὑπὸ κενὴς δόξης οὐ Κλεόμβροτος, εὐτύχημα ἀν ἡγήσατο τὴν φυγὴν αὐτῷ τῆς βασιλείας μείζον εἶναι διὰ τὴν γυναῖκα.

Μεταστησάμενοι δὲ τῶν Κλεόμβροτον ὁ Ἑλεώνδας καὶ τοὺς πρώτους ἐφόρους ἐκβαλὼν τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἔτερους δὲ ποιησάμενοι, εὐθὺς ἐπεβούλευε τῷ Ἀγίῳ. καὶ πρώτον μὲν ἔπειθεν αὐτὸν ἀναστήναι καὶ συμβασιλεύειν, ὡς δεδωκότων συγγνώμην τῶν πολιτῶν· συνεκτεινθῆσαι γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου νέον ὡντα καὶ φιλότιμον. ἐκεῖνον δὲ υφορωμένον καὶ κατὰ χώραν μένοντος αὐτός μὲν ἐπαύσατο φενακίζων καὶ κατειρωνεόμενος, Ἀμφάρης δὲ καὶ Δαμοχάρης καὶ Ἀρκεσίλαος ἀναβαίνοντες εἰώθεσαν αὐτῷ διαλέγεσθαι· καὶ ποτὲ καὶ παραλαβόντες ἐπὶ λουτρὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατήγαγον καὶ λουσάμενον πάλιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν κατέστησαν. καὶ ἤσαν πάντες· μὲν αὐτῷ συνῆθεις, δὲ Ἀμφάρης καὶ κεχρημένος ἑναγχος

1 τοῦ θεοῦ Coraës, Bekker, and Ziegler, after Bryan; τῆς θεοῦ.
2 καὶ κεχρημένος Coraës and Bekker delete καλ.
her eyes, all melted and marred with grief, upon the bystanders. Then Leonidas, after conference with his friends, bade Cleombrotus leave his asylum and go into exile, but begged his daughter to remain, and not to abandon him, since he loved her so much, and had made her a free gift of her husband’s life. He could not persuade her, however, but when her husband rose to go she put one of her children in his arms, took up the other one herself, and went forth in his company after an obeisance to the altar of the god; so that if Cleombrotus had not been wholly corrupted by vain ambition, he would have considered that exile was a greater blessing for him than the kingdom, because it restored to him his wife.

After removing Cleombrotus from his asylum, Leonidas expelled the officiating ephors from their office, appointed others in their place, and at once began to lay plots against the life of Agis. To begin with, he tried to persuade Agis to leave his asylum and share the royal power with him, assuring Agis that the citizens had pardoned him, because, being a young man and ambitious, he had been one of those whom Agesilaüs had completely deceived. But Agis continued to be suspicious and would not leave his asylum. So Leonidas himself stopped trying to cheat and play tricks upon him, but Amphares, Damochares, and Arcesilaüs did not. They were wont to go up to the temple and converse with Agis; and once they actually took him in charge and brought him down from the temple for a bath, and after he had bathed, restored him again to the temple. They were all comrades of his, but Amphares had also borrowed recently some
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ιμάτια καὶ ποτήρια τῶν πολυτελῶν παρὰ τῆς Ἀγησιστράτας ἐπεβούλευε διὰ ταῦτα τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶν ὅσο ἀποστερήσων. καὶ μάλιστα γε αὐτὸς ὑπακούσαι τῷ Δεωνίδα λέγεται καὶ παροξύνα τοὺς ἐφόρους, ὃν καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς ἦν.

XIX. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Ἀγις τὸν μὲν ἄλλον ἐν τῷ ἰερῷ διέτριβε χρόνον, εἰώθει δὲ καταβαίνειν ὅτε τῦχοι πρὸς τὸ λουτρόν, ἐκεῖ συλλαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἐγνώσαν, ὅταν ἔξω τοῦ ἱεροῦ γένηται. καὶ παραφυλάξαντες λελουμένον ἀπήντησαν καὶ ἰσπάσαντο, καὶ συμπροῆγεν ἄμα διαλεγόμενοι καὶ 2 παίζοντες ὡς πρὸς συνήθη καὶ νέον. ἐκτροπὴν δὲ τινα τῆς ὅδου πλαγιάν πρὸς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἐχούσης, ὡς ἐγένοντο κατ' αὐτὴν βαδίζοντες, ὁ μὲν Ἀμφάρης διὰ τὸ ἄρχειν ἀψάμενος τοῦ Ἄγιδος, "Αγιῷ σε," εἶπεν, "ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους, ὁ Ἄγι, λόγον ὑφέξοντα τῶν πεπολεμεμένων." ὁ δὲ Δαμοχάρης, εὐρωστός ὃν καὶ μέγας, τὸ ἱμάτιον 3 περιβάλλων περὶ τὸν τράχηλον ἐλκεῖν. ἄλλων δὲ ἐπωθοῦντων ὑπίσθεν εἰκ παρασκευής, οὔδενος βοηθοῦντος, ἀλλ' ἐρημίας οὔσης, ἐμβάλλουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον. εὐθὺς δὲ παρῆν ὁ μὲν Δεωνίδας μισθοφόροις ἐχὼν πολλοὺς, καὶ τὸ ὀἰκῆμα περιέσχεν ἔξωθεν, οἱ δὲ ἐφόροι πρὸς τὸν Ἄγιν εἰσῆλθον, καὶ τῶν γερόντων εἰς τὸ οἴκημα μεταπεμψάμενοι τοὺς ταῦτα βουλομένους, ὡς δὴ κρίσεως αὐτῷ γνωμάς, ἐκέλευν ὑπὲρ τῶν πε- 4 πραγμένων ἀπολογείσθαι. γελάσαντος δὲ τοῦ νεανίσκου πρὸς τὴν εἰρωνείαν αὐτῶν, ὁ μὲν Ἀμφάρης ὁμοιώμενον ἐκάλει καὶ δίκην ὑφέξοντα τῆς ἱταμότητος· ἄλλος δὲ τῶν ἐφόρων, οἷον ἐνδιδοὺς
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

costly vestures and beakers from Agesistrata, and therefore plotted to destroy the king and the women, that he might not have to return what he had borrowed. And he, certainly, more than anyone else, as we are told, followed the counsels of Leonidas and embittered the ephors, of whom he was one, against Agis.

XIX. Now Agis spent most of his time in the sanctuary, but was wont to go down from time to time to his bath. There, then, they determined to seize him, when he was outside the sanctuary. So they waited till he had finished his bath, and then came to meet him with friendly greetings, and walked along with him, conversing and jesting with him after the manner of youthful comrades. But at a certain point the road branched off towards the prison, and when they were come to that place, Amphaires, by virtue of his office, laid hands on Agis and said: "I shall lead thee, Agis, to the ephors, to answer for thy measures of state"; and Damochares, who was tall and robust, threw his cloak about the king's neck and dragged him along. Others pushed him along from behind, as had been agreed, and since he had no helper but was without a friend, they thrust him into the prison. At once Leonidas was at hand with a large band of mercenaries and surrounded the prison, while the ephors went in to Agis. After sending for those of the senators who were of the same mind as themselves, as though the king were to have a trial, the ephors ordered Agis to defend his conduct of affairs. The young king laughed at their dissimulation, whereupon Amphaires threatened that he would rue the day and be punished for his temerity; but another ephor, as

43
τῷ Ἀγίδι καὶ δεικνύων ἀποφυγὴν τῆς αἰτίας, ἠρώτησεν εἰ ταύτα ἐπράξεν ὑπὸ Δυσάνδρου καὶ
5 Ἀγγείλαν βιασθείς. ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀγίδος ὡς βιασθείς μὲν ὑπὸ οὐδενός, ξηλῶν δὲ καὶ μιμούμενος τὸν Δυσάνδρον ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτῆς ἐκλογὴν πολιτείαν, πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς ἠρώτησεν εἰ μετανοεῖ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις. φήσαντος δὲ τοῦ νεανίσκου μὴ μετανοεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς κάλλιστα βεβου-λευμένοις, κἀν τὰ ἔσχατα πεισόμενον αὐτὸν ἤδη, θάνατον αὐτοῦ κατεψυχήσαντο, καὶ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας
6 ἐκέλευσεν ἄγιειν εἰς τὴν καλουμένην Δεξάμαδα. τούτῳ δὲ ἔστιν οἰκήμα τῆς εἰρκτῆς ἐν ὁθανατοῦσι τοὺς καταδίκους ἀποπνίγοντες. ὀρῶν δὲ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας ὁ Δαμοχάρης οὐ τολμῶντας ἄψασθαι τοῦ Ἀγίδος, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων τοὺς παρεστῶτας ἀποστρεφομένους καὶ φεύγοντας τὸ ἔργον, ὅς οὖθεν θεμιτῶν οὐδὲ νενομισμένου βασιλέως σώματι τὰς χείρας προσφέρειν, διαπεισάμενος αὐτοῖς καὶ λοικορθείς εἰλίκεν αὐτὸς εἰς τὸ οἰκήμα τοῦ Ἀγίου.
7 ἡδὴ γὰρ ᾧσθηντο πολλοὶ τὴν σύλληψιν, καὶ θόρυβος ἦν ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις καὶ φῶτα πολλά, καὶ παρῆσαν ἡ τε μῆτρα τοῦ Ἀγίδος καὶ ἡ μάμμη βοῶσα καὶ δεῦμενα τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν λόγου καὶ κρίσεως τυχεῖν ἐν τοῖς πολιταῖς. διὸ καὶ μάλιστα κατήπειξαν τὴν ἀναίρεσιν, ὡς ἔχαρ-παγησόμενον νυκτὸς ἀν πλείονες ἐπέλθωσιν.

XX. Ὡς μὲν οὖν Ἀγίης ἐπὶ τὴν στραγγάλην πορευόμενος, ὡς εἰδὲ τινά τῶν ὑπηρετῶν δακρύ-
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

though plainly offering Agis a way of escape from the charges against him, asked him if he had done what he did under compulsion from Lysander and Agesilaüs. And when Agis answered that he had suffered compulsion from no one, but that in admiration and imitation of Lycurgus he had adopted the same public policy as his, the same ephor asked again if he repented of what he had done. But the young king declared that he had no repentance for what he had most excellently planned, and would not have, even if he saw that he was to suffer the extremest penalty. So they condemned him to death, and ordered the officers to lead him into the "Dechas," as it was called. This is a chamber of the prison in which they strangle those who are under sentence of death. But Damochares, when he saw that the officers did not dare to lay hands on Agis, and likewise that even the mercenaries who were there shrank from the deed and were loth to do it, feeling as they did that it was contrary to the laws of God and man to lay hands upon the person of a king, heaped threats and abuse upon them and himself dragged Agis into the chamber of death. For already many people were aware of the arrest, and there was a noisy throng at the door and many torches, and the mother and grandmother of Agis were there, with cries and prayers that the king of the Spartans should have a hearing and a trial before the citizens. For this reason especially the ephors hastened on the king's execution, believing that he would be taken out of their hands in the night if the concourse should increase.

XX. Agis, then, on his way to the halter, saw one of the officers shedding tears of sympathy for him.
ούτα καὶ περιπαθοῦντα, "Παῦσαι με," εἶπεν, "ὡς ἄνθρωπε, κλαίων· καὶ γὰρ ὦτως παρανόμως καὶ ἀδίκως ἀπολλύμενος κρείττων εἰμὶ τῶν ἀναιροῦντων." καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν παρέδωκε τῷ βρόχῳ τὸν 2 τράχηλον ἐκουσίως. ὦ δὲ 'Αμφάρης προελθὼν ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας, καὶ τὴν Ἀγνησιστράταν προσπεσούσαν αὐτῷ διὰ συνήθειαν καὶ φιλίαις ἀναστήσας, οὐδὲν ἔφη περὶ τοῦ "Αγνι ἔσεσθαι βλαστοῦν οὐδὲ ἀνήκεστον· ἐκέλευε δὲ κάκειν, εἰ βούλειτο, πρὸς τὸν νῦν εἰσελθεῖν. ἐκείνης δὲ καὶ τὴν μητέρα μετ' αὐτῆς παρείναι δεσμεύειν οὐδὲν ἔφη καλύνειν 3 ὦ 'Αμφάρης· καὶ δεξαμενος ἀμφοτέρας, καὶ πάλιν κλείσα τὰς θύρας τὸν δεσμωτηρίου κελεύσας, προτέραν μὲν τὴν Ἀρχιδαμίαν παρέδωκεν, ἢδη σφόδρα πρεσβύτων οὖσαν καὶ καταγεγρακαίναν ἐν ἀξιωματι μεγίστῳ τῶν πολιτίδων, ἀποθανοῦσης δὲ ἐκείνης ἐκέλευσε τὴν Ἀγνησιστράταν ἔσω 4 βαδίζειν. ὡς δὲ εἰσελθοῦσα τὸν τε νῦν ἐθεάσατο χαμάι κέμενον καὶ τὴν μητέρα νεκρὰν ἐκ τοῦ βρόχου κρεμαμένην, ἐκείνη μὲν αὐτῇ τοῖς ὑπηρεταισι συγκαθεὶλε καὶ παρεκτείνασα τῷ Ἀγνι τῷ σώμα περιστείλε καὶ κατεκάλυψε· τῷ δὲ νῦφι προσπεσούσα καὶ φιλήσασα τὸ πρόσωπον, "Ἡ πολλή σε," εἶπεν, "ὅ παρ, εὐλάβεια καὶ τὸ πρᾶον 5 καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἀπώλεσε μεθ' ἡμῶν." ὦ δὲ 'Αμφάρης ἀπὸ τῆς θύρας ὁρῶν τὰ γινόμενα καὶ τὰς φωνὰς ἀκούων ἐπεισήλθη καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ἀγνησιστράταν μετ' ὅργης εἶπεν: "Εἰ τοίνυν," ἔφη, "ταῦτα ἑδοκίμαξες τῷ νῦ, ταῦτα καὶ πείση." καὶ ἡ Ἀγνησιστράτα πρὸς τὸν βρόχον ἀνιστα-
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

"My man," said he, "cease weeping; for even though I am put to death in this lawless and unjust manner, I have the better of my murderers." And saying these words, he offered his neck to the noose without hesitation. But Amphares went to the door of the prison, where Agesistrata fell at his feet in an appeal to his friendship and intimacy. Amphares lifted her up and assured her that Agis was not to suffer violence or death; and he bade her, if she wished, go in to her son. And when Agesistrata begged that her mother might go in with her, Amphares said there was nothing to prevent. So he admitted both the women, and after ordering the door of the prison to be locked again, delivered Archidamia first to the executioners. She was now a very aged woman, and had lived all her days in very high repute among her countrywomen. After she had been put to death, Amphares ordered Agesistrata to enter the chamber of execution. So she went in, and when she saw her son lying dead upon the ground, and her mother's dead body still hanging in the noose, with her own hands she helped the officers to take her down, laid her body out by the side of Agis, and composed and covered it. Then, embracing her son and kissing his face, she said: "My son, it was thy too great regard for others, and thy gentleness and humanity, which has brought thee to ruin, and us as well." Then Amphares, who stood at the door and saw and heard what she did and said, came in and said angrily to her: "If, then, thou hast been of the same mind as thy son, thou shalt also suffer the same fate." And Agesistrata, as she rose to present her neck to the
μένη, „Μόνον,” ἔφη, „συνενέγκαι ταῦτα τῇ Ἡσπάρτῃ.”

XXI. Τοῦ δὲ πάθους εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐξαγγελθέντος καὶ τῶν τριῶν σωμάτων ἐκκομίζομενών οὐκ ἦν ὁ φόβος οὐτω μέγας, ὡστε μὴ καταφανεῖς εἶναι τοὺς πολίτας ἀλγοῦντας μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσι, μισοῦντας δὲ τὸν Λεωνίδαν καὶ τὸν Ἀμφάρην, μηδὲν δεινότερον μηδὲ ἀνσωμότερον έξ οὐ Δωριείς Πελοπόννησον οἰκούσιν οἰομένους ἐν Ἡσπάρτῃ πε-2 πράξαι. βασιλεῖ γάρ, ὡς έοικε, Δακεδαιμονίων οὐδὲ οἱ πολέμοι βαδίως ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπαντῶντες προσέφερον τὰς χείρας, ἀλλ' ἀπετρέποντο δεδιότες καὶ σεβόμενοι τὸ ἀξίωμα. διὸ καὶ πολλῶν γεγονότων Δακεδαιμονίων ἡγώνων πρὸς Ἐλλήνας εἰς μόνος ἀνηρέθη πρὸ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν δόρατι πληγεῖς περὶ Λεύκτρα Κλεόμβροτος. Μεσσηνίων δὲ καὶ Θεόπομπου ὑπ' Ἀριστομένους πεσεῖν λεγόντων 3 οὐ φασί Δακεδαιμόνιοι, πληγηναί δὲ μόνον. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἔχει τινάς ἀμφιλογίας. ἐν δὲ Δακεδαί- μον πρώτος Ἀγίς βασιλεύων ὑπὸ τῶν ἑφόρων ἀπέθανε, καλὰ μὲν ἔργα καὶ πρέποντα τῇ Ἡσπάρτῃ προελόμενος, ἡλικίας δὲ γεγονός ἐν ἦ ἄμαρτά- νοντες ἀνθρωποὶ συγγνώμης τυγχάνουσι, μεμφθείς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων δικαιότερον ἢ τῶν ἑχθρῶν, ὡτι καὶ Δεωνίδαν περιέσωσε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπί- στευσεν, ἡμερώτατος καὶ πράοτατος γενόμενος.
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

noose, said: "My only prayer is that this may bring good to Sparta."

XXI. When tidings of the sad event had been carried to the city and the three bodies were carried forth for burial, the fear felt by the citizens was not so strong as to prevent them from manifesting sorrow over what had been done, and hatred for Leonidas and Amphares. It was thought that nothing more dreadful or heinous had been done in Sparta since the Dorians had dwelt in Peloponnesus. For against a king of the Lacedaemonians, as it seems, not even their enemies would willingly raise their hands if they met him in battle, but they would spare him, out of fear and reverence for his dignity. And for this reason, although there had been many conflicts between Lacedaemonians and other Greeks, only one Spartan king had been slain up to the time of Philip of Macedon, namely, Cleombrotus, who was smitten by a spear at Leuctra.¹ The Messenians, however, say that Theopompus also fell in battle, at the hands of Aristomenes; but the Lacedaemonians deny this, and say that their king was only wounded. This matter may be disputed; but Agis was certainly the first king of Sparta to be put to death by the ephors. And yet he had chosen a line of conduct that was noble and worthy of Sparta, and was of an age in which men are usually pardoned for their errors, and his friends could with more justice blame him than his enemies, because he spared the life of Leonidas, and, most mild and gentle man that he was, put faith in his other foes.

¹ See the Pelopidas, xxiii.
ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΗΣ

I. Ἀποθανόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν μὲν ἀδελφὸν Ἄρχιδαμον οὐκ ἔφθη συλλαβεῖν ὁ Δεσνίδας εὐθὺς ἐκφυγόντα, τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα παιδίον ἔχουσαν νεογυνὸν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἀπαγαγὼν βία Κλεομένει τῷ νῦν συνάκισεν οὗ πάνυ γάμων ὄραν ἔχοντι, τὴν δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἄλλην δοθήναι μὴ βουλόμενος. ἦν γὰρ οὕσια τε μεγάλης ἐστίκληρος ή Ἀγιάτης Γυλίππου τοῦ πατρός, ὥρα τε καὶ κάλλει πολὺ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων διαφέροντα καὶ τὸν τρόπον 2 ἐπιεικῆς. διὸ πολλὰ μὲν ἐποίησεν, ὡς φασί, μὴ βιασθήναι δεομένη, συνελθοῦσα δὲ εἰς ταύτῳ τῷ Κλεομένει τὸν μὲν Δεσνίδαν ἐμύσει, περὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν νεανίσκον ἦν ἀγαθὴ γυνὴ καὶ φιλόστοργος, ἐρωτικῶς ἀμα τῷ λαβεῖν πρὸς αὐτὴν διαστάθηντα καὶ τῶν τρόπων συμπαθοῦντα τῇ πρὸς τὸν Ἀγιάν εὔνοια καὶ μνήμη τῆς γυναικὸς, ὡστε καὶ πυνθάνεσθαι πολλάκις περὶ τῶν γεγονότων καὶ προσέχειν ἑπιμελῶς διηγομένης ἐκείνης ἦν ὁ Ἀγιάς ἔσχε διάνοιαν καὶ προαίρεσιν.

3 Ἡν δὲ καὶ φιλότιμος μὲν καὶ μεγαλόφρων ὁ Κλεομένης καὶ πρὸς ἐγκράτειαν καὶ ἀφέλειαν οὐχ ἦττον τοῦ Ἀγιάος εὐ πεφυκώς, τὸ δὲ εὐλαβεῖς ἄγαν ἐκείνο καὶ πρᾶον οὐκ εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ κέντρον τῇ θυμοὶ τῇ φύσει προσέκειτο καὶ μετὰ σφοδρότητος ὀρμῇ πρὸς τὸ φαινόμενον ἀεὶ καλὸν. ἐφαίνετο δὲ κάλλιστον μὲν αὐτῷ κρατεῖν ἔκοντων, καλὸν δὲ καὶ μὴ πειθομένων περιεῖναι πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον ἐκβιαζόμενον.
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

CLEOMENES

I. Upon the death of Agis\textsuperscript{1} his brother Archidamus at once took to flight, and thus escaped arrest at the hands of Leonidas; but his wife, who had an infant son, was taken from her home by Leonidas and compelled to marry his son Cleomenes. Cleomenes was too young for marriage, but Leonidas was unwilling to have Agiatis marry anyone else. For she was heir to the great estate of her father Glyippus, in youthful beauty she far surpassed the other women of Greece, and she had an excellent disposition. Therefore she begged most earnestly, we are told, that she should not be forced into this marriage, but after she was united to Cleomenes, though she hated Leonidas, to the young man himself she was a good and affectionate wife. And he, as soon as Agiatis was his, became passionately fond of her, and in a way sympathized with her devotion to the memory of Agis, so that he would often ask her about the career of Agis, and listen attentively as she told of the plans and purposes which Agis had formed.

And, besides, Cleomenes was aspiring and magnanimous, and no less prone by nature than Agis to self-restraint and simplicity. He had not, however, the scrupulous and gentle nature for which Agis was remarkable, and his natural courage was always goading him on, as it were, and fiercely impelling him towards that which in any case appeared to be the honourable course. He thought it a most excellent thing to rule over willing subjects, but a good thing also to subdue such subjects as were disobedient, and force them towards the better goal.

\textsuperscript{1} About 241 B.C.
II. Οὐκ ἦρεσκε μὲν οὐν αὐτῷ τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ἀπραγμοσύνη καὶ ἰδοὺ κατακεκηλημένων τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως πάντα τὰ πράγματα χαίρειν ἐώς, εἰ μηδεὶς αὐτὸν ἐνοχλοῖσιν σχολάζειν ἐν ἀφθόνοις καὶ τρυφῶν βουλόμενοι, ἀμελουμένων δὲ τῶν κοινῶν, καὶ οἰκίαις ἐκάστου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλκυοντος τὸ κερδαλέον, ἁσκήσεως δὲ καὶ σωφροσύνης νέων καὶ καρτερίας καὶ ἰσοτητος οὐδὲ ἀσφαλεῖς ἢν τούτων τῶν περὶ Ἀγιν ἀπολωλότων μημονεύειν.

2 Λέγεται δὲ καὶ λόγων φιλοσοφῶν τῶν Κλεσμένης μετασχεῖν ἐτὶ μειράκιον ὅντα, Σφαίρου τοῦ Βορυσθενίτου παραβαλόντος εἰς τὴν Δακεδαίμονα καὶ περὶ τοὺς νέους καὶ τοὺς ἐφήβους οὐκ ἀμελῶς διατρίβοντος. ὁ δὲ Σφαῖρος ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοις ἐγεγόνει τῶν Ζήνωνος τοῦ Κιτίεως μαθητῶν, καὶ τοῦ Κλεσμένους ἐνίκε τῆς φύσεως τὸ ἀνδρῶδες ἀγαπήσας τε καὶ προσεκκαύσαι τῆς φιλοτιμίαν.

3 Λεωνίδαν μὲν γὰρ τὸν παλαιὸν λέγουσιν, ἐπερωτηθέντα ποῖος τις αὐτῷ φαίνεται ποιητὴς γεγονέναι Τυρταῖος, εἶπεῖν "Ἀγαθὸς νέων πυχὰς κακκανήν." ἔμπιπτάμενοι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ποιημάτων ἐνθουσιασμοῦ παρὰ τὰς μάχας ἥφειον ἕαυτῶν· ὁ δὲ Στωίκος λόγος ἔχει τι πρὸς τὰς μεγάλας φύσεις καὶ ὀξείας ἐπισφαλεῖς καὶ παράβολος, βαθεῖ δὲ καὶ πράφω κεραυνύμενος θῆλε μάλιστα εἰς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀγαθὸν ἐπιδίδοσιν.

III. Ἐστεί δὲ τελευτήσαντος τοῦ Λεωνίδου τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβε καὶ τοὺς πολίτας τὸτε ὅπερ παντάπασιν ἐκλελυμένους ἐώρα, τῶν μὲν πλουσίων καθ' ἤδονας ἵδιας καὶ πλεονεκίας παρο-
II. Of course, then, the condition of the city was not pleasing to him. The citizens had been lulled to sleep by idleness and pleasure; the king was willing to let all public business go, provided that no one thwarted his desire for luxurious living in the midst of his wealth; the public interests were neglected, while every man was eagerly intent upon his own private gain; and as for practice in arms, self-restraint in the young, hardiness, and equality, it was even dangerous to speak of these now that Agis was dead and gone.

It is said also that Cleomenes studied philosophy when he was still a stripling, after Sphaerus of Borysthenis had made a voyage to Sparta and busied himself sedulously there with the youth and young men. Sphaerus had become one of the leading disciples of Zeno of Citium, and it would appear that he admired the manly nature of Cleomenes and increased the fires of his high ambition. For Leonidas of old, as we are told, when asked what manner of poet he thought Tyrtaeus to be, replied; "A good one to inflame the souls of young men." And indeed they were filled with divine inspiration by his poems, and in battle were prodigal of their lives. However, for great and impetuous natures the Stoic doctrines are somewhat misleading and dangerous, although when they permeate a deep and gentle character, they redound most to its proper good.

III. But at the death of Leonidas Cleomenes came to the throne, and saw that the citizens were by that time altogether degenerate. The rich neglected the common interests for their own private

1 In 236 B.C. Cleomenes was then about twenty-four years of age.
ρώντων τὰ κοινά, τῶν δὲ πολλῶν διὰ τὸ πράττειν κακῶς περὶ τὰ οίκεία καὶ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἀπροθύμων καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀγωγὴν ἀφιλοτίμων γεγονότων, αὐτοῦ δὲ ὄνομα βασιλεύοντος ἦν μόνον, ή δὲ ἀρχὴ πᾶσα τῶν ἐφόρων, εὔθυς μὲν εἰς νοῦν ἔθετο τὰ παρόντα μεθιστάναι καὶ κινεῖν, ὅντος δὲ αὐτῷ φίλου Ἐξενάρους, ἐραστοῦ γεγονότος (τούτῳ δὲ ἐμπνεύσαθι Λακεδαιμόνιοι καλοῦσιν), ἀπεπειράτο τούτου διαπυθανόμενος τὸν Ἀγαμῆν, ὅποιος γένοιτο βασιλεύς καὶ τίνι τρόπῳ καὶ μετὰ τίνων ἐπὶ ταύτην ἔλθαι τὴν ὀδόν. οὐ δὲ Ἐξενάρης τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὐκ ἀρχῆς ἐμέμνητο τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκείνων, ὡς ἐπράξθη καθ’ ἕκαστα μυθολογῶν καὶ διηγοῦμενος. οὖς δὲ ἦν καταφανὴς ὁ Κλεομένης ἐμπαθέστερον προσέχων καὶ κινοῦμενος ὑπερφύσις πρὸς τὴν καινοτομίαν τοῦ Ἀγαμῆν καὶ ταύτα πολλάκις ἀκούειν βουλόμενος, ἐπέπληξεν αὐτῷ πρὸς ὀργήν ὁ Ἐξενάρης ὡς οὐχ ὑγιαίνοντε, καὶ τέλος ἀπέστη τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ φοιτάν πρὸς αὐτὸν, οὐδενὶ μέντοι τὴν αἰτίαν ἐφρασε τῆς διαφορᾶς, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸν ἐφῃ γνώσκειν ἐκείνον.

4. Ὡς τὸ Ἐξενάρους ἀντικρούσαντος ὁ Κλεομένης καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὤμοιος ἐξειν ἠγούμενος, αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ συνετίθει τὴν πρᾶξιν. οἷομενὸς δὲ ἐν πολέμῳ μᾶλλον ἦ κατ’ εἴρημι ἡμεταστήσαι τὰ παρόντα, συνέκρουσε πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς τὴν πόλιν, αὐτοὺς διδώτας ἐγκλημάτων προφάσεως. ὁ γὰρ Ἄρατος ἰσχύον μέγιστον ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἔβούλετο μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰς μήν σύνταξιν ἀγαγεῖν Πελοποννήσιοι, καὶ τούτο τῶν πολλῶν στρατηγιῶν αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς μακρὰς πολιτείας ἦν.
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

pleasure and aggrandizement; the common people, because of their wretched state at home, had lost all readiness for war and all ambition to maintain the ancient Spartan discipline; and he himself, Cleomenes, was king only in name, while the whole power was in the hands of the ephors. He therefore at once determined to stir up and change the existing order of things, and as he had a friend, Xenares, who had been his lover (or inspirer, as the Spartans say), he would make trial of his sentiments by inquiring in detail what sort of a king Agis had been, and in what way and with what assistants he had entered upon the course of action so fatal to him. At first Xenares was quite glad to recall those matters, and rehearsed the events at length and in detail; but when it was apparent that Cleomenes took an unusual interest in the story, and was profoundly stirred by the innovations of Agis, and wished to hear about him over and over again, Xenares rebuked him angrily, calling him unsound in mind, and finally stopped visiting and conversing with him. To no one, however, did he tell the reason of their variance, but merely said that Cleomenes understood it.

And so Cleomenes, finding Xenares averse, and thinking that everybody else was of like mind with him, began to arrange his project all by himself. And because he thought that he could better bring about his reforms in time of war than in the midst of peace, he embroiled the state with the Achaeans, who were themselves giving grounds for complaint. For Aratus, the most powerful man among the Achaeans, was from the outset desirous of bringing all the Peloponnesians into one confederation, and this was the end pursued by him during his many
τέλος, ἡγουμένως μόνως ἀν οὗτος ἀνεπιχειρήτους δέ ἐσεσθαι τοῖς ἐκτὸς πολεμίοις. ἔπει δὲ τῶν ἄλλων σχεδὸν ἀπάντων αὐτῷ προσγεγονότων ἀπελεύ-ποντο Λακεδαίμονιοι καὶ Ἡλείοι καὶ ὅσοι Λακε-
dαμονίοις Ἀρκάδοι προσέχου, ἀμα τῷ τὸν
Λεωνίδαν ἀποθανεῖν παρηγὼχλει τοῖς Ἀρκάσι καὶ
περιέκοπτεν αὐτῶν μαλίστα τοὺς τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς
ὀμορούντας, ἀποπειρόμενος τῶν Λακεδαίμονών,
καὶ τοῦ Κλεομένους ὡς νέου καὶ ἀπείρου κατα-
φρονών.

IV. Ἐκ τούτου Κλεομένη πρῶτον οἱ ἐφοροὶ
πέμπτουσι καταληψόμενον τὸ περὶ τὴν Βέλβιναν
Ἀθήναιοι. ἐμβολή δὲ τῆς Δακωνικῆς τὸ χρώμον
ἐστὶ, καὶ τότε πρὸς τοὺς Μεγαλοπολίτας ἢν ἐπί-
dικον. καταλαβόντος δὲ τούτο καὶ τείχισαντος
τοῦ Κλεομένους ὁ Ἀρατὸς οὐθέν ἐγκαλέσας, ἀλλὰ
νυκτὸς ἐκπρατεύσας ἐπεχείρησε Τεγεάταις καὶ

2 Ὁρχομενίοις. τῶν δὲ προδοτῶν ἀποδειλιασάντων
ὁ μὲν Ἀρατὸς ἀνεχώρησε λεληθέναι νομίζων, ὁ
δὲ Κλεομένης εἰρωνεία χρώμενος ἔγραψε πρὸς
αὐτῶν, ὡς δὴ παρὰ φίλου πυμβανόμενος τοῦ τῆς
νυκτὸς ἑξέλθω. τοῦ δὲ ἀντιγράφαντος ὡς ἐκεῖνον
Βέλβιναν μέλλειν τείχισεν ἀκούσας καταβαίνω
τούτο κωλύσας, πάλιν ὁ Κλεομένης ἀποστείλας
tούτο μὲν οὕτως ἔχειν ἐφι πεπείθατο: “τοὺς δὲ
φανοὺς καὶ τὰς κλῆμακας,” εἶπεν, “εἰ μὴ τί σοι
diaφέρει, γράψων ἡμῖν, ἐπὶ τί σοι παρηκολού-
3 θουν.” τοῦ δὲ Ἀράτου πρὸς τὸ σκώμμα γελά-
σαντος καὶ πυμβανομένου ποίος τις ὁ νεανίσκος
εἶπ, Δαμοκράτης ὁ Λακεδαίμονιος φυγάς, “Εἰ
ti πράττεις,” ἐφι, “πρὸς Λακεδαίμονιους, ὡρα

56
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

generalships and his long political activity, since he was of the opinion that in this way alone would they be safe from the attacks of their enemies without. Nearly all the other Peloponnesians adopted his views, but the Lacedaemonians, the Eleians, and the Arcadians who sided with the Lacedaemonians, held aloof. Therefore, as soon as Leonidas was dead, Aratus began to harass the Arcadians, and ravaged the territories of those especially who were adjacent to Achaia. His object was to put the Lacedaemonians to the test, and he despised Cleomenes as a young and inexperienced man.

IV. Upon this, the ephors began operations by sending Cleomenes to occupy the precinct of Athena at Belbina. This commands an entrance into Laconia, and was at that time a subject of litigation with the Megalopolitans. After Cleomenes had occupied and fortified this place, Aratus made no public protest, but led out his forces one night and tried to surprise Tegea and Orchomenus. Those who were to betray the places to him, however, played the coward, and Aratus withdrew, thinking that his attempt had escaped notice. But Cleomenes wrote him an ironical letter, inquiring, as from a friend, whither he had marched out in the night. Aratus wrote back that hearing of Cleomenes' intention to fortify Belbina he had gone down there to prevent it. Whereupon Cleomenes sent back word again that he believed this story to be true; "but those torches and ladders," said he, "if it is all one to thee, tell me for what purpose thou hadst them with thee." Aratus burst out laughing at the jest, and inquired what manner of youth this was. Whereupon Damocrates, the Lacedaemonian exile, replied: "If thou hast designs
σοι ταχύνειν πρὸ τοῦ κέντρα φύσαι τούτον τὸν νεοσσοῦν.

Ἐκ τούτου Κλεομένει μετὰ ἐπεόνω ὀλίγων καὶ πεζῶν τριακοσίων ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ στρατοπεδευμένω προσέταξαν ἀναχωρεῖν οἱ ἐφόροι, φοβούμενοι τὸν πόλεμον. ἔπει δὲ ἀναχωρήσαντος αὐτοῦ Καφύας ἔλαβεν ὁ Ἀρατός, αὕτη ἐξέπεμπον τὸν Κλεομένη. λαβόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ Μεθύδριον καὶ τὴν Ἀργολικὴν καταδραμόντος, ἐξεστάτευσαν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ δισμυρίως πεζοῖς καὶ χίλιοι ἐπιπέδου Ἀριστομάχου στρατηγοῦντος. ἀπαντήσαντος δὲ περὶ Παλλάντιον Κλεομένους καὶ βουλομένου 5 μάχεσθαι, φοβηθεὶς τὴν τόλμαν ὁ Ἀρατός οὖν εἶσαε διακινδυνεύσαι τὸν στρατηγόν, ἀλλ’ ἀπῆλθε λοιποῦνεις μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, χλευαζόμενος δὲ καὶ καταφρονουμένος ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, οὐδὲ πεντακισχίλιων τὸ πλῆθος ὑπῆρτον. μέγας οὖν τῷ φρονήματι γεγονὼς ὁ Κλεομένης ἐθρασύνετο πρὸς τούς πολίτας, καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν τινός αὐτοῦς ἀνεμίμησε βασιλέως εἰπόντος οὐ μάτην ὅτι 1 Λακεδαιμόνιοι πυνθάνονται περὶ τῶν πολεμίων, οὐ πόσοι εἰσίν, ἀλλὰ ποῦ εἰσίν.

V. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖς Ἡλεῶν πολεμουμένοις ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν βοηθήσασιν, καὶ περὶ τὸ Δύκαιον ἀποστοσίν ἢδὲ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐπιβαλῶν, ἀπαν μὲν ἐτρέψατο καὶ διεπότησαν αὐτῶν τὸ στρατεύμα, συχνοὺς δὲ ἀνείλε καὶ ξύντας ἔλαβεν, ὡστε καὶ περὶ Ἀράτου φήμην ἐκπεσεῖν εἰς τοὺς Ἐλλήνας ως τεθνηκότος, ὁ μὲν Ἀρατός ἀρισταὶ τῷ καιρῷ χρησάμενος ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς ἐκείνης εὐθὺς ἐπὶ

1 εἰπόντος οὐ μάτην ὅτι Sintenis (com.) and Blass, after Stephanus: εἰπόντος ὅτι μάτην (MSS.).
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

upon the Lacedaemonians, see that thou hastenest, before this young cock grows his spurs."

After this, when Cleomenes with a few horsemen and three hundred foot-soldiers was making an expedition in Arcadia, the ephors, fearing the issue of the war, ordered him to come back home. After he had returned, however, Aratus seized Caphyae, and the ephors sent Cleomenes forth again. He seized Methydrium and overran the territory of Argolis, whereupon the Achaeans marched out with twenty thousand foot-soldiers and a thousand horsemen under Aristomachus as general. Cleomenes met them at Pallantium and offered battle, but Aratus, in fear of this boldness, would not suffer his general to hazard the issue, and retired. For this he was reproached by the Achaeans, and jeered at and despised by the Lacedaemonians, who were less than five thousand strong. Cleomenes was therefore greatly lifted up in spirit and began to show a bold front to the citizens; and he would often remind them of one of their ancient kings¹ who said, and not idly either, "The Lacedaemonians are wont to ask, not how many, but where, their enemies are."

V. After this, he went to the aid of the Eleians, upon whom the Achaeans were making war, and falling upon the Achaeans near Mt. Lycaemum, as they were withdrawing, he put their entire army to panic flight, slew great numbers of them, and took many prisoners, so that even Aratus was widely reported among the Greeks to be dead. But Aratus, making the best use of his opportunity, immediately after

¹ Agis II. (427–398 B.C.); cf. the Morals, pp. 190 c; 215 d.
Μαντίνειαν ἦλθε καὶ μηδενὸς ἂν προσδοκήσαντος ἐλευθηρότητά της πόλις, τὸν δὲ Δακεδαιμονίων παντάπασι ταῖς γνώμαις ἀναπεσόντων καὶ τῷ Κλεομένει πρὸς τὰς στρατείας ἐνσταμένων, ὁρμησε μεταπέμπεσθαι τὸν Ἀγίδον ἀδελφὸν Ἁρχιδάμον ἐκ Μεσσήνης, ὁ βασιλεύειν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑτέρας οἰκίας ἂν προσήκοιν, οἰόμενος ἀμβλυτέραν τὴν τῶν ἐφόρων ἄρχην ἔσσεσθαι τῆς βασιλείας ἰσορρόπου καὶ ὅλουκλήρου γενομένης. οἱ δὲ ἀνηρηκότες πρὸς τὸν Ἀγίον αἰσθόμενοι τοῦτο, καὶ φοβηθέντες μὴ δίκην δώσι τοῦ Ἡρωδέα κατελθόντος, ἐδέξαντο μὲν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν παραγενόμενον κρύφα καὶ συγκατήγον, εὐθὺς δὲ ἀπέκτειναν, εἰτε ἄκοντος τοῦ Κλεομένους, ὡς οἰεῖται Φύλαρχος, εἰτε πεισθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων καὶ προεμένου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου αὐτοῦς. τῆς γὰρ αἰτίας τὸ πλεῖστον ἐπ᾿ ἐκείνον ἦλθε βεβιάσθαι τὸν Κλεομένη δοκούντας.

VI. Οὐ μὴν ἄλλα κινεῖν εὐθὺς ἐγνωκός τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ἐπεισε τοὺς ἐφόρους χρήμασιν ὅπως αὐτὸν ψηφίσωσιν στρατεύον. ἔθεράπευσε δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συνεἱσκεῖ διὰ τῆς μητρὸς Κρατησίκλείας ἄφειδος συγχρησιγούσης καὶ συμφιλοτιμομένης, ἤ γε καὶ γάμου μὴ δεομένη λέγεται διὰ τὸν υἱὸν ἄνδρα λαβεῖν πρωτεύσετα δόξη καὶ 2 δυνάμει τῶν πολιτῶν. ἔξαγαγόν δὲ τὴν στρατείαν καταλαμβάνει τὴς Μεγαλοπολίτιδος χωρίον Ἐλύκτραν καὶ γενομένης πρὸς αὐτὸν ἰδιαίτερα τῶν
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

his defeat marched to Mantinea, and to everybody's surprise captured and held the city. At this the Lacedaemonians were altogether disheartened and opposed any further expedition on the part of Cleomenes. He therefore determined to summon from Messene the brother of Agis, Archidamus,¹ who was the rightful king from the other royal house, thinking that the power of the ephors would be diminished if the royal power were restored to its full strength so as to counterbalance it. But those who had formerly murdered Agis comprehended this design, and fearing that they would pay the penalty for their crime if Archidamus was restored, they did indeed receive him when he came secretly into the city, and assisted in his restoration, but immediately put him to death. Cleomenes may have been opposed to this, as Phylarchus thinks, or perhaps he was persuaded by his friends to abandon the hapless man to his murderers. For the greater part of the blame attached itself to them, since they were thought to have constrained Cleomenes.

VI. However, having determined to attempt at once his reforms in the state, Cleomenes bribed the ephors to send him on an expedition. He also won the favour of large numbers of the citizens with the help of his mother Cratesicleia, who assisted him liberally in providing ways and means, and shared his ambitions. It is even said that although she had no desire to marry again, for the sake of her son she took a husband who was foremost among the citizens in reputation and influence. So Cleomenes led forth his forces and occupied Leuctra, a stronghold of Megalopolis. The Achaeans, under the command of

¹ See chapter i. 1.

61
'Αχαϊών βοηθείας Ἄρατον στρατηγοῦντος, ὕπο τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν παραταξάμενος ἦττηθη μέρει τινή τοῦ στρατεύματος. ἐπεὶ δὲ χαράδραυ τινὰ βαθείαν οὐκ εἶσε διαβήναι τοὺς Ἀχαῖοὺς ὣς Ἀρατός, ἀλλ’ ἐπέστησε τὴν δίωξιν, ἀγανακτῶν δὲ Λυδίαδας ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης συνεξώρμησε τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἱππεῖς καὶ διώκων εἰς χωρίων ἀμπέλων καὶ τάφρων καὶ τειχῶν μεστὸν ἐνσέισας καὶ διασπασθείς περὶ ταῦτα κακῶς ἀπήλλαττε, κατιδὼν ὁ Κλεομένης ἀνήκε τοὺς Ταραντίνους καὶ τοὺς Κρήτας ἐπ’ αὐτὸν, ὅφ’ ὁ Λυδίαδας ἀμυνόμενος εὐφρώστως ἔπεσε. πρὸς τούτῳ θαρρήσαντες οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι μετὰ βοῆς ἐνέβαλον τοῖς Ἀχαῖοῖς, καὶ τροπὴν ὅλου τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐποίησαν. ἀποθανόντων δὲ συχνῶν τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ὑποστόνδους ὁ Κλεομένης ἀπέδωκε, τὸν δὲ Λυδίαδαν νεκρόν ἀχθῆναι πρὸς αὐτὸν κελεύσας, κοσμήσας πορφυρίδι καὶ στέφανον ἐπιθείς, πρὸς τὰς πύλας τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτῶν ἀπέστειλεν. οὗτος ἦν Λυδίαδας ὁ καταθέμενος τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ τοῖς πολίταις ἀποδοῦσ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν πόλιν προσκομίσας Ἀχαῖοῖς. VII. Ἐκ τούτου Κλεομένης μέγα φρονών ἦδη, καὶ πεπειθμένος ἄν ὡς βούλεται τοῖς πράγμασι χρόμενος πολεμῆ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαῖοὺς, ῥαδίως ἐπικρατήσειν, ἐδίδασκε τὸν τῆς μητρὸς ἀνδρα Μεγιστόνου ὡς χρῆ τῶν ἐφόρων ἀπαλλαγέντας εἰς μέσον θείαν τὰ κτήματα τοῖς πολίταις καὶ τὴν Σπάρτην ἐσθενεῖν γενομένην ἐγείρειν καὶ προάγειν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς Ελλάδος ἅγεμονίαν. πεισθέντος δ’ ἐκείνου δύο τῶν ἄλλων φίλων ἡ τρεῖς προσέλαβε.
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

Aratus, came swiftly to the aid of their allies against him, and Cleomenes, after drawing up his forces under the very walls of the city, was worsted at one point. But Aratus would not permit the Achaeans to cross a certain deep ravine, and brought his pursuit to a stop. Lydiadas the Megalopolitan, however, chafing at this, dashed on with the horsemen under his command, and pursuing the enemy into a place full of vines, ditches, and walls, had his ranks broken and thrown into disorder thereby, and began to fall into difficulties. Cleomenes, observing this, sent against him his Tarentines and Cretans, at whose hands Lydiadas, defending himself sturdily, fell. At this the Lacedaemonians took courage and with a shout fell upon the Achaeans and routed their entire army. Great numbers of them were slain, and their bodies Cleomenes restored at the enemy's request; but the body of Lydiadas he asked to have brought to him, arrayed it in a purple robe and put a crown upon the head, and then sent it back to the gates of Megalopolis. This was the Lydiadas who renounced the tyranny, gave back to the citizens their freedom, and attached the city to the Achaean league.

VII. After this, Cleomenes, being now greatly elated, and persuaded that if he could keep the control of things entirely in his own hands during the war with the Achaeans, he would easily obtain the mastery, began to instruct his mother's husband, Megistonoïs, that they must needs get rid of the ephors, put the property of the citizens into a common stock, and rouse and incite the Spartans, thus put upon their old footing of equality, to assume the supremacy in Greece. Megistonoïs was convinced, and enlisted in the cause two or three of his friends besides.
2 Συνέβη δὲ περὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας καὶ τῶν ἐφόρων ἔνα κοιμώμενον ἐν Πασιφάαι̂ς ὁνάρ ἰδεῖν θαυμαστόν· ἐδόκει γὰρ ἐν ὑ τόπῳ τοῖς ἐφόροις ἔθος ἐστὶ καθεξομένοις χρηματίζειν ἐνα δίφρον κείσθαι, τοὺς δὲ τέτταρας ἀνηρήσθαι, καὶ θαυμάζοντος αὐτοῦ φωιήν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ γενέσθαι φρά-κοστάμφος τῆς Σπάρτης λαβὸν ἐστὶ. ταῦτην τὴν ὄψιν διηγουμένου τοῦ ἐφόρου πρὸς τὸν Κλεομένην, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον διεταράχθη καθ' ὑποψίαιν τινὰ πειράζεσθαι δοκῶν, ὡς δὲ ἐπείσθη μὴ ψεύ-δεσθαι τῶν διηγούμενον, ἥθαρρησε. καὶ λαβὼν ὁσοὺς ὑπόπτευε μάλιστα τῶν πολιτῶν ἐναντίως σεσθαί πρὸς τὴν πράξιν, Ἡραίαν καὶ Ἁλσαίαν τὰς πόλεις ταττομένας ὑπὸ τοῖς Ἀχαίοῖς εἶλε, καὶ σίτου εἰσήγαγεν Ὀρχομενίοις, καὶ Μαντινείᾳ παρεστρατοπέδευσε, καὶ ὅλως ἄνω καὶ κάτω μακραῖς πορείαις ἀποτρύσας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπέλιπεν αὐτῶν δεηθέντων τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ, τοὺς δὲ μισθοφόρους ἔχων αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐνέργει. καὶ καθ' ὀδὸν ὅις ἐπίστευε μάλιστα καλὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχων ἀνεκοινοῦτο τὴν γνώμην, καὶ προῆς σχέδην, ὡς περὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ὅσι τοῖς ἐφόροις ἐπιτέρους.

VIII. Γενόμενος δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐν γύρω, Εὐρυκλείδας μὲν εἰς τὸ τῶν ἐφόρων συστίτιον ἀπέστειλεν ὡς τινὰ παρ' αὐτῶν λόγον ἅποιο στρατίας κομίζοντα, Θηρυκίων δὲ καὶ Φοίβοις καὶ δύο τῶν συντρόφων τοῦ Κλεομένους, οὓς μόθακας καλού-σιν, ἐπηκολούθουν στρατιώτας ὄλογον ἔχοντες.
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

Now, it came to pass about that time that one of the ephors, who was sleeping in the precinct of Pasiphaë, had an astonishing dream. He dreamed that in the place where the ephors were wont to sit for the prosecution of business, one chair only stood, but the other four had been taken away; and that in his amazement at this a voice came to him from the temple saying that this was better for Sparta. This dream the ephor related to Cleomenes, who at first was much disturbed, and thought that the other had some suspicion of his design and was making trial of him; but when he was convinced that the relater spoke the truth, his courage revived. So taking all the citizens who, as he suspected, would be most opposed to his designs, he seized Heraea and Alsea, two cities belonging to the Achaean league, introduced supplies of food into Orchomenus, and encamped by Mantinea, from whence he made long marches up and down the land, and utterly wore out the Lacedaemonians, so that it was at their own request that he left most of them in Arcadia, while with his mercenaries he himself set out for Sparta. On the march he imparted his design to those whom he believed to be most favourably disposed to him, and went forward slowly, that he might fall upon the ephors while they were at supper.

VIII. When the city was close at hand, he sent Eurycleidas to the mess-table of the ephors, ostensibly to carry some message of the king from the army; but Therycion, Phoebis, and two of the Helots, who had been bred up along with Cleomenes¹ (they call them “mothakes”), followed after with a few

¹ Such Helot companions afterwards became freemen, and sometimes even citizens in Sparta.
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

ἐτὶ δὲ τοῦ Εὐρυκλείδα διαλεγομένου τοῖς ἐφόροις ἐπιδραμόντες ἐσπασμέναι ταῖς μαχαίραις ἐπαισιον 2 αὐτοὺς. ὁ μὲν οὖν πρῶτος Ἀγύλαιος, ὃς ἐπλήγη, πεσὼν καὶ τεθνάναι δόξας ἀτρέμα συναγαγὼν καὶ παρέλκων ἑαυτὸν ἐκ τοῦ οἰκήματος ἔλαθεν εἰς τὶ δωμάτιον εἰσερπύσας μικρόν, ὃ φόβου μὲν ἦν ἱερὸν, ἄλλως δὲ κεκλεισμένον ἀεί, τότε ἐκ τύχης ἀνεφυμένον ἐτύγχανεν. εἰς τούτο συνεισενεγκὼν ἑαυτὸν ἀπέκλεισε τὸ θύρων. οἱ δὲ τέσσαρες ἀνηρέθησαν, καὶ τῶν ἐπιβοσθοῦντων αὐτοῖς οὐ πλείονες ἤ δέκα. τοὺς γὰρ ἡσυχίαν ἁγοντας οὐκ ἔκτειναν, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀπίόντας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκώλυν. ἐφεύσαντο δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἀγυλάιον μεθ’ ἡμέραν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ προελθόντος.

IX. Ἔστι δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους οὐ φόβου μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ θανάτου καὶ γέλωτος καὶ τοιούτων ἄλλων παθημάτων ἱερά. τιμῶσι δὲ τῶν φόβου οὐχ ὡσπερ οὐδὶ ἀποτρέπονται δαίμονας, ἡγούμενοι βλαβερῶν, ἀλλὰ τὴν πολιτείαν μᾶλιστα συνε

2 χεσθαί φόβω νομίζοντες. διὸ καὶ προεκήρυττον οἱ ἐφόροι τοῖς πολίταις εἰς τὴν ἄρχην εἰσίοντες, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης φησί, κείρεσθαι τὸν μύστακα καὶ προσέχειν τοῖς νόμοις, ἵνα μὴ χαλεπὸς δὲν αὐτοῖς: τὸ τοῦ μύστακος, οἷον, προτείνουντες, ὅπως καὶ περὶ τὰ μικρότατα τοὺς νέους πειθαρχεῖν

3 ἔθιξος. καὶ τὴν ἄνδρείαν δὲ μοι δοκοῦσιν οὐκ ἀφοβίαν, ἀλλὰ φόβου ψόγον καὶ δέος ἀδοξίας οἱ παλαιοὶ νομίζειν. οἱ γὰρ δειλότατοι πρὸς τοὺς νόμους θαρραλεῶτατοι πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους εἰσί. 66
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

soldiers. These men, while Eurycleidas was still making his report to the ephors, ran in upon them with drawn swords and smote them. The first of them, Agylæus, on receiving the blow, fell and lay still as though dead; but afterwards he quietly pulled himself together, dragged himself out of the room, and crept unobserved into a little building which was a temple of Fear. Usually it was closed, but at this time it chanced to be open. Into this building he betook himself and locked the door. But the other four were slain, and also about ten of those who came to their aid. For the people who kept quiet were not killed, nor were those who wished to leave the city prevented. And even Agylæus was spared when he came out of the temple next day.

IX. Now, the Lacedaemonians have temples of Death, Laughter, and that sort of thing, as well as of Fear. And they pay honours to Fear, not as they do to the powers which they try to avert because they think them baleful, but because they believe that fear is the chief support of their civil polity. For this reason, too, when the ephors enter upon their office, as Aristotle says, they issue a proclamation commanding all men to shave their moustaches, and to obey the laws, that these may not be severe upon them. They insist upon the shaving of the moustache, I think, in order that they may accustom the young men to obedience in the most trifling matters. And the men of old, in my opinion, did not regard bravery as a lack of fear, but as fear of reproach and dread of disgrace. For the men who feel most dread of the laws have most courage in
καὶ τὸ παθεῖν ἦκιστα δεδίασιν οἱ μάλιστα φοβοῦν·
καὶ τὸ κακῶς ἀκούσαι. διὸ καὶ καλὸς ὁ εἰπὼν·
. . . ἵνα γὰρ δέος, ἐνθα καὶ αἰδώς.
καὶ Ἡμηρος,
αἰδοῖός τέ μοί ἐσσι, φίλε ἐκυρέ, δεινός τε·
kαὶ
συγῆ δειδί̂ός σημάντορας.
tὸ γὰρ αἰσχύνεσθαι μάλιστα συμβαίνει πρὸς οὗς
καὶ τὸ δεδουκέναι τοῖς πολλοῖς. διὸ καὶ παρὰ τὸ
τῶν ἐφόρων συσσίτιον τὸν φόβον ἱδρυνται Δακε-
δαιμόνιοι, μοναρχίας ἐγγυτάτῳ κατασκευασάμενοι
τὸ ἀρχεῖον.
Χ. Ὁ δ' ὁ Κλεομένης ἠμέρας γενομένης
προέγραψεν ὑγδοήκοντα τῶν πολιτῶν οὗς ἐδει
μεταστήναι, καὶ τοὺς δίφρους ἀνείλε τῶν ἐφόρων
πλὴν ἔνοι, ἐν ὧδε καθήμενος ἐμελλέν αὐτὸς χρη-
ματίζειν. ἐκκλησίαν δὲ ποιήσας ἀπελογεῖτο περὶ
tῶν πεπραγμένων. ἔφη γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ Δυκούργου
τοῖς βασιλεῦσι συμμιχθῆναι τοὺς γέροντας, καὶ
πολὺν χρόνον οὐτὸ διοικεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲν
ἐτέρας ἄρχησ δεομένην, ὑστερου δὲ τοῦ πρὸς
Μεσσηνίους πολέμου μακροῦ γενομένου τοὺς βα-
σιλεῖς, διὰ τὰς στρατείας ἀσχόλους ὄντας αὐτοὺς
πρὸς τὸ κρίνειν, αἱρεῖσθαι τινας ἐκ τῶν φίλων
καὶ ἀπολείπειν τοὺς πολίτας ἀνθ’ ἕαυτῶν, ἐφόρους
προσαγορευθέντας, καὶ διατελεῖν γε τούτους τὸ
809
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

facing their enemies; and those shun death least who most fear ill fame. Therefore it has been well said 1:

"... for where dread is, there also is reverence."

And Homer says 2:

"Revered art thou by me, dear father-in-law, and dreaded too;"

and

"Without a word, in dread of their leaders. 3"

For by the multitude reverence is most apt to be felt towards those whom they also fear. For this reason, too, the Lacedaemonians erected a temple to Fear alongside the mess-hall of the ephors, after they had endowed this magistracy with almost absolute powers.

X. And now to resume; Cleomenes, when day came, published a list of eighty citizens who must go into exile, and removed all the ephoral chairs except one; in this he purposed to sit himself for the transaction of public business. Then he called a general assembly and made a defence of his proceedings. He said that Lycurgus had blended the powers of senate and kings, and that for a long time the state was administered in this way and had no need of other officials. But later, when the Messenian war proved to be long, the kings, since their campaigns abroad left them no time to administer justice themselves, chose out some of their friends and left them behind to serve the citizens in their stead. These were called ephors, or guardians, and as a matter of fact they

2 Iliad, iii. 172, Helen to Priam.
3 Iliad, iv. 431, of the Achaeans marshalled for battle.
πρώτον ὑπηρέτας τῶν βασιλέων ὄντας, εἰτὰ κατὰ μικρὰν εἰς ἑαυτοὺς τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐπιστρέφοντας ὁὕτως λαθεῖν ἰδίων ἀρχείων κατασκευασμένους. 3 σημεῖον δὲ τούτω τὸ μέχρι νῦν μεταπεμπμένων τῶν βασιλέα τῶν ἔφορων τὸ πρώτον ἀντιλέγειν καὶ τὸ δεύτερον, τὸ δὲ τρίτον καλούντων ἀναστάντα βαδίζειν πρὸς αὐτούς· καὶ τὸν πρώτον ἐπισφοδρύναντα τὴν ἀρχήν καὶ ἀνατεινάμενον Ἀστερωπῶν ἥλικίας ύστερον πολλαῖς ἔφορον γενέσθαι. μετριάζοντας μὲν ὦν αὐτοὺς, ἔφη, κρείττων ἦν ὑπομένειν, ἔξουσία δὲ ἐπιθέτω τὴν πάτριον καταλύοντας ἀρχήν, ὡστε τῶν βασιλέων τοὺς μὲν ἔξελαύνειν, τοὺς δὲ ἀποκτινύειν ἀκρίτους, ἀπειλεῖν δὲ τοῖς ποθοῦσιν αὖθις ἐπιδεῖν τὴν καλλίστην καὶ θειοτάτην ἐν Σπάρτῃ κατάστασιν, 4 οὔκ ἀνεκτόν. εἰ μὲν οὖν δυνατὸν ἦν ἄνευ σφαγῆς ἀπαλλάξαι τὰς ἐπεισάκτους τῆς Δακεδαίμονος κήρας, τρυφᾶς καὶ πολυτελείας καὶ χρέα καὶ δανεισμοὺς καὶ τὰ πρεσβύτερα τοῦτον κακά, πενίαν καὶ πλοῦτον, εὐτυχέστατον ἄν ἠγείσθαι πάντων βασιλέων ἑαυτῶν ὅσπερ ἵστρον ἀνωδύνως ἰασάμενον τὴν πατρίδα· νῦν δὲ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἔχειν συγγρώμονα τῶν Δυκούργων, ὃς οὔτε βασιλεῖς ἢν οὔτε ἄρχον, ἰδιώτης δὲ βασιλεύειν ἐπιχειρῶν ἐν τοῖς ὁπλισὶ προῆλθεν εἰς ἀγοράν, ὡστε δεῖσαντα τῶν βασιλέα Χάριλλου ἐπὶ βωμὸν καταφυγεῖν. 5 ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνον μὲν ὄντα χρηστοῦ καὶ φιλόπατρων ταχύ τῷ Δυκούργῳ τῶν πραττομένων μετασχεῖν 70
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

continued at first to be assistants of the kings, but then gradually diverted the power into their own hands, and so, ere men were aware, established a magistracy of their own. As proof of this, Cleomenes cited the fact that down to that day, when the ephors summoned a king to appear before them, he refused to go at the first summons, and at the second, but at the third rose up and went to them; and he said that the one who first added weight to the office, and extended its powers, Asteropus, was ephor many generations later. As long, then, he said, as the ephors kept within bounds, it had been better to bear with them; but when with their assumed power they subverted the ancient form of government to such an extent as to drive away some kings, put others to death without trial, and threaten such as desired to behold again in Sparta her fairest and most divinely appointed constitution, it was not to be endured. If, then, it had been possible without bloodshed to rid Sparta of her imported curses, namely luxury and extravagance, and debts and usury, and those elder evils than these, namely, poverty and wealth, he would have thought himself the most fortunate king in the world to have cured the disease of his country like a wise physician, without pain; but as it was, he said, in support of the necessity that had been laid upon him, he could cite Lycurgus, who, though he was neither king nor magistrate, but a private person attempting to act as king, proceeded with an armed retinue into the market-place, so that Charillus the king took fright and fled for refuge to an altar. That king, however, Cleomenes said, since he was an excellent man and a lover of his country, speedily concurred in the measures of Lycurgus and accepted
καὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν δέξασθαι τῆς πολιτείας, ἔργῳ δὲ μαρτυρῆσαι τὸν Δυκοῦργον ὅτι πολιτείαν μεταβαλεῖν ἦνευ βίας καὶ φόβου χαλεπῶν ἔστιν, οἷς αὐτὸν ἔφη μετριώτατα κεχρῆσθαι, τοὺς ἐνισταμένους τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς Δακεδαίμονος ἔκποδῶν ὑπησάμενοι. τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἐφή πάσι τῆς τε γῆς ἄπασαν εἰς μέσον τιθέναι, καὶ χρεῶν τοὺς ὀφείλοντας ἀπαλλάττειν, καὶ τῶν ξένων κρίσιν ποιεῖν καὶ δοκιμασίαν, ὅπως οἱ κράτιστοι γενόμενοι Ἀρμαρίται σώζωσι τὴν πόλιν τοῖς ὄπλοις, καὶ πανσώμεθα τὴν Δακωνίκην Ἀἰτωλῶν καὶ Ἰλλυρίων λείαι οὖσαν ἐρημίᾳ τῶν ἀμυνότων ἐφορώντες.

XI. Ἐκ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸς εἰς μέσον τῆς οὔσιαν ἔθηκε καὶ Μεγιστόνος ὁ πατριώδες αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φίλων ἔκαστος, ἔπειτα καὶ οἱ οἰκοποιοὶ πολίται πάντες, ἡ δὲ χώρα διενεμήθη. κλήρον δὲ καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγονότων φυγάδων ἀπένειμεν ἐκάστῳ, καὶ κατάξεις ἀπαντας ὡμολόγησε τῶν πραγμάτων ἐν ἄσυχίᾳ γενομένων.

2 ἀναπληρώσας δὲ τὸ πολίτευμα τοῖς χαριστάτοις τῶν περιοίκων ὀπλάταις τετρακείμιλους ἐποίησε, καὶ διδάξας αὐτοὺς ἀντὶ δόρατος χρήσθαι σαρίση δι' ἀμφοτέρων καὶ τῆς ἀστίδα φορεῖν δι' ὀχάνης, μὴ διὰ πόρπακος, ἐπὶ τὴν παιδείαν τῶν νέων ἐτράπη καὶ τὴν λεγομένην ἀγωγὴν, ἃς τὰ πλείστα παρόν ὁ Σφαῖρος αὐτῷ συγκαθίστη, ταχύ τὸν προσήκοντα τῶν τε γυμνασίων καὶ τῶν συσσιτίων κόσμου ἀναλαμβανότων, καὶ συστελλο-
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

the change of constitution; still, as a matter of fact Lycurgus by his own acts bore witness to the difficulty of changing a constitution without violence and fear. To these, Cleomenes said, he had himself resorted with the greatest moderation, for he had but put out of the way the men who were opposed to the salvation of Sparta. For all the rest, he said, the whole land should be common property, debtors should be set free from their debts, and foreigners should be examined and rated, in order that the strongest of them might be made Spartan citizens and help to preserve the state by their arms. "In this way," he said, "we shall cease to behold Sparta the booty of Aetolians and Illyrians through lack of men to defend her."

XI. After this, to begin with, Cleomenes himself placed his property in the common stock, as did Megistonoüs his step-father and every one of his friends besides; next, all the rest of the citizens did the same, and the land was parcelled out. Cleomenes also assigned a portion of land to each man who had been exiled by him, and promised to bring them all home after matters had become quiet. Then he filled up the body of citizens with the most promising of the free provincials, and thus raised a body of four thousand men-at-arms, whom he taught to use a long pike, held in both hands, instead of a short spear, and to carry their shields by a strap instead of by a fixed handle. Next he devoted himself to the training of the young men and to the "agoge," or ancient discipline, most of the details of which Sphaerus, who was then in Sparta, helped him in arranging. And quickly was the proper system of bodily training and public messes resumed, a few out
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

μένων ὀλίγων μὲν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, ἐκουσίως δὲ τῶν πλείστων εἰς τὴν εὐτελῆ καὶ Δακωνικὴν ἐκείνην
3 δίαιταν. ὁμοὶ δὲ τὸ τῆς μοναρχίας ὅνομα παρα-
μυθούμενος ἀπέδειξε μεθ' ἔαυτῷ βασιλέα τὸν
ἀδελφὸν Εὐκλείδαν. καὶ τότε μόνον Σπαρτιάταις
ἐκ μιᾶς οἰκίας συνέβη δύο σχεῖν βασιλέας.

XII. Αἰσθόμενος δὲ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ τὸν
Ἀρατοῦ, ὡς ἐπισφαλῶς αὐτῷ τῶν πραγμάτων
ἐχόντων διὰ τῶν νεωτερισμῶν, οὐκ ἄν οἰομένους
προελθέν ἔξω τῆς Δακεδαίμονος οὐδὲ ἀπολιπεῖν
μετέωρον ἐν κινήματι τηλικοῦτῳ τῇ πόλιν, οὐκ
ἀγεννές οὐδὲ ἄρχοντον ἤγησατο τὴν προθυμίαν
2 τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐπιδείξαι τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἐμ-
βαλὼν οὖν εἰς τὴν Μεγαλοπολιτικὴν ὥφελείας τε
μεγάλας ἢθροισε καὶ φθοράν πολλὴν ἀπειργά-
σατο τῆς χώρας. τέλος δὲ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον
810 τεχνίτας ἐκ Μεσσηνῆς διαπορευομένους λαβὼν,
καὶ πηξάμενος θέατρον ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ, καὶ προ-
θείς ἀπὸ τετταράκοντα μιᾶς ἄγωνα, μίαν ἠμέραν
ἐθείτο καθήμενος, οὐ δεόμενος θέας, ἀλλ' ὅιον
ἐντυφὼν τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ περιουσίαν τινά τοῦ
κρατεῖν πολὺ τῷ καταφρονεῖν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι.

3 ἐπεὶ ἄλλως γε τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ βασιλικῶν
στρατευμάτων ἐκείνῳ μόνον οὐ μίμοι παρακο-
λουθοῦντας εἰχεν, οὐ θαυματοποιούς, οὐκ ὀρχη-
στρίδας, οὐ ψαλτρίας, ἀλλὰ πάσης ἀκολασίας
καὶ βωμολοχίας καὶ πανηγυρισμοῦ καθαρὸν ἦν,
τὰ μὲν πολλὰ μελετῶντων τῶν νέων καὶ τῶν
πρεσβυτέρων διδασκόντων, τὰς δὲ παιδιὰς, ὅποτε
σχολάζοιεν, ταῖς συνήθεσιν εὐτραπελίας καὶ τῷ
λέγειν τι χάριν καὶ Δακωνικὸν πρὸς ἄλληλους
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

of necessity, but most with a willing spirit, subjecting themselves to the old Spartan regime with all its simplicity. And yet, desiring to give the name of absolute power a less offensive sound, he associated with himself in royal power his brother Eucleidas. And this was the only time when the Spartans had two kings from the same house.

XII. Learning that Aratus and the Achaecans believed that this revolution had jeopardized his position, and therefore did not think that he would venture forth outside of Sparta, or leave the city while it was still in the suspense of so great an agitation, he thought it a fine and helpful thing to make a display of the ready zeal of his army to his enemies. Accordingly, he invaded the territory of Megalopolis, collected large booty, and devastated the country far and wide. And finally arresting a company of actors who were passing through the country from Messené, he built a theatre in the enemy's territory, instituted a contest for a prize of forty minae, and sat spectator for a whole day; not that he felt the need of a spectacle, but in exultant mockery, as it were, of his enemies, and to show to the world by his contempt for them that he held complete control of affairs, with something, as it were, to spare. For at other times, the Spartan alone of Greek or Macedonian armies had no players in attendance, no jugglers, no dancing-girls, no harpists, but was free from every kind of licence, scurrility, and general festivity; while for the most part the young men practised themselves and the elder men taught them, and for amusement, when their work was over, they had recourse to their wonted pleasantries and the interchange of Spartan
diatitheménōn. ἢν δὲ ἔχει τὸ τοιοῦτον τῆς παιδίας εἰδὸς ὠφέλειαν, ἐν τῷ Λυκούργου βίῳ γέγραπται.

ΧΙΙΙ. Πάντων δ’ αὐτοῦ ἐγίγνετο διδάσκαλος, εὐτελὴ καὶ ἄφελη καὶ φορτικὸν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ὑπέρ τούς πολλοὺς ἔχοντα τὸν έαυτοῦ βίον ὅσπερ παράδειγμα σωφροσύνης ἐν μέσῳ θέμενος· δ’ καὶ πρὸς τὰς Ἐλληνικὰς πράξεις ῥοπήν παρέσχεν αὐτῷ. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλους ἑντυγχάνοντες οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ βασιλεύσιν οὐχ οὗτοι κατεπλήττοντο τοὺς πλούτους καὶ τὰς πολυτελείας, ὡς ἐβδελύττοντο τὴν ὑπεροψίαν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν ὄγκον ἑπαχθῆς καὶ τραχέως προσφερομένων τοῖς ἑν-2-τυγχάνουσιν· πρὸς δὲ Κλεομένη βαδίζοντες, ὄντα τε δὴ βασιλέα καὶ καλούμενον, ἔπτα ὀργώντες οὗ πορφύρας τινὰς οὐ χλαίνας περὶ αὐτῶν οὐδὲ κλη-νιδίων καὶ φορείων κατασκευᾶς, οὖν ὑπ’ ἀγγέλων ὀχλοῦ καὶ θυρωρῶν ἡ διὰ γραμματείων χρηματί-ζουτα χαλεπῶς καὶ μόλις, ἀλλ’ αὐτῶν ἐν ἰματίῳ τῷ τυχόντι πρὸς τὰς δεξιώσεις ἀπαντώντα καὶ διαλεγόμενον καὶ σχολάζοντα τοῖς χρήζουσιν ἱλαρῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως, ἐκηλοῦντο καὶ κατε-δημαγωγοῦντο, καὶ μόνον ἅφ’ Ἡρακλέους ἔκεινον ἔφασαν ἑγεγονέαν.

3 Τῶν δὲ δείπνων αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν καθημερινὸν ἢν ἐν τρικλίνῳ σφόδρα συνεσταλμένον καὶ Δακω-νικόν, εἰ δὲ πρέσβεις ἢ ξένους δέχοτα, δύο μὲν ἄλλας προσπαρεβάλλοντο κλίναι, μικρὸν δὲ μάλ-λον οὑ ὑπηρέται τὴν τράπεζαν ἐπελάμβανον, οὐ καρυκεῖαι τισὶν οὐδὲ πέμμασιν, ἀλλ’ ὡστε ἀφθονωτέρας εἶναι τὰς παραθέσεις καὶ φιλανθρω-πότερον τὸν οἶνον. καὶ γὰρ ἐπετίμησε τινὰ τῶν
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

witticisms. Of what great advantage this sort of amusement is, I have told in my Life of Lycurgus.¹

XIII. In all these matters Cleomenes was himself a teacher. His own manner of life was simple, plain, and no more pretentious than that of the common man, and it was a pattern of self-restraint for all. This gave him a great advantage in his dealings with the other Greeks. For when men had to do with the other kings, they were not so much awed by their wealth and extravagance as they were filled with loathing for their haughtiness and pomp as they gave offensive and harsh answers to their auditors; but when men came to Cleomenes, who was a real as well as a titled king, and then saw no profusion of purple robes or shawls about him, and no array of couches and litters; when they saw, too, that he did not make the work of his petitioners grievous and slow by employing a throng of messengers and door-keepers or by requiring written memorials, but came in person, just as he happened to be dressed, to answer the salutations of his visitors, conversing at length with those who needed his services and devoting time cheerfully and kindly to them, they were charmed and completely won over, and declared that he alone was a descendant of Heracles.

His usual supper was held in a room which had only three couches, and was very circumscribed and Spartan; but if he was entertaining ambassadors or guest-friends, two more couches would be brought in, and the servants would make the table a trifle more brilliant, not with sauces or sweetmeats, but with more generous dishes and a kindlier wine. And indeed he censured one of his friends, when he heard

¹ Chapter xii.
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

φίλων ἀκούσας ὅτι ξένους ἐστιῶν ζωμὸν αὐτοῖς μέλανα καὶ μάζαν, ὀσπερ ἐθος ἦν ἐν τοῖς φίλοις, παρέθηκεν· οὐ γὰρ ἐφη δεῖν ἐν τούτοις οὐδὲ πρὸς τοὺς ξένους λίαν ἀκριβῶς λακωνίζειν. 4 ἀπαρθείσης δὲ τῆς τραπέζης εἰσεκομίζετο τρίτους κρατήρα χαλκοῦν ἐχών οἶνον μεστὸν καὶ φιάλας ἀργυρᾶς δικοτύλους δῦο καὶ ποτήρια τῶν ἀργυρῶν ὀλίγα παντάπασιν, ἐξ δὲ ἐπινεὶς ὁ βουλόμενος, ἀκοντὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς ποτήριον προσέφερεν. ἀκρόαμα δὲ οὗτ’ ἦν οὗτ’ ἐπεξητεῖτο· ἐπαιδαγὼγει γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁμιλία τῶν πότων, τὰ μὲν ἐρωτῶν, τὰ δὲ διηγοῦμενος, οὗτε τὴν σπουδὴν ἀδὴ τῶν λόγων τὴν τε παιδιὰν ἐπὶχαριν καὶ ἀσόλοικον 5 ἔχοντων. ὡς μὲν γὰρ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν βασιλέων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους θήρας ἐποιοῦντο, χρήμασι καὶ δωρεαῖς δελεάζοντες αὐτοὺς καὶ διαφθείροντες, ἀτέχνους καὶ ἄδικους ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι· τὸ δὲ ὁμιλία καὶ λόγῳ χάριν ἔχοντι καὶ πίστιν οἰκειοῦσθαι καὶ προσάγεσθαι τους ἐντυχχάνοντας ἐφαίνετο κάλλιστον αὐτῷ καὶ βασιλικότατον, ὡς οὐδεὶς φίλον διαφέροντα μισθωτὸν ἢ τῷ τῶν μὲν ἦθει καὶ λόγῳ, τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ χρημάτων ἀλίσκεσθαι.

XIV. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν οἱ Μαντινεῖς αὐτῶν ἔπηγάγοντο, καὶ νῦκτωρ εἰς τὴν πόλιν παρεισπεσόντε 811 τὴν φρουρὰν τὴν Ἀχαιῶν συνεκβαλόντες ἐνεχεῖρισαν αὐτοὺς. ὁ δὲ καὶ τοὺς νόμους αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἀποδοῦν αὐθημερὸν ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Τεγέαν. ὁλόγω δ’ ὑστερον ἐκπεριελθὼν δι’ Ἀρκαδίας κατέβαινεν ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀχαϊκὰς Φεράς,

78
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

that in entertaining guest-friends he had set before them the black soup and barley-bread of the public mess-tables; "for," said he, "in these matters and before foreigners we must not be too strictly Spartan." After the table had been removed, a tripod would be brought in on which were a bronze mixer full of wine, two silver bowls holding a pint apiece, and drinking cups of silver, few all told, from which he who wished might drink; but no one had a cup forced upon him. Music there was none, nor was any such addition desired; for Cleomenes entertained the company himself by his conversation, now asking questions, now telling stories, and his discourse was not unpleasantly serious, but had a sportiveness that charmed and was free from rudeness. For the hunt which all the other kings made for men, ensnaring them with gifts and bribes and corrupting them, Cleomenes considered unskilful and unjust. In his eyes it was the noblest method, and one most fit for a king, to win over his visitors and attach them to himself by an intercourse and conversation which awakened pleasure and confidence. For he felt that a hireling differed from a friend in nothing except that the one was captured by a man's character and conversation, the other by a man's money.

XIV. To begin with, then, the Mantineians invited him to help them, and after he had made his way into the city by night, they expelled the Achaean garrison and put themselves in his hands. Cleomenes restored to them their laws and constitution, and on the same day marched away to Tegea. Then, shortly afterwards, he fetched a compass through Arcadia and marched down upon the Achaean city of Pherae. His
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

βουλόμενος ἢ μάχην θέσθαι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἢ διαβάλλειν τὸν Ἀρατοῦ ὡς ἀποδιδράσκοντα καὶ προϊέμενον αὐτῷ τὴν χώραν. ἐστρατήγηε μὲν γὰρ Ὁπερβατᾶς τὸτε, τοῦ δὲ Ἀρατοῦ τὸ πᾶν ἢν 2 κράτος ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς. ἐξελθόντων δὲ πανδημεῖ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενων ἐν Δύμαισ περὶ τὸ Ἐκατόμβαιον, ἐπελθὼν ὁ Κλεομένης ἔδοξε μὲν ὡς καλῶς ἐν μέσῳ τῆς τε Δυμαιῶν πόλεως, πολεμίας οὔσης, καὶ τοῦ στρατεύματος τῶν Ἀχαιῶν αὐλίσασθαι, τολμηρῶς δὲ προκαλοῦμενος τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἧνάγκασε συμβαλεῖν, καὶ νικήσας κατὰ κράτος καὶ τρεψάμενος τὴν φάλαιγα πολλοὺς μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ διέφθειρεν αὐτῶν, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ξόπτων ἐκυρίευσεν. ἐπελθὼν δὲ Δάγγων καὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν τοὺς φρουροῦντας ἐξελάσας ἀπέδωκεν Ἡλείοις τὴν πόλιν.

XV. Οὕτω δὲ συντετριμμένοι τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς οἱ μὲν Ἀρατος, εἰσδόθως παρὶ ἐνιαυτὸν ἀλ στρατηγεῖν, ἀπείπατο τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ παραπῆσατο καλοῦντων καὶ δεσμέων οὐ καλῶς, ὅλον ἐν χειμῶν πραγμάτων μείζουν, μεθεὶς ἔτέρφω τοῦ οἷα καὶ προέμενος τὴν ἐξουσίαν. ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης πρῶτον μὲν μέτρια τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐδόκει πρέσβειν ἐπιτάττειν, ἐτέρους δὲ πέμπων ἐκέλευεν αὐτῶν παραδίδοναι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ὡς τὰλλα μὴ διοίκομενοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους 2 εὐθὺς ἀποδόσωσι καὶ τὰ χωρία. βουλομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις δέχεσθαι τὰς διαλύσεις καὶ τὸν Κλεομένη καλοῦντων εἰς Λέρναν, ὅπου 80
desire was either to fight a battle with the Achaeans, or to bring Aratus into disrepute for running away and abandoning the country to him. For although Hyperbatas was general at that time, Aratus had the entire power in the Achaean league. Moreover, after the Achaeans had marched out with all their forces and pitched their camp at Dymae, near the Hecatombaeum, Cleomenes came up against them. He did not think it well, however, to pitch his own camp between the city of Dymae, which was hostile, and the army of the Achaeans, and therefore boldly challenged the Achaeans and forced them to engage. He was completely victorious, routed their phalanx, slew many of them in the battle, and took many prisoners also. Then he went up against Langon, drove out the Achaean garrison, and restored the city to the Eleians.

XV. The Achaeans having been thus utterly overwhelmed, Aratus, who was wont to be their general every other year, refused the office and declined to listen to their invitations and prayers; thus unwisely, when the ship of state was in a heavy storm, handing over the helm to another and abandoning the post of authority. Cleomenes, on the other hand, at the first was thought to impose moderate terms upon the Achaean embassy, but afterwards he sent other envoys and bade them hand over to him the leadership among the Greeks, assuring them that on other points he would not quarrel with them, but would at once restore to them their captives and their strongholds.\(^1\)

The Achaeans were willing to settle matters on these terms, and invited Cleomenes to come to Lerna,

\(^1\) Cf. the \textit{Aratus}, xxxviii. 5 f.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

tην ἐκκλησίαν ἠμελλον ἔχειν, ἐτυχε τοῦ Κλεομένη
συντόνως ὀδεύσαντα καὶ χρησάμενον παρὰ καιρὸν
ὕδροποσία αἰματος πλήθος ἀνενεγκείν καὶ τὴν
φωνὴν ἀποκοπὴναι. διὸ τῶν μὲν αἰχμαλώτων
ἀπέπεμψε τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους,
τὸν δὲ σύλλογον ύπερθέμενον ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς
Λακεδαίμονα.

XVI. Τοῦτο διελθύμηντο τὰ πράγματα τῆς
Ἑλλάδος, ἀμῶς ἦν πῶς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἀναλα-
βεῖν αὐτὴν ἐτὶ καὶ διαφυγεῖν τὴν Μακεδόνων
ὕβριν καὶ πλεονεξίαιαν δυναμένης. ὁ γὰρ Ἄρατος,
eἰτὲ ἀποικίᾳ καὶ φόβῳ τοῦ Κλεομένου, εἰτὲ
φθονῶν εὐτυχοῦντι παρ’ ἐλπίδα καὶ νομίζων ἐτῇ
τρία καὶ τριάκοντα πρωτεύοντος αὐτοῦ δείνῳ
ἐστὶ τὴν δόξαν ἅμα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἐπιφύντα

2 νέον ἄνδρα καθελείν, καὶ παραλαβεῖν πραγμάτων
ηὐξημένων ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ κεκρατημένων χρόνου
τοσοῦτον ἁρχῆν, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπειρᾶτο τοὺς
Ἀχαίον παραβιάζεσθαι καὶ διακωλύειν ὡς δὲ
οὐ προσεῖχον αὐτῷ τοῦ Κλεομένου ἐκπεπληγ-
μένου τὸ θράσος, ἀλλὰ καὶ δικαίων ἐπιοὐντο
τὴν αξίωσιν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, εἰς τὸ πάτριον

3 σχῆμα κοσμοῦντων τὴν Πελοπόννησον, τρέπεται
πρὸς ἔργον οὐδενὶ μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων προσήκου,
αἰσχιστὸν δὲ ἔκεινοι καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων ὑπ’
αὐτοῦ καὶ πεπολεμεμένων ἀνάξιωτον, 'Αντι-
γονον ἔτι τὴν Ἑλλάδα καλεῖν καὶ Μακεδόνων
ἐμπιπλάνατι τὴν Πελοπόννησον, οὗτος αὐτὸς ἐκ
Πελοποννήσου μειράκιοι δὲν ἐξήλασεν ἐλευθερώ-
σας τὸν Ἀκροκόριθον, καὶ πᾶσι μὲν τοῖς βα-
σιλεύσιν ὑποπτος καὶ διάφορος γενόμενος, τοιοῦτι

82
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

where they were about to hold their assembly. But it fell out that Cleomenes, who had made a strenuous march and then too soon had drunk water, brought up a great quantity of blood and lost his speech. For this reason he sent back to the Achaeans the most prominent men among their captives, but postponed the conference and went back home to Sparta.

XVI. This ruined the cause of Greece, at a time when she was still able in some way or other to recover from her grievous plight and escape Macedonian greed and insolence. For Aratus (whether it was through distrust and fear of Cleomenes, or because he envied the king his unlooked for success, and thought it a terrible thing after three and thirty years of leadership to have his own fame and power stripped from him by an upstart of a young man, and the authority taken over in a cause which he himself had built up and controlled for so long a time), in the first place tried to force the Achaeans aside and hinder their purpose; but when they paid no heed to him in their consternation at the daring spirit of Cleomenes, but actually saw justice in the demands of the Lacedaemonians, who were seeking to restore the Peloponnesus to its ancient status, Aratus took a step which would have been unmeet for any Greek to take, but was most shameful for him and most unworthy of his career as soldier and statesman. For he invited Antigonus into Greece and filled the Peloponnesus with Macedonians, whom he himself had driven out of Peloponnesus when, as a young man, he delivered Acrocorinthus from their power ¹—he who had incurred the suspicion and hostility of all the reigning kings, and of this very Antigonus had

¹ See the Aratus, xvi. ff.
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

de autòv 'Antígonon eirhēkōs kàkà mvría di’ ón
4 àpólélouven úpomnēmátov. kàtoi polllà pàtheiv
kaì parabálēshai fhsin autòs úpèr 'Aðhnaiów, ópov ó
pólikis ápallagheî frourâs kai Makèdônovv eîta
touîs épì tîn patrîda kai tîn èstìan tîn
èautou meb' óplwv eîstîgagèn âchri tîs
ghnàiîkwnî-
tidôs'. tòn dè áf' 'Hrakléous gegovótà kai bàsì-
leúnta Sgarpìatow, kai tîn pàtrîon politeíain,
ôspere ârmovîaî eklêlumènì, ànàkroumènu vàias èpi
 tôn swfrròna kai Dàróian ekeînò tôn Dukôw-
звон kai bîon, óuk ðèzîw Sîkswwîw ðègêmîna
5 kai Trítaiðovn gráfèshai, feûgow dè tîn
màzw kai tòn trîbôwà, kai tò deînoûtaton ón kathgôrêi
Klèsmînìs, ànàrêsw ðlouûtò kai pévias èpan-
ôrðòswì, diadîmàti kai pòrfýra kai Makè-
dônikois kai satrapîkois pròstàgmàsìn úpèrìn
meta tîs 'Açhàs autòn, ïna mà Klèsmînì ïnòeîn
ðakî to pròstàttòmènì, 'Antîñwîa ðôwv kai
païnàs âdòn autòs èstefanwînìs eîs ànòstròp
ùpò phòsì kàtasshîmènìs.
6 'Alà tàûta mèn óuk 'Aratóu boulûmènà
kathgoróeîn grâfomeîn (ên pòlloûs gàr ó ànìh
ôtòs 'Ellhnîkos ðëgône kai màgàs), oikteîròutes
dè tîs ànòstrwînìs ðûsws tìn àsthènìaî, eî muyè
ên ðèseîn ôútsw àxîològînìs kai diáfôròs pròs
àrêthn èkferèin dûnàtai tô kalûn ànemèsètòn.

XVII. 'Ellhôntovn dè 'Açhàîow eîs 'Aroyos àûths
épì tôn sûllhgon kai tòû Klèsmînìs êk Tegèas
kataðexeîkòs èlptîs ðì polllh tîwv ànòstrwòw
ëseîshai tìn diàlnwì. ò dè 'Arató, ðèðè dwmò-
logîmènìs autòf pròs tôn 'Antîgnòn tîwv me-

84
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

said countless evil things in the commentaries which he left behind him. And still, though he had incurred many hardships and dangers in behalf of Athens, as he says himself, in order that the city might be set free from its garrison of Macedonians, he afterwards brought these Macedonians, under arms, into his own country and into his own home; aye, even into the apartments of his women;¹ but he would not consent that the man who was a descendant of Heracles and king of Sparta, and was seeking to bring its ancient polity, now like a decadent melody, back again to that restrained and Dorian law and life which Lycurgus had instituted, should be entitled leader of Sicyon and Tritaea. Instead of this, to avoid the Spartan barley-bread and short-cloak, and the most dreadful of the evils for which he denounced Cleomenes, namely, abolition of wealth and restoration of poverty, he cast himself and all Achaea down before a diadem, a purple robe, Macedonians, and oriental behests. And that he might not be thought to obey Cleomenes, he offered sacrifices to Antigonus and sang paeans himself, with a garland on his head, in praise of a man who was far gone with consumption.

¹ I write this, however, not with any desire to denounce Aratus, for in many ways he was a true Greek and a great one, but out of pity for the weakness of human nature, which, even in characters so notably disposed towards excellence, cannot produce a nobility that is free from blame.

XVII. When the Achaeans came to Argos again for the conference, and Cleomenes had come down from Tegea, there was strong hope that the two men would come to an agreement. But Aratus, since the most important questions between him and Antigonus

¹ See the Aratus, xliv. 1.
γίστων, φοβούμενος τὸν Κλεομένην μὴ πάντα
dιαπράξει τα θεμαλήσας τὸ πλήθος ἢ καὶ
βιασάμενος, ἥξιον λαβόντα τριακοσίων ὁμήρους
μόνον εἰσίεναι πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ἢ κατὰ-γυμνάσιοι
ἐξεβεβεν τὸ Κυλλαράβιον προσελθόντα μετὰ τῆς
2 δυνάμεως διαλέγεσθαι. ταύτ’ ἀκούσας ὁ Κλεο-
μένης ἠδίκα πάσχειν ἐφασκε δεῖν γὰρ εὐθὺς
αὐτῷ τὸτε προεπείν, οὐ γὰρ, ἡκοντος ἐπὶ τὰς
θύρας τὰς ἑκείνων, ἀπιστεῖν καὶ ἀπελαύνειν.
γράφας δὲ περὶ τούτων ἐπιστολήν πρὸς τοὺς
'Αχαιοὺς, ἦς ἦν τὸ πλείστον 'Αράτου κατηγορία,
pολλά δὲ καὶ τοῦ 'Αράτου λοιδορήσαντος αὐτὸν
πρὸς τὸ πλήθος, ἀνέζευξε διὰ ταχέων καὶ κήρυκα
πόλεμον προερύντα τοῖς 'Αχαιοῖς ἐπεμψεν, οὐκ
eἰς Ἀργος, ἀλλ’ eἰς Αἴγιον, ὡς φησιν 'Αρατος,
ὅπως φθάσῃ τὴν παρασκευὴν αὐτῶν.
3 Ἐγεγόνει δὲ κίνημα τῶν 'Αχαιῶν, καὶ πρὸς
ἀπόστασιν ὄρμησαν αὐτῷ πόλεις, τῶν μὲν δήμων
νομῆν τοις χώρας καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς ἐλπισάντων,
tῶν δὲ πρώτων πολλαχοῦ βαρυμομένων τῶν 'Αρα-
tου, ἐνὼν δὲ καὶ δι’ ὀργῆς ἐχόντων ὡς ἐπάγωσα
τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ Μακεδόνας. διὸ τούτοις ἐπαρ-
θείς ὁ Κλεομένης εἰς 'Αχαῖαν ἐνέβαλε καὶ
πρῶτον μὲν εἴλε Πελλήνην ἑξαπίνη ἐπιπεσών,
καὶ τοὺς φρουροῦντας ἐξέβαλε τῶν 'Αχαιῶν. 1
μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Φενεῶν προσηγάγετο καὶ Πεντέ-
4 λειον. ἐπεῖ δὲ φοβηθέντες οἱ 'Αχαιοὶ προδοσίαν
tινὰ πραττομένην ἐν Κορίνθῳ καὶ Σικυώνι τοὺς

1 τῶν 'Αχαιῶν with Blass: μετὰ τῶν 'Αχαιῶν.
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

had already been settled, and because he was afraid that Cleomenes would carry all his points by either winning over or constraining the multitude, demanded that Cleomenes, after receiving three hundred hostages, should come into the city alone for his conference with them, or else should come with his army as far as the gymnasium outside the city called Cyllarabium, and treat with them there. When Cleomenes heard this, he declared that he had been wronged; for he ought to have been told of this when the conference was first proposed, and not be distrusted and driven away now, when he had come to their very doors. Then, after writing a letter to the Achaeans on the matter, most of which was denunciation of Aratus, and after Aratus on his part had abused him at great length to the multitude, Cleomenes broke camp with all speed and sent a herald to declare war upon the Achaeans, not to Argos, but to Aegium, in order, as Aratus says, that he might anticipate their preparations for defence.¹

Now, there had been agitation among the Achaeans, and their cities were eager for revolt, the common people expecting division of land and abolition of debts, and the leading men in many cases being dissatisfied with Aratus, and some of them also enraged at him for bringing Macedonians into Peloponnesus. Therefore Cleomenes, encouraged by these conditions, invaded Achaea. First, he took Pellenè by a sudden assault, and drove out the Achaean garrison; next, he brought over to his cause Pheneus and Penteleium. Presently the Achaeans, who were afraid that some treachery was afoot in Corinth and

¹ Cf. the Aratus, xxxix.
ΠΛΥΤΟΡΧΗΣ ΛΙΒΕΤΑΙΟΣ

ιππεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἔναντι ἀπεστείλαν ἐξ Ἀργοὺς ἐκεῖ παραβυλάξοντας, αὐτῷ δὲ τὰ Νέμεια κατα-
βάντες εἰς Ἀργοὺς ἤγου, ἐπιτίσας, ὅπερ ἦν, ὁ
Κλεομένης, ὁχλοῦ πανηγυρικοῦ καὶ θεατῶν τὴν
πόλιν γέμουσαν ἀπροσδοκήτως ἐπελθὼν μᾶλλον
ταράζειν, νυκτὸς ἦγε πρὸς τὰ τείχη τὸ στρά-
τευμα, καὶ τὸν περὶ τὴν Ἀσπίδα τόπου κατα-
λαβὼν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεάτρου χαλεπῶν ὄντα καὶ
δυσπρόσδοκου ὄντως τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐξέπληξεν
ὡστε μηδένα τραπέζαθαι πρὸς ἅλκην, ἅλλα καὶ
φοινικῶν λαβεῖν, καὶ δοῦναι τῶν πολιτῶν ὁμήρους
εἰκοσί, καὶ γενέσθαι συμμάχους Δακεδαμονίων,
έχοντος ἐκείνου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν.

ΧVIII. Οὐ μικρῶν οὖν τούτο καὶ πρὸς δόξαν
αὐτῷ καὶ δύναμιν ὑπήρχεν. οὐτε γὰρ οἱ πάλαι
βασιλεῖς Δακεδαμονίων πολλὰ πραγματευσά-
μενοι προσαγαγόσθαί τὸ Ἀργοὶ βεβαιῶσεν ἤδυνή-
θησαν, δὲ τε δεινότατος τῶν στρατηγῶν Πύρρος
εἰσελθὼν καὶ βιασάμενος οὐ κατέσχε τὴν πόλιν,
ἀλλ’ ἀπέθανε καὶ πολὺ συνιδεσθάρη μέρος αὐτῶ

τῆς ὁδυνάμεως. ὃθεν ἐθαύμαζον τὴν ὁξύτητα καὶ

διάνοιαν τοῦ Κλεομένου· καὶ οἱ πρότερον αὐτοῦ
tῶν Σόλωνα καὶ τῶν Δυκοῦργοι ἀπομημήνωσασθαι
φάσκοντες ἐν τῇ τῶν χρεών ἀφέσει καὶ τῇ τῶν
κτημάτων ἐξισώσει καταγελώντες, τότε παντελῶς
ἐπείθοντο τούτῳ αὐτῶν γεγονέναι τῆς περὶ τοῦς

3 Σπαρτιάτας μεταβολῆς. οὕτω γὰρ ἔπραττον τὸ
πρὶν ταπεινά καὶ βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀδυνάτως εἶχον,
ὡστε πέντε μυριάδας ἀνδραπόδων ἐμβάλοντας εἰς
tῆν Δακωνικὴν Αἰτωλοὺς ἀπαγογεῖν, ὅτε φασὶν
eἰσεῖν τινα τῶν προσβυτέρων Σπαρτιατῶν ὡς
ἀυνήσουσιν τοῖς πολέμοις τῆν Δακωνικὴν ἀποκοψί―
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

Sicyon, sent their horsemen and their mercenaries out of Argos to keep watch over those cities, while they themselves went down to Argos and began celebrating the Nemean games. So Cleomenes, expecting, as was the case, that while the throng was holding festival and the city was full of spectators, his unexpected approach would be more apt to cause confusion, led his army by night up to the walls, occupied the region about the Aspis overlooking the theatre, a region which was rugged and hard to come at, and so terrified the inhabitants that not a man of them thought of defence, but they accepted a garrison and gave twenty citizens as hostages, agreeing to become allies of the Lacedaemonians, and to give Cleomenes the chief command.

XVIII. This greatly increased the reputation and power of Cleomenes. For the ancient kings of Sparta, in spite of numerous efforts, were not able to secure the abiding allegiance of Argos; and the most formidable of generals, Pyrrhus, although he fought his way into the city, could not hold it, but was slain there, and a great part of his army perished with him. Therefore men admired the swiftness and intelligence of Cleomenes; and those who before this had mocked at him for feebly imitating, as they said, Solon and Lycurgus in the abolition of debts and the equalization of property, were now altogether convinced that this imitation was the cause of the change in the Spartans. For these were formerly in so low a state and so unable to help themselves, that Aetolians invaded Laconia and took away fifty thousand slaves. It was at this time, we are told, that one of the elder Spartans remarked that the enemy had helped Sparta

1 See the Pyrrhus, xxxii. ff.
4 σαντε. ὅλον δὲ χρόνου διελθόντος ἀψάμενοι μόνον τῶν πατρίων θῶν καὶ καταστάντες εἰς ἵχνος ἐκείνης τῆς ἀγωγῆς, ἀστερ παρόντι καὶ συμπολιτευόμενοι τῷ Δυκούργῳ πολλῆν ἐπίδειξιν ἀνδρείας ἐποιοῦντο καὶ πειθαρχίας, τὴν τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἀναλαμβάνοντες ἡγεμονίαν τῇ Δακεδαίμονι καὶ ἀνακτώμενοι τὴν Πελοπόννησον.

ΧΙΧ. Ἐαλωκότος δὲ Ἀργοὺς καὶ κατόπιν εὐθὺς προσθεμένων τῷ Κλεομένει Κλεωνῷ καὶ Φλισσύντος, ἐτύγχανε μὲν ὁ Ἀρατος ἐν Κορίνθῳ ποιοῦμενός τινα τῶν λεγομένων λακωνίζειν ἐξετασιν ἀγγελίας δὲ περὶ τούτων προστεποῦσας διαταραχθεῖς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀποκλίνουσαν αἰσθόμενος πρὸς τὸν Κλεομένην καὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι βουλομένην, ἐκάλει μὲν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον τοὺς πολίτας, ἔλαθε δὲ διοισθῶν ἄχρι τῆς πύλης ἐκεί δὲ τοῦ ἱπποῦ προσαχθέντος ἀναβας ἔφυγεν ἐις Σικυώνα. τῶν δὲ Κορινθίων ἀμίλλωμένων εἰς Ἀργοὺς πρὸς τὸν Κλεομένη φησίν ὁ Ἀρατος τοὺς ἱπποὺς πάντας ῥαγήναι, τὸν δὲ Κλεομένη μέμφεσθαι τοὺς Κορινθίους μὴ συλλαβόντας αὐτόν, ἀλλ’ ἐσαντας διαφυγεῖν οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔθειν Μεγιστόνον παρὰ τοῦ Κλεομένους δεομένου παραλαβεῖν τῶν Ἀκροκόρινθον (ἐξε γὰρ φρουράν Ἀχαιῶν) καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα διδόντος ἀποκρίνασθαι δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς οὐκ ἔχει τὰ πράγματα, μᾶλλον δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτὸς ἔχεται ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἀρατος γέγραφεν.

3 ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης ἐκ τοῦ Ἀργῶν ἐπελθὼν καὶ προσαγαγόμενος Τροιχείνοις, Ἐπιδαυρίοις, Ἐρμινέασ, ἤκεν εἰς Κόρινθον καὶ τὴν μὲν ἄκραν περιεχαράκωσε, τῶν Ἀχαιῶν οὖ βουλομένων
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

by lightening her burden. But now only a little time had elapsed, and they had as yet barely resumed their native customs and re-entered the track of their famous discipline, when, as if before the very eyes of Lycurgus and with his co-operation, they gave abundant proof of valour and obedience to authority, by recovering the leadership of Hellas for Sparta and making all Peloponnesus their own again.

XIX. Thus Argos was taken by Cleomenes, and immediately afterwards Cleonae and Phlius came over to him. When this happened, Aratus was at Corinth, holding a judicial examination of those who were reputed to favour the Spartan cause. The unexpected tidings threw him into consternation, and perceiving that the city was leaning towards Cleomenes and wished to be rid of the Achaean, he summoned the citizens into the council-hall, and then slipped away unnoticed to the city gate. There his horse was brought to him, and mounting it he fled to Sicyon. The Corinthians were so eager to get to Cleomenes at Argos that, as Aratus says, all their horses were ruined. Aratus says also that Cleomenes upbraided the Corinthians for not seizing him, but letting him escape; however, Megistonoûs came to him, he says, bringing from Cleomenes a request for the surrender of Acrocorinthus (which was held by an Achaean garrison) and an offer of a large sum of money for it; to which he replied that he did not control affairs, but rather affairs controlled him. This is what Aratus writes.

But Cleomenes, marching up from Argos and taking over Troezen, Epidaurus, and Hermione, came to Corinth. Its citadel he blockaded, since the Achaean would not abandon it, and after summon-
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΗΣ ΤΟΙΟΥТОΣ

ἐκλύειν, τοῦ δὲ Ἀράτου τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἐπίτροπους μεταπεμψάμενος ἐκέλευσε τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τὰ χρήματα λαβῶντας φυλάττειν καὶ διοικεῖν.

4 Τριτύμαλλον δὲ πάλιν τὸν Μεσσήνιον ἀπέστειλε πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἀξίων ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων ὡμοῦ φυλάττεσθαι τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον, ἵδια δὲ τῷ Ἀράτῳ διεπῆ ἐπαγγελλόμενος τὴν σύνταξιν ἣς ἐλαμβάνει παρὰ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλέως. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Ἀράτος οὖχ ὑπέκουσεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν τε νῦν ἔπεμψε πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίγονον μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὀμήρων καὶ ψηφίσασθαι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἐπείσεις Ἀντιγόνῳ παραδίδοναι τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον, οὕτως ὁ Κλεομένης τὴν τε Σικυωνίαν ἐμβαλὼν ἐπόρθησε, καὶ τὰ χρήματα τοῦ Ἀράτου, τῶν Κορινθίων αὐτῷ ψηφίσαμενων, δωρεὰν ἔλαβε.

XX. Τοῦ δὲ Ἀντιγόνου μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως τὴν Γέρανειαν ὑπερβάλλοντος οὐκ ἤσετο δεὶν τὸν Ἰσθμόν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ὁνείν χαρακώσας καὶ τεῖχίσας φυλάττειν, καὶ τοπομαχῶν ἀποτρίβεσθαι τοὺς Μακεδόνας μᾶλλον ἡ συμπλέκεσθαι πρὸς φάλαγγα συνεπκημένην, καὶ τούτοις χρώμενος τοῦς λογίσμους εἰς ἀπορίαν καθίστη τὸν Ἀντίγονον. οὕτε γὰρ σῖτον εἶχεν ἐκ παρασκευῆς ἴκανόν, οὕτε βιώσασθαι τὴν πάροδον, καθημένου τῷ Κλεομένου, ἢν ῥάδιον ἐπιχειρήσας δὲ παραδύσει διὰ τοῦ Δερείου νυκτὸς ἑξέπεσε καὶ τινὰς ἀπέβαλε τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὅστε παντάπασι θαρρήσαι τὸν Κλεομένη καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπηρεμένους τῇ νίκῃ τραπέσθαι πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον, ἀδυμενὶ δὲ τὸν Ἀντίγονον εἰς οὖκ εὐπόρους κατακλειόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης λογισμοῦς. ἐβουλεύετο γὰρ ἐπὶ
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

ing the friends and stewards of Aratus, ordered them to take the house and property of Aratus into their charge and management. Then he sent Tritymallus the Messenian once more to Aratus, proposing that Acrocorinthus should be garrisoned by Achaeans and Lacedaemonians together, and promising Aratus personally double the stipend which he was receiving from King Ptolemy.\(^1\) Aratus, however, would not listen to the proposition, but sent his son to Antigonus along with the other hostages, and persuaded the Achaeans to vote the surrender of Acrocorinthus to Antigonus. Therefore Cleomenes invaded the territory of Sicyon and ravaged it, and accepted the property of Aratus when the Corinthians voted it to him as a gift.

XX. When Antigonus with a large force was crossing the mountain-range of Geraneia, Cleomenes thought it more advisable to fortify thoroughly, not the Isthmus, but the Oncean range of hills, and to wear out the Macedonians by a war of posts and positions, rather than to engage in formal battle with their disciplined phalanx. He carried out this plan, and thereby threw Antigonus into straits. For he had not a sufficient store of provisions, and it was no easy matter to force his passage while Cleomenes sat entrenched. Moreover, when he attempted to slip past his enemy in the night by way of Lechaemum, he was driven out and lost some of his soldiers. Therefore Cleomenes was altogether encouraged, and his men, elated by their victory, betook themselves to supper; but Antigonus was dejected, since he was shut up by necessity to difficult plans. For he was

\(^1\) Ptolemy III., surnamed Euergetes, king of Egypt 247-222 B.C. See the Aratus, xli. 3.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ ΛΙΒΕΣ

tήν ἀκράν ἀνάξευγνύναι τὸ Ἡραὶον κάκείθεν εἰς Σικυώνα πλοῖοις περαιώσαι τὴν δύναμιν ὁ καὶ χρόνου πολλοῦ καὶ παρασκευῆς ἢν οὐ τῆς τυχοῦσα. ἦθη δὲ πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἤκουν ἐξ Ἄργους κατὰ θάλαταν ἄνδρες Ἅρατος φίλοι, καλούντες αὐτὸν ὡς ἀφισταμένων τῶν Ἄργειῶν τοῦ Κλεομένους. ὁ δὲ πράττων ἐγὼ τὴν ἀπόστασιν Ἄριστοτέλης καὶ τὸ πλῆθος οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐπείσεν, ἀγανακτοῦν ὅτι χρεῶν ἀποκοπᾶς οὐκ ἐποίησεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Κλεομένης ἐλπίσας. λαβὼν οὖν ὁ Ἅρατος παρ' Ἀντιγόνου στρατιώτας χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους παρέπτευσεν εἰς Ἐπίδαυρον. ὁ δὲ Ἅριστοτέλης ἐκεῖνον οὐ περιέμενεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πολίτας παραλαβὼν προσεμάχετο τοῖς φρουροῦσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ παρῆν αὐτῷ Τιμόξενος μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαίων ἐκ Σικυώνων βοηθῶν.

XXI. Ταύτα περὶ δευτέραν φυλακὴν τῆς νυκτὸς ἀκούσας, ὁ Κλεομένης μετεπέμψατο Μεγιστόνους, καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἐκέλευσεν εὐθὺς εἰς Ἅργος βοήθειν· ὁ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἄργειῶν μάλιστα καταπιστώσαμεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκείνος ἦν, καὶ διεκόλυσεν ἐκβαλεῖν τοὺς ὑπόπτους, ἀπολύσας οὖν τὸν Μεγιστόνου μετὰ δυσχῖλων στρατιωτῶν αὐτὸς προσεῖχε τῇ Ἀντιγόνῳ, καὶ τοὺς Κορυθίους παρεθάρρυνεν ὡς οὐδὲν μεγάλον περὶ τὸ Ἅργος, ἀλλὰ ταραχῆς τινὸς ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων ὀλίγων γεγενη
dέμνης. ἔπει δὲ ὁ Μεγιστόνος τε παρεισπέσων εἰς τὸ Ἅργος ἀνηρέθη μαχόμενος καὶ μόνις ἀντείχον οἱ φρουροὶ καὶ διεβαίνοντο συχνοὶ πρὸς τὸν Κλεομένην, φοβηθεὶς μὴ τοῦ Ἅργους οἱ πολέμιοι κρατήσαντες καὶ τὰς παρόδους ἀποκλείσαντες

94
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

planning to march off to the promontory of the Heraeum, and from there to put his army across to Sicyon in transports—an undertaking requiring much time and extraordinary preparations. But when it was already towards evening, there came to him from Argos by sea some friends of Aratus, who summoned him to the city, on the ground that the Argives were ready to revolt from Cleomenes. The author of the revolt was Aristotle; and the multitude were easy to persuade, being incensed because Cleomenes had not brought about the abolition of debts which they expected. Accordingly, Aratus took fifteen hundred soldiers from Antigonus and sailed to Epidaurus. Aristotle, however, did not await his coming, but at the head of the citizens made an attack upon the garrison of the citadel; and Timoxenus came to his aid from Sicyon with the Achaean army.

XXI. It was about midnight when Cleomenes heard of these things, and summoning Megistonoüs, he angrily ordered him to go at once to Argos with assistance; for it was Megistonoüs who had given him most assurances of the fidelity of the Argives, and had thereby prevented him from expelling the suspected citizens. After sending off Megistonoüs, then, with two thousand soldiers, he himself kept watch upon Antigonus and tried to encourage the Corinthians, telling them that there was no great trouble at Argos, but only a slight disturbance made by a few men. However, when Megistonoüs, who had made his way into Argos, was slain in battle, and the garrison held out with difficulty and kept sending frequent messengers to Cleomenes, he was afraid that if the enemy made themselves masters of
αὐτὸν πορθῶσιν ἀδεῶς τὴν Δακωνικὴν καὶ πολιορκῶσι τὴν Σπάρτην ἔρημον οὖσαν, ἀπῆγεν ἐκ Κορίνθου τὸ στρατεύμα. καὶ ταύτης μὲν εὔθυς ἐστέρητο τῆς πόλεως εἰσελθόντος Ἀντιγόνου καὶ φρουρὰν καταστήσαντος ἐπιβαλὼν δὲ τῷ Ἀργείᾳ κατὰ τὸ τείχος ἐπεχείρησε μὲν εἰσαλέσθαι καὶ συνέστρεφεν ἐκ τῆς πορείας τὴν δύναμιν, ἐκκόψας δὲ τὰς ὑπὸ τὴν Ἀσπίδα ψαλίδας ἀνέβη καὶ συνέμιξε τοὺς ἐνδοὺς ἐτὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἀντέχουσι, καὶ τῶν ἐντὸς ἔνια κλάμακας προσθεὶς κατέλαβε, καὶ τοὺς στενωποὺς ἔρημους πολεμίων ἔποιησε, τοὺς βέλες χρήσασθαι προστάξας τοὺς Κρήτας. ὡς δὲ κατείδε τὸν Ἀντιγόνου ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων εἰς τὸ πεδίον καταβαίνοντα μετὰ τῆς φάλαγγος, τοὺς δὲ ἱππεῖς ἢδη ρύθην ἐλαύνοντας εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀπέγνω κρατήσας καὶ συναγαγὼν ἀπανταὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἀσφαλῶς κατέβη καὶ παρὰ τὸ τείχος ἀπηλλάτησε, μεγίστων μὲν ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ χρόνῳ πραγμάτων ἐπικρατήσας, καὶ μετὰ μικρῶν ὀλίσθεν ὁμοῦ τι μιὰ περίδρομο Πελοποννήσου κύριος γενέσθαι δεήσας, ταχὺ δὲ αὐθαίρετο ἀπαντῶν ὁι μὲν γὰρ εὐθὺς ἀπεχώρησαν αὐτοῦ τῶν στρατευμένων, οἱ δὲ ὀλίγον ὑπερτεροῦν τῷ Ἀντιγόνῳ τὰς πόλεις παρέδωκαν.

XXII. Οὕτω δὲ αὐτῷ πεπραχότι κατὰ τὴν στρατείαν καὶ ἀπαγαγώτι τὴν δύναμιν, ἐσπέρας ἢδη περὶ Τεγέαν ἀφίκοντο τινὲς ἐκ Δακεδαίμονος οὐκ ἔλαττον τῆς ἐν χερσὶ δυστυχῶν ἀπαγγέλλουσας, τεθυάναι τὴν γυναῖκα, διὸ τὴν οὐδὲ ταῖς πάνω κατορθομέναις ἐκείνοις ἑνεκαρτέρει στρατείαις, ἀλλὰ συνεχῶς κατέβαινεν εἰς Σπάρτην,
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

Argos and shut up the passes, they might ravage at will the Laconian territory and lay siege to Sparta, which he had left without defenders. He therefore led his army away from Corinth. This city was at once lost to him, for Antigonus entered it and set a garrison there; but Cleomenes, on reaching Argos, made an attempt to scale the walls, and with this in view drew his forces together from their march, and cutting his way through the tunnels running under the Aspis, or citadel, he made the ascent and effected a junction with his garrison inside, which was still holding out against the Achaeans. He actually got possession of some portions of the city by using scaling-ladders, and cleared the streets of the enemy by bringing his Cretan archers into action. But when he saw Antigonus with his phalanx descending from the heights into the plain, and his horsemen already streaming into the city, he gave up trying to master it; and gathering all his troops about him he made his way safely down from the citadel and withdrew along past the city wall. He had made the greatest possible conquests in the briefest possible time, and had come within a little of making himself master of all Peloponnesus by a single march through it, but had quickly lost everything again. For some of his allies left him at once, and others after a little while handed their cities over to Antigonus.

XXII. Such was the result of his expedition, and he was leading his army home, when, as it was already evening and he was near Tegea, messengers from Sparta came with tidings of a fresh and even greater calamity, the death of his wife. It was because of her that even in his most successful campaigns he could not endure to the end, but would
eworthy. ἐπλήγη μὲν οὖν καὶ ἠληγησεν, ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν νέον ἄνδρα καλλίστης καὶ σωφρονεστάτης ἀφηρημένον γυναῖκός· οὐ μὴν κατήχυνεν οὐδὲ προήκατο τῷ πάθει τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς φυχῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ φωνῆ καὶ σχῆμα καὶ μορφήν ἐν πρότερον ἐίχεν ἣδει διαφυλάττον τὰ τε προστάγματα τοῖς ἠγεμόσιν ἔδιδον καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀσφαλείας τῶν Τεγεατῶν ἐφροντίζεν.

3 ἀμα δὲ ἡμέρα κατέβαινεν εἰς Δακεδαίμονα, καὶ μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς οἴκιοι καὶ τῶν παιδῶν ἀπαλγήσας τὸ πένθος εὐθὺς ἦν ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῶν ὀλων λογισμοῖς.

'Επεὶ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς ἐπαγγελλόμενος αὐτῷ βοήθειαν ἤξιον λαβεῖν ὑμὴν τῶν παιδῶν καὶ τῆς μητέρας, χρόνον μὲν συχνῶν ἡσυχώτερον φράσας τῇ μητρὶ, καὶ πολλάκις εἰσελθὼν καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ γενόμενος τῷ λόγῳ κατεσιώτησεν, ὅστε κάκειν ὑπονοεῖν καὶ παρὰ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ διαπυθάνεσθαι μή τι κατοκνεῖ.

4 βουλόμενος ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῇ, τέλος δὲ τοῦ Κλεομένου ἀποτολμήσαντος εἰπεῖν, ἔξεγέλασε τε μέγα καὶ, "Τούτῳ ἦν," εἶπεν, "ὁ πολλάκις ὀρμήσας λέγειν ἀπεδείξας; οὐ θάττων ἡμᾶς ἐνθέμενος εἰς πλοῖον ἀποστελεῖς, ὅπου ποτὲ τῇ Σπάρτῃ νομίζεις τὸ σῶμα τούτο χρησιμότατον ἔσεσθαι, πρὶν ὑπὸ γῆρος αὐτοῦ καθήμενον διαλυθῆναι;"

5 Πάντων οὖν ἐτοίμων γενομένων ἀφίκοντο μὲν εἰς Ταίναρον πεζῇ καὶ προὔπεμψεν ἡ δύναμις αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς· μέλλουσα δὲ τῆς νεὼς ἐπιθάλειν ἡ Κρατησίκλεος τὸν Κλεομένη μόνον εἰς τὸν νεὼν τοῦ Ποσειδώνος ἀπήγαγε, καὶ περι-
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

continually be coming home to Sparta, out of love for Agiatis and in supreme devotion to her. Of course, then, he was smitten with grief, as was natural for a young man who had lost a most beautiful and most sensible wife, but he did not allow his suffering to shame or betray the loftiness of his thought or the greatness of his spirit. He maintained his usual speech, dress, and bearing, gave the customary orders to his captains, and took thought for the safety of Tegea. Next morning he returned to Sparta, and after duly mourning his loss with his mother and children at home, he at once engaged in the measures which he planned for the public good.

Now, Ptolemy the king of Egypt promised him aid and assistance, but demanded his mother and his children as hostages. For a long time, therefore, he was ashamed to tell his mother, and though he often went to her and was at the very point of letting her know, he held his peace, so that she on her part became suspicious and enquired of his friends whether there was not something which he wished to impart to her but hesitated to do so. Finally, when Cleomenes plucked up courage to speak of the matter, his mother burst into a hearty laugh and said: “Was this the thing which thou wast often of a mind to tell me but lost thy courage? Make haste, put me on board a vessel, and send this frail body wheresoever thou thinkest it will be of most use to Sparta, before old age destroys it sitting idly here.”

Accordingly, when all things were ready, they came to Taenarum by land, while the army escorted them under arms. And as Cratesicleia was about to embark, she drew Cleomenes aside by himself into the temple of Poseidon, and after embracing and kissing
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ἐρῶν τῆς Ἀγιάτιδος καὶ περὶ πλείστου ποιοῦ

2 μενος ἐκείνην. ἔπληγη μὲν οὖν καὶ ἠλησσεν, ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν νέων ἀνδρὰ καλλιστῆς καὶ σωφρονε-

στάτης ἀφθηρημένον γυναικός· οὐ μὴν κατήχυνεν

οὔτε προῆκα τῷ πάθει τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὸ

μέγεθος τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ φωνὴν καὶ σχῆμα καὶ

μορφὴν ἐν φ' πρῶτερον εἶχεν ἦθει διαφυλά-

των τὰ τε προστάγματα τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐδίδοι καὶ

περὶ τῆς ἀσφαλείας τῶν Τεγεατῶν ἐφρόντιζεν.

3 ἀμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ κατέβαινεν εἰς Ῥακεδαίμονα, καὶ

μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς οἴκου καὶ τῶν παίδων ἀπαλαγή-

σας τὸ πένθος εὐθὺς ἦν ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῶν ὅλων

λογισμοῖς.

'Επεὶ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τῆς Ἀιγύπτου βασιλεὺς

ἐπαγγελλόμενος αὐτῷ βοήθειαν ἦξιον λαβεῖν

ὁμηρα τοὺς παίδας καὶ τὴν μητέρα, χρόνον μὲν

συχνῶν ἡσχύνετο φράσαι τῇ μητρί, καὶ πολλάκις

εἰσέλθον καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ γενόμενος τῷ λόγῳ

κατεσιώπησεν, ὅστε κακείνην ὕπονοεῖν καὶ παρὰ

tῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ διαπνιθάνεσθαι μή τι κατοκνεῖ

4 βουλόμενος ἐνυχεῖν αὐτῇ. τέλος δὲ τοῦ Κλεο-

μένους ἀποτολμήσαντος εἶπεν, ἔξεγέλασε τὲ μέγα

καὶ, "Τούτῳ ἦν," εἶπεν, "ο πολλάκις ὀμηχώς

λέγειν ἀπεδείξας; οὐ θάττων ἡμᾶς ἐυθέμενος

eis ploioi anostotelaios, ὅπου ποτὲ τῇ Σπάρτῃ

νομίζεις τὸ σῶμα τοῦτο χροσμίωστατον ἐσεθαί,

πρὶν ὑπὸ γήρως αὐτοῦ καθήμενον διαλυθήσεται;"

5 Πάντων οὖν ἐτοίμων γενομένων ἀφίκοντο μὲν

eis Taivarou pexi kai proýpemvnei ò dýinamis

αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοισ; μέλλουσα δὲ τῆς νεώς

κατέβαινειν ἡ Κρατησίκλεια τῶν Κλεομένη μόνον

eis tōn neōn τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἀπήγαγε, καὶ περι-
continually be coming home to Sparta, out of love for Agiatis and in supreme devotion to her. Of course, then, he was smitten with grief, as was natural for a young man who had lost a most beautiful and most sensible wife, but he did not allow his suffering to shame or betray the loftiness of his thought or the greatness of his spirit. He maintained his usual speech, dress, and bearing, gave the customary orders to his captains, and took thought for the safety of Tegea. Next morning he returned to Sparta, and after duly mourning his loss with his mother and children at home, he at once engaged in the measures which he planned for the public good.

Now, Ptolemy the king of Egypt promised him aid and assistance, but demanded his mother and his children as hostages. For a long time, therefore, he was ashamed to tell his mother, and though he often went to her and was at the very point of letting her know he held his peace, so that she on her part became suspicious and enquired of his friends whether there was not something which he wished to impart to her but hesitated to do so. Finally, when Cleomenes plucked up courage to speak of the matter, his mother burst into a hearty laugh and said: "I see the thing thou wast often of a mind to tell me but hast not the courage? Make haste, put me on board a vessel, and send this frail body elsewhere than hence, lest it will be of most use to Sparta, whereas old age destroys it sitting idly here.'

Accordingly, when all things were ready, they came to Taenarum by land, while the army marched under arms. And as Cleomenes was about to enter the town, she drew Cleomenes aside and asked the image of Poseidon, and after embracing and kissing...
βαλοῦσα καὶ κατασπασμένη διαλγοῦντα καὶ συν- 
6 τεταραγμένου, "Αγε," εἶπεν, "ὁ βασιλεὶ Δακε-
δαιμονίων, ὅπως, ἐπὰν ἔξω γενομέθα, μηδεὶς ἢ ἥ-
δακρύωντας ἡμᾶς μηδὲ ἀνάξιον τι τῆς Σπάρτης 
ποιοῦντας. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐφ' ἡμῖν μόνον· αἱ τύχαι 
δὲ, ὅπως ἄν ὁ δαίμων διδῷ, πάρεισι." ταῦτα δ' 
εἶποῦσα καὶ καταστήσασα τὸ πρόσωπον, ἐπὶ τὴν 
ναῦν ἔχωρε, τὸ παιδίον ἔχουσα, καὶ διὰ τάχους 
7 ἐκέλευσεν ἀπαίρειν τὸν κυβερνήτην. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς 
Ἀγγυπτοῦ αφίκετο καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαίον ἐπύθετο 
λόγους παρ᾽ Ἀντιγόνου καὶ πρεσβείας δεχόμενον, 
περὶ δὲ τοῦ Κλεομένου ἤκουσεν ὅτι, τῶν Ἀχαίων 
προκαλουμένων αὐτὸν εἰς διαλύσεις, φοβοῖτο δι᾽ 
ἐκεῖνην ἄνευ Πτολεμαίου καταθέτσαι τὸν πόλε-
μον, ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ τὰ τῇ Σπάρτῃ πρέποντα 
καὶ συμφέροντα πράττειν καὶ μὴ διὰ μίαν γραῖν 
καὶ παιδάριον ἀεὶ δεδείναι Πτολεμαίον. αὐτὴ μὲν 
οὖν παρὰ τὰς τύχας τοιαύτη λέγεται γεγενήσθαι.

XXIII. Τοῦ δὲ Ἀντιγόνου Τεγέαν μὲν παραλα-
βόντος, Ὀρχωμενοῦ δὲ καὶ Μαντίνειαν διαρπά-
σαντος, εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν Δακωνικὴν συνεσταλμένος 
ὁ Κλεομένης τῶν μὲν εἰλότων τοὺς πέντε μνᾶς 
Ἀττικᾶς καταβαλόντας ἐλευθέρους ἐποίει καὶ 
tάλαντα πεντακόσια συνέλεξε, διχλίους δὲ προσ-
καθόπλισας Μακεδονικῶς ἀντίταγμα τοῖς παρ᾽ 
Ἀντιγόνου λευκάστισσιν, ἔργον ἐπὶ νοῦν βάλλεται 
2 μέγα καὶ πᾶσιν ἀπροσδόκητον. ἡ Μεγάλη πόλις 
ἡ μὲν τότε καὶ καθ᾽ ἑαυτὴν οὔδεν τι μείων οὔδὲ 
ἀσθενεστέρα τῆς Δακεδαίμονος, εἰχε δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ 
tῶν Ἀχαίων καὶ τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου βοήθειαν, ἐν 
πλευραῖς καθεξομένου καὶ δοκοῦντος ὑπὸ τῶν 
Ἀχαίων ἐπικεκλήσθαι μάλιστα τῶν Μεγαλο-
100
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

him in his anguish and deep trouble, said: "Come, O king of the Lacedaemonians, when we go forth let no one see us weeping or doing anything unworthy of Sparta. For this lies in our power, and this alone; but as for the issues of fortune, we shall have what the Deity may grant." After saying this, she composed her countenance and proceeded to the ship with her little grandson, and bade the captain put to sea with all speed. And when she was come to Egypt, and learned that Ptolemy was entertaining embassies and proposals from Antigonus, and heard that although the Achaeans invited Cleomenes to make terms with them, he was afraid on her account to end the war without the consent of Ptolemy, she sent word to him that he must do what was fitting and advantageous for Sparta, and not, because of one old woman and a little boy, be ever in fear of Ptolemy. Such, then, as we are told, was the bearing of Cratesicleia in her misfortunes.

XXIII. After Antigonus had taken Tegea by siege, and had surprised Orchomenus and Mantineia, Cleomenes, now reduced to the narrow confines of Laconia, set free those of the Helots who could pay down five Attic minas (thereby raising a sum of five hundred talents), armed two thousand of them in Macedonian fashion as an offset to the White Shields of Antigonus, and planned an undertaking which was great and entirely unexpected. Megalopolis was at that time of itself fully as large and strong as Sparta, and could have assistance from the Achaeans and from Antigonus; for Antigonus was encamped near by, and it was thought that the Megalopolitans were chiefly responsible for his being called in by the
3 πολιτῶν σπουδασάντων. ταύτην διαρπάσαι δια
νοθείς ὁ Κλεομένης (οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ μᾶλλον ἑοικε τῷ ταχύ καὶ ἀπροσδόκητον ἐκείνης τῆς πράξεως), ἥμερων πεντε. αἰτία λαβεῖν κελεύσας ἔξηγε τὴν δύναμιν ἑπὶ τὴν Σελασίαν ὡς τὴν Ἀργολίκην κακουργηθῆν ἐκείθεν δὲ καταβὰς ἐπὶ τὴν Μεγαλοπολίτικην καὶ δειπνοποιησά-
μενος περὶ τὸ Ραῖτειον εὐθὺς ἐπορεύετο τὴν δι᾿
4 Ἑλικούντος ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀποσχὼν δ’ οὐ πολὺ 
Pαντέα μὲν ἔχοντα δύο τάγματα τῶν Λακεδαι-
μούνων ἀπέστειλε, καταλαβέσθαι κελεύσας μεσο-
pυρμοῦ, δ’ τῶν τειχῶν ἐρημώτατον εἶναι τὸις 
Μεγαλοπολίταις ἐπυνθάνετο, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ δυνάμει 
χοίλαιος ἐπηκολούθει. τοῦ δὲ Παντέως οὐ μόνον 
ἐξείνων τὸν τόπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ μέρος τοῦ 
tείχους ἀφύλακτον εὐρόντος, καὶ τὰ μὲν καθαί-
ρουντος εὐθὺς, τὰ δὲ διασκάπτοντος, τῶν δὲ φρον-
ρῶν οἰς ἐνέτυχε πάντας ἀποκτείναντος, ἔθεσε 
816 προσμίξας ὁ Κλεομένης, καὶ πρὶν αἰσθέσθαι τοὺς 
Μεγαλοπολίτας ἐνδοὺ ἥν μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως.

XXIV. Φανεροῦ δὲ μόλις τοῦ κακοῦ γενομένου 
toῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐξέπεπττον ὡσα 
tυγχάνοι τῶν χρημάτων λαμβάνοντες, οἱ δὲ 
sυνεστρέφοντο μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων, καὶ τοῖς πολε-
mῶις ἐνιστάμενοι καὶ προσβάλλοντες ἐκείνους μὲν 
οὐκ ἴσχυσαν ἐκκρούσαι, τοῖς δὲ φεύγουσι τῶν 
pολιτῶν ἀσφαλῶς ἀπελθεῖν παρέσχον, ὡστε μὴ 
πλείονα τῶν χιλιῶν ἐγκαταληφθῆναι σώματα, 
toῖς δὲ ἄλλους ἀπανταὶ ὁμοῖ μετὰ τέκνων καὶ 
γυναικῶν φθάσαι διαφυγόντας εἰς Μεσσήνην.

2 ἐσώθη δὲ καὶ τῶν προσβοσθοῦντων καὶ μαχο-
mένων τὸ πλῆθος· ὁλίγοι δὲ παντάπασιν ἤλωσαν,
Achaean. This city Cleomenes planned to snatch away (for nothing else could better describe the speed and unexpectedness of his famous achievement), and ordering his men to take five days' rations, he led them forth to Sellasia, as though he would ravage the territory of Argos. But from there he descended into the territory of Megalopolis, and after giving his men their supper at the Rhoeteium, he marched at once by way of Helicus against the city itself. When he was not far away he dispatched Panteus with two divisions of Lacedaemonians, ordering him to seize a portion of the wall between two towers which he had learned was the most unprotected part of the walls of Megalopolis, while he himself with the rest of his army followed slowly after. Panteus found not only that particular spot, but also a great part of the wall, undefended, and at once tore down some portions of it, undermining others, and slaying all the defenders whom he encountered. Cleomenes promptly joined him, and before the Megalopolitans were aware of it, he was inside the city with his army.

XXIV. At last the disaster became clear to the citizens, and some of them at once fled the city, taking with them what property they could lay hands on, while others banded together under arms, resisting and assaulting the enemy. These they were not strong enough to eject from the city, but they afforded a safe escape to the citizens who wished to flee, so that not more than a thousand persons were taken in the place; all the rest, together with their wives and children, succeeded in escaping to Messene. Moreover, the greater part of those who tried to save the city by fighting got off alive; but a few of them,

5 οὐτοὶ δὲ τοῦ Κλεομένους εὐγνώμονα καὶ φιλάνθρωποι προτείναντος οὐκ ἔισας τοὺς Μεγαλο- πολίτας ὁ Φιλοποίημην ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαίους πίστιν, ἀλλὰ κατηγορῶν τοῦ Κλεομένους ὡς οὐ ξητοῦντος ἀποδοῦναι τὴν πό- λιν, ἀλλὰ προσλαβεῖν τοὺς πολίτας, ἐξέβαλε τὸν Θεαρίδαν καὶ τὸν Δυσανδρίδαν ἐκ τῆς Μεσσήνης.
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

all told, were captured, among whom were Lysandridas and Thearidas, men of the greatest reputation and influence in Megalopolis. Therefore the soldiers had no sooner seized them than they brought them to Cleomenes. Then Lysandridas, when he saw Cleomenes from afar, cried out with a loud voice and said: “It is in thy power now, O king of the Lacedaemonians, to display an action fairer and more worthy of a king than any that has preceded it, and thereby win men’s highest esteem.” But Cleomenes, conjecturing what the speaker wished, said: “What meanest thou, Lysandridas? Thou surely canst not bid me give your city back again to you.” To which Lysandridas replied: “Indeed, that is just what I mean, and I advise thee in thine own interests not to destroy so great a city, but to fill it with friends and allies who are trusty and true by giving back to the Megalopolitans their native city and becoming the preserver of so large a people.” Accordingly, after a short silence, Cleomenes said: “It is difficult to believe that all this will happen, but with us let what makes for good repute always carry the day, rather than what brings gain.” And with these words he sent the two men off to Messene attended by a herald from himself, offering to give back their city to the Megalopolitans on condition that they renounce the Achaean cause and be his friends and allies.

However, although Cleomenes made this benevolent and humane offer, Philopoemen would not allow the Megalopolitans to break their pledges to the Achaecans, but denounced Cleomenes on the ground that he sought, not so much to give their city back to its citizens, as rather to get the citizens with their city; then he drove Thearidas and Lysandridas out

1 See the Philopoemen, v.
οὕτος ἦν Φιλοποίημην ὁ πρωτεύσας ὑστερον Ἴναι Αχαίων καὶ μεγίστην κτησάμενος ἐν τοῖς Ἕλ-
νησι δόξαν, ὡς ἰδίᾳ περὶ αὐτοῦ γέγραπται.

XXV. Τούτων δὲ ἀπαγγελθέντων τῷ Κλεο-
μένει, τετηρηκὼς τὴν πόλιν ἄθικτον καὶ ἀκέραιον,
όστε μηδένα λαθεῖν μηδὲ τούλαχιστον λαβόντα,
tότε παντάπασι τραχυθεῖσα καὶ ἀγανακτήσας
τὰ μὲν χρήματα διήρπασεν, ἀνδριάντας δὲ καὶ
γραφὰς ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Σπάρτην, τῆς δὲ πόλεως
tὰ πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα μέρη κατασκάψας καὶ
dιαφθείρας ἀνεξενεῖν ἐπὶ σφίκι, φοβούμενος τὸν
2 Ἀντίγονον καὶ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς. ἐπράξθη δὲ σύνδε
ἀπ’ αὐτῶν. ἐτύγχανον μὲν γὰρ ἐν Ἀιγίῳ βουλήν
ἐχοντες: ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀρατος ἀναβας ἐπὶ τὸ βήμα
πολὺν μὲν χρόνον ἐκλαίε χαλμίδα θέμενος
πρὸ τοῦ προσώπου, θαυμαζόντων δὲ καὶ λέγειν
κελεύοντων εἰπεν ὅτι Μεγάλη πόλις ἀπόλωλεν
ὑπὸ Κλεομένους, ἡ μὲν σύνοδος εὐθὺς διελυθή
τῶν Ἴναι Αχαίων καταπλαγέντων τῆν ἥτιτη καὶ
3 τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ πάθους, ὁ δὲ Ἀντίγονος ἐπι-
χειρήσας δοθῆκεν, εἶτα βραδέως αὐτῷ τῆς δυνά-
μεως ἐκ τῶν χειμάδιων ἀνισταμένης, ταύτην μὲν
αὐθίς ἐκέλευσε κατὰ χώραν μένειν, αὐτὸς δὲ
παρῆλθεν εἰς Ἁργος, οὗ πολλοὺς ἔχων στρατιώ-
tας μὲθ᾿ ἐαυτοῦ.

Διὸ καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἐγχειρήμα τοῦ Κλεομένου
ἐδοξε μὲν τετολμήθει παραβόλως καὶ μανικῶς,
ἐπράχθη δὲ μετὰ πολλῆς προνοίας, ὡς φησὶ
4 Πολυβίου. εἶδὼς γὰρ εἰς τὰ χειμάδια διεσπαρ-
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

of Messene. This was that Philopoemen who afterwards became the leader of the Achaeans and won the greatest fame among the Greeks, as I have written in his own Life.

XXV. When tidings of these things were brought to Cleomenes, although he had taken strict care that the city should be inviolate and unharmed, so that no one took even the least thing without being detected, he was now so incensed and embittered that he plundered it, and sent its statues and pictures off to Sparta; then, after completely demolishing most and the largest portions of the city, he marched back towards home, being in fear of Antigonus and the Achaeans. But these did nothing. For they were holding a general assembly at Aegium; and here Aratus, after mounting the bema, wept for a long time, holding his mantle before his face; and when his audience was amazed and bade him speak, he told them that Megalopolis had been destroyed by Cleomenes. Then the assembly at once broke up, the Achaeans being filled with consternation at the swiftness and magnitude of the calamity. Antigonus at first attempted to give aid, but afterwards, since his forces came up to him but slowly from their winter quarters, he ordered them to remain where they were, while he himself proceeded to Argos, having only a few soldiers with him.

And this was the reason why the next attempt of Cleomenes, which was thought to be a deed of extravagant and frantic daring, was really made with great forethought, as Polybius says.¹ For Cleomenes

¹ "Most people thought this a hazardous and foolhardy step; but those who were capable of judging regarded the measure as at once safe and prudent" (ii. 64, 1).
μένους κατὰ πόλιν¹ τοὺς Μακεδόνας, καὶ τὸν 817 Ἀντίγονον οὗ πολλοὺς ἡγοῦτα μισθοφόρους ἐν Ἀργείᾳ διαχειμάζοντα μετὰ τῶν φίλων, ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Ἀργείαν, λογιζόμενος ἢ δι’ αἰσχύνην τοῦ Ἀντίγονον παροξυνθέντος ἐπικρατήσειν ἢ μὴ τολμήσαντα μάχεσθαι διαβαλεῖν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείοις. ὅ καὶ συνεβη. διαφθειρομένης γὰρ τῆς χώρας ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντων ἀγομένων καὶ 5 φερομένων, οἱ μὲν Ἀργείοι δυσιανασχετοῦντες ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας συνεστρέφοντο τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ κατεβόων, μάχεσθαι κελεύοντες ἢ τοῖς κρείττοσιν ἐξίστασθαι τῆς ἡγεμονίας. οὗ δὲ Ἀντίγονος, ὡς ἔδει στρατηγὸν ἐμφρούν, τὸ κινδυνεύσαι παραλόγος καὶ προέθαν τὴν ἀσφάλειαν αἰσχρῶν, οὐ τὸ κακῶς ἀκούσαι παρὰ τοὺς ἐκτὸς ἡγούμενος, οὐ προήλθεν, ἀλλ’ ἐνέμευε τοῖς αὐτοῦ λογισμοῖς. οὗ δὲ Κλεομένης ἀχρὶ τῶν τειχῶν τῷ στρατῷ προσελθὼν καὶ καθυβρίσασα καὶ διαλυμηνάμενος ἄδειως ἀνεχώρησεν.

XXVI. Ὁλίγῳ δὲ ὑστερὸν ἄνθις, εἰς Τεγέαν ἀκούσας προϊέναι τὸν Ἀντίγονον ὡς ἐκείθεν εἰς τὴν Δακωνίκην ἐμβαλόντα, ταχὺ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀναλαβόν καὶ καθ’ ἐτέρας ὁδοὺς παραλλάξας ἀμ’ ἡμέρα πρὸς τῇ πόλει τῶν Ἀργείων ἀνεφαίη, πορθῶν τὸ πεδίων καὶ τὸν σῖτον οὐ κείρων, ὡσπερ οἱ λοιποὶ, δρεπάναις καὶ μαχαίραις, ἀλλὰ κόπτων ξύλων μεγάλως εἰς σχῆμα ῥομφαίας ἀπειραγχω- μένοις, ὡς ἐπὶ παιδιά χρωμένους ἐν τῷ πορευέ- σθαι σὺν μηδεὶ πόνῳ πάντα συγκατατρίψαι καὶ 2 διαφθείραι τὸν καρπὸν. ὡς μέντοι κατὰ τὴν

¹ κατὰ πόλιν Blass and Ziegler, after Schoemann: κατὰ πόλιν ὡς φησι.
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

knew that the Macedonians were dispersed among the cities in their winter quarters, and that Antigonus had only a few mercenaries with him at Argos, where he was spending the winter with his friends. Cleomenes therefore invaded the territory of Argos, calculating that Antigonus would either be shamed into fighting and would be overpowered, or, in case he did not venture to fight, would incur odium among the Argives. And this was what actually came to pass. For while Cleomenes was wasting the country and robbing it of all that was there, the Argives, in distress, kept thronging the doors of the king and calling upon him with loud voices either to fight or yield the leadership to his betters. But Antigonus, as became a prudent general, considering that disgrace lay in taking unreasonable risks and throwing away his security, rather than in being abused by the outside rabble, would not go forth from the city, but stood by his previous plans. So Cleomenes came up to the very walls of the city with his army, wrought insolent havoc, and then withdrew unmolested.

XXVI. A little later, however, hearing that Antigonus had advanced to Tegea with intent to invade Laconia from that city, Cleomenes quickly took his soldiers, marched past the enemy by a different route, and at daybreak appeared suddenly before the city of Argos, ravaging the plain and destroying the grain, not cutting this down, as usual, with sickles and knives, but beating it down with great pieces of wood fashioned like spear-shafts. These his soldiers plied as if in sport, while passing by, and with no effort at all they would crush and ruin all the crop. When, however, they were come to the
Κυλλάραβιν γενόμενοι τὸ γυμνάσιον ἐπεχείρουν προσφέρειν πῦρ, ἐκώλυσεν, ὡς καὶ τῶν περὶ Μεγάλης πόλιν ὑπ’ ὀργής μᾶλλον ἢ καλῶς αὐτῷ πεπραγμένων.

Τοῦ δὲ Ἀντιγόνου πρώτον μὲν εὐθὺς εἰς Ἀργοὺς ἀναχωρήσαντος, ἐπείτα τὰ ὄρη καὶ τὰς ὑπερβολὰς πάσας φυλακαίς καταλαβῶντος, ἁμελεῖν καὶ καταφρονεῖν προσποιοῦμενος ἐπεμψε κῆρυκας τὰς κλεῖς ἀξίων τοῦ Ἡραίου λαβεῖν, ὅπως ἀπαλλάττοιτο τῇ θεῷ θύσας. οὕτω δὲ παῖξας καὶ κατειρωνεσάμενος, καὶ τῇ θεῷ θύσας ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν κεκλεισμένον, ἀπήγαγεν εἰς Φλιοῦντα τῶν στρατῶν· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ τοὺς φρουροῦντας τὸν Ὀλυμπορτον ἔξελάς κατέβη παρὰ τὸν Ὀρχομενόν, οὐ μόνον τοῖς πολίταις φρονήμα καὶ θάρσος ἐμπεποιηκώς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀνὴρ ἡγεμονικὸς δοκῶν εἶναι καὶ πραγμάτων μεγάλων ἄξιος. τὸ γὰρ ἐκ μᾶς πόλεως ὄρμωμενον ὁμοί τῇ Μακεδόνων δυνάμει καὶ Πελοπονησίως ἄπασι καὶ χορηγία βασιλικῆ πολεμεῖν, καὶ μὴ μόνον ἄθικτον διάφυλλάττοντα τὴν Δακωνικήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χῶραν κακῶς ποιοῦντα τὴν ἐκείνων καὶ πόλεις αἱροῦντα τηλικαύτας, οὐ τῆς τυχοῦσης ἔδοκε δεινότητος εἶναι καὶ μεγαλοφορούντως.

XXVII. Ἀλλ᾽ ὁ πρῶτος τὰ χρῆματα νεύρα τῶν πραγμάτων προσειπὼν εἰς τὰ τοῦ πολέμου πράγματα μάλιστα θλέψαι τούτ᾽ εἰπεῖν ἔοικε. καὶ Δημάδης, τὰς τρήρες μὲν καθέλκειν καὶ πληροῦν ποτε τῶν Ἀθηναίων κελεύντων, χρήματα δ᾽ οὐκ ἐχόντων “Πρότερον ἐστίν,” ἠφῇ, “τὸ προδεύσαί τοῦ φυρᾶσαι.”

1 τὸ προδεύσατο τοῦ φυρᾶσαι Bekker and Blass, after 110
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

Cyllarabis and attempted to set the gymnasium on fire, Cleomenes stopped them, feeling that his work at Megalopolis had been done to satisfy his anger rather than his honour.

As for Antigonus, in the first place he went back at once to Argos, and then occupied the hills and all the passes with outposts. But Cleomenes pretended to despise and ignore all this, and sent heralds to the king demanding the keys to the Heraeum, that he might offer sacrifice to the goddess before he went away. Then, after this jest and mockery, and after sacrificing to the goddess under the walls of the temple, which was closed, he led his army off to Phlius. From thence, after expelling the garrison of Oligyrtus, he marched down to Orchomenus, not only infusing high spirits and courage into its citizens, but also leading his enemies to think him a man capable of leadership and worthy to wield great power. For he drew his resources from but a single city, and yet waged war against the Macedonian power, all the Peloponnesians, and the treasures of a king together, and not only kept Laconia inviolate, but actually ravaged his enemies’ territory and took cities of great size; and men thought this a proof of no ordinary ability and largeness of purpose.

XXVII. But he who first declared that money is the sinews of affairs would seem to have spoken with special reference to the affairs of war. And Demades, when the Athenians once ordered that their triremes should be launched and manned, but had no money, said: “Dough must be moistened before it is kneaded.” It is said also that Archidamus of old,

Schoemann: τού πρωρατεύει το φυράσαι (before the lookout-man comes the bread-maker) with the MSS.
'Αρχίδαμος ὁ παλαιὸς ὑπὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ Πελο-
πονησιακοῦ πολέμου, κελευόντων εἰσφορὰς τάξα
τῶν συμμάχων αὐτῶν, εἴπειν ὡς ὁ πόλεμος οὐ
2 τεταγμένα συνεῖται. καθάπερ γὰρ οἱ σεσωμα-
κηκότες ἀθληταὶ τῷ χρόνῳ καταβαροῦσι καὶ
καταγωνίζονται τοὺς εὐρύθμους καὶ τεχνίτας,
οὕτως καὶ ὁ 'Αντίγονος ἕκ πολλῆς ἀναφέρων
δυνάμεως πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἔξετόνει καὶ κατήθλει
τὸν Κλεομένην γλέσχως καὶ μόλις πορίζοντα τοῖς
3 ξένοις μισθὸν καὶ τροφὴν τοῖς πολίταις. ἐπεὶ
τάλλα γε πρὸς τὸν Κλεομένον ὁ χρόνος ἦν, τῶν
οἴκων πραγμάτων ἀγιστάντων τὸν 'Αντίγονον.
βάρβαροι γὰρ περικοπτοῦν ἁπόντος καὶ κατέ-
τρεχον τὴν Μακεδονίαν, καὶ τότε δὴ πολὺς ἀνώθεν
'Ὀλυμπίων ἐμβεβλήκει στρατός, ὅφ' οὐ πορθοῦμεν
μετεπέμποντο τὸν 'Αντίγονον οἱ Μακεδόνες. καὶ
παρ' ὅλων πρὸ τῆς μάχης συνετυχε ταῦτα τὰ
γράμματα κομισθῆναι πρὸς αὐτῶν· ὃν κομι-
σθέντων εὐθὺς ἀν ἀπῆλθε μακρὰ χαίρειν φράσσας
4 'Αχαιοίς. ἀλλ' ἡ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν πραγμάτων
κρίνουσα τῷ παρὰ μικρὸν τύχη τηλικαύτην ἀπε-
δείξατο ῥοπὴν καιροῦ καὶ δύναμιν, ὡστε, τῆς
μάχης ἐν Σελασίᾳ γενομένης καὶ τοῦ Κλεομένους
ἀποβεβληκότος τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν πόλιν, εὐθὺς
παρεῖναι τοὺς καλοῦντας τὸν 'Αντίγονον. ὃ καὶ
μάλιστα τὴν δυστυχίαν τοῦ Κλεομένου ὁικτρο-
5 τέραν ἐποίησεν. εἰ γὰρ ἡμέρας δύο μόνας ἐπέσχε
καὶ παρῆγαγε φυγομαχῶν, οὐκ ἂν ἐδέησεν αὐτῷ
μάχης, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς ἐβούλετο διηλλάγη πρὸς
τοὺς 'Αχαιοὺς ἀπελθόντων τῶν Μακεδόνων· νῦν
δὲ, ὡσπερ εἰρηται, διὰ τὴν ἀχρηματίαν ἐν τοῖς

112
towards the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, when the allies ordered their contributions for the war to be fixed, said: "War has no fixed rations."\(^1\)

And indeed, just as athletes who have taken a full course of training, in time bear down and overpower those who are merely graceful and skilful, so also did Antigonus, who engaged in the war with large resources, wear out and prostrate Cleomenes, who could only meagrely and with difficulty provide pay for his mercenaries and sustenance for his citizen-soldiers. And yet in all other respects, certainly, time was on the side of Cleomenes; for affairs at home demanded the presence of Antigonus. During his absence Barbarians had been overrunning and devastating Macedonia, and at this particular time a large army of Illyrians from the interior had burst in, and in consequence of their ravages the Macedonians summoned Antigonus home. Their letters came within a little of reaching him before the decisive battle. If they had so reached him, he would at once have gone away and left the Achaians to their own devices. But Fortune, who decides the most important affairs by a narrow margin, favoured him with so slight a preponderance in the scale of opportunity and power, that no sooner had the battle at Sellasia been fought, where Cleomenes lost his army and his city, than the messengers summoning Antigonus arrived. And this more than anything else made the misfortune of Cleomenes to be greatly pitied. For if he could have held out only two days, and continued his defensive tactics, he would not have needed to fight a battle, but the Macedonians would have gone away and he could have made his own terms with the Achaians. But now, as I said before, his lack of

\(^1\) See the Crassus, ii. 7.
διπλα τὸ πᾶν θέμενος ἡναγκάσθη δισμυρίος, ὡς 
Πολύβιος φησὶ, πρὸς τρισμυρίους ἀντιπαρατά-
ξασθαί.

XXVIII. Καὶ θαυμαστὸν μὲν ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ 
παρασχῶν ἑαυτὸν στρατηγόν, ἐκθύμως δὲ χρησά-
μενος τοῖς πολίταις, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τῶν ξένων 
μεμπτῶς ἀγωνισμένων, τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς ὀπλίσεως 
καὶ τῷ βάρει τῆς ὀπλιτικῆς φάλαγγος ἔξεδβληθη.
Φύλαρχος δὲ καὶ προδοσίαν γενέσθαι φησὶ τὴν 
μάλιστα τῷ Κλεομένει τὰ πράγματα διεργασα-
μένην. τοῦ γὰρ Ἀντιγόνου τοῦς Ἰλλυρίους καὶ 
tοὺς Ἀκαρνάνας ἐκπεριελθεῖν κρύφα κελεύσαντος 
cai κυκλώσασθαι ἑάτερον κέρας, ἐφ' οὗ τεταγμένος 
ἡν Εὐκλείδας ὁ τοῦ Κλεομένου άδελφός, εἶτα τὴν 
ἀλλήν ἔπει μάχη δύναμιν ἐκτάττουτος, ἀπὸ σκοπῆς 
θεωρῶν ὁ Κλεομένης, ὡς οὐδαμοῦ τὰ ὀπλα τῶν 
Ἰλλυρίων καὶ τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων κατείδειν, ἐφοβῆθη 
μὴ πρὸς τι τοιοῦτον αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀντίγονος κέχρηται.

3 καλέσας δὲ Δαμοτέλη τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς κρυπτείας 
tεταγμένον, ὅραν ἐκέλευσε καὶ ξητεῖν ὅπως ἔχει 
tὰ κατὰ νότον καὶ κύκλῳ τῆς παρατάξεως. τοῦ 
dὲ Δαμοτέλους (ἂν γὰρ, ὡς λέγεται, χρήμασιν 
πρότερον ὑπ' Ἀντιγόνου διεφθαρμένος) ἀμελεῖν 
ἐκείνων εἰπόντος ὡς καλῶς ἐχόντων, τοῖς δὲ 
συνάπτουσιν ἐξ ἐναντίας προσέχειν καὶ τούτους 
ἀμύνεσθαι, πιστεύσας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἔχωρει,

4 καὶ τῇ ρύμῃ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν Σπαρτιατῶν ὁσά-
μενος τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐπὶ πέντε 
που σταδίους ὑποχαροῦντων ἐκβιαζόμενος καὶ
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

resources forced him to stake the whole issue on a battle where, as Polybius says, he could oppose only twenty thousand men to thirty thousand.

XXVIII. He showed himself an admirable general in the hour of peril, his fellow countrymen gave him spirited support, and even his mercenaries fought in a praiseworthy manner, but he was overwhelmed by the superior character of his enemies' armour and the weight of their heavy-armed phalanx. Phylarchus, however, says, that there was treachery also, and that this was chiefly what ruined Cleomenes. For Antigonus ordered his Illyrians and Acarnanians to go round by a secret way and envelope the other wing, which Euclides, the brother of Cleomenes, commanded, and then led out the rest of his forces to battle; and when Cleomenes, from his post of observation, could nowhere see the arms of the Illyrians and Acarnanians, he was afraid that Antigonus was using them for some such purpose. He therefore called Damoteles, the commander of the secret service contingent, and ordered him to observe and find out how matters stood in the rear and on the flanks of his array. But Damoteles (who had previously been bribed, as we are told, by Antigonus) told him to have no concern about flanks and rear, for all was well there, but to give his attention to those who assailed him in front, and repulse them. So Cleomenes, putting faith in what he was told, advanced upon Antigonus, and by the sweeping onset of his Spartans drove back the phalanx of the Macedonians for about five furlongs,

1 Hist. ii. 65. 2 and 7. The battle of Sellasia was fought in June of 221 B.C.
2 A rural police with the special duty of watching the Helots, or slave population.
κρατῶν ἰκολούθησεν. εἰτα τῶν περὶ τὸν Εὐκλείδαν ἀπὸ θατέρου κυκλωθέντων ἐπιστάτας καὶ κατιδῶν τὸν κίνδυνον, "Οἶχη μου, φίλτατε ἀδελφέ," εἰπεν, "οἰχή, γενναίος ὃν καὶ παίσας ξηλωτὸς Ἑπαρτιατῶν καὶ γυναιξίν ἀοίδιμος." οὔτω δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν Εὐκλείδαν ἀναπεθέντων, καὶ τῶν ἐκείθεν, ὡς ἐκύκλωσεν, ἐπιφερομένων ταραττομένοις ὁρῶν τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ μένειν ὑπέτει τολμῶντας, ἔσωξεν ἑαυτὸν. ἀποθάνειν δὲ καὶ τῶν ξένων πολλοὺς λέγουσι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπαντας πλὴν διακοσίων, ἔξακισκιλίους οὖνας.

2 καὶ ποτὸν προσφερούσας, αὐτὸς εἰσῆλθε μὲν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, τῆς δὲ παιδίσκης, ἡν εἰχεν, ἐλευθέραν οὖσαν ἐκ Μεγάλης πόλεως ἀνειληφὼς μετὰ τὴν τῆς γυναικὸς τελευτήν, ὡς εἰθιστο, προσιούσας καὶ βουλομένης ἀπὸ στρατείας ἑκοντα θεραπεύειν, οὔτε πιεῖν ἐκδεδηψηκὼς ὑπέμεινεν οὔτε καθίσαι κεκμηκός, ἀλλ' ὀσπερ ἐτήγχανε 819 τεθωρακισμένος τῶν κιόνων τίνι τὴν χεῖρα προσβαλὼν πλαγίας καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐπὶ τὸν πῆχυν ἐπιθείς, καὶ χρόνων οὔ πολλῶν οὔτω διαναπαύσας τὸ σῶμα καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ περιδραμών ἀπαντας τοὺς λογισμοὺς, ὄρμησε μετὰ τῶν φίλων εἰς τὸ Γύθιον. κακείθεν ἐπιβάντες ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο παρεσκευασμένων πλοίων ἀνήχησαν.
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

and followed after them victoriously. Then, after Eucleidas with the other wing had been encircled, he came to a stop, and seeing their peril, said; "I have lost thee, my dearest brother, I have lost thee, thou noble heart, thou great example to Spartan boys, thou theme for a song to Spartan wives!" After Eucleidas and his forces had in this way been cut to pieces, and the enemy, after their victory there, were coming on against the other wing, Cleomenes, seeing that his soldiers were in disorder and no longer had courage to stand their ground, took measures for his own safety. Many of his mercenaries fell, as we are told, and all the Spartans, six thousand in number, except two hundred.

XXIX. When Cleomenes came to the city, he advised the citizens who met him to receive Antigonus; as for himself, he said he would do whatever promised to be best for Sparta, whether it called for his life or death. Then, seeing the women running up to those who had escaped with him, relieving them of their arms, and bringing drink to them, he went into his own house. Here his concubine, a free woman of Megalopolis whom he had taken to himself after the death of his wife, came to him, as was her wont upon his return from the field, and wished to minister to him; but he would neither drink, though he was faint with thirst, nor sit down, though he was worn out. Instead, all in armour as he was, he put his arm aslant against one of the pillars of the house, dropped his face upon his forearm, and after resting himself in this way for a short time, and running over in his thoughts all possible plans, he set out with his friends for Gythium. There he went on board of vessels provided for this very purpose and put to sea.
XXX. Ὅ δὲ Ἀντίγονος ἦς ἐφόδοι παραλαβόν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ χρησάμενος τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις φιλανθρώπως, καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς Σπάρτης οὗ προπηλακίσας οὐδὲ ἐνυβρίσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ νόμους καὶ πολετείαν ἀποδοὺς καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς θύσας, ἀνεχώρησεν ἡμέρα τρίτη, πυθόμενος εἰς Μακεδονία πολὺν πόλεμον εἶναι καὶ πορθεῖσθαι τὴν χώραν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων. Ἡδὲ δὲ καὶ τὸ νόσημα κατείχεν αὐτὸν, εἰς φθίσιν ἐκβεβηκός ἵσχυράν 2 καὶ κατάρροντι σύντονον. οὐ μὴν ἀπείπεν, ἀλλ' ἀντήρκεσε πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ἀγώνας ὅσον ἐπὶ νίκῃ μεγίστη καὶ φόνῳ πλεῖστῳ τῶν βαρβάρων εὐκλεέστερον ἀποδανεῖν, ὡς μὲν εἰκός ἐστι καὶ λέγουσιν οἱ περὶ Φύλαρχον, αὐτὴ τῇ περὶ τοῦ ἀγώνα κραυγὴ τὸ σῶμα προσαναρρήξας· ἐν δὲ ταῖς σχολαῖς ἦν ἀκούειν ὁτι βοῶν μετὰ τὴν νίκην ὑπὸ χαρᾶς, "Ὡς καλῆς ἡμέρας," πλήθος αἰματος ἀνήγαγε καὶ πυρέξας συντόνος ἐτελεύτησε. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ περὶ Ἀντίγονον.

XXXI. Κλεομένης δὲ πλέων ἀπὸ Κυθήρων εἰς νῆσον ἔτεραν, Λιγυαλίαν, κατέσχεν. ὃθεν εἰς Κυρήνην περαιούσθαι μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ, τῶν φίλων εἰς ὄνομα Θηρκίων, ἀνὴρ πρὸς τε τὰς πράξεις φρονήματι κεχρημένος μεγάλω καὶ τοῖς λόγοις γεγονός τις υψηλός ἄει καὶ μεγάλανχος, ἐπτυχὼν αὐτῷ κατ' ἰδίαν, "Τὸν μὲν κάλλιστον," ἐπεν, "ὅ βασιλεῦ, θάνατον τὸν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ προσκάμβα· 2 καίτοι πάντες ἠκουσαν ἡμῶν λεγόντων ὡς οὐχ ὑπερβήσεται τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν Ἀντίγονος εἰ μὴ νεκρόν. ὁ δὲ δεύτερος δόξῃ καὶ ἀρετῇ νῦν ἐτὶ πάρεστιν ἡμῖν. ποι πλέομεν ἀλογίστως,
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

XXX. Antigonus marched up and took the city without resistance. He treated the Lacedaemonians humanely, and did not insult or mock the dignity of Sparta, but restored her laws and constitution,\(^1\) sacrificed to the gods, and went away on the third day. For he learned that there was a great war in Macedonia and that the Barbarians were ravaging the country. Moreover, his disease was already in full possession of him, having developed into a quick consumption and an acute catarrh. He did not, however, give up, but had strength left for his conflicts at home, so that he won a very great victory, slew a prodigious number of the Barbarians, and died gloriously, having broken a blood-vessel (as it is likely, and as Phylarchus says) by the very shout that he raised on the field of battle. And in the schools of philosophy one used to hear the story that after his victory he shouted for joy, “O happy day!” and then brought up a quantity of blood, fell into a high fever, and so died. So much concerning Antigonus.

XXXI. As for Cleomenes, he sailed from Cythera to Aegialia, another island, and put in there. As he was about to cross from thence to Cyrene, one of his friends, Therycion by name, a man who brought a large spirit to the conduct of affairs and was always somewhat lofty in his speech and grandiloquent, came to him privately and said: “The noblest death, O King, a death in battle, we have put away from us; and yet all men heard us declare that Antigonus should not pass the king of Sparta except over his dead body. But a death that is second in virtue and glory is now still in our power. Whither do we

\(^1\) As they were before the reforms of Cleomenes.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ἀποφεύγοντες ἐγγὺς δὲν κακὰν καὶ μακρὰν διώκοντες; εἰ γὰρ οὐκ ἀισχρὸν ἔστι δουλεύειν τοῖς ἀπὸ Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς ἄφ' Ἡρακλέους, πλούν πολὺν κερδανοῦμεν Ἀντιγόνῳ παραδόντες ἑαυτούς, ὃν εἰκὸς ἐστὶ Πτολεμαίοιο διαφέρειν

3 ὡσον Αἰγυπτίων Μακεδόνας. εἰ δὲ υφ’ ὄν κεκρατήμεθα τοῖς ὅπλοις οὐκ ἀξιούμεν ἀρχεῖα, τί τὸν μὴ νεκτηκότα δεσπότην ποιοῦμεν αὐτῶν, ὡς ἀνθ' ἐνος δυνὴν κακίον φαινόμεν, Ἀντιγόνον μὲν φεύγοντες, Πτολεμαίοι δὲ κολακεύοντες; ἢ διὰ τὴν μητέρα φήσομεν εἰς Αἰγυπτοῦ ἴκειν; καλὸν μεντὰν αὐτή θέαμα γένοιο καὶ ξηλωτὸν ἑπιδεικνυμένη ταῖς Πτολεμαίοις γυναιξὶν αἰχμάλωτον ἔκ

4 βασιλέως καὶ φυγάδα τὸν υἱὸν. οὐχ ἔως ἔτι τῶν ἴδιων ξιφῶν ἄρχομεν καὶ τὴν Δακωνικὴν ἄφορῳ μεν, ἐνταῦθα τὴς τύχης ἀπαλλάξαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀπολογησόμεθα τοῖς εἰς Σελασία κειμένοις ὑπὲρ τῆς Σπάρτης, ἀλλ' ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καθεδούμεθα πυνθανόμενοι τίνα τῆς Δακεδαίμονος σατράπην Ἀντιγόνος ἄπολέουσεν;

Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Θηρυκίωνος εἰπόντος ὁ Κλεομένης ἀπεκρίνατο, "Τῶν ἄνθρωπίνων τὸ ράστον, ὃ πονηρὲ, καὶ πᾶσιν ἐν ἐτοίμῳ διώκων, ἀποθανεῖν, ἄνερεῖς εἶναι δοκεῖς, φεύγων αἰσχίνα

5 φυγῆν τῆς πρότερον; πολεμῶς μὲν γὰρ ἐνέδωκαν ἥδη καὶ κρείττονες ἥμων, ἡ τύχη σφαλέντες ἡ βιασθέντες ὑπὸ πλῆθους; ὃ δὲ πρὸς πόνους καὶ ταλαιπωρίας ἡ ψόγους καὶ δόξας ἄνθρωπων ἀπα-
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

unreasoningly sail, fleeing an evil that is near and pursuing one that is afar off? For if it is not shameful that the descendants of Heracles should be in subjection to the successors of Philip and Alexander, we shall spare ourselves a long voyage by surrendering to Antigonus, who is likely to surpass Ptolemy as much as Macedonians surpass Egyptians. But if we cannot consent to be ruled by those who have conquered us in arms, why should we make him our master who has not defeated us, thus showing ourselves inferior to two instead of one by running away from Antigonus and joining the flatterers of Ptolemy? Or, shall we say that it is on thy mother's account that we come to Egypt? Surely thou wilt make a noble spectacle for her, and one to awaken envy, when she displays her son to the wives of Ptolemy, a captive instead of a king, and a runaway. Let us rather, while we are still masters of our own swords and can gaze upon the land of Laconia, here rid ourselves of Fortune's yoke, and make our peace with those who at Sellasia died in defence of Sparta, instead of sitting idly down in Egypt and asking every now and then whom Antigonus has left as satrap of Lacedaemon."

Such were the words of Therycian, and to them Cleomenes replied: "It is the easiest possible step thou urgest, wretched man, and one that any man may take, this dying; and dost thou think thyself brave when thou art making a flight more shameful than the one preceding it? Better men than we have given in to their enemies before this, having been betrayed by Fortune or overwhelmed by numbers. But he who in the face of toils and hardships, or of the censorious judgments of men, gives up the fight,
γορεύων ἡττᾶται τῆς αὐτοῦ μαλακίας. δεῖ γὰρ τὸν αὐθαίρετον θάνατον οὐ φυγὴν εἶναι πράξεων, ἀλλὰ πράξεων. αἰσχρὸν γὰρ καὶ ζῆν1 μόνοις ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ἀποθηνόσκει· ἐφ᾽ ὧ νῦν σὺ παρακληεῖς ἡμῶ, σπεύδων ἀπαλλαγήν τῶν παρόντων, καὶ δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ χρήσιμον ἄλλο διαπράττω-6· μενος. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ σὲ καὶ ἐμαυτὸν οἴομαι δείν τὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἐλπίδας μὴ καταλαμπέην· ὅπου δὲ ἢμᾶς ἐκεῖναι καταλήψις, βάστα βουλομένους ἀποθανεῖν ὑπάρξει.”

Πρὸς ταύτα Θυρυκίων οὐδὲν ἀντειπόν, ὡτε πρῶτον ἔσχε καιρὸν ἀποστῆαι τοῦ Κλεομένου, ἐκταπομένους παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἐσφαξεν ἑαυτόν.

XXXII. Ὅ δὲ Κλεομένης ἀπὸ τῶν Αἰγιαλῶν ἀναχθεῖς τῇ Διβύῃ προσέβαλε, καὶ διὰ τῶν βασιλικῶν παραπεμπόμενος ἤκεν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. ὁφθεὶς δὲ τῷ Πτολεμαῖῳ, κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς μὲν ἐτύγχανε κοινῶς φιλανθρώπου καὶ μετρίου πρὸς αὐτόν ἐπεὶ δὲ γνώμης διδόσει πείραν ἀνὴρ ἐφαινετο ἐμφρῶν, καὶ τῆς καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ὁμίλιας αὐτοῦ τὸ Δακωνικὸν καὶ ἀφελές τὴν χάριν ἐλευθερίαν εἰς, καὶ τὴν εὐγένειαν οὐδαμῇ καταιχηκόνων οὐδὲ καμπτόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης, τῶν πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ κολακείαν διαλεγομένων πιθανότερος ἐφαι-2 νετο, πολλὴ μὲν αἰδώς καὶ μετάνοια τὸν Πτολε-μαίον εἶχεν ἄνδρος ἀμελήσαντα τοιοῦτο καὶ προέμενον τῷ Ἀντιγόνῳ, δόξαν ἀμα κεκτημένω τηλικαύτῃν καὶ δύναμιν, ἀναλαμβάνων δὲ τιμαῖς καὶ φιλοφροσύναις τὸν Κλεομένη παραθέρρυσεν ὡς μετὰ νεὼν καὶ χρημάτων ἀποστελὼν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν Ἐλλάδα καὶ καταστήσων εἰς τὴν βασι-

1 καὶ ζῆν Blass and Ziegler, after Richards.
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

is vanquished by his own weakness. For a self-inflicted
death ought to be, not flight from action, but an
action in itself. For it is shameful to die, as well as
to live, for one's self alone. And yet it is to this that
thou now invitest me in thine eagerness to be rid of
present troubles, though beyond that thou wilt effect
nothing that is honourable or useful. I, however,
think it right that neither thou nor I should abandon
our hopes for our country; when these abandon us,
death will be very easy if we wish it."

To this Therycion made no reply, but as soon as he
got an opportunity to leave Cleomenes, he turned
aside along the sea-beach and slew himself.

XXXII. But Cleomenes, putting to sea from Aegiali,
landed in Libya, and under the escort of the royal
officials came to Alexandria. After coming into the
presence of Ptolemy, at first he met with only ordi-

dary and moderate kindness from him; but when he
had given proof of his sentiments and shown himself
to be a man of good sense, and when, in his daily
intercourse, his Laconian simplicity retained the
charm which a free spirit imparts, while he in no
wise brought shame upon his noble birth or suffered
the blows of Fortune to bow him down, but showed
himself more winning than those whose conversation
sought only to please and flatter, then Ptolemy was
filled with great respect for him, and deeply repented
that he had neglected such a man and abandoned him
to Antigonus, who had thereby won great glory and
power. Ptolemy therefore sought to regain Cleo-
menes by honours and kindnesses, and kept encour-
aging him with assurances that he would send him
back to Greece with ships and treasure and restore
3 λείαν. ἐδίδου δὲ καὶ σύνταξιν αὐτῷ τέσσαρα καὶ ἑκάστῳ τάλαντα καθ’ ἐκαστὸν ἐνιαυτὸν. ἂφ’ ὅν ἐκείνου αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς φίλους εὐτελῶς καὶ σω-φρόνους διοικῶν, τὰ πλείστα κατανήλθεκαν εἰς φιλανθρωπίας καὶ μεταδόσεις τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἔλλα-δος εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐκπεπτωκότων.

XXXIII. ὁ μὲν οὖν πρεσβύτερος Πτολεμαῖος πρὶν ἐκτελέσαι τῷ Κλεομένει τὴν ἐκπεμψιν ἐτε-λεύτησε· τῆς δὲ βασιλείας εὐθὺς εἰς πολλὴν ἀσέλγειαν καὶ παροιγίαν καὶ γυναικοκρατίαν

2 ἐμπεσοῦσας ἡμελεῖτο καὶ τὰ τοῦ Κλεομένους. ὁ μὲν γὰρ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς οὕτω διέφθαρτο τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὸ γυναικῶν καὶ πότων ὡστε, ὅτοτε νήφος μάλιστα καὶ σπουδαίοτατος αὐτοῦ γένοιτο, τελετᾶς τελείν καὶ τύμπανον ἔχων ἐν τοῖς βασι-λείοις ἀγείρειν, τὰ δὲ μέγιστα τῆς ἁρχῆς πράγ-ματα διοικεῖν Ἀγαθόκλειαν τὴν ἑρωμένην τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὴν ταύτης μητέρα καὶ πορνοβοσκῶν

3 Οἰνάνθην. ὅμως δ’ οὖν ἐδοξῆ τις ἐν ἁρχῇ καὶ τοῦ Κλεομένους χρείᾳ γεγονέναι. δεδώσω γὰρ Μάγαν τῶν ἄδελφων Πτολεμαίος, ὡς ἵσχυσαν διὰ τῆς μητρὸς ἐν τῷ στρατιωτικῷ, τὸν Κλεομένην προσ-ελάμβανε καὶ μετεδίδου τῶν ἀπορρήτων συνεδρίων, βουλευόμενος ἀνελεῖν τὸν ἄδελφον. ὁ δὲ, καὶ περι-ἀπάντων τούτῳ πράττειν κελεύοντος, μόνον ἀπη-γόρευσεν, εἰπὼν ὡς μάλλον, ἐὰν δυνατὸν ἥν, ἔδει φύσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ πλείονας ἄδελφοὺς πρὸς ἀσφά-λειαν καὶ διαμονὴν τῶν πραγμάτων. Ἐσωσίβιον δὲ τοῦ πλείστον ἐν τοῖς φίλοις δυναμένου φήσαντος οὗ καὶ εἶναι τὰ τῶν μισθοφόρων αὐτοῖς βέβαια τοῦ Μάγα ζῶντος, ἀμελεῖν ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Κλεομένης.
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

him to his kingdom. He also gave him an annual pension of twenty-four talents. With this money Cleomenes maintained himself and his friends in a simple and modest manner, and spent the greater part in good offices and contributions to the refugees from Greece who were in Egypt.

XXXIII. Well, then, the elder Ptolemy\(^1\) died before sending Cleomenes off as he had promised; and since the court at once plunged into excessive wantonness and drunkenness, and women wielded the power, the affairs of Cleomenes were neglected. For the king himself was so corrupted in spirit by wine and women that, in his soberest and most serious moments, he would celebrate religious rites and head processions in his palace, timbrel in hand, while the most important affairs of the government were managed by Agathocleia, the mistress of the king, her mother, and a pimp, Oenanthe. But in spite of all this, at the outset Cleomenes seemed to be of some use. For Ptolemy was afraid of his brother Magas, believing that Magas had a strong following among the soldiers owing to his mother's influence, and he therefore took Cleomenes into his following and gave him a place in his privy council, all the while plotting to kill his brother. But Cleomenes, although all other counsellors urged the king to take this step, alone advised against it, saying that it were better, were it possible, to get the king more brothers to increase the security and stability of his affairs. And when Sosibius, who had the most influence among the king's ministers, declared that they could not be sure of the mercenaries as long as Magas was alive, Cleomenes bade him have no concern on that

\(^1\) Ptolemy III., surnamed Euergetes, died in 220 B.C., and was followed by Ptolemy IV., surnamed Philopator.
ἐνεκά γε τούτων πλείους γὰρ ἡ τρισχιλίους τῶν ξένων εἶναι Πελοποννησίους προσέχοντας αὐτῷ, κἂν μόνον νεότη, προθύμως μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν 5 παρεσομένους. οὖτος δὲ λόγος τότε μὲν οὐ μικρὰν τῷ Κλεομένει καὶ πίστιν εὐνοίας καὶ δόκησιν ἰσχύος προσέθηκεν, ὕστερον δὲ, τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τῆς ἀσθενείας ἐπιτευγοῦση τὴν δειλιάν, καὶ καθ-ἀπερ εἰσθανέν ἐν τῷ μηδὲν φρονεῖν, τοῦ πάντα δεδουκέναι καὶ πᾶσιν ἀπιστεῖν ἀσφαλεστάτου δοκοῦντος εἶναι, φοβερὸν ἔποιεί τὸν Κλεομένη τοῖς 6 αὐλικοῖς, ὡς ἵσχυόντα παρὰ τοῖς ξένοις καὶ πολλῶν ἦν ἀκούειν λεγόντων ὅτι "Οὗτος οἱ λέων ἐν τούτως τοῖς προβάτοις ἀναστρέφεται." τῷ γὰρ ὀντὶ τοιοῦτον διέφαινεν θώσος ἐν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς, ὑποβλέπων ἀτρέμα καὶ παρεπισκοπῶν τὰ πραττόμενα.

XXXIV. Ναῦς μὲν οὖν αὐτῶν καὶ στρατιᾶν ἀπείπε. πυρθανόμενος δὲ τεθνάναι τὸν 'Ἀντίγονον, Αἰτωλικῷ δὲ πολέμῳ συμπεπλέχθαι τοὺς 'Ἀχαιοὺς, τὰ δὲ πράγματα ποθεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ παρακαλεῖν,1 ἐν ταραξῇ καὶ διασπασμῷ τῆς Πελοποννήσου γεγενημένης, ἧξιον μὲν μόνος ἀπο. 2 σταλῆναι μετὰ τῶν φίλων, ἐπειδή δὲ οὐδένα, τού μὲν βασιλέως οὐκ εἰσακούόντος, ἀλλὰ ἐν γυναιξί καὶ θιάσοις καὶ κόμωις συνεχόντος έαυτόν, δὲ τῶν ὅλων προεστικῶς καὶ προβολεύων Σωσί-βιος μένοντα μὲν τὸν Κλεομένη παρὰ γνώμην ἡγεῖτο δυσμεταχείριστον εἶναι καὶ φοβερόν, ἀφε-θέντα δὲ τολμηρὸν, ἀνδρὰ καὶ μεγαλοπράγμονα καὶ τῆς βασιλείας νοσοῦσθη θεατὴν γεγενημένον.

1 παρακαλείν Ziegler; παρακαλεῖν ἐκείσε Bekker; παρακαλεῖν ἐκείνον (with the MSS.).

126
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

point at least; for more than three thousand of the mercenaries were Peloponnesians and attached to himself, and if he but gave them a nod they would readily come to his side in arms. At the time this speech won for Cleomenes no little faith in his good will and belief in his strength; but afterwards, when Ptolemy's weakness intensified his cowardice, and, as is wont to happen where there is no sound judgment, his best course seemed to him to lie in fearing everybody and distrusting all men, it led the courtiers to be afraid of Cleomenes, on the ground that he had a strong following among the mercenaries; and many of them were heard to say: "There goes the lion up and down among these sheep." And such, in fact, he clearly was among the courtiers, eyeing with quiet contempt and closely watching what was going on.

XXXIV. For ships, therefore, and an army, he gave up asking; but on learning that Antigonus was dead ¹ and that the Achaeans were involved in a war with the Aetolians, and that affairs yearned and called for him now that Peloponnesus was rent asunder and in confusion, he demanded to be sent away with his friends merely; but he could persuade no one. The king would not give him a hearing, but was absorbed with women and Dionysiac routs and revels; and Sosibius, the prime minister and chief counsellor, thought that if Cleomenes remained against his will he might be hard to manage, indeed, and an object of fear, but that if he were sent away he would make some bold attempt, being a man of large undertakings, and one who had been an eye-witness of the distempers of the realm.

¹ Cf. chapter xxx. 2.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

3 οúde γὰρ αἱ δωρεὰς κατεπράϕον αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ ὁσπερ τὸν Ἀττιν ἐν ἀφθόνιοις διαίτωμενοι καὶ τρυφάν δοκοῦντα τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν βίου καὶ δρόμων ἀφέτων καὶ σκιρτήσεων ἱμερος ἔχει, καὶ δήλος ἐστὶ δυσανασχετῶν τὴν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ τῶν ἱερέων διατριβήν, οὐτὸς ἐκείνος οὔδὲν ἤρεσκε τῶν μαλθακῶν,

ἀλλὰ φθινύθεσκε φίλον κήρ,

ὁσπερ Ἀχιλλεύς,

αὕτῃ μένῳν, ποθέοσκε δ' αὔτήν τε πτόλεμον τε.

XXXV. Τοιούτων δὲ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ὄντων πραγμάτων ἀφικνεῖται Νικαγόρας ὁ Μεσσήνιος εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ἀνὴρ μισῶν μὲν τὸν Κλεομένην, προσποιούμενος δὲ φίλος εἶναι χωρίων δὲ ποτὲ καλὸν αὐτῷ πεπρακὼς καὶ δι' ἀσχολίαν, ὡς οἴκε, διὰ πολέμους οὐκ ἀπειληφόθω τὸ ἀργύριον. τούτου οὖν ἐκβαίνοντα τότε τῆς ὀλκάδος ἰδὼν ὁ Κλεομένης (ἐπεχε γὰρ ἐν τῇ κρητίδι τοῦ λιμένος περιπατῶν) ἠσπάζετο προθύμως καὶ τίς αὐτὸν

2 εἰς Αἰγυπτὸν άγοι προφασίς ἡρῶτα. τοῦ δὲ Νικαγόρου φιλοφρόνους ἀντασπαζόμενον καὶ φήσαντος ὑποτευχίαν ἄγειν τῷ βασιλεῖ καλοὺς τῶν πολεμιστηρίων, γελάσας ὁ Κλεομένης, "Ἔβου λόμην ἂν," ἔφη, "σε μᾶλλον ἥκειν ἄγοντα σαμβυκιστρίας καὶ κινάδους ταύτα γὰρ νῦν μάλιστα κατεπείγει τὸν βασιλέα." καὶ ὁ Νικαγόρας τότε μὲν ἐμειδίασε νημέραις δὲ ύστερον ὅλγαις ὑπομνήσας τοῦ χωρίου τὸν Κλεομένην νῦν γοῦν ἐδείτο τὴν τιμὴν ἀπολαβεῖν, ὡς οὐκ ἄν ἐνοχλήσας,

128
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

For not even gifts would soften him, but just as the sacred bull Apis, though living in plenty and believed to be having a luxurious time, feels a desire for the life that was his by nature, for coursings without restraint, and leaps and bounds, and is manifestly disgusted with his treatment at the hands of the priests, so Cleomenes took no pleasure in his life of ease and luxury,

—"but kept pining away in his dear heart,"

like Achilles, 1

"As he lingered there, and kept yearning for war-cry and battle."

XXXV. While matters stood thus with him, Nica- goras the Messenian came to Alexandria, a man who hated Cleomenes, but pretended to be a friend. He had at one time sold Cleomenes a fine estate, and owing to the constant demands of war upon the king, as it would seem, had not received the money for it. And so now, when Cleomenes, who chanced to be taking a walk along the quay, saw Nicagoranas landing from his vessel, he greeted him heartily and asked what errand brought him to Egypt. Nicagoranas re- turned his greeting in a friendly manner, and said that he was bringing horses for the king, some fine ones for use in war. At this, Cleomenes gave a laugh and said: "I could wish that thou hadst rather brought sambuca-girls and catamites; for these now most interest the king." At the time Nicagoranas merely smiled; but a few days later he reminded Cleomenes of the estate, and asked that now at any rate he might get the money for it, saying that he would not have troubled him about the matter if he had not

1 Iliad, i. 491 f.
ei μη περι την των φορτήων διάθεσιν μετρίως. 3 ἐξημωύτο. τοῦ δὲ Κλεομένους φήσαντος οὐδὲν αὐτῷ περιεῖναι τῶν δεδομένων, λυπηθεῖς ὁ Νικαγόρας ἐκφέρει τῷ Σωσιβίῳ τὸ σκῶμα τοῦ Κλεομένους. ὁ δὲ καὶ τούτο μὲν ἀσμένως ἔλαβεν, ἐκ δὲ μείζονος αἰτίας τὸν βασιλέα παραξύναι ξητῶν ἐπεισε τὸν Νικαγόραν ἐπιστολὴν γράψαντα κατὰ τοῦ Κλεομένους ἀπολυτείν, ὡς ἔγνωκότος, εἰ λάβοι τρήρεις καὶ στρατιώτας παρ’ αὐτοῦ, Κυρίνην κατασχεῖν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Νικαγόρας ταῦτα γράψας ἀπέπλευσε τοῦ δὲ Σωσιβίου μετὰ τέσσαρας ήμέρας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἀνενεγκόντος ὡς ἀρτίως αὐτῷ δεδομένην καὶ παραξύναντος τὸ μειράκιον, ἔδοξεν εἰς οἰκίαν μεγάλην εἰσαγαγεῖν τὸν Κλεομένην, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ὁμοίως παρέχοντας διαίταιν ἐξόδων εἰργεῖν.

XXXVI. Ἡν μὲν οὖν καὶ ταῦτα λυπηρὰ τῷ Κλεομένει, μοχθηροτέρας δὲ τὰς περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐλπίδας ἔσχεν ἐκ τοιαύτης συντυχίας. Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Χρυσέραμος φίλος δυν τοῦ βασιλέως πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἐπιεικῶς διεῖλεκτο τῷ Κλεομένει, καὶ συνήθεια τις ὑπῆρχεν αὐτοῖς καὶ παρησία πρὸς ἀλλήλους. οὕτως οὖν τότε, τοῦ Κλεομένους δεηθέντος ἔλθειν πρὸς αὐτόν, ἦλθε μὲν καὶ διελέξθη μέτρια, τὸ ὑποττον ἐξαιρῶν καὶ περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπολογούμενος. ἀπίων δὲ πάλιν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας, καὶ μὴ προνοήσας ἐξόπισθεν ἀχρὶ τῶν θυρών ἑπακολουθοῦντα τὸν Κλεομένην, πικρὰς ἐπετίμησε τοὺς φύλαξιν ὡς ὁ μέγα θηρίον καὶ δυστήρητον ἀμελῶς φυλάττουσι καὶ 822 μετρίων Bekker and Blass correct to οὐ μετρίως, after Reiske.

130
met with a considerable loss in the disposition of his cargo; and when Cleomenes declared that he had nothing left of the moneys that had been given him, Nicagoras was vexed, and reported to Sosibius the pleasantry of Cleomenes. Sosibius was glad to get even this matter, but he desired to have some larger accusation with which to exasperate the king, and therefore persuaded Nicagoras to write and leave behind him a letter accusing Cleomenes of planning, in case he got triremes and soldiers from Ptolemy, to seize Cyrene. So Nicagoras wrote a letter to this effect and sailed away; and Sosibius, after four days had passed, brought the letter to Ptolemy, pretending that he had just received it, and so exasperated the young man that it was decided to remove Cleomenes into a large house, and while treating him in other ways just as before, to prevent his egress.

XXXVI. Even this usage was grievous to Cleomenes, but his hopes for the future received a greater shock from the following incident. Ptolemy the son of Chrysermus, a friend of King Ptolemy, had all the while been on friendly terms with Cleomenes, and they were quite intimate and outspoken with one another. This Ptolemy, then, now that Cleomenes begged a visit from him, came and conversed in a reasonable way with him, seeking to remove his suspicions and excusing the conduct of the king; but when he was leaving the house and did not perceive that Cleomenes was following on behind him as far as the doors, he bitterly reproached the guards for the careless and easy watch they kept upon a great wild beast that was so hard to keep.
3 ῥαθύμως. τούτων ο Κλεομένης αὐτήκοος γενόμενος, καὶ πρὶν αἰσθέσθαι τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἀναχωρῆσας ἔφρασε τοῖς φίλοις. εὐθὺς οὖν παντες ἄς πρῶτον ἐλθον ἐλπίδας ἐκβάλοντες, πρὸς ὀργὴν ἐβουλεύσαντο τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τὴν ἄδικιαν ἀμυνάμενοι καὶ τὴν ὑβρίν ἀξίως τῆς Σπάρτης ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ μὴ περιμένειν ὅστερ ἑρεία πιαν-θέντας κατακοπτῆναι· δεινὸν γάρ, εἰ τὰς πρὸς Ἀντίγονον, ἀνδρα πολεμιστὴν καὶ δραστήριον, διαλύσεις ὑπεριδῶν Κλεομένης κάθηται μητραγύρτοι βασιλέως σχολὴν ἀναμένων; ὅταν πρῶτον ἀπόθηται τὸ τύμπανον καὶ καταπαύσῃ τὸν θία-σον, ἀποκτενοῦντος αὐτῶν.

XXXVII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔδοξε ταῦτα καὶ κατὰ τύχην ο Πτολεμαῖος εἰς Κάυσιοβον ἔξωρμησε, πρῶτον μὲν διέδωκαν λόγον ὡς παραλύοιτο τῆς φυλακῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως· ἔπειτα ἐκ τινός ἔθους βασιλικοῦ τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἐξ εἰρκῆς ἀπολύεσθαι δεῖτον τε πεμπομένον καὶ ἔξων, οἱ φίλοι πολλὰ τοιαῦτα τῷ Κλεομένει παρασκευά-σαντες ἔξωθεν εἰσέπεμψαν, ἐξαπατῶντες τοὺς φύλακας οἰκυμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπεστάλ-θαι. καὶ γὰρ ἔδει καὶ μετεδίδου τούτων ἀφθόνως αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐπιτίθεσις στεφάνους καὶ κατακλιθείς εἰστιάτο μετὰ τῶν φίλων. λέγεται δὲ τάχισον ἡ διεγνώκει πρὸς τὴν πράξειν ὁμήρου τις οἰκεῖοι τοὺς συναισθό-μενος οἰκέτην ἕνα τῶν συνειδότων τὴν πρᾶξιν ἔξω παρὰ γυναικὶ κεκοιμημένον ἦ τῷ ἑρα. καὶ φοβηθεὶς μήνυσιν, ἐπειδὴ μέσον ἡμέρας ἢ καὶ τοὺς φύλα-κας ἤσθετο καθεύδοντας ὑπὸ τῆς μέθης, ἐνδυσά-μενος τὸν χιτώνα καὶ τὴν ραφὴν ἐκ τοῦ δεξιοῦ
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

Cleomenes heard this with his own ears, and without Ptolemy's being aware of his presence went back and told his friends. At once, then, they all abandoned the hopes they had been cherishing and wrathfully determined to avenge themselves on Ptolemy for his injustice and insolence, and die in a manner worthy of Sparta, instead of waiting like sacrificial victims to be first fattened and then smitten down. For it was an intolerable thing that Cleomenes, after scorning to come to terms with Antigonus, a man who fought well and wrought much, should sit idly down and await the leisure of a beggarly priest of a king, who, as soon as he could lay aside his timbrel and stop his dancing, would slay him.

XXXVII. Such being their resolve, and Ptolemy, as chance would have it, making a visit to Canopus, in the first place word was sent about that Cleomenes had been set free by the king; and next, in view of a custom which the king had of sending presents and a banquet to those who were going to be released from imprisonment, the friends of Cleomenes in the city prepared and sent in to him an abundance of such things, thus completely deceiving the guards, who thought the king had sent them. For Cleomenes made a sacrifice and gave the guards a bountiful share of his provisions, and then took his place at table with garlands on his head and feasted with his friends. We are told, too, that he set out upon his enterprise sooner than he had intended, because he learned that a slave who was privy to it had passed the night outside in company with a mistress. So fearing that his plans would be revealed, when noon came and he perceived that his guards were sleeping off their wine, he put on his tunic, opened the seam
παραλυομένου ὃμου, γυμνῷ τῷ ἔφει μετὰ τῶν
φίλων ἔξεπαῖδησεν ἐνεσκευασμένων ὁμοίως, δεκα-
3 τριῶν ὅντων. Ἰππίτας δὲ χωλὸς ὄν τῇ μὲν
πρώτῃ συνεξεπεσεν ὁμήρῳ προθύμῳ, ὡς δὲ ἔωρα
σχολαίτερον πορευομένους δι' αὐτῶν, ἐκελεύσειν
ἀνελεῖν καὶ μὴ διαφθείρειν τὴν πρώξιν, ἄχρηστον
ἀνθρώπων περιμένοντας. ἔτυχε δὲ τῶν Ἀλεξαν-
δρέων τις ἱππον ἄγων παρὰ τὰς θύρας· τούτων
ἀφελόμενοι καὶ τῶν Ἰππίταν ἀναβαλόντες, ἐφέ-
ρυντο δρόμῳ διὰ τῶν στενωπῶν καὶ παρεκάλουν
4 τὸν ὕχλον ἐπὶ τὴν ἑλευθερίαν. τοῖς δὲ τοσοῦτον,
ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀλήθης μετῆν ὅσον ἐπαινεῖν καὶ θαυμά-
ζειν τὴν τοῦ Κλεομένου τόλμαν, ἀκολουθεῖν δὲ
καὶ βοηθεῖν οὐδές ἐθάρρει.
Τὸν μὲν οὖν τοῦ Χρυσέρμου Πτολεμαίον ἐκ τῆς
αὐλῆς ἔξιόντα τρεῖς εὐθὺς προσπεσόντες ἀπέ-
κτειναν· ἐτέρου δὲ Πτολεμαίον τοῦ φυλάσσοντος
τὴν πόλιν ἐλαύνοντος ἄρματι πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ὅρμη-
σαντες ἐναντίοι τοὺς μὲν ὑπηρέτας καὶ δορυφόρους
διεσκέδασαν, αὐτὸν δὲ κατασπάσαντες ἀπὸ τοῦ
5 ἄρματος ἀπέκτειναν. εἶτα πρὸς τὴν ἀκραν ἐξό-
ρουν, ἀναρρήξα τιναυόμενοι τὸ δεσμωτήριον καὶ
χρήσασθαι τῷ πλῆθει τῶν δεδεμένων. ἐφθασαν
δὲ φραξάμενοι καλῶς οἱ φύλακες, ὅστε καὶ
tαύτης ἀποκρουσθέντα τῆς πείρας τὸν Κλεομένη
dιαφέρεσθαι καὶ πλανᾶσθαι κατὰ τὴν πόλιν,
οὔδενς αὐτῷ προσχωροῦντος, ἀλλὰ φευγόντων
6 καὶ φοβουμένων ἀπάντων. οὐτὸς οὖν ἀποστᾶς
καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἶπὼν, "Οὐδὲν ἢν ἄρα
θαυμαστὸν ἄρχειν γυναῖκας ἀνθρώπων φευγόντων
τὴν ἑλευθερίαν," παρεκάλεσε πάντας ἄξιοις αὐτοῦ
καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων τελευτῶν. καὶ πρῶτος μὲν

134
over his right shoulder, and with drawn sword sprang forth, accompanied by his friends, who were likewise arrayed, thirteen in number. Hippitas, who was lame, joined in making the first onset with all his soul, but when he saw that he was a hindrance to the progress of his companions, he bade them kill him, and not ruin the enterprise by waiting for a useless fellow. As it chanced, however, an Alexan-
drian was leading a horse past the doors, so they seized the animal, put Hippitas on its back, and then rushed at full speed through the narrow streets of the city, summoning the throng to win their freedom. These had enough courage, as it would seem, to admire and praise the daring of Cleomenes, but not a man was bold enough to follow and help him.

Well, then, as Ptolemy the son of Chrysermus was coming out of the palace, three of them straightway fell upon him and slew him; and as another Ptolemy, who had the city in his charge, was driving towards them in a chariot, they rushed to meet him, scattered his servants and mercenaries, dragged him from his chariot, and slew him. Then they proceeded to the citadel, purposing to break open the prison and avail themselves of the multitude of prisoners. But the guards were too quick for them and barred the way securely, so that Cleomenes, baffled in this attempt also, roamed up and down through the city, not a man joining with him but everybody filled with fear and flying from him. So, then, he de-
sisted from his attempt, and saying to his friends, "It is no wonder, after all, that women rule over men who run away from freedom," he called upon them all to die in a manner worthy of their king and their past achievements. So Hippitas first, at
'Ιππίτας ὑπὸ τῶν νεωτέρων τινὸς ἐπιλήγη δεσθεὶς, ἔπειτα τῶν ἄλλων ἐκαστὸς εὐκόλως καὶ ἀδεῶς ἐαυτῶν ἀποσφάττει, πλὴν Παντέως τοῦ πρώτου 7 Μεγάλην πόλιν καταλαβόντος. τούτου δὲ κάλ- λιστον ὥρα καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἁγωγὴν εὐφυέστατον τῶν νέων γενόμενον ἐρώμενον ἐσχηκὼς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκέλευσεν, ὅταν αὐτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἵδη πεπτωκότας, ὀυτῷ τελευτάν. ἦδη δὲ κειμένων ἀπάντων ἐπιπορεύομενος ὁ Παντεὺς καὶ τῷ ξιφι- δίῳ παραπτόμενος καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἀπεπειράτο μὴ τις διαλανθάνοι ξοῦν. ἔτει δὲ καὶ τὸν Κλεομένην νύξας παρὰ τὸ σφυρὸν εἴδε συντρέψαντα τὸ πρόσ- ωπον, ἐφίλησεν αὐτὸν, ἔτα παρεκάθισε· καὶ τέλος ἔχοντος ἦδη περιβαλῶν τῶν νεκρῶν εαυτῶν ἐπικατέσφαξε.

XXXVIII. Κλεομένης μὲν οὖν ἐκκαίδεκα τῆς Σπάρτης βασιλεύσας ἔτη καὶ τοιούτοις ἀνὴρ γε- νόμενος οὐτῷ κατέστρεψε. τῆς δὲ φήμης εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὅλην σκεδασθείσης ἢ μὲν Κρατησίκλεια, καίπερ οὖσα γενναία γυνή, προῦδωκε τὸ φρόνημα πρὸς τὸ τῆς συμφορᾶς μέγεθος, καὶ περιβαλόοισα

2 τὰ παιδία τοῦ Κλεομένους ὁλοφύρετο. τῶν δὲ παιδίων τὸ πρεσβύτερον ἀποστῆσαν, οὐδενὸς δὲν προσδοκήσαντος, ἀτὸ τοῦ τέγους ἐπὶ κεφαλήν ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὸ· καὶ κακῶς μὲν ἔσχεν, οὐ μὴν ἀπέ- θανεν, ἀλλ' ἡρθῃ βοῶν καὶ ἀγανακτοῦν ἐπὶ τῷ διακωλύεσθαι τελευτάν.

'Ο δὲ Πτολεμαῖος, ὄς ἐγών ταύτα, προσέταξε τὸ μὲν σῶμα τοῦ Κλεομένους κρεμάσαι κατα- βυσσώσαντας, ἀποκτεῖναι δὲ τὰ παιδία καὶ τὴν 8 μητέρα καὶ τὰς περὶ αὐτήν γυναίκας. ἐν δὲ
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

his own request, was smitten down by one of the younger men, then each of the others calmly and cheerfully slew himself, except Panteus, the man who led the way in the capture of Megalopolis. He had once been the king's favourite, because in his youth he was most fair, and in his young manhood most amenable to the Spartan discipline; and now his orders were to wait until the king and the rest of the band were dead, and then to die himself. At last all the rest lay prostrate on the ground, and Panteus, going up to each one in turn and pricking him with his sword, sought to discover whether any spark of life remained. When he pricked Cleomenes in the ankle and saw that his face twitched, he kissed him, and then sat down by his side; at last the end came, and after embracing the king's dead body, he slew himself upon it.

XXXVIII. Such, then, was the end of Cleomenes, who had been for sixteen years king of Sparta, and had shown himself the man whom I have described. The report of his death spread over the entire city, and Cratesicleia, although she was a woman of noble spirit, lost her composure in view of the magnitude of her misfortunes, and throwing her arms about the children of Cleomenes, wailed and lamented. But the elder of the two boys, forestalling all prevention, sprang away and threw himself headlong from the roof; he was badly injured, but did not die, and was taken up crying out resentfully because he was not permitted to end his life.

But Ptolemy, when he learned of these things, gave orders that the body of Cleomenes should be flayed and hung up, and that his children, his mother, and the women that were with her, should be killed.

1 See chapter xxiii. 4.
taútais ἦν καὶ Παυτέως γυνὴ καλλίστη καὶ γεν- 
ναιοτάτη τὸ εἶδος. ἔτι δὲ αὐτοῖς νεογάμοις οὕσω 
ἐν ἀκμαῖς ἐρώτων αἱ τύχαι συννέβησαν. εὐθὺς 
μὲν οὖν συνεκπλεύσαι τῷ Παυτεί βουλομένην 
αὐτὴν οὐκ εἶχαν οἱ γυναῖκες, ἀλλὰ βίᾳ κατακλεί-
4 σαντες ἐφύλαττον ὅλιγον δὲ ὑστερον ὑππον ἕαυτή 
παρασκευάσασα καὶ χρυσίδιον οὐ πολὺ νυκτὸς 
ἀπέδρα, καὶ διώξασα συντόνως ἐπὶ Ταίναρον, 
ἐκεῖθεν ἐπέβη νεὼς εἰς Αἰγυπτον πλεούσης καὶ 
διεκομίσθη πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ συνδηνεγκέει 
αὐτῷ τὸν ἐπὶ ξένης βίον ἅλυπως καὶ ἱλαρῶς. 
αὐτῇ τότε τὴν Κρατησίκλειαν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιω-
τῶν ἐξαγωγομένην ἔχειραγώγηας, τόν τε πέπλου 
αὐτῆς ὑπολαμβάνονσα, καὶ θαρρεῖν παρακα-
λοῦσα μηδὲν τι μηδ’ αὐτὴν ἐκπεπληγμένην τοῦ 
θάνατον, ἀλλ’ ἐν μόνῳ αὐτοψάμνην, πρὸ τῶν 
5 παιδίων ἀποθανεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤλθον εἰς τὸν τόπον 
ἐν δὲ ταῦτα ἰδράν εἰώθεσαν οἱ ὑπηρέται, πρῶτον 
μὲν τὰ παιδία, τῆς Κρατησίκλειας ὀρώσης, ἐσ-
φαττον, εἰτα ἐκεινὴν, ἐν τούτῳ μόνῳ ἐπὶ τηλι-
κούτοις φθεγξαμένην πάθεσιν, “Ω τέκνα, ποί 
ἐμόλυτε”; ἡ δὲ Παυτέως γυνὴ, περιζωσαμένη τὸ 
ἰμάτιον, εὐρωστὸς οὖσα καὶ μεγάλη τῶν ἀπο-
thνησκούσων ἐκάστην σιωπῆ καὶ μεθ’ ἡσυχίας 
ἐθεράπευε καὶ περίεστελλεν ἐκ τῶν ἐνδεχόμενων. 
6 τέλος δὲ μετὰ πάσας ἕαυτὴν κοσμῆσασα, καὶ 
καταγαγοῦσα τὴν περιβολὴν, καὶ μηδένα προσ-
ελθεῖν ἐάσασα μηδὲ ἰδεῖν ἀλλὸν ἢ τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς 
sφαγῆς τεταγμένον, ἡρωίκῶς κατέστρεψεν, οὐ-
δευτερών ἀνθρώπων τοῖς κοσμοῦντοις καὶ περικαλύπτοντοις 
μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν. οὕτω παρέμεινε τῷ θανάτῳ 
τὸ κόσμιον τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ διεφύλαξεν ἦν ἱερα 
φρουράν τῷ σώματι περιέθηκεν.
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

Among these women was the wife of Panteus, most noble and beautiful to look upon. The pair were still but lately married, and their misfortunes came upon them in the hey-day of their love. Her parents, indeed, would not permit her to sail away with Panteus immediately, although she wished to do so, but shut her up and kept her under constraint; a little later, however, she procured herself a horse and a small sum of money, ran away by night, made all speed to Taenarum, and there embarked upon a ship bound for Egypt. She was conveyed to her husband, and with him bore their life in a strange land without complaint and cheerfully. She it was who now took the hand of Cratesicleia as she was led forth by the soldiers, held up her robe for her, and bade her be of good courage. And Cratesicleia herself was not one whit dismayed at death, but asked one favour only, that she might die before the children died. However, when they were come to the place of execution, first the children were slain before her eyes, and then Cratesicleia herself was slain, making but this one cry at sorrows so great: "O children, whither are ye gone?" Then the wife of Panteus, girding up her robe, vigorous and stately woman that she was, ministered to each of the dying women calmly and without a word, and laid them out for burial as well as she could. And finally, after all were cared for, she arrayed herself, let down her robes from about her neck, and suffering no one besides the executioner to come near or look upon her, bravely met her end, and had no need of anyone to array or cover up her body after death. Thus her decorum of spirit attended her in death, and she maintained to the end that watchful care of her body which she had set over it in life.
XXXIX. Ἡ μὲν οὖν Λακεδαίμων, ἐφαμίλλως ἀγωνισμένη τῷ γυναικείῳ δράματι πρὸς τὸ ἀνδρείον, ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις καιροῖς ἐπέδειξε τὴν ἀρετὴν ὑβρισθῆναι μὴ δυναμένην ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης. ὅλιγας δὲ ὑστερον ἡμέραις οἱ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κλεομένου ἀνεσταυρωμένου παραφυλάττοντες εἶδον εὐμεγέθη δράκοντα τῇ κεφαλῇ περιπεπλεγμένου καὶ ἀποκρύπτοντα τὸ πρόσωπον, ὡστε μηδὲν 2 ὅρνεον ἐφίπτασθαι σαρκοφάγον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου δεισιδαιμονία προσέπεσε τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ φόβος, ἀλλοι καθαρμῶν ταῖς γυναιξίν ἀρχὴν παρασχών, ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἀνηρμένου θεοφιλοῦς καὶ κρείττονος τὴν φύσιν. οἱ δὲ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς καὶ προστρέπουντο φοιτῶντες ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, ἤρωα τὸν Κλεομένη καὶ θεῶν παιδα προσαγορεύοντες, ἄχρι οὗ 3 κατέπαυσαν αὐτοὺς οἱ σοφῶτεροι, διδόντες λόγον ὡς μελίττας μὲν βόες, σφήκας δὲ ἱπποι κατασπέντες ἐξανθοῦσι, κάνθαροι δὲ ὄνων τὸ αὐτὸ παθόντων ἔσωνουνται, τὰ δὲ ἀνθρώπινα σῶματα, τῶν περὶ τὸν μυελὸν ἴχώρον συρροῆν τινα καὶ σύστασιν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς λαβόντων, ὃφεις ἀναδίδωσι. καὶ τούτο κατιδόντες οἱ παλαιοὶ μάλιστα τῶν ζώων τὸν δράκοντα τοῖς ἦρωσι συνφικείωσαν.
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

XXXIX. So, then, Sparta, bringing her women's tragedy into emulous competition with that of her men, showed the world that in the last extremity Virtue cannot be outraged by Fortune. And a few days afterwards those who were keeping watch upon the body of Cleomenes where it hung, saw a serpent of great size coiling itself about the head and hiding away the face so that no ravening bird of prey could light upon it. In consequence of this, the king was seized with superstitious fear, and thus gave the women occasion for various rites of purification, since they felt that a man had been taken off who was of a superior nature and beloved of the gods. And the Alexandrians actually worshipped him, coming frequently to the spot and addressing Cleomenes as a hero and a child of the gods; but at last the wiser men among them put a stop to this by explaining that, as putrefying oxen breed bees, and horses wasps, and as beetles are generated in asses which are in the like condition of decay, so human bodies, when the juices about the marrow collect together and coagulate, produce serpents. And it was because they observed this that the ancients associated the serpent more than any other animal with heroes.
TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS.
ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΓΑΙΟΣ
ΓΡΑΙΧΟΙ

T. ΓΡΑΙΧΟΣ

I. Ἡμεῖς δὲ τὴν πρώτην ἱστορίαν ἀποδεδωκότες ἔχομεν οὐκ ἐλάττωνα πάθη τούτων ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίικῇ συζυγίᾳ θεωρήσαι, τὸν Τιβερίον καὶ Γαίου βίον ἀντιπαραβάλλοντες. οὗτοι Τιβερίου Γράγχου παῖδες ἦσαν, ὁ τιμητὴ τῆς Ῥωμαίων γενομένως καὶ δῖς ὑπατεύσαντες καὶ θριάμβους δύο καταγαγόντες λαμπρότερον ἦν τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀξίωμα. διὸ καὶ τὴν Σκηπίωνος τοῦ καταπόλεμής αὐτὸς Ἀννίβαν θυγατέρα Κορυτήλιαν, οὐκ δὲν φίλος, ἀλλὰ καὶ διάφορος τῷ ἀνδρὶ γεγονός, λαβεῖν ἡξίωθη μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτήν. λέγεται δὲ ποτὲ συλλαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς κλής ξεύγος δρακόντων, τοὺς δὲ μάντεις σκεψαμένους τὸ τέρας ἀμφότερον ὡς οὐκ ἀναλογοῦσα, ἐπὶ δὲ θατέρου διαρρέειν, ὡς ὁ μὲν ἀρρήτος τῷ Τιβερίῳ φέρει θάνατον ἀναφερθεῖς, ὡς δὲ θήλεια τῇ Κορυτήλιᾳ. τὸν οὖν Τιβέριον καὶ φιλούντα τὴν γυναῖκα, καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτὸ προσήκειν ὡς πρεσβυτέρῳ τελευτῶν ἤγούμενον ἐν ἐνασουσίᾳ ἑκείνης, τὸν μὲν ἀρρένα κτεῖναι τῶν δρακόντων, ἀφεῖναι δὲ τὴν θήλειαν εἴτε ὀστερον οὐ πολλῷ
TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

TIBERIUS GRACCHUS

I. Now that we have duly finished the first part of our story, we have to contemplate fates no less tragic than those of Agis and Cleomenes in the lives of the Roman couple, Tiberius and Caius, which we set in parallel. They were sons of Tiberius Gracchus, who, although he had been censor at Rome, twice consul, and had celebrated two triumphs, derived his more illustrious dignity from his virtue. Therefore, after the death\(^1\) of the Scipio who conquered Hannibal, although Tiberius had not been his friend, but actually at variance with him, he was judged worthy to take Scipio's daughter Cornelia in marriage. We are told, moreover, that he once caught a pair of serpents on his bed, and that the soothsayers, after considering the prodigy, forbade him to kill both serpents or to let both go, but to decide the fate of one or the other of them, declaring also that the male serpent, if killed, would bring death to Tiberius, and the female, to Cornelia. Tiberius, accordingly, who loved his wife, and thought that since she was still young and he was older it was more fitting that he should die, killed the male serpent, but let the female go. A short time afterwards, as the story

\(^1\) In 183 B.C.
χρόνος τελευτήσαι, δεκαδύο παιδάς ἐκ τῆς Κορυν-λίας αὐτῷ γεγονότας καταλιπόντα.

4 Κορυνλία δὲ ἀναλαβοῦσα τοὺς παιδάς καὶ τὸν οἶκον, οὕτω σώφρονα καὶ φιλότεκνον καὶ μεγαλόψυχον αὐτὴν παρέσχεν ὡστε μή κακῶς δόξαι βεβουλεύσθαι τὸν Τιβέριον ἀντὶ τοιαύτης γυ-ναικὸς ἀποθανεῖν ἐλόμενον, ἢ γε καὶ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλέως κοινομένου τὸ διάδημα καὶ μνω-μένου τὸν γάμον αὐτῆς ἤρνησατο, καὶ χαρεύουσα τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀπέβαλε παιδάς, μίαν δὲ τῶν θυγατέρων, ἢ Σκηπίων τῷ νεωτέρῳ συνφύκησε, καὶ δύο νιώσ, περὶ ὁν τάδε γέγραπται, Τιβέριον καὶ Γάιον, διαγενομένους οὕτω φιλοτίμως ἐξε-θρεψεν ὡστε πάντων εὐφυεστάτους Ῥωμαίων ὁμολογομένως γεγονότας πεπαιδεύσθαι δοκεῖν βέλτιον ἢ πεφυκέναι πρὸς ἀρετήν.

II. Ἐπεὶ δὲ, ὡσπερ ἡ τῶν πλασσομένων καὶ γραφομένων Διοσκούρων ὁμοιότης ἔχει τινὰ τοῦ πυκτικοῦ πρὸς τῶν δρομικῶν ἐπὶ τῆς μορφῆς δια-φοράν, οὕτω τῶν νεανίσκων ἐκείνω ἐν πολλῇ τῇ πρὸς ἀνδρέαν καὶ σωφροσύνῃ, ἐτι δὲ ἐλευθερίο-τητα καὶ λογιότητα καὶ μεγαλοψυχίαν ἐμφερεία μεγάλαι περὶ τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὰς πολιτείας οἷον ἐξήνθησαν καὶ διεφάνησαν ἀνομοιότητες, οὐ κείρον εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ τάυτας προεκθέσθαι.

2 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἰδέα προσώπου καὶ βλέμματι καὶ κινήματι πράσος καὶ καταστηματικὸς ἢν ὁ
goes, he died, leaving Cornelia with twelve children by him.

Cornelia took charge of the children and of the estate, and showed herself so discreet, so good a mother, and so magnanimous, that Tiberius was thought to have made no bad decision when he elected to die instead of such a woman. For when Ptolemy the king offered to share his crown with her and sought her hand in marriage, she refused him, and remained a widow. In this state she lost most of her children, but three survived; one daughter, who married Scipio the Younger, and two sons, Tiberius and Caius, whose lives I now write. These sons Cornelia reared with such scrupulous care that although confessedly no other Romans were so well endowed by nature, they were thought to owe their virtues more to education than to nature.

II. Now, just as, in spite of the likeness between Castor and Pollux as they are represented in sculpture and painting, there is a certain difference of shape between the boxer and the runner, so in the case of these young Romans, along with their strong resemblance to one another in bravery and self-command, as well as in liberality, eloquence, and magnanimity, in their actions and political careers great unlikelihoods blossomed out, as it were, and came to light. Therefore I think it not amiss to set these forth before going further.

In the first place, then, as regards cast of features and look and bearing, Tiberius was gentle and sedate,

---

1 He was consul for the second time in 163 B.C. The year of his death is unknown. This story is told and commented on by Cicero in De divinatone i. 18, 36; ii. 29, 62.

2 Probably Ptolemy VI., surnamed Philometor, king of Egypt 181-146 B.C.
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Tiβέριος, ἐντονὸς δὲ καὶ σφοδρὸς ὁ Γάιος, ὡςτε καὶ δημηγορεῖν τὸν μὲν ἐν μιᾷ χώρᾳ βεβηκότα κοσμίως, τὸν δὲ Ῥωμαίου πρῶτον ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος περιπάτω τε χρήσασθαι καὶ περισπάσαι τὴν τῇ βενονον ἐξ ὦμον λέγουσα, καθάπερ Κλέωνα τὸν Ἀθηναίου ἔστορηται περισπάσαι τε τὴν περιβολὴν καὶ τὸν μηρὸν ἀλοήσαι πρῶτον τῶν

3 δημηγοροῦντων. ἔπειτα ὁ λόγος τοῦ μὲν Γαίου φοβερὸς καὶ περιπαθής εἰς δείωσιν, ἃδιόν δὲ ὁ τοῦ Τιβέριου καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπαγωγὸς οὐκέτοις τῇ δὲ λέξει καθαρὸς καὶ διαπεποιημένος ἀκριβῶς ἐκεῖνος, ὁ δὲ Γαίου πιθανός καὶ γεγανωμένος. οὔτω δὲ καὶ περὶ δίαιταν καὶ τράπεζαν εύτελης καὶ ἀφελῆς ὁ Τιβέριος, ὁ δὲ Γαῖος τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις παραβαλεῖν σώφρων καὶ αὐστηρός, τῇ δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν διαφορὰ νεοπρετῆς καὶ περίεργος, ὡς

4 οἱ περὶ Δροῦσον ἤλεγχον ὅτι δελφίνας ἀργυροὺς ἐπρίατο τιμῆς εἰς ἐκάστην λίτραν δραχμῶν χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων πεντήκοντα. τῷ δὲ ήθει κατὰ τὴν τοῦ λόγου διαφορᾶν ὁ μὲν ἐπιεικῆς καὶ πράος, ὁ δὲ τραχύς καὶ θυμοειδῆς, ὥστε καὶ παρὰ γνώμην ἐν τῷ λέγειν ἐκφερόμενον πολλάκις ὑπ' ὀργῆς τῆς τε φωνῆς ἀποξύνει καὶ βλασφημεῖ καὶ

5 συνταράττει τὸν λόγον. ὅθεν καὶ βοήθημα τῆς ἐκτροπῆς ἐποιήσατο ταύτης τῶν Δικίννων, οἰκέτην οὐκ ἀνόητον, δὲ ἔχων φωνασκικὸν ὄργανον, ὁ τοῦς φθόγγους ἀναβιβάζουσιν, ὅπισθεν ἐστώς τοῦ Γαίου λέγουσα, ὅπηνικα τραχυνόμενον αἰσθητον τῇ φωνῇ καὶ παραρρηγνύμενον δι' ὀργῆς, ἐνεδίον τὸνον μαλακόν, ὃ τὸ σφοδρὸν εὐθὺς ἐκεῖνος ἁμα

1 δελφίνας Blass, Fuhr, and Ziegler, with the MSS. : δελφικας (Delphic tables, or tripods), after Amyot.
TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

while Caius was high-strung and vehement, so that even when haranguing the people the one stood composedly in one spot, while the other was the first Roman to walk about upon the rostra and pull his toga off his shoulder as he spoke. So Cleon the Athenian is said to have been the first of the popular orators to strip away his mantle and smite his thigh.¹ In the second place, the speech of Caius was awe-inspiring and passionate to exaggeration, while that of Tiberius was more agreeable and more conducive to pity. The style also of Tiberius was pure and elaborated to a nicety, while that of Caius was persuasive and ornate. So also as regards their table and mode of life, Tiberius was simple and plain, while Caius, although temperate and austere as compared with others, in contrast with his brother was ostentatious and fastidious. Hence men like Drusus found fault with him because he bought silver dolphins at twelve hundred and fifty drachmas the pound. Again, their tempers were no less different than their speech. Tiberius was reasonable and gentle, while Caius was harsh and fiery, so that against his better judgment he was often carried away by anger as he spoke, raising his voice to a high pitch and uttering abuse and losing the thread of his discourse. Wherefore, to guard against such digressions, he employed an intelligent servant, Licinius, who stood behind him when he was speaking, with a sounding instrument for giving the tones of the voice their pitch. Whenever this servant noticed that the voice of Caius was getting harsh and broken with anger, he would give out a soft key-note, on hearing which Caius would at once remit the vehemence of his passion and of

¹ See the Nicias, viii. 3.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

tou pathous kai tis phwvhs anvei es eprrauneto kai parieixen eauton evanaklhtov.

III. Ai mewn oyn diaphorai toiauta tiives hasan auton anagagathia de prós touso polémious kai prós touso hypokous dikaiosvn kai prós tás arxhás epimeleia kai prós tás ádovnás engkrateia, aparállaktos. ën de presvuteros einantois euvnea ò Tisbérion kai touto tèn ekatérion politeian apertimenvn tois chrónois epíseis kai tás práxeis oux ëkissta dieleumynato, ën swvaskasantwv meðe svmbalontwn eis tó autò tìn dúnamin, megállh ën ex amfoin òmou kai ònvterebhntov genvomenvn. Lektovn oux idia peri ekatérion kai peri tou presvutérou prôteron.

IV. Ëkeinon toinwn evúth ëk pайдon genvomenos outw ën peribóntos õstte tis tòwn Aũgúrwv legeomenvn ierowvnhs ëxowthnai dé arëtèn mállon ën dià tìn eugèneiavn. ëdhelwse dé, Òppios Klaúdios, ãnhro úpattikos kai tìmptikos kai prosegarammenos kai ëxíwma tis Rwmaynv boulh kai polú frowhmati tòus kath autòn úperalrwv. ëstimómenov gar ën táutw tòwn ierewn, prósagoreúswa tòv Tisbérion kai filofronithheis, autòs èmnato òth thugatri 2 nymphion. ðexaménon dé àsmeivos ãkeinou kai tis katainésews outw genvomenis, eiswov ò Òppios oíkade pròs autòn ãpto tòs ðyras evúth evkalei tìn gvnaiaka megalh tò phwnh bovwn, ò òntistia, tò Klauidian ãmow àndrw kathwmatolögika. kakei-nh thamássasa, Ò Tis, êipewn, ò ò stoudh ò tò tò táxos; êi dé Tisbérion autòl Granghov evrheis 1

1 eì dé ... evrheis Bekker has eì ìh ... evriskheis; Blass and Fuhr eì ìh evrheis (unless thou hadst found), after Stephanus.

150
TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

his speech, grow gentle, and show himself easy to recall.

III. The differences between them, then, were of this nature; but as regards bravery in the face of the enemy, just dealings with subject peoples, scrupulous fidelity in public office, and restraint in pleasurable indulgence, they were exactly alike. Tiberius, however, was nine years older than his brother; and this set a different period for the political activity of each, and more than anything else vitiated their undertakings. They did not rise to eminence at the same time, and so did not combine their powers into one. Such an united power would have proved irresistibly great. We must therefore give an account of each by himself, and of the elder first.

IV. Tiberius, then, as soon as he got past boyhood, was so widely known as to be thought worthy of a place among the priests called Augurs; and this was due to his virtues rather than to his excellent birth, as was clearly shown by Appius Claudius. For Appius, who had been consul and censor, had been made Dean of the Roman senate by virtue of his dignity, and in loftiness of spirit far surpassed his contemporaries, at a banquet of the augurs addressed Tiberius with words of friendship, and asked him to become the husband of his daughter. Tiberius gladly accepted the invitation, and the betrothal was thus arranged, and when Appius returned home, from the doorway where he stood he called his wife and cried in a loud voice: "Antistia, I have betrothed our Claudia." And Antistia, in amazement, said: "Why so eager, or why so fast? If thou hadst only found

---

1 Princeps Senatus.
2 Presumably at the induction of Tiberius into office.

151
3 νυμφίου." ὀυκ ἀγνοῶ δὲ στι τούτῳ τινες ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα τῶν Γράγχων Τιβέριου καὶ Σκηπίωνα τὸν Ἀφρικανὸν ἀναφέρουσι, ἀλλ' ὁ πλεῖος ὡς ἡμεῖς γράφομεν ἱστοροῦσι, καὶ Πολύβιος μετὰ τὴν Σκηπίωνος Ἀφρικανοῦ τελευτήν τοὺς οἰκείους φησίν ἐκ πάντων προκρίναντας τὸν Τιβέριον δοῦναι τὴν Κορνηλίαν, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀνέκ- δοτον καὶ ἀνέγγυον ἀπολειφθεῖσαν.

4 Ὅ δ' οὖν νεώτερος Τιβέριος στρατευόμενος ἐν Διβύῃ μετὰ τοῦ δευτέρου Σκηπίωνος, ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἅδελφην, ὅμως συνδιαίτωμεν ὑπὸ σκηνῆν τῷ στρατηγῷ ταχὺ μὲν αὐτοῦ τὴν φύσιν κατέμαθε, πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα πρὸς ἥλιον ἀρετῆς καὶ μέμησιν ἐπὶ τῶν πράξεων ἑκφέρουσαν, ταχὺ δὲ τῶν νέων πάντων ἐπρώτευεν εὐταξία καὶ ἀνδρείας καὶ τοῦ γε τείχους ἐπέβη τῶν πολεμίων πρῶτος, ὥς φησὶ Φάννιος, λέγων καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ Τιβερίῳ συνεπιβηκείν καὶ συμμετασχεῖν ἐκείνης τῆς ἀριστείας. πολλὴν δὲ καὶ παρὼν εὐνοιαν εἰχεν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ πόθον ἀπαλλαττό- μενος αὐτοῦ κατέλιπε.

5 V. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν στρατείαν ἐκείνην ἀἱρεθεὶς ταμίας ἔλαχε τῶν ὑπάτων Γαύφ Μαγκίνῳ συ- στρατεύων ἐπὶ Νομαντίνους, ἀνθρώπῳ μὲν οὐ πονηρῷ, βαρυποτμοτάτῳ δὲ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγῷ. διὸ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐν τύχαις παραλόγοις καὶ πράγ- μασιν ἐναντίοις τοῦ Τιβερίου διέλαμψεν οὐ μόνον τὸ συνετόν καὶ ἀνδρείον, ἀλλ', δ' θαυμάσιον ἦν, αἰδοὺς τε πολλὰ καὶ τιμή τοῦ ἄρχοντος, ὑπὸ τῶν κακῶν οὐδ' ἑαυτὸν, εἰ στρατηγὸς ἐστιν, ἑπιγι- 2 νόσκουσι. ἦττηθεὶς γὰρ μάχαις μεγάλαις ἐπε-
TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

Tiberius Gracchus for betrothal to her!" I am aware that some refer this story to Tiberius the father of the Gracchi and Scipio Africanus Major, but the majority of writers tell it as I do, and Polybius says that after the death of Scipio Africanus the relatives of Cornelia chose out Tiberius in preference to all others and gave her to him, as one who had been left by her father unaffianced and unbetrothed.

The younger Tiberius, accordingly, serving in Africa under the younger Scipio, who had married his sister, and sharing his commander's tent, soon learned to understand that commander's nature (which produced many great incentives towards the emulation of virtue and its imitation in action), and soon led all the young men in discipline and bravery; yes, he was first to scale the enemies' wall, as Fannius says, who writes also that he himself scaled the wall with Tiberius and shared in that exploit. While he remained with the army Tiberius was the object of much good will, and on leaving it he was greatly missed.

V. After this campaign he was elected quaestor, and had the fortune to serve in a war against Numantia under the consul Caius Mancinus, who was not bad as a man, but most unfortunate of the Romans as a general. Therefore in the midst of unexpected misfortunes and adverse circumstances not only did the sagacity and bravery of Tiberius shine forth all the more, but also—and this was astonishing—the great respect and honour in which he held his commander, who, under the pressure of disasters, forgot even that he was a general. For after he had

---

1 Cf. Livy. xxxviii. 57.  2 Cf. Polybius, xxxii. 13.  3 In the campaign of 146 B.C., which ended with the destruction of Carthage.  4 Consul in 137 B.C.
χείρησε μὲν ἀναζευγγύναι νυκτός, ἐκλιπὼν τὸ στρατόπεδον αἰσθομένων δὲ τῶν Νομαντίνων καὶ τὸ μὲν στρατόπεδον εὐθὺς λαβόντων, τοῖς δὲ ἀνθρώποις ἐπιπεσόντων φεύγουσι καὶ τοὺς ἐσχάτους φονεύσων, τὸ δὲ πᾶν ἐγκυκλουμένων στρατευμα καὶ συνωδούντων εἰς τόπους χαλεποὺς καὶ διάφευξιν οὐκ ἔχοντας, ἀπογνώσετο τὴν ἐκ τοῦ βιαζόμεθα σωτηρίαν ὁ Μαγκῖνος ἐπεκηρυκεῖτο·

3 περὶ σπουδῶν καὶ διαλύσεων πρὸς αὐτούς· οἱ δὲ πιστεύειν ἔφασαν οὐδενὶ πλὴν μόνῳ Τιβερίῳ, καὶ τούτον ἐκέλευσαν ἀποστέλλειν πρὸς αὐτούς. ἐπετῶθεσαν δὲ τούτο καὶ δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν νεανίσκον (ὡς γὰρ αὐτοῦ πλεῖστος λόγος ἐπὶ στρατιᾶς), καὶ μεμνημένοι τοῦ πατρὸς Τιβερίου, δε σολεμνίζον Ιβηρία καὶ πολλοὺς καταστρεψάμενος ἐρήμην ἐθετο πρὸς τοὺς Νομαντίνους καὶ ταύτην ἐμπεδούντα τὸν δήμον ὅρθῶς καὶ δικαίως ἄει παρέσχεν.

4 οὕτω δὴ πεμφθεὶς ὁ Τιβέριος καὶ συγγενόμενος τοῖς ἀνδράσι, καὶ τὰ μὲν πείσας, τὰ δὲ δεξαμενοὺς ἐστείλατο, καὶ δισμυρίους ἔσωσε περίφανός Ἡρωμαίων πολίτας, ἀνευθρεπίας καὶ τῶν ἑξω τάξεως ἐπομένων.

VI. Τὰ δὲ ἐν τῷ χάρακι ληφθέντα δράκαντα πάντα κατέσχων οἱ Νομαντίνοι καὶ διεπόρθησαν· ἐν δὲ τούτοις καὶ πινακίδες ἦσαν τοῦ Τιβερίου, γράμματα καὶ λόγους ἔχουσαι τῆς ταμευτικῆς ἀρχῆς, ὅπερ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενος ἀπολαβεῖν, ἥδη τοῦ στρατοῦ προκεχωρηκότος ἀνέστρεψε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ἔχων μεθ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ τρεῖς ἡ τέτταρας
TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

been defeated in great battles, he attempted to abandon his camp and withdraw his forces by night; but the Numantines became aware of his attempt and promptly seized his camp. Then they fell upon his men as they fled, slew those who were in the rear, encompassed his whole army, and crowded them into regions that were full of difficulties and afforded no escape. Mancinus, despairing of forcing his way to safety, sent heralds to the enemy proposing a truce and terms of peace; but the enemy declared that they had confidence in no Roman save only Tiberius, and ordered that he should be sent to them. They had this feeling towards the young man not only on his own account (for he was held in very high esteem by the Numantine soldiery), but also because they remembered his father Tiberius, who waged war against the Spaniards,¹ and subdued many of them, but made a peace with the Numantines, to the observance of which with integrity and justice he always held the Roman people. So Tiberius was sent and held conference with the enemy, and after getting them to accept some conditions, and himself accepting others, effected a truce, and thereby manifestly saved the lives of twenty thousand Roman citizens, besides attendants and camp followers.

VI. However, all the property captured in the camp was retained by the Numantines and treated as plunder. Among this were also the ledgers of Tiberius, containing written accounts of his official expenses as quaestor. These he was very anxious to recover, and so, when the army was already well on its way, turned back towards the city, attended by

In 180–179 B.C.

155
εκκαλέσας δὲ τῶν Νομαντίνων τοὺς ἀρχοντας ἥξιον κομίσασθαι τἀς δέλτους, ὡς μὴ παράσχοι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς διαβολὴν οὐκ ἔχων ἀπολογίσασθαι περὶ τῶν ἁκονομημένων. ἦσθεντες οὖν οἱ Νομαντίνοι τῇ συντυχίᾳ τῆς χρείας παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὡς δὲ εἰστήκει βουλευόμενος, ἐγγὺς προσελθόντες ἐνεφύνοντο ταῖς χερσὶ, καὶ λιπαρεῖς ἦσαν δεόμενοι μηκέτι νομίζειν αὐτοὺς πολεμίους, ἀλλ' ὡς φίλοις χρῆσθαι καὶ πιστεύειν. ἔδοξεν οὖν τῷ Τιβερίῳ ταῦτα ποιεῖν, τῶν τε δέλτων περιεχομένων καὶ δεδουκότι παροξύνειν ὡς ἀπιστουμένους τοὺς Νομαντίνους. εἰσελθόντες δὲ εἰς τὴν πόλιν πρῶτον μὲν ἁριστον παρέθεσαν, καὶ πᾶσαν ἐποιήσαντο δέσισιν ἐμφαγεὶν τι κοινῇ μετ' αὐτῶν καθήμενοι· ἔσειτα τὰς δέλτους ἀπέδοσαν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄ βουλοιτο χρημάτων λαβεῖν ἐκέλευον. ὅ δ' οὐδὲν ἦ τὸν λιβανιτὸν ὥς πρὸς τὰς δημοσίας ἐχρήτω τυσίας λαβών, ἀπῆλθεν ἀσπασάμενος καὶ φιλοφρονθεῖς τοὺς ἄνδρας.

VII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς Ἄρωμην ἐπανήλθεν, ἢ μὲν ὅλη πράξις ὡς δεινὴ καὶ καταισχύνουσα τὴν Ἄρωμην αὐτίαν εἶχε καὶ κατηγορίαν, οἱ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἰκεῖοι καὶ φίλοι μέγα μέρος ὄντες τοῦ δήμου συνέτρεχον πρὸς τὸν Τιβερίου, τὰ μὲν αἰσχρὰ τῶν γεγονότων ἀναφέροντες εἰς τὸν ἀρχοντα, δὴ αὐτὸν δὲ σώζεσθαι τοσοῦτος πολίτας φάσκοντες. ἢ μέντοι δυσχεραίνοντες τὰ πεπραγμένα μμεισθαὶ τοὺς προγόνους ἐκέλευον· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι

156
three or four companions. After summoning forth
the magistrates of Numantia, he asked them to bring
him his tablets, that he might not give his enemies
opportunity to malign him by not being able to give
an account of his administration. The Numantines,
accordingly, delighted at the chance to do him a
favour, invited him to enter the city; and as he
stood deliberating the matter, they drew near and
clapsed his hands, and fervently entreated him no
longer to regard them as enemies, but to treat and
trust them as friends. Tiberius, accordingly, decided
to do this, both because he set great store by his
tables, and because he feared to exasperate the
Numantines by showing them distrust. After he had
entered the city, in the first place the Numantines
set out a meal for him, and entreated him by all
means to sit down and eat something in their
company; next, they gave him back his tablets, and
urged him to take whatever he wanted of the rest of
his property. He took nothing, however, except the
frankincense which he was wont to use in the public
sacrifices, and after bidding them farewell with every
expression of friendship, departed.

VII. When he came back to Rome, the whole
transaction was blamed and denounced as a ter-
rible disgrace to the city, although the relatives
and friends of the soldiers, who formed a large part
of the people, came flocking to Tiberius, imputing
the disgrace in what had happened to his commander,
but insisting that it was due to Tiberius that the
lives of so many citizens had been saved. Those,
however, who were displeased at what had been done
urged for imituation the example of their ancestors,
who flung to the enemy unarmed the generals
τοὺς ἀγαπήσαντας ὑπὸ Σαύνιτῶν ἀφεθήναι στρατηγοὺς αὐτοὺς τε τοῖς πολεμίοις γυμνοῖς προσέρρυσαν, καὶ τοὺς ἐφαγαμένους καὶ μετασχόντας τῶν σπουδῶν, οἴον ταμίας καὶ χιλιάρχους, ὁμοίως προὐβάλον, εἰς ἐκείνους τὴν ἐπιορκίαν καὶ τὴν διάλυσιν τῶν ὠμολογημένων τρέποντες. ἔνθα δὲ καὶ μᾶλστα τὴν πρὸς τὸν Τιβέριον εὐνοιαν καὶ σπουδὴν ἐξέφηνεν ὁ δήμος. τὸν μὲν γὰρ ὑπατὸν ἐψηφίσαντο γυμνὸν καὶ δεδεμένον παραδοῦναι τοῖς Νομαντίνοις, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐφείσαντο πάντων διὰ Τιβέριον. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ Σκηπτῶν βοηθῆσαι, μέγιστος ὁ νῦν τότε καὶ πλείστουν δυνάμενος 'Ρωμαίων ἀλλ’ οὐδὲν ἤττον ἐν αἰτίαις ἦν ὅτι τὸν Μαγκίνου οὐ περιέσωσεν, οὐδὲ τὰς σπουδὰς ἐμπεδωθῆναι τοῖς Νομαντίνοις ἐσπούδασε δι’ ἀνδρὸς οἰκείου καὶ φίλου τοῦ Τιβερίου γενομένας. τὸ δὲ πλείστον ἔοικεν ἐκ φιλοτιμίας καὶ τῶν ἐπαιρόντων τὸν Τιβέριον φίλων καὶ σοφιστῶν ἐκγενέσθαι τὰ τῆς διαφορᾶς. ἀλλ’ αὐτὴ γε πρὸς οὐδὲν ἀνήκεστον οὐδὲ φαύλον ἐξέπεσε. δοκεῖ δ’ ἂν μοι μηδαμῶς περιπεσεῖν ὁ Τιβέριος οἷς ἐπαθεν, εἰ παρὴν αὐτοῦ τοῖς πολιτεύμασι Σκηπτῶν ὁ Ἀφρικανός τῶν δὲ ἐκείνου περὶ Νομαντίαν ὅντος ἦδη καὶ πολεμοῦντος ἤπειτα τῆς περὶ τούς νόμους πολιτείας ἐκ τοιαύτης αἰτίας.

VIII. 'Ρωμαίοι τῆς τῶν ἀστυνευτῶν χώρας ὅσην ἀπετέμοντο πολέμῳ, τὴν μὲν ἐπίπρασκον,
TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

themselves who had been satisfied to be let go by the Samnites, and in like manner cast forth those who had taken hand and share in the treaty, as for instance the quaestors and military tribunes, turning upon their heads the guilt of perjury and violation of the pact.\(^1\) In the present affair, indeed, more than at any other time, the people showed their good will and affection towards Tiberius. For they voted to deliver up the consul unarmed and in bonds to the Numantines, but spared all the other officers for the sake of Tiberius. It would seem, too, that Scipio, who was then the greatest and most influential man at Rome, helped to save them; but none the less he was blamed\(^2\) for not saving Mancinus, and for not insisting that the treaty with the Numantines, which had been made through the agency of his kinsman and friend Tiberius, should be kept inviolate. It would appear that the disagreement between the two men arose chiefly through the ambition of Tiberius and from the friends and sophists who urged him on. But this disagreement certainly resulted in no mischief past remedy. And in my opinion Tiberius would never have met with his great misfortunes if Scipio Africanus had been present at Rome during his political activity. But as it was, Scipio was already at Numantia\(^3\) and waging war there when Tiberius began to agitate for his agrarian laws. The occasion of this was as follows.

VIII. Of the territory which the Romans won in war from their neighbours, a part they sold, and a

\(^1\) In 321 B.C. Cf. Cicero, De off., iii. 30, 109.
\(^2\) By Tiberius and his friends.
\(^3\) Scipio was sent against Numantia in 134 B.C., and took and destroyed the city in the following year, in which year also Tiberius was killed.
ΠΙΛΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ

tην δὲ ποιούμενοι δημοσίαν ἐδίδοσαν νέμεσθαι
tοῖς ἀκτήμοσι καὶ ἀπόροις τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀπο-
φορὰν οὐ πολλὴν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον τελοῦσιν.
2 ἀρξαμένοι δὲ τῶν πλουσίων ὑπερβάλλειν τᾶς
ἀποφορὰς καὶ τοὺς πένητας ἐξελαυνόντων, ἐγράφη
νόμος οὐκ ἔδων πλέθρα γῆς ἔχειν πλείονα τῶν
πεντακοσίων. καὶ βραχὺν μὲν χρόνον ἐπέσχε
τὴν πλεονεξίαν τὸ γράμμα τούτο, καὶ τοῖς πένη-
σιν ἐβοήθησε κατὰ χώραν μένουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν με-
μισθωμένων καὶ νεμομένως ἡν ἐκαστὸς εξ ἀρχῆς
3 εἰς χρόναν. ὦστερον δὲ τῶν γειτνιῶτων πλου-
σίων ὑποβλήτως προσόπως μεταφερόντων τὰς
μισθώσεις εἰς ἐαυτούς, τέλος δὲ φανερῶς ἦδη δὲ
ἐαυτῶν τὰ πλείστα κατεχόντων, ἐξωσθένεται οἱ
πένητες οὕτε ταῖς στρατείαις ἐτί προθύμους παρεὶ-
χον ἐαυτούς, ἡμέλουν τε παίδων ἀνατροφῆς, ὡστε
tαχύ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀπασαν ὀλυγανδρίας ἐλευθέρων
αἰσθέσθαι, δεσμωτηρίων δὲ βαρβαρικῶν ἐμπε-
πλήσθαι, δὲ ὑν ἐγεώργιον οἱ πλούσιοι τὰ χωρία,
4 τοὺς πολίτας ἐξελάσαντες. ἔπερεέρισθε μὲν οὖν
τῇ διορθώσει Γάιος Δαίλιος ὁ Σκηπίωνος ἔταιρος,
ἀντικρουσάντων δὲ τῶν δυνατῶν φοβηθεῖς τῶν
θόρυβον καὶ παυσάμενος ἐπεκλήθη σοφὸς ἢ φρό-
νυμος ἐκάτερον ἢ ἡ ὁδὸι σημαίνειν ὁ σαπίνης.
ὁ Τιβέριος δὲ δήμαρχος ἀποδειχθεὶς εὐθὺς ἐπ᾽
αὐτὴν ὄρμησε τὴν πρᾶξιν, ὡς μὲν οἱ πλεῖστοι
λέγουσι, Διοφάνους τοῦ ῥήτορος καὶ Βλοσσίον
5 τοῦ φιλοσόφου παρομηνσάντων αὐτῶν, ὡς ἡ μὲν
Διοφάνης φυγᾶς ἢν Μιτυληναῖος, ὃ δὲ αὐτόθεν
160
TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

part they made common land, and assigned it for occupation to the poor and indigent among the citizens, on payment of a small rent into the public treasury. And when the rich began to offer larger rents and drove out the poor, a law was enacted forbidding the holding by one person of more than five hundred acres of land. For a short time this enactment gave a check to the rapacity of the rich, and was of assistance to the poor, who remained in their places on the land which they had rented and occupied the allotment which each had held from the outset. But later on the neighbouring rich men, by means of fictitious personages, transferred these rentals to themselves, and finally held most of the land openly in their own names. Then the poor, who had been ejected from their land, no longer showed themselves eager for military service, and neglected the bringing up of children, so that soon all Italy was conscious of a dearth of freemen, and was filled with gangs of foreign slaves, by whose aid the rich cultivated their estates, from which they had driven away the free citizens. An attempt was therefore made to rectify this evil, and by Caius Laelius the comrade of Scipio; but the men of influence opposed his measures, and he, fearing the disturbance which might ensue, desisted, and received the surname of Wise or Prudent (for the Latin word "sapiens" would seem to have either meaning). Tiberius, however, on being elected tribune of the people, took the matter directly in hand. He was incited to this step, as most writers say, by Diophanes the rhetorician and Blossius the philosopher. Diophanes was an exile from Mitylene, but Blossius
εξ Ἰταλίας Κυμαίως, Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ Ταρσέως γεγονός ἐν ἀστεί συνήθης καὶ τετιμημένος υπ’ αὐτοῦ προσφωνήσεσι γραμμάτων φιλοσόφων. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ Κορυνλίαι συνεπαιτιώνται τῇ μητέρᾳ πολλάκις τοὺς νιώσεις ὑπελείλουσαν ὅτι Ῥω-μαίοι Σκηνίωνας αὐτὴν ἔτι πενθεράν, οὕτω δὲ 6 μητέρᾳ Γράγχων προσαγορεύοντων. ἄλλοι δὲ Σπόριον τινα Ποστούμιον αἵτων γενέσθαι λέγου-σιν, ἑλικειώτην τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ πρὸς δόξαν ἐφύμιλλον αὐτῷ περὶ τὰς συνήγορίας, ὅπως ἐπανήλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιάς, εὐρώπω πολὺ τῇ δόξῃ καὶ τῇ δυνάμει παρηλαχότα καὶ θαυμαζόμενον, ἤθελησεν, ἡς ἔοικεν, ὑπερβαλέσθαι πολιτεύματος παραβόλου καὶ μεγάλην προσδοκίαν ἔχοντος 828 7 ἄφαμενος. ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Γάιος ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις γέγραφεν εἰς Νομαντίαν πορεύομενον διὰ τῆς Τυρρηνίας τὸν Τιβέριον, καὶ τὴν ἐρημία τῆς χώρας ὀρῶντα καὶ τοὺς γεωργοῦντας ἡ νέμοντας οἰκέτας ἐπεισάκτους καὶ βαρβάρους, τότε πρῶτον ἐπὶ νοῦν βαλέσθαι τὴν μυρίων κακῶν ἄρξασαν αὐτῶν πολιτείαν. τὴν δὲ πλεῖστην αὐτὸς ὁ δήμος ὁ ὄρμη καὶ ἐποιμίμιαν ἐξῆρυγε, προκαλούμενος διὰ γραμμάτων αὐτῶν ἐν στοαῖς καὶ τοίχοις καὶ μνήμασι καταγραφομένων ἀναλαβείν τοῖς πένησι τὴν δημοσίαν χώραν.

IX. Οὐ μὴν ἐφ’ αὐτοῦ γε συνέθηκε τῶν νόμων, τοῖς δὲ πρωτεύουσιν ἁρετὴ καὶ δόξῃ τῶν πολιτῶν συμβούλους χρησάμενος, ὅν καὶ Κράσσος ἢν ὁ ἄρχιερευς καὶ Μούκιος Σκαιβόλας ὁ νομοδείκτης 162
TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

was a native Italian from Cumae, had been an intimate friend of Antipater of Tarsus at Rome, and had been honoured by him with the dedication of philosophical treatises. But some put part of the blame upon Cornelia the mother of Tiberius, who often reproached her sons because the Romans still called her the mother-in-law of Scipio, but not yet the mother of the Gracchi. Others again say that a certain Spurius Postumius was to blame. He was of the same age as Tiberius, and a rival of his in reputation as an advocate; and when Tiberius came back from his campaign and found that his rival had far outstripped him in reputation and influence and was an object of public admiration, he determined, as it would seem, to outdo him by engaging in a bold political measure which would arouse great expectations among the people. But his brother Caius, in a certain pamphlet,\(^1\) has written that as Tiberius was passing through Tuscany on his way to Numantia, and observed the dearth of inhabitants in the country, and that those who tilled its soil or tended its flocks there were imported barbarian slaves, he then first conceived the public policy which was the cause of countless ills to the two brothers. However, the energy and ambition of Tiberius were most of all kindled by the people themselves, who posted writings on porticoes, house-walls, and monuments, calling upon him to recover for the poor the public land.

IX. He did not, however, draw up his law by himself, but took counsel with the citizens who were foremost in virtue and reputation, among whom were Crassus the pontifex maximus, Mucius Scaevola the

\(^1\) Probably a political pamphlet in the form of a letter. Cf. Cicero, *de div.* ii. 29, 62.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

υπατεύων τότε καὶ Κλαύδιος Ἄππιος ὁ κηδεστής 2 τοῦ Τιβέριου. καὶ δοκεῖ νόμος εἰς ἀδικίαν καὶ πλεονεξίαν τοσαῦτην μηδέποτε πραότερος γρα-
φήναι καὶ μαλακώτερος. οὖς γὰρ ἔδει δίκην τῆς ἀπειθείας δοῦναι καὶ μετὰ ζημίας ἢν παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ἐκαρποῦντο χῶραν ἀφεῖναι, τούτους ἐκ-
λευσε τιμὴν προσλαμβάνοντας ἐκβαίνειν ᾧν ἀδίκως ἐκέκτηντο, καὶ παραδέχεσθαι τοὺς βοη-
θέας δεσμένους τῶν πολιτῶν. ἀλλὰ καῖπερ οὕτω τῆς ἐπανορθώσεως οὕσης εὐγνώμονος, ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἡγάτα, παρεῖς τὰ γεγενημένα, παύσασθαι τὸ λοιπὸν ἀδικούμενος, οἱ δὲ πλούσιοι καὶ κτηματικοὶ πλεονεξία μὲν τὸν νόμον, ὅργῃ δὲ καὶ φιλονεικία τὸν νομοθέτην δὲ ἐχθὸς ἔχοντες, ἐπεχείρουν ἀποτρέπειν τὸν δήμον, ὡς γῆς ἀναδασμὸν ἐπὶ συγχύσει τῆς πολιτείας εἰσάγοντος τοῦ Τιβέριου καὶ πάντα πράγματα κυνοῦντος.

4 'Αλλ' οὐδὲν ἐπέραινον· ὁ γὰρ Τιβέριος πρὸς καλὴν ὑπόθεσιν καὶ δικαίαν ἀγωνιζόμενος λόγῳ καὶ φαυλότερα κοσμῆσαι δυναμένῳ πράγματα δεινὸς ἢν καὶ ἀμαχὸς, ὅποτε τοῦ δήμου τῷ βήματι περικεχυμένου καταστὰς λέγοι περὶ τῶν πεινῆτων, ὡς τὰ μὲν θηρία τὰ τῆς Ἰταλίαν νεμόμενα καὶ φωλεὶν ἔχει καὶ κοιταῖον ἐστίν αὐτῶν ἐκάστῳ καὶ καταδύσεις, 1 τοῖς δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰταλίας μαχη-
μένου καὶ ἀποθυνήκουσιν ἀέρος καὶ φωτός, ἄλλου δὲ οὐδενὸς μέτεστιν, ἀλλ' ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἀνι-
δροτοι μετὰ τέκνων πλανῶνται καὶ γυναικῶν, οἱ δὲ αὐτοκράτορες ψεύδονται τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐν ταῖς μάχαις παρακαλοῦντες ὑπὲρ τάφων καὶ

1 καταδύσεις Bekker and many other editors have καταδύσεις, after Stephanus and Reiske.

164
TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

jurist, who was then consul, and Appius Claudius, his father-in-law. And it is thought that a law dealing with injustice and rapacity so great was never drawn up in milder and gentler terms. For men who ought to have been punished for their disobedience and to have surrendered with payment of a fine the land which they were illegally enjoying, these men it merely ordered to abandon their unjust acquisitions upon being paid their value, and to admit into ownership of them such citizens as needed assistance. But although the rectification of the wrong was so considerate, the people were satisfied to let bygones be bygones if they could be secure from such wrong in the future; the men of wealth and substance, however, were led by their greed to hate the law, and by their wrath and contentiousness to hate the lawgiver, and tried to dissuade the people by alleging that Tiberius was introducing a re-distribution of land for the confusion of the body politic, and was stirring up a general revolution.

But they accomplished nothing; for Tiberius, striving to support a measure which was honourable and just with an eloquence that would have adorned even a meaner cause, was formidable and invincible, whenever, with the people crowding around the rostra, he took his stand there and pleaded for the poor. "The wild beasts that roam over Italy," he would say, "have every one of them a cave or lair to lurk in; but the men who fight and die for Italy enjoy the common air and light, indeed, but nothing else; houseless and homeless they wander about with their wives and children. And it is with lying lips that their imperators exhort the soldiers in their battles to
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ

ιερῶν ἁμώνεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους· ούδεν γὰρ ἐστὶν
οὐ βωμὸς πατρίδος, οὐκ ἦρεν προγονικὸν τῶν
tosουτῶν 'Ρωμαίων, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ ἀλλοτρίας τρυφῆς
καὶ πλουτοῦ πολεμούσι καὶ ἀποθνησκοῦσι, κύριοι
τῆς οἰκουμένης εἶναι λεγόμενοι, μίαν δὲ βῆλον
ἰδίαν οὐκ ἔχοντες.

Χ. Τούτους ἀπὸ φρονήματος μεγάλου καὶ
πάθους ἀληθινοῦ τοὺς λόγους κατιόντας 1 εἰς τὸν
dήμων ἐνθουσιώτα καὶ συνεξαιστάμενον οὔδεὶς
ὑφίστατο τῶν ἐναντίων. ἐάσαντες οὖν τὸ ἀντι-
λέγειν ἐπὶ Μάρκου Ὀκτάβιου τρέπονται τῶν
dημάρχων ἐνα, νεανίαν ἐμπρήθη τὸ ἱθὸς καὶ
2 κόσμων, ἐταίρον δὲ τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ συνήθη. διὸ
τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αἰδοῦμενος ἔκεινον ἀνεδύτων· πολ-
λῶν δὲ καὶ δυνατῶν δεομένων καὶ λιπαρούτων
ὡσπέρ ἐκκαιθεῖς ἀντικαθίστατο τῷ Τιβερίῳ καὶ
dιεκρούτο τὸν νόμον. ἔστι δὲ τοῦ κολύσων ἐν
τοῖς δημάρχοις τὸ κράτος· οὐδέν γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ
3 κελεύοντες περαιώνουσιν ἐνὸς ἐνισταμένου. πρὸς
τοῦτο παροξυθεῖς ὁ Τιβέριος τῶν μὲν φιλάν-
θρωποῦ ἐπανειλέτο νόμον, τὸν δὲ ἤδω τε τοῖς
πολλοῖς καὶ σφοδρότερον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀδικούντας
εἰσέφερεν ἡδη, κελεύων ἔξιστασθαι τῆς χώρας ἡν
ἐκέκτηντο παρὰ τοὺς προτέρους νόμους.

4 Ὡςαν οὖν ὁμοί τι καθ’ ἐκάστην ἠμέραν ἁγῶνες
αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Ὀκτάβιον ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, ἐν 829
οἷς, καὶ πέρι εἴς ἄκρας σπουδῆς καὶ φιλονεικίας
ἀντερείδοντες, οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν λέγονται περὶ ἀλλη-
λῶν φαύλου, οὐδὲ ῥῆμα προπεσεῖν θατέρου πρὸς

1 κατιόντας Bekker has κατατείνοντα, after Coraïs, from the
variant κατατείνονταs.
defend sepulchres and shrines from the enemy; for not a man of them has an hereditary altar, not one of all these many Romans an ancestral tomb, but they fight and die to support others in wealth and luxury, and though they are styled masters of the world, they have not a single clod of earth that is their own."

X. Such words as these, the product of a lofty spirit and genuine feeling, and falling upon the ears of a people profoundly moved and fully aroused to the speaker’s support, no adversary of Tiberius could successfully withstand. Abandoning therefore all counter-pleading, they addressed themselves to Marcus Octavius, one of the popular tribunes, a young man of sober character, discreet, and an intimate companion of Tiberius. On this account Octavius at first tried to hold himself aloof, out of regard for Tiberius; but he was forced from his position, as it were, by the prayers and supplications of many influential men, so that he set himself in opposition to Tiberius and staved off the passage of the law. Now, the decisive power is in the hands of any tribune who interposes his veto; for the wishes of the majority avail nothing if one tribune is in opposition. Incensed at this procedure, Tiberius withdrew his considerate law, and introduced this time one which was more agreeable to the multitude and more severe against the wrongdoers, since it simply ordered them to vacate without compensation the land which they had acquired in violation of the earlier laws.

Almost every day, therefore, there were forensic contests between Tiberius and Octavius, in which, as we are told, although both strove together with the utmost earnestness and rivalry, neither abused the other or let fall a single word about the other which
τὸν ἔτερον δι’ ὅργῃν ἀνεπιτήδειον. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐν βακχεύμασιν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν φιλοτιμίαις καὶ ὄργαις τὸ πεφυκέναι καλῶς καὶ πεπαιδευθᾶσθαι σωφρόνως ἐφίστησί καὶ κατακοσμεῖ
5 τὴν διάνοιαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐώρα τὸν Ὀκτάβιον ἐνεχόμενον τῷ νόμῳ καὶ κατέχοντα τῆς δημοσίας χώρας συχνὴν ὁ Τιβέριος, ἐδείτο παρεῖναι τὴν φιλονεικίαν, ὑφιστάμενος αὐτῷ τὴν τιμὴν ἀποδώσειν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, καίπερ οὐ λαμπρῶν ὄντων. οὐκ ἀνασχομένου δὲ τοῦ Ὀκτάβιον, διαγράμματι τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἀπᾶσας ἐκώλυσε χρηματίζειν,
6 ἀρχὴ δὲν ἤ περὶ τοῦ νόμου διενεχθῇ ψήφος· τῷ δὲ τοῦ Κρόνου ναῷ σφραγίδας ἱδίας ἐπέβαλεν, ὡς οἱ ταμίαι μηδὲν ἔξ αὐτοῦ λαμβάνοιεν μηδ' εἰσφέροντες, καὶ τοῖς ἀπευθύνοντες τῶν στρατηγῶν ἡμῶν ἐπεκήρυξεν, ὡστε πάντας ὑποδεσμαστὰς ἄφεναι
7 τὴν ἐκάστῳ προσήκουσαν οἰκονομίαν. ἐντεύθεν οἱ κτηματικοὶ τὰς μὲν ἐσθήτας μετέβαλον καὶ περιῆγαν σντροφείας καὶ ταπεινοὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν, ἐπεβουλεύον δὲ τῷ Τιβέριῳ κρύφα καὶ συνιστάσαν ἐπὶ αὐτὸν τοὺς ἀναιρήσοντας, ὡστε καὶ-κεῖνον οὔδενος ἀγνοοῦντος ὑποζώνυσσαν ξιφίδιον ληστρικῶν, ὁ δὲ κόλων καλοῦσιν.

XI. Ἐνστάσεσι δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τῶν δήμων αὐτοῦ καλοῦντος ἐπὶ τὴν ψήφον, ἡρπάσθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων αὐτοὶ υδρίαι, καὶ τὰ γινόμενα πολλὴν εἰχε σύγχυσιν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῶν περί Τιβέριον πλήθει βιάστασθαι δυναμένων καὶ συστρεφομένων ἐπὶ τούτῳ, Μάλλιος καὶ Φούλβιος,

1 καὶ γὰρ ἐν βακχεύμασιν
οὐδ’ ἤ γε σάφρων ὡς διαφαρησθεὶ
(Euripides, Bacchae, 310 f. (Kirchhoff)).

168
ANGER MADE UNSEEMLY. FOR NOT ONLY "IN BACCIC
REVELRIES," AS IT APPEARS, BUT ALSO IN THE EXERCISE
OF RIVALRY AND WRATH, A NOBLE NATURE AND A SOUND
TRAINING RESTRAIN AND REGULATE THE MIND. MOREOVER, WHEN
TIBERIUS OBSERVED THAT OCTAVIUS HIMSELF WAS AMENABLE
to the law as a large holder of the public land, he
begged him to remit his opposition, promising to pay
him the value of the land out of his own means,
although these were not splendid. But Octavius
would not consent to this, and therefore Tiberius
issued an edict forbidding all the other magistrates
to transact any public business until such time as the
vote should be cast either for or against his law. He
also put his private seal upon the temple of Saturn,
in order that the quaestors might not take any
money from its treasury or pay any into it, and he
made proclamation that a penalty would be imposed
upon such praetors as disobeyed, so that all magis-
trates grew fearful and ceased performing their
several functions. Thereupon the men of property
put on the garb of mourning and went about the
forum in pitiful and lowly guise; but in secret they
plotted against the life of Tiberius and tried to raise
a band of assassins to take him off, so that Tiberius
on his part—and everybody knew it—wore a con-
cealed short-sword such as brigands use (the name
for it is "dolo").
XI. WHEN THE APPOINTED DAY WASCOME AND TIBERIUS
WAS SUMMONING THE PEOPLE TO THE VOTE, THE VOTING
URNS WERE STOLEN AWAY BY THE PARTY OF THE RICH, AND
GREAT CONFUSION AROSE. HOWEVER, THE SUPPORTERS OF
TIBERIUS WERE NUMEROUS ENOUGH TO FORCE THE ISSUE,
AND WERE BANDING TOGETHER FOR THIS PURPOSE, WHEN
Ανδρες ὑπατικοὶ, προσπεσόντες τῷ Τιβερίῳ καὶ χειρῶν ἀπτόμενοι καὶ δακρύοντος ἐξενοτο παύσας τὰς τοῖς σθαί. τοῦ δὲ καὶ τὸ μέλλον ὁσον οὔπω δεινὸν ἦδη συμφρονοῦντος, καὶ δὴ αἰδῶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν πυθομένου τὰ κελεύοντο πρᾶττειν αὐτὸν, οὐκ ἔφασαν ἀξιόχρεοε εἶναι πρὸς τηλικάτην συμβουλίαν, ἐπιτρέψας δὲ τῇ βουλῇ κελεύοντες καὶ δεόμενοι συνέπεσαν.

Ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπέραινεν ἡ βουλὴ συνελθοῦσα διὰ τοὺς πλουσίους ἵσχύοντας ἐν αὐτῇ, τρέπεται πρὸς ἔργον οὐ νόμμων οὐδὲ ἐπιεικές, ἀφελέσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸν Ὀκτάβιον, ἀμηχανῶν ἄλλως ἐπαγαγεῖν τῷ νόμῳ τῆς ψήφου. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐδείτο φανερῶς αὐτοῦ, λόγους τε προσφέρων φιλανθρώπους καὶ χειρῶν ἀπτόμενος, ἐνδοῦναι καὶ χαρίσασθαι τῷ δήμῳ δίκαια μὲν ἀξιόντι, μικρὰ δὲ ἀντὶ μεγάλων πόνων καὶ κυνικῶν ληψομένων. διωθομένου δὲ τοῦ Ὁκταβίου τὴν ἐντευξιν, ὑπειπῶν ὁ Τιβέριος ὡς οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀρχοῦτας ἀμφοτέρους καὶ περὶ πραγμάτων μεγάλων ἀπ’ ἱστος ἐξουσίας διαφερομένους ἀνευ πολέμου διεξελθεῖν τὸν χρόνον, ἐν ἱαμα τούτων μόνω ὦκεν ἐφη τὸ παύσασθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸν ἔτερον. καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ γε προτέρου τὸν Ὁκταβίον ἐκέλευσε τῷ δῆμῳ ψήφων ἀναδόνται· καταβήσεσθαι γὰρ εὐθὺς ἰδιώτης γενόμενος, ἀν τοῦτο δὲξῃ τοῖς πολίταις. τοῦ δὲ Ὁκταβίον μὴ θέλοντος αὐτὸς ἐφη περὶ ἐκείνου ψήφου ἀναδώσειν, ἐὰν μὴ μεταγνώθη θουλευσάμενος. ΧΙ. Καὶ τότε μὲν ἔπει τούτως διέλυσε τὴν

170
TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

Manlius and Fulvius, men of consular dignity, fell down before Tiberius, clasped his hands, and with tears besought him to desist. Tiberius, conscious that the future was now all but desperate, and moved by respect for the men, asked them what they would have him do. They replied that they were not competent to advise in so grave a crisis, and urged him with entreaties to submit the case to the senate. To this Tiberius consented.

But the senate in its session accomplished nothing, owing to the prevailing influence of the wealthy class in it, and therefore Tiberius resorted to a measure which was illegal and unseemly, the ejection of Octavius from his office; but he was unable in any other way to bring his law to the vote. In the first place, however, he begged Octavius in public, addressing him with kindly words and clasping his hands, to give in and gratify the people, who demanded only their just rights, and would receive only a trifling return for great toils and perils. But Octavius rejected the petition, and therefore Tiberius, after premising that, since they were colleagues in office with equal powers and differed on weighty measures, it was impossible for them to complete their term of office without open war, said he saw only one remedy for this, and that was for one or the other of them to give up his office. Indeed, he urged Octavius to put to the people a vote on his own case first, promising to retire at once to private life if this should be the will of the citizens. But Octavius was unwilling, and therefore Tiberius declared that he would put the case of Octavius unless Octavius should change his mind upon reflection.

XII. With this understanding, he dissolved the
ἐκκλησίαν· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ τοῦ δήμου συνελθόντος ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ βήμα πάλιν ἐπειράτο πείθειν τὸν Ὅκταβιον ὡς δὲ ἦν ἀμετάπειστος, εἰσήγησε νόμον ἀφαιρούμενον αὐτοῦ τὴν δημαρχίαν, καὶ τοὺς πολίτας εὐθὺς ἐκάλει τὴν ψήφου ἐπιφέροντας.

2 οὖσών δὲ πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα φυλῶν, ὡς αἱ δεκαεπτά τὴν ψήφον ἐπενηνόχεισαν καὶ μίας ἔτη προσγενομένης ἐδει τὸν Ὅκταβιον ἰδιωτὴν γενέσθαι, κελεύσας ἐπισχεῖν αὐθίς ἐδείτο τοῦ Ὅκταβιο καὶ περιέβαλεν αὐτὸν ἐν ὄψει τοῦ δήμου καὶ κατηστάζετο, λιπαρῶν καὶ δεόμενος μὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀτιμον περιίδειν γενόμενον μητ' ἐκείνῳ βαρέος οὖτω καὶ σκυθρωποῖ πολιτεύματος αἰτίαν προσάγαι.

3 'Τούτων τῶν δεήσεων οὐ παντελῶς ἀτεγκτον οὖσ' ἀτενὴ λέγουσιν ἀκροάσθαι τὸν Ὅκταβιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ διακρύοι υποπίμπλασθαι τά ὁμόματα καὶ σιωπῶν ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον. ὡς μέντοι πρὸς τοὺς πλουσίους καὶ τοὺς κτηματικοὺς συνεστῶτας ἀπέβλεψεν, αἰδεσθέις δοκεῖ καὶ φοβηθεῖς τὴν παρ' ἐκείνους ἀδοξίαν υποστήναι πᾶν δεινὸν οὐκ ἄγεννώς καὶ κελεύσαι πράττειν δ' ἄθλεται τῶν

4 Τιβέριον. οὕτω δὴ τοῦ νόμου κυρώθεντος ο μὲν Τιβέριος τῶν ἀπελευθέρων τινὶ προσέταξεν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἐλκύσαι τὸν Ὅκταβιον· ἐχρίτο δὲ υπηρέταις ἀπελευθέρους ἰδίως, καὶ τούτῳ τὴν ὄψιν οἰκτροτέραν τοῦ Ὅκταβιον παρέσχεν ἐλκουμένου

5 πρὸς ὑβρίν. ὁ δὲ δήμος ἐφώρμησεν αὐτῷ, καὶ τῶν πλουσίων συνδραμόντων καὶ διασχόντων τὰς χεῖρας, ὁ μὲν Ὅκταβιος ἠσώθη μόλις ἐξαρπαγεῖς καὶ διαφυγὼν τὸν ὄχλον, οἰκέτην δὲ αὐτοῦ πιστὸν
TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

assembly for that day; but on the following day, after the people had come together, he mounted the rostra and once more attempted to persuade Octavius. When, however, Octavius was not to be persuaded, Tiberius introduced a law depriving him of his tribuneship, and summoned the citizens to cast their votes upon it at once. Now, there were five and thirty tribes, and when seventeen of them had cast their votes, and the addition of one more would make it necessary for Octavius to become a private citizen, Tiberius called a halt in the voting, and again entreated Octavius, embracing and kissing him in the sight of the people, and fervently begging him not to allow himself to be dishonoured, and not to attach to a friend responsibility for a measure so grievous and severe.

On hearing these entreaties, we are told, Octavius was not altogether untouched or unmoved; his eyes filled with tears and he stood silent for a long time. But when he turned his gaze towards the men of wealth and substance who were standing in a body together, his awe of them, as it would seem, and his fear of ill repute among them, led him to take every risk with boldness and bid Tiberius do what he pleased. And so the law was passed, and Tiberius ordered one of his freedmen to drag Octavius from the rostra; for Tiberius used his freedmen as officers, and this made the sight of Octavius dragged along with contumely a more pitiful one. Moreover, the people made a rush at him, and though the men of wealth ran in a body to his assistance and spread out their hands against the crowd, it was with difficulty that Octavius was snatched away and safely rescued from the crowd; and a trusty servant of his who
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

ἔμπροσθεν ἐστῶτα καὶ πρωτεταγμένον ἐξετύ-φλωσαν, ἀκοντος τοῦ Τιβερίου, καὶ πρὸς τὸν θόρυβον, ὡς ἦσθετο τὰ γινόμενα, πολλῇ σπουδῇ καταδραμόντος.

· XIII. Ἐκ τούτου κυρώτατι μὲν ὁ περὶ τῆς χώρας νόμος, αἱροῦται δὲ τρεῖς ἄνδρες ἐπὶ τὴν διάκρισιν καὶ διανομὴν, αὐτὸς Τιβέριος καὶ Κλαύ-διος Ἀππιος ὁ πενθερὸς καὶ Γάιος Γράγχος ὁ ἀδελφός, οὐ παρὼν αὐτός, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ Σκηνίων 2 πρὸς Νομαντίαν στρατευόμενος. ταῦτα τοῦ Τι-βερίου διαπραξαμένου καθ’ ὕσυχιαν μηδενὸς ἐνισταμένου, καὶ πρὸς τούτους δήμαρχον ἀντικατα-στήσαντος οὐδένα τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, ἀλλὰ Μοῦκιον τινα, πελάτην αὐτοῦ, πρὸς πάντας δυσχεραίνοντες οἱ δυνατοὶ καὶ φοβούμενοι τοῦ Τιβερίου τὴν αὐ-ξησιν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ προεπηλάκιζον αὐτόν, αἰτου-μένῳ μέν, ὡς έθος ἐστίν, ἐκ δημοσίου σκηνήν,

3 διόπως ἔχω τινώς διανέμων τὴν χώραν, οὐ δόντες, ἔτερων ἐπ’ ἐλάττοσι χρέαις πολλάκις λαβόντων, ἀνά-λωμα δὲ εἰς ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐννέα ὅβολους τάξι-αντες, εἰςγηγομένου ταῦτα Ποπλίου Νασικᾶ καὶ δεδωκότος ἑαυτῷ εἰς τὴν πρὸς ἐκείνου ἐχθραν ἀφείδως: πλείστην γὰρ ἐκέκτησεν γῆν δημοσίαν, καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔφερεν ἐκβαίνειν αὐτῆς ἀναγκα-ζόμενος.

4 Ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἔξεστι: καὶ φίλου τινὸς τῷ Τιβερίῳ τελευτήσαντος αἰφνιδίως καὶ σημείων τῷ νεκρῷ μοχθηρῶν ἐπιδραμόντων, βο-ώντες ὑπὸ φαρμάκων ἀνηρήσθαι τὸν ἀνθρώπον

174
stood in front of his master and protected him, had his eyes torn out, against the protest of Tiberius, who, when he perceived what was going on, ran down with great haste to appease the tumult.

XIII. After this the agrarian law was passed, and three men were chosen for the survey and distribution of the public land, Tiberius himself, Appius Claudius his father-in-law, and Caius Gracchus his brother, who was not at Rome, but was serving under Scipio in the expedition against Numantia. These measures were carried out by Tiberius quietly and without opposition, and, besides, he procured the election of a tribune in the place of Octavius. The new tribune was not a man of rank or note, but a certain Mucius, a client of Tiberius. The aristocrats, however, who were vexed at these proceedings and feared the growing power of Tiberius, heaped insult upon him in the senate. When he asked for the customary tent at public expense, for his use when dividing up the public land, they would not give it, although other men had often obtained one for less important purposes; and they fixed his daily allowance for expenses at nine obols. These things were done on motion of Publius Nasica, who surrendered completely to his hatred of Tiberius. For he was a very large holder of public land, and bitterly resented his being forced to give it up.

But the people were all the more inflamed; and when a friend of Tiberius died suddenly and his body broke out all over with evil spots, they ran in throngs to the man's funeral, crying out that he had been poisoned to death, and they carried the bier them-

1 That is, in Roman money, nine sestertii, equivalent to about twenty pence, or forty cents.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ἐπὶ τὴν ἑκφορὰν συνεδραμον καὶ τὸ λέχος ἤραντο καὶ θαπτομένῳ παρέστησαν, οὐ φαύλως ὑπονοησαι 5 τὴν φαρμακείαν δόξαντες. ἔρραγη γὰρ ὁ νεκρὸς καὶ διεφθορότων υγρῶν πλῆθος ἐξέβλυσεν, ὡστε ἀποσβέσαι τὴν φλόγα· καὶ φερόντων ἀλλην αὕθις οὐκ ἐκάετο πρὶν εἰς ἔτερον τόπον μετακομισθήναι, καὶ πολλὰ πραγματευσαμένων μόλις ἦσατο τὸ πῦρ αὐτοῦ. πρὸς ταῦτα τοὺς πολλοὺς ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁ Τιβέριος παροξύνων μετέβαλε τὴν ἐσθήτα, καὶ τοὺς παίδας προσαγαγὼν ἐδείκτο τοῦ δήμου τούτων κηδεσθαι καὶ τῆς μητρός, ὡς αὐτὸς ἀπεγνωκὼς ἐαυτόν.

XIV. Ἐπει δὲ τοῦ Φιλομήτορος Ἀττάλου τελευτήσαντος Εὐδήμος ὁ Περγαμηνὸς ἀνήνεγκε διαθήκην ἐν ἑς κληρονόμος ἐγέγραπτο τοῦ βασιλέως ὁ Ῥωμαίων δήμος, εὔθὺς ὁ Τιβέριος δημαγωγῶν εἰσῆνεγκε νόμον ὅπως τὰ βασιλικὰ χρήματα κομισθέντα τοῖς τὴν χώραν διαλαγχάνουσι τῶν πολιτῶν ὕπάρχοι πρὸς κατασκευὴν καὶ γεωργίας 2 ἀφορμῆν. περὶ δὲ τῶν πόλεων, ὅσαι τῆς Ἀττάλου βασιλείας ἦσαν, οὐδὲν ἐφή τῇ συγκλήτῳ βουλεύεσθαι προσήκειν, ἀλλὰ τῷ δήμῳ γνώμην αὐτὸς προθήσειν. ἐκ τούτου μάλιστα προσέκρουσε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ Πομπήιος μὲν ἀναστὰς ἐφή γειτνιὰν τῷ Τιβερίῳ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γινώσκειν Εὐδήμον αὐτῷ τὸν Περγαμηνὸν τῶν βασιλικῶν διάδημα δεδωκότα καὶ πορφύραν, ὡς μέλλοντι 3 βασιλεύειν ἐν Ῥώμῃ, Κόιντος δὲ Μετέλλος ὡνείδισε τὸν Τιβέριον ὅτι τοῦ μὲν πατρὸς αὐτοῦ 176
TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

selves, and stood by at the last ceremonies. And their suspicions of poison were thought to be not without reason. For the dead body burst open and a great quantity of corrupt humours gushed forth, so that the flame of the funeral pyre was extinguished. And when fresh fire was brought, again the body would not burn, until it was carried to another place, where, after much trouble, the fire at last took hold of it. Upon this, Tiberius, that he might exasperate the multitude still more, put on a garb of mourning, brought his children before the assembly, and begged the people to care for them and their mother, saying that he despaired of his own life.

XIV. And now Attalus Philometor died,¹ and Eudemus of Pergamum brought to Rome the king's last will and testament, by which the Roman people was made his heir. At once Tiberius courted popular favour by bringing in a bill which provided that the money of King Attalus, when brought to Rome, should be given to the citizens who received a parcel of the public land, to aid them in stocking and tilling their farms. And as regarded the cities which were included in the kingdom of Attalus, he said it did not belong to the senate to deliberate about them, but he himself would submit a pertinent resolution to the people. By this proceeding he gave more offence than ever to the senate; and Pompeius, rising to speak there, said that he was a neighbour of Tiberius, and therefore knew that Eudemus of Pergamum had presented Tiberius with a royal diadem and purple robe, believing that he was going to be king in Rome. Moreover, Quintus Metellus upbraided Tiberius with the reminder that whenever

¹ In 133 B.C.
4 Τίτος δ’ Ἄννιος, οὐκ ἐπιεικὴς μὲν οὐδὲ σώφρων ἄνθρωπος, ἐν δὲ λόγοις πρὸς τὰς ἐρωτήσεις καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἄμαχος εἶναι δοκῶν, εἰς ὅρισμόν τινα προούκαλεῖτο τὸν Τιβέριον, ἢ μὴν ίερὸν ὄντα καὶ ἀσυλον ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἡτιμωκέναι τὸν συνάρχοντα. θορυβούντων δὲ πολλῶν ἔκπηδήσας ὁ Τιβέριος τὸν τε δήμον συνεκάλει καὶ τὸν Ἄννιον
5 ἀχθὴναι κελεύσας ἐβούλετο κατηγορεῖν. οὐ δὲ καὶ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τῇ δόξῃ πολὺ λεπόμενον εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δεινότητα κατεδυνέτο, καὶ παρεκάλει μικρὰ πρὸ τῶν λόγων ἀποκρίνασθαι τὸν Τιβέριον. συνχωροῦντος δὲ ἐρωτῶν ἐκείνου καὶ σιωπης γενομένης εἶπεν ὁ Ἄννιος, “Ἄν σὺ μὲν ἀτιμοῦν με βούλῃ καὶ προπηλακίζειν, ἐγὼ δὲ τινα τῶν σῶν ἐπικαλόμεθα συναρχόντων, οὐ δὲ ἀναβῇ βοσθήσων, σὺ δὲ ὀργίσῃς, ἃρα γε αὐτοῦ τὴν ἄρχην ἡφαιστήσης;”
6 πρὸς ταύτην λέγεται τὴν ἐρωτήσιν οὕτω διαπορηθήναι τὸν Τιβέριον ὡστε πάντων ὄντα καὶ τὸ λέγειν ἐτοιμότατον καὶ τὸ θαρρεῖν ἵταμοτατον ἀποσιωπῆσαι.

ΧV. Τότε μὲν οὖν διέλυσε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· αἰσθανόμενος δὲ τῶν πολιτευμάτων τὸ περὶ τὸν Ὄκταβιον οὐ τοῖς δυνατοῖς μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐκπαθέστεροι (μέγα γάρ τι καὶ καλὸν

178
TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

his father, during his censorship, was returning home after a supper, the citizens put out their lights, for fear they might be thought to be indulging immoderately in entertainments and drinking bouts, whereas Tiberius himself was lighted on his way at night by the neediest and most reckless of the populace. Titus Annius, too, a man of no high character or sobriety, but held to be invincible in arguments carried on by question and answer, challenged Tiberius to a judicial wager,1 solemnly asserting that he had branded with infamy his colleague, who was sacred and inviolable by law. As many senators applauded this speech, Tiberius dashed out of the senate-house, called the people together, and ordered Annius to be brought before them, with the intention of denouncing him. But Annius, who was far inferior to Tiberius both in eloquence and in reputation, had recourse to his own particular art, and called upon Tiberius to answer a few questions before the argument began. Tiberius assented to this and silence was made, whereupon Annius said: "If thou wish to heap insult upon me and degrade me, and I invoke the aid of one of thy colleagues in office, and he mount the rostra to speak in my defence, and thou fly into a passion, come, wilt thou deprive that colleague of his office?" At this question, we are told, Tiberius was so disconcerted that, although he was of all men most ready in speech and most vehement in courage, he held his peace.

XV. For the present, then, he dissolved the assembly; but perceiving that the course he had taken with regard to Octavius was very displeasing, not only to the nobles, but also to the multitude (for

1 Cf. the Cato Major, xxii. 5.
εδόκει το τῶν δημάρχων ἀξίωμα μέχρι τῆς ἁμέρας ἐκείνης διατετηρημένον ἀνηρήθαι καὶ καθυβρίσθαι), λόγον ἐν τῷ δήμῳ διεξήλθεν, οὐ μικρὰ παραθέσθαι τῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων οὐκ ἀτοπον ἦν, ὡστε ὑπονοηθῆναι τὴν πιθανότητα καὶ πυκνό-2 τητα τοῦ ἀνδρός. ἔφη γὰρ ἱερὸν τὸν δήμαρχον εἶναι καὶ ἀσυλον, ὅτι τῷ δήμῳ καθωσίωτα καὶ τοῦ δήμου προέστηκεν. ἂν οὖν μεταβαλόμενος τὸν δήμον ἀδική καὶ τὴν ἁσχύν κολούη καὶ παραιρήται τὴν ψήφον, αὐτὸς ἐαυτὸν ἀπεστέρηκε 3 τῆς τιμῆς ἐφ’ οἷς ἔλαβεν οὐ ποιῶν· ἔπει καὶ τῷ Καπετώλιοι κατασκάπτοντα καὶ τῷ νεώριοι ἐμ-πιπράντα δήμαρχον ἐὰν δεήσει. καὶ ταύτα μὲν ποιῶν δήμαρχος ἔστι πονηρός· ἐὰν δὲ καταλύῃ τὸν δήμον, οὐ δήμαρχος ἔστι. πῶς οὖν οὐ δεινὸν εἰ τὸν μὲν ὑπατον ο δήμαρχος ἄξει, τὸν δὲ δήμαρχον οὐκ ἀφαίρησεται τὴν ἔξου- σίαν ὁ δῆμος οταν αὐτὴ κατὰ τοῦ διδωκότος χρῆται; καὶ γὰρ ὑπατον καὶ δήμαρχον 4 ὀμοίως ὁ δῆμος αἵρεῖται. καὶ μὴν ἦ γε βασιλεία πρὸς τῷ πάσαν ἄρχῃν ἔχειν ἐν ἑαυτῇ συλλα-βούς καὶ ταῖς μεγίσταις ἱερουργίαις καθωσίωται πρὸς τὸ θεῖον· ἀλλὰ Ταρκύνιοι ἐξέβαλεν ἡ πόλις ἀδικοῦντα, καὶ δι’ ἐνὸς ἀνδρός ὦρυν ἡ πάρτιος ἄρχῃ καὶ κτίσασα τὴν Ῥώμην κατελύθη. τί δὲ οὔτως ἄγον ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ σεμνῶν ὡς αἱ περιέ-πουσαι παρθένοι καὶ φυλάττουσαι τὸ ἀφθιτον πῦρ; ἀλλ’ εἰ τις ἂν ἀμάρτῃ αὐτῶν, ξώσα κατο-
TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

it was thought that the high and honourable dignity of the tribunate, so carefully guarded up to that time, had been insulted and destroyed), he made a lengthy speech before the people, a few of the arguments of which it will not be out of place to lay before the reader, that he may get a conception of the man's subtlety and persuasiveness. A tribune, he said, was sacred and inviolable, because he was consecrated to the people and was a champion of the people. "If, then," said Tiberius, "he should change about, wrong the people, maim its power, and rob it of the privilege of voting, he has by his own acts deprived himself of his honourable office by not fulfilling the conditions on which he received it; for otherwise there would be no interference with a tribune even though he should try to demolish the Capitol or set fire to the naval arsenal. If a tribune does these things, he is a bad tribune; but if he annuls the power of the people, he is no tribune at all. Is it not, then, a monstrous thing that a tribune should have power to hale a consul to prison, while the people cannot deprive a tribune of his power when he employs it against the very ones who bestowed it? For consul and tribune alike are elected by the people. And surely the kingly office, besides comprehending in itself every civil function, is also consecrated to the Deity by the performance of the most solemn religious rites; and yet Tarquin was expelled by the city for his wrong-doing, and because of one man's insolence the power which had founded Rome and descended from father to son was overturned. Again, what institution at Rome is so holy and venerable as that of the virgins who tend and watch the undying fire? And yet if one of these
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ρύσεται τὸ γὰρ ἄσυλον οὗ φυλαττομοις ἀσεβοῦσαι εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς, ὅ διὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἔχουσιν. 5 οὐκ οὖν ὁ δῆμος ὁ δήμαρχος ἀδικῶς τὸν δήμου ἔχειν τὴν διὰ τὸν δήμου ἄσυλίαν δίκαιος ἐστιν. ἦ γὰρ ἴσχυε νυνάμει, ταύτην ἀναιρεῖ. καὶ μὴν εἰ δικαίως ἔλαβε τὴν δημαρχίαν, τῶν πλείστων ἄνθρωπον ψηφισμένων, πῶς οὐχ ἔχειν ἄφαιρεθείν 6 δικαίωτον πασῶν ἀποψηφισμένων; ἴππον δὲ ηὔξανυ 832 καὶ ἄσυλον οὖν ὁ θεός ἐστιν ὡς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀναθῆματα. χρήσθαι δὲ τούτως καὶ κινεῖν καὶ ἐνδυναμεῖν ἀνάθημα μεταφέρειν ὡς βούλεται, τὸν δῆμον οὖν καὶ καθώς 443 λυκεῖν. ἐξήν οὖν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν δημαρχίαν ὡς ἀνάθημα μετενεγκείν εἰς ἐτερον. διὸ δὲ οὖν ἄσυλον οὖν ἀναφαίρετον ἢ ἀρχή, δῆλον ἐστι τῷ πολλάκις ἔχοντας ἀρχήν τινας ἐξόμυσθαι καὶ παρατείσθαι δ' αὐτῶν.

XVI. Τοιαύτα μὲν ἢν τὰ κεφάλαια τῆς τοῦ Τιβερίου δικαιολογίας. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνορῶντες οἱ φίλοι τὰς ἀπειλᾶς καὶ τὴν σύστασιν δυναντεῖν ἔτερας περιέχεσθαι δημαρχίας εἰς τὸ μέλλον, αὕτης ἀλλοις νόμοις ἀνελάμβανε τὸ πλῆθος, τοῦ τε χρόνου τῶν στρατευόντων ἀφαιρών, καὶ διοῦν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸν δήμον ἀπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν, καὶ τοῖς κρίνοντι τότε, συγκλητικοῖς ὁ σύ, κατα- 2 μεγάλος ἐκ τῶν ἰππεῶν τὸν ἰσον ἀριθμόν, καὶ πάντα τρόπου ἢ ὡς τῆς βουλῆς τὴν ἴσχυν κολούων

1 τὸν δήμον Cobet: δῆμον.
TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

breaks her vows, she is buried alive; for when they sin against the gods, they do not preserve that inviolable character which is given them for their service to the gods. Therefore it is not just that a tribune who wrongs the people should retain that inviolable character which is given him for service to the people, since he is destroying the very power which is the source of his own power. And surely, if it is right for him to be made tribune by a majority of the votes of the tribes, it must be even more right for him to be deprived of his tribuneship by a unanimous vote. And again, nothing is so sacred and inviolate as objects consecrated to the gods; and yet no one has hindered the people from using such objects, or moving them, or changing their position in such manner as may be desired. It is therefore permissible for the people to transfer the tribunate also, as a consecrated thing, from one man to another. And that the office is not inviolable or irremovable is plain from the fact that many times men holding it resign it under oath of disability, and of their own accord beg to be relieved of it."

XVI. Such were the chief points in the justification of his course which Tiberius made. And now his friends, observing the threats and the hostile combination against him, thought that he ought to be made tribune again for the following year. Once more, therefore, Tiberius sought to win the favour of the multitude by fresh laws, reducing the time of military service, granting appeal to the people from the verdicts of the judges, adding to the judges, who at that time were composed of senators only, an equal number from the equestrian order, and in every way at length trying to maim the power of the senate.
πρὸς ὀργὴν καὶ φιλονεικίαν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν τοῦ δικαίου καὶ συμφέροντος λογισμὸν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς ὕφους φερομένης ἔσθοντο τοὺς ἑαυτόν κρατοῦντας (οὐ γὰρ παρῆν ἀπὰς ὁ δήμος), πρῶτον μὲν εἰς βλασφημίας τραπόμενοι τῶν συναρχῶν τῶν εἰλικρίνον τῶν χρόνων ἐπειτα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἄφηκαν, 3 εἰς τὴν ύστεραίαν ἀπαντᾶν κελεύσαντες. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν εἰς τὴν ἀγορᾶν καταβαίνο τὸ Τιβέριος ἐκεῖνε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ταπεινῶς καὶ δεδακρυμένος, ἐπειτα δεδοικέναι φήσαις μὴ νυκτὸς ἐκκοψοι τὴν οἰκίαν ὁ ἐχθρὸς καὶ διαφθείρωσιν αὐτῶν, οὕτω τοῖς ἀνθρώποις διέθηκεν ὡστε περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ παμπόλλους τινὰς αὐλίσασθαι καὶ διανυκτερέυσαι παραφυλάττοντας.

XVII. Ἀμα δ' ἡμέρα παρῆν ὁ τὰς ὀρνιθὰς αἰς διαμαντεύονται κομίζων, καὶ προέβαλλε τροφὴν αὐταῖς. αἰ δ' οὐ προῆλθον, εἰ μὴ μία μόνη, διασείσαντος εὖ μάλα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ ἀγγεῖον οὐδὲ αὕτη δὲ τῆς τροφῆς ἔθιγεν, ἀλλ' ἐπάρασα τὴν ἀριστερὰ πτέρυγα καὶ παρατείνασα τὸ σκέλος πάλιν εἰς τὸ ἀγγεῖον κατέφυγε. τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ προτέρου σημείου τὸν Τιβέριον ἀνέμυνθεν.

2 ἦν γὰρ αὐτῷ κράνος ἢ πρὸς τὰς μάχας ἔχρητο, κεκοσμημένων ἐκπρεπῶς καὶ διάσημως εἰς τοῦτο καταδύντες ὁφεῖς ἔλαθον ἐντεκόμενες ὁμίλῳ, καὶ ταύτα ἐξεγλύφαντο. διὸ καὶ μᾶλλον ὁ Τιβέριος τοῖς περὶ τὰς ὀρνιθὰς ἑπαράττετο. προῆι δὲ ὅμως, ἀνω τοῦ δήμου ἥθεον οἶκος περί τὸ Καπετώ-3 λιον πυνθανόμενος καὶ πρὸς ἐξελθέων προσέπταισε πρὸς τὸν οὐδόν, σφοδρὰς οὕτω πληγῆς γενομένης ὡστε τὸν μὲν ὄνυχα τοῦ μεγάλου ἱλα-
TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

from motives of anger and contentiousness rather than from calculations of justice and the public good. And when, as the voting was going on, the friends of Tiberius perceived that their opponents were getting the better of the contest, since all the people were not present, in the first place they resorted to abuse of his fellow tribunes, and so protracted the time; next, they dismissed the assembly, and ordered that it should convene on the following day. Then Tiberius, going down into the forum, at first supplicated the citizens in a humble manner and with tears in his eyes; next, he declared he was afraid that his enemies would break into his house by night and kill him, and thereby so wrought upon his hearers that great numbers of them took up their station about his house and spent the night there on guard.

XVII. At break of day there came to the house the man who brought the birds with which auspices are taken, and threw food before them. But the birds would not come out of the cage, with the exception of one, though the keeper shook the cage right hard; and even the one that came out would not touch the food, but raised its left wing, stretched out its leg, and then ran back into the cage. This reminded Tiberius of an omen that had happened earlier. He had a helmet which he wore in battle, exceptionally adorned and splendid; into this serpents crawled unnoticed, laid eggs there and hatched them out. For this reason Tiberius was all the more disturbed by the signs from the birds. But nevertheless he set out, on learning that the people were assembled on the Capitol; and before he got out of the house, he stumbled against the threshold. The blow was so severe that the nail of his great toe

185
τύλου ῥαγήναι, τὸ δὲ αἷμα διὰ τοῦ ὑποδήματος ἔξω φέρεσθαι. μικρὸν δὲ αὐτοῦ προελθόντος ὄφθησαν ὑπὲρ κεράμου μαχόμενοι κόρακες ἐν ἀριστερά· καὶ πολλῶν, ὡς εἰκὸς, ἀνθρώπων παρερχομένων, καὶ ἀυτὸν τὸν Τιβέριον λίθος ἀπωσθεὶς ὑπὸ θατέρου τῶν κοράκων ἔπεσε παρὰ τῶν πόδα. τούτῳ καὶ τοῖς βρασυτάτοις τῶν περὶ

4 αὐτὸν ἑπέστησεν ἄλλα Βλόσσιος ὁ Κυμαίος παρῶν αἰσχύνην ἐφη καὶ κατήφειαν ἄν εἶναι 1 πολλὴν εἰ Τιβέριος, Γράγχου μὲν υίός, Ἀφρικανοῦ δὲ Σκηπίωνος θυγατριδοῦς, προστάτης δὲ τοῦ Ῥωμαίου δήμου, κόρακα δεῖσας οὐχ ὑπακούσει τοῖς πολῖταις καλοῦσι· τούτῳ μέντοι τὸ αἰσχρὸν οὐκ ἐν γέλωτι ὑθέσθαι τοὺς ἔχθρους, ἀλλὰ ὡς τυραννοῦντος καὶ τρυφῶντος ἦδη κατα-

5 βοήσεσθαι πρὸς τὸν δήμον. ἀμα δὲ καὶ προσέθεσθαι πολλοὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ παρὰ τῶν ἐν Καπετωλίῳ φίλων, ἑπέλγησαν κελεύσεις, ὡς τῶν ἐκεῖ καλῶς ἐχόντων. καὶ τὰ γε πρῶτα λαμπρῶς ἀπήντα τῷ Τιβερίῳ, φανέντε μὲν εὐθὺς ἀραμένων βοήν φιλίου, ἀναβαίνοντα δὲ προθύμως δεχομένων καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν, ὡς μηδεὶς πελάσειεν ἄγνως, παραταττομένων.

XVIII. Ἀρξαμένου δὲ πάλιν τοῦ Μούκιου τῶν φυλῶν ἀναγορεύσει, οὐδὲν ἐπεραινέτο τῶν εἰωθότων διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔσχατων ὅρυβον, ὁθομένων καὶ ὁθούντων τοὺς ἐναντίους εἰσβιαζομένους καὶ ἀναμιγγυμένους. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Φούλβιος Φλάκκος ἀπὸ βουλῆς ἀνήρ εἰς ἐμφανὲς καταστάς, ὡς οὐ κἂν φθεγγόμενον ἐφικέσθαι,

1 ἄν εἶναι: Cobet and Fuhr: [παρ]εῖναι.
was broken and the blood ran out through his shoe. He had gone on but a little way when ravens were seen fighting on the roof of a house to his left hand; and though there were many people, as was natural, passing by, a stone dislodged by one of the ravens fell at the foot of Tiberius himself. This caused even the boldest of his followers to pause; but Blossius of Cumae, who was present, said it would be a shame and a great disgrace if Tiberius, a son of Gracchus, a grandson of Scipio Africanus, and a champion of the Roman people, for fear of a raven should refuse to obey the summons of his fellow citizens; such shameful conduct, moreover, would not be made a mere matter of ridicule by his enemies, but they would decry him to the people as one who was at last giving himself the airs of a tyrant. At the same time also many of his friends on the Capitol came running to Tiberius with urgent appeals to hasten thither, since matters there were going well. And in fact things turned out splendidly for Tiberius at first; as soon as he came into view the crowd raised a friendly shout, and as he came up the hill they gave him a cordial welcome and ranged themselves about him, that no stranger might approach.

XVIII. But after Mucius began once more to summon the tribes to the vote, none of the customary forms could be observed because of the disturbance that arose on the outskirts of the throng, where there was crowding back and forth between the friends of Tiberius and their opponents, who were striving to force their way in and mingle with the rest. Moreover, at this juncture Fulvius Flaccus, a senator, posted himself in a conspicuous place, and since it was impossible to make his voice heard so
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

diesήμηνε τή χειρί φράσαι τι βουλόμενον αὐτῶν
2 ἰδία τῷ Τιβέριῳ. καὶ κελεύσαντος ἐκείνου δια-
σχεῖν τὸ πλῆθος, ἀναβάς μόλις καὶ προσελθῶν
ἀπήγγειλεν ὅτι τής βουλῆς συγκαθεξομένης οἱ
πλοῦσιοι, τῶν ὑπατον μὴ πείθουσι, αὐτοῖ δια-
νοοῦνται καθ' αὐτοὺς ἀποκτινώναι τὸν Τιβέριον,
πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τούτο δουλοὺς καὶ φίλους ὀπλι-
σμένους ἔχοντες.

XIX. Ὡς οὖν ταῦτα τοῖς περὶ αὐτῶν ἔξηγ-
γειλεν ὁ Τιβέριος, οὗτοι μὲν εὐθὺς τὰς τε τηθέν-
νους περιεξόωννυτο, καὶ τὰ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν δόρατα
συγκλώντες οἷς ἀνείργουσι τὸν ὄχλον, διελάμ-
βανον ὡς ἀμνούμενοι τοῖς κλάσμασι τοὺς ἐπερ-
2 χομένους. τῶν δὲ ἀπωτέρω θαυμαζόντων τὰ
γινόμενα καὶ πυνθανομένων, ὁ Τιβέριος ἦσατο
τῇ χειρὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἐνδεικνύμενος τῇ ὄψει τὸν
κύνδυνον, ἐπεὶ τῆς φωιής οὐκ ἐπήκουσαν. οἱ
dὲ ἐναντίοι τούτο ἴδοντες ἔθεον πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν,
ἀπαγγέλλοντες αὐτοῖς διάδημα τὸν Τιβέριον καὶ
tούτον σημεῖον εἶναι τὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπιθυμώ-
3 νειν. πάντες μὲν οὖν ἐθυρβήθησαν· ὁ δὲ Να-
σικᾶς ἔξιον τῶν ὑπατῶν τῇ πόλει βοηθεῖν καὶ
καταλύειν τὸν τύραννον. ἀποκριναμένου δὲ πρῶς
ἐκείνου βίας μὲν ὀυδεμᾶς ὑπάρξειν οὐδὲ ἀναίρή-
σειν οὐδένα τῶν πολιτῶν ἄκριτον, εἰ μέντοι
ψηφίσατο τι τῶν παρανόμων ὁ δῆμος ὑπὸ τοῦ
Τιβέριον πεισθεὶς ἢ βιασθεὶς, τοῦτο κύριον μὴ
φυλάξειν, ἀναπηδήσας ὁ Νασικᾶς, ἑκάτοι τοῖς,
ἔφη, ἡ προδίδωσιν ὁ ἄρχων τὴν πόλιν, οἱ βουλό-
far, indicated with his hand that he wished to tell Tiberius something meant for his ear alone. Tiberius ordered the crowd to part for Flavius, who made his way up to him with difficulty, and told him that at a session of the senate the party of the rich, since they could not prevail upon the consul to do so, were purposing to kill Tiberius themselves, and for this purpose had under arms a multitude of their friends and slaves.

XIX. Tiberius, accordingly, reported this to those who stood about him, and they at once girded up their togas, and breaking in pieces the spear-shafts with which the officers keep back the crowd, distributed the fragments among themselves, that they might defend themselves against their assailants. Those who were farther off, however, wondered at what was going on and asked what it meant. Whereupon Tiberius put his hand to his head, making this visible sign that his life was in danger, since the questioners could not hear his voice. But his opponents, on seeing this, ran to the senate and told that body that Tiberius was asking for a crown; and that his putting his hand to his head was a sign having that meaning. All the senators, of course, were greatly disturbed, and Nasica demanded that the consul should come to the rescue of the state and put down the tyrant. The consul replied with mildness that he would resort to no violence and would put no citizen to death without a trial; if, however, the people, under persuasion or compulsion from Tiberius, should vote anything that was unlawful, he would not regard this vote as binding. Thereupon Nasica sprang to his feet and said: "Since, then, the chief magistrate betrays the state, do ye
μεν οί τοις νόμοις βοηθείν ἀκολουθεῖτε," καὶ
tάντα λέγων ἀμα καί τὸ κράσπεδον τοῦ ἴματίου
θέμενος ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἔχορει πρὸς τὸ Καπε-
tώλιον. ἔκαστος δὲ τῶν ἐπομένων αὐτῷ τῇ χειρὶ
tῆς τήβευνον περιελίξας ἔσθει τοὺς ἐμπόδοις,
οὐδενὸς ἐνιστάμενος πρὸς τὸ αἰξίωμα τῶν ἀνδρῶν,
ἀλλὰ φευγόντων καὶ πατοῦντων ἀλλήλους.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν περὶ αὐτοῦ ρόπαλα καὶ σκυτάλας
ἐκόμιζον οὐκοθεν' αὐτῷ δὲ τῶν διφρων καταγνυ-
μένων ὑπὸ τοῦ φεύγοντος ὥχλου τὰ κλάσματα
καὶ τοὺς πόδας λαμβάνοντες ἀνέβαινον ἐπὶ τὸν
Τιβέριον, ἀμα παιόντες τοὺς προτεταγμένους.
καὶ τούτων μὲν ἦν τροπὴ καὶ φόνος· αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ
Τιβερίου φεύγοντος ἀντελάβετό τις τῶν ἴματίων.

ὁ δὲ τὴν τήβευνον ἀθέως καὶ φεύγων ἐν τοῖς
χιτῶσιν ἐσφάλη καὶ κατηνέχθη περὶ τινας τῶν
πρὸ αὐτοῦ πεπτωκότας. ἀνιστάμενων δὲ αὐτὸν
ὁ μὲν ἐμφανὸς καὶ πρῶτος εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν
πατάξας ποδὶ διφρων Πόπλιος ἢ Σατυρῆιος εἰς
tῶν συναρχόντων· τῆς δὲ δευτέρας ἀντεποιεῖτο
πληγῆς Λεύκιος Ἱοῦφος, ὡς ἐπὶ καὶ τὴν
σεμπυσμένων. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἀπέθανον ὑπὲρ τρια-
κοσίων ξύλων καὶ λίθων συγκοπότεντας, σιδήρως
dὲ οὖνεϊς.

XX. Ταύτην πρώτην ἱστοροῦσιν ἐν Ῥώμη στά-
σιν, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ βασιλεύεσθαι κατέλυσαν, ἀἱματι
καὶ φόνῳ πολιτῶν διακριθήναι· τὰς δὲ ἄλλας
οὐτε μικρὰς οὐτὲ περὶ μικρῶν γευμένας ἀνθυπεί-
kontes ἀλλήλοις, φόβῳ μὲν οἱ δυνατοὶ τῶν πολ-
lῶν, αἰδούμενοι δὲ τῆς βουλὴς ὁ δῆμος, ἐπαυνοῦ.
ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ τότε μὴ χαλεπῶς ἄν ἐνδούναι παρη-

190
TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

who wish to succour the laws follow me.” With these words he covered his head with the skirt of his toga and set out for the Capitol. All the senators who followed him wrapped their togas about their left arms and pushed aside those who stood in their path, no man opposing them, in view of their dignity, but all taking to flight and trampling upon one another.

Now, the attendants of the senators carried clubs and staves which they had brought from home; but the senators themselves seized the fragments and legs of the benches that were shattered by the crowd in its flight, and went up against Tiberius, at the same time smiting those who were drawn up to protect him. Of these there was a rout and a slaughter; and as Tiberius himself turned to fly, someone laid hold of his garments. So he let his toga go and fled in his tunic. But he stumbled and fell to the ground among some bodies that lay in front of him. As he strove to rise to his feet, he received his first blow, as everybody admits, from Publius Satyreius, one of his colleagues, who smote him on the head with the leg of a bench; to the second blow claim was made by Lucius Rufus, who plumed himself upon it as upon some noble deed. And of the rest more than three hundred were slain by blows from sticks and stones, but not one by the sword.

XX. This is said to have been the first sedition at Rome, since the abolition of royal power, to end in bloodshed and the death of citizens; the rest, though neither trifling nor raised for trifling objects, were settled by mutual concessions, the nobles yielding from fear of the multitude, and the people out of respect for the senate. And it was thought that even

191
γορηθεὶς ὁ Τιβέριος, ἔτι δὲ ρᾶον εἴχαι δίχα φῶνον
 καὶ τραυμάτων ἐπιούσιν· οὔ γὰρ πλείονες ἢ
 τρισχίλιοι περὶ αὐτὸν ἦσαν. ἀλλ’ ἐσικεῖν ὅργῃ
 τῶν πλουσίων καὶ μίσει πλέον ἢ δι’ ἄς ἐσκήπ-
 τοτοῦ προφάσεις ἢ σύστασις ἐπ’ αὐτὸν γενέσθαι,
 καὶ τοῦτο μέγα τεκμήριον ὁμός καὶ παρανόμως
 ὑβρισθεὶς ὁ νεκρός. οὔ γὰρ ἐπέτρεψαν ἀνελέσθαι τὸ σῶμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ δεομένῳ καὶ θάψαι νυκτὸς,
 ἀλλὰ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων νεκρῶν εἰς τῶν ποταμῶν
 ἔρριψαν. καὶ τοῦτο πέρας οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν
 φίλων αὐτοῦ τῶν μὲν ἐξεκήρυττον ἀκρίτους, τῶν
 δὲ συλλαμβάνοντες ἀπεκτίνυσαν· ἐν οἷς καὶ
 Διοφάνης ὁ ῥήτωρ ἀπώλετο. Γάιον δὲ τινα
 Βίλλιον εἰς ἄγγειον καθείρξαντες καὶ συνεμβα-
 λόντες ἐχίδνας καὶ δράκοντας οὕτω διέφθειραν.
 ὁ δὲ Κυμαῖος Βλόσσιος ἀνήχθη μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν
 υπάτων, ἐρωτῶμενος δὲ περὶ τῶν γεγονότων
 ὁμολογεῖ πεποιηκέναι πάντα Τιβέριον κελεύοντος.
 4 εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Νασικᾶ πρὸς αὐτὸν, “Τί οὖν, εἴ
 σε Τιβέριος ἐκέλευσεν ἐμπρῆσαι τὸ Καπετώλιον;”
 τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀντέλεγεν ὡς οὖν ἀν τοῦτο Τιβε-
 ρίου κελεύσαντος· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ πολλῶν τὸ
 αὐτὸ πυθαγομένων, “Αλλ’ ἐκείνου γε προστάσ-
 σοντος,” ἐφ’, “κάμοι τοῦτο πρᾶξαι καλῶς εἰχέν·
 οὔ γὰρ ἀν Τιβέριος τοῦτο προσέταξεν, εἰ μή τῷ
 δήμῳ συνέφερεν.” οὗτος μὲν οὖν διαφυγὼν ὑστε-
TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

on this occasion Tiberius would have given way without difficulty had persuasion been brought to bear upon him, and would have yielded still more easily if his assailants had not resorted to wounds and bloodshed; for his adherents numbered not more than three thousand. But the combination against him would seem to have arisen from the hatred and anger of the rich rather than from the pretexts which they alleged; and there is strong proof of this in their lawless and savage treatment of his dead body. For they would not listen to his brother’s request that he might take up the body and bury it by night, but threw it into the river along with the other dead. Nor was this all; they banished some of his friends without a trial and others they arrested and put to death. Among these Diophanes the rhetorician also perished. A certain Caius Villius they shut up in a cage, and then put in vipers and serpents, and in this way killed him. Blossius of Cumae was brought before the consuls, and when he was asked about what had passed, he admitted that he had done everything at the bidding of Tiberius. Then Nasica said to him, "What, then, if Tiberius had ordered thee to set fire to the Capitol?" Blossius at first replied that Tiberius would not have given such an order; but when the same question was put to him often and by many persons, he said: "If such a man as Tiberius had ordered such a thing, it would also have been right for me to do it; for Tiberius would not have given such an order if it had not been for the interest of the people." 1 Well, then, Blossius was acquitted, and afterwards went to

1 For the story of Blossius, cf. Cicero, De am. 11. 37; Valerius Maximus, iv. 7. 1.
ρον φύστο πρὸς Ἀριστόνικου εἰς Ἀσίαν, καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου πραγμάτων διαφθαρέντων εὐαντὸν ἀνείλεν. ΧΧΙ. Ὁ δὲ βουλή θεραπεύουσα τὸν δῆμον ἐκ τῶν παρόντων οὕτω πρὸς τὴν διανομὴν ἐτι τῆς χώρας ἵναντιοῦτο, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου προύθηκε τοῖς πολλοῖς ὀριστὴν ἠλέσθαι. λαβόντες δὲ τὰς ψῆφους εἴλουτο Πόπλιου Κράσσου, οἰκείων ὑπνα Γράγχρω. θυγάτηρ γὰρ αὐτοῦ Δικινινία Γαίς 2 Γράγχρω συνέκα. καίτοι Νέπως ὁ Κορνήλιος φησιν οὐ Κράσσου, Βρούτου δὲ τοῦ θριαμβευσάντος ἀπὸ Δυστανώνθων θυγατέρα γήμαι Γάιον ἀλλὰ οἱ πλείους ός ἡμεῖς γράφομεν ἱστοροῦσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ χαλεπῶς μὲν ὁ δῆμος εἰχε τῷ χανάτῳ τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ φανερῷ ἡ ἀμύνης περιμένων καιρόν, ἕδη δὲ καὶ δίκαι τῷ Νασίκα προάνεσείντο, δείσασα περὶ τοῦ ἄνδρος ἡ βουλή ψηφίζεται μηδὲν δεομένη πέμπειν αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀσίαν. 3 οὐ γὰρ ἀπεκρύπτοντο κατὰ τὰς ἀπαντήσεις οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ τὴν δυσμένειαν, ἀλλὰ ἐξηγηριαίνοντο καὶ κατεβόων ὅπου προστύχοιεν, ἐναγῇ καὶ τύραννον καὶ μεμαγκότα φώς σώματος ἀσύλου καὶ ἱεροῦ τὸ ἀγιώτατον καὶ φρικωδέστατον ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν ἱερῶν ἄποκαλοῦντες. οὕτω μὲν ὑπεξῆλθε τῆς Ἰταλίας ὁ Νασίκας, καὶ περ ἐνδεδεμένος ταῖς μεγάλαις ἱερουργίαις· ἢ γὰρ ὁ μέγιστος καὶ ποιῶς τῶν ἱερέων. ἔξω δὲ ἀλύων καὶ πλανώμενος ἀδόξως οὐ μετὰ πολὺν χρόνου κατέστρεψε 4 περὶ Πέργαμου. οὐ δεὶ δὲ θαυμάζειν εἰ Νασίκαν

194
TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

Aristonicus\(^1\) in Asia, and when the cause of Aristonicus was lost, slew himself.

XXI. But the senate, trying to conciliate the people now that matters had gone so far, no longer opposed the distribution of the public land, and proposed that the people should elect a commissioner in place of Tiberius. So they took a ballot and elected Publius Crassus, who was a relative of Gracchus; for his daughter Licia was the wife of Caius Gracchus. And yet Cornelius Nepos\(^2\) says that it was not the daughter of Crassus, but of the Brutus who triumphed over the Lusitanians, whom Caius married; the majority of writers, however, state the matter as I have done. Moreover, since the people felt bitterly over the death of Tiberius and were clearly awaiting an opportunity for revenge, and since Nasica was already threatened with prosecutions, the senate, fearing for his safety, voted to send him to Asia, although it had no need of him there. For when people met Nasica, they did not try to hide their hatred of him, but grew savage and cried out upon him wherever he chanced to be, calling him an accursed man and a tyrant, who had defiled with the murder of an inviolable and sacred person the holiest and most awe-inspiring of the city’s sanctuaries. And so Nasica stealthily left Italy, although he was bound there by the most important and sacred functions; for he was pontifex maximus. He roamed and wandered about in foreign lands ignominiously, and after a short time ended his life at Pergamum. Now, it is no wonder that the people so much hated

\(^1\) The pretender to the throne of Attalus Philometor (xiv. 1). He was defeated and taken prisoner by the Romans in 130 B.C.

\(^2\) In a lost biography.
μεμόηκεν οὕτως ὁ δῆμος, ὅπου καὶ Σκηπίων ὁ Ἀφρικανός, οὐ δοκοῦσι 'Ῥωμαίοι μηδένα δικαιότερον μηδὲ μᾶλλον ἀγαπῆσαι, παρὰ μικρὸν ἤλθεν ἐκπεσεῖν καὶ στέρεσθαι τῆς πρὸς τὸν δήμον εὐνοίας, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ἐν Νομαντίᾳ τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ Τιβερίου πυθόμενος ἀνεφώνησεν ἐκ τῶν Ὀμηρικῶν.

ὡς ἀπόλοιπον καὶ ἄλλος ὁ τοιαύτα γε ἰέζοι,

5 ἔπειτα τῶν περὶ Γάιου καὶ Φούλβιον αὐτοῦ δι’ ἐκκλησίας πυνθανομένων τὶ φρονοῖ ἐπὶ τῆς Τιβερίου τελευτῆς, οὐκ ἄρεσκομένην τοῖς ὑπ’ ἐκείνου πεπολιτευμένοις ἀπόκρισιν ἔδωκεν. ἐκ τούτου γὰρ ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἀντέκρουσεν αὐτῷ λέγοντι, μηδέπω τούτο ποιήσας πρότερον, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν δῆμον εἰπεῖν κακῶς προήχθη. περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐν τῷ Σκηπίωνος βίῳ τὰ καθ’ ἑκαστα γέγραπται.

____________________

Γ. ΓΡΑΓΧΟΣ

1. Γάιος, δὲ Γράγχος ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν ἢ δεδώς τοὺς ἔχοντος ἡ φθόνον συνάγων ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ ὑπεξέστη τῇ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ καθ’ ἑαυτὸν ἡσυχίαν ἔχων διέτριβεν, ὡς ἂν τις ἐν τῇ τῇ παροῦντι ταπεινὰ πράττων καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὦτως ἀπραγμόνως ἰωσόμενος, ὡστε καὶ λόγῳ τοῖς καθ’ 83δ αὐτοῦ παρασχεὶν ὡς δυσχεραίνουτος καὶ προβέβλημένου τὴν τοῦ Τιβερίου πολιτείαν. ἦν δὲ

196
TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

Nasica, when even Scipio Africanus, than whom no one would seem to have been more justly or more deeply loved by the Romans, came within a little of forfeiting and losing the popular favour because, to begin with, at Numantia, when he learned of the death of Tiberius, he recited in a loud voice the verse of Homer:\textsuperscript{1}—

"So perish also all others who on such wickedness venture,"

and because, in the second place, when Caius and Fulvius asked him in an assembly of the people what he thought about the death of Tiberius, he made a reply which showed his dislike of the measures advocated by him. Consequently the people began to interrupt him as he was speaking, a thing which they had never done before, and Scipio himself was thereby led on to abuse the people. Of these matters I have written circumstantially in my Life of Scipio.\textsuperscript{2}

\textit{CAIUS GRACCHUS}

I. Caius Gracchus, at first, either because he feared his enemies, or because he wished to bring odium upon them, withdrew from the forum and lived quietly by himself, like one who was humbled for the present and for the future intended to live the same inactive life, so that some were actually led to denounce him for disliking and repudiating his brother's political measures. And he was also

\textsuperscript{1} \textit{Odyssey}, i. 47 (Athena, of Aegisthus).
\textsuperscript{2} One of the lost biographies.
καὶ μειράκιον παντάπασιν ἐννέα γὰρ ἐνιαυτοῖς ἐλεύθερος τάξις διό εἰ ἡλικίαν, ἐκεῖνος δὲ οὕτω τριάκοντα γεγονὼς ἀπέθανεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου τὸν τε τρόπον ἡσυχὴ διέφαινεν ἀργίας καὶ μαλακίας καὶ πότων καὶ χρηματισμὸν ἀλλότριον ὄντα, καὶ τὸν λόγον ὅσπερ ὀκύπτερα κατασκευαζόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν πολιτείαν δῆλος ἦν

3 σοῦ ἡρεμήσων, δίκην τὲ τινὶ τῶν φίλων φεύγοντι ἐβεβίω συνειπών, τοῦ δήμου συνενθουσιάτος ὡς ἡδονῆς καὶ βασιλεύουστος περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἀπέδειξε τοὺς ἄλλους βήτορας παῖδων μηδὲν διαφέροντας, εἰς φόβον αὐθίς οἱ δυνατοὶ καθίσταντο, καὶ πολὺς ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς λόγος ὡς σοῦ εάσοσιν ἐπὶ δημαρχίαν τὸν Γαίον προελθεῖν.

4 Συντυγχάνει δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτων καὶ λαχεῖν αὐτῶν εἰς Σαρδῶν ταμίαν Ὀρέστη τῷ ὑπάτῳ· καὶ τούτῳ τοῖς μὲν ἑχθροῖς καθ᾽ ἡδονήν ἐγείρονει, τόν δὲ Γάιον οὐκ ἐλύπησεν. ἂτε γὰρ ὧν πολεμικός καὶ χείρον οὐδὲν πρὸς στρατεύεις ἑκείμενος ἢ δίκας, ἐστὶ δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ τὸ βῆμα φρίττων, ἀντέχειν δὲ καλοῦντι τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τοῖς φίλοις οὐ δυνάμενος, παντάπασι τὴν ἀποδημίαν ἐκείνην

5 ἡγαπήσας. καὶ τοῦ κρατεῖ δόξα πολλῆς τούτου ἀκρατοῦ γενέσθαι δημαγωγόν, καὶ πολὺ τοῦ Τιμερίου λαμπρότερον πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὄχλων δόξαν. οὐκ ἔχει δὲ οὕτω τὸ ἀληθές· ἀλλ᾽ ἐσκεῖν ὑπ᾽ ἀνάγκης τινὸς μᾶλλον οὕτος ἢ προαιρέσεως

6 ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν. ἰστορεῖ δὲ καὶ Κικέρων ὁ ἑρωτός ὡς ἄρα φεύγοντι πᾶσαν ἀρχήν τῷ Γαίῳ καὶ μεθ᾽ ἡσυχίας ἑρμηνεύων ζῆν ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὤν αὐτὸς φανεῖς καὶ προσαγορεύσας, "Τί δήτα,"

198
TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

quite a stripling, for he was nine years younger than his brother, and Tiberius was not yet thirty when he died. But as time went on he gradually showed a disposition that was averse to idleness, effeminacy, wine-bibbing, and money-making; and by preparing his oratory to waft him as on swift pinions to public life, he made it clear that he was not going to remain quiet; and in defending Vettius, a friend of his who was under prosecution, he had the people about him inspired and frantic with sympathetic delight, and made the other orators appear to be no better than children. Once more, therefore, the nobles began to be alarmed, and there was much talk among them about not permitting Caius to be made tribune.

By accident, however, it happened that the lot fell on him to go to Sardinia as quaestor for Orestes the consul.¹ This gave pleasure to his enemies, and did not annoy Caius. For he was fond of war, and quite as well trained for military service as for pleading in the courts. Moreover, he still shrank from public life and the rostra, but was unable to resist the calls to this career which came from the people and his friends. He was therefore altogether satisfied with this opportunity of leaving the city. And yet a strong opinion prevails that he was a demagogue pure and simple, and far more eager than Tiberius to win the favour of the multitude. But this is not the truth; nay, it would appear that he was led by a certain necessity rather than by his own choice to engage in public matters. And Cicero the orator also relates² that Caius declined all office and had chosen to live a quiet life, but that his brother appeared to him in a dream and addressed him, saying: "Why, pray, dost

¹ In 126 B.C. ² De div. i. 26, 56.
φαίη, "Γάιε, βραδύνεις; οὔκ ἔστιν ἀπόδρασις, ἀλλ' εἰς μὲν ἡμῖν ἀμφοτέροις βίος, εἰς δὲ θάνατος ὑπέρ τού δήμου πολιτευμένοις πέπρωται."

II. Γενόμενος οὖν ὁ Γάιος ἐν Σαρδώνι πᾶσαν ἀρετής ἀπόδειξιν ἐδίδου, καὶ πολὺ πάντων διέφερε τῶν νέων ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμόσιν ἀγώσσι καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους δικαίοις καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν εὐνοία καὶ τιμῆ, σωφροσύνη δὲ καὶ λετότητι καὶ φιλοποιία παρῆλθαττε καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους. ἰσχυροῦ δὲ καὶ νοσόδους ἀμα χειμώνοις ἐν Σαρδώνι γενομένου καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὰς πόλεις ἐσθήτα τοῖς στρατιώταις αἰτούντος, ἐπέμψαν εἰς 'Ρώμην παραίτομενοι. δεξαμένης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς τὴν παραίτησιν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἄλλοθεν ἀμφιέσει τοὺς στρατιώτας κελευοῦσης, ἀποροῦντος δὲ ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν στρατιώτων κακοπαθοῦντων, ἔπελθών τὰς πόλεις ὁ Γάιος αὐτοὺς ἀφ' ἐαυτῶν ἐποίησεν ἐσθήτα τὴν "πέμψαι καὶ μοηθῆσαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. ταῦτα πάλιν εἰς 'Ρώμην ἀπαγγελλόμενα καὶ δοκοῦντα δημαιγωγίας προάγωνε εἶναι διετάραττε τὴν βουλῆ. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ Διβύσης παρὰ Μικήλα τοῦ βασιλέως πρέσβεις παραγενομένους, καὶ λέγοντας ὡς ὁ βασιλεὺς χάριτι Γαίου Γράγχου πέμψειν εἰς Σαρδώνα σίτον τῷ στρατηγῷ, δυσχεραίνοντες ἐξέβαλον· ἔπειτα δύσμα ποιοῦνται τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις διαδοχὴν ἀποσταλῆς, τὸν δὲ ὑπέστην ἐπιμένειν, ὡς δὴ καὶ τοῦ Γαίου διὰ τὴν ἄρχην παραμενοῦντος. ὅ δὲ τούτων αὐτῷ προσ-πεσόντων εὐθὺς ἐξέπλευσε πρὸς ὁργῆν, καὶ φανείς ἐν 'Ρώμη παρ' ἐλπίδας οὗ μόνον ὕπο τῶν ἐχθρῶν.
TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

thou hesitate, Caius? There is no escape; one life is fated for us both, and one death, as champions of the people."

II. After reaching Sardinia, then, Caius gave proof of every excellence, and far surpassed all the other young men in conflicts with the enemy, in just dealings with the subject peoples, and in the good will and respect which he showed towards his commander, while in self-restraint, frugality, and industry, he excelled even his elders. The winter in Sardinia proved to be rigorous and unhealthy, and the Roman commander made a requisition upon the cities of clothing for his soldiers, whereupon the cities sent to Rome and begged to be relieved from the exaction. The senate granted their petition and ordered the commander to get clothing for his soldiers in some other way. The commander was at a loss what to do, and the soldiers were suffering; so Caius made a circuit of the cities and induced them of their own free will to send clothing and other assistance to the Romans. This was reported to Rome, where it was thought to be a prelude to a struggle for popular favour, and gave fresh concern to the senate. So, to begin with, when ambassadors of King Micipsa came from Africa, and announced that out of regard for Caius Gracchus the king had sent grain to the Roman commander in Sardinia, the senators were displeased and turned them away. In the second place, they passed a decree that fresh troops should be sent to relieve the soldiers in Sardinia, but that Orestes should remain, with the idea that Caius also would remain with him by virtue of his office. But Caius, when this came to his ears, straightway sailed off in a passion, and his unexpected appearance in Rome
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

αἰτίαν ἔχειν, ἄλλα καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἄλλοκοτον ἐδόκει τὸ ταμίαν ὄντα προαποστήματο του ἀρχοντος. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα κατηγορίας αὐτῷ γενομένης ἐπὶ τῶν τιμητῶν, αἰτησάμενος λόγον οὕτω μετέστησε τᾶς γνώμας τῶν ἀκουσάντων ὡς ἀπελθεῖν ἤδικήσθαι 5 τὰ μέγιστα δόξας. ἐστρατεύσθαι μὲν γὰρ ἐφ᾽ ἰσοδεκα ἐτη, τῶν ἄλλων δέκα στρατευμένων ἐν 836 ἀνάγκαις, ταμεύων δὲ τῷ στρατηγῷ παραμε- μνηκέναι τριετίαν, τοῦ νόμου μετ᾽ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐπαν- ελθεῖν δεδόντος: μόνος δὲ τῶν στρατευσαμένων πληρεῖ τὸ βαλαντίου εἰσενηνοχῶς κεινὸν ἐξενηνο- χέναι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐκπίνοντας δι᾽ εἰσήγησαν οἶνον, ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσίου μεστοὺς δεύρο τοὺς ἀμφορεῖς ἤκειν κομίζοντας.

III. Ἐκ τούτου πάλιν ἄλλας αἰτίας αὐτῷ καὶ δίκας ἐπήγγον ὡς τοὺς συμμάχους ἀφιστάντι καὶ κεκοινωνηκότι τῆς περὶ Φρέγελλαν ἐνδειχθείσης συνωμοσίας. ο δὲ πάσαν ὑποψίαν ἀπολυσάμενος καὶ φανεῖς καθαρὸς εὐθύς ἐπὶ δημαρχίαν ὄρμησε, τῶν μὲν γνωρίμων ἀνδρῶν ὀμαλῶς ἀπάντων ἐναντιούμενων πρὸς αὐτόν, ὁχλοὺ δὲ τοσούτω συρρέοντος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἕκ τῆς Ἡταλίας καὶ συναρχαίρεσιάζοντος ὡς πολλοῖς μὲν οἰκήσεις ἐπι- ληπτεῖν, τοῦ δὲ πεδίον μὴ δεξαμένου τὸ πλῆθος ἒπο τῶν τεγών καὶ τῶν κεράμων τὰς φωνὰς συνη- 2 χεῖν. τοσούτω δ᾽ οὖν ἐξεβιάσαντο τὸν δήμον οἱ δυνατοὶ καὶ τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῦ Γαίου καθεῖλον, ὅσον

202.
TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

not only was censured by his enemies, but also made the people think it strange that he, quaestor as he was, had left his post before his commander. However, when he was denounced before the censors, he begged leave to speak, and wrought such a change in the opinions of his hearers that he left the court with the reputation of having been most grossly wronged. For he said that he had served in the army twelve years, although other men were required to serve there only ten, and that he had continued to serve as quaestor under his commander for more than two years, although the law permitted him to come back after a year. He was the only man in the army, he said, who had entered the campaign with a full purse and left it with an empty one; the rest had drunk up the wine which they took into Sardinia, and had come back to Rome with their wine-jars full of gold and silver.

III. After this, other fresh charges and indictments were brought against him, on the ground that he had caused the allies to revolt and had been privy to the conspiracy at Fregellae,\(^1\) information of which was brought to Rome. But he cleared himself of all suspicion, and having established his entire innocence, immediately began a canvass for the tribuneship. All the men of note, without exception, were opposed to him, but so great a throng poured into the city from the country and took part in the elections that many could not be housed, and since the Campus Martius could not accommodate the multitude, they gave in their voices from the house-tops and tilings. So far, however, did the nobility prevail against the people and disappoint the hopes of Caius that he was not

\(^1\) Fregellae revolted, and was destroyed in 125 B.C.
οὐχ, ὡς προσεδόκησε, πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ τέταρτον ἀναγορευθήναι. παραλαβῶν δὲ τὴν ἄρχην εὐθὺς ἦν ἀπάντων πρῶτος, ἵσχύων τε τῷ λέγειν, ὡς ἄλλος οὐδεὶς, καὶ τοῦ πάθους αὐτῶν παρρησίαν πολλὴν διδόντος ἀνακλαίομένῳ τὸν ἀδελφὸν.

3 ἔνταῦθα γὰρ ἐξ ἀπάσης προφάσεως περιήγη τὸν δήμον, ἀναμμυνήσκων τῶν γεγονότων καὶ παρατηθείς τὰ τῶν προγόνων, ὡς ἑκείνοι μὲν καὶ Φαλίσκως ἐπολέμησαν ὑπὲρ Γενυκίου τινὸς δημάρχου λοιδορθέντος, καὶ Γαίου Βετουρίου θάνατον κατέγνωσαν, ὅτι δημάρχῳ πορευομένῳ δι’ ἀγορᾶς οὐχ ὑπεξέστη μόνος: “Τμῶν δὲ ὀρῶντων,” ἔφη, “Τιβέριον ξύλοις συνέκοπτον οὐτοῖς, καὶ διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως ἐσύρετο νεκρὸς ἐκ Καπητωλίου ῥηφθεὶς σόμενος εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν· οἱ δὲ ἀλισκόμενοι τῶν φίλων ἀπέθησαν ἀκριτοί. καίτοι πάτριοὶ ἐστιν ἡμῖν, εἰ τις ἐχὼν δίκην θανατικὴν μὴ ὑπακούει, τούτου πρὸς τὰς θύρας ἐκβάλεν ἐλθόντα σαλπιγκτικῶν ἀνακαλεῖσθαι τῇ σάλπιγγι, καὶ μὴ πρότερον ἐπιφέρειν ψήφον αὐτῶν τοὺς δικαστάς. οὕτως εὐλαβεῖς καὶ πεφυλαγμένοι περὶ τὰς κρίσεις ἰσαίν.”

4 Τοιούτως λόγοις προανασέισας τὸν δήμον (ἡν δὲ καὶ μεγαλοφωνότατος, καὶ ῥωμαλεώτατος ἐν τῷ λέγειν), δύο νόμους εἰσέφερε, τὸν μὲν, εἰ τινος ἀρχοντος ἀφηρήτῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ δήμος, οὐκ ἐδώτα τούτῳ δευτέρας ἀρχῆς μετουσίαν εἶναι· τὸν

204
TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

returned first, as he expected, but fourth. But after entering upon his office¹ he was at once first of all the tribunes, since he had an incomparable power in oratory, and his affliction gave him great boldness of speech in bewailing the fate of his brother. For to this subject he would bring the people round on every pretext, reminding them of what had happened in the case of Tiberius, and contrasting the conduct of their ancestors, who went to war with the people of Falerii on behalf of Genucius, a tribune whom they had insulted, and condemned Caius Veturius to death because he was the only man who would not make way for a tribune passing through the forum. "But before your eyes," he said, "these men beat Tiberius to death with clubs, and his dead body was dragged from the Capitol through the midst of the city to be thrown into the Tiber; moreover, those of his friends who were caught were put to death without trial. And yet it is ancient usage among us that if anyone who is arraigned on a capital charge does not answer to his summons, a trumpeter shall go to the door of this man's house in the morning and summon him forth by sound of trumpet, and until this has been done the judges shall not vote on his case. So careful and guarded were the men of old in capital cases."

IV. Having first stirred up the people with such words as these (and he had a very loud voice, and was most vigorous in his speaking), he introduced two laws, one providing that if the people had deprived any magistrate of his office, such magistrate should not be allowed to hold office a second time;

¹ For the year 123 B.C., ten years after Tiberius had entered upon the same office.

V. Toun de vnomon ohs eisefere to de demos xariz- 837 menos kai katulov ton sugkleiton, o mev hiv klhroukios ananeomov1 tonis penstoi tivn demosian, o de stratistikos esbhtaita te kelenov demosia

1 ananeomov Coraes and Bekker, after Du Soul, for the MSS. ame nevov. Ziegler adopts dianeomov, proposed by Sint. and Cobet.

206
TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

and another providing that if any magistrate had banished a citizen without trial, such magistrate should be liable to public prosecution. Of these laws, one had the direct effect of branding with infamy Marcus Octavius, who had been deposed from the tribunate by Tiberius; and by the other Popillius was affected, for as praetor he had banished the friends of Tiberius. Popillius, indeed, without standing his trial, fled out of Italy; but the other law was withdrawn by Caius himself, who said that he spared Octavius at the request of his mother Cornelia. The people were pleased at this and gave their consent, honouring Cornelia no less on account of her sons than because of her father; indeed, in after times they erected a bronze statue of her, bearing the inscription: "Cornelia, Mother of the Gracchi."

There are on record also many things which Caius said about her in the coarse style of forensic speech, when he was attacking one of his enemies: "What," said he, "dost thou abuse Cornelia, who gave birth to Tiberius?" And since the one who had uttered the abuse was charged with effeminate practices, "With what effrontery," said Caius, "canst thou compare thyself with Cornelia? Hast thou borne such children as she did? And verily all Rome knows that she refrained from commerce with men longer than thou hast, though thou art a man." Such was the bitterness of his language, and many similar examples can be taken from his writings.

V. Of the laws which he proposed by way of gratifying the people and overthrowing the senate, one was agrarian, and divided the public land among the poor citizens; another was military, and ordained that clothing should be furnished to the soldiers at
χορηγεῖσθαι καὶ μηδὲν εἰς τοῦτο τὴς μισθοφορᾶς ὑφαίρεσθαι τῶν στρατευμένων, καὶ νεώτερον ἕτων ἐπτακαίδεκα μὴ καταλέγεσθαι στρατιώτην· ὁ δὲ συμμαχικὸς ἱσοψήφους ποιῶν τοῖς πολίταις 2 τοὺς Ἰταλιώτας. ὁ δὲ σιτικὸς ἐπευωνύζων τοῖς πένησι τὴν ἀγορὰν. ὁ δὲ δικαστικὸς, ἢ τὸ πλείστον ἀπέκοψε τῆς τῶν συγκλητικῶν δυνάμεως. μόνοι γὰρ ἔκρινον τὰς δίκας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φοβεροὶ τῷ τε δήμῳ καὶ τοῖς ἰππεύσιν ἦσαν, ὁ δὲ τριακοσίων τῶν ἰππέων προσκατέλεξεν αὐτοῖς οὗσι τριακοσίοις, καὶ τὰς κρίσεις κοινὰς τῶν ἐξακοσίων 3 ἐποίησε. τούτον τὸν νόμον εἰσφέρων τά τε ἄλλα λέγεται σπουδάσαι διαφερόντως, καὶ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ πάντων δημαγωγῶν πρὸς τὴν συγκλητον ἀφορώντων καὶ τὸ καλούμενον κομίτων, πρῶτος τότε στραφεὶς ἔξω πρὸς τὴν ἀγορὰν δημηγορήσαι, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὕτω ποιεῖν ἐξ ἐκείνου, μικρὰ παρεγκλίσει καὶ μεταβέθεις σχήματος μέγα πράγμα κινήσας καὶ μετενεγκώς τρόπον τινὰ τὴν πολιτείαν ἐκ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας εἰς τὴν δημοκρατίαν, ὡς τῶν πολλῶν δένω, οὐ τῆς βουλῆς, στοχάζεσθαι τοὺς λέγοντας.

VI. Ἑπεὶ δὲ οὐ μόνον ἐδέξατο τὸν νόμον τούτον ὁ δήμος, ἀλλὰ κάκεινο τοὺς κρίνοντας ἐκ τῶν ἰππέων ἔδωε καταλέξας, μοναρχικῇ τις ἱσχὺς ἐγεγόνει περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὡστε καὶ τὴν συγκλητον

208
TIFFERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

the public cost, that nothing should be deducted from their pay to meet this charge, and that no one under seventeen should be enrolled as a soldier; another concerned the allies, and gave the Italians equal suffrage rights with Roman citizens; another related to the supplies of grain, and lowered the market price to the poor; and another dealt with the appointment of judges. This last law most of all curtailed the power of the senators; for they alone could serve as judges in criminal cases, and this privilege made them formidable both to the common people and to the equestrian order. The law of Gracchus, however, added to the membership of the senate, which was three hundred, three hundred men from the equestrian order, and made service as judges a prerogative of the whole six hundred. In his efforts to carry this law Caius is said to have shown remarkable earnestness in many ways, and especially in this, that whereas all popular orators before him had turned their faces towards the senate and that part of the forum called the "comitium," he now set a new example by turning towards the other part of the forum as he harangued the people, and continued to do this from that time on, thus by a slight deviation and change of attitude stirring up a great question, and to a certain extent changing the constitution from an aristocratic to a democratic form; for his implication was that speakers ought to address themselves to the people, and not to the senate.

VI. The people not only adopted this law, but also entrusted to its author the selection of the judges who were to come from the equestrian order, so that he found himself invested with something like monarchical power, and even the sena-
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ἀνέχεσθαι συμβούλεύοντος αὐτοῦ. συνεβούλευε δὲ ἀεὶ τῷ ἐκείνῃ πρεπόντων εἰσηγούμενος·

2 οὗν ἦν καὶ τὸ περὶ τοῦ σίτου δόγμα μετριώτατον καὶ καλλιστὸν, δὴ ἐπεμψε μὲν ἐξ Ἰβηρίας Φάβιος ἀντιστράτηγος, ἐκείνος δὲ ἐπείσε τὴν βουλὴν ἀποδομένη τὸν σίτου ἀναπέμψαι ταῖς πόλεις τὸ ἀργύριον, καὶ προσεπαιτιάσασθαι τὸν Φάβιον ὡς ἐπαχθῆ καὶ ἀφόρητον ποιοῦντα τὴν ἄρχην τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. ἐφ' ὦ μεγάλην ἔσχε δόξαν μετὰ εὐνοίας ἐν ταῖς ἐπαρχίαις.

3 Ἐγραψε δὲ καὶ πολείς ἀποικίδας ἐκπέμπεσθαι καὶ τὰς ὄδους ποιεῖσθαι καὶ κατασκευάζεσθαι σιτοβόλια, τούτοις ἀπασὶ πραττομένοις αὐτὸν ἀρχοντα καὶ διοικητὴν ἐφιστάς, καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἀποτρυόμενος τῶν τοσοῦτων καὶ τηλικοῦτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ θαυμαστῷ τινι τάχει καὶ πόνῳ τῶν γινομένων ὡς μόνον ἐκαστὸν ἐξεργαζόμενος, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς πάνω μισοῦντας αὐτὸν καὶ δεδουλώτας ἐκπλήττεσθαι τὸ διὰ πάντων ἀνύσιμον καὶ τελεσιουργόν.

4 οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ τὴν ὅψιν αὐτὴν ἑθαύμαζον, ἐξηρτημένοι όρῶντες αὐτοῦ πλήθος ἐργολάβων, τεχνιτῶν, πρεσβευτῶν, ἀρχόντων, στρατιωτῶν, φιλολόγων, οίς πᾶσιν ἐνυπνοιῶν μετὰ εὐκολίας καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν ἐν τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ διαφυλάττων, καὶ νέμων αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀρμόττον οἰκείως ἐκάστῳ, χαλεποὺς ἀπεδείκνυε συκοφάντας τοὺς φοβηρὸν αὐτὸν ἢ φορτικὸν ὄλως ἢ βίαιον ἀποκαλούντας. οὕτω δεινότερος ἦν ἐν ταῖς ὀμιλίαις καὶ ταῖς
TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

consented to follow his counsel. But when he counselled them, it was always in support of measures befitting their body; as, for instance, the very equitable and honourable decree concerning the grain which Fabius the pro-praetor sent to the city from Spain. Caius induced the Senate to sell the grain and send the money back to the cities of Spain, and further, to censure Fabius for making his government of the province intolerably burdensome to its inhabitants. This decree brought Caius great reputation as well as popularity in the provinces.

He also introduced bills for sending out colonies, for constructing roads, and for establishing public granaries, making himself director and manager of all these undertakings, and showing no weariness in the execution of all these different and great enterprises; nay, he actually carried out each one of them with an astonishing speed and power of application, as if it were his sole business, so that even those who greatly hated and feared him were struck with amazement at the powers of achievement and accomplishment which marked all that he did. And as for the multitude, they were astonished at the very sight, when they beheld him closely attended by a throng of contractors, artificers, ambassadors, magistrates, soldiers, and literary men, with all of whom he was on easy terms, preserving his dignity while showing kindliness, and rendering properly to every man the courtesy which was due from him, whereby he set in the light of malignant slanderers those who stigmatised him as threatening or utterly arrogant or violent. Thus he was a more skilful popular leader in his private intercourse with men

P 211
πράξεσιν ἡ τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ βῆματος λόγοις δημα-

gγωγός.

VII. Ἐσπούδασε δὲ μάλιστα περὶ τὴν ὀδοποιίαν,

τῆς τε χρείας ἀμα καὶ τοῦ πρὸς χάριν καὶ κάλλος

ἐπιμεληθείς. εὐθείᾳ γὰρ ἠγοντο διὰ τῶν χωρίων

ἀτρεμεῖς, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐστόρυντο πέτρα ἔστη, τὸ

δὲ ἀμμου χώμασι νακτῆς ἐπικυρίῳ. πιμπλα-

μένων δὲ τῶν κοίλων καὶ ξενγυμνέων γεφύραις

ὁσα χείμαρροι διέκοπτον ἡ φάραγγες, ὑψός τε τῶν

ἐκατέρωθεν ἵσον καὶ παράλληλον λαμβανότων,

όμαλην καὶ καλὴν ὄψιν έλικε δὲ ὅλον τὸ ἔργον.

2 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις διαμετρήσας κατὰ μίλιον ὀδὸν

πᾶσαν (τὸ δὲ μίλιον ὀκτὼ σταδίων ὀλίγον ἀποδεῖ)

κίνονας λιθίνους σημεῖα τοῦ μέτρου κατέστησεν.

ἅλλους δὲ λίθους ἔλαττον ἀπέχοντας ἄλληλων

ἐκατέρωθεν τῆς ὁδοῦ διέθηκεν, ὡς εἰ ῥαδίως τοῖς

ὑπὸς ἔχουσιν ἐπιβαίνειν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀναβολέως

μὴ δεομένοις.

VIII. Ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῦ δήμου μεγαλύνοντος

αὐτὸν καὶ πᾶν ὅτι οὖν ἐτοίμως ἔχοντος εὐδείκτων

πρὸς εὐνοιαν, ἡ ἡ ποτὲ δημηγορῶν αὐτὸς αἴτησιν

χάριν, ἢν λαβῶν μὲν ἀντὶ παντὸς ἔξειν, εἰ δὲ

ἀποτύχου, μηδὲν ἐκεῖνοι μεμψιμορήσεων. τούτῳ

ῥηθὲν ἐδοξὴν αἰτησίας ὑπατείας εἶναι, καὶ προσ-

dοκίαν πᾶσιν ὡς ἀμα μὲν ὑπατείαν, ἀμα δὲ

2 δημαρχίαν μετίων παρέσχεν. ἐνστάτων δὲ τῶν

ὑπατικῶν ἄρχαιρεσίων καὶ μετεώρων ὄντων ἀπάν-

tῶν ὥφθη Γάιον Φάννιον κατάγων εἰς τὸ πεδίον

212
TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

and in his business transactions than in his speeches from the rostra.

VII. But he busied himself most earnestly with the construction of roads, laying stress upon utility, as well as upon that which conduced to grace and beauty. For his roads were carried straight through the country without deviation, and had pavements of quarried stone, and substructures of tight-rammed masses of sand. Depressions were filled up, all intersecting torrents or ravines were bridged over, and both sides of the roads were of equal and corresponding height, so that the work had everywhere an even and beautiful appearance. In addition to all this, he measured off every road by miles (the Roman mile falls a little short of eight furlongs) and planted stone pillars in the ground to mark the distances. Other stones, too, he placed at smaller intervals from one another on both sides of the road, in order that equestrians might be able to mount their horses from them and have no need of assistance.

VIII. Since the people extolled him for all these services and were ready to show him any token whatsoever of their good will, he said to them once in a public harangue that he was going to ask a favour of them, which, if granted, he should value supremely, but if it were refused, he should find no fault with them. This utterance was thought to be a request for a consulship, and led everybody to expect that he would sue for a consulship and a tribuneship at the same time. But when the consular elections were at hand and everybody was on the tip-toe of expectation, he was seen leading Caius Fannius down into the Campus Martius and joining in the canvass for
καὶ συναρχαίρεσιάζων ἐκείνῳ μετὰ τῶν φίλων. τούτῳ ῥοπήν ἦνεγκε τῷ Φάννιῳ μεγάλην. κάκεινος μὲν ὕπατος, Γάιος δὲ δήμαρχος ἀπεδείχθη τὸ δεύτερον, οὗ παραγγέλλων οὐδὲ μετιών, ἀλλὰ τοῦ δήμου σπουδάσαντος.

3 'Επεὶ δὲ ἐώρα τὴν μὲν σύγκλητον ἐχθρὰν ἀντικροσ, ἀμβλύν δὲ τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίᾳ τὸν Φάννιον, αὕθες ἐτέρως νόμοις ἀπηρτήσατο τὸ πλῆθος, ἀποπληθοῦσα μὲν εἰς Τάραντα καὶ Καπύνην πέμπεσθαι γράφων, καλῶν δὲ ἐπὶ κοινωνία πολιτείας τοὺς Δατίνους. ἦ δὲ βουλή δείσασα μὴ παντάπασιν ἀμαχός γένηται, καινὴν καὶ ἁσυνήθη πείραν ἐπίγγε τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀποτροπῆς, ἀντιδημαγωγοῦσα καὶ

4 χαριζομένη παρὰ τὸ βελτιστον. ἢν γὰρ εἰς τῶν τοῦ Γαίου συναρχόντων Δίβιος Δρούσος, ἀνήρ σύντε γεγονός τινος 'Ρωμαίων σύν τεθραμμένοις χείρον, ἢθεὶ1 δὲ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ πλούτῳ τοῖς μάλιστα τιμωμένοις καὶ δυναμένοις ἀπὸ τούτων ἐνάμιλλος. ἐπὶ τούτου οὖν οἱ γνωριμώτατοι τρέπονται, καὶ παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν ἀψασθαι τοῦ Γαίου καὶ μετ’ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν συστῆναι, μὴ βιαζόμενον μηδὲ ἀντικρούσαν τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἠδονήν ἀρχοντα καὶ χαριζομένων ὑπέρ ὧν καὶ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι καλῶς ἔχειν.

IX. Ἐπιδούς οὖν ὁ Δίβιος εἰς ταύτα τῇ βουλῆ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ δημαρχίαν νόμους ἐγραψεν οὖτε τῶν

1 ἡθεὶ Coraës and Bekker retain the old vulgate ἡθ.
TI imperius and Caius Gracchus

him along with his friends. This turned the tide strongly in favour of Fannius. So Fannius was elected consul, and Caius tribune for the second time, though he was not a candidate and did not canvass for the office; but the people were eager to have it so.

However, he soon saw that the senate was hostile to him out and out, and that the good will of Fannius towards him had lost its edge, and therefore again began to attach the multitude to himself by other laws, proposing to send colonies to Tarentum and Capua, and inviting the Latins to a participation in the Roman franchise. But the senate, fearing that Gracchus would become altogether invincible, made a new and unusual attempt to divert the people from him; they vied with him, that is, in courting the favour of the people, and granted their wishes contrary to the best interests of the state. For one of the colleagues of Caius was Livius Drusus, a man who was not inferior to any Roman either in birth or rearing, while in character, eloquence, and wealth he could vie with those who were most honoured and influential in consequence of these advantages. To this man, accordingly, the nobles had recourse, and invited him to attack Caius and league himself with them against him, not resorting to violence or coming into collision with the people, but administering his office to please them and making them concessions where it would have been honourable to incur their hatred.

IX. Livius, accordingly, put his influence as tribune at the service of the senate to this end, and drew up laws which aimed at what was neither honourable
καλῶν τινος οὔτε τῶν λυσιτελῶν ἐχομένους, ἀλλὰ ἐν μόνον, ὑπερβαλέσθαι τὸν Γάιον ἡδονῇ καὶ χάριτι τῶν πολλῶν, ὡσπερ ἐν κωμῳδίᾳ, σπεύδων καὶ διαμιλλόμενος. ὅ καὶ καταφανεστάτην ἐποίησεν ἐαυτῷ ἡ σύγκλητος οὐ δυσχεραίνουσαν τοῖς τοῦ Γάιον πολιτεύμασιν, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸν ἐκείνου ἄνελεῖν ἢ ταπεινώσατο παντάπασι βουλομένην. 

2 τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἀποικίας δύο γράψαντα καὶ τοὺς χαριστάτους τῶν πολιτῶν εἰσάγοντα δημοκρατεῖν ἃτιμώτερον, Δείβιος δὲ δώδεκα κατοικίζοντι καὶ τρισχιλίοις εἰς ἐκάστην ἀποστέλλοντι τῶν ἀπόρων συνελαμβάνοντο. κακενφω μὲν, ὅτι χώραν διένειμε τοῖς πένησι προστάξας ἐκάστῳ τελεῖν ἀποφοράν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον, ὡς κοιλακεύοντι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀπηχθάνοντο, Δείβιος δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀποφορὰν ταύτην

3 τῶν νειμαμένων ἀφαιρῶν ἥρεσκεν αὐτοῖς. ἔτι δὲ ὁ μὲν τοῖς Λατίνωις ἱσοψηφίαι διδοὺς ἀλύπηε, τοῦ δὲ, ὃπως μηδὲ ἐπὶ στρατείας ἔξη τινα Λατίνων ῥάβδους αἰκίασσαι γράψαντος ἐβοήθουν τῷ νόμῳ. καὶ μέντοι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Δείβιος ἅνε δημηγορῶν ἔλεγεν ὡς γράφοι ταύτα τῇ βουλῇ δοκοῦντα κηδο-

4 μένῃ τῶν πολλῶν· οὐ δὴ καὶ μόνον ἀπὸ τῶν πολιτευμάτων αὐτοῦ χρήσιμοι ὑπήρχεν. ἴμεροτερόν γὰρ ἐσχέ πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ὁ δήμος· καὶ τοὺς γνωριμωτάτους αὐτοῦ πρότερον ὑφορμένου καὶ 216
nor advantageous; nay, he had the emulous eagerness of the rival demagogues of comedy to achieve one thing, namely, to surpass Caius in pleasing and gratifying the people.¹ In this way the senate showed most plainly that it was not displeased with the public measures of Caius, but rather was desirous by all means to humble or destroy the man himself. For when Caius proposed to found two colonies, and these composed of the most respectable citizens, they accused him of truckling to the people; but when Livius proposed to found twelve, and to send out to each of them three thousand of the needy citizens, they supported him. With Caius, because he distributed public land among the poor for which every man of them was required to pay a rental into the public treasury, they were angry, alleging that he was seeking thereby to win favour with the multitude; but Livius met with their approval when he proposed to relieve the tenants even from this rental. And further, when Caius proposed to bestow upon the Latins equal rights of suffrage, he gave offence; but when Livius brought in a bill forbidding that any Latin should be chastised with rods even during military service, he had the senate’s support. And indeed Livius himself, in his public harangues, always said that he introduced these measures on the authority of the senate, which desired to help the common people; and this in fact was the only advantage which resulted from his political measures. For the people became more amicably disposed towards the senate; and whereas before this they had suspected and hated the nobles, Livius softened and

¹ An allusion to the rival demagogues in the Knights of Aristophanes.
μισούντος ἐξέλυσε καὶ κατεπράώνε τὴν μνησιμα-
κλαν καὶ χαλεπότητα ταῦτην ὁ Δίβιος, ὡς ἐκ 839
τῆς ἐκεῖνων ὁμομενως γνώμης ἐπὶ τὸ δημαγωγεῖν
καὶ χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς.

Χ. Μεγίστη δὲ τῷ Δροῦσῳ πίστις εὐνοίας
πρὸς τὸν δήμον ἐγίνετο καὶ δικαιοσύνης τὸ μηδὲν
αὐτῷ μηδ᾽ ὑπὲρ ἕαυτοῦ φαίνεσθαι γράφοντα.
καὶ γὰρ οἰκιστὰς ἑτέρους ἐξέπεμπε τῶν πόλεων
καὶ διοικήσει χρημάτων οὐ προσήχει, τοῦ Γάιον
τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν τοιούτων αὐτῷ
2 προστιθέντως. ἔπει δὲ Ῥουβρίου τῶν συναρχόν-
tων ἐνός οἰκίζεσθαι Καρχηδόνα γράψαντος ἀνηρ-
mένην ὑπὸ Σκηπίωνος, κλήρῳ λαχῶν ὁ Γάιος
ἐξέπλευσεν εἰς Λιβύην ἐπὶ τὸν κατοικισμόν, ἔτη
μᾶλλον ἑπιβὰς ὁ Δροῦσος ἀπόντος αὐτοῦ τὸν
dήμον ὑπελάμβανε καὶ προσήγετο, μάλιστα ταῖς
3 κατὰ τοῦ Φούλβιον διαβολαῖς. ὁ δὲ Φούλβιος
οὕτως ἦν τοῦ Γάιον φίλος, καὶ συνάρχων ἐπὶ τὴν
dιανομήν τῆς χώρας ἠρμένος. ἦν δὲ θορυβώδης,
kαὶ μισοῦμενος μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς Βουλῆς ἀντικρος,
ὑποπτος δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὃς τὰ συμμαχικά
διακινῶν καὶ παροξύνων κρύφα τοὺς Ἰταλιώτας
πρὸς ἀπόστασιν. οἷς ἀναποδείκτως καὶ ἀνελέγ-
κτως λεγομένοις αὐτὸς προσετίθει πίστιν ὁ
Φούλβιος οὐχ ὑγιανοῦσης οὐδὲ εἰρημικῆς ὃν προ-
4 αἱρέσεως. τοῦτο μάλιστα κατέλυε τὸν Γάιον
ἀπολαύοντα τοῦ μίσους. καὶ ὑπὲ Σκηπίων ὁ
218
TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

dissipated their remembrance of past grievances and their bitter feelings by alleging that it was the sanction of the nobles which had induced him to enter upon his course of conciliating the people and gratifying the wishes of the many.

X. But the strongest proof that Livius was well disposed towards the people and honest, lay in the fact that he never appeared to propose anything for himself or in his own interests. For he moved to send out other men as managers of his colonies, and would have no hand in the expenditure of moneys, whereas Caius had assigned to himself most of such functions and the most important of them. And now Rubrius, one of his colleagues in the tribuneship, brought in a bill for the founding of a colony on the site of Carthage, which had been destroyed by Scipio, and Caius, upon whom the lot fell, sailed off to Africa as superintendent of the foundation. In his absence, therefore, Livius made all the more headway against him, stealing into the good graces of the people and attaching them to himself, particularly by his calumniations of Fulvius. This Fulvius was a friend of Caius, and had been chosen a commissioner with him for the distribution of the public land; but he was a turbulent fellow, and was hated outright by the senators. Other men also suspected him of stirring up trouble with the allies and of secretly inciting the Italians to revolt. These things were said against him without proof or investigation, but Fulvius himself brought them into greater credence by a policy which was unsound and revolutionary. This more than anything else was the undoing of Caius, who came in for a share of the hatred against Fulvius. And when Scipio Africanus
Αφρικανός ἦν οὐδενὸς αὐτίου προφανοῦς ἐπελεύ-τησε καὶ σημεία τίνα τῷ νεκρῷ πληγῶν καὶ βίας ἐπιδραμεῖν ἠδοξεν, ὃς ἦν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γε-γραπτοῖ, τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον ἐπὶ τὸν Φοῦλβιον ἤλθε τῆς διαβολῆς, ἐχθρὸν ὡντα καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος τῷ Σκητικῷ λευκοδορημένου, ὃ ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τοῦ Γαίου ὑπόνοια. καὶ δεινὸν οὕτως ἔργον ἦν ἀνδρὶ τῷ πρῶτῳ καὶ μεγίστῳ Ῥωμαίον τολμηθένιν οὐκ ἐτυχεί δίκης οὐδὲ εἰς ἐλεγχον προῆλθεν· ἐνέστησαν γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ κατέλυσαν τὴν κρίσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Γαίου φοβηθέντες, μὴ περιπετῆς τῇ αἰτία τοῦ φόνου ξητομένου γένηται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐγεγόνει πρῶτον.

XI. Ἐν δὲ τῇ Λιβύη περὶ τοῦ τῆς Καρχηδόνος κατοικισμοῦ, ἢν ὁ Γάιος Ἰουνωνίαν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν Ἡραίαν, ὀνόμασε, πολλὰ κωλύματα γενέσθαι παρὰ τοῦ δαμονίου λέγοντι. ἦ τε γὰρ πρώτῃ σημαίᾳ, πνεῦματος ἀφαρπάζοντος αὐτήν, τοῦ δὲ φέροντος ἐγκρατῶς ἀντεχόμενου, συνετρίβη καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τοῖς βωμοῖς ἐπικείμενα διεσκέδασεν ἀνέ-μοι θύελλα καὶ διέρρησεν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ὥρους τῆς γεγενημένης ὑπογραφῆς, αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς ὥρους ἀνέστησαν ἐπελθόντες λύκοι καὶ μακρὰν ὥσποτο 2 φέροντες. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πάντα συντάξας καὶ διακοσμήσας ὁ Γάιος ἡμέρας ἐβδομήκοντα ταῖς πάσαις ἐπανήλθεν εἰς Ῥώμην, πιέζεσθαι τὸν Φοῦλβιον ὑπὸ τοῦ Δρούσου πυθανόμενος, καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τῆς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας δεσμέων.
died without any apparent cause, and certain marks of violence and blows were thought to be in evidence all over his dead body, as I have written in his Life,¹ most of the consequent calumny fell upon Fulvius, who was Scipio’s enemy, and had abused him that day from the rostra, but suspicion attached itself also to Caius. And a deed so monstrous, and perpetrated upon a man who was the foremost and greatest Roman, went unpunished, nay, was not even so much as probed; for the multitude were opposed to any judicial enquiry and thwarted it, because they feared that Caius might be implicated in the charge if the murder were investigated. However, this had happened at an earlier time.²

XI. In Africa, moreover, in connection with the planting of a colony on the site of Carthage, to which colony Caius gave the name Junonia (that is to say, in Greek, Heraea), there are said to have been many prohibitory signs from the gods. For the leading standard was caught by a gust of wind, and though the bearer clung to it with all his might, it was broken into pieces; the sacrificial victims lying on the altars were scattered by a hurricane and dispersed beyond the boundary-marks in the plan of the city, and the boundary-marks themselves were set upon by wolves, who tore them up and carried them a long way off. Notwithstanding this, Caius settled and arranged everything in seventy days all told, and then returned to Rome, because he learned that Fulvius was being hard pressed by Drusus, and because matters there required his presence. For

¹ See the Tiberius Gracchus, ad fin., and cf. the Romulus, xxvii. 4 f.
² In 129 B.C., six years before Caius became tribune.
Λεύκιος γὰρ Ὄπιμος, ἀνὴρ ὀλυγαρχικὸς καὶ δυνατὸς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, πρότερον μὲν ἐξέπεσεν ὑπατείαν παραγγέλλων, τοῦ Γαίου τοῦ Φάννιον προαγαγόντος, ἐκείνων δὲ καταρχαιρεσίασαντος. τότε δὲ πολλῶν βοηθούντων ἐπίδοξος ἦν ὑπατεύσειν, ὑπατεύσει δὲ καταλύσει τὸν Γαίου, ἡ δὲ τρόπον τινὰ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ μαραίνομενης καὶ τοῦ δήμου μεστοῦ γεγονότος τῶν τοιούτων πολιτευμάτων διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς τοὺς πρὸς χάριν δημαγωγοῦντας εἶναι καὶ τὴν βουλῆν ὑπείκειν ἐκούσαν.

Χ.᾽ Ἐπανελθὼν δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Παλατίου μετάφηκεν εἰς τὸν ὑπὸ τὴν ἀγορὰν τόπον ὡς δημοτικότερον, ὅπου πλείστους τῶν ταπεινῶν καὶ πενήτων συνεβαίνειν οίκειν· ἐπειτα τῶν νόμων ἐξέβηκε τοὺς λοιποὺς ὡς ἐπάξων τὴν ψήφον αὐτοῖς. ὡς οὖν δὲ πανταχόθεν αὐτῷ συνιόντος ἐπείσειν ἡ βουλὴ τὸν ὑπατον Φάννιον ἐκβάλειν τοὺς ἄλλους πλήν Ῥωμαίων ἄπαντας. γενομένου 840 δὲ κηρύγματος ἀλ孳οὺς καὶ ἀλλοκότου, μηδένα τῶν συμμάχων μηδὲ τῶν φίλων ἐν Ῥωμῇ φανήσατε περὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἑκείνας, ἀντεξέβηκεν ὁ Γάιος διάγραμμα κατηγορῶν τοῦ ὑπάτου, καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις, ἄν μένωσι, βοηθήσειν ἐπαγγελλόμενος. οὐ μὴν ἐβοηθησθεν, ἀλλὰ ὅρϊν ἐνα τῶν ξένων αὐτοῦ καὶ συνῆθων ἐλκόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τῶν τοῦ Φάννιον, παρῆλθε καὶ οὐ προσήμουν, εἶτε τὴν ἱσχὺν ἐπιλείπουσαν ἡ δὲ δεδιώς ἔλεγχειν, 222
TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

Lucius Opimius, a man of oligarchical principles and influential in the senate, who had previously failed in a candidacy for the consulship (when Caius had brought forward Fannius and supported his canvass for the office), now had the aid and assistance of many, and it was expected that he would be consul, and that as consul he would try to put down Caius, whose influence was already somewhat on the wane, and with whose peculiar measures the people had become sated, because the leaders who courted their favour were many and the senate readily yielded to them.

XII. On returning to Rome, in the first place Caius changed his residence from the Palatine hill to the region adjoining the forum, which he thought more democratic, since most of the poor and lowly had come to live there; in the next place, he promulgated the rest of his laws, intending to get the people's vote upon them. But when a throng came together from all parts of Italy for his support, the senate prevailed upon the consul Fannius to drive out of the city all who were not Romans. Accordingly, a strange and unusual proclamation was made, to the effect that none of the allies and friends of Rome should appear in the city during those days; whereupon Caius published a counter edict in which he denounced the consul, and promised the allies his support, in case they should remain there. He did not, however, give them his support, but when he saw one of his comrades and guest-friends dragged off by the lictors of Fannius, he passed by without giving him any help, either because he feared to give a proof that his power was already on the decline, or because

1 See chapter viii. 2.
eîte μὴ Βουλόμενος, ὡς ἔλεγεν, ἀψιμαχίας αὐτῶς καὶ συμπλοκῆς ἀρχὰς ξητοῦσι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς παρασχεῖν.

3 Ἐν όργῃ γενέσθαι διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν. ἐμελλεν οἱ δήμος θεάσθαι μονομάχους ἐν ἀγορᾷ, καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων οἱ πλείστοι θεωρητήρια κύκλω κατασκευάσαντες ἐξεμίσθον. ταῦτα ὁ Γάϊος ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς καθαιρέειν, ὅπως οἱ πένητες ἐκ τῶν τόπων ἑκείνων ἀμισθὶ θεάσασθαι δύνωνται. μηδενὸς δὲ προσέχοντος ἀναμείνας τὴν πρὸ τῆς θέας νύκτα, καὶ τῶν τεχνιτῶν ὅσους εἶχεν ἐργολάβους ὃ τέ αὐτῷ παραλαβών, τὰ θεωρητήρια καθεῖλε καὶ τῷ δήμῳ σχολάζοντα μεθ’ ἡμέραν ἀπέδειξε τῶν τόπων· ἐφ’ ὅ τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς ἀνήρ ἐδοξὲν εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ συνάρχοντας ὡς ἱταμός καὶ βίαιος ἐλύπησεν. ἔκ τούτου καὶ τὴν τρίτην ἐδοξὲ δημαρχίαν ἀφηρήθαι, ψήφων μὲν αὐτῷ πλείστων γενομένων, ἀδίκως δὲ καὶ κακούργως τῶν συναρχόντων ποιησμένοις τὴν ἀναγόρευσιν καὶ ἀνάδειξιν.

5 ἄλλα ταῦτα μὲν ἀμφισβήτησιν εἶχεν. ἤγεγκε δὲ οὐ μετρίως ὑποτυχῶν, καὶ πρὸς γε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπεγγελώντας αὐτῷ λέγεται θρασύτερον τοῦ δέουντος εἰπεῖν ὡς Σαρδόνιον γέλωτα γελῶσι, οὐ γιγνώσκοντες ὅσον αὐτοῖς σκότος ἐκ τῶν αυτοῦ περικέχυται πολιτευμάτων.
TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

he was unwilling, as he said, by his own acts to afford his enemies the occasions which they sought for a conflict at close quarters.

Moreover, it chanced that he had incurred the anger of his colleagues in office, and for the following reason. The people were going to enjoy an exhibition of gladiators in the forum, and most of the magistrates had constructed seats for the show round about, and were offering them for hire. Caius ordered them to take down these seats, in order that the poor might be able to enjoy the spectacle from those places without paying hire. But since no one paid any attention to his command, he waited till the night before the spectacle, and then, taking all the workmen whom he had under his orders in public contracts, he pulled down the seats, and when day came he had the place all clear for the people. For this proceeding the populace thought him a man, but his colleagues were annoyed and thought him reckless and violent. It was believed also that this conduct cost him his election to the tribunate for the third time, since, although he got a majority of the votes, his colleagues were unjust and fraudulent in their proclamation and returns. This, however, was disputed. But he took his failure overmuch to heart, and what is more, when his enemies were exulting over him, he told them, it is said, with more boldness than was fitting, that they were laughing with sardonic laughter, and were not aware of the great darkness that enveloped them in consequence of his public measures.¹

¹ Blass compares the laughter of the doomed suitors in Odyssey, xx. 346 ff.—the fatuous smile of men whose fate is sealed, though they are unaware of it.

VOL. X.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

XIII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν Ὀπίμον καταστήσατε ὑπατον τῶν νόμων πολλοὺς διέγραφον καὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνος ἔκινον διάταξιν, ἐρεθίζοντες τὸν Γάιον, ὡς ἂν αἰτίαν ὀργῆς παρασχῶν ἀναρεθεῖν, τὸν μὲν πρῶτον χρόνον ἐκαρτέρει, τῶν δὲ φίλων καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ Φουλβίου παροξύνοντος ὄρμησε πάλιν συνάγειν τοὺς ἀντιταξιμένους πρὸς τὸν ὑπατον. ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὴν μητέρα λέγουσιν αὐτῷ συστασιάσαι, μισθουμένην ἀπὸ τῆς ξένης κρύφα καὶ πέμπουσαν εἰς Ῥώμην ἄνδρας, ὡς δὴ θεριστάσι ταύτα γὰρ εἰ τῶς ἐπιστολισθοὺς αὐτῆς ἤγγισαν γεγράφθαι πρὸς τὸν νῦν. ἐτεροὶ δὲ καὶ πάνυ τῆς Κορυνθίας δυσχεραινούσης ταύτα πράττεσθαι λέγουσιν.

3 Ἡδ' οὖν ἐμελλόν ἡμέρα τοὺς νόμους λύσειν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ὀπίμον, κατείληπτο μὲν ὑπὸ ἀμφοτέρων ἐσθεν εὐθὺς τὸ Καπετάλλιον, θύσαντός δὲ τοῦ ὑπάτου τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τις αὐτοῦ Κόιντος Ἀντύλλιος διαφέρων ἐτέρωσε τὰ σπλάγχνα πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Φουλβίον εἶπε: "Δότε τῶν ἀγαθῶν, κακοὶ πολιταί." των δὲ φασιν ἅμα τῇ φωνῇ ταύτη καὶ τὸν βραχίονα γυμνὸν οἶον ἐφ' ὑβρεὶ 4 σχηματίζοντα παρενεγκεῖν. ἀποδυνακεί γονὺς εὐθὺς ὁ Ἀντύλλιος ἐκεῖ μεγάλοις γραφεῖοις κεντούμενος, ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ πεποίησθαι λεγομένους. καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος διεταράχθη πρὸς τὸν φόνον, ἐναντία δὲ τοὺς ἵγεμόνας ἐσχε διάθεσις. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Γάιος ἥχθετο καὶ κακῶς ἔλεγε τοὺς

226
TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

XIII. The enemies of Caius also effected the election of Opimius as consul, and then proceeded to revoke many of the laws which Caius had secured and to meddle with the organization of the colony at Carthage. This was by way of irritating Caius, that he might furnish ground for resentment, and so be got rid of. At first he endured all this patiently, but at last, under the instigations of his friends, and especially of Fulvius, he set out to gather a fresh body of partisans for opposition to the consul. Here, we are told, his mother also took active part in his seditious measures, by secretly hiring from foreign parts and sending to Rome men who were ostensibly reapers; for to this matter there are said to have been obscure allusions in her letters\(^1\) to her son. Others, however, say that Cornelia was very much displeased with these activities of her son.

Be that as it may, on the day when Opimius and his supporters were going to annul the laws, the Capitol had been occupied by both factions since earliest morning, and after the consul had offered sacrifice, one of his servants, Quintus Antyllius, as he was carrying from one place to another the entrails of the victims, said to the partisans of Fulvius: "Make way for honest citizens, ye rascals!" Some say, too, that along with this speech Antyllius bared his arm and waved it with an insulting gesture. At any rate he was killed at once and on the spot, stabbed with large writing styles said to have been made for just such a purpose. The multitude were completely confused by the murder, but it produced an opposite state of mind in the leaders of the two factions. Caius was distressed, and upbraided his followers for

\(^1\) Cf. Cicero, *Brutus*, 58, 211.
PERI AVTON Ws AITIAV DEOMENOIS PALAI KATH' EAUTHWN TOIS ECHROIS DEDOKHTAS, O D' OXYMOS WSPER EVDOSIMOY LABRON EPIRTTO KAI PAPROXUNE TON DHMION EPI TIN AMYNAV.

XIV. KAI TOSTE MENV DBMBOU GENOMENOY DIELY-
THSAV. AMA D' HMYRA TIN MENV BOYLHYN O UPATOS
SYNAGAYON ENDON EKREMATIZEV, ETEROI D' T TOU
'ANTULLIOY SWMA YUMNOY EPI KLINHS PROTHEMENO
DI' AGOYAS PAPAR TO BOULEUTHRION EPIHTHDES PARE-
KOMIZOY, YMPYGYH XROMENOU KAI THRN, YNYVOSKON-
TONS MENV TOY OXIMIOY TAPRATPOMENA, PROSFPOU-
MENON D' THAYMADAYIN, WSTE KAI TOUS BOULEUTAS

2 PROELETHIEIN. KATA THEIEIS D' TΗS KLINHΣ EIS MEΣON
OI MENV EKSETLAIAXON WΣ EPI DEINH KAI MEGALΦ
PΑΘΕΙ, TOIS D' POLLOIS EPTHEI MISEIN KAI PROBA-
LETHAI TOUS OLIGARCHIKOUS, OΣ TIBERIOY MENV
GRAYKOV EN KAPETOLIO YNOYSAINTES AVTOI DΗ-
MARCHOY ONTA KAI TON NEKROY PROSEXEBALOY, O D'

3 UPYRETTHS 'ANTULLIOS, OY DIKIA MENV ISOS PEPOV-
ΘOΣ, TΗN D' PLEISTHΝ AITIAEIS TΩ TAPATHΕIN AVΤΦ
PAPASYOH, EN AGORIA PRKOEITAI, KAI PERIESPTHEIN
H ROUMAIW BOYLH THRNOUΣA KAI SYNEKKOMIΞΟΥSA
MYSHTOTAN ANTHRPOY, EΠI TΦ TON EΠI LEIPTOMETOY
ANELIEIN TΩN TOY DHMIOU KIDOMOEWN. EΚ TOUΤΟY
PALIN EIS TΩ BOULEUTHRION APXEINTES EΨΗΦI-
SANTO KAI PROSETAΣAN 'OXIMIOY TOY UPATΡΦ SWXEIN
ΤΗΝ PΟΛΙΝ OΠΩΣ DYNANTO, KAI KATALΦEΙΝ TOUS
TUPANNES.

4 'EKEINOY D' PROEIFIΣΟΝΤΟΣ EΠI TΑ OPLA CHORΕΙΝ

228
having given their enemies ground for accusing them which had long been desired; but Opimius, as though he had got something for which he was waiting, was elated, and urged the people on to vengeance.

XIV. A shower of rain fell just then, and the assembly was dissolved; but early next morning the consul called the senate together indoors and proceeded to transact business, while others placed the body of Antyllius without covering upon a bier, and carried it, as they had agreed to do, through the forum and past the senate-house, with wailings and lamentations. Opimius knew what was going on, but pretended to be surprised, so that even the senators went out into the forum. After the bier had been set down in the midst of the throng, the senators began to inveigh against what they called a heinous and monstrous crime, but the people were moved to hatred and abuse of the oligarchs, who, they said, after murdering Tiberius Gracchus on the Capitol with their own hands, tribune that he was, had actually flung away his dead body besides; whereas Antyllius, a mere servant, who perhaps had suffered more than he deserved, but was himself chiefly to blame for it, had been laid out in the forum, and was surrounded by the Roman senate, which shed tears and shared in the obsequies of a hireling fellow, to the end that the sole remaining champion of the people might be done away with. Then the senators went back into the senate-house, where they formally enjoined upon the consul Opimius to save the city as best he could,¹ and to put down the tyrants.

The consul therefore ordered the senators to take

¹ The formal decree of martial law: consul videret ne quid respublica detrimenti caperet (Cicero, In Cat. i. 2, 4).
τούς συγκλητικοὺς, καὶ τῶν ἵππεων ἐκάστῳ
παράγγελμα δόντος ἄγειν ἐσθενοὶ οἰκέτας δύο
καθωπλισμένους, ὁ μὲν Φούλβιος ἀντιπαρεσκευά-
ζετο καὶ συνήγευς ὁχλον, ὁ δὲ Γάιος ἐκ τῆς ἀγραῖς
ἀπερχόμενος ἐστη κατά τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀνδριάντα,
καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐμβλέψας εἰς αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἐφ-
5 θέγξατο, δακρύσας δὲ καὶ στενάξας ἀπῆκε. τοῦτο
πολλοῖς τῶν ἴδον των οἰκτείραι τὸν Γάιον ἐπήλθε·
καὶ κακίσταντες αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐγκαταλείποντες τὸν
ἀνδρα καὶ προδιδόντες ἤκον ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ
παρευκτέρευνον ἐπὶ τῶν θυρών, οὐχ ὁμοίως τοῖς
tὸν Φούλβιον φυλάττονσιν. ἔκεινοι μὲν γὰρ ἐν
κρότοις καὶ ἀλαλαγμοίς πίνοντες καὶ θρασυνο-
μενοι διετέλεσαν, αὐτοῦ τοῦ Φούλβιον πρώτου
μεθυσκόμενοι καὶ πολλὰ φορτικῶς παρ’ ἡλικίαν
6 φθεγγομένου καὶ πράττοντος· οἴ δὲ περὶ τὸν
Γάιον, ὡς ἐπὶ συμφορὰ κοινὴ τῆς πατρίδος ἱσυ-
χίαν ἄγοντες καὶ περισσοκοπούμενοι τὸ μέλλον, ἐν
μέρει φυλάττοντες καὶ ἀναπαυόμενοι διήγον.

ΧV. "Αμα δὲ ἡμέρα τὸν μὲν Φούλβιον ἐκ τοῦ
πότου καθεύδοντα μόλις ἐπεγείραντες ὀπλίζοντο
τοῖς περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ λαφύροις, ἄ Γαλάτας
νεκύκηκες ὅτε ὑπάτευεν εἰλήφει, καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς
ἀπειλής καὶ κραυγῆς ἐχώρουν καταληψάμενοι τὸν
Ἀβεντίνου λόφον. ὁ δὲ Γάιος ὀπλίσασθαι μὲν
ουκ ἦθελησεν, ἀλλ’ ὦσπερ εἰς ἀγορὰν ἐν τῇ βένω
2 προῆι, μικρὸν ὑπεξωσμένος ἐγχειρίδιον, ἔξιόντι
dὲ αὐτῷ περὶ τὰς θύρας ἡ γυνὴ προσπεσοῦσα καὶ
περιπτύξασα τῶν χειρῶν τῇ μὲν αὐτὸν ἐκείνου,
τῇ δὲ τὸ παιδίου, "Οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα σε," εἶπεν, "ὦ
Γάιε, προπέμπω δήμαρχων, ὡς πρότερον, καὶ νομο-
TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

up arms, and every member of the equestrian order was notified to bring next morning two servants fully armed; Fulvius, on the other hand, made counter preparations and got together a rabble, but Caius, as he left the forum, stopped in front of his father's statue, gazed at it for a long time without uttering a word, then burst into tears, and with a groan departed. Many of those who saw this were moved to pity Caius; they reproached themselves for abandoning and betraying him, and went to his house, and spent the night at his door, though not in the same manner as those who were guarding Fulvius. For these passed the whole time in noise and shouting, drinking, and boasting of what they would do, Fulvius himself being the first to get drunk, and saying and doing much that was unseemly for a man of his years; but the followers of Caius, feeling that they faced a public calamity, kept quiet and were full of concern for the future, and passed the night sleeping and keeping watch by turns.

XV. When day came, Fulvius was with difficulty roused from his drunken sleep by his partisans, who armed themselves with the spoils of war about his house, which he had taken after a victory over the Gauls during his consulship, and with much threatening and shouting went to seize the Aventine hill. Caius, on the other hand, was unwilling to arm himself, but went forth in his toga, as though on his way to the forum, with only a short dagger on his person. As he was going out at the door, his wife threw herself in his way, and with one arm round her husband and the other round their little son, said: "Not to the rostra, O Caius, do I now send thee forth, as formerly, to serve as tribune and law-giver, nor yet to
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

3 κεκράτηκεν ἣδη τὰ χείρων βία καὶ σιδήρῳ τὰς δίκας πράττουσιν. εἰ περὶ Νομαντίαν ὁ σῶς ἄδελφος ἔπεσεν, ὑπόστουδος ἀν ἡμῖν ἀπεδόθη νεκρός· γὰρ ἡ ἴσως καγώ ποταμοῦ τινος ἡ θαλάττης ἰκέτις ἔσομαι φίλος ποτε τὸ σὸν σῶμα φοιμούμενον. τι γὰρ, ἤ νόμοις ἔτι πιστῶν ἢ θεοῖς μετὰ τὸν Τιβερίου φόνον;” τοιαύτα τῆς Δικαινίας ὀδυρομένης, ἀτρέμα τὰς περιβολὰς ἀπολυσάμενος αὐτῆς ὁ Γαίος ἔχωρει σιωπῇ μετὰ τῶν φίλων. ἢ δὲ τοῦ ἰματίου λαβέσθαι γλυχομένη καταρρεύσα ἐπὶ τοῦ ὑπάρχοντος τού σκότους κομίζοντες.

Χ. Ο δὲ Φούλβιος, ὡς ἐγένομεν πάντες ἀθρόου, πεισθέω ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαίου πέμπει τῶν νυκτὸς ὑπὸ τῶν νεώτερον ἔχοντα κηρύκειον εἰς ἁγοράν. ἦν δὲ κάλλιστος ο νεανίσκος ὑπῆρχαι· καὶ τότε καταστάσεις κοσμιώς καὶ μετὰ αἰδώς δεδακρυμένος ἐποιήσατο συμβατικοὺς λόγους πρὸς τὸν ὑπατον καὶ τὴν σύγκλητον. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ τῶν παρόντων οὐκ ἄδως πρὸς τὰς διαλύσεις εἶχον· ὁ δὲ Ὁπίμοις οὐ διά ἀγγέλου ἐφη χρίναι πείθειν τὴν σύγκλητον, ἀλλὰ καταβάντας ὡς ὑπευθύνοις πολίταις ἐπὶ κρίσιν καὶ παραδόντας αὐτοὺς οὕτως παρατείσθαι τὴν ὀργὴν· τὸ δὲ μειρακίῳ καὶ διηγόρευσεν ἐπὶ τούτοις κατίεναι πάλιν ἡ μῆ
TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

a glorious war, where, shouldst thou die (and all men must die), thou wouldst at all events leave me an honoured sorrow; but thou art exposing thyself to the murderers of Tiberius, and thou doest well to go unarmed, that thou mayest suffer rather than inflict wrong; but thy death will do the state no good. The worst has at last prevailed; by violence and the sword men's controversies are now decided. If thy brother had only fallen at Numantia, his dead body would have been given back to us by terms of truce; but as it is, perhaps I too shall have to supplicate some river or sea to reveal to me at last thy body in its keeping. Why, pray, should men longer put faith in laws or gods, after the murder of Tiberius?"

While Licinia was thus lamenting, Caius gently freed himself from her embrace and went away without a word, accompanied by his friends. Licinia eagerly sought to clutch his robe, but sank to the ground and lay there a long time speechless, until her servants lifted her up unconscious and carried her away to the house of her brother Crassus.

XVI. When all were assembled together, Fulvius, yielding to the advice of Caius, sent the younger of his sons with a herald's wand into the forum. The young man was very fair to look upon; and now, in a decorous attitude, modestly, and with tears in his eyes, he addressed conciliatory words to the consul and the senate. Most of his audience, then, were not disinclined to accept his terms of peace; but Opimius declared that the petitioners ought not to try to persuade the senate by word of messenger; they should rather come down and surrender themselves for trial, like citizens amenable to the laws, and then beg for mercy; he also told the young man plainly to come
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

3 κατεύρηκε. Γάιος μὲν οὖν, ὃς φασίν, ἐβούλετο βαδίζειν καὶ πεῖθειν τὴν σύγκλητον, οὐδὲνος δὲ τῶν ἀλλων συνχωρούντως, αὖθις ἐπεμψεν ὁ Φούλβιος τὸν παιδα διαλεξὸμενον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ὥμων τοῖς προτέροις. ὦ δὲ Ὀπίμος σπεύδων μάχην συνάψαι τὸ μὲν μειράκιον εὐθὺς συνέλαβε καὶ παρέδωκεν εἰς φυλακὴν, τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸν Φούλβιον ἐπήκε μετὰ πολλῶν ὁπλιτῶν καὶ τοξιτῶν Κρητῶν,

4 οἳ μᾶλλοντα βάλλοντες αὐτούς καὶ κατατραυματιζοῦτες συνετάραξαν. γενομένης δὲ τῆς τροπῆς ὃ μὲν Φούλβιος εἰς τι βαλανεῖον ἡμελημένον καταφυγὼν καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἁνευρεθεὶς κατεσφάγη μετὰ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου παιδὸς, ὃ δὲ Γαῖος ὠφθη μὲν ὡς οὐδὲνος μαχόμενος, ἀλλὰ δυσανασκητῶν τοῖς γινομένοις ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν ἠκεῖ ὃς βουλόμενος ἑαυτὸν ἀνελεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν πιστοτάτων ἑταίρων ἐκωλύθη, Πομπανίου καὶ Λικιννίου παρόντες γὰρ οὕτω τὸ τε ἄφει-λοῦτο καὶ πάλιν φεύγειν ἐπήραν αὐτοῦ. ἐνθα δὴ λέγεται καθεσθεὶς εἰς γόνυ καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας πρὸς τὴν θεὸν ἐπεύξασθαι τὸν Ῥωμαῖον δήμον ἀντὶ τῆς ἀχαριστίας ἐκείνης καὶ προδοσίας μηδέποτε παύσασθαι δούλεύοντα. πανερῶς γὰρ οἱ πλεῖστοι μετεβάλλοντο κηρύγματι δοθείσης ἀδείας.

XVII. Φεύγοντι δ' οὖν τῷ Γαῖῳ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιφερομένων καὶ καταλαμβανόντων περὶ τὴν ἐξυλίνη γέφυραν, οἱ μὲν δυὸ φίλοι προχωρεῖν ἐκείνον κελεύσαντες αὐτοὶ τοὺς διώκοντας ὑπεστησαν καὶ μαχόμενοι πρὸ τῆς γεφύρας οὐδένα 2 παρῆκαν ἐως ἀπέθανον. τῷ δὲ Γαῖῳ συνεφευγευν
TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

back again on these terms or not come back at all. Caius, accordingly, as we are told, was willing to come and try to persuade the senate; but no one else agreed with him, and so Fulvius sent his son again to plead in their behalf as before. But Opimius, who was eager to join battle, at once seized the youth and put him under guard, and then advanced on the party of Fulvius with numerous men-at-arms and Cretan archers. And it was the archers who, by discharging their arrows and wounding their opponents, were most instrumental in throwing them into confusion. After the rout had taken place, Fulvius fled for refuge into an unused bath, where he was shortly discovered and slain, together with his elder son. Caius, however, was not seen to take any part in the battle, but in great displeasure at what was happening he withdrew into the temple of Diana. There he was minded to make away with himself, but was prevented by his most trusty companions, Pomponius and Licinius; for they were at hand, and took away his sword, and urged him to flight again. Then, indeed, as we are told, he sank upon his knees, and with hands outstretched towards the goddess prayed that the Roman people, in requital for their great ingratitude and treachery, might never cease to be in servitude; for most of them were manifestly changing sides, now that proclamation of immunity had been made.

XVII. So then, as Caius fled, his foes pressed hard upon him and were overtaking him at the wooden bridge over the Tiber, but his two friends bade him go on, while they themselves withstood his pursuers, and, fighting there at the head of the bridge, would suffer no man to pass, until they were killed. Caius had with him in his flight a single servant, by name
eis oikētis ónomā Philokrátηs, pάntωn mēn, ὁστερ ἐν ἀμφήλη, παρακελευομένων, οὔδενος δὲ βοηθοῦντος, οὔδὲ ἵππουν αὐτουμένω παρασχεὶν ἐθελήσαντος· ἐπέκειντο γὰρ ἐγγύς οἱ διώκοντες. ὃ δὲ φθάνει μικρὸν εἰς ἵππον ἄλησον Ὁρινύων καταφυγῶν, κακεὶ διαφθείρεται, τοῦ Φιλοκράτους ἀνελόντος ἐκείνου, εἶτα εαυτὸν ἐπισφάζαντος. ὃς δὲ ἐνεώτι φασίν, ἀμφότεροι μὲν ύπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κατελήφθησαν ἄνωτες, τοῦ δὲ θεράποντος τὸν δεσπότην περιβαλόντος οὔδεις ἐκείνων ἡδυνήθη πατάξαι πρὸ τοῦ ὑπὸ πολλῶν παισμένων ἀναιρεθῆναι. τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν τοῦ Γαίου λέγουσιν ἄλλου μὲν ἀποκόψαι καὶ κομίζειν, ἀφελέσθαι δὲ τούτου φίλον Ὁπίμου τιμᾶ, Σεπτουμουλήιον ἣν γὰρ προκεκηρυγμένον ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς μάχης ἑσσετέσσαυον χρυσίον τὸς ἀνενεκοὺσι τὴν Γαίου καὶ Φουλβίου κεφαλήν. ἀνηνέχθη δὲ υπὸ τοῦ Σεπτουμουλῆιον περιπεπαρμένη δόρατι πρὸς τὸν Ὁπίμου, καὶ ζυγοῦ κομισθέντος ἐντεθεισα λίτρας ἐπτακαίδεκα καὶ δίμοιρον εἶλκυσε, τοῦ Σεπτουμουλῆιον καὶ περὶ τοῦ τούτο μιαροῦ γενομένου καὶ κακουργήσαντος· ἔξελσον γὰρ τὸν ἐγκεφαλὸν ἐνέτηξε μόλυβδιον, οἷ δὲ τοῦ Φουλβίου τὴν κεφαλὴν κομίζαντες (ἡσαν γὰρ τῶν ἀσμοντέρων) οὐδὲν ἐλαβον. τὰ δὲ σώματα καὶ τούτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἔρριπη, τρισχιλίων ἀναιρεθέντων· καὶ τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν ἀπέδοντο πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον. ἀπείπαν δὲ πενθεῖν ταῖς γυναῖξιν, τὴν δὲ Γαίου Δικινίναν καὶ τὴς προικὸς ἀπεστέρησαν. ἐμότατον δὲ προσειράσαντο τοῦ Φουλβίου τὸν νεότερον υἱόν, οὗτο
TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

Philocrates; and though all the spectators, as at a race, urged Caius on to greater speed, not a man came to his aid, or even consented to furnish him with a horse when he asked for one, for his pursuers were pressing close upon him. He barely succeeded in escaping into a sacred grove of the Furies, and there fell by the hand of Philocrates, who then slew himself upon his master. According to some writers, however, both were taken alive by the enemy, and because the servant had thrown his arms about his master, no one was able to strike the master until the slave had first been dispatched by the blows of many. Someone cut off the head of Caius, we are told, and was carrying it along, but was robbed of it by a certain friend of Opimius, Septimuleius; for proclamation had been made at the beginning of the battle that an equal weight of gold would be paid the men who brought the head of Caius or Fulvius. So Septimuleius stuck the head of Caius on a spear and brought it to Opimius, and when it was placed in a balance it weighed seventeen pounds and two thirds, since Septimuleius, besides showing himself to be a scoundrel, had also perpetrated a fraud; for he had taken out the brain and poured melted lead in its place. But those who brought the head of Fulvius were of the obscurer sort, and therefore got nothing. The bodies of Caius and Fulvius and of the other slain were thrown into the Tiber, and they numbered three thousand; their property was sold and the proceeds paid into the public treasury. Moreover, their wives were forbidden to go into mourning, and Licinia, the wife of Caius, was also deprived of her marriage portion. Most cruel of all, however, was the treatment of the younger son of Fulvius, who had neither lifted a hand
χείρας ἀνταράμενον οὔτ' ἐν τοῖς μαχομένοις γενό-μενον, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ σπονδάς ἔλθοντα πρὸ τῆς μάχης 6 συλλαβόντες καὶ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἀνελόντες. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων μᾶλλον ἦνίασε τοὺς πολλοὺς τὸ κατασκευασθὲν ὸμονοίας ἱερὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀτιμίου: σεμνύνεσθαι γὰρ ἐδόκει καὶ μέγα φρονεῖν καὶ τρόπον τινὰ θριαμβεύειν ἐπὶ φόνοις τοσοῦτοις πολιτῶν. διὸ καὶ νυκτὸς ὑπὸ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν τοῦ νεῶ παρενέ-γραψάν τινες τὸν στίχον τούτον: "Ἐργον ἀπο-νοίας ναὸν ὀμονοίας ποιεῖ."  

XVIII. Οὕτως μέντοι πρῶτος ἔξοσια δικτά-
τορος ἐν ὑπατείᾳ χρησάμενοι καὶ κατακτείνας ἀκρίτους ἔτι τρισχιλίους πολίτας Γάιον Γράγχου καὶ Φούλβιον Φλάκκον, ὅπε γὰρ ὑπατικὸς καὶ θριαμβικός, ὃ δὲ τῆς καθ' αὐτοῦ ἡλικίας ἄρετῆ καὶ δόξῃ πεπρωτευκώς, οὐκ ἀπέσχετο κλοπῆς, ἀλλὰ τεμφθεὶς ὡς Ἰουγοῦρθαι τὸν Ὄμωδα προσ-
θεμένης διεθάρη χρήμασιν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ· καὶ δίκην ὀφλῶν αἰσχίσθην δώρωδοκίας ἐν ἀτιμία κατεγή-
ρασε μισεόμενος καὶ προπηλακιζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ 2 δήμου, παρ' αὐτὰ μὲν τὰ πραχθέντα τατεινοῦ 
γενομένου καὶ συσταλέντος, ὅλῳ δὲ ὑστερὸν 
ἐκφράσατο δόσιν ἐίχεν ἴμερον καὶ πόθον τῶν 
Γράγχων. εἰκόνας τε γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀναδείξατες ἐν 
φανερῷ προνύπεντα, καὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐν ὀἷς ἐφο-
νεύθησαν ἀφιερώσαντες ἀπήρχοντο μὲν ὃν ἠραὶ 
φέρουσι πάντων, ἔθνον δὲ καὶ καθ' ἧμεραν πολ-
λοί καὶ προσέπιπτον, ὡσπερ θέων ἰεροῖς ἐπιφοι-
τῶντες.

XIX. Καὶ μέντοι καὶ Ἡ Κορυνλία λέγεται τά
TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

against the nobles nor been present at the fighting, but had come to effect a truce before the battle and had been arrested; after the battle he was slain. However, what vexed the people more than this or anything else was the erection of a temple of Concord by Opimius; for it was felt that he was priding himself and exulting and in a manner celebrating a triumph in view of all this slaughter of citizens. Therefore at night, beneath the inscription on the temple, somebody carved this verse:—"A work of mad discord produces a temple of Concord."

XVIII. And yet this Opimius, who was the first consul to exercise the power of a dictator, and put to death without trial, besides three thousand other citizens, Caius Gracchus and Fulvius Flaccus, of whom one had been consul and had celebrated a triumph, while the other was the foremost man of his generation in virtue and reputation—this Opimius could not keep his hands from fraud, but when he was sent as ambassador to Jugurtha the Numidian was bribed by him, and after being convicted most shamefully of corruption, he spent his old age in infamy, hated and abused by the people, a people which was humble and cowed at the time when the Gracchi fell, but soon afterwards showed how much it missed them and longed for them. For it had statues of the brothers made and set up in a conspicuous place, consecrated the places where they were slain, and brought thither offerings of all the first-fruits of the seasons, nay, more, many sacrificed and fell down before their statues every day, as though they were visiting the shrines of gods.

XIX. And further, Cornelia is reported to have

1 Opimius restored the temple of Concord which had been built by Camillus (see the Camillus, xlii. 4).
ΠΛΥΤΩΡΧΟΥΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ

τε ἄλλα τῆς συμφορᾶς εὐγενῶς καὶ μεγαλοπρύγως ἐνεγκεῖν, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐν οἷς ἀνηρέθησαν εἰπεῖν ὡς ἄξιοι οἱ νεκροὶ τάφους ἰχουσίων. αὕτη δὲ περὶ τοὺς καλουμένους Μισηνοὺς διέτριβεν,

2 οὐδὲν μεταλλάξασα τῆς συνήθους διαίτης. ἦν δὲ πολύφιλος καὶ διὰ φιλοξενίαν εὐτράπεζος, ἀεὶ μὲν 'Ελλήνων καὶ φιλοξενῶν περὶ αὐτήν ὄντων, ἀπάντων δὲ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ δεχομένων παρ' αὐτής δώρα καὶ πεμπόντων. ἡδίστη μὲν οὖν ἦν αὕτη τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις καὶ συνούσι διηγομένη τῶν τού πατρὸς Ἀφρικανοῦ βίων καὶ δίαιταν,

θαυμασιωτάτη δὲ τῶν παιδῶν ἀπευθής καὶ ἀδάκρυτος μνημονεύονσα, καὶ πάθη καὶ πράξεις αὐτῶν, ὡσπερ ἀρχαίων τινῶν, ἐξηγομένη τοῖς πυνθανομένοις. θεοὶ ἐδοξήσε λέοντι όποι γήρως ἢ μεγέθους κακῶν γεγονέναι καὶ τῶν ἀνυχημάτων ἀναίσθητος, αὐτοῖς ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀναίσθητοις οὐσιν ὅσον ἔξω εὔφυιας καὶ τοῦ γεγονέναι καὶ τετράθη καλῶς ὁφελός ἐστι πρὸς ἁλυτίαν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ ότι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἡ τύχη φυλαττομένης μὲν τὰ κακὰ πολλάκις περίεστιν,

ἐν δὲ τῷ πταίσαι τὸ φέρειν εὐλογίστως οὐ παραιρεῖται.

ΑΓΙΔΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΓΡΑΓΧΩΝ
ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣΙΣ

1. Ἡμῶν δὲ καὶ ταύτης πέρας ἤχουσις τῆς διηγήσεως ὑπολείπεται λαβεῖν ἐκ παραλλήλου τῶν βίων τῆς ἀποθεώρησιν. τοὺς μὲν οὖν Γράγ-
240
AGIS AND CLEOMENES AND THE GRACCHI

borne all her misfortunes in a noble and magnanimous spirit, and to have said of the sacred places where her sons had been slain that they were tombs worthy of the dead which occupied them. She resided on the promontory called Misenum, and made no change in her customary way of living. She had many friends, and kept a good table that she might show hospitality, for she always had Greeks and other literary men about her, and all the reigning kings interchanged gifts with her. She was indeed very agreeable to her visitors and associates when she discoursed to them about the life and habits of her father Africanus, but most admirable when she spoke of her sons without grief or tears, and narrated their achievements and their fate to all enquirers as if she were speaking of men of the early days of Rome. Some were therefore led to think that old age or the greatness of her sorrows had impaired her mind and made her insensible to her misfortunes, whereas, really, such persons themselves were insensible how much help in the banishment of grief mankind derives from a noble nature and from honourable birth and rearing, as well as of the fact that while Fortune often prevails over virtue when it endeavours to ward off evils, she cannot rob virtue of the power to endure those evils with calm assurance.

AGIS AND CLEOMENES AND THE GRACCHI COMPARED

I. Now that I have brought this story of the Gracchi also to an end, it remains for me to take a survey of all four lives in parallel. As for the Gracchi,
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ

tε ἀλλα τῆς συμφορᾶς εὐγενῶς καὶ μεγαλοπτύχως ἐνεγκείν, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐν οἷς ἀναρθήσαν ἐπεῖν ὡς ἄξιοι οἱ νεκροὶ τάφους ἔχουσιν. αὕτη δὲ περὶ τούτως καλουμένους Μησηνοῦς διέτριβεν, 2 οὐδὲν μεταλλάξασα τῆς συνήθους διαίτης. ἦν δὲ πολύφιλος καὶ διὰ φιλοξενίαν εὐτράπεζος, ἀεὶ μὲν Ἐλλήνων καὶ φιλολόγων περὶ αὐτὴν ὄντων, ἀπάντων δὲ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ δεχομένων παρ᾽ αὐτῆς δώρα καὶ πεμπόντων. ἤδης τε μὲν ὑπὸ ἴνα αὕτη τοῖς ἀφικνομένοις καὶ συνούσι διηγομένη τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀφρικανοῦ βίον καὶ διαὶταν, θαυμασιωτάτη δὲ τῶν παιδῶν ἀπευθεὶς καὶ ἀδάκρυτος μνημονεύονσα, καὶ πάθη καὶ πράξεις αὐτῶν, ὡσπερ ἀρχαίων τινῶν, ἔξηγομένη τοῖς 3 πυθανομένοις. οἶδεν ἐδοξέεν ἐνίοις ἐκνουσ ὑπὸ γῆρως ἢ μεγέθους κακῶν γεγονέναι καὶ τῶν ἀτυχημάτων ἀναίσθητος, αὐτοῦς ὡς ἄληθῶς ἀναίσθητοι οὖσιν ὡς εὐφυίας καὶ τοῦ γεγο- νέναι καὶ τετράφθαι καλῶς ὄφελος ἐστὶ πρὸς ἀλυπίαν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ ὦτι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἢ τύχη φυλαττομένης μὲν τὰ κακὰ πολλάκις περίεστιν, ἐν δὲ τῷ πταίσαι τὸ φέρειν εὐλογίστως οὐ παραιρεῖται.

ΑΓΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΓΡΑΓΧΩΝ
ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

I. Ἡμῶν δὲ καὶ ταύτης πέρας ἔχουσις τῆς διηγήσεως ὑπολείπεται λαβεῖν ἐκ παραλλήλου τῶν βίων τὴν ἀποθεώρησιν. τοὺς μὲν οὖν Γράγχων
140
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

GRACCHI CONSIDERED

I. Now that I have
Gracchi also to enume-
sure of all four lives in

VOL. X.
χος οὐδ’ οἱ πάνυ τάλλα κακῶς λέγοντες καὶ μισούντες ἐτόλμησαν εἴπειν ὅσον εὐφυέστατοι πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἐγένοντο Ὀρμαίων ἀπάντων, καὶ
2 τροφῆς τε καὶ παιδεύσεως ἐκτρεποῦσ’ ἐτυχοῦ ἡ δὲ Ἀγιός καὶ Κλεομένους φύσις ἐρωμενεστέρα φαίνεται τῆς ἐκεῖνων γενομένης, παρ’ ὅσον οὗτο
παιδείας μεταλαβόντες ὅρθης, ἔθεσε τοι καὶ διαιταῖς ἐντραφέντες ύφ’ ὅν οἱ προσβύτεροι πάλαι διεφθορεῖσαν, αὐτοῖς ἡγεμόνας εὐτελείας καὶ σωφρο-
3 σύνης παρέσχον. ἔτι δὲ οἱ μέν, οἱ λαμπρότατον εἰχεν ἡ Ὀρμή καὶ μέγιστον ἀξίωμα καὶ καλῶν ἔργων ξῆλον, ὥσπερ διαδοχὴν ἀρετῆς πατρῴας καὶ προγονικῆς ἁπαθίας ἐγκαταλιπεῖν· οἱ δὲ καὶ πατέρων τάναντι προηγημένων γεγονότες, καὶ τὴν πατρίδα μοχθηρὰ πράττουσαν καὶ νοσοῦσαν παραλαβόντες, οὐδὲν τι διὰ τάτα τὴν πρὸς τὸ
4 καλὸν ἀπήμβλυναν ὅρμην. καὶ μὴν τῆς γε Γράγχου ἀφιλοχρηματίας καὶ πρὸς ἄργυρων ἐγκρατείας μέγιστον ἔστων ὅτι λῃμμάτων ἅδικων καθάροις ἐν ἀρχαῖς καὶ πολιτείας διεφύλαξαν ἑαυτοὺς. Ἄγιος δὲ καὶ διηγαγόκτησεν ἐπὶ τῷ μηδὲν ἀλλότριον λαβεῖν ἐπαινούμενος, διὰ τὴν οὐσίαν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τοῖς πολίταῖς ἐπέδωκεν, ἀνευ τῶν ἄλλων κτημάτων ἐξακόσια τάλαντα νομίσματος ἐχουσαν. πηλίκον οὖν ἐνόμιζε κακῶν εἶναι τὸ κερδαίνειν ἅδικως ὁ καὶ δικαίως πλέον ἔχειν ἐξέρου πλεονεκηλίν ἡγουμένου;

II. Ἡ γε μὴν ἐπιβουλῇ καὶ τόλμα τῶν καινο-
then, not even those who utterly revile and hate them on other grounds have ventured to deny that of all Romans they were best equipped by nature for the practice of virtue, and enjoyed a rearing and training which were preëminent; but Agis and Cleomenes would appear to have had even sturdier natural gifts than theirs, in so far as, though they did not receive a correct training, and were reared in those customs and ways of living by which their elders had long ago been corrupted, they nevertheless made themselves leaders in simplicity and self-restraint. And further, the Gracchi, at a time when Rome had her greatest and most splendid repute and an ardour for noble deeds, were prevented by a sense of shame from abandoning what was like an inheritance of virtue from ancestors near and remote; Agis and Cleomenes, on the other hand, though they were sons of fathers who had adopted opposite principles to theirs, and found their country in a wretched plight and full of distempers, did not suffer these things to blunt the edge of their zeal for what was noble. Moreover, the chief proof that the Gracchi scorned wealth and were superior to money lies in the fact that they kept themselves clear from unrighteous gains during their official and political life; whereas Agis would have been incensed to receive praise for not taking anything that was another’s, since he freely gave to his fellow citizens his own property, which amounted to six hundred talents in ready money alone, to say nothing of other valuables. How great a baseness, then, would unlawful gain have been held to be by one in whose eyes even the lawful possession of more than another was rapacity?

II. Again, the enterprise and boldness of their
τομομένων πολύ τῷ μεγέθει παρήλλαττεν. ἐπο-
λιτεύοντο γὰρ ὁ μὲν ὄδων κατασκευᾶς καὶ πόλεων
κτίσεις, καὶ τὸ πάντων νεανικῶτατον ἤν Τιβερίῳ
μὲν ἀνασώσαι δημοσίους ἄγροις, Γαϊώ δὲ μίξαι
τὰ δικαστήρια προσεμβαλόντι τῶν ἱππικῶν τρια-
κοσίων· δὴ Ἀγίδος καὶ Κλεομένους νεωτερισμός,
tὸ μικρὰ καὶ κατὰ μέρος τῶν ἡμαρτημένων ἱᾶσθαι
καὶ ἀποκόπτειν ὑδαν τινὰ τέμνοντος, ὡς φησιν
ὁ Πλάτων, ἡγησάμενος εἶναι, τὴν ἁμα πάντα
ἀπαλλάξαι κακὰ καὶ μετασκευάσαι δυναμένην
3 μεταβολῆν ἔπηγε τοῖς πράγμασιν. ἀλληθεστερον
δὲ Ἰσώς εἰπεῖν ἐστιν ὅτι τὴν πάντα ἀπεργασα-
μένην κακὰ μεταβολήν ἔξηλανυν, ἀπάγων καὶ
καθιστάς εἰς τὸ οὐκεῖον σχῆμα τὴν πόλιν. ἐτεῖ
καὶ τούτῳ ἄν τις εἴποι, τῇ μὲν Γράγχων πολιτείᾳ
τοὺς μεγίστους ἐνίστασθαι Ἱῳμαιίων, οἷς δὲ Ἀγια
ἐνεχείρησε, Κλεομένης δὲ τὸ ἔργον ἐπέθηκε, τῶν
παραδειγμάτων τὸ κάλλιστον ὑπέκειτο καὶ μεγαλο-
πρεπέστατον, αἱ πάτροι ρήτραι περὶ σωφροσύνης
καὶ ἱσότητος, ὃν τούτοις μὲν ὁ Δυκούργος, ἐκεῖνος
4 δὲ ὁ Πύθιος βεβαιωτῆς. δὴ δὲ μέγιστον, ὅτι τοῖς
μὲν ἐκείνων πολιτεύμασιν εἰς οὐδὲν ἡ Ῥώμη μείξον
ἐπέδωκε τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, ἐκ δὲ ὧν ὁ Κλεομένης
ἐπραξε, ὦλγον χρόνον τὴν Σπάρτην τῆς Πελο-
pονήσου κρατοῦσαν ἡ Ἑλλάς ἐπείδε καὶ τοῖς
τοτε μέγιστον δυναμένοις διαγωνιζομένην ἀγώνα

1 ἐκεῖνος Blass, Fuhr, and Ziegler, after Madvig: ἐκεῖνοις.

244
AGIS AND CLEOMENES AND THE GRACCHI

attempted reforms were certainly very different in magnitude. For in their political activities Caius had in view the construction of roads and the founding of cities, and the boldest of all the projects of the Romans were, in the case of Tiberius the recovery of the public lands, and in that of Caius the reconstitution of the courts of justice by the addition of three hundred men from the equestrian order; whereas Agis and Cleomenes in their reforms, considering that the application of trifling and partial remedies and excisions to the disorders of the state was nothing more than cutting off a Hydra's heads (as Plato says\(^1\)), tried to introduce into the constitution a change which was able to transform and get rid of all evils at once; though perhaps it is more in accordance with the truth to say that they banished the change which had wrought all sorts of evils, by bringing back the state to its proper form and establishing it therein. Besides, this also can be said, that the policies of the Gracchi were opposed by the greatest Romans, whereas those which Agis instituted and Cleomenes consummated were based upon the fairest and most imposing precedents, namely, the ancient rhetras or unwritten laws concerning simplicity of life and equality of property, for which Lycurgus was voucher to them, and the Pythian Apollo to Lycurgus.\(^2\) But the most important consideration is that through the political activity of the Gracchi Rome made no advance in greatness, whereas, in consequence of the achievements of Cleomenes, within a short time Greece beheld Sparta mistress of the Peloponnesus and carrying on a struggle for the supremacy with those who then had the greatest power, the object of

\(^1\) Republic, p. 426 e. \(^2\) See the Lycurgus, xiii.
τὸν περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, οὐ τέλος ἦν ἀπαλλαγέσθαι Ἡλλυρικῶν ὁπλῶν καὶ Γαλατικῶν τὴν Ἐλλάδα κοσμεῖσθαι πάλιν ὑφ᾽ Ἡρακλείδας.

III. Οἱ μὲν δὲ καὶ τὰς τελευτάς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐμφαίνειν τινὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς διαφορὰν. οὐκ οὖν μὲν γὰρ μαχόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας, εἰτὰ φεύγοντες ἐπελεύσθησαν· τούτων δὲ Ἀγίων μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ μηδένα κτείναι τῶν πολιτῶν ὁλίγων δεῖν ἑκῶν ἀπέδανε, Κλεομένης δὲ προπηλακίσθει καὶ ἀδικηθεῖς ὑρμήσει μὲν ἀμύνασθαι, τοῦ δὲ καροῦ μὴ παρασχὼντος 2 αὐτὸν οὐτόλομος ἀνείλε. πάλιν δὲ τάναντι σκοποῦσιν Ἀγίων μὲν οὖν ἀπεδείξατο στρατηγίας ἔργον, ἀλλὰ προανήρθη, ταῖς δὲ Κλεομένους νίκαις πολλαῖς καὶ καλαῖς γενομέναις παραβαλεῖν ἐστι Τιθέρου τὴν ἐν Καρχηδόνι τοῦ τείχους κατάληψιν, ὁ μικρῶν ἔργον, καὶ τὰς ἐν Νομαντίᾳ σπουδάς, αἰσ διαμυρίους Ῥωμαίων στρατιώτας οὐκ ἔχοντας ἄλλην ἔλπιδα σωτηρίας περιποίησε· καὶ Γάιος δὲ πολλὴν μὲν αὐτοθι, πολλὴν δὲ ἐν Σαρδῶν στρατευόμενος ἀνδραγαθίαν ἔφηνεν, ὅστε τοῖς πρώτοις ἄν ἐναμῖλλους Ῥωμαίων γενέσθαι στρατηγοῖς, εἰ μὴ προανηρέθησαν.

IV. Τῆς δὲ πολιτείας ὁ μὲν Ἀγίων ἐοικεν οὕσσαθαι μαλακότερον, ἐκκρονοῦσθεις ὑπὸ Ἀγησίλαον καὶ ψευσάμενος τὸν ἀναδασμὸν τοῖς πολίταις, καὶ 845 ὅλως ἐλλυπής καὶ ἀτελῆς ὑπὸ προείλετο καὶ κατηγιγείλεν ὑπὸ ἀντολμίας διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν γενόμενος· ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης τούναντιον θρασύτερον καὶ βιαίο- 246
AGIS AND CLEOMENES AND THE GRACCHI

which struggle was to set Greece free from Illyrian and Gaulish troops and array her once more under descendants of Heracles.

III. I think, too, that the way in which the men died makes manifest a difference in their high excellence. For the Gracchi fought against their fellow citizens, and then died as they sought to make their escape; but in the case of the Greeks, Agis would not kill a single citizen, and therefore died what one might almost call a voluntary death, and Cleomenes, after setting out to avenge himself for insults and wrongs, found the occasion unfavourable and with a good courage slew himself. But again, when we take the opposite view of their relative merits, Agis displayed no deed worthy of a great commander, but was cut off untimely, and with the many honourable victories won by Cleomenes we can compare the capture of the wall at Carthage by Tiberius, which was no trifling deed, and his truce at Numantia, by which twenty thousand Roman soldiers who had no other hope of salvation were spared; and Caius, too, manifested great bravery in military service at home, and great bravery in Sardinia, so that the brothers might have vied successfully with the foremost Roman generals, had they not been cut off untimely.

IV. In their civic activities, however, Agis would seem to have taken hold of things with too little spirit; he was baffled by Agesilaüs, and broke his promise to the citizens about the re-distribution of lands, and in a word abandoned and left unfinished the designs which he had deliberately formed and announced, owing to a lack of courage due to his youth. Cleomenes, on the contrary, undertook his change of the constitution with too
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

terou ἐπὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν ἦλθε τῆς πολιτείας, ἀποκτείνας τοὺς ἐφόρους παρανόμους, οὗς καὶ προσαγαγόθαι τοὺς ὁπλοὺς κρατοῦντα καὶ μετα-
στῆσαι βάδιον ἦν, ὡσπερ οὐκ ὀλίγους ἄλλους
2 μετέστησεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. τὸ γὰρ ἄνευ τῆς
ἐσχάτης ἀνάγκης ἐπιφέρειν σίδηρον οὔτε ἱατρικῶν
οὔτε πολιτικῶν, ἀλλ' ἀτεχνίας μὲν ἀμφότερα,
τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀδικεῖν μετ' ὁμότητος πρόσευτι.
τῶν δὲ Γράγχων οὐδέτερος μὲν ἦρξατο σφαγῆς
ἐμφυλίου, Γάιος δὲ λέγεται μηδὲ βαλλόμενος
ὁρμήσαι πρὸς ἄμυναν, ἀλλὰ λαμπρότατος ὄν ἐν
τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἀργότατος ἐν τῇ στάσει γενέσθαι.
3 καὶ γὰρ προῆλθεν ἄσπολος καὶ μαχομένων ἀνεχώ-
ρησε, καὶ ὅλως πλείονα τοῦ μὴ τι δρᾶσαι πρόνοιαν
ἡ τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν ἔχων ἐωρᾶτο. διὸ καὶ τὴν φυγὴν
αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀτολμίας σημεῖον, ἀλλ' εὐλαβείας
ποιητέον. έδει γὰρ ὑπείξαι τοῖς ἑπιφερομένωι
ὁ μένοντας ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν τῷ δρᾶν ἀμύνασθαι.

V. Τῶν τούνων ἐγκλημάτων τῶν κατὰ Τιβερίου
μεγιστὸν ἔστω ὅτι τῶν συνάρχοντα τῆς δημαρχίας
ἐξέβαλε καὶ δευτέραν αὐτοῦ δημαρχίαν μετήην.
Γαίῳ δὲ τὸν Ἀντιλλίον φόνον οὐ δικαίως οὐδὲ
ἀληθῶς προστρέβοντο. διεφθάρη γὰρ ἄκοντος
αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντος. Κλεομένης δὲ, ἢν τὰς
σφαγὰς τῶν ἐφόρων ἐάσωμεν, ἤλευθερώσει μὲν
2 ἀπαντας τοὺς οἰκέτας, ἐβασίλευσε δὲ τῷ μὲν ἔργῳ
μόνος, τῷ δὲ ὄνοματι δεύτερος, Εὐκλείδαν τὸν

248
AGIS AND CLEOMENES AND THE GRACCHI

much rashness and violence, killing the ephors in unlawful fashion, when it would have been easier to win them over to his views or remove them by superiority in arms, just as he removed many others from the city. For a resort to the knife, except under extremest necessity, is not the mark either of a good physician or statesman, but in both cases shows a lack of skill, and in the case of the statesman there is added both injustice and cruelty. Neither of the Gracchi, however, initiated civil slaughter, and Caius, we are told, would not resort to self-defence even when his life was threatened, but though he was a most brilliant soldier in the field, he showed himself most inactive in civil strife. For he went forth from his house unarmed and withdrew when the battle began, and in a word was seen to be more intent upon not doing any harm to others than upon not suffering harm himself. Therefore we must hold that the flight of the brothers was not a mark of cowardice, but of caution. For they were obliged either to yield to their assailants, or, in case they held their ground, to defend themselves actively against harm.

V. Again, the greatest of the accusations against Tiberius is that he deposed his colleague from the tribuneship and canvassed for a second tribuneship himself; and as for Caius, the murder of Antyllius was unjustly and falsely attributed to him, for it happened contrary to his wishes and much to his displeasure. But Cleomenes, not to mention again his slaughter of the ephors, set free all the slaves, and was king by himself in point of fact, though nominally with another, after he had chosen his brother Eucleidas, a man from the same house, as his col-
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ἀδελφὸν ἐκ μᾶς οἰκίας αὐτῷ προσελέμενος, Ἀρχί-
δαμον δὲ, ὃς προσήκον ἦν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐτέρας οἰκίας
οὖν τι συμβασιλεύειν, ἔπεισε μὲν ἐκ Μεσσήνης
κατελθεῖν, ἀποθανόντος δὲ τὸν φόνον οὐκ ἐπεξ-
ελθὼν ἐβεβαιώσε τὴν αἰτίαν καθ’ αὐτοῦ τῆς

3 ἀναφέσεως. καίτων Δυκούργος, δυ προσεποιεῖτο
μιμείσθαι, τὴν μὲν βασιλείαν ἐκὼν ἀπέδωκε τῷ
παιδὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Χαρίλλῳ, φοβούμενος δὲ μή,
κάν ἀλλος ἀποθάνῃ τὸ μειράκιον, αἰτία τις ἐπ’
αὐτὸν ἔλθῃ, πολὺν χρόνον ἐξώ πλανηθεῖς οὐ πρό-
terou ἐπανήλθεν ἡ παίδα τῷ Χαρίλλῳ γενέσθαι
diádochoν τῆς ἀρχῆς. ἀλλὰ Δυκούργῳ μὲν οὔδε
ἀλλος τις Ἑλλήνων παραβλητὸς οὐδεὶς· ὅτι δὲ
toῖς Κλεομένους πολιτεύμασι καινοτομέαί καὶ

4 παρανομία μείζονες ἔνεισι, δεδῆλωται. καὶ μὴν
οὐ γε τὸν τρόπον αὐτῶν ψέγοντες τοῦτος μὲν ἔξ
ἀρχῆς τυραννικὸν καὶ πολεμοποιὸν αἰτιῶνται
genésθαι, τῇ δὲ ἐκείνων φύσει φιλοτιμίας ἀμετ-
ρίαν, ἀλλο δὲ οὔδεν οἱ φθονοῦντες ἐπικαλεῖν εἶχον·
ἐκριτισθέντας δὲ τῷ πρὸς τοὺς ἐνσταμένους
ἀγῶνι καὶ θυμῷ παρὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ψύσιν ὁσπερ
πνοαῖς, ἐφείναι περὶ τὰ ἔσχατα τὴν πολιτείαν

5 ὀμολόγουν. ἔπει τῆς γε πρώτης ὑποθέσεως τὶ
kάλλιον ἡ δικαιότερον ἦν, εἰ μὴ κατὰ βίαν καὶ
dυναστείαν ἐπιχειρήσαντες ἐξῶσαι τὸν νόμον οἱ
πλούσιοι περιέστησαν ἀμφοτέροις ἄγωνας, τῷ μὲν
φοβούμενῳ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, τῷ δὲ ἐκδικοῦντι τὸν

250
AGIS AND CLEOMENES AND THE GRACCHI

league; and he persuaded Archidamus, who belonged to the other house and should have been his colleague on the throne, to come back to Sparta from Messene, and upon his death, by not following up the murder, he fixed upon himself the blame for his taking off. And yet Lycurgus, whom he professed to imitate, voluntarily surrendered the royal power to Charillus, his brother's son, and because he feared lest, if the young man should die by another's hand, some blame might attach to himself, he wandered a long time in foreign parts, and would not come back until a son had been born to Charillus who should succeed to his office.\(^1\) However, with Lycurgus no other Greek is worthy to be compared; but that the political measures of Cleomenes were marked by greater innovations and illegalities than those of the Gracchi, is evident. And indeed those who are inclined to criticize their characters accuse the two Greeks of having been from the outset over fond of power and strife, and the two Romans of having been by nature immoderately ambitious, though their detractors could bring no other charge against them; nay, it was agreed that they were caught up by the fury of the contest with their opponents and by a passion contrary to their own natural bent, as by blasts of wind, and so let the state drive into extremest danger. For what could be more just and honourable than their original design? And they would have succeeded in it, had not the party of the rich, by their violent and partisan attempts to abrogate the agrarian law, involved both of them in fierce struggles, Tiberius through fear for his own life, and Caius in an effort to avenge his brother, who had been slain without justice or

\(^1\) See the Lycurgus, iii. 5.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ἀδελφὸν ἀνευ δίκης καὶ δόγματος οὐδὲ ὑπ’ ἀρχοντος ἀναιρεθέντα;

6 Συνορᾶς μὲν οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων τῆν διαφοράν· εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ καθ’ ἔκαστον ἀποφήσασθαι, Τιβέριου μὲν ἀρετῆ πεπρωτευκέναι τίθημι πάντων, ἠλάχιστα δὲ ἡμαρτηκέναι τὸ μειράκιον Ἄγιν, πράξει δὲ καὶ τόλμη Γάιον οὐκ ὀλίγῳ Κλεομένους ὑστερον γεγονέναι.
senatorial decree and without the concurrence even of a magistrate.

From what has been said, then, my reader will perceive for himself the difference between these men; but if I am to express my opinion of them individually, I should say that Tiberius led them all in exemplary virtues, that the youthful Agis committed the fewest errors, and that in achievement and courage Caius fell far short of Cleomenes.
PHILOPOEMEN
ΦΙΛΟΠΟΙΜΗΝ

I. Κλέανδρος ἦν ἐν Μαντινείᾳ γένους τε πρώτου καὶ δυνηθεὶς ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τῶν πολιτῶν, τύχη δὲ χρησάμενος καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φυγήν ἦκεν εἰς Μεγάλην πόλιν ὡσ ἥκιστα διὰ τὸν Φιλοποίμενον πατέρα Κραύγην, ἀνδρα πάντων ἕνεκα λαμπρῶν, 2 ἵδια δὲ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον οἰκείως ἔχουσα. ξῶντος μὲν οὐν αὐτοῦ πάντων ἑτύχχανε, τελευτήσαντος δὲ τὴν ἀμοιβὴν τῆς φιλοξενίας ἀποδιδοὺς ἐθρέψεν αὐτοῦ τὸν νιὸν ὀρφανὸν ὄντα, καθάπερ φησὶν ὁμηρὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ Φοίνικος τὸν Ἀχιλλέα τραφήναι, γενεάιν τινὰ καὶ βασιλικὴν τοῦ ἱδρος εὑθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς πλάσιν καὶ αὐξήσιν λαμβάνοντος. ἡδὴ δὲ τοῦ Φιλοποίμενος ἀντιπαιδὸς οὗτος Ἐκήδημος καὶ Μεγαλοφάνης οἱ Μεγαλοπολῖται διεδέχαντο τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, Ἀρκεσιλάφ πυνῆθες εἰς Ἀκαδημεία γεγονότες καὶ φιλοσοφίαν μάλιστα τῶν καθ’ ἑαυτοὺς ἐπὶ πολιτείαν καὶ πράξεις προαγάγοντες. 3 οὐτοὶ καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν πατρίδα τυραννίδος ἀπηλλαξαν, τοὺς ἀποκτενοῦντας Ἀριστόδημον κρύφα παρασκευάσαντες, καὶ Νικοκλέα τὸν Σικυωνίων τύραννον Ἀράτῳ συνεξέβαλον, καὶ Κυρηναῖοις

256
PHILOPOELEMEN

I. Cleander was a man of the highest lineage and greatest influence among the citizens of Mantinea, but he met with reverses and was exiled from his native city. He then betook himself to Megalopolis, chiefly because of Craugis, the father of Philopoemen, a man in every way illustrious, and attached to him by ties of personal friendship. As long as Craugis lived, Cleander's wants were all supplied, and when Craugis died, Cleander, wishing to requite him for his hospitality, undertook the rearing of his orphan son, just as Homer says that Achilles was reared by Phoenix,¹ so that the boy's character took on from the very outset a noble and kingly mould and growth. But as soon as Philopoemen had ceased to be a boy, Ecdemus and Megalophanes, of Megalopolis, were put in charge of him.² They had been comrades of Arcesilaus at the Academy, and beyond all men of their day had brought philosophy to bear upon political action and affairs of state. They freed their own native city from tyranny, by secretly procuring men to kill Aristodemus; they joined with Aratus in expelling Nicocles the tyrant of Sicyon;³ and at the request of the people of Cyrene, whose city was full

¹ Cf. Iliad, ix. 438 ff.
² A brief biography of Philopoemen may be found in Pausanias, viii. 49-51. It agrees, in the main, with that of Plutarch. Philopoemen was born about 252 B.C.
³ See the Aratus, ii.-x.
δεσθείσι, τεταραγμένων τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ νοσούντων, πλεύσαντες εὐνομίαν ἐθεντο καὶ διεκό-
σμησαν ἀριστα τὴν πόλιν. αὐτοὶ γε μὴν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔργοις καὶ τὴν Φιλοποίμενος ἐποιοῦντο
παϊδευσιν, ὡς κοινὸν ὅφελος τῇ Ἐλλάδι τὸν ἄνδρα
τούτων ὑπὸ φιλοσοφίας ἀπεργασόμενοι. καὶ γὰρ
ὁσπερ ὑψίγονον ἐν γήρᾳ ταῖς τῶν παλαιῶν ἡγεμό-
νων ἐπιτεκοῦσα τούτων ἄρεταίς ἡ Ἐλλάς ἡγάπησε
diaferontos καὶ συνηύξησε τῇ δόξῃ τὴν δύναμιν.
Ῥωμαίων δὲ τις ἐπαινῶν ἔσχατον αὐτῶν Ἐλλήνων
προσεῖτεν, ὡς οὐδένα μέγαν μετὰ τούτον ἔτι τῆς
Ἐλλάδος ἄνδρα γειναμένης οὐδὲ αὐτῆς ἄξιον.

I. Ἡν δὲ τὸ μὲν εἴδος οὐκ ἀισχρός, ὡς ἐνιο
νομίζουσιν εἰκόνα γὰρ αὐτοῦ διαμένουσαν ἐν
Δελφοῖς ὅρῳμεν. τὴν δὲ τῆς ξένης τῆς Μεγαρικῆς
ἀγνοιαν συμβῆναι λέγουσι δὲ εὐκολίαν τινὰ καὶ
ἀφέλειαν αὐτοῦ. πυνθανομένη γὰρ ἔρχεσθαι πρὸς
αὐτοὺς τὸν στρατηγὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐθορυβεῖτο
παρασκευάζουσα δείπνου, οὗ παρόντος κατὰ τῦχην
2 τοῦ ἄνδρας. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τοῦ Φιλοποίμενος εἰσελ-
thoûntos χλαμύδιον εὔτελές ἔχοντος, οἰομένη τινὰ
τῶν ὑπηρετῶν εἶναι καὶ πρόδρομον παρεκάλει τῆς
diakonías συνεφάγασθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπορ-
rίψας τὴν χλαμύδα τῶν ξύλων ἔσχιζεν· ὦ δὲ
ξένος ἐπεισελθὼν καὶ θεασάμενος, “Τί τούτο,”
ἐφη, “ὁ Φιλοποίμην;” “Τί γὰρ ἄλλο,” ἐφη
dωρίζων ἐκείνος, “ἡ κακᾶς ὄψεως δίκας δίδωμι;”
3 τοῦ δὲ ἄλλου σώματος τὴν φύσιν ἐπισκόπτων ὁ
PHILOPOEMEN

of confusion and political distemper, they sailed thither, introduced law and order, and arranged matters in the city most happily. They themselves, however, counted the education of Philopoemen also among their many achievements, believing that their philosophical teachings had made him a common benefit to Greece. For since he was the child, as it were, of her late old age and succeeded to the virtues of her ancient commanders, Greece loved him surpassingly, and as his reputation grew, increased his power. And a certain Roman, in praising him, called him the last of the Greeks,\(^1\) implying that Greece produced no great man after him, nor one worthy of her.

II. In looks he was not, as some suppose, ill-favoured; for a statue of him is still to be seen at Delphi; and the mistake of his Megarian hostess was due, as we are told, to a certain indifference and simplicity on his part. This woman, learning that the general of the Achaeans was coming to her house, in great confusion set about preparing supper; besides, her husband chanced to be away from home. Just then Philopoemen came in, wearing a simple soldier's cloak, and the woman, thinking him to be one of his servants who had been sent on in advance, invited him to help her in her housework. So Philopoemen at once threw off his cloak and fell to splitting wood. Then his host came in, and seeing him thus employed, said: "What does this mean, Philopoemen?" "What else," said Philopoemen in broad Doric, "than that I am paying a penalty for my ill looks?" And once Titus Flamininus, making fun of certain parts of his

\(^1\) See the Aratus, xxiv. 2.
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Τίτος εἶπεν, “Ἡ Φιλοποίημη, ὡς καλὰς χεῖρας ἔχεις καὶ σκέλη γαστέρα δ’ οὐκ ἔχεις;” ἂν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μέσων στενώτερος. τὸ μέντοι σκάμμα πρὸς τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἐλέχθη. καὶ
gὰρ ὁπλῖτας ἔχων ἀγαθοὺς καὶ ἰππεῖς χρημάτων πολλάκις οὐκ εὐπόρει. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν ταῖς
σχολαῖς περὶ τοῦ Φιλοποίμους λέγεται.

III. Τοῦ δ’ ἦθους τὸ φιλότιμον οὐκ ἦν παντα-
pασὶ φιλονεικίας καθαρὸν οὖν ὄργης ἀπηλλαγ-
μένυν. ἀλλὰ καίπερ Ἐπαμεινόνδου βουλόμενος
εἶναι μάλιστα ξηλωτὴς, τὸ δραστήριον καὶ συνετὸν
αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ χρημάτων ἀπαθῆς ἱσχυρῶς ἐμμεῖτο,
tῷ δὲ πρᾶῳ καὶ βαθεῖ καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ παρὰ τὰς
πολιτικὰς διαφορὰς ἐμμέενει οὐ δυνάμενος δι’
ὄργην καὶ φιλονεικίαν μᾶλλον ἔδοκε στρατω-

2 τικῆς ἡ πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς οἰκείος εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ
ἐκ παίδων εὐθὺς ἦν φιλοστρατιώτης, καὶ τοῖς
πρὸς τοῦτο χρησίμοις μαθῆμασιν ὑπῆκον προ-
θύμως, ὀπλομαχεῖν καὶ ἰππεύειν. ἔπει δὲ καὶ
παλαιεῖν εὐφυῶς ἐδοκεῖ καὶ παρεκάλου καὶ 
αὐτὸν ἔπι τὴν ἀθλησιν ἔνυι τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν ἐπι-
τρόπων, ἡρώτησεν αὐτοῦς μὴ τι πρὸς τὴν στρα-
tιωτικὴν ἀσκησιν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀθλησις βλαβῆσθαι.

3 τῶν δὲ φαμένων, ὅπερ ἦν, ἀθλητικὸν στρατιωτικὸν
σώμα καὶ βίον διαφέρειν τοῖς πάσι, μάλιστα δὲ
dίαιταν ἐτέραν καὶ ἀσκησιν εἶναι, τῶν μὲν ὑπ’
τε πολλῷ καὶ πλησιμονάς ἐνυδελεχέσι καὶ κείνῃς τε
τεταγμέναις καὶ ἰσυχίαις αὐξοῦσιν τε καὶ διαφυ-
λαττόντων τὴν ἔξιν ὑπὸ πάσης ᾿βοτῆς καὶ παρεκ-
βάσεως τοῦ συνῆθους ἀκροσφαλῆ πρὸς μεταβολὴν
οὐσιν, τὰ δὲ πάσης μὲν πλάνης ἐμπειρα καὶ

260
PHILOPOEMEN

figure, said: "Philopoemen, what fine arms and legs thou hast; but belly thou hast not"; for Philopoemen was quite slender at the waist. This piece of fun, however, was aimed the rather at his resources. For though he had excellent men-at-arms and horsemen, he was often at a loss for money. However, these stories are told of Philopoemen in the schools of philosophy.

III. But the love of distinction which marked his character was not altogether free from contentiousness nor devoid of anger; and although he desired to pattern himself most of all after Epaminondas, it was the energy, sagacity, and indifference to money in Epaminondas which he strenuously imitated, while his proneness to anger and contentiousness made him unable to maintain that great leader's mildness, gravity, and urbanity in political disputes, so that he was thought to be endowed with military rather than with civic virtues. For from his very boyhood he was fond of a soldier's life, and readily learned the lessons which were useful for this, such as those in heavy-armed fighting and horsemanship. He was also thought to be a good wrestler, but when some of his friends and directors urged him to take up athletics, he asked them if athletics would not be injurious to his military training. They told him (and it was the truth) that the habit of body and mode of life for athlete and soldier were totally different, and particularly that their diet and training were not the same, since the one required much sleep, continuous surfeit of food, and fixed periods of activity and repose, in order to preserve or improve their condition, which the slightest influence or the least departure from routine is apt to change for the worse; whereas the
πάσης ἀνωμαλίας προσήκον εἶναι, μάλιστα δὲ
4 ἐφεξιν ῥαδίως μὲν ένδειαν εἰθισμένα, ῥαδίως δὲ
ἀγρυπνίαν, ἀκούσας ο Φιλοποίμην οὐ μόνον ἀυτὸς
ἔφυγε τὸ πράγμα καὶ κατεγέλασεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
στρατηγῶν ὑστερον ἀτιμίας καὶ προπηλακισμοῖς,
ὅσον ἦν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ, πᾶσαν ἄθλησιν ἐξέβαλεν ὡς
τὰ χρησιμῶτα τῶν σωμάτων εἰς τοὺς ἀναγκαίους
ἀγῶνας ἀχρηστὰ ποιοῦσαν.

IV. Ἀπαλλαγές δὲ διδασκάλων καὶ παιδα-
γωγῶν ἐν μὲν ταῖς πολιτικαῖς στρατείαις, ἃς
ἐποιοῦντο κλωπείας ἐνεκα καὶ λεησαίας εἰς τὴν
Δακωνικήν ἐμβάλλοντες, εἰθισεν αὐτὸν πρῶτον
μὲν ἐκστρατεύωντων, ὑστατον δὲ ἀπερχομένων
βαδίζειν. σχολῆς δὲ οὕσης ἡ κυνηγών διεπόνει
τὸ σῶμα καὶ κατεσκεύαζε κοῦφον ἀμα καὶ ρωμα-
2 λέον, ἡ γεωργῶν. ἦν γὰρ ἄγρος αὐτῷ καλὸς ἀπὸ
σταδίων εἰκοσι τῆς πόλεως. εἰς τούτων ἐβάδιξε
καθ’ ἡμέραν μετὰ τὸ ἄριστον ἡ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον,
καὶ καταβαλῶν ἐαυτὸν ἐπὶ στιβαδίον τοῦ τυχόντος
ὡσπερ ἐκαστὸς τῶν ἐργατῶν ἀνεπαύετο. πρωὶ δὲ
ἀναστὰς καὶ συνεφασάμενος ἔργον τοῖς ἀμπε-
λουργοῦσιν ἡ βοηλατοῦσιν, αὐθείς εἰς τὸν ἁπτόμεν
καὶ περὶ τὰ δημόσια τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τοῖς ἄρχοντι
συνηχολεῖτο.

3 Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῶν στρατευῶν προσίόντα καταν-
άλισκεν εἰς ἱππον καὶ ὕπλα καὶ λύσεις αἰχμα-
λώτων, τὸν δὲ ὀλκοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς γεωργίας αὐξεὶν
ἐπειρᾶτο δικαιοτάτῳ τῶν χρηματίσμων, οὐδὲ τούτο
358 ποιούμενος πάρεργον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνω προσήκειν
262
soldier ought to be conversant with all sorts of irregularity and all sorts of inequality, and above all should accustom himself to endure lack of food easily, and as easily lack of sleep. On hearing this, Philopoemen not only shunned athletics himself and derided them, but also in later times as a commander banished from the army all forms of them, with every possible mark of reproach and dishonour, on the ground that they rendered useless for the inevitable struggle of battle men who would otherwise be most serviceable.

IV. And when, set free from teachers and tutors, he took part in the incursions into Spartan territory which his fellow-citizens made for the sake of booty and plunder, he accustomed himself to march first as they went out, but last as they came back. And when he had leisure, he would give his body hard exercise in hunting, thus rendering it agile and at the same time sturdy, or in cultivating the soil. For he had a fine farm twenty furlongs from the city. To this he would go every day after dinner or after supper, and would throw himself down upon an ordinary pallet-bed, like anyone of his labourers, to sleep for the night. Then, early in the morning, he would rise and go to work along with his vine-dressers or his herdsmen, after which he would go back again to the city and busy himself about public matters with his friends or with the magistrates.

As for what he got from his campaigning, he used to spend it on horses, or armour, or the ransoming of captives; but his own property he sought to increase by agriculture, which is the justest way to make money. Nor did he practise agriculture merely as a side issue, but he held that the man who purposed to
οἵμενος οἰκεία κεκτῆσθαι τῶν ἄλλωστέρων ἀφεξό-
μενον. ἦκροϊτο δὲ λόγων καὶ συγγράμματι φίλο-
σόφων ἐνετύχανεν, οὐ πάσιν, ἀλλ’ ἄφ’ ὡν ἔδοκει
πρὸς ἀρετήν ὑφελείσθαι. καὶ τῶν Ὄμηρικῶν ὅσα
τὰς πρὸς ἀνδρείαν ἐγείρειν καὶ παροξύνειν ἐνόμισε
φαντασίας, τούτος προσείχε. τῶν δ’ ἄλλων ἀνα-
γνωσμάτων μᾶλλον τοῖς Βύαγγέλου τακτικοῖς
ἐνεφυέτο καὶ τὰς περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἱστορίας
κατείχε, τοὺς λόγους ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα κατα-
στρέφειν οἰόμενος, εἰ μὴ σχολής ἑνεκα καὶ λαλεῖσ
ἀκάρπων περαινοιτο. καὶ γὰρ τῶν τακτικῶν
θεωρημάτων τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς πινακίοις διαγραφὰς
ἐδών χαίρειν, ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων αὐτῶν ἐλάμβανεν
ἐλεγχὸν καὶ μελέτην ἐποιεῖτο, χωρίων συγκληνίας
καὶ πεδίων ἄποκριτάς, καὶ ὅσα περὶ ἰείθρως ἦ
τάφροις ἢ στενωτοῖς πάθη καὶ σχήματα διασπω-
μένης καὶ πάλιν συστελλομένης φάλαγγος. ἐπι-
σκοπῶν αὐτὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς ὀδοιπορίαις καὶ
τοῖς μεθ’ ἐαυτοῦ προβάλλων. ἔοικε γὰρ οὕτος
ὁ ἀνήρ περαιτέρω τῆς ἀνάγκης ἐμφιλοκαλῆσαι
τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ὡς ποικιλω-
τάτην ὑπόθεσιν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀσπάσασθαι, καὶ
ὅλως καταφρονεῖν τῶν ἀπολειπομένων ὡς ἀπρά-
κτων.

V. Ἡδὴ δὲ αὐτοῦ τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονότος
Κλεομένης ὁ βασιλεὺς Λακεδαιμονίων νυκτὸς
ἐξαίφνης προσπεσόν τῇ Μεγάλῃ πόλει καὶ τὰς
φυλάκας βιασάμενος ἐντὸς παρῆλθε καὶ τῇ ἀγο-
ραῖν κατέλαβεν. ἐκβοσθήσας δὲ Φιλοποίμην τοὺς

264
PHILOPOEMEN

keep his hands from the property of others ought by all means to have property of his own. He also listened to the discourses and applied himself to the writings of philosophers—not all of them, but those whom he thought helpful to him in his progress towards virtue. And as for the poems of Homer, whatever in them was thought by him to rouse and stimulate the activities of the soul which made for valour, to this he would apply himself. Among other writings, however, he was most of all devoted to the "Tactics" of Evangelus, and was familiar with the histories of Alexander, thinking that literature was conducive to action, unless it were prosecuted merely to while away the time and afford themes for fruitless small talk. Indeed, he would ignore the charts and diagrams for the illustration of tactical principles, and get his proofs and make his studies on the ground itself. The ways in which places slope to meet one another, and level plains come to an abrupt end, and all the vicissitudes and shapes of a phalanx when it is elongated and contracted again in the vicinity of ravines or ditches or narrow defiles, these he would investigate by himself as he wandered about, and discuss them with his companions. For it would seem that he brought more zeal than was necessary to the study of military science, setting his affections on war as affording a most manifold basis for the practice of virtue, and despising as unsuccessful men those who left it to others.

V. He was now thirty years of age, when Cleomenes, King of the Lacedaemonians, suddenly attacked Megalopolis by night, forced the guard, made his way into the city, and occupied the market-place. Philopoemen came to the help of the citizens, but had not
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

μὲν πολεμίους οὔ κατάσχυσεν ἐξελάσαι, καίπερ ἐρρωμένως καὶ παραβόλως διαγωνισάμενος, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας τρόπον τινὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐξέκλησε, προσμαχόμενος τοὺς ἐπιδιώκουσι καὶ τὸν Κλεομένην περισσῶν ἐφ’ ἕαυτῷ, ὡς χαλεπῶς καὶ μόλις ὑστατος ἀπελθεῖν, ἀποβαλῶν τὸν ἵππον καὶ 2 τραυματίας γενόμενος. ἔπει δὲ προσέπεμψεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Κλεομένης εἰς Μεσσήνην ἀπελθοῦσι τὴν τε πόλιν μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων ἀποδίδοντο καὶ τὴν χώραν, ὅρων ὁ Φιλοποίμην τοὺς πολίτας ἀσμένως δεχομένους καὶ σπεύδοτας ἐπανελθεῖν ἐνέστη καὶ διεκώλυσε τῷ λόγῳ, διδάσκων ὅσοι ἀποδίδοσι τὴν πόλιν Κλεομένης, προσκέται δὲ τοὺς πολίτας ἐπὶ τῷ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔχειν βεβαιότερον· οὐ γὰρ ἔχειν αὐτὸν ὅπως ὁίκιας καὶ τείχη κενὰ φυλάξει καθήμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων ὑπ’ ἐρημίας ἐκπεσεῖσθαι. ταῦτα λέγων τοὺς μὲν πολίτας ἀπέτρεψε, τῷ δὲ Κλεομένει πρόφασιν παρέσχε λυμήνασθαι καὶ καταβαλεῖν τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς πόλεως καὶ χρημάτων εὐπορῆσαντι μεγάλων ἀπελθεῖν.

VI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀντίγονος ὁ βασιλεὺς βοηθῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Κλεομένην μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐστράτευσε, καὶ τὰς περὶ Σελλασίαν ἀκρὰς καὶ τὰς ἐμβολὰς κατέχοντος αὐτοῦ παρέταξε τὴν δύναμιν ἐγγὺς ἐπιχειρεῖν καὶ βιάζεσθαι διανοούμενος, ἠν μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἱππεύσαι μετὰ τῶν ἕαυτοι πολιτῶν τεταγμένος ὁ Φιλοποίμην, καὶ παραστάτας ἐξεῖν Ἰλλυριώσι, οἷς τὰ λήγοντα τῆς παρατάξεως συνεπέφρακτο

1 See the Cleomenes, xxiv.
2 Cf. the Cleomenes, xxvii. and xxviii. The battle of Sellasia was fought in 221 B.C.

266
force enough to drive the enemy out, although he fought with vigour and daring. He did, however, steal the citizens out of the city, as it were, by attacking their pursuers and drawing Cleomenes against himself, so that with the greatest difficulty he got away last of all, after losing his horse and receiving a wound. Moreover, when Cleomenes sent to them at Messene, whither they had gone, and offered to give them back their city with its valuables and their territory, Philopoemen, seeing that the citizens would be glad to accept the offer and were eager to go back home, opposed and dissuaded them from it, showing them that Cleomenes was not so much offering to restore their city as he was trying to win over to himself its citizens, that so he might have the city also more securely in his possession; for he would not be able, Philopoemen said, to remain there and guard empty houses and walls, but the solitude would force him to abandon these also. By this speech Philopoemen diverted the citizens from their purpose, but furnished Cleomenes with an excuse for devastating and demolishing the greater part of the city and marching off loaded with booty.¹

VI. Soon, however, Antigonus the king marched with the Achaeans to give aid against Cleomenes, and finding that his enemy was occupying the heights and passes about Sellasia, he drew up his forces near by with the purpose of attacking him and forcing a passage.² Philopoemen was stationed among the Macedonian cavalry with his own fellow-citizens,³ and had as a support the Illyrians, a large body of

³ According to Polybius, ii. 66. 7, a thousand Achaeans and as many Megalopolitans were stationed with the Macedonian cavalry.
2 πολλοίς οὕσι καὶ μαχίμοις. εἰρητο δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐφεδρεύουσιν ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν ἄχρι ἄν ἀπὸ θατέρου κέρως ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀρθῆ φοινικικὸς ὑπὲρ σαρίσης διατεταμένη. τῶν δὲ ἡγεμόνων τοῖς Ἰλλυρίοις πειρωμένων ἐκβιάζεσθαι τοὺς Δακεδαιμόνιος, καὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ὅσπερ προσετετάκτο, τὴν ἐφεδρείαν εὐ τάξει διαφυλαττόντων, Ἐυκλείδας ὁ τοῦ Κλεομένους ἀδελφὸς καταμαθὼν τὸ γιόμενον διάσπασμα περί τοὺς πολεμίους ταχὺ τοὺς ἐλαφροτάτους τῶν ψιλῶν περιέπεμψεν, ἐξόπισθεν τοῖς Ἰλλυρίοις ἐπιπεσεῖν κελεύσας καὶ περισσὰν ἔρημος τῶν ἱππέων ἀπολελειμένους.

3 Γινομένων δὲ τοῦτον καὶ τῶν ψιλῶν τοὺς Ἰλλυρίους περισσότερον καὶ διαταραττόντων, συνιδὼν ὁ Φιλοποίμην οὐ μέγα δὴ ἔργον ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς ψιλοῖς καὶ τὸν καιρὸν υφηγούμενον τοῦτο, πρῶτον μὲν ἔφραξε τοῖς βασιλικοῖς, ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ἀλλὰ μαίνεσθαι δοκῶν κατεφρονεῖτο, οὐδὲν μεγάλης οὐδὲ ἄξιοπίστου πρὸς τηλικοῦτο στρατηγημα δόξης περί αὐτὸν οὕσης, αὐτὸς ἐμβάλλει 4 συνεπισπασάμενος τοὺς πολίτας. γενομένης δὲ ταραχῆς τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτα φυγῆς καὶ φόνου πολλοῦ τῶν ψιλῶν, βουλόμενος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἔπιρρωσαι τοὺς βασιλικοὺς καὶ προσμίξαι κατὰ τάχος θορυβομένοι τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸν μὲν ἱππὸν ἀφῆκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς χωρία σκολιὰ καὶ μεστὰ ἐρίθρων καὶ φαράγγων πεζὸς ἐν ἱππικῷ θώρακι καὶ σκευῇ βαρυτέρᾳ χαλεπῶς καὶ ταλαιπώρως ἀμιλλώμενος διελαύνεται διαμπερές ὁμοῦ τοὺς μηροὺς ἐκατέρους.

268
PHILOPOEMEN

good fighters, who closed up the line of battle. They had been ordered to lie quietly in reserve until, from the other wing, a signal should be made by the king with a scarlet coat stretched upon a spear. But the Illyrians, at the command of their officers, tried to force back the Lacedaemonians, while the Achaeans, as they had been ordered to do, kept quietly waiting at their post. Therefore Euclidas, the brother of Cleomenes, who noticed the gap thus made in the enemies' line, quickly sent round the most agile of his light-armed troops, with orders to attack the Illyrians in the rear and rout them, now that they had lost touch with the cavalry.

These orders were carried out, and the light-armed troops were driving the Illyrians before them in confusion, when Philopoemen perceived that it would be no great task to attack the light-armed troops, and that the occasion prompted this step. At first he pointed this out to the king's officers. Then, when they were not to be persuaded by him, but looked down upon him as a madman (since his reputation was not yet great enough to justify his being entrusted with so important a manœuvre), he took matters into his own hands, formed his fellow-citizens into a wedge, and charged upon the enemy. At first the light-armed troops were thrown into confusion, then put to rout with great slaughter. And now Philopoemen, wishing to encourage still further the king's troops and bring them swiftly upon the enemy thus thrown into disorder, quitted his horse, and with grievous difficulty forced his way along on foot, in his horseman's breastplate and heavy equipment, towards ground that was irregular and full of water-courses and ravines. Here he had both his thighs pierced
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

καίριάς μὲν οὔ γενομένης, ἵσχυρᾶς δὲ τῆς πληγῆς, ώστε τὴν αἰχμήν ἐπὶ θάτερα διώσαι. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἐνσχέθης, ὁσπερ δεσμῷ παντάπασιν ἀπόρως εἶχε· τὸ γὰρ ἐναμμα τῆς ἀγκύλης χαλεπῆν ἐποίει τοῦ ἀκοντίσματος ἀνελκομένου διὰ τῶν τραυμάτων τὴν πάροδον· ὡς δὲ ὄκνουν οἱ παρόντες ἁψασθαι καὶ τῆς μάχης ἀκμῆν ὅξειαν ἐχούσης ἑσφάδαζεν ὑπὸ θυμοῦ καὶ φιλοτιμίας πρὸς τὸν ἄγωνα, τῇ παραβάσει καὶ τῇ παραλλάξει τῶν σκέλων διὰ μέσου κλάσας τὸ ἀκόντισμα χωρίς ἐκέλευσεν ἐλκύσατι τῶν ἀγμάτων ἕκατερον. οὕτω δὲ ἀπαλλαγεὶς καὶ σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος ἔχωρε διὰ τῶν προμάχων ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ὡστε πολλὴν προθυμίαν καὶ ξῆλου ἀρετῆς παρασχεῖν τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις. νικήσας οὖν ὁ Ἀντίγονος ἄπεπειρᾶτο τῶν Μακεδόνων, ἐρωτῶν διὰ τῇ, μὴ κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ, τὸ ἰπτικὸν ἐκίνησαι. τῶν δὲ ἀπολογομένων ὡς παρὰ γνώμην βιασθεῖν εἰς χείρας ἐλθεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις μειρακίου Μεγαλοπολιτικοῦ προεμβαλόντος, γελάσας ο Ἀντίγονος ἑκείνῳ τοῖνν τὸ μειράκιον, εἶπεν, ἑργον ἡγεμόνος μεγάλου πεποίηκεν.

VII. Ἐκ τοῦτον δόξαν ἔσχεν, ὅσπερ εἰκός, ὁ Φιλοποίην. καὶ τοῦ μὲν Ἀντιγόνου σπουδάσαντος ὅπως στρατεύοιτο μετ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ διδόντος ἡγεμονίαν καὶ χρήματα, παρηγήσατο, μάλιστα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν καταμαθὼν πρὸς τὸ ἄρχεσθαι δυσκόλως καὶ χαλεπῶς ἐχουσαν, ἄργειν δὲ καὶ σχολάζειν οὐ βουλόμενος ἀσκήσεως ἐνεκα καὶ μελέτης τῶν πολεμικῶν εἰς Κρήτην ἐπλευσεν ἑπὶ 2 στρατείαν. κἀκεῖ συχνὸν χρόνον ἐγγυμνασάμενος
PHILOPOEMEN

through by a thonged javelin. The wound was not fatal, though severe, and the head of the weapon came out on the other side. At first, then, he was held fast as by a fetter, and was altogether helpless; for the fastening of the thong made it difficult to draw the weapon back through the wound. But since those about him hesitated to attempt this, and since, now that the battle was at its hottest, the ardour of his ambition made him impatient to join in the struggle, by moving his legs backward and forward he broke the shaft of the weapon in two in the middle, and then ordered each fragment to be drawn out separately. Thus set free, he drew his sword and made his way through the front ranks against the enemy, thereby greatly animating the combatants and inspiring them with a desire to emulate his valour. After his victory, therefore, Antigonus put his Macedonians to the question, and asked them why, without his orders, they had brought the cavalry into action. They defended themselves by saying that they had been forced against their will to attack the enemy, because a young man of Megalopolis had first led a charge against them. At this, Antigonus gave a laugh and said: “Well, then, that young man behaved like a great commander.”

VII. This naturally brought Philopoemen into high repute. Antigonus was eager that he should take service under him, and offered him command and pay. These Philopoemen declined, chiefly because he well knew that it was naturally unpleasant and hard for him to be under another man’s orders. Not wishing, however, to be inactive and idle, for the sake of training and practice in war he sailed to Crete in search of military service. In Crete he practised
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

ανδράςι μαχίμοις καὶ ποικίλοις μεταχειρίσασθαι πόλεμον, ἕτι δὲ σώφροσι καὶ κεκολασμένοις περὶ δίαιταν, ἐπανήλθεν οὕτω λαμπρὸς εἰς τοὺς Ἀχαι-3 οὺς ὡστε εὐθὺς ἵππαρχος ἀποδειχθῆναι. παραλαβὼν δὲ τοὺς ἰππεῖς φαύλους μὲν ἵππαριοις ἐκ τοῦ προστυχόντος, ὅτε συμβαίνοι στρατεία, προσχρωμένους, αὐτοῦς δὲ τὰς πολλὰς τῶν στρατευῶν ἀποδιδράσκουτας, ἔτερους δὲ πεμπτοντας ἀνθ’ ἑαυτῶν, δεινὴν δὲ ἀπειρίαν μετὰ ἀτολμίας πάντων οὕσαν, περιορώντας δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀεὶ διὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαῖοις τούς ἰππεῖς δύνασθαι καὶ μάλιστα κυρίους εἶναι τιμής

καὶ κολάσεως, οὐχ ἢπείξεν οὐδὲ ἀνήκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἑτὶδων καὶ κατ’ ἄνδρα τῶν νέων ἐκαστοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν φιλοτιμίαν συνεξορμῶν, καὶ κολάζων τοὺς ἀνάγκης δεομένους, μελέταις τε καὶ ποιμναῖς καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀμίλλαις χρώμενον, ὅπου πλεῖστοι θεᾶσθαι μέλλοιεν, ἐν ὁλίγῳ χρόνῳ πᾶσι ρώμην τε

θαυμαστὴν καὶ προσθυμίαν παρέστησε καὶ, ὁ μέγιστον ἦν ἐν τοῖς τακτικοῖς, ἐλαφροῖς καὶ οἶκεις 360 πρὸς τε τὰς κατ’ οὐλαμόν ἐπιστροφᾶς καὶ περι-σπασμοὺς καὶ τὰς καθ’ ἵππον ἐπιστροφᾶς καὶ κλίσεις ἀπειργάσατο, καὶ συνεϊσεὶς ὥς ἐνι σώματε κινουμένῳ καθ’ ἀρμῆν ἐκούσιον ἐοικέναι τὴν ὅλου τοῦ συστήματος ἐν ταῖς μεταβολαῖς εὐχέρειαιν.

6 Συντάξεις δὲ τῆς περὶ τῶν Δάρισον αὐτοῖς ποταμῷ ἱσχυρᾶς μάχης πρὸς Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ Ἡλείους, ὁ τῶν Ἡλείων ἵππαρχος Δαμόφαντος 272
PHILOPOEMEN

himself for a long time among men who were not only warlike and versed in many kinds of warfare, but also still moderate and restrained in their ways of living, and he came back to the Achaean with such distinction that they at once made him commander of their cavalry. But he found that the horsemen whom he was to command used worthless animals acquired at random, whenever a campaign was to be undertaken; that they shirked most campaigns themselves, and sent others out in their places; that they were all characterized by a shocking lack of experience, together with its resultant cowardice; and that their commanders always overlooked these things because the knights had the greatest power and influence among the Achaean and the chief voice in the assignment of rewards and punishments. Philopoemen, however, did not yield or give way to them. He went round to the different cities and roused the spirit of ambition in each young man individually, punished those who needed compulsion, introduced drills, parades, and competitive contests in places where there would be large bodies of spectators and thus in a short time inspired them all with an astonishing vigour and zeal, and, what is of the greatest importance in tactics, rendered them agile and swift in wheeling and deploying by squadrons, and in wheeling and turning by single trooper, making the dexterity shown by the whole mass in its evolutions to be like that of a single person moved by an impulse from within.

Moreover, in the fierce battle which they fought at the river Larissus against Aetolians and Eleians, the commander of the Eleian cavalry, Damophonthus,  

1 For the year 209–208 B.C.
ὦρμησεν ἐπὶ τῶν Φιλοποίμενα προεξελάσας. δεξάμενος δὲ τὴν ὀρμὴν ἐκεῖνος αὐτὸν καὶ φθάσας τῷ δόρατι παίει καὶ καταβάλλει τὸν Δαμόφαντον.

7 εὖθὺς δὲ τοῦτον πεσόντος ἔφυγον οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ λαμπρὸς ἦν ὁ Φιλοποίμην, ὡς οὔτε κατὰ χείρα τῶν νέων τινὸς οὔτε συνέσει τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀπολειπόμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάχεσθαι καὶ στρατηγεῖν ἰκανώτατος.

VIII. Τὸ δὲ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀχαίων πρῶτος μὲν Ἄρατος εἰς ὕξιώμα καὶ δύναμιν ἦπεν, ἐκ ταπεινοῦ καὶ διερριμένου κατὰ πόλεις συναγαγὼν καὶ πολιτευσάμενος Ἐλληνικὴν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον πολιτείαν ἐπείτα, ὡσπερ ἐν τοῖς ὑδασιν, ἀρξαμένων ὁλίγων ὕψιστασθαι καὶ μικρῶν σωμάτων, ἡδὴ τὰ ἐπιρρέοντα τοῖς πρῶτοι ἐνσιχόμενα καὶ περιπτότων πῆξιν ἱσχυρὰ καὶ στερεότητα

2 ποιεὶ δὴ ἀλλήλων, οὕτω τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἄσθενον καὶ εὐθαλάτου φερομένης κατὰ πόλεις ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ πρῶτον συστάντες οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ, καὶ τῶν κύκλῳ πόλεων τὰς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ βοηθεῖν καὶ συνελευθεροῦν ἀπὸ τῶν τυράννων ὑπολαμβάνοντες, τὰς δὲ ὑμονοία καὶ πολιτεία κατακατισχύσεις εἰς ἑαυτοὺς, ἐν σῶμα καὶ μίαν δύναμιν κατασκευάσαι

3 διενοῦντο τὴν Πελοπόννησον. ἀλλ’ Ἄρατος μὲν ξώντως ἔτι τοῖς Μακεδόνων ὀπλοῖς ὑπεδύνοντο τὰ πολλά, θεραπεύοντες Πτολεμαίων, εἰτ’ αὖθις Ἀντίγονον καὶ Φιλιππὸν εἰς μέσαις ἀναστρεφομένους ταῖς Ἐλληνικαίς πράξεσιν ἔπει δὴ Φιλοποίμην εἰς τὸ πρωτεύειν προῆλθεν, ἡδὴ καθ’ ἑαυτοὺς
PHILOPOEMEN

rode out from the ranks and charged upon Philopoemen. But Philopoemen received his onset, was first to drive home a spear-thrust, and threw Damophantus to the ground. Their leader fallen, the enemy at once took to flight, and Philopoemen was in high renown, as one who yielded to none of the young men in personal prowess, and to none of the elder men in sagacity, but both in fighting and in commanding was most capable.

VIII. The commonwealth of the Achaeans was first raised to dignity and power by Aratus, who consolidated it when it was feeble and disrupted, and inaugurated an Hellenic and humane form of government. Then, just as in running waters, after a few small particles have begun to take a fixed position, others presently are swept against the first, adhere and cling to them, and thus form a fixed and solid mass by mutual support, so the Achaeans, at a time when Greece was weak and easily dissolved and drifting along by individual cities, first united themselves together, and then, by receiving into their number some of the cities round about which they had aided and assisted in shaking off their tyrants, and by uniting others with themselves in a harmonious civil polity, they purposed to form the Peloponnesus into a single political body and one power. As long, however, as Aratus lived, they were dependent for the most part on Macedonian armies, paying court to Ptolemy, and then again to Antigonus and Philip, all of whom busied themselves in the affairs of Greece. But when Philopoemen was advanced to leadership among them,¹ they were at last capable of contending

¹ In 207 B.C.; Aratus had died in 213.
αξιόμαχοι τοῖς ἱσχύοσι πλείστον ὄντες ἔπαινος ταχέως προστάταις ἐπεισάκτως. Ἀρατός μὲν γὰρ, ἀργότερος εἶναι δοκῶν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμικοὺς ἀγώνας, ὀμιλία καὶ πραότητι καὶ φιλίαις βασιλικὰς τὰ πλείστα κατειργάσατο τῶν πραγμάτων, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γέγραπται, Φιλοποίμην δὲ ἀγαθὸς πολεμιστὴς ὦν καὶ διὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἐνεργός, ἔτι δὲ εὐτυχῆς καὶ κατορθωτικὸς εὐθὺς ἐν ταῖς πρώταις γενόμενος μάχαις, ἀμα τῇ δυνάμει τὸ φρόνημα τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἡδύεσε νυκτὶ ἐθισθείνων μετ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ κατευναχθεῖν ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις ἁγῶσι.

IX. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τὰ περὶ τὰς τάξεις καὶ τοὺς ὀπλισμοὺς φαύλως ἔχοντα τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐκινήσεν. ἐχρώμως μὲν γὰρ θυρεός μὲν εὐπετέσι διὰ λεπτότητα καὶ στενωτέροις τοῦ περιστέλλειν τὰ σώματα, δόρασι δὲ μικροτέροις πολὺ τῶν σαρισῶν καὶ διὰ τούτου πλήκται καὶ μάχιμοι πόρρωθεν ἦσαν ὑπὸ κουφότητος, προσμίαστης ἐκ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἐλαττῶν εἶχον εἶδος δὲ τάξεως καὶ σχῆματος εἰς σπείραν οὐκ ἦν σύνθεσιν, φάλαγγι δὲ χρώμενοι μὴτε προβολήν ἐχούσῃ μὴτε συν-

ασπισμὸν ὡς ἡ Μακεδόνων, ῥαδίως ἐξεθλίβοντο καὶ διεσπώντο. ταῦτα ὁ Φιλοποίμης διδάξας ἐπείσεν αὐτοῦς ἀντὶ μὲν θυρεοῦ καὶ δόρατος ἀσπίδα λαβεῖν καὶ σάρισαι, κράνεσι δὲ καὶ θάραξι καὶ περικυμίσῃ πεφραγμένους μόνιμον καὶ βεβηκών ἀντὶ δρομικῆς καὶ πελταστικῆς μάχην ἁσκεῖν. 276
PHILOPOEMEN

alone with their most powerful neighbours, and ceased to rely upon foreign protectors. Aratus, indeed, who was thought to be too sluggish for warlike contests, accomplished most of his undertakings by conference, urbanity, and royal friendships, as I have written in his Life;¹ whereas Philopoemen, who was a good warrior and effective with his weapons, besides proving himself fortunate and successful in his very first battles, increased not only the power but also the courage of the Achaeans, who were accustomed to be victorious under him and to win success in most of their contests.

IX. In the first place, however, he changed the faulty practice of the Achaeans in drawing up and arming their soldiers. For they used bucklers which were easily carried because they were so light, and yet were too narrow to protect the body; and spears which were much shorter than the Macedonian pike. For this reason they were effective in fighting at a long distance, because they were so lightly armed, but when they came to close quarters with the enemy they were at a disadvantage. Moreover, a division of line and formation into cohorts was not customary with them, and since they employed a solid phalanx without either levelled line of spears or wall of interlocking shields such as the Macedonian phalanx presented, they were easily dislodged and scattered. Philopoemen showed them all this, and persuade them to adopt long pike and heavy shield instead of spear and buckler, to protect their bodies with helmets and breastplates and greaves, and to practise stationary and steadfast fighting instead of the nimble movements of light-armed troops. After

¹ See the Aratus, x.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

3 πείσας δὲ καθοπλίσασθαι τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ πρῶτον μὲν ἐπῆρε θαρρεῖν ὡς ἀμάχους γεγονότας, ἐπειτα τὰς τρυφὰς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς πολυτελείας ἁριστα μετεκόσμησεν. ἀφελείν γὰρ οὐκ ἦν παντάπασιν ἐκ πολλοῦ νοσοῦτων τῶν κενῶν καὶ μάταιων ξῆλου, ἔσθητας ἀγαπώντων περιττὰς στρωμάτας τε βαπτομένων ἀλουργεῖς καὶ περὶ δείπνα φιλοτιμομένων καὶ τραπέζας. ο δὲ ἀρξάμενος ἐκτρέπειν ἀπὸ τῶν οὐκ ἀναγκαίων ἐπὶ τὰ χρήσιμα καὶ καλὰ τὴν φιλοκοσμίαν, ταχύ πάντας ἐπείσε καὶ παρόρμησε τὰς καθ' ἡμέραν περὶ σῶμα διαπάνως κολούσαντας ἐν ταῖς στρατιωτικαῖς καὶ πολεμικαῖς παρασκευ- 

5 αἰσ διαπρεπεῖς ὄρασθαι κεκοσμημένους. ἦν οὖν ἰδεῖν τὰ μὲν ἐργαστήρια μεστὰ κατακοπτομένων κυλίκων καὶ Θηρικλείων, χρυσουμένων δὲ θωράκων καὶ καταργυρομένων θυρεῶν καὶ χαλινῶν, τὰ δὲ στάδια πῶλων δαμαζομένων καὶ νεανίσκων ὀπλομαχούντων, ἐν δὲ ταῖς χερσὶ τῶν γυναικῶν κράνη καὶ πτερὰ βασαίς κοσμούμενα καὶ χιτώνων ἱππικῶν καὶ στρατιωτικῶν χλαμύδων διηθισμένων.

6 ἢ δ' οὖσι αὕτη τὸ θάρσος αὐξουσα καὶ παρακλοῦσα τὴν ὀρμὴν ἐποίει φιλοπαράβολον καὶ πρό- 

7 θυμον επὶ τοὺς κινδύνους. ἦ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις θεάμασι πολυτελεία τρυφῆν ἐπάγεται καὶ μαλακίαν ἐνδίδωσι τοῖς χρωμένοις, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ νυγμῶν καὶ γαργαλισμῶν τῆς αἰσθήσεως συνεπι- 

κλώσης τὴν διάνοιαν, ἢ δ' εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα ῥώμυσι καὶ μεγαλύνει τὸν θυμόν, ὥσπερ Ὁμήρος ἐποίησε τὸν Ἀχιλλέα τῶν καυτῶν ὀπλῶν παρατεθέντων

278
he had persuaded those of military age to arm themselves in this manner, in the first place he inspired them with confidence that they had thus become invincible, and then made most excellent reforms in their luxurious and extravagant ways of living. For it was not possible to remove altogether their empty and idle emulation from a people long addicted to it. They were fond of costly apparel, the coverings of their couches were dyed purple, and they vied with one another in banquets and table array. But he made a beginning by diverting their love of show from what was unnecessary to what was serviceable and honourable, and speedily persuaded and incited them all to check their daily expenditures upon bodily wants, and to find their chief adornment in military and warlike equipments. And so one might have seen the workshops filled with goblets and Thercleian plate ¹ which were being broken up, with breastplates being gilded, with shields and bridles being silvered over, while in the places of exercise colts were being broken in and young men were learning the use of heavy armour, and in the hands of women there were helmets and plumes for dyeing, and horsemen’s tunics or soldiers’ cloaks for embroidery. The sight of all this increased men’s courage, called forth their energies, and made them venturesome and ready to incur dangers. For extravagance in other objects of display induces luxury and implants effeminacy in those who use them, since something like a prickling and tickling of the senses breaks down serious purpose; but when it is seen in the trappings of war it strengthens and exalts the spirit, just as Homer represented Achilles, when his

¹ See the Aemilius Paulus, xxxiii. 2.
ἐγγύς ὑπὸ τῆς ὀψεως οἷον ὅργωντα καὶ φλεγόμενου πρὸς τὴν δί αὐτῶν ἑνέργειαν.

Οὕτω δὲ κοσμήσας τοὺς νέους ἐγύμναξε καὶ διεσώκα, ταῖς κινήσεις προθύμως ὑπακούοντας καὶ φιλοτιμόως. καὶ γὰρ ἡ τάξις θαυμαστῶς ἦγαπάτο ἀθραυστὸν τι λαμβάνειν πῦκνωμα δοκοῦσα, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα τοῖς σώμασιν ἐγίνετο χειροῆθη καὶ κοῦφα, μεθ’ ἡδονῆς διὰ λαμπρότητα καὶ κάλλος ἄπτομένων καὶ φοροῦντων, ἐναγωνίσασθαι τε βουλομένων καὶ διακρίθηναι τάχιστα πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους.

X. Ἡν δὲ τὸτε τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ὁ πρὸς Μαχανίδαν πόλεμος τὸν Δακεδαιμονίων τύραννον, ἀπὸ πολλῆς καὶ μεγάλης δυνάμεως ἐπιβουλεύοντα πάσι Πελο-
πονησίων. ὡς οὖν εἰς τὴν Μαντίνειαν ἐμβε-
βληκὼς ἀπηγγέλθη, κατὰ τὰχος ὁ Φιλοποίμην ἐξήγαγε τὴν στρατιῶν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν. ἐγγύς δὲ τῆς πόλεως παρετάξαντο πολλοῖς μὲν ξένοις ἐκάτεροι, ἀλλ’ ὅμω τοι ταῖς πολιτικαῖς δυνάμεις.

2 γενομένου δὲ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐν χερσίν, ὁ Μαχανίδας τοῖς ξένοις τοὺς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν προτεταγμένους ἀκοινώσας καὶ Ταραντῖνους τρεφόμενος ἀντὶ τοῦ χωρεῖν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς μαχομένους καὶ παραρρηγύναι τὸ συνεστηκὸς ἐξέπεσε διόκων καὶ παρῆλθαξε τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐν τάξει

3 μενόντων. ὁ δὲ Φιλοποίμην τηλικούτου πταίσ-
ματος ἐν ἀρχῇ γενομένου καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπολολέων κομιδὴ καὶ διεφθάρθαι δοκοῦντων, τοῦτο μὲν ὁμοὶς προσεποιεῖτο παρορᾶν καὶ μηδὲν

280
new armour was laid down near him, as exulting at the sight and all on fire to get to work with it.¹

After he had thus arrayed and adorned the young men, Philopoemen exercised and drilled them, and they eagerly and emulously obeyed his instructions. For the new order of battle pleased them wonderfully, since it seemed to secure a close array that could not be broken; and the armour which they used became light and manageable for them, since they wore or grasped it with delight because of its beauty and splendour, and wished to get into action with it and fight a decisive battle with their enemies as soon as possible.

X. At this time the Achaeans were carrying on war with Machanidas the tyrant of Sparta, who, relying upon his large and strong forces, was scheming to get control of the whole Peloponnesus. Accordingly, when word came that the tyrant had invaded the territory of Mantinea, Philopoemen quickly led his army out against him. They drew up in battle array near the city, both parties having many mercenaries and almost all their citizen soldiery. When battle was joined, Machanidas with his mercenaries routed the javeliners and Tarantines who had been stationed in front of the Achaeans, and then, instead of advancing directly against the main body of the enemy and breaking up their close array, he dashed off in pursuit of the fugitives, and so passed by the phalanx of the Achaeans, which remained drawn up in position. Then Philopoemen, although so great a disaster had occurred at the outset and his cause was thought to be utterly lost and ruined, professed to ignore and make light of it, and seeing what

¹ *Iliad*, xix. 15 ff.
ΦΙΛΟΠΟΙΗΜΕΝΟΙ ΑΠΟ ΘΥΜΟΕΙΔΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΗΣΤΙΣΤΩΝ ΟΜΟΙΟΤΕΡΩΝ ΤΑΣ ΑΙΧΜΑΣ ΚΛΙΝΑΝΤΕΣ ΕΝΑΝΤΙΑΣ. ΦΘΑΝΕΙ ΔΕ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ Ο ΦΙΛΟΠΟΙΗΜΕΝΟ ΑΠΑΝΤΗΣΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΧΑΝΙΔΑ, ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΙΠΠΟΥΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΜΕΤΕΩΡΙΖΟΝΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΚΕΦΑΛΗΝ ΠΡΟ ΤΟΥ
PHILOPOEMEN

a great mistake the enemy had made by going off in pursuit, thus breaking away from his phalanx and leaving a vacant space there, did not oppose or resist their chase after the fugitives, but let them pass him by and make a great gap. Then he led straight against the Lacedaemonian heavy-armed, seeing that their phalanx had been left exposed, and fell upon them in a flank attack, while their commander was away and they were not expecting to fight; for they thought they were victorious and getting the upper hand altogether, since they saw Machanidas pursuing. After Philopoemen had routed these with great slaughter (more than four thousand of them are said to have fallen), he set out against Machanidas, who was returning with his mercenaries from the pursuit. But a broad and deep ditch stretched between them, along which the two leaders rode opposite each other, one wishing to get across and escape, the other to prevent this. The spectacle was not that of two commanders fighting, but that of a powerful hunter attacking a wild beast that has been forced to turn at bay, and Philopoemen was the hunter. And now the tyrant's horse, which was vigorous and high-spirited and felt the bloody spurs in his sides, essayed to make the leap across, and striking against the edge of the ditch with his breast, was struggling with his fore-feet to extricate himself. At this point Simmias and Polyaeus, who were always at Philopoemen's side when he was fighting and protected him with their shields, rode up both at the same time and levelled their spears at the horse. But Philopoemen was before them in attacking Machanidas, and seeing that the tyrant's horse was lifting its head up in front of its rider's body, he
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

σώματος ὁρῶν μικρὸν ἐνέκλινε τὸν ἰδίον, καὶ δια- 8 λαβὼν τὸ ἐξωτὸν ἐκ χειρὸς ὁθεὶ καὶ περιτρέπει τὸν ἄνδρα συνεπερείσας. τούτῳ ἔχων τὸ σχῆμα χαλκούς ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐστηκεν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν θαυμασάντων μάλιστα καὶ τὴν πράξιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐκεῖνην.

XI. Δέγεται δὲ τῆς τῶν Νεμείων πανηγύρεως συνεστώσης¹ στρατηγοῦντα τὸν Φιλοποίμενα τὸ δεύτερον καὶ νεικηκότα μὲν οὐ πάλαι τὴν ἐν Μαντινεία μάχην, τότε δὲ σχολὴν ἄγοντα διὰ τὴν ἐορτὴν, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπιδείξας τοὺς Ἐλλήνης κεκοσμημένην τὴν φάλαγγα καὶ κινούμενην, ὥσπερ εἴθιστο, τοὺς τακτικοὺς ῥυθμοὺς μετὰ 2 τάχους καὶ ράμμης· ἔπειτα κιθαροδῶν ἀγωνιζο- μένων εἰς τὸ θέατρον παρελθεῖν ἔχοντα τοὺς νεανίσκους ἐν ταῖς στρατιωτικαῖς χλαμύσι καὶ τοῖς φοινικοῖς ὑποδύταις, ἀκμάζοντας τοὺς σώματι ἀπαντας καὶ ταῖς ἡλικίαις παραλλή- λους, αἰδῶ δὲ πολλὴν πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ φρόνημα νεανικὸν ὑποφαίνοντας ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ἀγώνων. ἀρτι δ' αὐτῶν εἰσελήλυθότων κατὰ τύχην Πυλάδην τὸν κιθαροῦδὸν ἄδοντα τοὺς Τιμοθέου Πέρσας ἐνάρξασθαι.

Κλεινόν ἐλευθερίας τεύχων μέγαν Ἐλλάδι κόσμον.

3 ἀμα δὲ τῇ λαμπρότητι τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ περὶ τὴν ποίησιν ὄγκου συμπρέψαντος ἐπίβλεψιν γενέσθαι τοῦ θεάτρου πανταχόθεν εἰς τὸν Φιλοποίμενα καὶ κρότουν μετὰ χαρᾶς, τῶν Ἐλλήνων τὸ παλαιὸν

¹ συνεστώσης Bekker has ἐνεστώσης, after Bryan.
PHILOPOEMEN

gave his own horse a little swerve to one side, and then, clasping his spear firmly in the middle, pushed it home with all his weight and overturned his enemy. This is the attitude in which he is represented by a bronze statue set up at Delphi by the Achaeans, who admired especially both his deed of prowess and his generalship on that day.

XI. Moreover, we are told that at the celebration of the Nemean games,¹ when he was general of the Achaeans for the second time and had recently won his victory at Mantinea,² but was at leisure the while on account of the festival, Philopoe men in the first place displayed before the assembled Greeks his phalanx, with its splendid array, and performing its tactical evolutions, as it was wont to do, with speed and vigour. Then, while the minstrels were contending for the prize, he came into the theatre with his young men. They wore their soldiers' cloaks and their purple tunics, were all in the prime of their strength and of the same age, and showed not only great respect for their commander, but also that high spirit which young men have after many honourable contests. And just as they made their entrance it chanced that Pylades the minstrel was chanting the opening verse of the Persians of Timotheus—

"Glorious the crown of freedom which he fashioneth for Hellas";

whereupon, as the splendid voice of the singer fitly sustained the majesty of the poet's words, all the spectators turned their eyes upon Philopoe men and gave him glad applause; for in their hopes the

¹ In the summer of 205 B.C.
² In the spring of 206 B.C.
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Ἄξιώμα ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἀναλαμβανόντων καὶ τοῦ τότε φρονήματος ἐγγιστα τῷ θαρρεῖν γινομένων.¹

ΧΙΙ. Παρὰ δὲ τὰς μάχας καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους, ὡσπερ οἱ πόλοι τοὺς συνήθεις ἐπιβάτας ποθοῦντες, ἔαν ἄλλον φέρωσι, πτύρουνται καὶ ξενοπαθοῦσιν, οὕτως ἡ δύναμις τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐτέρου στρατηγοῦντος ἦθύμει καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἐπάπταινε καὶ μόνον ὀφθέντος εὐθὺς ὀρθή καὶ δραστήριος ἦν διὰ τὸ θαρρεῖν, ἀτε δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους αἰσθανόμενοι πρὸς ἕνα τούτων τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀντιβλέπειν οὐ δυναμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τούνομα δεδοικότας, ὡς ἦν φανερὸν εξ ἂν ἐπρασσον. Φιλιππος μὲν γὰρ ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς οἰόμενος, ἄν ἐκποδῶν ὁ Φιλοποίμης γέννηται, πάλιν ὑποπτήξειν αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἀχαιῶς, ἔπεμψεν εἰς Ἀργὸς κρύφα τοὺς ἀναρήσουτας αὐτῶν ἐπιγυκασθεῖσιν ἢς ἔπιθε υὐλῆς παντάπασιν ἐξεμισθήθη καὶ διεβλήθη πρὸς τοὺς Ἐλλήνας. Βοιωτοὶ δὲ πολιορκοῦντες Μέγαρα καὶ λήψεσθαι ταχέως ἐλπίζοντες, ἔξαίψυχος λόγου προσπεσόντος αὐτοῖς, ὡς ὅλα ἢ ἄλληθ, Ἐπιστοίμην βοηθοῦντα τοὺς πολιορκούμενοι ἔγγυς εἰναι, τὰς κλίμακας ἀφέντες ἢ ἤδη προσερημεῖσθαι μένας τοῖς τεῖχεσιν ὕφοντο φεύγοντες. Νάξιδος δὲ τοῦ μετὰ Μαχανίδαν τυραννοῦντος Ἀκεδαμιούν ἐξεπετῆναι ἀφνω καταλαβόντος, ἐγκαθιερωθέν τῶν τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ἔγγυς εἰναι, τὰς κλίμακας ἀφέντες ἢ ἤδη προσερημεῖσθαι μὲν ἰδιωτῆς ὁν τότε ὁ Φιλοποίμης καὶ δυνάμεως οὐδεμᾶς κύριος, ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν στρατηγοῦντα τῶν Ἀχαιῶν Λύσιππον οὐκ ἔπειθε βοηθεῖν τοῖς Μεσ.

¹ γινομένων Bekker after Coræs: γενομένων.

286
PHILOPOEMEN

Greeks were recovering their ancient dignity, and in their courage they were making the nearest approach to the high spirit of their fathers.

XII. But when it came to perils and battles, just as young horses long for their accustomed riders, and if they have others on their backs, are shy and wild, so the Achaean army, when someone other than Philopoemen was commander-in-chief, would be out of heart, would keep looking eagerly for him, and if he but came in sight, would at once be alert and efficient because of the courage he inspired. For they perceived that he was the one general whom their enemies were unable to face, and whose name and fame they feared, as was evident from what they did. For Philip the king of Macedon, thinking that if Philopoemen could be got out of the way the Achaeans would again submit abjectly to his sway, secretly sent men to Argos who were to assassinate him; but the plot became known, and Philip was utterly condemned and hated among the Greeks. Again, the Boeotians were besieging Megara and had hopes of its speedy capture, when suddenly a report reached their ears (and it was a false report) that Philopoemen was coming to the aid of the besieged and was close at hand; so they abandoned their scaling-ladders, which were already planted against the walls of the city, and fled away. And once again, when Nabis, who succeeded Machanidas as tyrant of Sparta, suddenly seized Messene, it chanced that Philopoemen was out of office and had no force under his command; but since Lysippus, the commander-in-chief of the Achaeans, could not be persuaded by him to go to the rescue of the

1 As a rule, the same man could not be general of the Achaean league two years in succession.


PLUTARCH'S LIVES

σημίσει, ἀπολωλέναι κομιδῇ φάσκοντα τὴν πόλιν ἐνδοῦ γεγονότων τῶν πολεμίων, αὐτὸς ἐβοηθεὶ
toὺς έαυτοῦ πολίτας ἄναλαβὼν οὔτε νόμου οὔτε
χειροτονίαν περιμείναντας, ἀλλ' ὃς διὰ παντὸς
ἤρχοντι τῷ κρείττου κατὰ φύσιν ἐπομένους.

5 ἡδὴ δ' αὐτοῦ πλησίον οὔτος ἀκούοσα ο Νάβις
οὔχ ὑπέστη, καίπερ ἐν τῇ πόλει στρατοπεδεύων,
ἀλλ' ὑπεκδύς διὰ πυλῶν ἐτέρων κατὰ τάχος
ἀπήγαγε τὴν δύναμιν, εὐτυχία χρῆσασθαι δοκῶν
εὶ διαφύγῃ, καὶ διέφυγε, Μεσσηνης δ' ἠλευθέρωτο.

XIII. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καλὰ τοῦ Φιλοποίμενος;
ἡ δ' εἰς Κρήτην αὖθις ἀποδημία Γορτυνίων δεη-
θέντων, ὡς χρῆσαιτο πολεμοῦμενοι στρατηγῷ,
dιαβολὴν ἔσχεν, ὅτι τῆς πατρίδος αὐτοῦ πολε-
μομένης ὑπὸ Νάβιδος ἀπήν φυγομαχων ἢ
φιλοτιμοῦμενος ἀκαίρως πρὸς ἐτέρους. καίτοι
συντόνως οὔτως ἐπολεμήθησαν Μεγαλοπολίται
κατὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον ὅστε τοῖς μὲν 
teichesin
ἔνοικεῖν, σπείρειν δὲ τοὺς στενωποὺς, περικε-
κομμένης1 τῆς χώρας καὶ τῶν πολεμίων σχεδὸν
2 ἐν ταῖς πύλαις στρατοπεδεύοντων. ὁ δὲ 
Κρησὶ 
πολεμῶν τηνικὸν καὶ στρατηγῶν διαπόντιος
έγκλημα παρεῖχε καθ' έαυτοῦ τοὺς ἐχθροῖς ὡς
ἀποδιδράσκων τὸν οίκοι πόλεμον. ἦςαν δὲ 
tives
οἱ λέγοντες, ἔτερους τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἡρμένων
ήρχοντας, ἱδιώτην οὖν τὸν Φιλοποίμενα χρῆσαι
τὴν έαυτοῦ σχολὴν ἐφ' ἡγεμονία δεήθεισι τοῖς

1 περικεκομμένης Coraës and Bekker, with the vulgate: 
περικεκομμένους.

288
PHILOPOEMEN

Messenians, because, as he said, the city was utterly lost now that the enemy were inside, Philopoemen himself went to their rescue, taking with him his fellow-citizens of Megalopolis, who did not wait for any law or commission, but followed the man whom nature had made superior as though he were always in command. And when Nabis heard that Philopoemen was already close at hand, he did not wait for him to come up, although he was encamped in the city, but stole out by an opposite gate and led his forces off as fast as he could, thinking that he would be fortunate if he should escape; and he did escape, and Messene was set free.

XIII. All these things, then, made for the honour of Philopoemen; but his going away to Crete again at the request of the Gortynians, who wanted him to be their general in their war, brought calumny upon him, and it was said that when his native city was at war with Nabis, he was away, either to avoid fighting or to show kindness out of all season to others. And yet so continuously were the Megalopolitans under hostile attack all that time that they lived upon their walls and planted their grain in the streets, since their fields were ravaged and the enemy were encamped almost in their gates. Philopoemen, however, was waging war in Crete all that while, and serving as general across the sea, and so afforded his enemies a chance to accuse him of running away from the war at home. But there were some who said that since the Achaeans chose other men as their generals and Philopoemen was without public office, he merely put the leisure which belonged to him at the service of the Gortynians when they
3 Γορτυνίοις. ἦν γὰρ ἄλλοτριος σχολής, καθάπερ ἄλλο τι κτήμα τὴν στρατηγικὴν καὶ πολεμικὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχειν διὰ παντὸς ἐν χρήσει καὶ τριβὴ βουλόμενος, ὡς καὶ τῷ περὶ Πτολεμαίου ποτὲ ῥηθέντι τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπεδήλωσεν. ἐκεῖνον γὰρ ἐγκωμιαζόντων τινῶν ὡς εὖ μὲν ἐξασκοῦντα τὸ στρατευμα καθ’ ἡμέραν, εὖ δὲ γυμνάζοντα καὶ φιλοπόνως διὰ τῶν ὅπλων τὸ σῶμα, “Καὶ τίς ἂν,” ἔφη, “βασιλέα θαυμάσειν ἐν τούτῳ τῆς ἡλικίας μὴ ἐπιδεικνύμενον, ἀλλὰ μελετῶντα;”

4 Χαλεπῶς δ’ οὖν οἱ Μεγαλοπολίται φέροντες ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ προδεδόθαι νομίζοντες ἐπεχείρησαν ἀποξενοῦν αὐτῶν. οἱ δ’ Ἡχαῖοι διεκώλυσαν Ἀρισταίων πέμψαντες εἰς Μεγάλην πόλιν στρατηγόν, ὃς καὶ περὶ διάφορος τῷ Φιλοποίμην περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν, οὐκ εἶασε τελεσθῆναι τὴν καταδίκην.

5 ἐκ δὲ τούτου παραρώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ὁ Φιλοποίμην ἀπέστησε πολλὰς τῶν περιοικίδων κωμῶν, λέγειν διδάξας· ὡς οὐ συνετέλουν οὐδὲ ἦσαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐκεῖνων, καὶ λέγουσας ταῦτα φανερῶς συνηγωνίσατο καὶ συγκατεστασίας τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἡχαίων ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑστερον.

6 Ἔν δὲ τῇ Κρήτῃ συνεπολέμει τοῖς Γορτυνίοις, οὐχ ὡς Πελοποννήσιος ἀνήρ καὶ Ἁρκάς ἀπλῶν τινα καὶ γενναίον πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ τὸ Κρητικὸν ἥθος ἐνδὺς καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνοις σοφίσμασι καὶ δόλοις κλωπείαις τε καὶ λοχισμοῖς χρώμενος ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς.
PHILOPOEMEN

asked him to be their leader. For he was averse to inactivity, and wished to keep his skill as a commander in war, like any other possession, all the while in use and exercise. And he made this evident by what he once said about King Ptolemy. When certain persons were extolling that monarch because he carefully drilled his army day by day, and carefully and laboriously exercised himself in arms, "And yet who," said Philopoemen, "can admire a king of his years for always practising but never performing anything?"

The Megalopolitans, nevertheless, were displeased at this absence, and looking upon it in the light of a betrayal, undertook to make him an exile; but the Achaeans prevented this by sending to Megalopolis Aristaenus, their commander-in-chief, who, although politically at variance with Philopoemen, would not suffer sentence of condemnation to be passed upon him. In consequence of this displeasure, Philopoemen was ignored by his fellow-citizens, and therefore induced many of their outlying villages to secede from them, instructing them to say that they were not tributary to the city and had not originally belonged to it; and when they made this plea, he openly supported them in their contention and helped them to raise a faction against the city in the assembly of the Achaeans. This, however, was at a later time.

In Crete he waged war in the service of the Gortynians; not the straightforward and honourable warfare of a Peloponnesian and Arcadian, but one in which he adopted the Cretan practices, and turning their tricks and wiles and stolen marches and ambuscades against themselves, speedily showed them
ταχύ παιδας ἀπέδειξεν ἀνόητα καὶ κενά πρὸς ἐμπειρίαν ἀληθινὴν πανουργοῦντας.

XIV. Ἐπὶ τούτων δὲ θαυμασθεὶς καὶ λαμπρὸς παρὰ τῶν ἑκεὶ πράξεων ἀνακομισθεὶς εἰς Πελο-
πώνησον ἐδρε τὸν μὲν Φίλιππον ὑπὸ τοῦ Τίτου καταπεπολεμημένον, τὸν δὲ Νάβιν ὑπὸ τῶν
Ἄχαιων καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πολεμούμενον. ἐφ' ὰν εὐθὺς αἱρεθεὶς ἄρχων καὶ ναυμαχία παραβα-
λόμενος τὸ τοῦ Ἐπαμεινώνδου παθεῖν ἔδοξε, πολὺ
tῆς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἄρετῆς καὶ δόξης ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ
2 κάκιον ἀγωνισάμενος. πλὴν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν μὲν
ἐνιοί λέγοντι ὁκνοῦντα γεύσαι τῶν κατὰ θάλασ-
σαν ὠφελεῖὼν τοὺς πολῖτας, ὅπως αὐτῷ μὴ
λάθωσιν ἀντὶ μονίμων ὀπλιτῶν, κατὰ Πλάτωνα,
ναῦται γενόμενοι καὶ διαφθαρέντες, ἀπρακτὸν ἐκ
tῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῶν νήσων ἀπελθεῖν ἐκουσίως.
3 Φιλοποίημι δὲ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πεξίδως ἐπιστήμην καὶ
diὰ θαλάττης ἀρκέσειν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ καλὸς
ἀγωνισάσθαι πεπεισμένος, ἔγνω τὴν ἀσκησιν
ήλικον μέρος ἐστὶ τῆς ἄρετῆς καὶ πόσην ἐπὶ
πάντα τοὺς ἐθισθεῖσι δύναμιν προστίθησιν. οὐ
γὰρ μόνον ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ διὰ. τὴν ἀπειρίαν
ἐλαττὸν ἔσχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ναῦν τινα, παλαιὰν
μὲν, ἐνδοξοῦν δὲ, δὲ ἔτων τεσσαράκοντα κατα-
σπάσας ἐπλήρωσεν, ὥστε μὴ στεγοῦσθης κινδυ-
νεῦσαι τοὺς πλέοντας.

In the battle of Cynoscephalae, 197 B.C. See the
Flamininus, xiii.

292
PHILOPOEMEN

that they were children opposing foolish and vain mischievousness to genuine military experience.

XIV. Having thus won admiration, and having come back to Peloponnesus with a brilliant reputation from his exploits in Crete, he found that Philip had been defeated and subdued by Titus Flamininus,¹ and that the Achaeans and the Romans were waging war upon Nabis. He was at once chosen general against Nabis, and by hazarding the issue on a naval battle would seem to have fared as Epaminondas once did, since he fought on the sea in a manner which fell far short of his great reputation. Epaminondas, however, as some say, was reluctant to give his fellow-citizens a taste of the advantages accruing from naval superiority, in order that they might not surprise him by becoming, instead of "steadfast hoplites," to use Plato's words,² degenerate mariners; and therefore he purposely came back from Asia and the islands without achieving anything.³ Philopoemen, on the other hand, was persuaded that his skill in handling land forces would suffice to give him success in fighting also on the sea, and therefore learned to his cost how large a part of superior excellence consists in practice, and how much additional power it gives to men who have accustomed themselves to all methods of fighting. For not only was he worsted in the sea-fight, owing to his lack of experience, but he actually launched an old but famous ship after forty years of disuse, and manned her, the result being that her seams took in water and her crew came into peril of their lives.

² Laws, iv. p. 706. Cf. the Themistocles, iv. 3.
³ In 364 B.C., two years before his death, Epaminondas successfully inaugurated a naval policy for Thebes, which enabled her to cope with Athens on the sea.
4 Πρὸς ταῦτα γινώσκων καταφρονοῦντας αὐτοῦ τοὺς πολεμίους ὡς παντάπασι πεφευγότος ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης, καὶ πολιορκοῦντας ὑπερηφάνως τὸ Γύθιον, εὐθὺς ἐπέπλευσεν αὐτοῖς οὐ προσδοκόσιν, ἀλλ' ἐκκελυμένοις διὰ τὴν νίκην. καὶ νυκτὸς ἐκβιβάσας τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ προσαγαγών, πῦρ ἐνῆκε ταῖς σκηναῖς καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον κατέ-
5 καυσε καὶ πολλοὺς διέφθειρεν. ὅλιγαις δ' ὕστερον ἡμέραις καθ' ὄδον ἐν δυσχωρίαις τισιν ἄφω τοῦ Νάβιδος ἐπιφανέντως αὐτῷ καὶ φοβήσαντος τοὺς 'Αχαιών ἀνέλπιστον ἤγουμένους τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐκ τῶν χαλεπῶν καὶ γεγονότων ὑποχειρίων τοῖς πολεμίοις, ὅλιγον χρόνον ἐπιστᾶσαι καὶ περι-
λαβὼν ὅψει τὴν τοῦ χωρίου φύσιν ἐπέδειξε τὴν τακτικὴν τῶν ἄκρων τῆς πολεμικῆς τέχνης οὐσαν οὕτω μικρὰ κινήσας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φάλαγγα καὶ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα μεθαρμόσας ἀθορύβως καὶ ῥαδίως διεκρούσατο τὴν ἀπορίαν, καὶ προσβαλὼν τοῖς
6 πολεμίοις τροτὴν ἱσχυρὰν ἐποίησεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐώφανα φεύγοντας, ἀλλὰ τῆς χώρας ἀλλ' ἄλλη διασπειρόμενων (ὕλωθης δ' καὶ περὶ-
βουνος ἢν πᾶσα καὶ δύσιππος ὑπὸ ῥείθρων καὶ φαράγγων), τὴν μὲν δίωξιν ἐπέσχε καὶ κατεστρα-
toptέευσεν ἐτι φωτὸς ὅντος· τεκμαίρομενος δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς καθ' ἕνα καὶ δύο 
πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ὑπάξειν σκοταίους, ἐλλοχίζει τοῖς περὶ τὸ ἀστυ ῥείθροις καὶ λόφοις πολλοὺς ἔχοντας
7 ἐν χειρίδια τῶν 'Αχαιῶν. ἐνταῦθα πλείστους ἀπο-
thανείν συνέβη τῶν τοῦ Νάβιδος· ἀτε γὰρ οὐκ

294
PHILOPOEMEN

Understanding that in consequence of this disaster his enemies despised him, thinking that he had altogether given up activity on the sea, and that they were insolently besieging Gythium, he promptly sailed against them when they did not expect it and were careless because of their victory. He landed his soldiers by night and led them to the attack, set fire to the enemy's tents, burned down his camp, and slew many of his men. A few days afterward, as he was marching through a rough country, Nabis came suddenly upon him and threw the Achaeans into a fright; they despaired of saving themselves from a position which was difficult and already commanded by the enemy. But Philopoemen waited a little while, surveyed the nature of the ground, and then demonstrated that skill in drawing up an army is the crowning feature in the art of war. For by changing his order of battle a little and adapting it to the present exigency, with no confusion and no trouble he evaded the difficulty, and charging upon the enemy put them to utter rout. Then, observing that they were not fleeing towards the city, but scattering themselves hither and thither through the region (which was woody, entirely surrounded by hills, and impracticable for cavalry owing to water-courses and ravines), he checked his pursuit and encamped while it was still light. But judging that the enemy after their flight would steal back to the city by ones and twos under cover of the night, he placed large numbers of his Achaeans armed with swords in ambush among the water-courses and hills about the city. Here very many of the followers of Nabis met their death; for since they did not make
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ἀθρόαν ποιούμενοι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκά-
στοις αἱ φυγαὶ συνετύγχανον, ὡσπερ ὄρνιθες
ἤλισκοντο περὶ τὴν πόλιν εἰς τὰς τῶν πολεμῶν
χεῖρας καταίροντες.

XV. Ἐπὶ τούτους ἀγαπώμενοι καὶ τιμώμενος
ἐκπρεπῶς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις
φιλότιμον ὄντα τὸν Τίτον ἰσυχῇ παρελύπει. καὶ
γὰρ ὡς ᾿Ρωμαῖοι ὕπατος ἀνδρὸς ᾿Αρκάδου ἦς
θαυμάζεσθαι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν ᾿Αχαιῶν, καὶ ταῖς
εὐεργεσίαις ὑπερβάλλειν οὐ παρὰ μικρὸν ἡγεῖτο,
δι' ἐνὸς κηρύγματος ἐλευθερώσας τὴν ᾿Ελλάδα,
ὅση Φιλίττῳ καὶ Μακεδόσιν ἐδούλευσεν.

2 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου καταλύεται μὲν ὁ Τίτος τῷ
Νάβιδι τὸν πόλεμον, ἀποθυῖσκει δὲ ὁ Νάβις ὑπὸ
Αἰτωλῶν δολοφονηθεὶς. τεταραγμένης δὲ τῆς
Σπάρτης ὁ Φιλοποίμην ἀρπάσας τὸν καιρὸν ἐπι-
πίπτει μετὰ δυνάμεως, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀκόντων, τοὺς
dὲ συμπείας προσηγόμενοι καὶ μετεκόμισεν εἰς
3 τοὺς ᾿Αχαιοὺς τὴν πόλιν. οὐ γενομένου θαυμα-
στῶς μὲν εὐδοκίμησε παρὰ τοῖς ᾿Αχαιοῖς, προσ-
κτησάμενος αὐτοῖς ἀξίωμα πόλεως τηλικαύτης
καὶ δύναμιν (οὐ γὰρ ἦν μικρὸν ᾿Αχαῖας μέρος
γενέσθαι τὴν Σπάρτην), ἀνέλαβε δὲ καὶ Δακεδαι-
μονίων τοὺς ἀρίστους, φύλακα τῆς ἐλευθερίας
4 ἐκεῖνον ἐλπίσαντας ἐξειν. διὸ καὶ τὴν Νάβιδος
οἰκίαν καὶ οὐσίαν ἐξαργυρισθείσαν καὶ γενομένην

1 Cf. the Flamininus, chapter x.
2 Cf. the Flamininus, ix. 5.
PHILOPOEMEN

their return in a body, but as the chances of flight disposed them severally, they fell into the hands of their enemies and were caught like birds about the city.

XV. In consequence of this exploit Philopoemen was beloved by the Greeks and conspicuously honoured by them in their theatres, thus giving secret umbrage to Titus Flamininus, who was an ambitious man. For as Roman consul he thought himself more worthy of the Achaean's admiration than a man of Arcadia, and he considered that his benefactions far exceeded those of Philopoemen, since by a single proclamation he had set free all those parts of Greece which had been subject to Philip and the Macedonians.¹

After this Flamininus made peace with Nabis,² and Nabis was treacherously put to death by the Aetolians.³ Sparta was therefore in a state of confusion, and Philopoemen, seizing his opportunity, fell upon the city with an armed force, and partly by compulsion, partly by persuasion, brought it over to his purposes and made it a member of the Achaean league. This achievement brought him an amazing repute among the Achaeans, since through his efforts they had acquired a city of so great dignity and power (and indeed it was no slight matter that Sparta had become a member of the Achaean league); moreover, Philopoemen carried with him the principal men among the Spartans, who hoped to have in him a guardian of their liberties. Therefore, after they had confiscated the house and property of Nabis and obtained thereby a

³ In 192 B.C. Nabis had called in the Aetolians to help him against the Achaeans and Romans (Livy, xxxv. 35–37).

297
eĩkosi kai ēkaton talaνtων ἐψηφίσαντο δωρεάν αὐτῷ δοῦναι, πρεσβείαν ὑπὲρ τούτων πέμψαντες. ἐνθα δὴ καὶ διεφάνη καθαρῶς ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἀνήρ οὐ δοκῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὃν ἄριστος. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἐβοῦλετο τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ἀνδρὶ τοιούτῳ διαλέγεσθαι περὶ δωροδοκίας, ἀλλὰ δεδοικότες καὶ ἀναδυόμενοι προεβάλοντο τὸν ἔνοιν αὐτοῦ 5 Τιμόλαον. ἔπειτα δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ Τιμόλαος, ὡς ἠλθεν εἰς Μεγάλην πόλιν, ἐστίαθες παρὰ τῷ Φιλοποι- μεν καὶ τὴν σεμνότητα τῆς ὁμίλιας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀφέλειαν τῆς διαίτης καὶ τὸ ἢθος ἐγγύθεν οὐδαμὴ προσιτὸν οὐδὲ εὐάλωτον ὑπὸ χρημάτων κατανοήσας, ἀπεσιώπησε περὶ τῆς δωρεᾶς, ἐτέραν δὲ τινὰ πρόφασιν τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁδοὺ ποιησά- μενος φχετο ἀπιών. καὶ πάλιν ἐκ δευτέρου 6 πεμφθεὶς ταύτων ἔπαθε. τρίτῃ δὲ ὁδῷ μόλις ἐντυχὼν ἐδήλωσε τὴν προθυμίαν τῆς πόλεως. ὁ δὲ Φιλοποιήμων ἡδέως ἄκούσας ἦκεν αὐτὸς εἰς Δακεδαίμωνα, καὶ συνεβούλευσεν αὐτοῖς μὴ τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἁγαθούς δεκάζειν, ὃν προῖκα τῆς ἄρετῆς ἔξεστιν ἀπολαύειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πονηροὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καταστασιάζοντας ὑμείσθαι καὶ διαφθέρειν, ἵνα τῷ λαβεῖν ἐπιστο- μισθέντες ἤττον ἐνοχλοῦεν αὐτοῖς. βέλτιον γὰρ εἶναι τῶν ἐχθρῶν παραιρεῖσθαι τὴν παρρησίαν

1 See the Aristides, iii. 4.
PHILOPOEMEN

hundred and twenty talents, they voted to make a present of the money to Philopoemen, and to send an embassy to Megalopolis on the matter. Here, indeed, it became perfectly clear that Philopoemen not only seemed to be, but actually was, a most excellent man.¹ For, to begin with, no Spartan was willing to confer with a man of his character about the acceptance of a gift, but they were all so reluctant and afraid to do it that they entrusted the business to a guest-friend of his, Timolaüs. And in the second place, Timolaüs himself, when he came to Megalopolis, having been entertained at the house of Philopoemen, and having learned thoroughly how dignified he was in his converse with others, how simple his ways of living, and how his character was nowhere to be approached and much less easy to be overcome by bribes, held his peace about the gift of money, and after giving some other excuse for his visit to him, went back home. And when he was sent a second time on the same errand, he did as before. On his third visit, however, he at last got so far as to acquaint Philopoemen with the earnest desire of his city. Then Philopoemen, who was pleased by what he heard, went in person to Sparta, and counselled the people there not to try to bribe good men who were their friends, and by whose virtues they could profit without payment of money, but rather to buy up and corrupt the bad men who were ruining the city by their factious conduct in the assembly, to the end that such might have their mouths stopped in consequence of their venality, and so be less annoying to their fellow-citizens; for it was better, he said, to take away freedom of speech from their enemies rather than

²⁹⁹
ΠŁUTARCH’S LIVES

η τῶν φίλων. οὔτως μὲν ἦν πρὸς χρήματα λαμπρός.

XVI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν τοὺς Δακεδαιμονίους νεωτερίζειν ἄκούσας ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν Διοφάνης ἐβούλετο κολάζειν, οἱ δὲ εἰς πόλεμον καθιστάμενοι διετάρασσον τὴν Πελοπόννησον, ἐπείρατο πραύνειν καὶ καταπαύειν τὸν Διοφάνη τῆς ὀργῆς ὁ Φιλοπόιμης, διδάσκων τὸν καιρὸν, ὡς Ἀντιόχου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι τηλικοῦτοις αἰωρουμένων στρατοπέδοις ἐκείσε χρή τὸν ἄρχοντα τὴν γνώμην ἔχειν, τὰ δὲ οἰκεία μὴ κινεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παριδεῖν τι καὶ παρα-κούσαι τῶν ἀμαρτανομένων. οὐ προσέχοντος δὲ τοῦ Διοφάνους, ἀλλ’ εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἐμβαλόντος ἀμα τῷ Τίτῳ καὶ βαδιζόντων εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἀγανακτήσας ὁ Φιλοπόιμης, ἔργον οὐ νόμιμον οὐδ’ ἀπηκριβωμένον ἐκ τῶν δικαίων, ἀλλὰ μέγα καὶ μεγάλῳ φρουράτω μεταμόρφωσα, εἰς τὴν Δακεδαιμονίαν παρῆλθε καὶ τὸν τε στρατηγὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ τὸν ὑπατον τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἰδιώτης ὄν ἀπέκλεισε, τὰς δ’ ἐν τῇ πόλει ταραχὰς ἐπανεῖ καὶ κατέστησε τοὺς Δακεδαιμονίους πάλιν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν, ὥστερ εὐξὶς ἦσαν.

3 Χρόνῳ δὲ ὑστερου ἐγκαλέσας τι τοῖς Δακεδαι-μονίοισι στρατηγῶν ὁ Φιλοπόιμης τὰς μὲν φυγὰς κατήγαγεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ὁγδοῦσκοιντα δὲ Σπαρτιάτας ἀπέκτεινεν, ὡς Πολύβιος φησιν, ὡς δὲ

---

1 Philopoemen was for the sixth time general in 188 B.C.
PHILOPOEMEN

from their friends. Such was his splendid spirit in matters of money.

XVI. Soon, however, Diophanes, the general of the Achaean league, hearing that the Lacedaemonians were once more agitating for a change, determined to punish them, and the Lacedaemonians, determining upon war, were throwing the Peloponnesus into confusion. Here Philopoemen tried to mollify Diophanes and put a stop to his wrath, showing him what the occasion demanded, and that since King Antiochus and the Romans were hovering about in Greece with armies so great, it behoved the general of the league to pay attention to them, and not to stir up domestic troubles, but even to be somewhat oblivious to the transgressions of his colleagues. Diophanes, however, paid no heed to this advice, but invaded Laconia along with Titus Flamininus, and marched directly upon the city of Sparta. Incensed at this, Philopoemen ventured upon an act which was not lawful, nor even exactly just, but great and prompted by a great spirit. He went on past them into Sparta, and, private man though he was, shut out therefrom both the general of the Achaean league and the Roman consul, put an end to the disorders in the city, and brought the Lacedaemonians back again into the league, as they were at the outset.

At a later time, however, when he had some ground for accusation against the Lacedaemonians, as general of the league¹ Philopoemen brought back its exiles to the city, and put to death eighty Spartans, according to Polybius,² or according to

¹ In a passage not extant. Livy gives the same number (xxxviii. 33).
4 Ἀριστοκράτης, πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίους. τὰ δὲ τείχη καθείλε, χῶραν δὲ πολλὴν ἀποτεμόμενος προσένεμε τοῖς Μεγαλοπολίταις, ὅσοι δὲ ἦσαν ὑπὸ τῶν τυράννων ἀποδεδειγμένοι πολίται τῆς Σπάρτης, μετάφικεν ἀπαντασ ἀπώγων εἰς Ἀχαῖαν πλὴν τρισεκονίων τούτων δὲ ἀπειθοῦντας καὶ μὴ βουλομένους ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαιμονίας ἐπέλησεν, εἰδ’ οἶον ἐφυβρίζων ἀπὸ τῶν χρημάτων τούτων ἐν Μεγάλῃ πόλει στοὰν φιλοδίμησεν.

5 ἐμπιπλάμενος δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ παρ’ ἄξιαν πεπραξόσιν ἐπεμβαίνων, τὸ περὶ τὴν πολειτείαν ἔργον ωμὸτατον ἐξειργάσατο καὶ παρανομώτατον. ἀνεῖλε γὰρ καὶ διέθεμε τὴν Δυκούργειον ἀγωγήν, ἀναγκάσας τοὺς παιδας αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἑφήβους τὴν Ἁχαϊκὴν ἀντὶ τῆς πατρίου παιδείαν μεταβαλεῖν, ὥς οὐδεποτε μικρὸν ἐν τοῖς Δυκούργου νόμοις φρονήσωστας.

6 Τότε μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ συμφορῶν μεγάλων ὀσπερ νεῦρα τῆς πόλεως ἐκτεμεῖν τῷ Φιλοποίμενι παρασχόντες, ἐγένοντο χειρότθεις καὶ ταπεινοί, χρόνῳ δ’ ὑστερον αἰτησάμενοι παρὰ Ῥωμαίων τὴν μὲν Ἁχαϊκὴν ἐφυγον πολειτείαν, ἀνέλαβον δὲ καὶ κατεστήσαντο τὴν πάτριον, ὡς ἦν ἀνυστῶν ἐκ κακῶν καὶ φθορᾶς τηλικάυτης.

XVII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ὁ πρὸς Ἀντίοχον ἐν 366 τῇ Ἐλλάδι συνέστης πόλεμος, ἦν μὲν ἰδιώτης ὁ Φιλοποίμην, ὥρων δὲ τὸν Ἀντίοχον αὐτῶν ἐν Χαλκίδῃ καθήμενον περὶ γάμους καὶ παρθένων

1 In 184 B.C. (Livy, xxxix. 34).
PHILOPOEMEN

Aristocrates, three hundred and fifty. He also tore down the walls of the city, and cutting off a large part of its territory, annexed it to Megalopolis; moreover, in the case of those who had been made citizens of Sparta by the tyrants, he removed them all into Achaia, with the exception of three thousand who would not obey him and were unwilling to go away from Sparta. These he sold into slavery, and then, as if in mockery of their fate, erected a portico in Megalopolis with the money which they brought. And now, glutting his anger at the Lacedaemonians and unworthily trampling upon them in their misery, he treated their constitution in the most cruel and most lawless fashion. For he took away and abolished the system of training which Lycurgus had instituted, and compelled their boys and their young men to adopt the Achaean in place of their hereditary discipline, being convinced that while they were under the laws of Lycurgus they would never be humble.

For the time being, then, owing to their great calamities, the Spartans suffered Philopoemen to cut away, as it were, the sinews of their city, and became tractable and submissive; but a while afterwards, having obtained permission from the Romans, they abandoned the Achaean polity, and resumed and re-established that which had come down from their fathers, so far as was possible after their many misfortunes and great degeneration.

XVII. When the Romans went to war with Antiochus in Greece, Philopoemen was without command, and seeing that Antiochus himself was sitting idly down in Chalcis and spending his time

8 In 191 B.C. Cf. the Flamininus, xv.
ἐρωτας οὐ καθ’ ὃμαν σχολάζοντα, τοὺς δὲ Σύρους ἐν ἀταξίᾳ πολλῇ καὶ χωρίς ἠγεμόνων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι πλαξομένους καὶ τρφώντας, ἤχθετο μὴ στρατηγῶν τότε τῶν 'Ἀχαιῶν, καὶ 'Ῥωμαίοις ἐλέγε 
θονεῖν τῆς νικῆς. "Ἐγὼ γὰρ ἂν," ἔφη, "στρα 
τηγῶν ἐν τοῖς κατηλείοις κατέκοψα τούτους 2 πάντας." ἔπει δὲ νικήσαντες οἱ 'Ῥωμαίοι τοῦ 'Ἀντίοχον ἐνεφύόντο τοῖς Ἐλληνικοῖς μᾶλλον ἦδη, καὶ περιβάλλοντο τῇ δυνάμει τοὺς 'Ἀχαιοὺς ὑποκατακλυσμένον αὐτοῖς τῶν δημαγωγῶν, ἡ δ' ἰσχύς ἐπὶ πάντα πολλή μετὰ τοῦ δαίμονος ἔχωρε, καὶ τὸ τέλος ἐγγύς ἦν εἰς δ' τῆς τύχης ἐδει περι 
φερομένης ἐξεικέσθαι, καθάπερ ἄγαθος κυβερνήτης πρὸς κύρῳ διερειδόμενος οἱ Φιλοποίμην τὰ μὲν ἐνδιδόναι καὶ παρείκειν ἡμαγκάζετο τοῖς καιροῖς, περὶ δὲ τῶν πλείστων διαφερόμενοι τοὺς τῷ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν ἰσχύοντας ἀντιστάν ἐπειράτο πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν.

3 'Αρισταίνου δὲ τοῦ Μεγαλοπολίτου δυναμένου μὲν ἐν τοῖς 'Ἀχαιοῖς μέγιστον, τοὺς δὲ 'Ῥωμαίοις ἀεὶ θεραπεύοντος καὶ τοὺς 'Ἀχαιοὺς μὴ οἰκομένου δεῖν ἐναντιοῦσθαι μηδὲ ἀχαριστεῖν εἰκεῖνος, εἰν τῷ συνεδρίῳ λέγεται τὸν Φιλοποίμην σιωπᾶν ἀκούοντα καὶ βαρέως φέρειν, τέλος δὲ ὑπ’ ὀργῆς δυσανασχετοῦντα πρὸς τὸν 'Αρίσταίνου ἐπείν: "Ω ἀνθρώπε, τί σπεύδεις τὴν πετρωμένην τῆς 4 'Ελλάδος ἐπιδείν:’ Μανίου δὲ τοῦ 'Ῥωμαίων ὑπά 
του νεικηκότος μὲν 'Ἀντίοχον, αἰτουμένου δὲ
PHILOPOEMEN

in a courtship and marriage which were not suited to his years, while his Syrian troops, in great disorder and without leaders, were wandering about among the cities and living luxuriously, he was distressed because he was not general of the Achaeans at that time, and kept saying that he begrudged the Romans their victory. "For if I had been general," he said, "I would have cut off all these fellows in their taverns." But soon the Romans, after conquering Antiochus, applied themselves more closely to the affairs of Greece. They encompassed the Achaean league with their power, since the popular leaders gradually inclined to their support; their strength, under the guidance of the heavenly powers, grew great in all directions; and the consummation was near to which the fortunes of Greece must come in their allotted revolution. Here Philopoemen, like a good helmsman contending against a high sea, was in some points compelled to give in and yield to the times; but in most he continued his opposition, and tried to draw to the support of freedom the men who were powerful in speech or action.

Aristaenus the Megalopolitan was a man of the greatest influence among the Achaeans, but he always paid court to the Romans and thought that the Achaeans ought not to oppose or displease them in any way. As this man was once speaking in the assembly, we are told that Philopoemen listened to him a while in silent indignation, but at last, overcome by anger, said to him: "My man, why art thou eager to behold the fated end of Greece?" Again, Manius, the Roman consul, after his victory

1 Cf. the Flamininus, xvi. i. 2 Cf. chapter xiii. 4.
παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαίων ὅπως ἔσωσι τοὺς Δακεδαιμονίων φυγάδας κατελθεῖν, καὶ Τίτου ταύτῳ τῷ Μανίῳ περὶ τῶν φυγάδων ἄξιοντος, διεκώλυσεν ὁ Φιλοποίμην οὐ τοῖς φυγάσι πολεμῶν, ἀλλὰ βουλόμενος δι’ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν Ἀχαίων, ἀλλὰ μὴ Τίτου μηδὲ Ῥωμαίων χάριτι τούτῳ πραξθήναι καὶ στρατηγῶν εἰς τούπιον αὐτὸς κατήγαγε τοὺς φυγάδας. οὕτως εἰχὲ τι πρὸς τὰς ἔξονσίας ὑπὸ φρονήματος δύσερι καὶ φιλόνεικον.

{XVIII.} Ἡδὴ δὲ γεγονὼς έτος ἐξδομηκοστόν, ὅγδου δὲ τῶν Ἀχαίων στρατηγών, ἡλπίζειν οὐ μόνον ἐκείνην τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπολέμως διάζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ βίου τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτῷ μεθ’ ἡσυχίας καταβιώναι τὰ πράγματα παρέξειν. ὡς γὰρ αἱ νόσοι ταῖς τῶν σωμάτων ρώμαις συναπομαραίνεσθαι δοκοῦσιν, οὕτως ἐν ταῖς Ἕλληνικαῖς πόλεσιν ἐπὶ-2 λειτουργῆς τῆς δυνάμεως ἐλήγε τὸ φιλόνεικον. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα Νέμεσις τις ὀσπερ ἅθλητην εὑδρομοῦντα πρὸς τέρμασι τοῦ βίου κατέβαλε. λέγεται γὰρ ἐν τινι συλλόγω ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων ἐπαινοῦντων ἄνδρα δεινοῦ εἶναι δοκοῦντα περὶ στρατηγών εἰπείν τὸν Φιλοποίμην, "Καὶ πῶς ἄξιον ἐκείνου λόγου ἔχειν τοῦ ἄνδρος, ὅστις ἥλω ξών ὑπὸ τῶν 3 πολεμών;" μεθ’ ἡμέρας δὲ ὀλίγας Δεισοκράτης ὁ Μεσσήνιος, ἄνθρωπος ἰδίᾳ τε τῷ Φιλοποίμενι προσκεκρούκως καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπαχθῆς διὰ πονηρίαν καὶ ἀκολασίαν, τὴν τε Μεσσήνην ἀπέ-

---

1 Cf. chapter xiii. 3.
PHILOPOEMEN

over Antiochus, asked the Achaeansto permit the exiles from Sparta to go back home, and Titus Flamininus joined Manius in making this request. But Philopoemen successfully opposed the request, not out of hostility to the exiles, but from a desire that they should owe this favour to himself and the Achaeanst, and not to Flamininus and the Romans; indeed, as general for the following year he restored the exiles to their city.\(^1\) To such a degree did his lofty spirit lead him to strive and contend against men in power.

XVIII. But being now seventy years of age, and for the eighth time general of the Achaeanst, he hoped not only to pass that year of office without war, but also that affairs would permit him to spend the rest of his life in peace and quiet. For as our diseases seem to lose their virulence as our bodily strength declines, so among the Greek cities the spirit of contention lapsed as their power waned. Nevertheless, some divine displeasure threw him down, like an all but victorious runner, at the very goal of his life. For it is recorded that at some conference, when others present were lavishing praise upon one who was reputed to be a redoubtable general, Philopoemen contemptuously said: "Yet why should any account be made of this man, who has been taken alive by his enemies?" And a few days afterwards Deinocrates the Messenian, a man who had a private quarrel with Philopoemen\(^3\) and was obnoxious to everybody else because of his baseness and unbridled life, induced Messene to

\(^2\) In 182 B.C. Plutarch passes over the years 187-183, during which the Achaean league increasingly into collision with the Roman power.

\(^3\) Cf. the Flamininus, xvii. 3.
στησε τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, καὶ κόμην τὴν καλουμένην Κολωνίδα προσηγγέλθη μέλλων καταλαμβάνειν. ὁ δὲ Φιλοποίημην ἔτυχε μὲν ἐν Ἀργεί τυρέσσοι, πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα συνετείνεν εἰς Μεγάλην πόλιν ἠμέρα μιᾷ σταδίους πλείονας ἢ τετρακοσίους. 4 κἀκεῖθεν εὐθὺς ἔβοθει τοὺς ἰππεῖς ἄναλαβόν, οὕτε ἔστη ἐνδοξότατοι μὲν τῶν πολιτῶν, νέοι δὲ κομιδῆ, δι’ εὐνοιαν τοῦ Φιλοποίημος καὶ ἦλθον ἐθελονταὶ συστατεύοντες. ἵππας ἰμένοι δὲ πρὸς τὴν Μεσσήνην καὶ περὶ τὸν Εὐάνδρου λόφον 5 ἀπαντῶντι τῷ Δεινοκράτει συμμεσόντες ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἑτρήσαντο, τῶν δὲ πεντακοσίων, οὐ τὴν χώραν τῶν Μεσσηνίων παρεφύλλατον, ἡξιοφυνὴς ἐπιφερομένων καὶ τῶν πρῶτον ἦττημένων, ὥς τούτους κατείδον, αὐθεῖς οὖν τὸν λόφον ἄθροιζομένων, δεῖσαι ὁ Φιλοποίημην κυκλοθήμακα καὶ τῶν ἰππέων φειδόμενος ἄνεχώρει διὰ τῶν χαλεπῶν, αὐτὸς θύραγων καὶ πολλάκις ἀντεξελάυνων τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ ὅλως ἐπισπώμενος ἐπὸ ἐαυτοῦ, οὐ τολμώντων ἀντεμβαλλεῖν ἐκεῖνον, ἀλλὰ κρανγαῖς 6 καὶ περιδρομαῖς χρωμένων ἀποθεῖν. ἅφιστάμενος οὖν πολλάκις διὰ τοὺς νεανίσκους καὶ καθ’ ἕνα παραπέμπου ἔλαβεν ἐν πολλοῖς ἀπομονωθεῖς πολεμίοις. καὶ συνάψαι μὲν εἰς χεῖρας οὐδεὶς ἑτόλυμησεν αὐτῷ, πόρρωθεν δὲ βαλλόμενος καὶ βιαξόμενος πρὸς χωρία πετρώδη καὶ παράκρημνα χαλεπῶς μετεχειρίζετο καὶ κατέξαυε τὸν ἤππον. 7 αὐτῷ δὲ τὸ μὲν γῆρας ὑπὸ ἀσκήσεως πολλῆς ἐλαφρῶν ἤν καὶ πρὸς οὖν ἐμπόδιον εἰς τὸ
PHILOPOEMEN

revolt from the Achaean league, and was reported about to seize the village called Colonis. Philopoe-
men at the time lay sick of a fever at Argos, but on learning these facts, he hastened to Megalopolis
in a single day, a journey of more than four hundred furlongs. From there he at once set out for the
rescue, taking with him the horsemen. These were the city's most prominent men, but altogether
young, and serving as volunteers under Philopoe men out of good will and admiration for him. They rode
off towards Messene and encountered Deinocrates,
who came to meet them at Evander's hill. Him
they put to flight; but the five hundred men who
were guarding the open country of Messene suddenly
attacked them, and when those who had before
been worsted saw this, they collected together along
the hills. Then Philopoe men, fearing that he would
be enveloped, and trying to spare his horsemen,
withdrew over difficult ground, bringing up the rear
himself and frequently riding out against the enemy,
and trying to draw their attacks entirely upon him-
sel. They did not venture, however, to return his
attacks, but merely shouted and threatened his
flanks. Withdrawing from the line frequently, then,
to spare his young men, and sending them one by
one into safety, before he was aware of it he was
left alone among numerous enemies. Even then no
one ventured to come to close quarters with him,
but he was pelted with missiles from a distance and
forced upon rocky and precipitous places, so that he
had difficulty in managing his horse and kept tearing
him with the spur. His age, owing to his generous
exercise, was not burdensome, and in no way
impeded his escape; but at that time his body
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

σωθήναι, τότε δὲ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀρρωστίαν τοῦ σώματος ἐνδεούς γεγονότος καὶ διὰ τὴν ὦδοιπο-ρίαν κατακόπτου, βαρὺν ὀντα καὶ δυσκίνητον ἦδη σφαλείς ὁ ἱππος εἰς τὴν γῆν κατέβαλε. σκληροῦ δὲ τοῦ πτώματος γεγομένου καὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς παθούσης ἐκεῖτο πολὺν χρόνον ἀναύδου, ὡστε καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους τεθυνάω δόξαντας αὐτὸν ἐπιχει-8 ρεῖν στρέφειν τὸ σῶμα καὶ σκυλεύειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπάρας διέβλεψεν, ἀθρόοι περιπε-σόντες ἀπέστρεφον αὐτοῦ τὰς χεῖρας ὑπὸ καὶ δήσαντες ἱγγον, ὑβρεὶ χρώμενοι πολλῆ καὶ λοιδο-ρία κατ’ ἀνδρός ὀυδὲ οἵναρ ἄν ποτε παθεῖν ὑπὸ Δεινοκράτους ταῦτα προσδοκήσαντος.

XIX. Οἱ δ’ ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ μὲν ἀγγελία θαυμα-στῶς ἐπαρθέντες ἡθορίζοντο περὶ τὰς πῦλας; ὡς δὲ εἰδον ἑλκόμενον τὸν Φιλοπόιμενα παρ’ ἄξιαν τῆς τε δόξης καὶ τῶν ἐμπροσθὲν ἔργων καὶ τρο-παῖων, ἠλέεσαν οἱ πλείστοι καὶ συνήληγαν, ὡστε καὶ δακρύσαι καὶ τῆν ἀνθρωπίνην ἐκφλαυ-ρίσαι δύναμιν ὡς ἀπίστων καὶ τὸ μηδὲν οὕςαν.

2 οὔτω δὲ κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς πολλοὺς φιλόνθρωπος ἔχωρει λόγος ὡς μμομονευτέον εἰ τῶν πρόσθεν εὐρεγεσίαν, καὶ τῆς ἔλευθερίας ἦν ἄπεδωκεν αὐτοῖς Νάβων ἐξελάσας τὸν τύραννον. ὁλύγοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ τῷ Δεινοκράτει χαριζόμενοι στρέθλοιν τὸν ἀνδρὰ καὶ κτείσει ἐκέλευον ως βαρὺν πολέ-μον καὶ δυσμείλητον, αὐτῷ τὸ Δεινοκράτει φοβερῶτερον εἰ διαφύγοι καθυβρισμένος ὑπ’

3 αὐτοῦ καὶ γεγονὼς αἰχμάλωτος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ κομίσαντες αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν καλούμενον Θησαυρόν, οἰκημα κατάγειον οὔτε πνεῦμα λαμβάνον οὔτε φῶς ἔξωθεν οὔτε θύρας ἔχον, ἀλλὰ μεγάλῳ λίθῳ

310
PHILOPOEMEN

was enfeebled by sickness and worn out with a long journey, so that he was heavy and stiff, and at length his horse stumbled and threw him to the ground. His fall was a heavy one and his head was hurt, and he lay for a long time speechless, so that his enemies thought him dead and tried to turn his body over and strip it of its armour. But when he raised his head and opened his eyes, they threw themselves in a throng upon him, tied his hands behind his back, and led him away, treating with great insolence and contumely a man who could never have even dreamed that he would suffer such a fate at the hands of Deinocrates.

XIX. The people of Messene, wonderfully elated at the news, gathered in throngs at the gates. But when they saw Philopoemen dragged along in a manner unworthy of his fame and of his former exploits and trophies, most of them were struck with pity and felt sympathy for him, so that they actually shed tears and spoke with bitterness of the inconstancy and vanity of human greatness. And so, little by little, many were led to say humanely that they ought to remember his former benefactions, and especially how he had restored to them their freedom by expelling the tyrant Nabis. But there were a few who, to gratify Deinocrates, urged that the captive should be tortured and put to death as a stern and implacable enemy, and one more than ever to be feared by Deinocrates himself in case he made his escape after having been taken prisoner and loaded with insults by him. However, they carried Philopoemen into the Thesaurus, as it was called, a subterranean chamber which admitted neither air nor light from outside and had no door,
περιαγομένω κατακλείσαινον, ἐνταῦθα κατέθεντο, καὶ τὸν λίθον ἐπιρράξαντες ἄνδρας ἐνόπλους κύκλῳ περιέστησαν.

4. Οἱ δ' ἵππεις τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς ἀναλαβόντες αὐτοὺς, ὡς οὐδαμοῦ φανερὸς ἤν ὁ Φιλοπούμης, ἀλλ' ἐδόκει τεθνάναι, πολὺν μὲν χρόνον ἐπέστησαν ἀνακαλούμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ διδόντες ἀλλήλοις λόγον ὡς αἰσχρὰν σωτηρίαν καὶ ἀδικον σώζονται προέμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀφειδήσαντα τοῦ ξῆν δ' αὐτοὺς, ἔσείτα προϊόντες ἀμα καὶ πολυπραγμονοῦντες ἐπύθοντο τὴν σύλληψιν αὐτοῦ καὶ διήγγειλον εἰς τὰς πόλεις τῶν Ἀχαιῶν. οἱ δὲ συμφορὰν ποιούμενοι μεγάλην ἀπαιτεῖν μὲν ἔγνωσαν τὸν ἄνδρα παρὰ τῶν Μεσσηνίων προσβείαν πέμψαντες, αὐτοὶ δὲ παρεσκευάζοντο στρατεύειν.

XX. Οὕτως μὲν οὖν ταῦτα ἐπραττον. Ὁ δὲ Δεινοκράτης μάλιστα τὸν χρόνον ὡς σωτήριον τῷ Φιλοπούμενῳ δεδοικὼς καὶ φθάσαι τὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν βουλόμενος, ἔπει νυξ ἐπῆλθε καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἀπεχώρησε τῶν Μεσσηνίων, ἀνοίξας τὸ δεσμωτήριον εἰσέπεμψε δημόσιον οἰκέτην φάρμακον κομίζοντα, προσενεγκείν καὶ παραστήναι 368 μέχρι ἄν ἐκτίη κελεύσας. ἔστηκε μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ χλαμυδίῳ κατακείμενος, οὐ καθεύδων, ἀλλὰ λύπῃ καὶ θορύβῳ κατεχόμενος, ἵδων δὲ φῶς καὶ παρεστῶτα πλησίον τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔχοντα τὴν κύλικα τοῦ φαρμάκου, συναγαγόν μόλις ἕαυτὸν ὑπ' ἀσθενείᾳς ἀνεκάθιζε. καὶ δεξάμενος ἡρώτησεν εἰ
PHILOPOEMEN

but was closed by dragging a huge stone in front of it. Here they placed him, and after planting the stone against it, set a guard of armed men round about.

Meanwhile the horsemen of the Achaeans recovered themselves after their flight, and when Philopoemen was nowhere to be seen, but was thought to be dead, they stood for a long time calling aloud upon their leader and reproaching one another for having won an unlawful and shameful safety by abandoning to the enemy their general, who had been prodigal of his life for their sakes. Then they went forward in a body, and by diligent effort learned of his capture, and sent word of it to the cities of the Achaeans. The Achaeans felt that they had suffered a great calamity, and determined to send an embassy and demand Philopoemen from the Messenians, while they themselves prepared an expedition against the city.

XX. The Achaeans, then, were thus engaged. But Deinocrates, who feared that delay was the one thing most likely to save Philopoemen, and wished to forestall the efforts of the Achaeans, when night came on and the multitude of Messene had dispersed, opened the prison and sent in a public official with poison, ordering him to give it to Philopoemen and to stand by his side until he had drunk it. Now, Philopoemen was lying down wrapped in his soldier's cloak, not sleeping, but overwhelmed with trouble and grief. When, however, he saw a light and a man standing by him holding the cup of poison, he pulled himself together as much as his weakness permitted and sat up. Then taking the cup he asked the man if he had heard anything
ti peri ton ἵππεων kai μάλιστα Δυκόρτα ρεπυ-
3 σμένος εστίν. εἰπόντος δὲ τάνυθροπου διατεθε-
γέναι τους πολλοὺς, ἐπέευσε τῇ κεφαλῇ, καὶ
diabléfass πράως πρὸς τὸν ἀνθρώπουν, "Εὐ
λέγεις," εἶπεν, "εἰ μὴ πάντα κακῶς πεπράχαμεν."
άλλο δὲ μηδὲν εἰπὼν μηδὲ φθεγξάμενος ἐξέπτει καὶ
πάλιν αὐτὸν ἀπέκληνεν, οὐ πολλὰ πράγματα τῷ
φαρμάκῳ παρασχὼν, ἀλλ' ἀποσβεσθείς ταχὺ διὰ
τὴν ἀσθένειαν.

XXI. Ὡς οὖν ὁ περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς λόγος ἦκεν
eis tou 'Αχαιοὺς, τάς μὲν πόλεις αὐτῶν κοινὴ
catήφεια καὶ πένθος εἰχεν, οἱ δ' ἐν ἡλικία μετὰ
tῶν προβούλων συνελθόντες εἰς Μεγάλην πόλιν
οὐδ' ἤντινον ἀναβόλην ἐποιήσαντο τῆς τιμωρίας,
ἀλλ' ἐλόμειοι στρατηγὸν Δυκόρταν εἰς τὴν Μεσση-
nίαν ἐνέβαλον καὶ κακῶς ἐπόλουν τὴν χώραν, ἄχρι
2 οὗ συμφρονήσαντες ἐδέξαντο τοὺς 'Αχαιοὺς. καὶ
Δεινοκράτης μὲν αὐτὸς αὐτὸν φθάσας διεχρήσατο,
tῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὅσοι μὲν ἀνελεῖν ἔδοξε Φιλο-
poίμενα δ' αὐτῶν ἕπεθυμηκον, ὅσοι δὲ καὶ
βασανίζατο, τούτους ἐπ' αἰκίασι ἀπολουμένους
συνελάμβανεν ὁ Δυκόρτας. τὸ δὲ σῶμα καύ-
sαντες αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ λείψανα συνθέντες εἰς
υδρίαν ἀνεξεύγυνουσαν, οὐκ ἅτακτως οὐδὲ ὡς ἔτυχεν,
ἀλλ' ἐπινίκιον πομπὴν τινα ἀμα ταῖς ταφαῖς
3 μίξαντες. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐστεφανωμένους ἰδεῖν, ἦν
dὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ δακρύουσας, ἦν δὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς
dεσμίους ἀγομένους. αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν υδρίαν ὑπὸ
πλῆθους ταυτίων τε καὶ στεφάνων μόλις ὀρωμένην
ἐκόμιζεν ὁ τὸν στρατηγοῦ τῶν 'Αχαιῶν παῖς

1 δ' αὐτῶν Bekker and Blass have δ' αὐτῶν (died by their
own hands), with Stephanus.
PHILOPOEMEN

about the horsemen, and particularly about Lycortas, and on being told by him that the greater part of them had escaped, he nodded his head, and with a kindly look at the man said to him: "That is good news, if we have not wholly lost." Without another word and even without a sigh he drained the cup and laid himself down again. He did not give the poison much to do, but breathed his last speedily, so weak was he.

XXI. Accordingly, when the report of his death reached the Achaeans, their cities were filled with general dejection and grief, and the men of military age, together with the members of the council, assembled at Megalopolis. With no delay whatsoever they proceeded to take revenge. They chose Lycortas general, invaded Messenia, and ravaged the country, until the Messenians with one consent received them into their city. Deinocrates anticipated their vengeance by making away with himself, but all the others who had voted to put Philopoemen to death they slew, and as for those who would have had him tortured also, these Lycortas seized and held for a more excruciating death. Then they burned Philopoemen's body, collected his ashes in an urn, and set out for home, not in loose or promiscuous order, but with a blending of triumphal procession and funeral rites. For their heads were wreathed with garlands while their eyes were full of tears, and they led their foes along with them in chains. The urn itself, almost hidden from sight by a multitude of fillets and wreaths, was borne by Polybius, the son of the Achaean general, and about

315
Πολύβιος καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν Ἀχαιῶν. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ὡπλισμένοι μὲν αὐτοὶ, τοῖς δὲ ὑποῖς κεκοσμημένοις ἐπηκολούθουν, οὔτε, οἴον ἐπὶ πένθει τοσοῦτο, κατηφεῖς οὔτε τῇ νίκῃ γαυρίωντες. ἐκ δὲ τῶν διὰ μέσου πόλεων καὶ κωμῶν ἀπαντώντες, ὡσπερ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ στρατείας ἐπανότα τοῦ ἐξιούμενοι, τῆς ὑδρίας ἐφῆπτοντο, καὶ συμπροῆγον εἰς Μεγάλην πόλιν. ὡς οὖν συγανεμίχθησαν αὐτοῖς οἱ πρεσβύτεροι μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ παιδῶν, ὀλοφυρμός ήδη διὰ παντὸς ἐχώρει τοῦ στρατεύματος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπιστροφαὶ τοὺς ἀνδρὰς καὶ βαρέως φέρουσαν, οἰομένην συναποβεβληκέναι τὸ πρωτεύειν ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς.

5 Ἐστάφη μὲν οὖν, ὡς εἰκός, ἐνδόξος, καὶ περὶ τὸ μνημεῖον οἱ τῶν Μεσσηνίων αἰχμάλωτοι κατελεύσθησαν. οὐσῶν δὲ πολλῶν μὲν εἰκόνων αὐτοῦ, μεγάλων δὲ τιμῶν, ἄς αἱ πόλεις ἐφηφίσαντο, Ἡρωαῖος ἀνήρ ἐν τοῖς περὶ Ὀρίνθου ἀνεκύμασι τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἐπεχείρησεν ἀνελεῖν ἀπάσας καὶ διώκειν αὐτὸν, ἐνδεικνύμενος, ὡσπερ ἢτι ζῶντα,

6 Ἡρωαῖοι πολέμιοι καὶ κακονοῦν γενέσθαι. λόγον δὲ λεχθέντων καὶ Πολυβίων πρὸς τὸν συκοφάντην ἀντειπότοις οὖθ' ὁ Μόμμος οὔτε οἱ πρέσβεις ὑπέμεινεν ἀνδρὸς ἐνδόξου τιμᾶς ἀφαύνασι, καὶ περὶ οὐκ ὀλγά τοῖς περὶ Τίτον καὶ Μάνιον ἐναντιωθέντος, ἀλλὰ τῆς χρείας τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐκεῖνοι καὶ τὸ

1 In 146 B.C., at the close of Rome’s war with the Achaean league.
PHILOPOEMEN

him were the chief men of the Achaeans. The soldiers followed after, in full armour themselves, and with their horses decorated; they were neither dejected in view of their great affliction nor exultant over their victory. Moreover, the people from the cities and villages on the way came to meet them, as if receiving Philopoemen on his return from an expedition; they laid their hands upon his urn, and accompanied him to Megalopolis. And so when they had been joined by the old men and by the women and children, a lamentation at once spread through the entire army and into the city, which longed for the presence of Philopoemen and was grievously cast down at his death, feeling that with him it had lost its supremacy among the Achaeans.

He was buried, then, as was fitting, with conspicuous honours, and at his tomb the captive Messenians were stoned to death. Many statues of him were erected and many honours decreed him by the cities. All these a Roman, in the disastrous days of Greece following the fall of Corinth,¹ attempted to have removed, and he attacked the memory of Philopoemen himself, accusing him, as if still alive, of having been a malevolent enemy of the Romans. After the proposal had been discussed and Polybius had spoken in opposition to Philopoemen's detractor, neither Mummius nor the members of the commission² would consent that the honours paid to an illustrious man should be obliterated, although he had made no little opposition to Flamininus and Manius. These judges distinguished, as

² A commission of ten, appointed by the Roman senate to settle the affairs of Greece. It was before this body that Philopoemen's memory was attacked and defended.

317
καλὸν, ὡς ἔοικε, τοῦ λυσιτελοῦς διώριζον, ὀρθῶς καὶ προσηκόντως τοῖς μὲν ὦφελοῦσι μισθὸν καὶ χάριν παρὰ τῶν εὗ παθόντων, τοῖς δὲ ἀγαθοῖς τιμήν ὀφείλεσθαι παρὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀεὶ νομίζοντες.

Ταῦτα περὶ Φιλοποίμενος.
PHILOPOEMEN

it would appear, between virtue and necessity, between honour and advantage. They rightly and fitly considered that benefactors ought always to receive reward and gratitude from their beneficiaries, and good men honour from the good.

So much concerning Philopoemen.
ΤΙΤΟΣ

Ι. Ὁν δὲ παραβάλλομεν αὐτῷ, Τίτος Κοήντιος Φλαμινίνος, ἰδέαν μὲν ὁποῖος ἦν πάρεστι θεάσασθαι τοὺς βουλομένους ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐρώτημα Χαλκῆς εἰκόνος, ἢ κεῖται παρὰ τὸν μέγαν Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν ἐκ Καρχηδόνος ἀντικρύ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου, γράμμασιν Ἑλληνικῷς ἐπιγεγραμμένη, τὸ δὲ ἱθὸς ὡς λέγεται γενέσθαι καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν καὶ πρὸς χάριν. 2 οὐ μὴν ὁμοίως, ἀλλ᾿ ἐλαφρὸς μὲν ἐν τῷ κολάζειν καὶ οὐκ ἑπίμονος, πρὸς δὲ τὰς χάριτας τελεσιούργος καὶ τοῖς εὐεργετηθεῖσι διὰ πάντος ὡς περευρεῖν τοῖς κτημάτων, τοὺς εὗ πεποιθότας ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ περείπειν ἀεὶ καὶ σώζειν. φιλοτιμότατος δὲ καὶ φιλοδοξότατος ὃν ἔβοῦλετο τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ μεγάλων πράξεων αὐτουργὸς εἶναι, καὶ τοῖς δεσμένοις εὐ παθεῖν μᾶλλον ὡς τοῖς εὗ ποιήσαι δυναμένοις ἔχαρις, τοὺς μὲν ὑλὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς, τοὺς δὲ ὡςπερ ἀντιπάλους πρὸς δόξαν ἠγιοῦμενος.

3 Παιδευθεὶς δὲ παιδείαν τὴν διὰ τῶν ἐθῶν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν, πολλοὺς τότε καὶ μεγάλους τῆς
TITUS FLAMININUS

I. In parallel with Philopoemen we shall put Titus Quintius Flamininus. What his outward appearance was may be seen by those who wish it from the bronze statue of him at Rome. It stands by the side of the great Apollo from Carthage, opposite the Circus,¹ and has upon it an inscription in Greek characters. As to his disposition, he is said to have been quick to show anger as well as to confer favours, though not in like extent. For he was gentle in his punishments and not persistent, whereas in his favours he was unremitting, always well disposed towards his beneficiaries as though they were his benefactors, and eager to protect at all times and preserve those who had ever met with kindness at his hands, as though they were his choicest possessions. But since he was covetous of honour and fame, he desired that his noblest and greatest achievements should be the result of his own efforts, and he took more pleasure in those who wanted to receive kindness than in those who were able to bestow it, considering that the former were objects upon which he could exercise his virtue, while the latter were his rivals, so to speak, in the struggle for fame.

From his earliest years he was trained in the arts of war, since at that time Rome was carrying on

¹ The Circus Flamininus is meant, which was erected in 221 B.C. by the censor Flamininus Nepos.
'Ρώμης ἀγωνιζομένης ἀγώνας καὶ τῶν νέων εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐν τῷ στρατεύεσθαι στρατηγεῖν διδασκομένων, πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀννίβαν πολέμῳ χιλιάρχος ὑπατεύοντι Μαρκέλλῳ συνεστρατεύσατο. καὶ Μάρκελλος μὲν ἐνέδρα περιπεσὼν ἐτελεύτησε, Τίτος δὲ τῆς περὶ Τάραντα χώρας καὶ Τύραντος αὐτοῦ τὸ δεύτερον ἡλικότος ἐπαρχός ἀποδείχθεις εὐδοκίμησεν οὐχ ἢττον ἐπὶ τοῖς δικαίοις ἢ κατὰ τὴν στρατείαν. διὸ καὶ πεπομένων ἀπολίκων εἰς δύο πόλεις, Νάρνειάν τε καὶ Κώνσαν, ἀρχὴν ἤρεθη καὶ οἰκιστής.

II. Τούτῳ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐπήρε μάλιστα τὰς διὰ μέσου καὶ συνήθεις τοῖς νέοις ἀρχὰς ὑπερβάντα, δημαρχίας καὶ στρατηγίας καὶ ἀγορασμίας, εὐθὺς αὐτὸν ὑπατείας ἄξιον· καὶ κατήχη τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν κληρονομίων ἔχων προθύμους. τῶν δὲ περὶ Φούλβιον καὶ Μάνιον δημάρχους ἐνισταμένων καὶ δεινὸν εἰναι λεγόντων ἄνδρα νέον εἰς τὴν μεγίστην ἀρχὴν εἰσβιάζεσθαι παρὰ τοὺς νόμους, οἷον ἀτέλεστον ἄτι τῶν πρῶτων ἱερῶν καὶ μυστηρίων τῆς 2 πολιτείας, ἢ μὲν σύγκλητος ἀπέδωκε τῷ δήμῳ τὴν ψήφον, ὁ δὲ δήμος ἀπέδειξεν αὐτὸν ὑπατον μετὰ Σέξτου Αἰλίου, καὶ περὶ οὗ πρὶς τριάκοντα ἐτῆς γεγονότα. κλήρῳ δὲ λαγχάνει τὸν πρὸς Φιλιππον καὶ Μακεδόνας πόλεμον, εὐτυχία τινὶ τῶν Ἄρωμαιών συλλαχῶν πράγμασι καὶ ἀνθρώποις οὐ πάντα πολέμῳ καὶ βία χρωμένοις δεομένοις ἄρχοντος.
TITUS FLAMININUS

many great contests and her young men from the very outset were taught by service as soldiers how to command soldiers. To begin with, then, he served as military tribune in the war against Hannibal under Marcellus the consul. Marcellus fell into an ambush and lost his life,¹ but Titus was appointed governor of the country about Tarentum and of Tarentum itself, now captured for the second time. Here he won a good name, no less for his administration of justice than for his conduct in the field. For this reason he was also chosen director-in-chief of the colonists sent out to the two cities of Narnia and Cosa.

II. This success more than anything else so exalted his ambition that he ignored the intervening offices which young men generally sought, the offices of tribune, praetor, and aedile, and thought himself worthy at once of a consulship; so he became a candidate for that office, with the eager support of his colonists. But the tribunes Fulvius and Manius opposed his course, and said that it was a monstrous thing for a young man to force his way into the highest office contrary to the laws, before he had been initiated, as it were, into the first rites and mysteries of government. The senate, however, referred the matter to the votes of the people, and the people elected him consul² along with Sextus Aelius, although he was not yet thirty years old. The lot assigned him to the war with Philip and the Macedonians, and it was a marvellous piece of good fortune for the Romans that he was thus designated for a field of activity where the people did not require a leader relying entirely upon war and

¹ In 208 B.C. Cf. the Marcellus, xxviii. f. ² In 198 B.C.
ΠΛΟΤΑΡΧΗΣ ΑΙΣΙΟΔΟΤΟΣ ΜΩΛΟΣ

καὶ ὁμιλία μᾶλλον ἀλωσίμοις.

3 Φιλίππω γὰρ ἦν στόμωμα μὲν εἰς μάχην ἀποχρῶν ἤ Μακεδόνων ἀρχῆ, ῥώμη δὲ πολέμου τριβὴν ἔχοντος καὶ χορηγία καὶ καταφυγῆ καὶ ἐργανὸν ὅλως τῆς φάλαγγος ἴδ τῶν Ἐπτῆνων δύναμις, ὃν μὴ διαλυθέντων ἀπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου μᾶς μάχης οὐκ ἦν ἐχθρὸν ὁ πρὸς αὐτὸν πόλεμος.

4 ἴ δ᾿ Ἐπτῶν οὕτω πολλὰ συνεννυχεμένη Ρωμαίοις,

αὐτὰ τότε πρῶτον ἐπιμεγγυμένη ταῖς πράξεσιν,

εἰ μὴ φύσει τε χρηστὸς ἴδ τὸ ἀρχῶν καὶ λόγῳ μᾶλλον ἴ πολέμῳ χρώμενος, ἐντυγχάνοντι τε 371 προσήν πιθανότης καὶ πράοτης ἐντυγχανομένῳ καὶ τόνος πλεῖστος ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων, οὐκ ἄν οὕτως ῥᾶδις ἀντὶ τῶν συνήθων ἀλλόφυλου ἀρχῆ ἡγάπησε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν πράξεων αὐτοῦ δηλοῦται.

III. Πυνθανόμενος δὲ ὁ Τίτος τοὺς πρὸ ἐκατοῦ στρατηγοὺς, τοῦτο μὲν Σουλπίκιον, τοῦτο δὲ Πόπλιον, ὑψεῖ τής ὀρας ἐμβαλόντας εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ τοῦ πολέμου βραδέως ἄψαμένους κατατερίθαι τοπομαχοῦντας καὶ διαπληκτιζομένους ἀκροβολισμοῖς ὑπὲρ ὅδων καὶ σιτολογίας 2 πρὸς τὸν Φιλίππον, οὐκ ψετὸ δεῖν, ὁσπέρ ἐκεῖνοι καταναλώσαντες οἴκοι τῶν ἐναιαντόν ἐν τιμαῖς καὶ πολιτείαις ὑστερον ἐξώρμησαν ἐπὶ τὰς στρατείας, οὕτως καὶ αὐτὸς ἐναιαντόν ἐπικερδᾶν τῇ ἀρχῇ, τὸν μὲν ὑπατεύσας, τῷ δὲ πολεμήσας, ἀλλ’ ὁμοῖον

326
TITUS FLAMININUS

violence, but were rather to be won over by persuasion and friendly intercourse. For the realm of Macedonia afforded Philip a sufficiently strong force for actual battle, but in a war of long duration his phalanx was dependent for its vigour, its support, its places of refuge, and in a word for its entire effectiveness, upon the states of Greece, and unless these were detached from Philip, the war with him would not be a matter of a single battle. Greece, however, had not yet been brought into much contact with the Romans, and now for the first time was drawn into political relations with them. Unless, therefore, the Roman commander had been a man of native goodness who relied upon argument more than upon war, and unless he had been persuasive when he asked an audience and kind when he granted one, ever laying the greatest stress upon what was right and just, Greece would not so easily have been satisfied with a foreign supremacy instead of those to which she had been accustomed. However, this will be made clear in the story of his achievements.

III. Titus learned that the generals who had preceded him in this field, first Sulpicius, and then Publius Villius, had invaded Macedonia late in the season, had prosecuted the war slowly, and had wasted time in manoeuvring for position or in long range skirmishes with Philip to secure roads and provisions. These men had squandered the year of their consulship at home in the honours and political activities of their office, and afterwards had set out on their campaigns. But Titus did not think it right to imitate them and thus add a year to his term of office, acting as magistrate during one, and
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

φιλοτιμούμενος ἐνεργὸν τῷ πολέμῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν παρασχεῖν, τὰς μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει τιμᾶς καὶ προ-
3 εδρίας ἀφῆκεν, αἰτησάμενος δὲ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Δεύκιον ἀρχοντα νεῶν συστρα-
τεύειν, καὶ τῶν μετὰ Σκηπτίωνος ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ μὲν Ἄσδρούβαν, ἐν Διβύῃ δὲ Ἀνώβαν αὐτὸν κατα-
μεμαχημένων τοὺς ἀκμάζοντας ἔτι καὶ προθύμους ἄναλαβὼν ὅσπερ στόμωμα, τρισχίλιους γενο-
μένους, εἰς τὴν Ἡπείρου ἀσφαλῶς διεπέρασε.

4 καὶ τὸν Πόπλιον εὐρῶν μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀντι-
στρατοπεδεύοντα τῷ Φιλίππῳ τὰς περὶ τὸν Ἁγιον ποταμὸν ἐμβολᾶς καὶ τὰ στενὰ φυλάτ-
tουτοί πολὺν ἤδη χρόνων, οὐδὲν δὲ περαιώντα
diὰ τὴν ὕψορτητα τῶν χωρίων, παρέλαβε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ τὸν Πόπλιον ἀποπέμψας κατε-
σκέπτετο τοὺς τόπους. εἰσὶ δὲ ὅχυροι μὲν οὕς ἦττον τῶν περὶ τὰ Τέμπη, κάλλη δὲ δένδρων, ὡς ἐκεῖνοι, καὶ χαλαρότητα ἔλης καὶ διαπρίθας καὶ

5 λειμώνας ἤδεῖς οὐκ ἔχουσιν. ὅρων δὲ μεγάλων καὶ ύψηλών ἐκατέρωθεν εἰς μίαν φάραγγα με-
γίστην καὶ βαθεῖαν συμφερομένων διεκπίπτων ὁ Ἅγιος καὶ σχῆμα καὶ τάχος ἐξομοίωται πρὸς
tὸν Πηνείον, τὴν μὲν ἀλλήν ἀπασαν ἀποκρύπτων ὑπώρειαν, ἐκτομὴν δὲ κρημνώδη καὶ στενὴν παρὰ τὸ ἰήθρον ἀπολείπτων ἀτραπόν, οὐδὲ ἀλλως ῥα-
δίαν στρατεύματι διελθείν, εἰ δὲ καὶ φυλάττοιτο, παντελῶς ἀπορον.

IV. Ἡσαν μὲν οὖν οἱ τὸν Τίτον ἄγεων κύκλω
diὰ τῆς Δασσαρήτιδος κατὰ Λύκου εύπορουν

328
TITUS FLAMININUS

as general for a second. On the contrary, he was ambitious to prosecute the war at the same time that he served as consul, and therefore renounced his honours and special privileges in the city, and after asking the senate that his brother Lucius might accompany him on his expedition as naval commander, he took with him as the main part of his force those of Scipio's soldiers who were still in full vigour of body and spirit after conquering Hasdrubal in Spain and Hannibal himself in Africa (they were three thousand in number), and crossed safely into Epirus. He found Publius Villius encamped with his forces over against Philip, who for a long time now had been guarding the narrow passes along the river Apsus. Publius was making no progress, owing to the strength of his adversary's position, and Titus therefore took over his army, sent Publius home, and began an examination of the ground. It has no less natural strength than the Vale of Tempe, but is without the beautiful trees, green woods, agreeable haunts, and pleasant meadows which there abound. Great and lofty mountains on either side slope down and form a single very large and deep ravine, and through this the Apsus dashes with a volume and speed which make it the equal of the Peneius. Its water covers all the rest of the ground at the foot of the mountains, but leaves a cut, precipitous and narrow, for a path along past its current; this path would not be easy for an army to traverse at any time, and when guarded, it would be utterly impassable.

IV. There were some, therefore, who tried to have Titus lead his forces by a roundabout way through
όδον καὶ ῥαδίαν ἐπιχειροῦντες. ὦ δὲ δεδοικὼς μὴ πόρρω θαλάττης ἐμβαλὼν ἐαυτὸν εἰς τόπους γλίσχρους καὶ σπειρομένους πονηρῶς τοῦ Φιλίπ- ποῦ φυγομαχοῦντος ἀπορήσῃ σιτίως καὶ πάλιν ἄπρακτος, ὠσπερ ὁ πρὸ αὐτοῦ στρατηγός, ἀνα- χωρεῖν ἀναγκασθῇ πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν, ἔγνως προσβαλὼν ἄνα κράτος διὰ τῶν ἀκρῶν βιάσα- 2 σθαὶ τὴν πάροδον. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ὄρη τοῦ Φιλίππου τῇ φάλαγγι κατέχοντος, ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων παντα- χόθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀκοντίων καὶ τοξευ- μάτων φερομένων, πληγαὶ μὲν ἐγίνοντο καὶ ἀγώνες οἷς καὶ νεκροὶ παρ’ ἀμφοτέρων ἐπιπτόν, οὐδὲν δὲ τοῦ πολέμου πέρας ἐσφαίρετο, προσήλθον ἀνθρωποὶ τῶν αὐτῶθι νεμόντων φράξοντες τίνα κύκλωσιν ἀμελουμένην υπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ἦ τὸν στρατὸν ἄξειν ὑπισχυοῦντο καὶ καταστῆσειν 3 μιλίστα τριταῖον ἐπὶ τῶν ἀκρῶν. γνώστην δὲ τῆς πίστεως παρεῖχοντο καὶ βεβαιωτὴν Χάροτα τῶν Μαχάτα, πρωτεύοντα μὲν Ἡπειρωτῶν, εἶνοι δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ὄντα καὶ κρύφα φόβῳ τοῦ Φιλίππου συναγωγιζόμενοι. ὅ πιστεύσας ὁ Τίτος ἐκπέμπει χιλίαρχον ἔνα πεζόν ἔχοντα τετρακισχίλιον καὶ ἱππεῖς τριακόσιοι. ἦγούντο δὲ οἱ νομεῖς ἐκεῖνοι δεδεμένοι καὶ τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας ἀνεπαύσοντο κοίλους προβαλλόμενοι καὶ ὑλώδεις τόπους, ὦδεον δὲ νύκτωρ πρὸς τὴν σελήνην· καὶ γὰρ ἦν διχόμηνος.

4 Ὁ δὲ Τίτος τούτων ἀποστείλας τὰς μὲν ἄλλας 371 ἡμέρας διανέπαυε τὸν στρατὸν ὅσα μὴ περισσᾶν τοῖς ἀκροβολισμοῖς τοὺς πολεμίους, καθ’ ἂν δὲ ἔμελλον ὑπερφανήσεσθαι τῶν ἀκρῶν οἱ περιοίντες,
TITUS FLAMININUS

Dassaretis towards Lycus, a safe and easy road. But he was afraid that if he went far away from the sea and got into regions that were poorly tilled and barren, while Philip avoided a battle, lack of provisions would compel him to come back again to the sea with his task undone, like the general who had preceded him. He therefore determined to attack with all his might, and force his passage through the heights. But Philip was occupying the mountains with his phalanx, and on the flanks of the Romans javelins and arrows came flying from all directions against them. Sharp encounters took place, men were wounded and men fell dead on both sides, and no end of the war was in sight. But at last some herdsmen of the vicinity came to Titus and told him of a roundabout path which the enemy was neglecting to guard; over this they promised to lead his army and bring it, in three days at the farthest, to a position on the heights. As surety and voucher for their good faith they brought Charops the son of Machatas, a leading man in Epirus, who was well-disposed to the Romans and was secretly co-operating with them through fear of Philip. In him Titus put confidence, and sent out a military tribune with four thousand foot-soldiers and three hundred horsemen. They were conducted by the herdsmen, who were in bonds. By day they rested under cover of caves or woody places, and they travelled in the night, by the light of the moon, which was at the full.

After sending off this detachment, Titus kept his army quiet for two days, except so far as he drew off the enemy's attention by skirmishes; but when the day came on which the enveloping party were expected to show themselves on the heights, at daybreak...
δὴ ἡμέρα πᾶν μὲν βαρύ, πᾶν δὲ ὑμμυρικὸν ὄπλον ἐκίνει· καὶ τριχῇ νείμας τὴν δύναμιν αὐτὸς μὲν εἰς τὸ στενώτατον παρὰ τὸ ῥεῖδρον ὀρθίας ἀνήγε τὰς σπείρας βαλλόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Μακε-δόνων καὶ συμπλεκόμενος τοὺς ἀπαντώσι περὶ 5 τὰς δυσχωρίας, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐκατέρωθεν ἄμα πειρωμένων ἀμιλλάσθαι καὶ ταῖς τραχύτησιν ἐμφυομένων προθύμως, ὁ τε ἡλίος ἀνέσχε καὶ κατιός οὐ βέβαιος, ἀλλ' οίον ὀρείος ὁμίχλη πόρ-ρωθεν ἀνατέλλων καὶ διαφαινόμενος τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους ἑλάνθανε, κατὰ νότον γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς, ἦδη τῶν ἄκρων ἐχομένων, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίοι δόξαν ἐσχόν ἀμφίβολον εὖ ἀγώνι καὶ πόνῳ τὴν ἐλπίδα 6 πρὸς τὸ Βουλόμενον λαμβάνοντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ μᾶλ-λον αὐξανόμενος καὶ διαμελαίνων τὸν ἀέρα καὶ πολὺς ἄνω χωρῶν ἐδηλοῦτο πυρσὸς ἐγουφίλιος, οἱ μὲν ἀλαλάξαντες ἐπέβαινον ἐρρωμένως καὶ συνέστελλον εἰς τὰ τραχύτατα τοὺς πολεμίους, οἱ δὲ ὁπίσθεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων ἀντηλάλαξαν.

V. Φυγὴ μὲν οὖν ἦν εὐθὺς ὀξεῖα πάντων, ἐπε-σον δὲ δισχιλῶν οὐ πλείους· ἀφθηρούντο γὰρ αἱ δυσχωρίαι τὴν δίωξιν. χρήματα δὲ καὶ σκηνὰς καὶ θεράποντας οἱ Ῥωμαίοι διαρτάσαντες ἐκρά-τουν τῶν στενῶν, καὶ διώδενον τὴν Ἡπείρου οὖντο κοσμίας καὶ μετ' ἐγκρατείας τοσαύτης ὡστε, τῶν πλοίων καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης μακρὰν ὄντας αὐτούς, καὶ τὸν ἐπιμήνιον σίτον μὴ μεμετρημένους οὐδ'
he put all his heavy-armed and all his light-armed troops in motion. Dividing his forces into three parts, he himself led his cohorts in column formation up into the narrowest part of the ravine along the stream, pelted with missiles by the Macedonians and engaging at close quarters with those who confronted him at each difficult spot; the other divisions, one on either side, strove to keep pace with him, and grappled eagerly with the difficulties presented by the rough ground. Meanwhile the sun rose, and a smoke—not clearly defined, but resembling a mountain mist—lifted itself and came into view from afar. The enemy did not notice it, for it was behind them, where the heights were already occupied, and the Romans were of doubtful mind about it, but as they struggled and laboured on, they let their wishes determine their hopes. But when the smoke increased in size and darkened the air, and ascending in great volume was clearly seen to be a fire-signal from their friends, then the Romans below raised shouts of triumph and dashed upon their foes and crowded them together into the roughest places, while the Romans behind the enemy sent down answering shouts from the heights.

V. At once, then, the enemy fled precipitately, but not more than two thousand of them fell;¹ for the difficulties of the ground made pursuit impossible. However, the Romans made spoil of their money, tents, and slaves, mastered the pass, and traversed all parts of Epirus, but in such an orderly manner and with so great restraint that, although they were far from their fleet and the sea, and although their monthly rations of grain had not been measured out

¹ So Livy, xxxii. 12.
εὐποροῦντας ἰγορρᾶς, ἀπέχεσθαι τῆς χώρας ἀμ-2 φιλαφεῖς ὠφελείας ἔχουσις. ὁ γὰρ Τίτος πυνθανόμενος τὸν Φιλίππου, ὡς ὁμοία φεύγοντι τὴν Θεσσαλίαν διερχόμενος τοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπους ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἀνίστησιν εἰς τὰ ὅρη, τὰς δὲ πόλεις καταπίμπησι, τῶν δὲ χρημάτων τὰ λειπόμενα διὰ πλῆθος ἤ βάρος ἀρπαγὴν προτίθεται, τρόπον τινὰ τῆς χώρας ἐξιστάμενος ἦδη Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο καὶ παρεκάλει τοὺς στρατιώτας ὥσπερ οἰκείας καὶ παρακεχωρημένης κυδώμενος βαδί-3 ξείν. καὶ μέντοι καὶ παρεῖχεν αὐτοῖς τὰ γιμόμενα τῆς εὐταξίας αἰσθήσιν εὐθὺς. προσεχόρουν μὲν γὰρ αἱ πόλεις ἀψαμένους Θεσσαλίας, οἱ δὲ ἐντὸς Πυλῶν Ἐλληνες ἐπόθουν καὶ διεπτόητο ταῖς ὀρμαῖς πρὸς τὸν Τίτον, Ἀχαιοὶ δὲ τὴν Φιλίππου συμμαχίαν ἀπειπάμενοι πολεμεῖν ἐψηφίσαντο 4 μετὰ Ῥωμαίων πρὸς αὐτὸν. Ὡσούντιοι δὲ, καὶ-περ Αἰτωλῶν τότε Ῥωμαίοις συναγωγικόμενως προθυμόταται καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀξιοῦντων παραλα-βεῖν καὶ φυλάττειν, οὐ προσέσχον, ἀλλὰ μεταπεμ-ψάμενοι τὸν Τίτον ἐκεῖνο διεπίστευσαν ἑαυτοὺς καὶ παρέδωκαν.

Πῦρρον μὲν οὖν λέγουσιν, ὡτε πρῶτον ἀπὸ σκοπῆς κατειδέ τὸ στράτευμα τῶν Ῥωμαίων διακεκοσμημένου, εἰπεῖν οὐ βαρβαρικὴν αὐτῷ φανῆαι τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων παραταξῆς: οἱ δὲ Τίτῳ πρῶτον ἐνυγχάνουσας Ṽαγκάξοντο παρα-5 πλησίας ἀφίναι φωνᾶς. ἀκούοντες γὰρ τῶν Μακεδόνων ὡς ἀνθρώπος ἄρχων βαρβάρου στρα-334
to them and they could buy little, they nevertheless refrained from plundering the country, which offered abundant booty. For Titus had learned that Philip, in passing through Thessaly like a fugitive, was driving the inhabitants from their cities into the mountains, burning down the cities, and allowing his soldiers to plunder the wealth which was too abundant or too heavy to be carried away, thus in a manner ceding the country already to the Romans. Titus was therefore ambitious, and exhorted his soldiers accordingly to spare the country in marching through it, and to treat it as though it had been handed over to them and were their own. And indeed the results showed them at once the advantages of this orderly conduct. For as soon as they reached Thessaly the cities came over to them, the Greeks south of Thermopylae were all eagerness and excitement to find Titus, and the Achaeans, renouncing their alliance with Philip, voted to join the Romans in making war upon him. The Opuntians, moreover, although the Aetolians, who were at that time fighting most zealously on the side of the Romans, asked permission to take Opus in charge and protect the city, would not grant the request, but sent for Titus and gave themselves with the fullest confidence into his hands.

Now, we are told that Pyrrhus, when for the first time he beheld from a look-out place the army of the Romans in full array, had said that he saw nothing barbaric in the Barbarians' line of battle;¹ and so those who for the first time met Titus were compelled to speak in a similar strain. For they had heard the Macedonians say that a commander

¹ Cf. the Pyrrhus, xvi. 5.
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

tiás ἐπεισὶ δ' ὀπλῶν πάντα καταστρεφόμενος καὶ δουλούμενος, εἶτα ἀπαντῶνεις ἀνδρὶ τὴν τε ἡλικίαν νέο καὶ τὴν ὄψιν φιλανθρώπῳ, φωνῆν τε καὶ διὰλεκτὸν “Ἐλληνι καὶ τιμῆς ἄληθος ἔραστη, θαυμασίως ἐκηλοῦντο, καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀπότεν ἐνεπίμπλασαν εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὥς ἔχοντας ἴγκεμόνα τῆς ἐλευθερίας. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Φιλίππῳ δοκοῦντι συμβατικῶς ἔχειν εἰς ταύτῳ ἐλθὼν προὔτεινε τιρῆνυ καὶ φιλιάν ἐπὶ τῷ τούς Ἐλλήνας αὐτονόμους εἶν καὶ τὰς φρουρᾶς ἀπαλλάττειν, ὃ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξατο, παντάπασαν ἤδη τότε καὶ τοῖς θεραπεύοντι τὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου παρέστη Ῥωμαίους πολεμήσονται ἢκειν οὐχ Ἐλληνικαί, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ Ἐλλήνων Μακεδόσι.

VI. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀλλα προσεχώρει καθ’ ἡσυχίαν αὐτῷ, τῇ δὲ Βοιωτίᾳ ἀπολέμως ἑπιπορευομένῳ Θῆβαιων ἀπήντησαν οἱ πρῶτοι, φρουόντες μὲν τὰ τοῦ Μακεδόνος διὰ Βραχύλλην, ἀσπαζόμενοι δὲ καὶ τιμῶντες τὸν Τίτον, ὡς φιλιᾶς πρὸς ἀμφο-

2 τέρον ὑπαρχοῦσης. ὃ δὲ ἐνυχὶν αὐτοῖς φιλανθρώπῳς καὶ δεξιωτερευμένος προῆγγεν ἡσυχῇ καθ’ ὁδὸν, τὰ μὲν ἐρωτῶν καὶ πυνθανόμενος, τὰ δὲ διηγοῦμένως, καὶ παράγων ἐπίτηδες ἄχρι τοὺς

3 στρατιώτας ἀναλαβεῖν ἐκ τῆς πορείας. οὔτω δὲ προάγων συνεισήχθη τοῖς Θῆβαιοις εἰς τὴν πόλιν, οὐ πάνυ μὲν ἱδρυόμενοι, οἴκνουσι δὲ κωλύειν, ἐπεὶ
of a barbarian host was coming against them, who subdued and enslaved everywhere by force of arms; and then, when they met a man who was young in years, humane in aspect, a Greek in voice and language, and a lover of genuine honour, they were wonderfully charmed, and when they returned to their cities they filled them with kindly feelings towards him and the belief that in him they had a champion of their liberties. After this Titus had a meeting with Philip (who seemed disposed to make terms), and proffered him peace and friendship on condition that he allowed the Greeks to be independent and withdraw his garrisons from their cities; but this proffer Philip would not accept. Then at last it became quite clear even to the partisans of Philip that the Romans were come to wage war, not upon the Greeks, but upon the Macedonians in behalf of the Greeks.

VI. Accordingly, the other parts of Greece came over to the side of Titus without any trouble; but as he was entering Boeotia without hostile demonstrations, the leading men of Thebes came to meet him. They were in sympathy with the Macedonian cause through the efforts of Brachyllas, but welcomed Titus and showed him honour, professing to be on friendly terms with both parties. Titus met and greeted them kindly, and then proceeded quietly on his journey, sometimes asking questions for his own information and sometimes discoursing at length, and purposely diverting them until his soldiers should come up from their march. Then he led them forward and entered the city along with the Thebans, who were not at all pleased thereat, but hesitated to oppose him, since a goodly number of
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

στρατιώται γε μέτροι το πλήθος εἵποντο. καὶ
μέντοι παρελθὼν ὁ Τίτος, ὡς οὐκ ἔχων τὴν πόλιν,
ἐπειθεν ἐλέσθαι τὰ Ῥωμαίων, Ἀττάλου τοῦ βασι-
λέως συναγορεύοντος αὐτῷ καὶ συνεξορμώντος
tοὺς Θηβαίους. ἀλλ’ Ἀτταλος μὲν, ὡς ἔοικε,
τοῦ γῆς προθυμότερον ἐαυτὸν τῷ Τίτῳ ῥήτορα
παρασχεὶν φιλοτιμούμενος, ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ λέγειν
προσπεσόντος ἱλίγγον τινὸς ἢ ῥεύματος ἀφ' ἡ
αἴσθησιν ἐπιληφθεῖς ἔπεσε, καὶ μετ’ ἀυτὸ τῷ
τὰς ναυσίν εἰς Ἀσίαν ἀποκομισθεῖς ἐτελεύτησεν οἱ
dὲ Βοιωτοὶ προσεχώρησαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις.

VII. Φιλίππος δὲ πρέσβεις πέμψαντος εἰς
Ῥώμην ἀπέστειλε καὶ ὁ Τίτος παρ’ αὐτοῦ τοὺς
πράξοντας ὡς ἐπιφυσάσθαι ἡ σύγκλητος
χρόνον αὐτῷ τοῦ πολέμου μένοντος, εἰ δὲ μῆ, δι’
ἐκεῖνον τὴν εἰρήνην γενέσθαι. φιλότιμος γὰρ ὁ
ἰσχυρὸς ἐδεδεί πεμφθέντος ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον
2 ἐτέρου στρατηγοῦ τῇ δόξῃ ἀθανασία. δια-
πραξαμένων δὲ τῶν φίλων αὐτῶ μήτε τὸν Φιλίπ-
πον ὃν ἔχομεν τουχεῖν καὶ τοῦ πολέμου τῆς
ἡγεμονίας ἐκεῖνος φυλαχθήναι, δεξαμένος τὸ δόγμα
καὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἔπαθε καὶ ἡθος ἐς Ἐθελλάιαν
ἐπὶ τὸν Φιλίππον πόλεμον ὄρμησεν, ὑπὲρ ἑξακισ-
χιλίων καὶ δισμυρίων ἱκον ἑπετρεπτας, ὃν
Αἰτωλοὶ πεζοὺς ἕξακισχίλιᾳς καὶ ἱππεῖς τετρα-
κοσίοις παρείχον. ἢν δὲ καὶ τοῦ Φιλίππου τὸ
στράτευμα τῷ πλήθει παραπλήσιον.

3 Ἐπεὶ δὲ βαδίζοντες ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλους καὶ γενόμενοι
περὶ τὴν Σκοτοῦσαν ἐνταῦθα διακινδυνεύειν ἐμελ-

1 Cf. Livy, xxxiii. 1 f.
2 So Livy, xxxiii. 4.
soldiers were in his following. Titus, however, just as though the city were not in his power, came before their assembly and tried to persuade them to side with the Romans, and Attalus the king seconded him in his appeals and exhortations to the Thebans. But Attalus, as it would appear, in his eagerness to play the orator for Titus, went beyond his aged strength, and in the very midst of his speech, being seized with a vertigo or an apoplexy, suddenly fainted and fell, and shortly afterwards was conveyed by his fleet to Asia, where he died. The Boeotians allied themselves with the Romans.

VII. Philip now sent an embassy to Rome, and Titus therefore dispatched thither his own representatives, who were to induce the senate to vote him an extension of command in case the war continued, or, if it did not, the power to make peace. For he was covetous of honour, and was greatly afraid that he would be robbed of his glory if another general were sent to carry on the war. His friends managed matters so successfully for him that Philip failed to get what he wanted and the command in the war was continued to Titus. On receiving the decree of the senate, he was lifted up in his hopes and at once hastened into Thessaly to prosecute the war against Philip. He had over twenty-six thousand soldiers, of whom six thousand infantry and four hundred cavalry were furnished by the Aetolians.\(^1\) Philip's army also was of about the same size.\(^2\)

The two armies advanced against each other until they came into the neighbourhood of Scotussa, and there they proposed to decide the issue by battle.\(^3\)

\(^1\) On the same battlefield Pelopidas had been defeated and slain by Alexander of Pherae, in 364 B.C. Cf. the *Pelopidas*, xxxii.
στρατιώται γε μέτριοι τὸ πλήθος εἴποντο. καὶ
μέντοι παρελθὼν ὁ Τίτος, ὡς οὖν ἔχαν τὴν πόλιν,
ἐπείθεν ἐλέσθαι τὰ Ρωμαίων, Ἀττάλου τοῦ βασι-
λέως συναγορεύοντος αὐτῷ καὶ συνεξορμῶντος
τοῦς Θηβαίους. ἂλλ' Ἀττάλος μέν, ὡς ἔοικε,
τοῦ γῆρως προθυμότερον ἐαυτὸν τῷ Τίτῳ ἡτορά
παρασχεῖν φιλοτιμούμενος, εἶν αὐτῷ τῷ λέγειν
προσπεσόντος ἱλίγγου τινὸς ἢ ἱεραματὸς ἀφιν τὴν
αἰσθήσεων ἐπιληφθεῖσας ἐπέσε, καὶ μετ' ό πολὺ ταῖς
ναυσὶν εἰς 'Ασίαν ἄποκομμασθεὶς ἐτελεύτησεν· οἴ
dὲ Βοιωτοὶ προσεχώρησαν τοῖς Ρωμαίοις.

VII. Φιλίππος δὲ πρέσβεις πέμψαντος εἰς
'Ρώμην ἀπέστειλε καὶ ὁ Τίτος παρ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς
πράξοντας ὡς ἐπιληφθεῖσαι ἢ σύγκλητος
χρόνον αὐτῷ τοῦ πολέμου μένοντος, εἰ δὲ μή, δ' ἐκείνου τὴν εἰρήνην γενέσθαι. φιλότιμος γὰρ ὄν
ἰσχυρῶς ἔδειξε πεμφθέντος ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον
2 ἐτέρου στρατηγοῦ τὴν δόξαν ἀφαιρεθήναι. δια-
πραξαμένων δὲ τῶν φιλῶν αὐτῷ μήτε τὸν Φιλί-
ππον ὄν ἔχοντες τυχεῖν καὶ τοῦ πολέμου τὴν
ήγερον ἐκείνῳ φυλαχθῆναι, δεξάμενος τὸ δόγμα
καὶ ταῖς ἐπισίν ἐπαρθεῖς εὐθὺς εἰς Θεσσαλίαν
ἐπὶ τὸν Φιλίππον πόλεμον ὄρμησεν, ὑπὲρ ἐξαισ-
χιλίους καὶ δισμυρίους ἔχων στρατιώτας, ὃν
Αἰτωλοὶ πεζοὺς ἐξαισχιλίους καὶ ἄνδρες τετρα-
κοσίους παρείχων. ἦν δὲ καὶ τοῦ Φιλίππου τὸ
στράτευμα τῷ πλήθει παραπλήσιον.

3 Ἐπεὶ δὲ βαδίζοντες ἐπὶ ἀλλήλους καὶ γενόμενοι
περὶ τὴν Σκοτοῦσαν ἐνταῦθα διακινδυνεύειν ἔμελ-

1 Cf. Livy, xxxiii. 1 f.
2 So Livy, xxxiii. 4.
soldiers were in the midst of their assembly and met with the Romans. And Attalus, when he saw him in his appearance and eloquence, 
But Attalus, as it were an orator, seized upon his strength, and in the very midst of the assembly seized with a vengeance as she came, and fell, and shortly after sailed to Asia, where he cast himself with the Romans. 

VII. Philip, now war was made between the representatives, who were to meet with him an extension of command continued, or, if it did not the people. 
For he was covetous of honours and afraid that he would be removed or that the general were sent to carry on the office of the others, matters so successfully. 
Failed to get what he wanted, the war was continued, in the decree of the Senate, 

and at once hastened his war against Philip. He sent a thousand soldiers, of whom an hundred cavalrymen, 
Philip's army also was of a thousand cavalrymen. 

The two armies met, they came into the region, there they perished. 

On the same spot, three hundred were slain by Alexander.
λον, ούχ, ὅπερ εἰκός ἦν, πρὸς δέους ἔλαβον οἱ στρατοὶ τὴν ἀλλήλων γειτνίασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον ὀρμῆς καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἐπηρεόμενοι, Ὀρμαῖοι μὲν, εἰ Μακεδόνων κρατήσουσιν, δόν ὄνομα δι' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀλκης καὶ δυνάμεως πλείστον ἦν παρ' αὐτοῖς, Μακεδόνες δὲ Ὀρμαῖοις Περσῶν ἡγούμενοι διαφέρειν ἠλπίζον, εἰ περιγένοιτο, λαμπρότερον ἀποδείξειν Ἀλεξάνδρου Φίλιππον. οNumberFormatException μὲν οὖν Τίτος παρεκάλει τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀνδρὰς ἀγαθοὺς γενέσθαι καὶ προθύμους, ώς ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ θεάτρῳ τῇ Ἑλλάδι μέλλοντας ἀγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν, οὐ δὲ Φίλιππος, εἴτε ἀπὸ τύχης εἴτε ὑπὸ σπουδῆς παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἀγνοῆσας, ἣν γὰρ τὸ πολυάνδριον ὕψηλον ἐξο τοῦ χάρακος, ἐπὶ τοῦτο προβὰς ἦρξατο μὲν, οἷα πρὸ μάχης φιλεῖ, διαλέγεσθαι καὶ παρομαὶ, ἁθυμίας δὲ δεινῆς πρὸς τὸν οἰωνὸν ἐκπεσοῦσης διαταραχθεῖς ἐπέσχε τὴν ἡμέραν ἔκεινην.

VIII. Τῇ δ' ύστεραιῃ περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον, ἐκ μαλακῆς καὶ νοτίου νυκτὸς, εἰς ὁμήχλῃ τῶν νεφῶν τρεπομένων, ἀνεπίμπλατο ξόφον καθεῶς πάν τὸ πεδίον, καὶ κατήπει παχὺς ἐκ τῶν ἄκρων ἄρ ἔς τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν στρατοπέδων, εὐθὺς ἀρχομένης ἡμέρας ἀποκρύπτων τοὺς τόπους. οἱ δὲ υπὸ ἀμφοτέρων ἀποσταλέντες ἐφεδρείας ἑνεκα καὶ κατασκοπῆς ἐν πάν βραχεὶ περιπεσόντες ἀλλήλοις ἐμάχοντο περὶ τὰς καλουμένας Κυνὸς κεφαλῖς, αἱ λόφων οὖσαι πυκνῶν καὶ παραλλήλων.
TITUS FLAMININUS

Their mutual proximity did not inspire them with fear, as might have been expected; on the contrary, they were filled with ardour and ambition. For the Romans hoped to conquer the Macedonians, whose reputation for prowess and strength Alexander had raised to a very high pitch among them; and the Macedonians, who considered the Romans superior to the Persians, hoped, in case they prevailed over them, to prove Philip a more brilliant commander than Alexander. Accordingly, Titus exhorted his soldiers to show themselves brave men and full of spirit, assured that they were going to contend against the bravest of antagonists in that fairest of all theatres, Greece; and Philip, too, began a speech of exhortation to his soldiers, as is the custom before a battle. But, either by chance or from ignorance due to an inopportune haste, he had ascended for this purpose a lofty mound outside his camp, beneath which many men lay buried in a common grave, and a dreadful dejection fell upon his listeners in view of the omen, so that he was deeply troubled and refrained from battle that day.

VIII. Towards morning on the following day, after a mild and damp night, the clouds turned to mist, the whole plain was filled with profound darkness, a dense air came down from the heights into the space between the two camps, and as soon as day advanced all the ground was hidden from view. The parties sent out on either side for purposes of ambush and reconnaissance encountered one another in a very short time and went to fighting near what are called the Cynoscephalae, or Dog's Heads. These are the sharp tops of hills lying close alongside one another,
άκραι λεπταὶ δι’ ὁμοιότητα τοῦ σχῆματος οὕτως

2 ὀνομάσθησαν. γενομένων δὲ οἷον εἰκὸς ἐν τόποις
σκληροῖς μεταβολῶν κατὰ τὰς φυγὰς καὶ διώξεις,
ἐκάτεροι τοῖς ποιοῦσιν ἀεὶ καὶ ὑποχωροῦσιν ἐπι-
πέμποντες βοήθειαν ἐκ τῶν στρατοπέδων, καὶ ἤδη
τοῦ ἀέρος ἀνακαθαιρομένου καθορῶντες τὰ γινό-
μενα πανστρατιὰ συνέβαλον.

Τῷ μὲν οὖν δεξιῷ περιήγορός ὁ Φίλιππος, ἐκ τόπων
καταφερῶν ὅλην ἐπερείσας τὴν φάλαγγα τοῖς
Ῥωμαίοις, τὸ βάρος τοῦ συνασπισμοῦ καὶ τὴν
τραχύτητα τῆς προβολῆς τῶν σαρισῶν οὐχ ὑπο-

3 μεινάντων τοῦ δ’ εὐωνύμου διασπασμοῦ ἀνὰ τοὺς
 λόφους καὶ περίκλασιν λαμβάνοντος, ὁ Τίτος, τὸ
μὲν ἡπτώμενον ἀπογυνούς, πρὸς δὲ θάτερον ἀξέως
παρελάσας, προσέβαλε τοῖς Μακεδόνις συστήναι
μὲν εἰς φάλαγγα καὶ πυκνῶσαι τὴν τάξιν εἰς
βάθος, ἤπερ ἦν ἀλκή τῆς ἑκείνων δυνάμεως, κωλυ-
μένους διὰ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν καὶ τραχύτητα τῶν
χωρίων, πρὸς δὲ τὸ κατ’ ἄνδρα συμπλέκεσθαι

4 βαρεῖ καὶ δυσέργῳ χρωμένους ὀπλισμῷ. ξύφῳ γὰρ
ἡ φάλαγξ ἐοικεν ἀμάχῳ τὴν ἵσχυν, ἔως ἐν ἐστὶ
σώμα καὶ τηρεῖ τὸν συνασπισμὸν ἐν τάξει μᾶ.
διάλυθείσης δὲ καὶ τὴν καθ’ ἔνα ῥώμην ἀπόλλυσι
τῶν μαχομένων ἐκαστὸς διὰ τὸ τῶν τρόπων τῆς
ὀπλίσεως καὶ ὅτι παντὸς ὅλου τοῖς παρ’ ἀλλήλων
μέρεσι μᾶλλον ἢ δι’ αὐτῶν ἵσχυε. τραπομένων
δὲ τούτων οἱ μὲν ἑδίωκοι τοὺς φεύγοντας, οἱ δὲ
τοὺς μαχομένους τῶν Μακεδόνων παρεκδραμόντες

371

342
TITUS FLAMININUS

and got their name from a resemblance in their shape. As was natural on a field so difficult, there were alternations of flight and pursuit, each party sending out aid from their camps to those who from time to time were getting the worst of it and retreating, until at last, when the air cleared up and they could see what was going on, they engaged with all their forces.¹

With his right wing, then, Philip had the advantage, since from higher ground he threw his entire phalanx upon the Romans, who could not withstand the weight of its interlocked shields and the sharpness of its projecting pikes; but his left wing was broken up and scattered along the hills, and Titus, despairing of his defeated wing, rode swiftly along to the other, and with it fell upon the Macedonians. These were unable to hold their phalanx together and maintain the depth of its formation (which was the main source of their strength), being prevented by the roughness and irregularity of the ground, while for fighting man to man they had armour which was too cumbersome and heavy. For the phalanx is like an animal of invincible strength as long as it is one body and can keep its shields locked together in a single formation; but when it has been broken up into its parts, each of its fighting men loses also his individual force, as well because of the manner in which he is armed as because his strength lies in the mutual support of the parts of the whole body rather than in himself. This wing of the Macedonians being routed, some of the Romans pursued the fugitives, while others dashed out upon the flank of the

¹ For a fuller description of the battle, cf. Livy, xxxiii. 7-10 (Polybius, xviii. 20-27).
Πλούταρχου ζωές

'ἐκ πλαγίων ἐκτενῶν, ὡστε ταχύ καὶ τοὺς νικῶντας
περισσοπάσθαι καὶ φεύγειν τὰ ὀπλα καταβαλ-5
λοντας. ἔπεσον μὲν οὖν ὁκτακισχιλίων οὐκ
ἐλάττους, ἐάλωσαν δὲ περὶ πεντακισχιλίους. τοῦ
δὲ τὸν Φίλιππον ἁσφαλῶς ἀπελθεῖν τὴν αἰτίαν
ἐλαβον Αἰτωλοί, περὶ ἄρπαγὴν γενόμενοι καὶ
πόρθησιν τοῦ χάρακος ἔτι τῶν Ῥωμαίων διω-
kόντων, ὡστε μηθὲν εὐρεῖν ἐκείνους ἐπανελθόντας.

IX. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐγένοντο λοιδορίαι καὶ
diaforai πρὸς ἀλλήλους αὐτοῖς. ἐκ δὲ τούτων
μᾶλλον ἀεὶ τὸν Τίτον ἐλύσουν ἐαυτοῖς ἀνατιθέντες
tὸ νίκημα καὶ τῇ φήμῃ προκαταλαμβάνοντες τοὺς
"Ελλήνας, ὡστε καὶ γράφεσθαι καὶ ἀδεσθαί προ-
tέρους ἐκείνους ὑπὸ ποιητῶν καὶ ιδιωτῶν ὑμνού-
tων τὸ ἔργον. ὅποι μάλιστα διὰ στόματος ἢν τούτι
τὸ ἐπίγραμμα:

"Ἀκλαυστοὶ καὶ ἄθαπτοι, ὀδοιπόρε, τὸ δ' ἐπὶ νώτῳ
Θεσσαλίης τρισσαὶ κείμεθα μυριάδες,
Αἰτωλῶν δημηδέντες ὑπ' "Ἀρεος ἢδε Λατίνων,
onοὺς Τίτος εὐρείης ἦγαγ' ἀπὶ Ἰταλίης,
'Ημαθίη μέγα πῆμα. τὸ δὲ θρασὺ κεῖνον Φιλίππου
πνεύμα θοῶν ἐλάφων ὀχεῖ ἐλαφρότερον.

3 Τούτῳ ἐποίησε μὲν Ἀλκαῖος ἐφυβρίζουν Φιλίππῳ
καὶ τὸν ἀρείμον τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐπιψυχόμενος,
λεγόμενον δὲ πολλαχοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν μᾶλλον
ἡμία τὸν Τίτον ἢ τὸν Φιλίππου. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀντι-
κωμιδῶν τὸν Ἀλκαίον τῷ ἐλεγείς παρέβαλεν.
TITUS FLAMININUS

enemy who were still fighting and cut them down, so that very soon their victorious wing also faced about, threw away their weapons, and fled. The result was that no fewer than eight thousand Macedonians were slain, and five thousand were taken prisoners. Philip, however, got safely away, and for this the Aetolians were to blame, who fell to sacking and plundering the enemy's camp while the Romans were still pursuing, so that when the Romans came back to it they found nothing there.

IX. This, to begin with, gave rise to mutual quarrels and recriminations; but afterwards the Aetolians vexed Titus more and more by ascribing the victory to themselves and prepossessing the minds of the Greeks with the fame of it, so that they were mentioned first in the writings and songs of poets and historians who celebrated the event. Of these the one most in vogue was the following epigram in elegiac verses:

"Unwept and without graves are we, O traveller, who on this ridge of Thessaly lie dead, in number thirty thousand, subdued by the sword of the Aetolians, and of the Latins whom Titus led from spacious Italy, Emathia's great bane. And the bold spirit that Philip had displayed was gone; it showed itself more agile than swift deer."

This poem was composed by Alcaeus in mockery of Philip, and its author exaggerated the number of the slain; however, being recited in many places and by many persons, it gave more annoyance to Titus than to Philip. For Philip simply made fun of Alcaeus with an answering elegiac distich:

345
'Αφλοιος καὶ ἀφυλλος, ὄδοιπόρε, τῷ ἐπὶ νότῳ
'Αλκαίῳ σταυρός πήγυνται ἢλίβατος;

4 τὸν δὲ Τίτον φιλοτιμούμενον πρὸς τοὺς Ἐλληνας
οὐ μετρίως παρῴχυνε τὰ τοιαύτα. διὸ καὶ τὰ
ὑπόλοιπα τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπραττε καθ’ ἐαυτόν,
ἐλάχιστα φροντίζων τῶν Αἰτωλῶν. οἱ δὲ ἦχθοντο,
καὶ προσδεξαμένου λόγους αὐτοῦ καὶ πρεσβεύοντα
ἐπὶ συμβάσεις παρὰ τοῦ Μακεδόνος, τούτῳ
ἐκείνῳ 1 περιόντες ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ἔβοιν,
pωλεῖσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην Φιλίππων, παρὸν ἐκκόψαι
τὸν πόλεμον ἀρδην καὶ ἀνελεῖν ἀρχήν ύφ᾽ ἦς
5 πρώτης ἐδουλώθη τὸ Ἐλληνικὸν. ταῦτα τῶν
Αἰτωλῶν λεγόντων καὶ διαταραττόντων τοὺς
συμμάχους, αὐτὸς οὐ Φιλίππος ἔλθων πρὸς τὰς
διαλύεις ἀνεῖλε τὴν ὑποψίαν, ἐπιτρέψας τῷ
Τίτῳ καὶ Ὁρμαίοις τὰ καθ᾽ αὐτόν. καὶ οὕτω
καταλύεται τὸν πόλεμον ὁ Τίτος· καὶ τὴν μὲν
Μακεδονικὴν ἀπέδωκεν αὐτῷ βασιλείαν, τῆς δὲ
Ἐλλάδος προσέταξεν ἀποστῆναι, χιλιόις δὲ τα-
λάντος ἐξημίωσε, τὰς δὲ ναῦς πάσας παρεῖλε
πλὴν δέκα, τῶν δὲ παίδων τὸν ἔτερον, Δημήτριον,
ὁμηρέυσαντα λαβὼν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπέστειλεν, ἀριστὰ
τῷ καιρῷ χρησάμενος καὶ προλαβὼν τὸ μέλλον.

6 Ὁ Ἀνάβηθος γὰρ τοῦ Ὀλυμπος, ἀνδρὸς ἐχθρίστον τῇ
Ῥωμαίοις καὶ φυγάδος, ἦδη τότε πρὸς Ἀντίοχον
ἡκοτός τὸν βασιλέα καὶ παροξύνοντος αὐτὸν εἰς

1 τούτῳ ἐκεῖνοι Coraës, with the MSS. : τούτῳ ἐκεῖνο after Reiske.

346
"Leafless and without bark, O traveller, on this ridge
A cross is planted for Alcaeus, and it towers in the
sun";

but Titus was ambitious to stand well with the
Greeks, and such things irritated him beyond
measure. For this reason he conducted the rest of
his business by himself, and made very little account
of the Aetolians. They on their part were displeased
at this, and when Titus received an embassy from
the Macedonian king with proposals for an agree-
ment, they went round to the other cities vociferously
charging him with selling peace to Philip, when it
was in his power to eradicate the war entirely and
destroy a power by which the Greek world had first
been enslaved. While the Aetolians were making
these charges and trying to make trouble among the
Roman allies, Philip himself removed all grounds for
suspicion by coming to terms and putting himself
and his realm in the hands of Titus and the Romans.
And in this manner Titus1 put an end to the war;
he returned to Philip his kingdom of Macedonia, but
ordained that he should keep aloof from Greece,
exacted from him an indemnity of a thousand talents,
took away all his ships except ten, and taking one of
his sons, Demetrius, to serve as hostage, sent him off
to Rome, thus providing in the best manner for the
present and anticipating the future.

For Hannibal the African, a most inveterate
enemy of Rome and an exile from his native country,
had already at that time2 come to the court of King

1 Rather, the ten commissioners sent from Rome to settle
the affairs of Greece (chapter x. 1). Cf. Livy, xxxiii. 30
(Polybius xviii. 44).
2 In 196 B.C., according to Nepos, Hannibal, vii. 6.
According to Livy (xxxiii. 47), it was in the following year.
πρόσθετη τή τύχη τῆς δυνάμεως ευ-
ροούσης, ἢδη καὶ καθ' ἐαυτὸν ὑπὸ πραγμάτων
μεγάλων, ἀ κατεργασάμενος μέγας ἐπωνυμάσθη,
πρὸς τὴν ἀπάντησιν ἡγεμονίαν ἀποβλέποντα, μά-
7 λιστα δὲ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀνιστάμενον, εἰ μὴ
tούτῳ προϊόντω ὁ Τίτος ἐμφρόνως ἐνέδωκε πρὸς
tὰς διαλύσεις, ἀλλὰ τὸν Φιλιππικὸν ὁ Ἀντιο-
χικὸς κατειλήφθη πόλεμος ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, καὶ
συνέστησαν ὑπ' αἰτίων ἀμφότεροι κοινών οἱ
μέγιστοι τῶν τότε καὶ δυνατῶτατοι βασιλέων ἐπὶ
tὴν Ῥώμην, ἐσχεν ἀν ἀγώνας εξ ὑπαρχῆς καὶ
8 κινδύνους τῶν πρὸς Ἀννίβαν οὐκ ἐλάττους. νῦν
dὲ τῶν πολέμων μέσην κατὰ καϊρὸν ἐμβαλὼν τὴν
eἰρήνην ὁ Τίτος, καὶ πρὶν ἀρξασθῇ τὸν μέλλοντα
dιακόψαι τὸν πάροντα, τοῦ μὲν τὴν ἐσχάτην
ἐλπίδα, τοῦ δὲ τὴν πρώτην ὑφεῖλεν.

Χ. Ἔσπει δὲ οἱ δέκα πρέσβεις, οῖς ἡ σύγκλιτος
ἐσπεμήσε τῷ Τίτῳ, συνεβούλευσαν τὸς μὲν ἄλλους
Ἑλλήνας ἀλευθεροῦν, Κόρυθον δὲ καὶ Χαλκίδα καὶ
Δημητριάδα διατηρεῖν ἐμφρόυρους ἐνεκα τῆς πρὸς
Ἀντίοχον ἀσφαλείας, ἐνταῦθα δὴ ταῖς κατηγο-
ρίαις λαμπροῖς λαμπρῶς τὰς πόλεις ἀνερρήγησαν
Αἰτωλοῦ, τὸν μὲν Τίτον κελεύσαντες τὰς πέδας τῆς
Ἑλλάδος λύειν (οὕτω γὰρ ὁ Φιλιππός εἰώθει τάς
2 προειρημένας πόλεις ὀνομάζειν), τοὺς δὲ Ἑλλήνας
ἐρωτῶντες εἰ κλοῖον ἐχοντες βαρύτερον μὲν,
λειτοτερον δὲ τοῦ πάλαι τὸν νῦν, χαίρουσι, καὶ
θαυμάζουσι τοῦ Τίτον ὡς εὐεργέτην, ὅτι τοῦ ποδὸς
λύσας τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοῦ τραχήλου δέδεκεν. ἐφ'
οἷς ἀχθόμενος ὁ Τίτος καὶ ἑαρέως φέρων, καὶ
dεόμενος τοῦ συνεδρίου, τέλος ἐξεπεισε καὶ ταύτας

348
TITUS FLAMININUS

Antiochus, and was trying to incite him to further achievements while fortune gave his power successful course. Antiochus himself also, in consequence of the magnitude of his achievements, by which he had won the title of Great, was already fixing his eyes on universal dominion, and had a particular hostility to the Romans. Therefore, had not Titus, in view of all this, made favourable terms of peace, and had the war with Antiochus in Greece found the war with Philip still in progress there, and had a common cause brought these two greatest and most powerful kings of the time into alliance against Rome, that city would have undergone fresh struggles and dangers not inferior to those which marked her war with Hannibal. But as it was, by interposing an opportune peace between the two wars, and by cutting short the existing war before the threatening war began, Titus took away the last hope from Philip, and the first from Antiochus.

X. And now the ten commissioners, who had been sent to Titus by the senate, advised him to give the rest of the Greeks their freedom, but to retain Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias under garrisons, as a safeguard against Antiochus. Thereupon the Aetolians stirred up the cities with the most vociferous denunciations, ordering Titus to strike off the shackles of Greece (for that is what Philip was wont to call these three cities), and asking the Greeks whether they were glad to have a fetter now which was smoother than the one they had worn before, but heavier; and whether they admired Titus as a benefactor because he had unshackled the foot of Greece and put a collar round her neck. Titus was troubled and distressed at this, and by labouring with the commission

349
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

tάς πόλεις ἀνείναι τῆς φρουρᾶς, ὅπως ὀλόκληρος ἡ χάρις ὑπάρχῃ παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς Ἐλλησιν.

3 Ἰσθμίων οὖν ἀγομένων πλῆθος μὲν ἀνθρώπων ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ καθήστο τὸν γυμνικὸν ἄγνωνα θεωμένων, οἷα δὴ διὰ χρόνων πεπαυμένης μὲν πολέμου τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἐπ' ἐλπίσιν ἐλευθερίας, σαφεὶ δὲ εἰρήνη παυγμαρίζουσης· τῇ σάλπυγι δὲ σιω- 

4 πῆς εἰς ἀπαντὰς διαδοθείσης, προελθὼν εἰς μέσον ὁ κήρυξ ἀνείπεν ὅτι Ῥωμαίων ἡ σύγκλητος καὶ 
Τίτος Κοίντιος στρατηγὸς ὑπατος καταπολεμήσαντες βασιλέα Φίλιππον καὶ Μακεδόνας, 
ἀφιᾶσιν ἀφροφήτοις. καὶ ἐλευθέρως καὶ ἀφορολογήτοις, νόμοις χρωμένως τοῖς πατρίοις, 
Κορινθίους, Δοκρούς, Φωκεῖς, Εὐβοέας, Ἀχαῖοις 
Φθιώτας, Μάγνητας, Θεσπολούς, Περραιβούς. τὸ 
μὲν οὖν πρῶτον οὐ πάνω πάντες οὖδὲ σαφῶς ἐπήκουσαν, ἀλλ' ἀνώμαλος καὶ θορυβώδης κίνη-

5 σις ήν ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ θαυμαζόντων καὶ διαπυ- 
θανομένων καὶ πάλιν ἀνεπείν κελεύντων ὡς δ' 

αὐθεὶς ἤσυχίας γενομένης ἀναγαγόν ὁ κήρυξ τῆν 
φωνὴν προδιηγότερον εἰς ἀπαντάς ἐγγενεῖ καὶ 
διήλθε τὸ κήρυγμα, κραυγὴ μὲν ἀπιστίον τὸ μέγε-
θος διὰ χαρὰν ἔχωρει μέχρι θαλάττης, ὁρθὸν δὲ 
ἀνειστήκει τὸ θέατρον, οὐδεὶς δὲ λόγος ἦν τῶν 
ἀγωνιζομένων, ἐσπευδόν δὲ πάντες ἀναπηδήσαι 
καὶ δεξιώσασθαι καὶ προσεπείν τὸν σωτῆρα τῆς 

375 Ἐλλάδος καὶ πρόμαχον.

6 Τὸ δὲ πολλάκις λεγόμενον εἰς ὑπερβολὴν τῆς 
φωνῆς καὶ μέγεθος ὀφθη τότε. κύρακες γάρ

350
TITUS FLAMININUS

finally persuaded it to free these cities also from their garrisons, in order that his gift to the Greeks might be whole and entire.

Accordingly, at the Isthmian games, where a great throng of people were sitting in the stadium and watching the athletic contests (since, indeed, after many years Greece had at last ceased from wars waged in hopes of freedom, and was now holding festival in time of assured peace), the trumpet signalled a general silence, and the herald, coming forward into the midst of the spectators, made proclamation that the Roman senate and Titus Quintius Flamininus proconsular general, having conquered King Philip and the Macedonians, restored to freedom, without garrisons and without imposts, and to the enjoyment of their ancient laws, the Corinthians, the Locrians, the Phocians, the Euboeans, the Achaeans of Phthiotis, the Magnesians, the Thessalians, and the Perrhaebians. At first, then, the proclamation was by no means generally or distinctly heard, but there was a confused and tumultuous movement in the stadium of people who wondered what had been said, and asked one another questions about it, and called out to have the proclamation made again; but when silence had been restored, and the herald in tones that were louder than before and reached the ears of all, had recited the proclamation, a shout of joy arose, so incredibly loud that it reached the sea. The whole audience rose to their feet, and no heed was paid to the contending athletes, but all were eager to spring forward and greet and hail the saviour and champion of Greece.

And that which is often said of the volume and power of the human voice was then apparent to the
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΗΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ

ὑπερπετόμενοι κατὰ τύχην ἐπέσουν εἰς τὸ στάδιον. αὐτία δὲ ἢ τοῦ ἀέρος ῥῆξις· ὅταν γὰρ ἡ φωνή πολλὴ καὶ μεγάλη φέρηται, διασπώμενος ὑπ’ αὐτῆς οὐκ ἀντερείδει τοῖς πετομένοις, ἀλλ’ ὀλιγοῦσθημα ποιεῖ καθάπερ κενεμβατοῦσιν, εἰ μὴ νὴ Δία πληγῇ των μᾶλλον ὡς ὑπὸ βέλους διελαυνόμενα πίπτει καὶ ἀποθνῄσκει. δύναται δὲ καὶ περιδίνησις εἶναι τοῦ ἀέρος, οἰον ἐλιγμόν ἐν πελάγει καὶ παλιρρύμην τοῦ σάλου διὰ μέγεθος λαμβάνοντος.

XI. Ὅ δ’ οὖν Τίτος, εἰ μὴ τάχιστα τῆς θέας διαλυθέντος ὑπιδόμενος τὴν φορὰν τοῦ πλήθους καὶ τὸν δρόμον ἐξέκλινεν, οὐκ ἄν ἐδόκει περιγενέσθαι τοσούτων ὅμω καὶ πάντοθεν αὐτῶ περιχεομένων. ὡς δ’ ἀπέκαμον περὶ τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ βοῶντες ἢ ὅθη νυκτὸς οὐσία, αὕτης οὐστινας ἴδοιεν ἡ φίλους ἡ πολίτας ἀσπαζόμενοι καὶ περιπλεκόμενοι, πρὸς δὲτπνα καὶ πότους ἐτρέποντο 2 μετ’ ἀλλήλων. ἐν ὦ καὶ μᾶλλον, ὡς εἰκός, ἠδομένοις ἐπήγει λογίζεσθαι καὶ διαλέγεσθαι περὶ τῆς Ἐκλάπδου, ὅσοι πολεμήσασα πολέμους διὰ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ὦπω τῶν βεβαιότερον οὐδὲ ἢδιον αὐτῆς, ἐτέρων προαγωνισμένων ὅλιγον δεῖν ἀναιμακτὸς αὐτῇ καὶ ἀπενθῆς φερομένη τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ περιμαχητότατον ἄθλον. ἤν δ’ ἀρα στάνοι μὲν ἀνδρεία καὶ φρόνησις ἐν ἀνθρώποις, σπανιώτατον δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν ὁ δίκαιος. 3 οἱ γὰρ Ἀγνήσιλαοι καὶ Λύσανδροι καὶ οἱ Νικίαι

352
TITUS FLAMININUS

eye. For ravens which chanced to be flying overhead fell down into the stadium. The cause of this was the rupture of the air; for when the voice is borne aloft loud and strong, the air is rent asunder by it and will not support flying creatures, but lets them fall, as if they were over a vacuum, unless, indeed, they are transfixed by a sort of blow, as of a weapon, and fall down dead. 1 It is possible, too, that in such cases there is a whirling motion of the air, which becomes like a waterspout at sea with a refluent flow of the surges caused by their very volume.

XI. Be that as it may, had not Titus, now that the spectacle was given up, at once foreseen the rush and press of the throng and taken himself away, it would seem that he could hardly have survived the concourse of so many people about him at once and from all sides. But when they were tired of shouting about his tent, and night was already come, then, with greetings and embraces for any friends and fellow citizens whom they saw, they betook themselves to banqueting and carousing with one another. And here, their pleasure naturally increasing, they were moved to reason and discourse about Greece, saying that although she had waged many wars for the sake of her freedom, she had not yet obtained a more secure or more delightful exercise of it than now, when others had striven in her behalf, and she herself, almost without a drop of blood or a pang of grief, had borne away the fairest and most enviable of prizes. Verily, they would say, valour and wisdom are rare things among men, but the rarest of all blessings is the just man. For men like Agesilaüs, or Lysander, or Nicias, or Alcibiades could indeed

1 Cf. the Pompey, xxv. 7.

VOL. X.

353
καὶ οἱ Ἀλκιβιάδαι πολέμους μὲν εὖ διεπεῖν καὶ μάχας νικᾶν κατὰ τε γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν ἀρχοντες ἦπισταντο, χρῆσθαι δὲ πρὸς χάριν εὐγενῆ καὶ τὸ καλὸν οἷς κατώρθουν οὐκ ἔγνωσαν, ἀλλ' εἰ τὸ Μαραθώνιον τις ἔργον ἀφέλοι καὶ τὴν ἐν Σαλαμίνι ναυμαχίαν καὶ Πλαταιὰς καὶ Θερμοπύλας καὶ τὰ πρὸς Εὐρυμέδοντι καὶ τὰ περὶ Κύπρον Κύμωνος ἔργα, πάσας τὰς μάχας ἡ Ἑλλάς ἐπὶ δουλεία μεμάχηται πρὸς αὐτὴν, καὶ τὰν τρόπαιον αὐτῆς συμφορὰ καὶ δόειδος ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἔστηκε, τὰ πλεῖστα κακία καὶ φιλονεικία τῶν ἡγουμένων περιτραπείσης. ἀλλοφυλοὶ δὲ ἄνδρες, ἐναῦσματα μικρὰ καὶ γλίσχρα κοινωνήματα παλαιοῦ γένους ἔχειν δοκοῦντες, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ λόγῳ τι καὶ γνώμῃ τῶν χρησίμων ὑπάρξαι τῇ Ἑλλάδι θαυμαστὸν ἦν, οὕτω τοῖς μεγίστοις κινδύνοις καὶ πόνοις ἐξελόμενοι τὴν Ἑλλάδα δεσποτῶν χαλεπῶν καὶ τυράννων ἐλευθεροῦσι.

XII. Ταῦτα δὴ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ὑπήει καὶ τὰ τῶν ἔργων ὀμολογοῦντα τοῖς κηρύγμασιν. ἀμα γὰρ ἐξέπεμπεν ὁ Τίτος Λέντλον μὲν εἰς Ἀσίαν Βαργυλιήτας ἐλευθεροῦσαν, Στερτίνιον δὲ εἰς Ὄρακην τὰς αὐτόθι πόλεις καὶ νῆσους ἀπαλλάξοντα τῶν Φιλίππου φρουρῶν. Πόπλιος δὲ Οὐίλλιος ἐπλεί διαλεξόμενος Ἀντιόχῳ περὶ τῆς τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Τίτος εἰς Χαλκίδα παρελθὼν, εἶτα πλεύσας ἐκείθεν ἐπὶ Μαγνησίαν, ἐξῆρε τὰς φρουρὰς καὶ τὰς πολιτείας ἀπεδίδον τοῖς δήμοις. ἀγωνιόθετης δὲ Νεμέων ἀποδειχθεὶς ἐν Ἁρχεί τὴν τε πανήγυριν ἀριστα διεδήκη, καὶ πάλιν ἐκεὶ τοῖς Ἑλλησ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ὑπὸ κήρυκος ἀνείπεν.
TITUS FLAMININUS

conduct wars well, and understood how to be victorious commanders in battles by land and sea, but they would not use their successes so as to win legitimate favour and promote the right. Indeed, if one excepts the action at Marathon, the sea-fight at Salamis, Plataea, Thermopylae, and the achievements of Cimon at the Eurymedon and about Cyprus, Greece has fought all her battles to bring servitude upon herself, and every one of her trophies stands as a memorial of her own calamity and disgrace, since she owed her overthrow chiefly to the baseness and contentiousness of her leaders. Whereas men of another race, who were thought to have only slight sparks and insignificant traces of a common remote ancestry, from whom it was astonishing that any helpful word or purpose should be vouchsafed to Greece—these men underwent the greatest perils and hardships in order to rescue Greece and set her free from cruel despots and tyrants.

XII. So ran the thoughts of the Greeks; and the acts of Titus were consonant with his proclamations. For at once he sent Lentulus to Asia to set Bargylia free, and Stertinius to Thrace to deliver the cities and islands there from Philip's garrisons. Moreover, Publius Villius sailed to have a conference with Antiochus concerning the freedom of the Greeks who were under his sway. Titus himself also paid a visit to Chalcis, and then sailed from there to Magnesia, removing their garrisons and restoring to the peoples their constitutions. He was also appointed master of ceremonies for the Nemeian games at Argos, where he conducted the festival in the best possible manner, and once more publicly proclaimed freedom to the
3 ἐπιφοιτῶν τε ταῖς πόλεσιν εὐνομίαν ἀμα καὶ
dίκην πολλήν ὁμόνοιαν τε καὶ φιλοφροσύνην
πρὸς ἀλλήλους παρεῖχε, καταπαύων μὲν τὰς
στάσεις, κατάγων δὲ τὰς φυγάς, ἀγαλλόμενος δὲ
τῷ πείθειν καὶ διαλλάσσειν τοὺς Ἐλλήνας οὖν
ἡττον ἢ τῷ κεκρατηκέναι τῶν Μακεδόνων, ὡστε
μικρότατον ἤδη τὴν ἐλευθερίαν δοκεῖν ὑπὸ εὐεργε-
tοῦντο.

4 Ἐνοκράτην μὲν οὖν τὸν φιλόσοφον, ὅτε Δυ-
κούργος αὐτὸν ὁ ρήτωρ ὕπο τῶν τελωνῶν ἤγομε-
νον πρὸς τὸ μετοίκιον ἀφείλετο καὶ τοῖς ἀγουσιν
ἐπέθηκε δίκην τῆς ἀσελγείας, λέγεται τοῖς παισὶν
ἀπαντήσαντο τοῦ Δυκούργου, “Καλὴν γε ὑμῶν,
ὡς παῖδες,” φάναι, “τῷ πατρί χαρίν ἀποδίδωμι
πάντες γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπαίνοις ἐφ' ὅς ἐπραξε,”
Τίτῳ δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὅν τοὺς Ἐλλήνας εὐεργε-
tησαν οὐκ εἰς ἐπαίνος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πίστιν
ἐν πάσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ δύναμιν ἡ χάρις ἀπήντα
5 δικαίως. οὐ γὰρ προσδεχόμενοι μόνον τοὺς
ηγεμόνας αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεταπεμτόμενοι καὶ
καλοῦντες ἐνεχείριζον αὐτοὺς. οὐδὲ δήμοι καὶ
πόλεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλεῖς ύφ' ἐτέρων ἀδικοῦ-
μενοι βασιλέως κατέφευγον εἰς τὰς ἐκείνων
χεῖρας, ὡστε ἐν βραχεῖ χρόνῳ, τάχα ποῦ καὶ
θεοῦ συνεφαπτομένου, πάντα αὐτοῖς ὑπῆκοα
γενέσθαι. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ μέγιστον ἐφρόνησεν ἐπὶ
6 τῇ τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἐλευθερώσει. ἀνατίθεις γὰρ εἰς
Δελφοὺς ἀσπίδας ἀργυρᾶς καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θυρεόν
ἐπέγραψε.
TITUS FLAMININUS

Greeks. Then he visited the different cities, establishing among them law and order, abundant justice, concord, and mutual friendliness. He quieted their factions and restored their exiles, and plumed himself on his persuading and reconciling the Greeks more than on his conquest of the Macedonians, so that their freedom presently seemed to them the least of his benefactions.

Xenocrates the philosopher, as the story runs, was once being haled away to prison by the tax-collectors for not having paid the alien’s tax, but was rescued out of their hands by Lycurgus the orator, who also visited the officials with punishment for their impudence. Xenocrates afterwards met the sons of Lycurgus, and said: “My boys, I am making a noble return to your father for his kindness towards me; for all the world is praising him for what he did.” In the case of Titus and the Romans, however, gratitude for their benefactions to the Greeks brought them, not merely praises, but also confidence among all men and power, and justly too. For men not only received the officers appointed by them, but actually sent for them and invited them and put themselves in their hands. And this was true not only of peoples and cities, nay, even kings who had been wronged by other kings fled for refuge into the hands of Roman officials, so that in a short time—and perhaps there was also divine guidance in this—everything became subject to them. But Titus himself took most pride in his liberation of Greece. For in dedicating at Delphi some silver bucklers and his own long shield, he provided them with this inscription:—
Ζηνὸς ἱδί κραίτναισι γεγαθότες ἐπεισώναισι
κούροι, ἱδί Σπάρτας Τυνδαρίδαι βασιλεῖς,
Ἀϊνείδας Τίτος ὑμμών ὑπέρτατον ὅπασε δῶρον,
Ἐλλήνων τεῦξας παισὶν ἐλευθερίαν.

7 ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ χρυσοῦν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι στέφανον
ἐπιγράψας.

Τόνδε τοι ἀμβροσίωσιν ἐπὶ πλοκάμωσιν ἔσκε ἦν
κεῖσθαι, Λατοίδα, χρυσοφαΐ στέφανον,
ὅν πόρεν Ἀϊνειδᾶν ταγὸς μέγας. ἄλλ',
Ἐκαέργην,
ἀλκὰς τῷ θείῳ κύδος ὅπασε Τίτῳ.

8 Τῇ δ' οὖν Κορίνθιων πόλει πρὸς τοὺς Ἐλλήνας
τὸ αὐτὸ δίς ἢ ἤδη συμβέβηκε καὶ γὰρ Τίτος ἐν
Κορίνθῳ τότε καὶ Νέρων αὐθίς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν
Κορίνθῳ παραπλησίως Ἰσθμίων ἀγομένων τοὺς
Ἐλλήνας ἐλευθέρους καὶ αὐτονόμους ἀφήκαν, ὅ
μὲν διὰ κήρυκος, ὡς εἰρηταί, Νέρων δὲ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ
tῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀπὸ βῆματος ἐν τῷ πλήθει δημηγο-
ρίᾳ. ἄλλα ταῦτα μὲν ὑστερον.

XIII. Ὅ δὲ Τίτος τότε καλλιστοῦ καὶ δικαιο-
τάτον τοῦ πρὸς Νάβιν ἀρξάμενος πολέμου, τὸν
Λακεδαιμονίων εξωλέστατον καὶ παρανομώτατον
tύραννον, ἐν τῷ τέλει διεφεύγα πᾶς τῆς Ἐλλάδος
ἐλπίδας, ἐλεῖν παρασχὼν οὐκ ἑθελήσας, ἄλλα
σπεισάμενος καὶ προεμνος τῇ Σπάρτῃ ἀναξίως
dουλεύουσαν, εἰτε δείσας μὴ τοῦ πολέμου μῆκος
λαμβάνοντος ἄλλος ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐπελθὼν στρα-

1 ἔσκε an anonymous correction adopted by Sinentis and
Blass; Coraës and Bekker retain the vulgate ἔθηκε.
2 ὃν Bekker corrects to ὃς, after Jacobs.
3 δ' οὖν Bekker and Blass: γοῦν.
TITUS FLAMININUS

"O ye sons of Zeus, whose joy is in swift horsemanship, O ye Tyndaridae, princes of Sparta, Titus, a descendant of Aeneas, has brought you a most excellent gift, he who for the sons of the Greeks wrought freedom."

He also dedicated a golden wreath to Apollo, and it bore this inscription:—

"This will fitly lie on thine ambrosial locks, O son of Leto, this wreath with sheen of gold; it is the gift of a great leader whose descent is from Aeneas. Therefore, O Far-darter, bestow upon the god-like Titus the glory due to his prowess."

It follows, then, that the city of Corinth has twice now been the scene of the same benefaction to the Greeks; for it was in Corinth that Titus at this time, and at Corinth that Nero again in our own times—in both cases at the Isthmian games—made the Greeks free and self-governing, Titus by voice of herald, but Nero in a public address which he delivered in person, on a tribunal in the market-place amidst the multitude. This, however, came at a later time.¹

XIII. Titus now began a most honourable and righteous war, the war against Nabis, that most pernicious and lawless tyrant of Sparta, but in the end he disappointed the hopes of Greece. For though it was in his power to capture the tyrant, he refused to do so, and made peace with him, thus leaving Sparta to the fate of an unworthy servitude. He was led to this step either by his fear that a protraction of the war would bring another general from Rome.

¹ In 67 A.D.
τηγὸς ἀνέληται τῇν δόξαν, εἶτε φιλονεικία καὶ
2 ξηλοτυπία τῶν Φιλοποίμενος τιμῶν, ὅν ἐν τε τοῖς
ἀλλοίς ἀπασιν ἀνδρὰ δεινότατον τῶν Ἔλληνων
ὑπάτη καὶ περὶ ἐκείνῳ τὸν πόλεμον ἔργα θαυμαστὰ
τόλμης καὶ δεινότητος ἀποδειξάμενον ἵσα τῷ Τίτῳ
κυδαίνοντες 'Αχαιοὶ καὶ τιμῶντες ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις
ἐλύποις ἐκείνον, οὐκ ἔξω συν Ἰωάννην 'Ρωμαίων ὑπάτων
προσπελευόμεντι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνθρωπον 'Αρκάδα,
μεκρῶν καὶ ὀμόρφων πολέμων στρατηγῶν, ὡμοία
3 θαυμάζεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὁ
Τίτος ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀπελογεῖτο, καταθέσατο τὸν
πόλεμον ὡς ἐώρα σὺν κακῷ μεγάλῳ τῶν ἄλλων
Σπαρτιατῶν ἀπολούμενον τῶν τύραννων.
Τῶν δὲ 'Αχαιῶν αὐτῷ πολλὰ πρὸς τιμήν
ψηφισμένων οὐδὲν ἐδόκει πρὸς τὰς εὐεργεσίας
ἐξισούσθαι πλὴν μᾶς δωρεᾶς, ἵνα ἐκεῖνος ἀντὶ
4 πάντων ἡγάπησεν. ἴνα δὲ τοιάδε. Ἐρωμάιων οἱ
dυστυχήσαντες ἐν τῷ πρὸς 'Ανύθιαν πόλεμο
πολλαχοῦ μὲν ὁνοῖο γενόμενοι καὶ διασπαρέντες
ἐδούλευον ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἑλλάδι χίλιοι καὶ διακόσιοι
tὸ πλῆθος ἦσαν, ἀεὶ μὲν οίκτοι τῆς μεταβολῆς,
tὸτε δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον, ὡς εἰκός, ἐντυχάνοντες οἱ
μὲν νίοις, οἱ δὲ ἀδελφοῖς, οἱ δὲ συνήθεσιν, ἐλευθέ-
5 ροῖς δοῦλοι καὶ νικώσιν αἰχμάλωτοι. τοῦτοις οἱ
μὲν Τίτος οὐκ ἀφείλετο τῶν κεκτημένων, καὶ περ
ἀνιώμενος ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς, οἱ δὲ 'Αχαιοὶ λυτρωσάμενοι

1 Cf. the Philopoemen, xv. 1-3.
TITUS FLAMININUS

to succeed him and rob him of his glory, or by his jealous displeasure at the honours paid to Philopoemen. For in all other matters Philopoemen was a most capable man among the Greeks, and in that war particularly he displayed astonishing deeds of ability and daring, so that he was extolled by the Achaeans as much as Titus, and equally honoured in their theatres. This annoyed Titus, who thought it out of keeping that a man of Arcadia, who had held command in small border wars, should receive just as much admiration from the Achaeans as a Roman consul, who was waging war in behalf of Greece.¹ However, Titus himself had this to say in defence of his course, namely, that he put an end to the war when he saw that the destruction of the tyrant would involve the rest of the Spartans also in serious disaster.²

The Achaeans voted Titus many honours, none of which seemed commensurate with his benefactions except one gift, and this caused him as much satisfaction as all the rest put together. And this was the gift: The Romans who were unhappily taken prisoners in the war with Hannibal had been sold about hither and thither, and were serving as slaves. In Greece there were as many as twelve hundred of them. The change in their lot made them pitiful objects always, but then even more than ever, naturally, when they fell in with sons, or brothers, or familiar friends, as the case might be, slaves with freemen and captives with victors. These men Titus would not take away from their owners, although he was distressed at their condition, but the Achaeans

¹ Titus offered this defence of his course to the congress of Greek states at Corinth (Livy, xxxiv. 48 f.).

²
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

πέντε μνών ἔκαστον ἄνδρα καὶ συναγαγόντες εἰς
tαύτὸ πάντας ἦδη περὶ πλοῦν ὑντὶ τῷ Τίτῳ παρέ-
δωκαν, ὃστε αὐτὸν εὐθραυστέου ἀποτλεῖν, ἀπὸ
καλῶν ἑργών καλὰς ἁμοιβὰς καὶ πρεποῦσας ἄνδρὲς
μεγάλῳ καὶ φιλοπολίτῃ κεκομισμένον· ὃ δὴ δοκεῖ
πρὸς τὸν θραύμβουν αὐτῷ πάντων ὑπάρξαι λαμπρό-
tατον. οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες οὗτοι, καθάπερ ἔθος ἔστι
τῶν οἰκέταις ὅταν ἔλευθερωθῶσιν, ξύρεσθαι τῇ
tὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ τίλιά φορεῖν, ταῦτα δράσαντες
αὐτοὶ θριαμβεύοντο τῷ Τίτῳ παρείποντο.

XIV. Καλλίω δὲ καὶ τὰ λάφυρα πομπευόμενα
παρείγετο ὅψιν, Ἑλληνικὴ κραῖνη καὶ πέλται
Μακεδονικαὶ καὶ σάρισαι. τὸ τῶν χρημάτων
πλῆθος οὐκ ὅλιγον ἦν, ὡς ἀναγράφουσιν οἱ περὶ
Τουδιτανῶν ἐν τῷ θραύμβῳ κομισθῆναι χρυσὸν
μὲν συγκεκωνυμένου λίτρας τρισχιλίας ἐπτα-
κοσίας δεκατρεῖς, ἀργυρὸν δὲ τετρακισμυρίας
τρισχιλίας διακοσίας ἐβδομήκοντα, φιλιππεῖοις
δὲ χρυσοὺς μυρίους τετρακισχιλίους πεντακοσίους
δεκατέσσαρας, χωρὶς δὲ τούτων τὰ χίλια τάλαντα
Φιλίππος ὥφειλεν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὑστερον
ἐπείσθησαν Ρωμαῖοι, μάλιστα τοῦ Τίτου συμπρά-
ξαντος, ἀφείναι τῷ Φιλίππῳ, καὶ σύμμαχον
ἐγκήρισαντο, καὶ τὸν νῦν ἀπῆλλαξαν αὐτῷ τῆς
ομηρίας.

XV. Ἐπεῖ δὲ Ὦ ὁ Ἀντίοχος εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα
ναυσὶ πολλαῖς καὶ στρατῷ περαιώθεις ἀφίστη
τὰς πόλεις καὶ διεστασίαζεν, Αἰτωλῶν αὐτῷ
συνεπιλαμβανομένων καὶ πάλαι διακειμένων πρὸς

1 The mina was one sixtieth part of a talent, or one
hundred drachmas.

362
ransomed them all at five minas\(^1\) the man, collected them together, and made a present of them to Titus just as he was about to embark, so that he sailed for home with a glad heart; his noble deeds had brought him a noble recompense, and one befitting a great man who loved his fellow citizens. This appears to have furnished his triumph with its most glorious feature. For these men shaved their heads and wore felt caps, as it is customary for slaves to do when they are set free, and in this habit followed the triumphal car of Titus.

XIV. But a more beautiful show was made by the spoils of war which were displayed in the procession—Greek helmets and Macedonian bucklers and pikes. Besides, the amount of money exhibited was large. Tuditanus records that there were carried in the procession three thousand seven hundred and thirteen pounds of gold bullion, forty-three thousand two hundred and seventy pounds of silver, and fourteen thousand five hundred and fourteen gold coins bearing Philip’s effigy.\(^2\) And apart from this money Philip owed his fine of a thousand talents.\(^3\) This fine, however, the Romans were afterwards persuaded to remit to Philip, and this was chiefly due to the efforts of Titus; they also made Philip their ally, and sent back his son whom they held as hostage.

XV. Presently, however, Antiochus crossed into Greece\(^4\) with many ships and a large army, and began to stir the cities into faction and revolt. The Aetolians made common cause with him, a people which had long been most inimically disposed towards

\(^1\) These “Philips” were nearly equivalent to sovereigns. Cf. Livy’s description of the triumph (xxxiv. 52).
\(^2\) Cf. chapter ix. 5.
\(^3\) In the autumn of 192 B.C.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

tòn Ῥωμαίων δήμων ἔχθρῶς καὶ πολεμικῶς, ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ πολέμου καὶ πρόφασιν διδόντων ἐλευθεροῦν τοὺς Ἕλληνας οὐδὲν δεομένους (ἐλευθεροὶ 2 γὰρ ἦσαν), ἀλλ' εὐπρεπεστέρας αἰτίας ἀπορία τῆς καλλίστης τῶν ὀνομάτων χρῆσθαι διδασκόντων, καὶ σφόδρα δείκνυτε οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν ἀνάστασιν καὶ δόξαν αὐτοῦ τῆς δυνάμεως, στρατηγὸν μὲν ὑπατον τοῦ πολέμου Μάνιον Ἀκίλλων κατέπεμψαν, πρεσβευτὴν δὲ Τίτον διὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὥς τοὺς μὲν εὐθὺς ὀφθεὶς ἐποίησε βεβαιοτέρους, τοὺς δὲ ἀρχομένους νοσεῖν ὀσπερ τι 1 ἐν καιρῷ φάρμακον ἐνδίδους τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοιάν ἔστησε καὶ 3 διεκόλυσεν ἔξαμαρτεῖν. ὁλύγοι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐξεφυγον ἢδη προκατειλημμένοι καὶ διεφθαρμένοι παντάπασιν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀιτωλῶν, οὐς καίπερ ὀργισθεὶς καὶ παροξυσθεὶς ὤμοι μετὰ τὴν μάχην περιεποίησεν. Ἀντίοχος γὰρ ἦττηθεὶς ἐν Θερμοπύλαις καὶ φυγὼν εὐθὺς εἰς Ἀσίαν ἀπέπλευσε, Μάνιος δ' ὁ ὑπατος τοὺς μὲν αὐτὸς ἐπιδιώκω τῶν Ἀιτωλῶν ἐπολιορκεῖ, τοὺς δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ Φιλίππῳ συνεχῶ-4 ῥησεν ἔξαρειν. ἀγομένων δὲ καὶ φερομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Μακεδόνος τοῦτο μὲν Δολόπων καὶ Μαγνήτων, τοῦτο δὲ 'Αθαμάνων καὶ 'Απεραντῶν, αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ Μανίου τὴν μὲν Ἡράκλειαν διαπεπορθηκότος, τὴν δὲ Ναύπακτου Ἀιτωλῶν ἐχόντων πολιορκοῦντος, οἰκτείρων τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὁ Τίτος διέπλευσεν

1 ὀσπερ τι Coraër, Bekker, and Blass, after Stephanus:

364
TITUS FLAMININUS

the Romans, and they suggested to him, as a pretext that would account for the war, that he should offer the Greeks their freedom. The Greeks did not want to be set free, for they were free already; but for lack of a more appropriate ground for his action the Aetolians taught Antiochus to make use of that fairest of all names. The Romans, greatly alarmed by reports of defection among the Greeks and of the power of Antiochus, sent out Manius Acilius as consular general for the war, but made Titus his lieutenant to please the Greeks. The mere sight of him confirmed some of these in their loyalty to Rome, while to others, who were beginning to be infected with disloyalty, he administered a timely medicine, as it were, in the shape of good will towards himself, and thus checked their malady and prevented them from going wrong. A few, however, escaped his influence, having been already won over beforehand and totally corrupted by the Aetolians, but even these, in spite of his vexation and anger, were spared by him after the battle. For Antiochus was defeated at Thermopylae\(^1\) and put to flight, and at once sailed back to Asia; while Manius the consul went against some of the Aetolians himself and besieged them, leaving others to King Philip to destroy. And so it came about that the Dolopians and Magnesians here, the Athamanians and Aperantians there, were harried and plundered by the Macedonians, while Manius himself, after sacking Heracleia, was engaged in the siege of Naupactus, which the Aetolians held. Then Titus, out of pity for the Greeks, sailed across from Peloponnesus to

\(^1\) In 191 B.C. For a description of the battle, cf. Livy, xxxvi. 14–21.

365
ἐκ Πελοποννήσου πρὸς τὸν ὑπατον. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐπετίμησεν εἰ νεικηκὼς αὐτὸς τὰ ἔπαθλα τοῦ πολέμου Φίλιππον ἢ φέρεσθαι, καὶ τριβόμενος περὶ μιᾷ πόλει κάθηται δι' ὀργήν, ἔθνη δὲ οὐκ 5 ὅλγα καὶ βασιλείας Μακεδόνες αἵροῦσιν. ἔπειτα τῶν πολιορκουμένων, ὡς εἶδον αὐτὸν, ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἀνακαλούντων καὶ χείρας ὀρεγόντων καὶ δεομένων, τότε μὲν οὐδὲν εἰπὼν, ἀλλὰ στραφείς καὶ δακρύσας ἀπῆλθεν, ὕστερον δὲ διαλεγθεῖς τῷ Μανίῳ καὶ καταπαύσας τὸν θυμὸν αὐτοῦ διεπράξατο τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ἀνοχὰς δοθῆναι, καὶ χρόνον ἐν ὃ πρεσβεύσαντες εἰς Ῥώμην μετρίου τινὸς τυχεῖν ἀξιώσουσιν.

XVI. Πλείστον δὲ ἀγῶνα καὶ πόλον αὐτῷ 378 παρεῖχον αἰ περὶ Χαλκιδέων δεήσεις πρὸς τὸν Μάνιον, ἐν ὀργῇ γεγονότων διὰ τὸν γάμον ὃν παρ' αὐτῶν ἔγημεν Ἀντίοχος ἢδη τοῦ πολέμου συνε- στώτος, ὥστε καθ' ὃραν ὦδὲ κατὰ καρπόν, ἀλλ' ἐρασθείς ἀνὴρ πρεσβύτερος κόρης, ἡ θυγάτηρ μὲν ἡν Κλεοπτολέμου, καλλίστη δὲ λέγεται παρθένων 2 γενέσθαι. τούτῳ τοὺς Χαλκιδεῖς ἐποίησε βασιλεῖ- σαι προθυμότατα καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ὀρμητήριον παρασχείν. ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν ὡς τάχιστα μετὰ τὴν μάχην φεύγων προσέμεζε τῇ Χαλκίδῃ, τὴν τε κόρην ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς φίλους εἰς Ἀσίαν ἀπέπλευσε· τὸν δὲ Μάνιον εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς Χαλκιδεῖς σὺν ὀργῇ
TITUS FLAMININUS

the consul. At first he chided Manius because, although the victory was his own, he was permitting Philip to carry off the prizes of the war, and to gratify his anger was wasting time in the siege of a single city, while the Macedonians were subduing many nations and kingdoms. Then, when the besieged citizens caught sight of him from their walls and called aloud upon him and stretched out their hands to him imploringly, he turned away, burst into tears, and left the place, without saying anything more at the time; afterwards, however, he had an interview with Manius, put an end to his wrath, and induced him to grant the Aetolians a truce, and time in which to send an embassy to Rome with a plea for moderate terms.

XVI. But the hardest toils and struggles fell to Titus when he interceded with Manius in behalf of the Chalcidians. They had incurred the consul’s wrath because of the marriage which Antiochus had made in their city after the war had already begun, a marriage which was not only unseasonable, but unsuitable for the king’s years, since he was an elderly man and had fallen in love with a girl (the girl was a daughter of Cleoptolemus, and is said to have been most beautiful among maidens).¹ This marriage induced the Chalcidians to take the king’s side most zealously and allow their city to be his base of operations for the war. Antiochus, therefore, fleeing with all speed after the battle at Thermopylae, came to Chalcis, and taking with him his girl-wife, his treasure, and his friends, sailed back to Asia; but Manius immediately marched against Chalcis in a rage. He was accompanied, however, by Titus, who

¹ Cf. the Philopoemen, xvii. 1.

367
πορεύομενον ὁ Τίτως παρακολουθῶν ἐμάλαττε καὶ
παρητεῖτο καὶ τέλος ἐπείσε καὶ κατεπράψεν,
αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει Ῥωμαίων δεόμενος.

3 Οὖτω διασωθέντες οἱ Χαλκιδεῖς τὰ κάλλιστα
καὶ μέγιστα τῶν παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἀναθημάτων τῷ
Τίτῳ καθιέρωσαν, διὸ ἐπιγραφὰς ἔστι τοιαύτας
ἀχρὶ νῦν ὅραν ὁμοῦ Ο ὅθεν Τίτῳ καὶ Ἰρακλεῖ τὸ
γυμνάσιον, ἐτέρωθε δὲ πάλιν, ὁ δὴς Τίτῳ
καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι τὸ Δελφίνιον ἔτι δὲ καὶ καθ’
ἡμᾶς ἱερεὺς χειροτονητὸς ἀπεδέικνυτο Τίτον,
καὶ θύσαντες αὐτῷ τῶν σπουδῶν γενομένων ἥδους
παιᾶνα πεποιημένον, οὐ ταλλὰ διὰ μήκος ἥμεις
παρενέτας ἀνεγράψαμεν ἀ πανόμενοι τῆς φῶδης
λέγουσι:

πίστιν δὲ Ῥωμαίων σέβομεν,
τᾶν μεγαλευκτοτάταν ὅρκοις φυλάσσειν
μέλπετε κούραι,
Ζῆνα μέγαν Ῥώμαν τε Τίτον θ’ ἀμα Ῥωμαίων
τε πίστιν
ἰηθε Παῖαν, ὁ Τίτε σῶτερ.

XVII. Ἡσαν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τιμαὶ πρέπουσαι, καὶ τὸ τάς τιμᾶς ἄλληθινὰς
ποιών, εὔνοια θαυμαστὴ δ’ εἰπεῖκειαν ἠθοὺς. καὶ
gαρ εἰ τισὶν ἐκ πραγμάτων ἡ φιλοτιμίας ἕνεκα,
kαθάπερ Φιλοποίμενι καὶ πάλιν Διοφάνει στρατη-
γοῦντι τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, προσέκρουσεν, οὐκ ἤν θαρύς
οὐδ’ εἰς ἔργα διατείνων ὁ θυμὸς, ἀλλ’ ἐν λόγῳ
παρρησίαι τινα πολιτικὴν ἔχοντι πανόμενος.
2 πικρὸς μὲν οὖν οὕδειν, πολλοὶς δεὶ ἄξιος ἐδόκει καὶ

1 τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων Coraës and Blass, after Bryan: τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

368
TITUS FLAMININUS

tried to mollify and intercede with him and at last won him over and calmed him down by entreaties addressed both to him and the other Romans in authority.

Having been thus saved by Titus, the Chalcidians dedicated to him the largest and most beautiful of the votive offerings in their city, and on them such inscriptions as these are still to be seen: “This gymnasion is dedicated by the people to Titus and Heracles,” and again in another place, “This Delphinium is dedicated by the people to Titus and Apollo.” Moreover, even down to our own day a priest of Titus is duly elected and appointed, and after sacrifice and libations in his honour, a set hymn of praise to him is sung: it is too long to be quoted entire, and so I will give only the closing words of the song:

“And the Roman faith we revere, which we have solemnly vowed to cherish; sing, then, ye maidens, to great Zeus, to Rome, to Titus, and to the Roman faith: hail, Paean Apollo! hail, Titus our saviour!”

XVII. He also received from the rest of the Greeks fitting honours, and these were made sincere by the astonishing good will which his equitable nature called forth. For even if the conduct of affairs or the spirit of rivalry brought him into collision with any of them, as, for instance, with Philopoemen, and again with Diophanes the general of the Achaeans, his resentment was not heavy, nor did it carry him into violent acts, but when it had vented itself in the outspoken language of free public debate, there was an end of it. However, he was never bitter,
κούφος εἶναι τὴν φύσιν, ἀλλὰς δὲ συγγενεύεσθαι πάντων ἢδιστος καὶ εἰπεῖν ἐπίχαρας μετὰ δεινοτῆτος. Ἄχαιοις μὲν γὰρ σφετεριζομένους τὴν Ζακυνθίων νῆσον ἀποτρέπων ἔφη κινδυνεύσειν, ἀν ὢσπερ αἱ χελώναι πορρωτέρω τὴν κεφαλὴν τῆς Πελοποννήσου προτείνωσι. Φιλίππου δὲ, ὀπηρίκα περὶ σπορδῶν καὶ εἰρήνης τὸ πρῶτον εἰς λόγους συνήσαν, εἰπόντος μετὰ πολλῶν ἥκειν ἐκείνου, αὐτὸν δὲ μόνον, ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Τίτος, "Ἀυτὸν γὰρ," ἔφη, "μόνον ἔποιήσας ἀποκτείνας τοὺς φίλους καὶ συγγενεῖς." ἔπει δὲ Δεινοκράτης ὁ Μεσσήνιος ἐν Ρώμῃ παρὰ πότον μεθυσθεὶς ὄρχησατο λαβὼν ἱμάτιον γυναικεῖον, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ τὸν Τίτον ἡξίου βοηθεῖν αὐτῷ διανοούμενῳ τὴν Μεσσήνην ἀφιστάναι τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ταῦτα μὲν ἔφη σκέψεσθαι, θαυμάζειν δὲ ἐκείνου, εἰ τηλικά ταῦτα ἐπικεχερηκὼς πράξειν ὀρχεῖσθαι δύναται παρὰ πότον καὶ ἄδειν. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς τῶν παρὰ Ἀυτίχουν πρέσβεων πλήθος τι1 τῆς βασιλικῆς στρατιάς καταλεγόμενων καὶ καταρριθμομένων πολλὰς προσηγορίας, ὁ Τίτος ἔφη δειπνοῦντος αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῷ ἕξενῳ καὶ μεμφομένου τὸ πλήθος τῶν κρεών καὶ θαυμάζοντος πόθεν ὅτως ποικιλὴς ἀγορᾶς εὐπόρησεν, εἰπεῖν τὸν ἕξενον, ὡς ὑεία πάντα ἐστὶ τῇ σκεύασιᾷ διαφέροντα καὶ τοῖς ἡδύσμασι.

5 "Μὴ τοίνυν," ἔφη, "μηδὲ ὑμεῖς, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀχαιοῖ,"

1 πλήθος τι Coraës and Bekker have πλήθος τε, after Bryan.
TITUS FLAMININUS

although many imputed hastiness and levity to his nature, and in general he was a most agreeable companion and able to say a graceful thing with force. For instance, when he was trying to dissuade the Achaeans from appropriating the island of Zacynthos, he said it would be dangerous for them, like a tortoise, to stick their head out of its Peloponnesian shell.\(^1\) Again, when he held his first conference with Philip concerning a truce and peace, and Philip remarked that Titus had come with many attendants while he himself had come alone, Titus answered, "Yes, thou hast made thyself alone by slaying thy friends and kindred." \(^2\) Again, when Deinocrates the Messenian, who had taken too much wine at a drinking-party in Rome, and after putting on a woman's robe had executed a dance, on the following day asked Titus to assist him in his plan to separate Messene from the Achaean league, Titus said he would consider the matter; "But I am amazed," said he, "that when thou hast matters of so great moment in hand, thou canst dance and sing at a drinking-party." \(^3\) And once more, when an embassy from Antiochus was recounting to the Achaeans the vast multitude of the king's forces and enumerating them all by their various appellations, Titus said that once, when he was dining with a friend, he criticised the multitude of meats that were served, wondering whereupon his host told him they were all swine's flesh, and differed only in the way they were cooked and dressed. "And so in your case," said he, "men of

\(^1\) Cf. Livy, xxxvi. 32; Plutarch, Morals, p. 197 b.
\(^2\) Cf. Morals, p. 197 a (Polybius, xviii. 7).
\(^3\) Cf. the Philopoemen, xviii. ff. (Polybius, xiii. 5).
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

...ναμίζετε τὴν Ἀντιόχου δύναμιν λογχοφόρους καὶ ἐνστοφόρους καὶ πεζοτάρους ἀκούστες. πάντες γὰρ οὗτοι Σύροι εἰσίν ὁπλαρίους διαφέροντες."

ΧVIII. Μετὰ δὲ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις καὶ τὸν Ἀντιοχίκον πόλεμον ἀπεδείχθη τιμητὴς, ἢτις ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ μεγίστη καὶ τρόπον τινα τῆς πολιτείας ἐπιτελεῖσις. καὶ συνήρχε μὲν αὐτῷ Μαρκέλλου τοῦ πεντάκις ὑπατεύσαντος νίος, ἐξέβαλον δὲ τῆς βουλῆς τῶν οὐκ ἄγαν ἐπιφανῶν τέσσαρας, προσεδέξαντες δὲ πολίτας ἀπογραφομένους πάντας, ὥσιν γονέων ἔλευθερων ἦσαν, ἀναγκασθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δημάρχου Τερεντίου Κουλέωνος, ὃς ἐπηρεάζων τοῖς ἀριστοκρατικοῖς ἐπεισε τὸν δήμον ταῦτα ψηφίσασθαι.

2 Τὸν δὲ γνωριμωτάτων κατ' αὐτὸν ἀνδρῶν καὶ μεγίστων ἐν τῇ πόλει διαφερομένων πρὸς ἄλλους, Ἀφρικανοῦ Σκηπτίωνος καὶ Μάρκου Κάτωνος, τὸν μὲν προέγραψε τῆς βουλῆς, ὡς ἀριστον ἄνδρα καὶ πρῶτον, Κάτωνοι δ᾽ εἰς ἔχθραν ἠλθε συμφορά τοιαύτη χρησάμενος. ἄδελφος ἦν Τίτφυ Λεύκιος Φλαμμινίος, οὕτε τὰ ἄλλα προσευκὼς ἐκείνω τῆς φύσιν ἐν τῇ ταῖς ἦδοναις ἀνελεύθερος δεινῶς καὶ ὀλιγορότατος τοῦ πρέποντος. τούτῳ συνήν μειρακίσκος ἔρωμεν, ὃν καὶ στρατιάς ἀρχῶν ἑπήγετο καὶ διέπων ἐπαρχίας εἰχεν ἄει περὶ αὐτὸν. ἐν οὖν πότῳ τινὶ θρυπτόμενος πρὸς τὸν

1 Cf. Morals, p. 197 c (Livy, xxxv. 49).

372
Titus Flamininus

Achaia, do not be astonished when you hear of the Spear-bearers and Lance-bearers and Foot-companions in the army of Antiochus; for they are all Syrians and differ only in the way they are armed." ¹

XVIII. After his achievements in Greece and the war with Antiochus, Titus was appointed censor.² This is the highest office at Rome, and in a manner the culmination of a political career. Titus had as colleague in this office a son of the Marcellus³ who had been five times consul, and the two censors ejected from the senate four men of lesser note, and received into citizenship all who offered themselves for enrolment, provided they were born of free parents. To this step they were forced by the tribune Terentius Culeo, who wanted to spite the nobility and so persuaded the people to vote the measure.

The two men of his time who were most notable and had the greatest influence in the city, Scipio Africanus and Marcus Cato, were at variance with one another. Of these, Titus appointed Scipio to be Dean of the Senate,⁴ believing him to be its best and foremost man; but with Cato he came into hostile relations, owing to the following unfortunate circumstances. Titus had a brother, Lucius, who was unlike him in all other ways, and especially in his shameful addiction to pleasure and his utter contempt of decency. This brother had as companion a young boy whom he loved, and took him about and kept him always in his train, whether he was commanding an army or administering a province. At some drinking party, then, this boy was playing the coquet

² In 189 B.C. ³ Cf. chapter i. 3. ⁴ Cf. the Tiberius Gracchus, iv: 1; Cato the Elder, xvii. 1.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

Δεύκιον οὖτως ἕφη σφόδρα φιλεῖν αὐτὸν, ὡστε θέαν μονομάχων ἀπολυπεῖν οὐπώ γεγονός ἀνθρώπου φονευμένου θεατής, τὸ πρὸς ἐκείνου ἢδυ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν πλείονι λόγῳ θέμενος. ὁ δὲ Δεύκιος ἡσθείς "Οὐδὲν," ἕφη, "δεινὸν ἱάσομαι γὰρ ἐγὼ σοὺ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν." καὶ κελεύσας ἐνα τῶν καταδίκων ἐκ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου προαχθῆναι, καὶ τὸν ὑπηρέτην μεταπεμψάμενος, ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ προσέταξεν ἀποκόψαι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸν τράχηλον. Οὐαλλέριος δὲ Ἀντίας οὐκ ἐρωμένῳ φησίν, ἀλλ' ἐρωμένῃ τούτῳ χαρίσασθαι τὸν Δεύκιον. ὁ δὲ Δίβιος ἐν λόγῳ Κάτωνος αὐτοῦ γεγράφθαι φησίν, ὥσ Γαλάτην αὐτόμολον ἐλθόντα μετὰ παιδῶν καὶ γυναικὸς ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας δεξάμενος εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον ὁ Δεύκιος ἀπέκτεινεν ἱδία χειρὶ τῷ ἐρωμένῳ χαρι-5 ξόμενος. τούτῳ μὲν οὖν εἰκὸς εἰς δείνωσιν εἰρήσθαι τῆς κατηγορίας ὑπὸ τοῦ Κάτωνος; ὅτι δὲ οὐκ αὐτόμολος ἦν, ἀλλὰ δεσμώτης ὁ ἀναρθείς καὶ ἐκ τῶν καταδίκων, ἀλλοι τε πολλοί καὶ Κικέρων ὁ ρήτωρ ἐν τῷ περὶ γήρως αὐτῷ Κάτων τὴν διήγησιν ἀναθείς εἰρήκειν.

XIX. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ Κάτων τιμητῆς γενόμενος καὶ καθαίρων τὴν σύγκλητον ἀπῆλασε τῆς βουλῆς τοῦ Δεύκιον, ὑπατικοῦ μὲν ἀξιώματος ὄντα, συνα- τιμοῦσθαι δὲ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ δοκοῦντος αὐτῷ. διὸ καὶ προελθόντες εἰς τὸν δήμον ἀμφότεροι ταπεινοὶ

1 Cf. Livy, xxxix. 43.

374
TITUS FLAMININUS

with Lucius, and said he loved him so ardently that he had come away from a show of gladiators in order to be with him, although he had never in all his life seen a man killed; and he had done so, he said, because he cared more for his lover’s pleasure than for his own. Lucius was delighted at this, and said: “Don’t worry about that! I will give thee thy heart’s desire.” Then ordering a man who had been condemned to death to be brought forth from his prison, and sending for a lictor, he commanded him to strike off the man’s head there in the banquet-hall. Valerius Antias, however, says it was not a lover, but a mistress whom Lucius thus sought to gratify. And Livy says that in a speech of Cato himself it is written that a Gaulish deserter had come to the door with his wife and children, and that Lucius admitted him into the banquet-hall and slew him with his own hand to gratify his lover. This feature, however, was probably introduced by Cato to strengthen the force of his denunciation; for that it was not a deserter, but a prisoner, who was put to death, and one who had been condemned to die, is the testimony of many others, and especially of Cicero the orator in his treatise “On Old Age,” where he puts the story in the mouth of Cato himself.  

XIX. In view of this, when Cato became censor and was purging the senate of its unworthy members, he expelled from it Lucius Flamininus, although he was a man of consular dignity, and although his brother Titus was thought to be involved in his disgrace. Therefore the two brothers came before the people in lowly garb and bathed in tears, and

2 Cf. Cato the Elder, xvii. 1–4; Livy, xxxix. 42.
3 In 184 B.C.
καὶ δεδακρομένοι μέτρια δεῖσθαι τῶν πολιτῶν ἐδόκουν, ἠξιοῦντες αἰτίαν εἰπεῖν τῶν Κάτωνα καὶ λόγον, ὃς χρησάμενος οἶκον ἐνδοξὸν ἀτιμία τοσαύτη.

Περιβέβληκεν. οὔδὲν οὖν ὑποστειλάμενος ὁ Κάτων προῆλθε, καὶ καταστὰς μετὰ τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἠρώτησε τὸν Τίτον εἰ γινώσκει τὸ συμπόσιον. ἀρνομένου δὲ ἐκεῖνου, διηγησάμενος εἰς ὁρισμὸν προεκαλεῖτο τὸν Λεύκιον εἰ τί φησι τῶν εἰρημένων μὴ ἀληθῶς εἶναι. τοῦ δὲ Λευκίου σιωπήσαντος, ὁ μὲν δὴμος ἑγὼν δικαίων γεγονόναι τὴν ἀτιμίαν καὶ τὸν Κάτωνα προέπεμψε λαμπρῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ βῆματος, ὁ δὲ Τίτος τῇ συμφορᾷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ περιπαθῶν συνέστη μετὰ τῶν πάλαι μισοῦντων τὸν Κάτωνα καὶ πύσας μὲν ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἐποίησατο τῶν δημοσίων ἐκδόσεις καὶ μισθώσεις καὶ ὠνῶς ἠκύρωσε καὶ ἄνέλυσεν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ κρατήσας, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ μεγάλας δίκας κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ παρεσκεύασεν, οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅπως εὗ καὶ πολιτικῶς πρὸς ἄρχοντα νόμιμον καὶ πολίτην ἄριστον ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς οἰκείου μὲν, ἀναξίον δὲ καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα άπο τοῦ Ῥωμαίου ποτὲ δήμου θέαυν ἐχοντος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ καὶ τῆς βουλῆς, ὥσπερ εἰσῆδε, κόσμῳ προκαθημένης, ὥθεις ὁ Λεύκιος ἐπ᾽ ἐσχάτως ποιο καθήμενος· ἀτίμως καὶ ταπεινῶς οἴκτον ἔσχε· καὶ τὸ πλῆθος οὖκ ἤνεσχετο τὴν ὤψιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐβόων μεταβήματι κελεύουσε, ἐως μετέβη, δεξαμένων αὐτὸν εἰς ἐαυτοὺς τῶν ὑπατικῶν.
TITUS FLAMININUS

made what seemed a reasonable request of their fellow citizens, namely, that Cato should state the reasons which had led him to visit a noble house with a disgrace so great. Without any hesitation, then, Cato came forward, and standing with his colleague before Titus, asked him if he knew about the banquet. Titus said he did not, whereupon Cato related the incident and formally challenged Lucius to say whether any part of the story told was not true. But Lucius was dumb, and the people therefore saw that he had been justly disgraced, and gave Cato a splendid escort away from the rostra. Titus, however, was so affected by the misfortune of his brother that he leagued himself with those who had long hated Cato, and after getting the upper hand in the senate, revoked and annulled all the public rentals and leases and contracts which Cato had made, besides bringing many heavy indictments against him.¹ That he acted the part of a good man or a good citizen I cannot affirm, in thus cherishing an incurable hatred against a lawful magistrate and a most excellent citizen on account of a man who, though a kinsman, was nevertheless unworthy and had suffered only what he deserved. However, as the Roman people was once enjoying a spectacle in the theatre, and the senate, according to custom, had seats of honour in the foremost rows, Lucius was seen sitting somewhere in the rear among the poor and lowly, and excited men's pity. The multitude could not bear the sight, but kept shouting to him to change his place, until he did change his place, and was received among their own number by the men of consular rank.

¹ Cf. Cato the Elder, xix. 2; Livy, xxxix. 44.
XX. Τὸ δ’ οὖν φύσει Τίτον φιλότιμον, ἀχρι μὲν ἰκανὴν εἶχεν ὕλην περὶ τοὺς εἰρημένους πολέμους διατρίβοντος, εὐδοκίμει καὶ γὰρ ἐχλιμάρχῃσεν αὐθίς μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν, οὐδενὸς ἐπείγουσον ἀπαλλαγείς δὲ τοῦ ἄρχειν καὶ πρεσβύτερος ὡν ἡλέγχετο μᾶλλον, ἐν οὐκ ἔχοντι πράξεις ἐτὶ τῷ λοιπῷ βίῳ σπαργώντα πρὸς δόξαν καὶ νεανίζοντα

2 τῷ πάθει κατέχειν ἑαυτὸν οὐ δυνάμενος. τοιαύτη γὰρ τινι καὶ τὸ περὶ Ἀννίβαν φορᾷ ἐδοκεὶ πράξεις ἐπαχθῆς γενέσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς. ὁ γὰρ Ἀννίβας οἰκοθεν μὲν ἐκ Καρχηδόνος ὑπεκδράς Ἀντιόχως συνῆν, ἐκεῖνον δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Φρυγίᾳ μάχῃ εἰρήνης ἀγαπητῶς τυχόντος, αὐθίς φεύγων καὶ πλανηθεὶς πολλὰ τέλος ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ κατέστη Προσιάν θεραπεύον, οὐδενὸς Ῥωμαίων ἀγνοοῦντος, ἀλλὰ παρορφότων ἀπάντων δι’ ἀσθενειαν καὶ γήρας ὀσπερ ἐφρημένον ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης.

3 Τίτος δὲ πρεσβυτῆς δι’ ἐτέρας δὴ τινας πράξεις ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς πρὸς τὸν Προσιὰν ἀφικόμενος καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἱδὼν αὐτόθι διαιτώμενου, ἦγανωκτησεν εἰ ἡ, καὶ πολλὰ τοῦ Προσιῶν δεομένου καὶ λιπαροῦτος ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς ἱκέτου καὶ συνῆθους οὐ παρῆκε. χρησμοῦ δὲ τινος, ὡς ἐοικε, παλαιοῦ περὶ τῆς Ἀννίβου τελευτής οὔτως ἔχοντος,

Λίβυσσα κρύψει βῶλος Ἀννίβου δέμας.

1 The battle at Magnesia, in Lydia, 191 B.C. Under the terms of peace, Antiochus was to deliver Hannibal to the Romans. Cf. Livy, xxxvii. 45.

378
TITUS FLAMININUS

XX. Now, the native ambition of Titus, as long as it had sufficient material to gratify it in the wars which I have mentioned, met with praise, as, for instance, when he served a second time as military tribune after having been consul, though there was no necessity for it; but after he had ceased to hold office and was well on in years, he met the rather with censure, because, although the portion of life which still remained to him did not admit of great activity, he was unable to restrain his passion for glory and his youthful ardour. For by some such fierce impulse, as it would seem, he was led to his treatment of Hannibal, which made him odious to most people. Hannibal had secretly fled from his native Carthage and spent some time at the court of Antiochus; but when Antiochus, after the battle in Phrygia, had gladly accepted terms of peace, Hannibal took to flight once more, and after many wanderings, finally settled down at the court of Prusias in Bithynia. No one at Rome was ignorant of this, but all ignored him on account of his weakness and old age, regarding him as a castaway of Fortune. Titus, however, who had been sent by the senate as ambassador to the court of Prusias on some other business, and saw that Hannibal was staying there, was incensed that he should be alive, and although Prusias made many fervent intercessions in behalf of a man who was a suppliant and familiar friend, would not relent. There was an ancient oracle, as it would appear, concerning Hannibal’s death, and it ran as follows:—

“Libyssan earth shall cover the form of Hannibal.”

According to Livy (xxxix. 51), Hannibal’s presence in Bithynia was part of Rome’s complaint against Prusias.
ό μὲν ἄρα Διβύνη ὑπενεόει καὶ τὰς ἐν Καρχηδόνι
4 ταφίς, ὡς ἐκεὶ καταβιωσόμενος· ἐν δὲ Βιθυνία
τόπος ἐστὶ θινώδης ἐπὶ θαλάσσης καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ
κόμη τις μεγάλη Δίβυσσα καλεῖται. περὶ ταύ-
την ἔτυχε διατρίβων Ἀννίβας. ἀεὶ δὲ ἀπιστῶν
τῇ τοῦ Προσιόν μαλακία καὶ φοβούμενος τοὺς
Ῥωμαίους τὴν οἰκίαν ἐτὶ πρότερον ἐξόδοις ἐπὶ
καταγείοις συντετηρεμένην ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ διαίτης
eἰχεν, ἀλλ' ἀλλο τῶν ὑπονόμων, πόρρω δὲ
5 πιάντων ἀδήλως ἐκεφερόμενοι. ὡς οὖν ἤκουσε τότε
τὸ πρόσταγμα τοῦ Τίτου, φεύγειν μὲν ὁρμήσει διὰ
τῶν ὑπονόμων, ἐντυχὼν δὲ φυλακάις βασιλικαῖς
ἐγὼν δὲ αὐτοῦ τελευτάν. ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν λέγουσιν
ὡς ἰμάτιον τῷ τραχήλῳ περιβαλόν καὶ κελεύσας
οἰκέτην ὑπίσθεν ἑρέίσαντα κατὰ τοῦ ἰσχίου τὸ
γόνυ καὶ σφόδρως ἀνακλάσαντα συντείναι καὶ
περιστρέψαι, μέχρι ἀν ἐκθλίψαι τὸ πνεῦμα,
diaφθείρειν αὐτῶν· ἔνιοι δὲ μιμησάμενον Θεμι-
6 στοκλέα καὶ Μίδαν αἵμα ταύρειον πιέιν· Δίβιος
de φησι φάρμακον ἐχοῦστα κεράσαι καὶ τὴν κύλικα
dεξάμενον εἰπεῖν. "Ἄναπαύσωμεν ἣδη ποτὲ τὴν
πολλὴν φροντίδα Ῥωμαίων, οἱ μακρὸν ἤγησαντο
καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν γέρους ἀναμεῖνα καθάνατο.
οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Τίτος ᾧξιοζήλωτον ἀποίσεται νίκην
οὐδὲ τῶν προγόνων ἀξίαν, οἱ Πύρρος πολεμοῦντι
καὶ κρατοῦντι τὴν μέλλουσαν ὑποτέμψαντες κατε-
μίνυσαν φαρμακείαν."
TITUS FLAMININUS

Hannibal thought this referred to Libya and a burial at Carthage, and believed that he would end his days there; but there is a sandy tract in Bithynia on the sea-shore, and on its border a large village called Libyssa. Near this village Hannibal was living. But he had always distrusted the weakness of Prusias and feared the Romans, and therefore even before this time his house had been provided with seven underground exits leading from his own chamber. These ran in different directions beneath the surface of the ground, but all had secret issues far away. Accordingly, when he now heard of the behest of Titus, he set out to make his escape by way of the underground passages, but encountered guards of the king, and therefore determined to take his own life. Some say that he wound his cloak about his neck and then ordered a servant to plant his knee in the small of his back, pull the rope towards him with all his might until it was twisted tight, and so to choke and kill him; some, too, say that he drank bull's blood in imitation of Themistocles\(^1\) and Midas; but Livy says\(^2\) that he had poison which he ordered to be mixed, and took the cup with these words: "Let us now at last put an end to the great anxiety of the Romans, who have thought it too long and hard a task to wait for the death of a hated old man. Nevertheless, Titus will not bear away an enviable victory, nor one worthy of his forefathers, who sent secret information to Pyrrhus; when he was at war with them and a victor over them, of the poisoning that was going to be attempted."\(^3\)

\(^1\) Cf. the \textit{Themistocles}, xxxi. 5.
\(^2\) Livy, xxxix. 51. \(^3\) Cf. the \textit{Pyrrhus}, xxi. 1-3.
XXI. Οὕτω μὲν τῶν Ἀννίβαν ἀποθανεῖν λέγουσιν. ἀπαγγέλθεντων δὲ τούτων πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον, οὐκ ἠλίγοις ἐπαχθῆς ἐδοξεῖν ὁ Τίτος καὶ περιττὸς ἄγαν καὶ ὠμός, ὁσπερ ὁριν ὑπὸ γῆρως ἀπτῆναι καὶ κόλουρον ἀφειμένου ζῆν χειροῆθη τῶν Ἀννίβαν ἀποκτεῖναι, οὐδενὸς ἐπείγοντος, ἀλλὰ διὰ δοξαν, ὡς ἐπώνυμος τοῦ θανάτου 2 γένοιτο. καὶ τὴν Ἀφρικανοῦ Σκηπίωνος ἐκτενεῖται πράοτητα καὶ μεγαλοψυχίαν ἐτί μᾶλλον ἔθαυμαξον, ὡς ἀήτητον ὑντα καὶ φοβερὸν ἐν Λιβύη καταπολεμήσας Ἀννίβαν οὕτε ἐξῆλασεν οὕτε ἐξητήσατο παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸ τῆς μάχης εἰς λόγους ἔλθων ἐδεξιώσατο καὶ μετὰ τῆς μάχης σπευδόμενος οὐδὲν ἐπετόλμησεν οὐδὲν ἐπενεβῆ τῇ τύχῃ τοῦ ἄνδρος. λέγεται δὲ αὕθις ἐν Ἕφεσσα συμβαλεῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῷ συμπεριπατεῖν τοῦ Ἀννίβου τὴν προσήκουσαν ἐν ἄξισθατοι τάξιν ἔκειν 1 προλαβόντως ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ περιπατεῖν ἀφελῶς τὸν Ἀφρικανοῦ, ἐπείτα λόγου περὶ στρατηγῶν ἐμπεσόντως καὶ τοῦ Ἀννίβου κράτιστον ἀποφημαμένου γεγονέναι τῶν στρατηγῶν Ἀλέξανδρον, εἰτα Πύρρον, τρίτον δὲ αὐτῶν, ἡσυχῇ μειδιάσαντα τὸν Ἀφρικανὸν εἰπεῖν, "Τί δ', εἰ μὴ σε ἐγώ νευκήκηκε;" καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν, 4 "Οὐκ ἂν, ὦ Σκηπίων," φάναι, "τρίτον ἐμαυτοῦ, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον ἐποιούμην τῶν στρατηγῶν;"

Ταῦτα δὴ τοῦ Σκηπίωνος οἱ πολλοὶ θαυμάζοντες

1 εκείνο Coraës and Bekker, after Reiske: εἶναι. Blass corrects to προῆκουσαν ἐν ἀ. τάξιν.
TITUS FLAMININUS

XXI. Such are the accounts of the death of Hannibal. When the story of it was brought to the senate, many of them thought the conduct of Titus odious, officious, and cruel; for he had killed Hannibal when he was like a bird permitted to live a tame and harmless life because too old to fly and without a tail, and there had been no necessity for his doing this, but he did it to win fame, that his name might be associated with the death of Hannibal. Men also pointed to the clemency and magnanimity of Scipio Africanus and admired it all the more, since after defeating a Hannibal who had not been conquered before and was filling Africa with fear, he neither drove him from the country nor demanded his surrender by his fellow citizens, nay, he actually gave him a kindly greeting when he held conference with him before the battle, and after the battle, in making terms of peace, he did not insult or trample upon the fortunes of his foe.¹ Moreover, we are told that the two men met again at Ephesus, and in the first place, that when, as they were walking about together, Hannibal took the side which more properly belonged to Scipio as the superior, Scipio suffered it and walked about without paying any heed to it; and again, that when they fell to discussing generals and Hannibal declared Alexander to have been the mightiest of generals, and next to him Pyrrhus, and third himself, Scipio asked with a quiet smile, “And what wouldst thou have said if I had not conquered thee?” To which Hannibal replied, “In that case, Scipio, I should not have counted myself third, but first of generals.”²

Such conduct on the part of Scipio most people

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ἐκάκιζον τὸν Τίτον ὡς ἄλλοτρῷ νεκρῷ προσενεγκόντα τὰς χείρας. ἔνιοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ τὸ πεπραγμένον ἐπαινοῦντες καὶ τὸν 'Ἀννίβαν, ἔως ἔξη, 5 πῦρ ὑγοῦμενοι δεόμενον τοῦ ρεπίζοντος. μηδὲ γὰρ ἀκμάζοντος αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα 'Ῥωμαίοι καὶ τὴν χείρα φοβεράν, ἀλλὰ τὴν δεινότητα καὶ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν γεγονόναι μετὰ τῆς ἐμφύτου πικρίας καὶ δυσμενείας, ὃν οὐδὲν ἀφαιρεῖν τὸ γῆς, ἀλλὰ ὑπομένειν τὴν φύσιν ἐν τῷ ἦδει, τὴν δὲ τύχην οὐ διαμένειν ὁμοίαν, ἀλλὰ μεταπίπτουσαν ἐκκαλείσθαι ταῖς ἐπιτίπτειν πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθέσεις τοὺς ἀεὶ τῷ μισεῖν πολεμοῦντας. καὶ τὰ ύστερὰ πως ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐμαρτύρησε τῷ Τίτῳ, τοῦτο μὲν Ἀριστονικὸς ὁ τοῦ κιθαριδοῦ δἰὰ τὴν Εὐμενοῦς ὁδοὺ ἐμπλήσας ἀπασαν ἀποστάσεων καὶ πολέμων τὴν Ἀσίαν, τούτῳ δὲ Μιθριδάτης μετὰ Σύλλαν καὶ Φιμβρίαν καὶ τοσοῦτον δλεθρον στρατευμάτων καὶ στρατηγῶν αὐθίς ἐπὶ Λεύκολλον ἐκ γῆς ὁμοὶ καὶ θαλάττης ἀναστάς τηλικοῦτος.

7 Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Γαίτον Μαρίου ταπεινότερος Ἀννίβας ἔκειτο. τῷ μὲν γὰρ βασιλεὺς φίλος ὑπῆρχε καὶ βίος ἤν συνήθης καὶ διατριβὴ περὶ ναῦς καὶ ἵππους καὶ στρατιωτῶν ἐπιμέλειαν τὰς δὲ Μαρίου τύχας Ῥωμαίοι γελώντες ἀλωμένου καὶ πτωχεύοντος ἐν Λιβύῃ μετὰ μικρὸν ἐν Ῥώμη φαττόμενοι καὶ μαστιγούμενοι προσεκύνουν. οὕτως

1 In 131–130 B.C. 2 In 88–84 B.C. 384
TITUS FLAMININUS

admired, and they blamed Titus for having laid violent hands on one whom another had slain. But some there were who praised what he had done and thought that Hannibal, as long as he was alive, was a consuming fire which needed only to be fanned; for when he was in his prime, they said, it was not his body nor his arm that had been formidable to the Romans, but his ability and experience coupled with his ingrained bitterness and hostility, and from these naught is subtracted by old age, but the natural characteristics remain unchanged: whereas fortune does not remain the same, but changes sides, and summons with hope to fresh undertakings those whom hatred makes perpetual foes. And subsequent events were perhaps still more a justification of Titus; for Aristonicus, the son of a harpist's daughter, used his reputed connexion with Eumenes to fill all Asia with wars and rebellions, and Mithridates, notwithstanding his defeats by Sulla and Fimbria and his great losses in armies and generals, rose once more to be a formidable antagonist of Lucullus by land and sea.

However, not even Hannibal was reduced to a lower level than Caius Marius. For Hannibal had a king as his friend, and his days as usual were occupied with ships and horses and the care of soldiers; whereas Marius in his misfortunes was a laughing-stock to the Romans as he wandered about and begged his way in Africa, though after a little while he was in Rome with his axes at their necks and his rods at their backs, and they were humbly begging his mercy. So true is it that nothing in the present

3 In 74–67 B.C. The argument is that if so great dangers to Rome were latent in Asia, the presence of Hannibal there was a menace.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

οὐδὲν οὔτε μικρὸν οὔτε μέγα τῶν παρόντων πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἐστὶν, ἀλλὰ μία τοῦ μεταβάλλειν 8 τελευτή καὶ τοῦ εἶναι. διὸ καὶ φασίν ἔνιοι Τίτων οὐκ ἀφ' ἕαυτοϋ ταῦτα πρᾶξαι, πεμφθῆναι δὲ πρεσβευτὴν μετὰ Δευκίου Σκηπτίωνος, οὐδὲν ἄλλο τῆς πρεσβείας ἐχούσης ἔργον ἢ τὸν Ἀννίβοον θάνατον.

Ἔπει δὲ οὐδεμᾶν ἑτὶ τούτων κατόπιν οὔτε πολιτικὴν τοῦ Τίτου πρᾶξιν οὔτε πολεμικὴν ἱστορήκαμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τελευτῆς ἐτυχεν εἰρηνικῆς, ὃρα τὴν σύγκρισιν ἐπισκοπεῖν.
PHILOPOEMEN AND TITUS COMPARED

is either small or great in view of what may happen in the future, but change, like life, can only end with death. For this reason some say that Titus did not take this step on his own account, but that he was sent as ambassador with Lucius Scipio, and their embassy had no other object than the death of Hannibal.

We do not find that Titus was active after this, either as statesman or soldier, and his end was a peaceful one. It is therefore time to think of our comparison.

COMPARISON OF PHILOPOEMEN AND TITUS

I. Accordingly, in the magnitude of their benefactions to the Greeks, neither Philopoemen nor any one of the Greeks who were better men than Philopoemen is worthy of comparison with Titus. For they were Greeks and waged their wars against Greeks; whereas Titus was not a Greek and waged war in behalf of Greeks; and at a time when Philopoemen was unable to defend his own countrymen from the attacks of their enemies, and had gone off into Crete, at that very time Titus won a victory over Philip in the heart of Greece and set her peoples and all her cities free. And if we examine into the battles which each fought, we shall find that the Greeks slain by Philopoemen as general of the Achaeans were more in number than the Macedonians slain by Titus as helper of the Greeks.

And then as to their errors, in the one they were

387

C C 2
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

tou δὲ φιλονεκίας γέγονε, καὶ πρὸς ὅργην ὁ μὲν εὐκίνητος, ὁ δὲ καὶ δυσπαραίτητος. Τίτος μὲν 382
gὰρ καὶ Φιλίππῳ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς βασιλείας ἐφύλαξε καὶ πρὸς Αἰτωλοὺς εὐγνωμόνησε, Φιλο-
πούμην δὲ τῆς πατρίδος δι’ ὅργην ἄφελετο τὴν
3 περιοικίαν συντέλειαν. ἔτι δὲ ὁ μὲν τοῖς εὐ
παθοῦσιν ἀεὶ βέβαιος, ὁ δὲ θυμὸς λύσαι χάριν
ἔτοιμος. Λακεδαιμονίων γὰρ εὐεργέτης πρότερον
δὲν ὦστερον καὶ τὰ τείχη κατέσκαψε καὶ τὴν
χώραν περιέκοψε καὶ τέλος αὐτὴν μετέβαλε καὶ
διέφθειρε τὴν πολιτείαν. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ τὸν βίον
ὁργῆ προέσβαι καὶ φιλονεκία, μὴ κατὰ καίρον,
ἀλλ’ ὦστερον τοῦ δέοντος εἰς Μεσσήνην ἐπειχθεῖσι,
οὐχ ὦστερ Τίτος πάντα λογισμῷ καὶ πρὸς ἀσφά-
λειαν στρατηγήσας.

II. Ἀλλὰ πλὴθει γε πολέμων καὶ τροπαίων ἡ
Φιλοπούμενος ἐμπειρία βεβαιοτέρα. τῷ μὲν γὰρ
τὰ πρὸς Φιλίππων ἐκρίθη δυοῖν ἀγώνων, ὁ δὲ
μυρίας μᾶχας κατορθώσας οὐδεμίαν ἀμφισβήτησιν
τῇ τύχῃ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἀπολέοιπεν. ἔτι
dὲ ὁ μὲν τῷ Ῥωμαίων ἄκμην ἔχοισι δυνάμεις
χρησάμενος, ὁ δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἣδη φθινοῦσας
ἐπακμάσας, δόξαν ἔσχεν, ὡστε τοῦ μὲν ἱδίον, τοῦ
δὲ κοινῶν ἔργων εἶναι τὸ κατορθούμενον· ὁ μὲν
γὰρ ἡρχεν ἀγαθῶν, ὁ δὲ ἄρχων ἀγαθοῦς ἐποίει.
2 καὶ μὴν τὸ γε πρὸς Ἑλληνας τούτῳ γενέσθαι τοὺς
ἀγώνας οὐκ εὐτυχῆ μὲν, ἵσχυράν δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς
388
PHILOPOEMEN AND TITUS COMPARED

due to ambition, in the other to a spirit of contention. For Titus preserved Philip’s royal dignity and showed favour to the Aetolians; whereas the anger of Philopoemen led him to rob his native city of its supremacy over the surrounding villages. And further, the one was always constant towards his beneficiaries, while the other, to indulge his wrath, was ever ready to cancel a kindness. For instance, though he had once been a benefactor of Sparta, he afterwards tore down her walls, reduced her territory, and finally altered and destroyed her very constitution. And it would appear that he threw away his life in a fit of anger and contentiousness, by hastening to attack Messene before occasion offered and more quickly than was feasible; for he did not, like Titus, conduct all his military operations with deliberation and a due regard for safety.

II. But surely the multitude of his wars and trophies put the military experience of Philopoemen on a firmer basis. For the campaign of Titus against Philip was decided by two conflicts, whereas Philopoemen was successful in countless battles and left no room for the claim that his victories were due to fortune rather than to skill. And besides, Titus, in his quest of fame, availed himself of the culminating power of Rome; whereas Philopoemen flourished when Greece was already in declension. Therefore the success of Philopoemen was his own work, while that of Titus was the result of a community of effort; for the latter was commander of good soldiers, while the former, as commander, had to make his soldiers good. And surely the fact that Philopoemen’s conflicts were with Greeks furnished a proof of his valour which was convincing even
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ

ἀπόδειξιν παρείχεν οἰς γὰρ ὁμοία τάλλα, τῷ προὔχειν ἄρτη ἀρταπούσι. καὶ γὰρ δὴ πολέμωσιν τοίς Ἐλλήνων Κρητῶν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίως πολεμήσας, τῶν μὲν πανουργοτάτων δόλῳ, τῶν δὲ ἀλκιμωτάτων τόλμῃ περιεγένετο.

3 Πρὸς δὲ τούτως Τίτος μὲν ἐξ ὑποκειμένων ἐνίκα, χρώμενος ὀπλισμοῖς καὶ τάξεσιν αἷς παρέλαβε, Φιλοποίημι δὲ αὐτός ἐπεισενεγκών καὶ μεταβαλὼν τὸν περὶ ταῦτα κόσμον, ὥστε τὸ νικητικώτατον ὑφ’ οὗ μὲν οὐκ ὤν εὐρήσθαι, τῷ δὲ ὑπάρχον βοηθεῖν. κατὰ χείρα τοῖνυν Φιλοποίημενος μὲν ἔργα πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα, θατέρου δὲ οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν τις αὐτὸν Ἀρχέδημος ἐπέσκωπτεν όσ, ὅτε αὐτὸς ἐσπασμένος τὴν μάχαιραν ἔθει δρόμῳ πρὸς τοὺς μαχομένους καὶ τοὺς συνεστῶτας τῶν Μακεδόνων, τοῦ Τίτον τὰς χεῖρας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ὑπῆσαι ἀνατείναντος ἑστῶτος καὶ προσευχομένου.

Τ. Καὶ μῆν Τίτῳ μὲν ἄρχοντι συνέβη καὶ πρεσβεύοντι πάντα πρᾶξαι τὰ καλά, Φιλοποίημι δὲ οὐ χείρονα παρέσχεν οὔδὲ ἀπρακτότερον εαυτὸν ἰδιώτην ἢ στρατηγὸν τοῖς Ἀχαιόις, ἰδιώτης μὲν γὰρ ὄν Νάβων ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ Μεσσήνης καὶ Μεσσηνίους ἧλευθέρωσεν, ἰδιώτης δὲ Διοφάνην τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ Τίτον ἐπερχομένους ἀπέκλεισε τῆς 2 Σπάρτης καὶ Λακεδαιμονίως διέσωσεν. οὕτως 390
PHILOPOEMEN AND TITUS COMPARED

though unfortunate: for where other things are equal, they prevail who surpass in valour. And so it was that although he carried on war with the most warlike of the Greeks, namely, the Cretans and Lacedaemonians, he surpassed the first in wiles, though they were most crafty, and the second in daring, though they were most brave.

In addition to this it may be said that Titus won his victories by using what lay ready to his hand, since he availed himself of styles of armour and formation which had come down to him, whereas Philopoemen won his successes by making contributions and changes of his own in these matters, so that in the one case what was most essential for victory did not exist and had to be discovered, while in the other it lay ready for service. In the way of personal prowess, moreover, Philopoemen performed much that was great, but Titus nothing at all; nay, an Aetolian named Archedemus mocked at him because, when he himself had drawn his sword and was running at full speed against the Macedonians who were holding together and fighting, Titus was standing with his hands stretched up towards heaven and praying for help.

III. And further, Titus was either a commander or an ambassador when he did all his noble deeds, whereas Philopoemen showed himself no less active and effective for the Achaeans when he was a private citizen than when he was their general. For it was as a private citizen that he expelled Nabis from Messene and set the Messenians free, and as a private citizen that he shut the gates of Sparta against the coming of Diophanes the general and Titus, and so saved the Lacedaemonians.
Ηγεμονικὴν φύσιν ἔχων οὐ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν νόμων ἀρχεῖν ἡπίστατο πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον, οὐ δεόμενος παρὰ τῶν ἀρχομένων λαβεῖν τὸ ἀρχεῖν, ἀλλὰ χρώμενος αὐτοῖς, ὅπου καὶ ῥός εἰη, τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν φρονοῦντα μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἡρμημένων ἡγούμενος στρατηγὸν.

3 Τενναία μὲν οὖν Τίτου τὰ πρὸς τοὺς “Ελληνας ἐπιεικὴ καὶ φιλάνθρωπα, γενναιότερα δὲ Φιλοτοίμενος τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους όχυρα καὶ φιλελεύθερα. ράνον γὰρ χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς δεόμενοι ή λυπεῖν ἐντείνουντα τοὺς δυνατωτέρους. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὕτως ἐξεταζομένων δυσθεώρητος ἡ διαφορά, σκόπει, μὴ τῷ μὲν “Ελληνι τὸν ἐμπειρίας πολεμικῆς καὶ στρατηγίας στέφανον, τῷ δὲ Ῥωμαῖῳ τὸν δικαιοσύνης καὶ χρηστότητος ἀποδιδόντες οὐ φαύλως διατὰν δόξομεν.
PHILOPOEMEN AND TITUS COMPARED

Having this natural gift of leadership, he not only knew how to use it in accordance with the laws, but also how to dominate the laws for the common good; he did not think it necessary to be appointed commander by the people, but took them under his command when occasion required it, considering that he who took wise counsel in their behalf, rather than he who had been elected by them, was their real general.

Nobly generous, then, was the clemency and humanity which Titus showed to the Greeks, but more nobly generous was the firmness and love of freedom with which Philopoemen opposed the Romans; for it is easier to confer favours on suppliants than it is to vex with opposition those who are more powerful. But since, after this examination, the difference between the two men is hard to define, I leave it to my reader to say whether, if we award to the Greek the crown for military experience and generalship, and to the Roman that for justice and goodness of heart, we shall not make a fair decision.
A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF
PROPER NAMES
A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

A

Acrotatus, 11, elder son of Cleomenes King of the Lacedaemonians, died before coming to the throne.

Acrotatus, 11, grandson of above, became King of the Lacedaemonians ca. 265 B.C.; defeated and slain at Megalopolis, 11.

Agathoclea, Mistress of Ptolemy IV Philopator, her influence, 125.

Agis, uncle of King Agis, supported him in his reforms, 15; his motives corrupt, 17; appointed ephor, 20; his deception of Agis, 31; tampered with the calendar, 35; driven into exile, 37.

Agis, king of the Lacedaemonians, his descendants in the royal line, 9.

Agis, 9, king of the Lacedaemonians in 395 B.C.

Agis, 9, king of the Lacedaemonians after Cleombrotus.

Agestistra, 11, mother of King Agis; supported him in his reforms, 17; her death, 47.

Agis, 9, third in descent from Agis, slain by Antipater at Megalopolis in 330 B.C.

Agis, 9, king of the Lacedaemonians, sixth in descent from Agis.

Agis, 9, king of the Lacedaemonians from 244 B.C.; his qualities and achievements, passim in his Life. Amphaires, betrayal of Agis, 41.

Antigonos Doson, king of Macedon, intervened in Peloponnesian affairs by invitation of Aratus, 83; captured Argos, 97; victory over Cleomenes at Sellasia, 113, 267; captured Sparta, 119.

Antiochus II, king of Syria, made war with the Romans in Greece in 191 B.C., 303, 349; defeated by Titus Flaminius, 365.

Antipater, second son of Cassander, regent of Alexander, attempt to corrupt Phocion, 5; slew Agis at Megalopolis in 330 B.C., 9.

Aratus, general of the Achaean League, was assisted by Agis in opposing the Aetolian invasion of the Peloponnesus, 33; attempt to bring Sparta into the League, 55; captured Mantineia, 61; refused the generalship of the League after the defeat at Dymae, 81; invited the intervention of Antigonus, 83; dependence of the League upon Macedonian help during his life, 275.

Arcesilaus, betrayed Agis, 41.

Archidama, 11, grandmother of King Agis; supported him in his reforms, 17; her death, 47.

Archidamus, son of Agesilaus, king of the Lacedaemonians, slain by the Messapians at Manduria in Italy in 333 B.C., 9.

Archidamus, brother of King Agis, placed on the throne of Sparta by Aratus, but put to death by the murderers of Agis, 61.

Areus, 11, son of Acrotatus, king of the Lacedaemonians, 11; fell in battle at Corinth about 265 B.C.

Argos, occupied by Cleomenes, 89;
DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

... successfully revolted from Cleomenes and joined Antigonus, 95, 97.
Aristomenes, king of the Messenians, wounded and slew the Spartan king Theopompus in battle, 49.
Attalus Philometor, king of Pergamum, made the Roman people his heir, 177.

B
Bebina, precinct of Athena on the borders of Arcadia and Lacedaemon, 57.

C
Cassandra, daughter of Priam, supposed to give oracles as Pasiphae at Thalamae in Laconia, 21.
Centaurs, begotten by Ixion, who embraced a cloud, not Hera, 3.
Chalcis, saved by Titus Flamininus, 367.
Chilonis, daughter of Leonidas and wife of King Cleombrotus, her loyalty to both father and husband, 37.
Claudius, Applius, marries his daughter to Tiberius Claudius, 151.
Cleombrotus, 9, king of the Lacedaemonians after his brother Agesipolis.
Cleombrotus, only Spartan king to be slain in battle, 49.
Cleombrotus, son-in-law of Leonidas, became king of the Lacedaemonians in his stead ca. 242 B.C., 29; was deposed, 37; his life spared by the supplications of his wife Chlonis, 40.
Cleomenes, 9, king of the Lacedaemonians after his brother Agesipolis.
Cleomenes, son of Leonidas, married the wife of Agis, 51; came to the throne of Sparta in 235 B.C., 53; his character and achievements, passim in his Life.
Cleonymus, 11, son of Cleomenes king of the Lacedaemonians, did not succeed to the throne.
Corinth, occupied by Cleomenes, 92.
Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, her demeanour after the death of her sons, 241.
Cratesicleia, mother of Cleomenes, 61; went to Egypt as hostage, 99; executed by Ptolemy, 139.
Cynosephalae, defeat of Philip V by Titus Flamininus, 341 ff.

D
Daphne, daughter of Amyclas, fleeing from Apollo, was metamorphosed into a tree, becoming the oracular Pasiphae, 21.
Democares, betrayer of Agis, 41.
Diophanes, general of the Achaeans League, opposed to Philopoemen, 301.
Druus, Livius, popular tribune with Caius Gracchus, took the side of the Senate in the conflict with Caius, 215.
Dyrmæ, battle at, between Cleomenes and the Arcadians, 81.

E
Ectrephes, ephor at Sparta, cut out two of the nine strings in the harp of Phrynis, 25.
Epitaeus, ephor at Sparta, changed the law regulating inheritance, 13.
Eudamidas, 9, king of the Lacedaemonians after the death of Agis in 330 B.C.
Eudamidas, 9, king of the Lacedaemonians after Archidamus.

F
Flamininus, Titus, defeated Philip V of Macedon at Cynosephalae, 293; became jealous of Philopoemen, 297; his character and achievements, passim in his Life.
DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

Fulvius Flaccus, friend and supporter of Calus Gracchus, 219; murdered by the agents of Opimius, 235 ff.; his high character, 239.

G

Gracchus, Caius, character and achievements, passim in his Life. Gracchus, Tiberius, character and achievements, passim in his Life.

H

Hannibal, Carthaginian general, stirred Antiochus against the Romans, 347; his death through the persecution of Titus Flamininus, 381. Hera, loved by Ixion, 3. Hippomedon, supported the reforms of King Agis, 17.

I

Ixion, embraced a cloud instead of Hera and begat the Centaurs, 3.

L

Laelius, Caius, attempted without success to remedy the social and economic condition of the Romans, 161. Leonidas, king of the Lacedaemonians, eighth in descent from the Pausanias who defeated Mardonius at Platea in 488 B.C., 9. Leonidas, 11, became king of the Lacedaemonians ca. 256 B.C., luxury-loving and weak; assisted the rich in opposing the reforms of Agis, 19, 24; was indicted for having children by a foreign woman, 27; deposed as king about 242 B.C., 29; was brought back to Sparta by his partisans, 37; expelled the ephors from office, 41.

Leuctra, rout of the Arcadians by Cleomenes there, 61. Lycurgus, founder of the Spartan institutions, 13; his memory detested by Spartans in later times, 15. Lysander, supported the reforms of King Agis, 15; became ephor, and introduced a bill for the abolition of debts, 19; indicted Leonidas, 25; was indicted in turn, 29.

M

Machanidas, tyrant of Sparta, defeated and killed by Philopoemen at Mantinea, 281 ff. Mancinus, Calus, campaign against Numantia, 153. Mandrocleidas, supported the reforms of King Agis, 15; indicted for this, 29. Megalopolis, captured by Cleomenes, 103. Megistonois, step-father of King Cleomenes of Sparta, assisted the latter in overthrowing the ephors, 65.

N

Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, yielded to Philopoemen at Messene, 289; defeated Philopoemen at sea, 293; was defeated at Sparta by Philopoemen, 295; assassinated, 297. Nasica, P. Cornelius Scipio, leader of the Senate in the murder of Tiberius Gracchus, 193; incurred thereby the popular hatred, 195. Nicanor, Messenian, enemy of King Cleomenes of Sparta, plotted against him in Egypt, 129.

O

Octavius, Marcus, popular tribune, opposed the measures of Tiberius Gracchus, 167; was ejected from his office by Tiberius, 173.
DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

Optimius, Lucius, as consul led in the opposition to Caius Gracchus, 223, 227, 229, 233; restored the Temple of Concord, 239; guilty of corruption, 239.

P

Pasilphaæ, her temple and oracle at Thalamae in Lacoula; she was daughter of Atlas and mother by Zeus of Hermes, or else was another name for Cassandra, daughter of Priam, or else identical with Daphne, 21.

Pausanias, 9, king of the Lacedaemonians, defeated Mardonius at Plataea in 488 B.C.; his successors on the throne down to Agis, 9.

Pausanias, 9, son of Pleistoanax, king of the Lacedaemonians, went in exile to Tegea.

Phercydes, though a foreigner, was honoured in Sparta, 25.

Philip V, king of Macedon, opposed Philopoemen, 287; the campaign of Titus Flamininus against him, 329 ff., 339 ff.; his defeat at Cynoscephalae, 341 ff.

Philopoemen, successor of Aratus as leader of the Achaean League, his character and achievements, passim in his Life; aroused the jealousy of Titus Flamininus, 361; kept Megalopolis faithful to the League, 105, 265.

Phrynis, harpist, was obliged in Sparta to modify his harp of nine strings, 25.

Pleistoanax, king of the Lacedaemonians after his father Pausanias, 9.

Ptolemy II, Euergetes, aided King Cleomenes of Sparta, 99; gave him asylum after his defeat at Sellasia, 123.

Ptolemy IV, Philopator, his character and his attitude toward King Cleomenes of Sparta, 125.

S

Sellasia, decisive defeat of King Cleomenes there by Antigonus, 113, 267.

Sostratus, minister of Ptolemy IV, Philopator, hostile to King Cleomenes of Sparta, 125.

Sparta, the two lines of kings in descent from Agesilaus and Pausanias, 9 ff.; after its overthrow of Athens became wealthy and corrupt, 11; decline in Spartan families and concentration of the wealth in the hands of a few, 15; its wealth in the hands of the women, 17; economic and social condition when Cleomenes came to the throne in 235 B.C., 54; defeated by Philopoemen and forced into the Achaean League, 297.

T

Terpander, though an alien, was honoured at Sparta, 25.

Thalamae, in Laconia, seat of the oracle of Pasiphaæ, 21.

Thales, though a foreigner, was honoured at Sparta, 25.

Theopompus, king of the Lacedaemonians, wounded (or slain) by Aristomenes in battle, 49.

X

Xenares, friend of King Cleomenes of Sparta, 55.