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Moralia
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The translation found in this volume is doubtless open to criticism from more sources than that in the volumes which have preceded it, since much of the matter which it contains is familiar to many people, and many of the Sayings have come to be a part of our everyday language.

There are doubtless omissions in the numerous references, and some references to the more familiar stories it was necessary to curtail for lack of space, but it is to be hoped that, on the whole, the references may prove to be fuller than those to be found elsewhere, and that the necessary clues have been given in the case of the curtailed references, so that anyone interested may be able to follow them up.


At the time when this volume stands completed the second volume of the text of the *Moralia* in the Teubner edition has not appeared, and, in the main, one must still depend on the editions of Wyttenbach and Bernardakis.

However, the grant of a subvention by the American Council of Learned Societies has made it possible to
PREFACE

procure photostatic copies of a few of the mss. in the Bibliothèque National at Paris, and anyone who has had the experience knows the satisfaction in seeing with one’s own eyes the reading of a ms. instead of having to depend on the (sometimes careless) collation of another.

As a result, a good many readings of Bernardakis’s text have been silently corrected. It is evident that Bernardakis did not collate some mss. which he says in his preface that he did collate, or else his collation was careless in the extreme. Several of his critical notes are but corrections of imaginary errors, which do not exist in the mss. which he did not collate!

It is quite clear that, in the mss. of the Sayings, occasionally a part of a word (or more rarely a whole word or a part of a sentence) has been omitted. If this be accepted as a working hypothesis, it may serve in some cases to further the criticism of the text, and to explain some of the dubious readings of the mss.

F. C. B.

Trinity College,
Hartford, Conn.
August 1929.
3. The Traditional Order of the Books of the Moralía as they appear since the edition of Stephanus (1572), and their division into volumes in this edition.

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De amicorum multitudine (Περὶ πολυφίλιας) ........................................... 86B
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SAYINGS OF KINGS AND COMMANDERS
(REGUM ET IMPERATORUM APOPHTHEGMATA)
INTRODUCTION

Anyone who reads some of the many articles which have been written about the Sayings of Kings and Commanders found in Plutarch's works would almost certainly gain the impression that the whole book is a tasteless forgery; yet a closer study would probably convince him that the Sayings are, in the main, just as truly the work of Plutarch as the poems of Sappho or Alcaeus which we now possess are the works of those authors. The only question, then, is how it happens that the Sayings stand in their present form, and this will doubtless serve as a topic for debate in the future, as it has in the past, since it can never be definitely settled.

The assumption that the whole book is a forgery can only be regarded as nonsense. Many of the stories included here are found also in other writers, such, for example, as Aelian, Polyaenus, or Valerius Maximus, and the relation between the versions found in the different writers is quite the same as the relation between other stories found in the indisputably genuine works of Plutarch and the versions found in other writers.

A second assumption that some of the stories were put together by a later writer who copied them largely from Plutarch's Lives (when there were Lives from which they could be copied) is more plausible
in the case of many of the *Sayings*, especially since the versions often coincide (in whole or part) in language. At the same time a comparison of the versions found here with the versions found in the *Lives*, for example, of Phocion, or Fabius Maximus, or the elder Cato, will probably serve to convince an unprejudiced reader that these were not copied verbatim from the *Lives*, but that they have been put down independently from the same or the original source. A special stress is laid by those who uphold this theory upon the words ταῦτα μὲν ὁδὸν ὑπερφευ (196 ε), but that again is only a natural observation which anyone writing a memorandum might properly make regarding that incident, and anyone enthusiastic in supporting the genuineness of the *Sayings* might equally well suggest that this was an observation of some copyist, put down as a marginal note, which has crept into the text.

There remains, then, the possibility that the *Sayings* are in the main the work of Plutarch, written by him in practically their present form, and that some of these were copied into the *Lives* rather than from the *Lives*. Plutarch himself tells us, in *Moralia* 464 ὑ and 457 δ, that he was in the habit of making collections of notes of this sort, and certainly nothing could be more natural than that the author of the *Lives*, to say nothing of the *Moralia*, should get together some of his material in more accessible form, especially in view of the difficulty, in ancient times, of consulting books, which were written and kept in the form of a roll. The arrangement of the *Sayings of Kings* and

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*a In 457 δ ff. Plutarch gives some examples of the kind of anecdotes which he is wont to collect, and some of these are identical with those found in the *Sayings of Kings and Commanders*.
Commanders is roughly chronological, with some retrogressions. The Greeks (and Persians) and the Romans are grouped separately. If these sayings were extracted from the Lives by a writer as dull-witted as many would have us believe he was, it might reasonably be expected that he would have jumbled the Greeks and the Romans together as they are alternated in the Lives, but such is not the case. It will be noted that the names of the Spartans whose sayings are recorded in a similar collection are arranged in alphabetical order for convenience in consultation.

In Lamprias’s catalogue of Plutarch’s works the Sayings of Kings and Commanders is listed as No. 108, and Stobaeus, in his Florilegium, quotes from it freely. Of the large number of quotations from this work which are to be found in Stobaeus an overwhelming majority agree in language either verbatim or almost verbatim, and are not in agreement verbatim with variant versions found elsewhere in the Lives or the Moralia or in Aelian or Polyaenus. In one case Stobaeus (Florilegium, liv. 43 = Moralia 788 D and not 187 c) seems to have preferred a version found elsewhere in the Moralia, and in one other case (vii. 48 = Life of Lycurgus, chap. xx. 4, rather than Moralia, 190 D, or 215 D) a version found in the Lives. It is clear, then, that the book was in existence as an independent volume in the time of Stobaeus, and probably earlier.

Whether Plutarch ever meant that this collection should be published, or whether he himself provided the introduction addressed to the Emperor Trajan, are questions of minor importance. In ancient times, no doubt, as in later days royalty could not afford to
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

spend too much time with books, and welcomed predigested information.

Plutarch very seldom tells the same story in the same words. Over and over again in his works we find a story repeated with minor variations in language, or in expansion or condensation, which often serve to adapt it better to its context, or, again, seem to serve no purpose except to avoid sameness; and so with the stories in this collection: when they are repeated in other parts of Plutarch's works they almost always show the same minor variations which are so characteristic of Plutarch.a

It is an interesting academic study, for those to whom such studies appeal, to compare the different versions of the same story, and to try to draw conclusions as to which version is derived from the other, or the others (as has been done by Carl Schmidt, De apophthegmatum quae sub Plutarchi nomine feruntur collectionibus, Greifswalde, 1879),b but such studies are bound to be unconvincing at best.

  a Of the hundred or two hundred or more examples which might be cited (and which may be found by consulting the footnotes in the following pages) three or four must here suffice. One may compare the four accounts of Ada's cooks (180 a), or the three versions of Antigonus's modesty (183 c), or the remark of Lysimachus to Philippides (183 ε), copied practically verbatim by Stobaeus, Florilegium xlix. 19, which looks like an original memorandum, while the other versions (Moralia 508 c and 517 b) appear to be adapted to their context; or the retort of Phocion to Antipater (188 ρ), six times repeated, in which the language of the retort is always essentially the same, but the setting is regularly adapted to the context.

  b One may compare also Wilhelm Gemoll, Das Apo-

phthegma (Leipzig, 1924), which is a discursive essay on the apophthegm, anecdote, novel, and romance, with relatively little reference to Plutarch.
Of many of the stories there is no variant version. Some were doubtless used in lives or essays by Plutarch which are now lost, and some were doubtless meant to be included in lives or essays which were never written.

The collection in whole or in part is probably as well known as anything that Plutarch has written, for parts of it have become proverbial, and so it is not surprising that some of the sayings have been attributed to other well-known men, both ancient and modern, or that other men both ancient and modern have given utterance to them as their own.
ΑΠΟΦΘΕΓΜΑΤΑ
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΩΝ
ΠΛΟΤΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΩΙ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΙ ΕΤ ΠΡΑΤΤΕΙΝ

Β 'Αρταξέρξης ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς, ὁ μέγιστε αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Τραίανε, σοφός ἦττον οἰόμενος βασιλικὸν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον εἶναι τοῦ μεγάλα διδόναι τὸ μικρὰ λαμβάνειν εὐμενῶς καὶ προθύμως, ἐπεῖ, παρελαύνοντος αὐτοῦ καθ' ὁδὸν, αὐτούργος ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἰδιώτης οὐδὲν ἐχὼν ἔτερον ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις ύδωρ ὑπολαβῶν προσήνεγκεν, ἣδεως ἐδέξατο καὶ ἐμειδίασε, τῇ προθυμίᾳ τοῦ διδόντος οὐ τῇ χρείᾳ τοῦ διδομένου τὴν χάριν μετρῆσας.

C 'Ο δὲ Λυκόφρος εὐτελεστάτας ἐποίησεν ἐν Σπάρτῃ τὰς θυσίας, ἵνα ἄει τοὺς θεοὺς τιμᾶν ἑτοίμως ὁμώνυμαι καὶ ῥαδίως ἀπὸ τῶν παρόντων. τοιαύτη δὴ τινὶ γνώμῃ κάμοι λιτά σοι δῶρα καὶ ξένια καὶ κοινὰς ἀπαρχὰς προσφέροντος ἀπὸ φιλοσοφίας, ἀμα τῇ προθυμίᾳ καὶ τῇ χρείᾳ

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a Cf. Plutarch’s Life of Artaxerxes, chap. v. (1013 b c), and Aelian, Varia Historia, i. 32.
b Plutarch repeats this statement in Moralia, 228 d, Life 8
SAYINGS OF KINGS AND COMMANDERS

PLUTARCH TO TRAJAN, SUPREME MONARCH;
SUCCESS AND PROSPERITY

Artaxerxes, the king of the Persians, O Trajan, Emperor Most High and Monarch Supreme, used to think that, as compared with giving large gifts, it was no less the mark of a king and a lover of his fellow-men to accept small gifts graciously and with a ready goodwill; and so, on a time when he was riding by, and a simple labourer, possessed of nothing else, took up water from the river in his two hands and offered it to the king, he accepted it pleasantly and with a cheerful smile, measuring the favour by the ready goodwill of the giver and not by the service rendered by the gift. a

Lycurgus made the sacrifices in Sparta very inexpensive, b so that people might be able always to honour the gods readily and easily from what they had at hand. And so, with some such thought in mind, I likewise offer to you trifling gifts and tokens of friendship, the common offerings of the first-fruits that come from philosophy, c and I beg that you will

a Of Lycurgus, chap. xix. (p. 52 A), and Commentary on Hesiod, 26 (Works and Days, 336). Cf. also Plato, Alcibiades II. p. 149 A-c.

b Cf. Plato, Protagoras, p. 343 B.
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(172) ἀπόδεξαι τῶν ἀπομνημονευμάτων, εἰ πρόσφορον ἔχει τι¹ πρὸς κατανόησιν ἥθων καὶ προαιρέσεων ἠγεμονικῶν, ἐμφανωμένων τοῖς λόγοις μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς πράξεωι αὐτῶν. καίτοι καὶ βίους ἔχει τὸ σύνταγμα τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων παρὰ τε 'Ρωμαίων D καὶ παρ' Ἠλλησιν ἠγεμόνων καὶ νομοθετῶν καὶ αὐτοκρατόρων. ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν πράξεων αἱ πολλαὶ τῆς ἀναμεμημένην ἔχουσιν, αἱ δὲ γιγνόμεναι παρὰ τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὰ πάθη καὶ τὰς τύχας ἀποφάσεις καὶ ἀναφωνήσεις, ὅσπερ ἐν κατόπτροις καθαρῶς παρέχουσι τὴν ἐκάστου διάνοιαν ἀποθεωρεῖν. ἦ² καὶ Σειράμνης ὁ Πέρσης πρὸς τοὺς θαυμάζοντας ὅτι τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ νοῦν ἔχοντων αἱ πράξεις οὐ κατορθοῦνται, τῶν μὲν λόγων ἐφι κύριος αὐτὸς εἶναι, τῶν δὲ πράξεων τὴν τύχην μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως.

E Ἑκεῖ μὲν οὖν ἀμα αἱ ἀποφάσεις τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὰς πράξεις παρακειμένας ἔχουσιν, σχολάζουσιν φιληκοίν περιμένουσιν. ἐντάθα δὲ καὶ τοὺς λόγους αὐτοὺς καθ' αὐτοὺς ὅσπερ δεύγματα τῶν βίων καὶ σπέρματα συνειληγμένους οὐδὲν οἴομαι σοι τὸν καιρὸν ἐνοχλήσεων, ἐν βραχέσι πολλῶν ἀναθεώρησιν ἀνδρῶν αξίων μνήμης γενομένων λαμβάνοντι.

¹ πρόσφορον . . . τι] ὄρον . . . τινὰ in nearly all mss. Apparently the first part of πρόσφορον was omitted early, and τι was changed to correspond.
² ἦ omitted in most mss. which add δὲ after Σειράμνης.

— Diodorus Siculus, xv. 41, represents this remark as made
be good enough to accept, in conjunction with the author’s ready goodwill, the utility which may be found in these brief notes, if so be that they contain something meet for the true understanding of the characters and predilections of men in high places, which are better reflected in their words than in their actions. True it is that a work of mine comprises the lives also of the most noted rulers, lawgivers, and monarchs among the Romans and the Greeks; but their actions, for the most part, have an admixture of chance, whereas their pronouncements and unpremeditated utterance in connexion with what they did or experienced or chanced upon afford an opportunity to observe, as in so many mirrors, the workings of the mind of each man. In keeping herewith is the remark of Seiramnes the Persian who, in answer to those who expressed surprise because, while his words showed sense, his actions were never crowned with success, said that he himself was master of his words, but chance, together with the King, was master of his actions. In the Lives the pronouncements of the men have the story of the men’s actions adjoined in the same pages, and so must wait for the time when one has the desire to read in a leisurely way; but here the remarks, made into a separate collection quite by themselves, serving, so to speak, as samples and primal elements of the men’s lives, will not, I think, be any serious tax on your time, and you will get in brief compass an opportunity to pass in review many men who have proved themselves worthy of being remembered.

by Pharnabazus, the Persian satrap, to Iphicrates, the Athenian general.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

ΑΠΟΦΘΕΓΜΑΤΑ ΚΤΡΟΤ

1. Πέρσαι τῶν γρυπῶν ἐρώσις διὰ τὸ Κύρον ἀγαπηθέντα μάλιστα τῶν βασιλέων γεγονέναι γρυπὸν τὸ εἶδος.

2. "Ελεγε δὲ Κύρος ἐπέρους ἀναγκάζεσθαι τάγαθα πορίζειν τοὺς αὐτοῖς μὴ θέλοντας· ἀρχειν δὲ μηδενὶ προσήκειν, διὸ ὡς κρείττων ἐστὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων.

3. Βουλομένους δὲ τοὺς Πέρσας ἀντὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν σοῦς ὀρεινῆς καὶ τραχείας πεδιᾶδα καὶ μαλαικῆς χώραν λαβεῖν οὐκ εἰσεῖν, εἰπὼν ὅτι καὶ τῶν φυτῶν τὰ σπέρματα καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ βίοι ταῖς χώραις συνεξομοιοῦνται.

ΔΑΡΕΙΟΤ

1. Δαρείος δὲ Ξέρξου πατήρ ἑαυτῶν ἐγκυμώνων ἐλεγεν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις καὶ παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ γίγνεσθαι φρονμώτερος.

2. Τοὺς δὲ φόρους τοὺς ὑπηκοός τάξας μετεπέμβατο τοὺς πρώτους τῶν ἐπαρχῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν φόρων ἥρωτησε, μὴ βαρεῖς εἰσιν ἡσάντων δὲ μετρίως ἔχειν ἐκέλευσε τελεῖν τοὺς ἡμίσεις 173 ἐκαστὸν.

1 These headings are regularly omitted in the mss.
2 ἐρώσις ἐρώσι καὶ καλλιστοὺς ὑπολαμβάνουσι in many mss.

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a The elder Cyrus (†529 B.C.), founder of the Persian empire.
b Cf. Moralia, 821 e.
c Cf. Xenophon, Cyropædia, i. 6. 8, and vii. 5. 83. The sentiment is not novel, and may be found in other writers.
d Plutarch probably took this from Herodotus, ix. 122, who in turn may have drawn upon Hippocrates; cf. Airs, Waters, and Places, chap. xxiv. (Hippocrates in L.C.L.; 12
SAYINGS OF KINGS, 172-173

CYRUS

1. The Persians are enamoured of hook-nosed persons, because of the fact that Cyrus, the best loved of their kings, had a nose of that shape.\(^b\)

2. Cyrus said that those who are unwilling to procure good things for themselves must of necessity procure them for others. He also said that no man has any right to rule who is not better than the people over whom he rules.\(^c\)

3. When the Persians wished to acquire a level and tractable land in place of their own, which was mountainous and rugged, Cyrus would not allow them to do so, saying that both the seeds of plants and the lives of men are bound to be like the land of their origin.\(^d\)

DARIUS

1. Darius, the father of Xerxes, said in praise of himself that in battles and in the face of formidable dangers he became more cool and collected.\(^f\)

2. After fixing the amount of the taxes which his subjects were to pay, he sent for the leading men of the provinces, and asked them if the taxes were not perhaps heavy; and when the men said that the taxes were moderate, he ordered that each should pay only half as much.\(^g\)

pp. 132-136). Cf. also Plato, *Laws*, p. 695\(a\); Livy, xxix. 25. The idea is not novel, and may be found in other writers. It was again repeated in 1936 by Calvin Coolidge in regard to the rugged hills of Vermont.

\(\) Darius I., king of Persia 521-485 B.C.

\(\) Cf. *Moralia*, 792 c.

\(\) The same story with variations may be found in Polyaeus, *Strategemata*, vii. 11. 3. Nothing to this effect is to be found in Herodotus’s account of Darius’s taxation, iii. 86-95.
3. 'Рοιάν δὲ μεγάλην ἀνοίξας, πυθομένου τω̄ς τι ἂν ἔχειν βούλιοιτο τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἐστὶ τῶν κόκκων τὸ πλῆθος, εἶπε, "Ζωπύρους". ἦν δὲ ἀνήρ ἀγάθος καὶ φίλος ὁ Ζώπυρος.

4. Ἐπει δὲ αὐτὸς ἐαυτὸν ἀικισάμενος ὁ Ζώπυρος καὶ τὴν βίνα καὶ τὰ ὄστα περικόψας ἐξηπάτησε Βαβυλωνίους καὶ πιστευθεὶς ὑπʼ αὐτῶν παρέδωκε Δαρείῳ τὴν πόλιν, πολλάκις ὁ Δαρείῳ εἶπεν οὐκ ἂν ἐθελήσαι λαβεῖν ἑκάτων Βαβυλώνας ἐπὶ τῷ μῆ Ζώπυρον ἔχειν ὀλόκληρον.

SEMIPAMIDOS

Σεμίραμις δὲ ἐαυτὴ κατασκευάσασα τάφον ἐπὶ Β έγραψεν, "ὀστὶς ἂν χρημάτων δεθὴ βασιλεὺς, διελόντα τὸ μνημεῖον ὅσα βουλεῖται λαβεῖν." Δαρείῳ οὖν διελόν χρήματα μὲν οὖχ εὔρε, γράμμασι δὲ ἔτέροις ἐνέτυχε τάδε φράξουσιν, "εἰ μὴ κακὸς ἡσθ'[1] ἀνήρ καὶ χρημάτων ἀπληστὸς, οὐκ ἂν νεκρῶν θήκας ἐκίνεις."

ΞΕΡΕΥΤ

1. Ξέρεξί τῷ Δαρείῳ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἀμφισβητῶν ὁ ἄδελφός 'Αριαμένης κατέβαινεν ἐκ τῆς Βακτριανῆς. ἔπεμψεν οὖν αὐτῷ δώρα, φράσας κελεύσας τοὺς διδόντας, "τούτους σε τίμα νῦν ξ Ξέρεξι ὁ ἄδελφός. εὰν δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀναγορευθῇ,

[1] ἡσθ['] ὡς Stobaeus, Flor. x. 53.

a The same story is found in Herodotus, iv. 143, but with the name of Megabazus instead of Zopyrus.


c Herodotus, i. 187, says that Nitocris built the tomb
3. As Darius was opening a big pomegranate, someone inquired what there was of which he would like to have as many in number as the multitude of seeds in the pomegranate, and he replied, “Men like Zopyrus.” Zopyrus was a brave man and a friend of his.

4. Zopyrus, by disfiguring himself with his own hands and cutting off his nose and ears, tricked the Babylonians, and by winning their confidence succeeded in handing over the city to Darius. Many a time Darius said that he would not take an hundred Babylons as the price of not having Zopyrus unscathed.

SEMIRAMIS

Semiramis caused a great tomb to be prepared for herself, and on it this inscription: “Whatsoever king finds himself in need of money may break into this monument and take as much as he wishes.” Darius accordingly broke into it, but found no money; he did, however, come upon another inscription reading as follows: “If you were not a wicked man with an insatiate greed for money, you would not be disturbing the places where the dead are laid.”

XERXES

1. Ariamenes, the brother of Xerxes son of Darius, was on his way down from the Bactrian country to contest Xerxes’ right to the kingdom. Xerxes accordingly sent him gifts, bidding those who offered them to say, “With these gifts Xerxes your brother now honours you; and if he be proclaimed king, you above the gates of Babylon. Stobaeus, x. 53, copies Plutarch word for word.

\( ^d \) King of Persia, 485–465 B.C.
Plutarch's Moralia

(173) pάντων ἐσθ παρ' αὐτῷ μέγιστος." ἀποδεικθέν-τος δὲ τοῦ Ξέρξου βασιλέως, ὁ μὲν Ἀριαμένης εὐθὺς προσεκύνησε καὶ τὸ διάδημα περιέθηκεν, ὁ δὲ Ξέρξης ἐκείνῳ τὴν δευτέραν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἔδωκε τάξιν.

2. Ὡργισθεὶς δὲ Βαβυλωνίων ἀποστάσι καὶ κρατῆσας προσέταξεν ὅπλα μὴ φέρειν, ἀλλὰ ψάλ-λευν καὶ αὐλεῖν καὶ πορνοβοσκεῖν καὶ κατηλεύειν καὶ φορεῖν κολπωτοὺς χιτώνας.

3. Ἀπτικᾶς δὲ ἵσχάδας οὐκ ἀν ἐφη φαγεῖν ἀνί-νους κομισθεῖσας, ἀλλ' ὅταν τὴν φέρουσαν κτήσῃται χώραν.

4. Ἐλληνας δὲ κατασκόπους ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ λαβὼν οὐδὲν ἡδίκησεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν στρατιάν ἀδεῶς ἐπιδείξε κελεύσας ἀφῆκεν.

ΑΡΤΑΞΕΡΣΟΥ

1. Ἀρταξέρξης ο Ξέρξου, ὁ μακρόχειρ προσαγο-ρευθεὶς διὰ τὸ τὴν ἐτέραν χεῖρα μακροτέραν ἐχεῖν, ἔλεγεν ὅτι τὸ προσθείναι τοῦ ἀφελείν βασιλικώ-τερόν ἐστὶ.

2. Πρώτος δὲ πρωτοβολεῖν ἐκέλευσε τῶν συγ-κυνηγετοῦντων τοὺς δυναμένους καὶ βουλομένους.

3. Πρώτος δὲ τῶς ἀμαρτάνουσι τῶν ἥγεμονι-

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a Plutarch tells the story with more details in Moralia, 488 D-F. The tradition which Plutarch follows is quite different from that of Herodotus, vii. 1-4.

b The usual tradition is that Babylon revolted from Darius; Herodotus, iii. 150.

c Cyrus is said to have employed this device against the Lydians; Herodotus, i. 156; Polyaenus, Strategemata, vii. 6. 4; Justin, Hist. Philip, i. 7. For two other instances cf. the scholia on Sophocles, Oedipus Col. 329, and Dionysius Hal. Antiq. Rom. vii. 9.

16
shall be the highest at his court." When Xerxes was designated as the king, Ariamenes at once paid homage to him, and placed the crown upon his brother's head, and Xerxes gave him a rank second only to himself.\(^a\)

2. Angered at the Babylonians, who had revolted,\(^b\) he overpowered them, and then ordained that henceforth they should not bear arms, but should play the lyre and flute, keep public prostitutes, engage in petty trade, and wear long flowing garments.\(^c\)

3. He said he would not eat figs from Attica which had been imported for sale, but would eat them when he had obtained possession of the land that bore them.\(^d\)

4. When he caught Greek spies in his camp, he did them no injury, but, after bidding them observe his army freely, let them go.\(^e\)

**ARTAXERXES**

1. Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes, called 'Long-hand,' because of his having one hand longer than the other,\(^g\) used to say that it is more kingly to give to one who has than to take away.

2. He was the first to issue an order that any of his companions in the hunt who could and would might throw their spears without waiting for him to throw first.\(^h\)

3. He was the first to ordain this form of punishment for those of the ruling class who offended:

\(^a\) Cf. Athenaeus, p. 652 b.
\(^b\) The story is told in Herodotus, vii. 146-147.
\(^c\) King of Persia, 465-425 B.C.
\(^d\) Cf. Plutarch's *Life of Artaxerxes*, chap. i. (1011 ε).
\(^e\) Cf. Xenophon (*Cyropaedia, i. 4. 14*) attributes this innovation to the elder Cyrus; but cf. Ctesias, *Persica*, frag. 40.
(173) κών τιμωρίαν ἔταξεν, ἀντὶ τοῦ τὸ σῶμα μαστιγοῦν καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτίλλειν,¹ μαστιγοῦσθαί μὲν ἀποδυσσαμένων τὰ ἵματα τίλλεσθαι δὲ τὴν τιάραν ἀποθεμένων.

Ε 4. Σατιβαρξάνην δὲ τὸν κατακομματίην αὐτοῦ-μενόν τι παρ’ αὐτοῦ τῶν μὴ δικαίων αἰσθόμενος ἐπὶ τρισμυρίοις δαρεικοῖς τοῦτο ποιοῦντα, προσ-έταξε τῷ ταμίᾳ τρισμυρίους δαρεικοὺς κομίσαι· καὶ δίδονscal.” εἶπεν, “ὡς Σατι-

βαρξάνη· ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ δοὺς οὐκεῖσομαι πενε-στερος, ἐκεῖνα δὲ πράξας ἀδικώτερος.”

ΚΥΡΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΟΥ

Κύρος δὲ νεώτερος τοὺς Δακεδαμονίους συμ-μαχεῖν αὐτῷ παρακαλῶν ἔλεγε τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καρδίαν ἔχειν βαρυτέραν καὶ πλείονα πίνειν ἄκρατον αὐτοῦ καὶ φέρειν βέλτιον· ἐκεῖνον δὲ μόλις ἐν ταῖς θήραις ἐπὶ τῶν ἰππῶν μένειν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς δεινοῖς μηδὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου. παρεκάλει δὲ ἀποστέλλειν ἄνδρας πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἐπαγγελλόμενος τοῖς μὲν πεζοῖς ἰππο-ποὺς δώσειν, τοῖς δὲ ἰπποὺς ἔχουσιν ἄρματα, τοῖς δὲ χωρία κεκτημένους κώμας, τοὺς δὲ κώμας ἔχοντας πόλεων κυρίους ποιήσειν· ἄργυρίον δὲ καὶ χρυσίον οὖκ ἀριθμὸν ἄλλα σταθμὸν ἔσεσθαι.

¹ ἀποτίλλειν F.C.B.: ἀποτίλλεσθαί. Some mss. give a slightly abbreviated version, but the sense is quite clear, and is confirmed by Moral. 565 A.

² δίδον] διάδον in most mss.

³ Hartman would omit οὐκ.
Instead of having their bodies scourged and the hair plucked from their heads, they took off their outer garments and these were scourged, and put off their head-dress and this was plucked.

4. Satibarzanes, his chamberlain, made a dishonourable request of him, and it came to his knowledge that the man was doing this for thirty thousand pounds; whereupon he directed his treasurer to bring him thirty thousand pounds, and, as he gave the money to his chamberlain, he said, "Take this, Satibarzanes; for if I make you this gift I shall not be poorer, but if I do that deed I shall be more dishonourable!"

CYRUS THE YOUNGER

Cyrus the younger, in urging the Spartans to ally themselves with him, said that he had a stouter heart than his brother, and that he could drink more strong wine than his brother could and carry it better; moreover, that at hunts his brother could hardly stay on his horse, and at a time of terror not even on his throne. Cyrus urged the Spartans to send him men, promising to give horses to the foot-soldiers, chariots to those who had horses, villages to those who owned farms, and to make those who had villages the masters of cities; and as for gold and silver there should be no counting, but weighing instead.

* Cf. Moralia, 35 ε and 565 Α, and Wyttenbach's note on the latter passage.

† 401 B.C.

c The content of the passage agrees, in the main, with that of Plutarch's Life of Artaxerxes, chap. vi. (1013 r); but there he says, οὐκ ἀριθμὸν ἀλλὰ μέτρον, "not counting but measuring out."
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA
APTAHEPSOT TOT MNHMONOS

1. 'Αρταξέρξης ὁ τούτου μὲν ἀδελφὸς Μνήμων δὲ καλούμενος, οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἐαυτὸν ἀνέδην παρείχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν γυνησίαν ἐκέλευσε τῆς ἀρμαμάξης τὰς αὐλαίας περιελεῖν, ὅπως οἱ δεόμενοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐντυγχάνωσι.

174 2. Πένητος δὲ ἀνθρώπου μὴλον ὑπερφυής μεγέθει προσενέγκαντος αὐτῶ δεξιόμενος ήδέως, "νῦν τὸν Μίθραν," εἶπεν, "οὐτός μοι δοκεῖ καὶ πόλιν ἀν ἐκ μικράς μεγάλην πιστευθεὶς ἀπεργάσασθαι."

3. Ἐν δὲ φυγῇ τινὶ τῆς ἀποσκευῆς αὐτοῦ διαρπαγεῖσης, ξηρὰ σύκα φαγὼν καὶ κρίθινον ἅρτον, "οἷς," εἶπεν, "ηδονῆς ἀπειρος ἡμην."

ΠΑΡΤΣΑΤΙΔΟΣ

Παρύσσατις ἡ Κύρου καὶ Ἄρταξέρξου μήτηρ ἐκέλευε τὸν βασιλεῖ μέλλοντα μετὰ παρρησίας διαλέγεσθαι βυσσίνιος χρῆσθαι ρήμασι.

B

ΟΡΟΝΤΟΤ

'Ορόντης, ὁ βασιλέως Ἄρταξέρξου γαμβρὸς, ἀτιμῶς περιπεσὼν διὰ κατηγορίαν καὶ καταγγειοῦσε ἐφη, "καθάπερ οἱ τῶν ἀριθμητικῶν δάκτυλοι νῦν μὲν μυριάδας νῦν δὲ μονάδας τιθέναι δύνανται, τὸ

1 διὰ κατηγορίαιν F.C.B. from Diodorus, xv. 10: δ' ὄργην.
2 τιθέναι] Cobet would omit.

a King of Persia, 404–359 B.C.
b Because of his good memory.
ARTAXERXES MNEMON

1. Artaxerxes, Cyrus's brother, called Mnemon, not only granted audience freely to those who wished to speak with him, but also bade his wife draw aside the curtains from her carriage so that those who desired might speak with her on the road.

2. A poor man brought to him an apple of extraordinary size which he accepted with pleasure, and at the same time he remarked, "By Mithras I swear it seems to me that this man would make a big city out of a small one if it were entrusted to his charge."

3. Once in a precipitate retreat his baggage was plundered, and as he ate dry figs and barley-bread he exclaimed, "What a pleasure is this which has never been mine before!"

PARYSATIS

Parysatis, the mother of Cyrus and Artaxerxes, advised that he who was intending to talk frankly with the king should use words of softest texture.

ORONTES

Orontes, the son-in-law of King Artaxerxes, became involved in disgrace because of an accusation, and, when the decision was given against him, he said that, as mathematicians' fingers are able to represent tens of thousands at one time, and at another...

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*a* Ibid. chap. iv. (1013 b).
*b* Ibid. chap. xii. (1017 b) is a similar story regarding stale water.
*c* Against Tiribazus according to Diodorus, xv. 10-11, where the story is told at length.
(174) αὐτὸ καὶ τοὺς τῶν βασιλέων φίλους, νῦν μὲν τὸ πᾶν δύνασθαι νῦν δὲ τουλάχιστον.’’

MEMNONOS

Μέμνων, ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πολεμῶν ὑπὲρ Δαρείου τοῦ βασιλέως, μισθοφόρον τινὰ πολλὰ βλάσφημα καὶ ἀσελγῆ περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου λέγοντα τῇ λόγχῃ Σ πατάξας, “ἐγὼ σε,” εἶπε, “τρέφω μαχούμενον, ἀλλ’ οὐ λοιδορησόμενον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ.’’

ΑΙΤΙΤΙΤΙΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΘΕΟΣ

Οἱ Ἀγνωτίων βασιλεῖς κατὰ νόμον ἑαυτῶν τὸς δικαστᾶς ἐξώρκιζον ὅτι κἂν βασιλεὺς τι προστάξῃ κρίναι τῶν μὴ δικαίων, οὐ κρυνοῦσι.

ΠΟΛΤΤΟΣ

Πόλττος ὁ Ἐρακίων βασιλεὺς ἐν τῷ Τρῳκῳ πολέμῳ πρεσβευσάμενων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀμα τῶν Τρώων καὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐκέλευσε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀποδόντα τὴν Ἐλένην δύο παρ’ αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν καλὰς γυναίκας.

ΤΗΡΟΤ

Τήρης ὁ Σιτάλκου πατήρ ἔλεγεν ὅποτε σχολάζοι καὶ μὴ στρατεύοιτο, τῶν ἐπικόμων οἶεσθαι μηδὲν διαφέρειν.

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b A similar remark is attributed to Solon by Diogenes Laertius, i. 59.
c Circa 333 b.c.
d Cf. Diodorus, i. 71.
time only units, so it was the same with the friends of kings: at one time they are omnipotent and at another time almost impotent.

MEMNON

Memnon, who was waging war against Alexander on the side of King Darius, when one of his mercenary soldiers said many libellous and indecent things of Alexander, struck the man with his spear, saying, "I pay you to fight Alexander, not to malign him."

A CUSTOM OF THE KINGS OF EGYPT

The kings of the Egyptians, in accordance with a rule of their own, used to require their judges to swear that, even if the king should direct them to decide any case unfairly, they would not do so.

POLTYS

Poltys, king of the Thracians at the time of the Trojan war, when once both the Trojans and the Greeks sent deputations to him at the same time, bade Alexander restore Helen and accept a couple of beautiful women from him.

TERES

Teres, the father of Sitalces, used to say that whenever he had nothing to do and was not in the field with his army he felt that there was no difference between himself and his grooms.

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* King of the Odrysae in Thrace in the earlier part of the fifth century B.C.
† In *Moralia*, 792 c, this remark is attributed to Ateas, king of the Scythians.
Κότυς τῷ δοριησαμένῳ πάρδαλιν ἀντεδωρήσατο λέοντα. φύσει δὲ ὄν ἄξυς εἰς ὅργην καὶ πικρὸς τῶν ἀμαρτανόντων ἐν ταῖς διακονίαις κολαστής, σκεύη ποτὲ κεραμεᾶ εἶξον κομίσαντος εὐθραυστα καὶ λεπτὰ, πιθανῶς δὲ καὶ περιπτῶς εἰργασμένα γλυφαῖς τυι καὶ τορείαις, τῷ μὲν ἕξεω ἐδωκε δῶρα, τὰ δὲ σκεύη πάντα συνετριψεν, "ὀπως," Ε εἴπε, "μῆ δὲ ὅργην πικρότερον κολάζῳ τοὺς συντρίβοντας."

ΙΔΑΝΘΥΡΣΟΣ

'Ιδανθύρσος¹ ὁ Σκυθῶν βασιλεὺς, ἐφ' ὄν διέβη Δαρείος, ἔπειθε τοὺς 'Ιώνων τυράννους τὸ τοῦ 'Ἰστρούν ζεῦγμα λύσαντας ἀπαλλάττεσθαι· μῆ βουληθέντας δὲ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Δαρείουν πίστιν, ἀνδράποδα χρήστα καὶ ἀδραστα ἐκάλει.

ΑΤΕΟΤ

'Ατέας ἔγραψε πρὸς τὸν Φιλίππον, "σὺ μὲν ἄρ- χεις Μακεδόνων ἀνθρώπως μεμαθηκότων πολεμεῖν. Φ ἐγὼ δὲ Σκυθῶν, οἴ καὶ λιμῷ καὶ δῦσει μᾶχεσθαι δύνανται."

Τοὺς δὲ πρέσβεις τοῦ Φιλίππου ψήχων τὸν Ῥππον ἤρωτησεν, "εἰ τούτῳ ποιεῖ Φιλίππος." Ἥσμην δὲ τὸν ἄριστον αὐλητὴν λαβὼν αἰχ- μάλωτον ἐκέλευσεν αὐλησαι· θαυμαζόντων δὲ τῶν

¹ 'Ιδανθύρσος as in the mss. of Herodotus: ἰδάνθυρσος.

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a King of Thrace, 382–358 B.C.
b Cf. Herodotus, iv. 142.
COTYS

Cotys was once presented with a leopard, and he presented the donor with a lion in return. He was by nature very irascible and prone to punish severely any lapses in service. On a time when a friend from abroad brought him some vessels of earthenware, very fragile and delicate, wrought with figures in relief in a realistic and highly artistic manner, he gave presents to the friend, but broke all the vessels in pieces, "so that I," as he said, "may not in anger punish too severely those that break them."

IDANTHYRSUS

Idanthrysus, the king of the Scythians, against whom Darius crossed the Danube, tried to persuade the despots of the Ionians to break up the bridge that spanned the river, and then withdraw. But when they were not willing to do so because of their plighted word to Darius, he called them good slaves who would never run away.

ATEAS

Ateas wrote to Philip: "You are the ruler of the Macedonians who have learned to fight against men; but I am ruler of the Scythians who are able to fight against both hunger and thirst."

While he was engaged in currying his horse he asked the ambassadors who had come from Philip whether Philip did this.

Having captured in battle Ismenias, the very best of flute-players, he bade him play a tune. Everybody else was filled with admiration, but Ateas swore
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

άλλων, αὐτὸς ὁμοσεὶ ἧδιον ἀκούειν τοῦ ἵππου χρεμετίζοντος.

ΣΚΙΛΟΤΡΟΥ

Σκῖλουρος ὁγὸνὶκόντα 1 πάθας ἄρρενας ἀπολαυσίων, ἐπεὶ τελευτᾶν ἐμελλε, δέσμην ἀκούσιων ἐκάστῳ προ-
teίνων ἐκέλευε καταθραύσαι: πάντων δὲ ἀπαγο-
ρευσάντων, καθ' ἐν αὐτὸς ἐξελών ἀκόντιον ἀπαντα
ῥαδίως συνέκλασε, διδάσκων ἐκείνους, ὃτι συν-
εστῶτες ἵσχυροι διαμενοῦσιν, ἀσθενεῖς δὲ ἔσονται
dιαλυθέντες καὶ στασιάσαντες.

ΓΕΛΩΝΟΣ

175 1. Γέλων ὁ τύραννος, ὡτε Καρχηδονίους πρὸς
Ἰμέρα κατεπολέμησεν, εἰρήνην ποιούμενος πρὸς
αὐτοὺς ἦνάγκασεν ἐγγράψαι ταῖς ὁμολογίαις ὃτι
καὶ τὰ τέκνα παύσονται τῷ Κρόνῳ καταθύνοντες.
2. Ἐξῆγε δὲ τοὺς Συρακούσιους πολλάκις ὡς
ἐπὶ στρατείαν κατὰ 2 φυτείαν, ὅπως ἐὰν τε χώρα
βελτίων γένηται γεωργούμενη καὶ μὴ χειρονε
αὐτοῖ οχλάζοντες.
3. Αἰτῶν δὲ χρήματα τοὺς πολίτας, ἐπεὶ ἐθο-
ρύβησαν, αἰτεῖν εἶπεν ὡς ἀποδώσων, καὶ ἀπέδωκε
μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον.
Β 4. Ἐν δὲ συμποσίω λύρας περιφερομένης, ἀρμο-

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1 ὁγὸνὶκόντα] ὁ ὁγὸνὶκόντα van Herwerden.
2 κατὰ F.C.B., cf. for example 337 d: kal.

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a The story is repeated in nearly the same words in
Moralia, 334 η and 1095 ρ. The fame of Ismenias is several
times referred to by ancient writers. It may suffice to men-
tion Plutarch, Moralia, 632 c.

26
that it gave him more pleasure to hear his horse neigh. a

SCILURUS b

Scilurus, who left eighty sons surviving him, when he was at the point of death handed a bundle of javelins to each son in turn and bade him break it. After they had all given up, he took out the javelins one by one and easily broke them all, thereby teaching the young men that, if they stood together, they would continue strong, but that they would be weak if they fell out and quarrelled. c

GELON d

1. Gelon, the despot, after vanquishing the Carthaginians off Himera, forced them, when he made peace with them, to include in the treaty an agreement to stop sacrificing their children to Cronus. e

2. He often led out the Syracusans to plant their fields, as if it had been for a campaign, so that the land should be improved by being worked, and the men should not deteriorate by being idle.

3. He asked for money from the citizens, and, when they began to murmur, he said that he was asking for it with the intent to repay, and he did repay it when the war was over.

4. At a party a lyre was passed around, and the

b King of the Scythians, second or first century B.C.

c Cf. Moralia, 511 c.

d Ruler of Gela, 491–483, and of Syracuse, 485–478 B.C.

e Cf. Moralia, 171 (and the note), and 552 A. According to Diodorus, xx. 14, the practice was revived in 310 B.C., even if it had not persisted during the intervening years. Cf. G. F. Moore in the Journal of Biblical Literature, xvi. (1897), p. 161. Cronus is the Semitic El, Moloch, or Baal.
(175) ξομένων τῶν ἄλλων ἐφεξῆς καὶ ἄδοντων, αὐτὸς τὸν ἵππον εἰσαγαγεῖν κελεύσας ἐλαφρῶς καὶ ῥαδίως ἀνεπήδησεν ἕπταντον.

ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ

1. 'Ἱέρων ὁ μετὰ Γέλωνα τύραννος ἔλεγε μηδένα τῶν παρρησιαζομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄκαιρον εἶναι.  
2. Τοις δὲ ἀπόρρητον λόγον ἐκφέροντας ἀδικεῖν ὑπεράντων καὶ τοὺς πρὸς ὑσταν, ἀκουόμεν γὰρ οὗ μόνον τοὺς ἐκφέροντας ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς ἀκουόσαντας τά μη βουλόμεθα.  
3. Λυθορηθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τινος εἰς τὴν δυσώδιαν τοῦ στόματος, ὡς τὴν αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα μηδέποτε C περὶ τοῦτον φράσασαν, ἢ δὲ εἶπεν, "ἢ μὴν γὰρ τοιοῦτον ἀπαντάσας τοὺς ἀνδρᾶς ὁξεὶν."  
4. Πρὸς δὲ ᾿Ενοφάνην τὸν Κολοφώνιον εἰπόντα μόλις οἰκέτας δύο τρέφειν, "ἀλλ' Ὅμηρος," εἶπεν, "ὅν τοὺς διασύρεις, πλείονας ἢ μυρίους τρέφει τεθυκὼς."  
5. Ἐπίχαρμον δὲ τὸν κωμῳδιοποιοῦν,¹ ὅτι τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ παροῦσας εἴπε τι τῶν ἀπρεπῶν, ἐξημίσει.

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ

1. Διονύσιος ὁ πρεσβύτερος, κληρομένων κατὰ Γράμμα τῶν δημηγοροῦντων, ὅσ ἐλαχεῖ τὸ Μ, πρὸς ¹κωμῳδιοποιοῦν (the preferred form) Bernardakis: κωμῳδοποιοῦν.

¹ Cf. Themistocles' boast, to which he resorted in self-defence under similarly embarrassing circumstances, in Plutarch's Life of Themistocles, chap. ii. (112 c).  
28
others, one after the other, tuned it and sang, but the king ordered his horse to be led in, and nimbly and easily leapt upon its back.\textsuperscript{a}

**HIERO\textsuperscript{b}**

1. Hiero, who succeeded Gelo as despot, used to say that not one of the persons who spoke frankly to him chose the wrong time.

2. He felt that those who divulged a secret committed a serious offence also against those to whom they divulged it; for we hate, not only those who divulge such things, but also those who hear what we do not wish them to hear.

3. On being reviled by someone for his offensive breath, he blamed his wife for never having told him about this; but she said, "I supposed that all men smelled so."\textsuperscript{c}

4. In answer to Xenophanes of Colophon, who had said that he could hardly maintain two servants, Hiero said, "But Homer, whom you disparage, maintains more than ten thousand, although he is dead."

5. He caused Epicharmus the comic poet to be punished because he made an indecent remark in the presence of his wife.

**DIONYSIUS THE ELDER\textsuperscript{d}**

1. Dionysius the Elder, when the speakers who were to address the people were drawing by lot the letters of the alphabet to determine their order of speaking, drew the letter M; and in answer to the man who

\textsuperscript{a} Ruler of Gela and Syracuse, 478-467 B.C.

\textsuperscript{b} Ruler of Gela and Syracuse, 478-467 B.C.


\textsuperscript{d} Ruler of Syracuse, 405-367 B.C.
(175) τὸν εἰπόντα, "μυρολογεῖς, Διονύσιε"· "μοναρχήσω μὲν οὖν," εἶπε, καὶ δημιουργίας εὑρὼς ἡρέθη στρατηγὸς ύπὸ τῶν Συρακούσιων.

2. 'Επεί δ'o ἀρχὴ τῆς τυραννίδος ἐπολυορκεῖτο, συστάντων ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν πολιτῶν, οἱ μὲν φίλοι συνεβούλευν ἀπαλλαγὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς, εἰ μὴ βούλεται κρατηθεῖσι ἀποθανεῖν· δ' δὲ βοῶν ἰδὼν σφατόμενον ύπὸ μαγείρου καὶ πίπτοντα ταχεῖς, "εἶτα οὐκ ἀηδές ἐστιν," εἶπεν, "οὔτω βραχὺν ὄντα τὸν θάνατον φοβηθέντας ἡμᾶς ἀρχὴν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τηλικά;"

3. Τὸν δὲ νῦν αἰσθόμενος, ὁ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ-Ε λίπειν ἐξελλέει, ἀνδρὸς ἐλευθέρου διαφθείραντα γνώμαιον, ἡρώτησε μετ' ὧργῃς, τί τοιοῦτον αὐτῷ σύνοιδεν. εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ νεανίσκου, "οὐ γὰρ οὐκ εἶχες πατέρα τύραννον," "οὔδ' σὺ," εἶπεν, "νῦν ἔξεις, ἐὰν μὴ παῦσῃ ταῦτα ποιῶν."

4. Πάλιν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰσελθὼν καὶ θεσάμενος ἐκπωμάτων χρυσῶν καὶ ἄργυρῶν πλῆθος ἀνεβάσθησεν, "οὐκ ἐστιν ἐν σοὶ τύραννος, ὅσ ἄφθον λαμβάνεις ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ποτηρίων τοσοῦτων φίλον οὐδένα σεαυτῷ πεποίηκας."

5. Χρήματα δὲ εἰσπράττον τοὺς Συρακούσιους, εἶτα ὅρων ὀδυρομένους καὶ δειμένους καὶ λέγοντας Φ ὡς οὐκ ἐχονοῦν, ἐκέλευσεν ἑτέρα πράττειν, καὶ διὸ τρίς τοῦτο ἐποίησεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ προστάξας πλείονα γελᾶν ἤκουσεν αὐτοὺς καὶ σκώπτειν ἐν ἄγορᾷ

1 μυρολογεῖς [μυρολογήσεις Kronenberg.
2 ἀηδές] εὐθές Wyttenbach: ἀειδές Parmentier.

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a Cf. Diodorus, xiii. 91-92.
b Cf. Moralia, 783 c-d; Diodorus, xiv. 8; Aelian, Varia Historia, iv. 8; Polyaenus, v. 7.
said, "Muddle-head you are, Dionysius," he replied, "No! Monarch I am to be," and after he had addressed the people he was at once chosen general by the Syracusans.\(^2\)

2. When, at the beginning of his rule, he was being besieged as the result of a conspiracy against him among the citizens, his friends advised him to abdicate unless he wished to be overpowered and put to death. But, on seeing that an ox slaughtered by a cook fell instantly, he said, "Is it not then distasteful that we, for fear of death which is so momentary, should forsake such a mighty sovereignty?" \(^b\)

3. Learning that his son, to whom he was intending to bequeath his empire, had debauched the wife of a free citizen, he asked the young man, with some heat, what act of his father's he knew of like that! And when the youth answered, "None, for you did not have a despot for a father." "Nor will you have a son," was the reply, "unless you stop doing this sort of thing."

4. At another time he went into his son's house, and, observing a vast number of gold and silver drinking-cups, he exclaimed, "There is no despot in you, for with all the drinking-cups which you are always getting from me you have not made for yourself a single friend."

5. He levied money on the Syracusans, and later, when he saw them lamenting and begging and protesting that they had none, he ordered a second levy, and this he did twice or thrice.\(^c\) But when, after calling for still more, he heard that they laughed and jeered as they went about in the market-place, he

perioúntas, ἐκέλευσε παύσασθαι· "νῦν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔχουσιν," εἶπεν, "οὔτε καταφρονοῦσιν ἡμῶν."

6. Τῆς δὲ μὴτρὸς αὐτοῦ παρῆλικος μὲν οὔσης δοθῆναι δὲ ἀνδρὶ βουλομένης, ἐφη τοὺς μὲν τῆς πόλεως βιάσασθαι νόμους δύνασθαι, τοὺς δὲ τῆς φύσεως μὴ δύνασθαι.

7. Πικρῶς δὲ τοὺς ἀλλοὺς κακούργους κολάζων, ἐφείδετο τῶν λωποδυτῶν, ὅπως παύσωσί ταῖς Συρακούσιοι τοὺς δειπνεῖν καὶ μεθύσκεσθαι μετὰ ἄλληλων.


9. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν πυθόμενον εἶ σχολάζοι, "μηδέποτε," εἶπεν, "ἐμοὶ τούτῳ συμβαίην."

10. Δύο δὲ ἀκούσας νεανίσκους πολλὰ βλάσφημα περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς τυραννίδος εἰρηκέναι παρὰ πότον, ἄμφοτέρους ἐκάλεσεν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον· ὅρῳ δὲ τὸν μὲν παροικοῦντα καὶ ληροῦντα πολλά, τὸν δὲ σπανίως καὶ μετ᾽ εὐλαβείας ταῖς πόσεσιν ἑρώμενον, ἐκείνων μὲν ἀπέλυσεν ὡς χύσει παρουσιάσαντα καὶ διὰ μέθην κακολογησάντα, τοῦτον δὲ ἀνείλεν ὡς δύσιον καὶ πολέμοιν ἐκ προαίρεσεως.

11. Αὐτιμομένων δὲ τινῶν, ὃτι τιμᾶ καὶ προ-

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*a* Cf. Plutarch’s *Life of Solon*, chap. xx. (89 d).


*c* Cf. *Moralia*, 792 c.
ordered a halt in the proceeding; "For now they really have nothing," said he, "since they hold us in contempt."

6. When his mother, who was well on in years, wanted to get married, he said that he had the power to violate the laws of the State, but not the laws of Nature.a

7. While he punished relentlessly all other malefactors, he was very lenient with the footpads, so that the Syracusans should stop their dining and drinking together.

8. A stranger professed that he would tell him privately and instruct him how to know beforehand those who were plotting against him, and Dionysius bade him speak; whereupon the stranger came close to him and said, "Hand me a talent that you may give the impression that you have heard about the plotters' secret signs;" and Dionysius gave it, pretending that he had heard, and marvelling at the man's clever tactics.b

9. To the man who inquired if he were at leisure he said, "I hope that may never happen to me!" c

10. Hearing that two young men at a drinking party had said much that was slanderous about him and his rule, he invited them both to dinner. And when he saw that the one drank much and talked freely, and the other indulged in drink sparingly and with great circumspection, he let the former go free, holding him to be by nature a hard drinker and a slanderous talker when in his cups, but the latter he caused to be put to death, holding that this man was disaffected and hostile as the result of deliberate choice.

11. When some blamed him for honouring and
(176) ἀγεται πονηρὸν ἀνθρωπον καὶ δυσχεραινόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, "ἄλλα καὶ βουλόμαι," εἶπεν, "ἐίναι τὸν ἐμοῦ μᾶλλον μισοῦμενον."

12. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κορινθίων πρέσβεις ὁδόρα διδὸντος αὐτῶν παρηγούντο διὰ τὸν νόμον, δὴ οὐκ εἶα δῶρα λαμβάνειν παρὰ δυνάστου προσβεύοντας, δειμὸν ἐφὶ πράγμα ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς, ὁ μόνον αἱ τυράννιδες ἀγαθὸν ἔχουσιν ἀναίροῦντας καὶ διδάσκοντας ὅτι καὶ τὸ εὗ παθεῖν ὑπὸ τυράννου φοβερὸν ἐστιν.

13. Ἀκούσας δὲ τινα τῶν πολιτῶν χρυσίον 

ΔΙΟΝΤΣΙΟΝ ΤΟΤ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΟΤ

1. Ὁ δὲ νεώτερος Διονύσιος ἔλεγε πολλοὺς τρέφειν σοφιστάς, οὐθαυμάζων ἐκεῖνος ἄλλα δὲ ἐκεῖνος θαυμάζεσθαι βουλόμενος.

2. Πολυζένου δὲ τοῦ διαλεκτικοῦ φήσαντος αὐ- 

3. Ἐκπεσῶν δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς, πρὸς μὲν τὸν εἰπόντα, "τι σὲ Πλάτων καὶ φιλοσοφία ὑφέλησε;"

a Cf. Diodorus, xv. 70.
b Ruler of Syracuse, 367–343 B.C.
advancing a bad man who was loathed by the citizens, he said, "But it is my wish that there shall be somebody more hated than myself."

12. When ambassadors from Corinth a declined his proffered gifts because of the law, which did not allow members of an embassy to receive gifts from a potentate, he said that they were playing a scurvy trick in taking away the only advantage possessed by despotism, and teaching that even a favour from a despot is a thing to be feared.

13. Hearing that one of the citizens had some gold buried at his house he ordered the man to bring it to him. But when the man succeeded in keeping back a part of it, and later removed to another city and bought a farm, Dionysius sent for him, and bade him take the whole amount belonging to him, since he had now begun to use his wealth, and was no longer making a useful thing useless.

DIONYSIUS THE YOUNGER b

1. The Younger Dionysius used to say that he gave bed and board to many learned men, not because he felt any admiration for them, but because he wished through them to gain admiration for himself.

2. When Polyxenus, c who was skilled in argumentation, asserted that he had confuted the king, the latter said, "Yes, very likely by your words, but by your deeds I confute you; for you forsake your own affairs, and pay court to me and mine."

3. He was compelled to abdicate, and when a man said to him, "What help have Plato and philosophy

(176) "το τηλικαύτην," ἕφη, "τύχης μεταβολῆν ῥαδίως ὑπομένειν."

4. Ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ πῶς ὁ μὲν πατήρ αὐτοῦ πένης ὄν καὶ ἰδιώτης ἐκτήσατο τὴν Συρακούσιων ἀρχήν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἔχων καὶ τυράννου παῖς ὃν πῶς ἀπέβαλεν· "ὁ μὲν πατήρ," ἕφη, "μισουμένης δημοκρατίας ἐνέπεσε1 τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἐγὼ δὲ φθονούμενης τυραννίδος."

Ε 5. Ἡπὸ ἄλλου δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ τούτο ἐρωτηθεὶς, "ὁ πατήρ," ἕφη, "μοι τὴν τυραννίδα τὴν ἔαυτοῦ κατέλιπεν, οὐ τὴν τύχην."

ΑΓΑΘΟΧΛΕΟΤΣ

1. Ἀγαθοκλῆς νῦν ἦν κεραμέως· γενόμενος δὲ κύριος Σικελίας καὶ βασιλεὺς ἀναγορευθεὶς εἰώθη εἰς κεραμεῖα ποτήρια τυθέμει παρὰ τὰ χρυσὰ, καὶ τοῖς νέοις ἐπιδεικνύμενοι λέγειν ὅτι τοιαύτα ποιῶν πρότερον νῦν τοιαύτα ποιεῖ διὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν.

2. Πολυορκοῦντος δὲ πόλιν αὐτοῦ, τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ τεῖχους τινὸς ἐλούδωροῦντο λέγοντες ὅτι, "ὦ κεραμεῦ, τὸν μισθὸν πῶς ἀποδώσεις τοῖς στρατιῶταις;" ὁ δὲ πράος καὶ μεδίων εἶπεν, "αἶκα ταύταν ἔλω." λαβὼν δὲ κατὰ κράτος ἐπὶ πρασκει τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους καὶ ἐλεγεν, "ἐὰν με πάλιν λοιδορήτε, πρὸς τοὺς κυρίους ὑμῶν ἐσται μοι ὁ λόγος."

1 ἐνέπεσε] ἐπέστη some mss.

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b By Philip of Macedon, according to Aelian, Varia Historia, xii. 60.
given to you?" his answer was: "The power to submit to so great a change of fortune without repining."  

4. On being asked how his father, who was a poor man and a private citizen, had gained control over the Syracusans, and how he, who held control, and was the son of a despot, had come to lose it, he said, "My father embarked upon his venture at a time when democracy was hated, but I at a time when despotism was odious."  

5. Being asked this same question by another man, he said, "My father bequeathed to me his kingdom, but not his luck."

AGATHOCLES  

1. Agathocles was the son of a potter. After he had made himself master of Sicily, and had been proclaimed king, he used to have drinking-cups of pottery placed beside those of gold, and as he pointed these out to the young men he would say, "That is the sort of thing which I used to do formerly, but this is what I do now because of my diligence and fortitude."  

2. When he was besieging a city, some of the people on the wall reviled him, saying, "Potter, how are you going to pay your soldiers' wages?" But he, unruffled and smiling, said, "If I take this town." And after he had taken it by storm he sold the captives as slaves, and said, "If you revile me again, what I have to say will be said to your masters."

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* Ruler of Syracuse and Sicily, 318-289 B.C.  
* Cf. *Moralia*, 544 b, where the story is repeated in slightly different words.  
* Cf. *Moralia*, 458 f, where, however, the last remark is attributed to Antigonus the "One-eyed."
3. 'Εγκαλούντων δὲ τοῖς ναύταις αὐτοῦ τῶν Ἰθακησίων, ὅτι τῇ νήσῳ προσβαλόντες τῶν θρεμμάτων τινα ἀπέσπασαν, "ὁ δὲ ὑμετέρος," ἔφη, "βασιλεὺς ἐλθών πρὸς ἡμᾶς, οὐ μόνον τὰ πρόβατα λαβὼν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ποιμένα προσεκτυφλώσας ἀπῆλθε."

ΔΙΩΝΟΣ

Δίων ὁ Διονύσιον ἐκβαλὼν ἐκ τῆς τυραννίδος, ἀκούσας ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ Κάλλιππον, ὃ μάλιστα τῶν φίλων και ξένων ἐπίστευεν, οὗχ ὑπέμενεν 177 ἐλέγξαι βέλτιον εἶναι φήσας ἀποδανεῖν ἥ ζήν μὴ μόνον τοὺς πολεμίους ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς φίλους φυλαττόμενον.

ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟΤ

1. Ἀρχέλαος αἰτηθεῖς παρὰ πότον ποτήριον χρυσοῦν ὑπὸ τῆς των συνήθων οὐ μὴν ἐπιεικῶν, ἐκέλευσεν Εὐριπίδη τὸν παῖδα δοῦναι θαυμάσαντος δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, "οὐ μὲν γάρ," εἶπεν, "ἀιτεῖν, οὕτω δὲ λαμβάνειν ἄξιός ἐστι καὶ μὴ αὐτῶν."

2. Ἀδολέσχου δὲ κοινέως ἐρωτήσαντος αὐτὸν, "πῶς σε κεῖρω;" "σιωπῶν," ἔφη.

3. Τοῦ δὲ Εὐριπίδου τὸν καλὸν 'Αγάθωνα περιλαμβάνοντος ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ καὶ καταφιλοῦντος

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a The Cyclops, Homer, Od. ix. 375.
b Cf. Moralia, 557 b, where the story is repeated in fewer words.
c Cf. Plutarch's Life of Dion, chap. lvi. (982 d). The
3. When the people of Ithaca complained of his sailors because they had put in at the island and had forcibly carried off some of the animals, he said, "But your king came to us, and not only took our flocks, but also blinded their shepherd, and went his way."

DION

When Dion, who expelled Dionysius from his kingdom, heard that a plot against him was being set on foot by Callippus, in whom he placed the greatest trust above all other friends, both those at home and those from abroad, he could not bring himself to investigate, but said, "It is better to die than to live in a state of continual watchfulness not only against one's enemies but also against one's friends."

ARCHELAUS

1. When Archelaus, at a convivial gathering, was asked for a golden cup by one of his acquaintances of a type not commendable for character, he bade the servant give it to Euripides; and in answer to the man's look of astonishment, he said, "It is true that you have a right to ask for it, but Euripides has a right to receive it even though he did not ask for it."

2. When a garrulous barber asked him, "How shall I cut your hair?" he said, "In silence."

3. When Euripides threw his arms around the fair Agathon in the midst of an evening party and kissed story of the plot and the death of Dion is in chaps. liv.-lvii. Cf. also Valerius Maximus, iii. 8, Ext. 5.

a King of Macedonia, 413-399 B.C.

Cf. Moralia, 509 a.
Β ἦδη γενειώντα, πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἶπε, “μὴ
(177) θαυμάσητε· τῶν γὰρ καλῶν καὶ τὸ μετόπωρον
καλὸν ἔστιν.”

4. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Τιμόθεος οὐ κιθαρωδὸς ἐλπίσας
πλείονα, λαβὼν δὲ ἐλάττωνα, δῆλος ἢν ἐγκαλῶν
αὐτῷ, καὶ ποτὲ ἄδων τουτὶ τὸ κομμάτιον,

“οὐ δὲ τὸν γηγενέταν ἄργυρον αἰνεῖς,”
ἀπεσήμαινεν εἰς ἔκεινον· ὑπέκρουσεν δ᾿ Ἀρχέλαος
αὐτῷ

“οὐ δὲ γε αἴτεῖς.”

5. Ἰδὼρ δὲ τινος αὐτοῦ κατασκεδάσαντος, ὑπὸ
tῶν φίλων παροξυνόμενος ἐπὶ τὸν ἀνθρώπον, “ἀλλ’
οὐκ ἐμοῦ,” φησίν, “ἀλλ’ ἔκεινον κατασκέδασεν ὅν
ἐδοξεν ἐμὲ εἶναι.”

C

ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΟΤ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ

1. Φιλίππον τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου πατέρα Θεόφραστος
ιστόρηκεν οὐ μόνον μέγαν1 μεταξῦ τῶν βασιλέων,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ τύχῃ καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ μείζονα γενέσθαι
καὶ μετριώτερον.2

2. Ἀθηναίοις μὲν οὖν μακαρίζειν ἠλεγεν, εἰ
καθ᾿ ἐκαστὸν ἐνιαυτὸν αἰρεῖσθαι δέκα στρατηγοὺς
eὐρίσκομεν· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐν πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ἕνα
μόνον στρατηγὸν εὐρηκέναι, Παρμενίωνα.

3. Πολλῶν δὲ κατορθωμάτων αὐτῷ καὶ καλῶν
ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ προσαγγελθέντων, “ὤ τύχη,” εἶπε,

1 μέγαν added by F.C.B.
2 ιστορήκε τῶν μεταξὺ βασιλέων οὐ μόνον τῇ τύχῃ μείζονα, ἀλλὰ
cαὶ τῷ τρόπῳ γενέσθαι μετριώτερον Wytenbach.

* Cf. Plutarch’s Life of Alcibiades, chap. i. (192 a): 40
him, for all that Agathon was already bearded, Archelaus said to his friends, "Do not be astonished; for even the autumn of the fair is fair."  

4. When Timotheus the harp-player had hopes of receiving a goodly sum, but received less, he plainly showed that he felt resentful towards Archelaus; and, once, as he was singing this brief line:

"Over the earth-born silver you rave." he directed it towards Archelaus; whereupon Archelaus retorted upon him with this,

"That, however, is what you crave."

5. When somebody had thrown water upon him, and he was incited by his friends against the man, he said, "But it was not upon me that he threw it, but upon the man he thought me to be."

PHILIP THE FATHER OF ALEXANDER

1. Theophrastus has recorded that Philip, the father of Alexander, was not only great among kings, but, owing to his fortune and his conduct, proved himself still greater and more moderate.

2. He said that he must congratulate the Athenians on their happy fortune if they could find ten men every year to elect as generals; for he himself in many years had found only one general, Parmenio.

3. When several happy events were reported to him within a single day, he said, "O Fortune, do..."
(177) "μικρόν τι μοι κακόν ἀντὶ τῶν τοσούτων καὶ τηλικούτων ἁγαθῶν ποίησον."

4. Ἐπεὶ δὲ νικήσαντι τοὺς ἹΕλληνας αὐτῷ συν—
D εβούλευον ἐνιοὶ φρουραῖς τὰς πόλεις κατέχειν, ἔφη
μᾶλλον πολὺν χρόνον ἐθέλειν χρηστὸς ἡ δεσπότης
ὅλγον καλείσθαι.

5. Τὸν δὲ λοίδορον ἐξελάσαι τῶν φίλων κελεύον-
tων, οὐκ ἔφη ποιῆσειν, ἵνα μὴ περιών ἐν πλείοσι
κακῶς λέγῃ.

6. Σμικύθου δὲ Νικάνορα διαβάλλοντος ὡς ἀεὶ
κακῶς λέγοντα τὸν Φιλιππον καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων οἰο-
μένων δεῖν μεταπέμπεσθαι καὶ κολάζειν, "ἀλλὰ
μὴν," ἔφη, "Νικάνωρ οὐ φαυλότατός ἐστι Μακε-
δόνων. ἐπισκεπτέον οὖν, μὴ τι γίνεται παρ' ἡμᾶς;" ὡς
ochen τὸν Νικάνορα θλίβομενον ἱσχυρῶς
ὑπὸ πενίας ἠμελημένον δὲ ὅπ' αὐτοῦ, προσέταξε
δωρεάν τινα αὐτῷ δοθήναι. πάλιν οὖν τοῦ Σμι-
Ε κύθου λέγοντος ὅτι θαυμαστὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ πρὸς
ἀπαντᾷς ἐγκώμια λέγων ὃ Νικάνωρ διατελεῖ,
"ορᾶτε οὖν," εἶπεν, "ὅτι παρ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐστὶ
καὶ τὸ καλὸς καὶ τὸ κακῶς ἀκούειν."

7. Τοῖς δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δημαγωγοῖς ἔφη
χάριν ἔχειν, ὅτι λοιδοροῦντες αὐτὸν βελτίωνα
ποιουσι καὶ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τῷ ἡθεὶν "πειρώμαι γὰρ
αὐτοὺς ἃμα καὶ τοὺς λόγους καὶ τοὺς ἐργοὺς ἰευδο-
μένους ἐλέγχειν."

8. Τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων, ὁςοι περὶ Χαιρώνειαν

1 παρ' ἡμᾶς] παρ' ἡμῖν E, perhaps rightly.
2 παρ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς] πρὸς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν E, perhaps rightly.

a Repeated in Moralia, 105 a and 666 a.

b A similar story is told of Pyrrhus in Plutarch's Life of
Pyrrhus, chap. viii. (387 e).
me some little ill to offset so many good things like these!" a

4. After his victory over the Greeks, when some were advising him to hold the Greek cities in sub-
jection by means of garrisons, he said that he preferred to be called a good man for a long time rather
than a master for a short time.

5. When his friends advised him to banish from his court a man who maligned him, he said he would not, so that the man should not go about speaking ill of him among more people. b

6. When Smicythus remarked maliciously of Nicanor that he was always speaking ill of Philip, and Philip's companions thought that he ought to send for Nicanor and punish him, Philip said, "But really Nicanor is not the worst of the Macedonians. We must investigate therefore whether something is not happening for which we are responsible." When he learned therefore that Nicanor was hard pressed by poverty, and had been neglected by him, he directed that a present be given to the man. So when again Smicythus said that Nicanor was con-
tinually sounding the praises of Philip to everybody in a surprising way, Philip said, "You all see that we ourselves are responsible for the good and the ill that is said of us." c

7. He said that he felt very grateful to the popular leaders of the Athenians, because by maligning him they made him better both in speech and in char-
acter, "For I try both by my words and by my deeds to prove that they are liars."

8. When all the Athenians who had been taken

a Cf. Themistius, Oration vii. 95 b, and Frontinus, Strategemata, iv. 7. 37.
éálwson, áfethéntwv úp' aútoú díxh aútrwv, tά dè ímáta kai sttrómata pròsasapaitouúntwv kai tòis

F  Makedósoun égkalouúntwv, gélásaos ó Filíppos

eípev, "óv dòkouúsin ýmín 'Athnáioi nomízein ev ástrogálous úf' ýmwn nénikíshai;"

9. Tíh dé kleidós aútò kataxéíshs én polémov

kai tòv therapeuúntos iatréi pántrws ti kath'

ýmérai aítóúntos, "lámmbane," éfhi, "òsia boýleu-

th' yáp klyeín éxhes."

10. Dvón dé ádelfóv 'Amfoterou kai 'Eká-

terou, tòn mév 'Ekaterón émfora kai praktików

órfwv, tòn dé 'Amfoteron euîthh kai ábelteron éfhi

"tòn mév 'Ekaterón amfoteron éinai, tòn dé

'Amfoteron ouédéteron."

178 11. Tous dé sybmouleúontas aútò píkrwos xhrē-

shai tois 'Athenalwv átòpous éleugén éinai keleýon-

tas ántrwpon úpér doxhí pánnta pouwnta kai

páskhonta ápobalein tò tìs doxhí theátron.

12. Genvómenos dé kritís dvón pnovróv ékê-

leuse tòn mév feýgein ék Makedonías tòn dé étéron

diómkev.

13. Méllov dé katastratopedeúveis év xwríw

kaiw kai puthómenos òti xórtos ouk èstì tòis úpo-

zwníos, "óios," éípev, "ò bíos ýmwn èstw, éi

kai pròs tòn tòw ónovn kaiwóv ofeílomev òhni;"

14. Phróurnov dé tì boulómenos lábèin ókhvón,

B ós áppíghgeilin ói kataóskopoi xalépov éinai

pantápasi kai ánálwton, ñróthišen eí xalépov


a Cf. Polybius, v. 10, and Diodorus, xvi. 87.

b Cf. Demosthenes, Oration xviii. (De Corona), 67 (p. 247),

and Aulus Gellius, ii. 27.
captive at Chaeroneia were set free by him without ransom,\(^a\) but asked for the return of their clothing and bedding besides, and complained against the Macedonians, Philip laughed and said to his men, "Does it not seem to you that the Athenians think they have been beaten by us in a game of knuckle-bones?"

9. When the keybone of his shoulder had been broken in battle,\(^b\) and the attending physician insistently demanded a fee every day, he said, "Take as much as you wish; for you have the key in your charge!" \(^c\)

10. Of two brothers, Both and Each, he observed that Each was sensible and practical, and Both was silly and foolish, and he remarked that Each was both and Both was neither!

11. Those who counselled him to treat the Athenians harshly he said were silly in urging a man who did everything and underwent everything for the sake of repute to throw away his chance to exhibit it.

12. Being called upon to decide a suit between two knaves, he ordered the one to flee from Macedonia, and the other to pursue him.

13. When he was about to pitch his camp in an excellent place, he learned that there was no grass for the pack-animals. "What a life is ours," he said, "if we must live to suit the convenience of the asses!" \(^d\)

14. When he was desirous of capturing a certain stronghold, his scouts reported that it was altogether difficult and quite impregnable, whereupon he asked

\(^a\) The pun depends on the fact that κλεισ means both "key" and "collar-bone."

\(^b\) Cf. Moralia, 790 b; also Eunapius, Frag. 56 in Dindorf, Historici Graeci Minores, i. p. 249.
(178) οὖτως ἔστιν, ὡστε μηδὲ ὅνον προσελθεῖν χρυσίον κομίζοντα.

15. Τῶν δὲ περὶ Λασθένην τὸν Ὄλυμβιον ἐγκαλοῦντων καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντων, ὡτι προδότας αὐτοὺς ἐνιαί τῶν περὶ τὸν Φιλιππον ἀποκαλοῦσι, σκαλωσὶ ἐφή φύσει καὶ ἀγρόικους εἶναι Μακεδόνας καὶ τὴν σκάφην σκάφην λέγοντας.

16. Τῶ δὲ νύϊ παρῆμε πρὸς χάριν ὀμιλεῖν τοῖς Μακεδόσι, κτῶμεν έαυτῷ τὴν παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν δύναμιν, ἕως ἐξεστὶ βασιλεύοντος ἄλλου φιλάνθρω-πον εἶναι.

C 17. Συνεβούλευε δὲ τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι δυνατῶν καὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς φίλους κτάσθαι καὶ τοὺς πονηροὺς, εἰτὰ οἷς μὲν χρῆσθαι οἷς δ᾽ ἀποχρῆσθαι.

18. Πρὸς δὲ Φιλωνα τὸν Θηβαίον εὐεργέτην αὐτοῦ γενόμενον καὶ ἐξένον, ὅπηνικα διήγεν εἰς Θῆβαις ὀμηρεύων, ὑστερον δὲ μηδεμίαν παρ' αὐτοῦ δωρεάν προσδεχόμενον, "μὴ με," εἶπεν, "ἀφαιροῦ τὸ ἀνίκητον, εὐεργεσίας καὶ χάριτος ἡττώμενον."

19. Αὐθθέντων δὲ πολλῶν αἰχμαλώτων, ἐπιπροσκεν αὐτοὺς ἀνεσταλμένως τῷ χίτῳ καθῆμενος οὐκ εὐπρεπῶς· εἰς οὖν τῶν πωλούμενων ἀνεβόησε, "φείσαι μου, Φιλιππε, πατρικὸς γάρ εἰμί σου φίλος"· ἐρωτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Φιλιππον, "πόθεν, D ὁ ἀνθρωπε, γενόμενος καὶ τῶς;" "ἐγγὺς," ἐφη, "φράσαι σοι βούλομαι προσελθών"· ὡς οὖν

1 δύναμιν] εὐμενεῖαν or εὐνοίαν Wyttenbach.

a Cf. Cicero, Letters to Atticus, i. 16. 12; Diodorus, xvi. 54.
b Cf. Moralia, 97 d.
c A reference to a line from an unknown comic poet quoted by Lucian, Jupiter Tragoedus, 32. Cf. also Lucian, 46
if it were so difficult that not even an ass laden with money could approach it.a

15. When the men associated with Lasthenes, the Olynthian, complained with indignation because some of Philip's associates called them traitors, he said that the Macedonians are by nature a rough and rustic people who call a spade a spade.c

16. He recommended to his son that he associate with the Macedonians so as to win their favour, and thus acquire for himself influence with the masses while another was reigning and while it was possible for him to be humane.d

17. He also advised him that, among the men of influence in the cities, he should make friends of both the good and the bad, and that later he should use the former and abuse the latter.

18. Philon the Theban had been his benefactor and host during the time he spent as a hostage in Thebes, but later would not accept any gift from him; whereupon Philip said to him, "Do not deprive me of my invincibility by letting me be outdone in benefactions and favours."

19. On a time when many prisoners had been taken, Philip was overseeing their sale, sitting with his tunic pulled up in an unseemly way. So one of the men who were being sold cried out, "Spare me, Philip, for I am a friend of your father's." And when Philip asked, "Where, sirrah, and how came you to be such?" the man said, "I wish to tell you privately, if I may come near you." And when he


a Cf. Moralía, 806 b, Cicero, De Officiis, ii. 14 (48).

c Probably the man mentioned by Demosthenes, Oration xix. 140 (p. 384).
The story is repeated in Moralia, 123 f and 707 b.

b Hipparchus, with two others, was set up by Philip as tyrant in Eretria about 343 b.c. See Demosthenes, Oration ix. 58 (p. 125), and Oration xviii. 295 (p. 324).

was brought forward, he said, “Put your cloak a little lower, for you are exposing too much of yourself as you are sitting now.” And Philip said, “Let him go free, for it had escaped me that he is a truly loyal friend.”

20. Once when he was on the march, and was invited to dinner by a man of the land, he took a good many persons with him; and when he saw that his host was much perturbed, since the preparations that had been made were inadequate, he sent word in advance to each of his friends, and told them to “leave room for cake.” They took his advice and, expecting more to follow, did not eat much, and thus there was enough for all.

21. When Hipparchus of Euboea died, it was plain that Philip took it much to heart; and when somebody remarked, “But, as a matter of fact, his death has come in fullness of time,” Philip said, “Yes, in fullness of time for him, it is true, but swiftly for me, for he came to his end too soon to receive from me, as he ought, favours worthy of our friendship.”

22. Learning that Alexander complained against him because he was having children by other women besides his wife, he said, “Well then, if you have many competitors for the kingdom, prove yourself honourable and good, so that you may obtain the kingdom not because of me, but because of yourself.” He bade Alexander give heed to Aristotle, and study philosophy, “so that,” as he said, “you may not do a great many things of the sort that I am sorry to have done.”

23. He appointed one of Antipater’s friends to the position of judge, but later, on learning that the man dyed his beard and hair, he removed him, at the same
αἰσθανόμενος καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν, ἀνέστησεν εἰπὼν τὸν ἄπιστον ἐν θριζὲ μη νομίζειν ἀξιόπιστον ἐν πράγμασιν.

24. Μαχαίτα δὲ τινα κρίνων δίκην καὶ ὑπονυστάξων οὐ πάντι προσείχε τοῖς δικαίοις ἀλλὰ κατέκρινεν· ἐκείνου δὲ ἀναβοήσαντος ἐκκαλεῖσθαι τὴν κρίσιν, διοργισθεὶς "ἐπὶ τίνα;" εἶπε· καὶ οἱ Μαχαίτας, "ἐπὶ σέ, βασιλεὺ, αὐτὸν, ἂν ἐγγυγορώς καὶ προσέχων ἀκούσῃ." τότε μὲν οὖν ἀνέστη· γενόμενος δὲ μᾶλλον ἐφ᾿ ἑαυτῷ καὶ γνοὺς ἀδικούμενον τὸν Μαχαίταν τὴν μὲν κρίσιν οὐκ ἐλυσε, τὸ δὲ τίμημα τῆς δίκης αὐτὸς ἔξετεσεν.

25. Ἐπεὶ δὲ "Ἀρσαλος ὑπὲρ συγγενεύς καὶ οἰκεῖον Κράτητος ἀδικημάτων δίκην ἔχοντος ἥξιον τὴν ζημίαν ἐσενεγκεῖν ἀφεθῆναι δὲ τῆς κρίσεως, ἵνα μὴ λοιδορηθῇ, "βέλτιον ἔστων," εἶπε, "τούτον αὐτὸν ἡ ἡμᾶς διὰ τούτον κακῶς ἀκούσῃ.""  

26. Ἀγανακτοῦντων δὲ τῶν φίλων, ὧτι συρίττουσιν αὐτὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίους εὐ πεπονθότες οἱ Β Πελοπονήσιοι, "τί οὖν," εἶπεν, "ἐὰν κακῶς πάθωσιν;"

27. Κομμηθεὶς δὲ πλείονα χρόνον ἐπὶ στρατείας ἐίτα διαναστάς, "ἀσφαλῶς," εἶπεν, "ἐκάθευδον· Ἀντίσπατρος γὰρ ἐγγυγόρει."  

28. Πάλιν δὲ ἥμερας καθεύδοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν

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a The sentiment is attributed to Archidamus regarding a man from Chios, in Aelian, Varia Historia, vii. 20; cf. Stobaeus, Florilegium, xii. 20.

b Of an old woman in Stobaeus, Florilegium, xiii. 29 (quoted from Serenus) and Valerius Maximus, vi. 2, ext. 1; in the latter place is the more familiar appeal from "Philip drunk to Philip sober."
time remarking that he did not believe that a man who was untrustworthy in the matter of hair was fit to be trusted in actions.a

24. While he was hearing the case of Machaetas, he was near falling asleep, and did not give full attention to the rights of the case, but decided against Machaetas. And when Machaetas exclaimed that he appealed from the decision, Philip, thoroughly enraged, said, “To whom?” And Machaetas replied, “To you yourself, Your Majesty, if you will listen awake and attentive.” At the time Philip merely ended the sitting, but when he had gained more control of himself and realized that Machaetas was treated unfairly, he did not reverse his decision, but satisfied the judgement with his own money.b

25. When Harpalus, acting in behalf of his kinsman and intimate friend Crates, who was under condemnation for wrongdoing, proposed as a fair solution that Crates should pay the fine, but be absolved from the adverse judgement so that he should not be subject to reproach, Philip said, “It is better that the man himself, rather than that we because of him, should be ill spoken of.”

26. When his friends were indignant because the people of the Peloponnesus hissed him at the Olympic games, although they had been treated well, he said, “Well, what if they should be treated ill!” c

27. Once on a campaign he slept for an unusually long time, and later, when he arose, he said, “I slept safely, for Antipater was awake.” d

28. On another occasion when he was asleep in the

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b Cf. Athenaeus, p. 435 d.
(179) ἡθροισμένων ἐπὶ θύραις Ἑλλήνων ἀγανακτοῦντων καὶ ἐγκαλοῦντων, ὁ Παρμενίων, “μὴ θαυμάσητε,” εἶπεν, “εἰ καθεύδει νῦν Φίλιππος· ὅτε γὰρ ἐκαθ- εύδετε ὑμεῖς, οὕτως ἔγρηγόρει.”

29. Ψάλτης δὲ τινα βουλομένου παρὰ δεῖπνον ἐπανορθοῦν αὐτοῦ καὶ λαλεῖν περὶ κρομάτων, ὁ ψάλτης, “μὴ γένοιτό σοι,” εἶπεν, “ὁ βασιλεὺς, κακῶς οὕτως, ὥνα ταῦτα ἐμοὶ βέλτιον εἴδης.”

30. Ἐπεὶ δὲ διενεχθέντος αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ὄλυμπαίδα τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὸν ὑδὸν ἦκε Δημάρατος ὁ Κορύθιος, ἐπυνθάνετο πῶς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔχουσιν⁠¹ οἱ Ἑλληνες· καὶ ὁ Δημάρατος, “πάνω γοῦν,” ἐφη, “σοι περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁμονοίας ὁ λόγος ἔστιν, οὗτῳ πρὸς σὲ τῶν οἰκειοτάτων ἔχοντων.” ὁ δὲ συμφρονήσας ἐπαύσατο τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ διηλλάγη πρὸς αὐτοὺς.

31. Πρεσβύτιδος δὲ πενιχρᾶς ἀξιούσης ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ κρυθήναι καὶ πολλάκις ἐνοχλοῦσης, ἐφη μὴ σχολάζειν· ἡ δὲ πρεσβύτις ἐκκραγοῦσα, “καὶ μὴ D βασίλευς,” εἶπεν. ὁ δὲ θαυμάσας τὸ βηθὲν οὖ μόνον ἐκείνης ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν εὐθὺς διηκουσεν.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΤ

1. Ἀλέξανδρος ἐτὶ παῖς ἄων, πολλὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου κατορθοῦντος, οὐκ ἔχαιρεν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς συν-

⁠¹ ἔχουσιν] Hatzidakis would add ὁμονοίας from Moralia, 70 c, and Life of Alexander, chap. ix., but it is not absolutely necessary.

ᵃ Something remotely like this is told of Alexander in Plutarch’s Life of Alexander, chap. xxxi. (683 ε).
ᵇ The story is found also in Moralia, 67 ῞, 334 ν, and 634 ϊ.
ᶜ Cf. Moralia, 70 β (which omits the conclusion) and Plutarch’s Life of Alexander, chap. ix. (669 c).
daytime, and the Greeks who had gathered at his doors were indignant and complaining, Parmenio said, "Do not be astonished that Philip is asleep now; for while you were asleep he was awake."  

29. When he desired to correct a harp-player at dinner, and to discuss the playing of this instrument, the harp-player said, "God forbid, Your Majesty, that you should ever fall so low as to have a better knowledge of these matters than I."  

30. At a time when he was at odds with Olympias, his wife, and with his son, Demaratus of Corinth arrived, and Philip inquired of him how the Greeks were feeling towards one another. And Demaratus said, "Much right have you to talk about the harmony of the Greeks when the dearest of your own household feel so towards you!" Philip, taking the thought to heart, ceased from his anger, and became reconciled with them.  

31. When a poor old woman insisted that her case should be heard before him, and often caused him annoyance, he said he had no time to spare, whereupon she burst out, "Then give up being king." Philip, amazed at her words, proceeded at once to hear not only her case but those of the others.
(179) τρεφομένους ἔλεγε παίδας, "ἔμοι δὲ ὁ πατήρ οὐδὲν ἀπολείψει." τών δὲ παιδῶν λεγόντων ὅτι "σοὶ ταύτα κτάται". "τί δὲ ὃφελος," εἶπεν, "ἐὰν ἔχω μὲν πολλὰ πράξω δὲ μηδὲν;"

2. 'Ελαφρὸς δὲ ὃν καὶ ποδώκης καὶ παρακαλοῦ-μενός ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Ὀλυμπία δραμείν στάδιον, "εἴγε," ἐφή, "βασιλεῖς ἔξειν ἐμελλὼν ἀνταγωνι-στάς."

Ε 3. Ἀχθείσης δὲ παιδίσκης πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς συν-αναπαυσομένης περὶ ἐσπέραν βαθείαν, ἤρατησεν ὁ τι πηνκαῦτα; τῆς δὲ ἐπιούσης, "περιέμενον γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα κατακλίναι," πικρῶς ἐπετίμησε τοῖς παιῶν ὡς μικροῦ δι' αὐτῶν μοιχὸς γενό-μενος.

4. Ἐπιθυμώντι δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς ἄφειδῶς αὐτῷ καὶ πολλάκις ἐπιδραττομένως τοῦ λιβανωτοῦ, παρών Λεωνίδης ὁ παιδαγωγός, "οὔτως," εἶπεν, "ὁ παῖ, δαφυλῶς ἐπιθυμώμεσις, οταν τῆς λιβανωτο-φόρου κρατήσῃς." ὡς οὖν ἐκράτησεν, ἐπεμψεν Ἐπιστολήν πρὸς αὐτὸν· "ἀπέσταλκά σοι τάλαντα ἐκατὸν ἱβανωτοῦ καὶ κασίας ἦνα μηκέτι μικρο-λογῇ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς, εἰδὼς ὅτι καὶ τῆς ἀρω-ματοφόρου κρατοῦμεν."

5. Μέλλων δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ Γρανίκῳ μάχην μάχεσθαι παρεκάλει τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἄφθονως δειπνεῖν καὶ πάντα φέρειν εἰς μέσου, ὡς αὐριόν δειπνήσοντας ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων.

1 κατακλίναι] κατακλινόμενοι van Herwerden.
2 ἐκατὸν omitted in nearly all mss. but is in the Life of Alexander, chap. xxv.

his playmates, "My father will leave nothing for me to do." "But," said the boys, "he is acquiring all this for you." "But what good is it," said Alexander, "if I possess much and accomplish nothing?"  

2. Being nimble and swift of foot, he was urged by his father to run in the foot-race at the Olympic games. "Yes, I would run," said he, "if I were to have kings as competitors."  

3. A girl was brought to him late in the evening with the intent that she should spend the night with him, and he asked her, "Why at this time?" She replied, "I had to wait to get my husband to go to bed"; whereupon Alexander bitterly rebuked his servants, since, owing to them, he had so narrowly escaped becoming an adulterer.  

4. On a time when he was offering incense to the gods with lavish hand, and often taking up handfuls of the frankincense, Leonidas, who had been his attendant in boyhood, happening to be present, said, "My boy, you may offer incense thus lavishly when you have made yourself master of the land that bears it." And so, when Alexander had become master of it, he sent a letter to Leonidas: "I have sent to you a half-ton of frankincense and cassia, so that you may never again count any petty cost in dealing with the gods, since you know that we are now masters of the land that bears these fragrant things."  

5. Just before he fought the battle at Granicus he urged the Macedonians to eat without stint, and to bring out all they had, since on the morrow they should dine from the enemy's stores.  

*c Cf. Plutarch's Life of Alexander, chap. xxv. (679 c); Pliny, Natural History, xii. 32 (62).
PLUTARCH’S MORALIA


7. Ἀναξάρχω δὲ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ δοῦναι τὸν διοικητὴν ἐκέλευσεν ὅσον ἂν αἰτήσῃ τοῦ δὲ διωκητοῦ φήσαντος ὡς ἔκατον αὐτῶν τάλαντα, “καλῶς,” ἐφη, “ποιεὶ γυνώσκων ὅτι φίλον ἔχει καὶ δυνάμενον τηλικαῦτα δωρεῖσθαι καὶ βουλόμενον.”

8. Ἐν δὲ τῇ Μελήτῳ πολλοὺς ἀνδριάντας θαλητῶν θεασάμενος Οὐλύμπια καὶ Πύθια νευκηκότων, “καὶ ποῦ τὰ τηλικαῦτα,” ἐφη, “ὅν σώματα, ὅτε οἱ βάρβαροι ὑμῶν τὴν πόλιν ἐπολιόρκουν;”

9. Τῆς δὲ τῶν Καρών βασιλίσσης Ἀδας ὡς καὶ πέμματα παρεσκευασμένα περιστῶς διὰ δημοουργῶν καὶ μαγείρων φιλοτμουμένης ἀεὶ πεμπεν πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἐφη κρείττονας ἔχειν αὐτὸς ὦφοποιοῦς, πρὸς μὲν ἅριστον τὴν νυκτοπορίαν πρὸς δὲ δείπνοι τὴν ὀλιγαρσίαν.


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a Stories of this type about kings have long been popular and often repeated.

b Xenocrates seems to have been the lucky recipient, while Anaxarchus received high esteem, according to Moralia, 331 τ, and Plutarch’s Life of Alexander, chap. viii. (668 ε).

c Cf. in Aristophanes, Plutus, 1003, and Athenaeus, 523 ρ, the proverb, “Once were the Milesians stout and strong.”

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6. When Perillus, one of his friends, asked him for dowry for his girls, Alexander bade him accept ten thousand pounds. He said that two thousand would be enough; but Alexander said, “Enough for you to accept, but not enough for me to give.”

7. He bade his manager give to Anaxarchus, the philosopher, as much as he asked for; and when the manager said that he asked for twenty thousand pounds, Alexander said, “He does well, for he knows that he has a friend who is both able and willing to make such presents.”

8. When he saw in Miletus many statues of athletes who had won victories in the Olympic and the Pythian games, he said, “Where were the men with bodies like these when the barbarians were besieging your city?”

9. Ada, queen of the Carians, made it a point of honour to be always sending to him fancy dishes and sweetmeats prepared in unusual ways by the hands of artists and chefs, but he said he had better fancy cooks—his night marches for his breakfast, and for his dinner his frugal breakfast.

10. Once, when all preparations had been made for battle, his generals asked him whether there was anything else in addition to what they had done. “Nothing,” said he, “except to shave the Macedonians’ beards.” And as Parmenio expressed his surprise, Alexander said, “Don’t you know that in battles there is nothing handier to grasp than a beard?”

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This story with slight variations is found also in *Moralia*, 127 b, 1099 c, and the *Life of Alexander*, chap. xxii. (677 b).

Cf. Plutarch’s *Life of Theseus*, chap. iii. (3 A); *Athenaeus*, 565 A.
PARTHAR CH'S MORALIA

(180) 11. Δαρείου δὲ διδόντος¹ αὐτῷ μύρια τάλαντα καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν νείμασθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπίσης, καὶ Παρμενίωνος εἰπόντος, "ἐλαβον ἣν εἰ Αλέξανδρος ἦμην," "κἀγὼ νὴ Δία," εἶπεν, "εἰ Παρμενίων ἦμην." ἀπεκρίνατο δὲ Δαρείῳ μήτη τὴν γῆν ἥλιους δύο μήτῃ τὴν Ἀσίαν δύο βασιλεῖς ὑπομένειν.


13. Παραταττομένου δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος ἰδίων D των τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὸ ἀκόντιον ἐναγκυλομένου ἐξέστης τῆς φάλαγγος ὡς ἄχρηστον, δὲ παρασκευάζεται δὴ νῦν, ὅτε χρήσθαι δεὶ τοῖς ὁπλοῖς.

14. 'Επιστολὴν δὲ παρὰ τῆς μητρὸς ἀναγνώσκων ἀπορρήτους κατ' Ἀντιπάτρου διαβολᾶς ἔχουσαν, ἢμα τού Ἡφαιστίωνος ὕσπερ εἰώθη συναγωνίσκοντος, οὐκ ἐκάλυσεν ὡς δὲ ἀνέγνω, τὸν δακτύλιον ἄφελόμενος τὸν <αυτοῦ τῷ στόματι τῷ ἐκείνου τὴν σφραγίδα ἐπέθηκεν.

¹ δὲ διδόντος Bernardakis: διδόντος or δὲ δόντος.

*Cf. Plutarch's Life of Alexander, chap. xxix. (681 f): 58*
11. When Darius offered him two million pounds, and also offered to share Asia equally with him, Parmenio said, "I would take it if I were Alexander." "And so indeed would I," said Alexander, "if I were Parmenio." But he made answer to Darius that the earth could not tolerate two suns, nor Asia two kings.a

12. When he was about to risk everything at Arbela against a million men arrayed against him, his friends came to him and accused the soldiers of talking together and making agreements in their tents that they would hand over none of the spoil to the royal treasury, but would keep everything for themselves. And he smiling said, "You bring good news; for I hear in this the talk of men prepared to conquer and not to flee." And many of the soldiers came to him and said, "Be of good cheer, Sire, and do not fear the great numbers of the enemy; for they will not be able to stand the very smell of goat that clings to us."

13. As the army was being drawn up for battle, he saw one of the soldiers fitting the thong to his javelin, and he shoved him out of the line as a useless man who was making ready at this time when he ought to be using his weapons.

14. As he was reading a letter from his mother, which contained secret slanders against Antipater, Hephaestion, as usual, was reading it with him. Alexander did not prevent Hephaestion from reading it, but, when he had finished the reading, he took off his ring, and placed the seal on Hephaestion's lips.b

Arrian, Anabasis, ii. 25; Diodorus, xvii. 54; Longinus, De sublimitate, ix. 4; Valerius Maximus, vi. 4, ext. 3.

15. Ἐν δὲ "Ἄμμωνος ύπὸ τοῦ προφήτου παῖς Διὸς προσαγορευθεὶς "οὐδὲν γε," ἐφη, "θαυμαστόν, πάντων μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς φύσει πατήρ ἔστιν, ἕιντο δὲ ποιεῖται τοὺς ἀρίστους."

16. Τοξεύματι δὲ πληγεὶς εἰς τὸ σκέλος, ὡς πολλοὶ συνεδραμοῦν τῶν πολλάκις εἰωθότων αὐτὸν θεὸν προσαγορεύειν, διαχυθεὶς τῷ προσώπῳ, "τούτῳ μὲν αἴμα," εἶπεν, "ὡς ὁρᾶτε, καὶ οὐκ ἱχώρ, οἴσσερ πε τῇ ἱερὰς ἱερείας θεοῦν."

17. Ἐπαινοῦντος δὲ ἐνὶ τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου τὴν εὐτέλειαν ὡς ἀθρόπτως διαιτομένου καὶ αὐστηρῶς, "ἐξωθεν," εἶπεν, "Ἀντιπάτρος λευκοπάρυφός ἐστι, τὰ δὲ ἐνδον ὀλοπόρφυρος."

18. Ἐν δὲ χειμώνι καὶ ψύχει τῶν φίλων τινὸς ἑστιώτος αὐτὸν, ἐσχάραν δὲ μικρὰν καὶ πῦρ ὀλγὸν εἰσενέγκαντος, ἥ ἠύλα ἥ λιβανωτὸν εἰσενεγκεῖν ἐκέλευσεν.

19. Ἀντιπατρίδου δὲ καλὴν ψάλτριαν ἐπὶ τὸ δείπνον ἀγαγόντος, κωνθεῖς τῇ ὦμει πρὸς αὐτὴν ὁ Ἁλέξανδρος ἣρωτησε τῶν Ἀντιπατρίδην, μὴ τι τυγχάνοι τῆς γυναικὸς ἔρων· ἐκεῖνο τὸ δὲ ὀμολογήσαντος, "ὡς μιαρέ," εἶπεν, "οὐκ ἀπάξεις εὐθὺς ἐκ τοῦ συμποσίου τήν γυναίκα;"

20. Πάλιν δὲ Πύθωνα τὸν �uations τοῦ αὐλητοῦ ἐρώμενον Ἀλασανδρὸς ἐβιάζετο φιλήσας· τὸν οὖν Ἑυίου ὅρων ἀληθέμενον ἀνεπήδησε μετ' ὀργῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀλασανδρὸν, κεκραγώς, "ἀλλ' οὖν ἐρασθήναι τινος ἐξεστὶ δι' ὑμᾶς."

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*b* The story is often repeated: cf. for example, *Moralia*, 341 b; Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, chap. xxviii. (681 b); 60
15. In the shrine of Ammon he was hailed by the prophetic priest as the son of Zeus. "That is nothing surprising," said he; "for Zeus is by nature the father of all, and he makes the noblest his own." 

16. When he was hit in the leg by an arrow, and many of those who were oftentimes wont to hail him as a god hurried up to him, he, relaxing his countenance, said, "This is blood, as you see, and not Ichor, like that which flows from the wounds of the blessed Immortals." 

17. When some commended the frugality of Antipater, who, they said, lived a plain and simple life, he remarked, "Outwardly Antipater is plain white, but within he is all purple." 

18. When one of his friends was entertaining him in the cold of winter, and brought in a small brazier with a little fire in it, Alexander bade him bring in either firewood or incense. 

19. When Antipatrides brought to dinner a beautiful harp-player, Alexander, stirred to love at the sight of her, asked Antipatrides whether he happened to be at all in love with the girl; and when he admitted that he was, Alexander said, "You abominable wretch! Please take her away from here at once." 

20. On another occasion Casander forced Python, beloved by Evius the flute-player, to kiss him, and Alexander, seeing that Evius was vexed, leapt up in anger against Casander, exclaiming "It isn't allowable even to fall in love with anybody, because of you and people like you."

Diogenes Laertius, ix. 60; Dio Chrysostom, Oration xlv. (p. 498); Seneca, Epistulae Moral. vi. 7. 12.

Cf. Plutarch's Life of Phocion, chap. xxix. (754 e).

Cf. Plutarch's Life of Eumenes, chap. ii. (583 d).

22. Τῶν δὲ μισθοφοροῦντων Ελλήνων παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑποχειρῶν γενομένων, τοὺς μὲν Ἀθη-Βαϊών έκέλευσεν ἐν πέδαις φυλάττειν ὅτι τροφῆν ἔχοντες ἐκ δημοσίου μισθοφοροῦν καὶ τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ὅτι γην ἀρίστην κεκτημένοι οὐ γεωρ-γοῦσιν· τοὺς δὲ Θηβαίους ἀφήκεν εἰπὼν ὅτι μόνος τούτοις οὔτε πόλις οὔτε χώρα δι’ ἧμᾶς ἀπο-λέειμαι.

23. Τῶν δὲ Ἰνδῶν τὸν ἄριστα τοξεύειν δοκοῦντα καὶ λεγόμενον διὰ δακτυλίου τὸν οὐστὸν ἀφιέναι λαβῶν αὐχμάλωτον ἐκέλευσεν ἐπιδείξασθαι, καὶ μὴ βουλόμενον ὀργισθεὶς ἀνελεῖν προσέταξε· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄγομενος δὲ ἀνθρωπὸς ἔλεγε πρὸς τοὺς ἄγοντας, ὅτι πολλῶν ἥμερῶν οὐ μεμελέτηκε καὶ ἐφοβήθη διαπεσεῖν, ἀκούσας δ’ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐθαύμασε καὶ

1 γην Hatzidakis and Kronenberg: τῆν.
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21. When he was sending away to the sea those of the Macedonians who were sick or incapacitated, a man was reported to have put down his name in the list of the sick although there was nothing the matter with him. When therefore the man was brought before Alexander and examined, he admitted that he had employed this ruse because of love for Telesippa, who was departing for the sea; and Alexander asked, "With whom must one talk concerning Telesippa?" And when he learned that she was not a slave, he said, "Then let us, Antigenes, try to persuade Telesippe to stay with us; for to coerce her, a free woman, is not within our right." 

22. When Greek mercenaries serving on the enemy's side came into his hands, he would order the Athenians among them to be kept in chains, because, while they could live at the expense of the State, they were serving as mercenaries, and so also the Thessalians, because, although they owned the very best land, they did not till it. But the Thebans he let go free, saying that these alone, because of us, have neither city nor land left to them.

23. When he had taken captive the man who had the greatest repute for marksmanship among the Indians, of whom it was said that he could send an arrow through a finger-ring, Alexander bade him show his skill, and when he would not, the king in anger decreed his execution. The man, as he was being led away, said to those who were taking him that he had not practised for many days, and was afraid of failing; and when this came to the ears of Alexander, he marvelled and let the man go with

*Cf. Moralia, 339 c, and Plutarch's Life of Alexander, chap. xli. (689 b).*
(181) ἀπέλυσε μετὰ δύρων αὐτόν, ὅτι μάλλον ἀποθανεῖν ὑπέμεινεν ἢ τῆς δόξης ἀνάξιος φανῆναι.

C 24. Ἔπει δὲ Ταξίλης, εἰς τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλεὺς ὄν, ἀπαντήσας προεκαλεῖτο μὴ μάχεσθαι μηδὲ πολέμειν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν ἔστων ἥττων, εὖ πάσχειν, εἰ δὲ βελτίων, εὖ ποιεῖν, ἀπεκρίνατο περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου μαχετέον εἰναι, πότερος εὖ ποιῶν περιγένηται.

25. Περὶ δὲ τῆς λεγομένης Ἀόρνου πέτρας ἐν Ἰνδοῖς ἀκούσας ὅτι τὸ μὲν χωρίον δυσαλωτόν ἐστιν, ὃ δὲ ἔχων αὐτὸ δειλὸς ἐστὶ, “νῦν,” ἐφη, “τὸ χωρίον εὐάλωτόν ἐστιν.”

26. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄλλος ἔχων πέτραν ἀληπτοῦν δοκοῦσαν εἰναι ἑνεχείρουσεν ἐαυτὸν μετὰ τῆς πέτρας τῷ Ἁλεξανδρῷ, καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐκέλευσεν ἄρχειν καὶ προσέθηκε χώραν, εἰπών ὅτι φρονεῖν μοι δοκεῖ ὁ ἀνθρωπος, ἀνδρὶ μάλλον ἄγαθῳ πιστεύσας ἐαυτὸν ἢ ὁχυρῷ τόπῳ.

27. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τῆς πέτρας ἀλωσιν τῶν φίλων λεγόντων ὑπερβεβληκέναι τὸν Ἡρακλέα ταῖς πράξεσιν, “ἀλλ’ ἐγώ,” εἰπε, “τὰς ἐμὰς πράξεις μετὰ τῆς ἥγεμονίας ἐνὸς οὐ νομίζω ῥήματος ἀνταξίας εἰναι τοῦ Ἡρακλέους.”

1 ῥήματος] πράγματος (?); Heracles was not noted for his words! γράμματος E. Capps.

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many gifts because he preferred to suffer himself to be put to death rather than to show himself unworthy of his reputation.

24. When Taxiles, king of the Indians, met Alexander, he charged him not to fight or make war, but, if he were inferior, to accept favours, and, if he were superior, to bestow them. To this Alexander replied that this was the very issue between them, to determine which could outdo the other in bestowing favours.  

25. When he was told concerning the 'Birdless Rock,' as it is called, in India, that the place was extremely difficult to capture, but that the man who held it was a coward, he said, "In that case it is easy to capture."

26. When another man who held a seemingly impregnable rock surrendered himself together with his stronghold to Alexander, Alexander bade him to continue to rule, and gave him additional country to govern, saying that this person seems to me to show sense in trusting himself to a good man rather than to a strong place."

27. After the capture of the rock his friends were saying that he had surpassed Heracles in his deeds, but he remarked, "No, I do not feel that my deeds, with my position as commander, are to be weighed against one word of Heracles."

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*d* Arrian, *Anabasis*, v. 26. 5, represents Alexander as boasting over the capture of the rock, which Heracles had failed to capture.
28. Τών δὲ φίλων τινὰς αἰσθόμενος ἐν τῷ κυβεῦειν οὐ παίζοντας ἐξημώσε.

29. Τών δὲ πρῶτων φίλων καὶ κρατίστων τιμᾶν μὲν ἑδόκει Κρατερὸν μάλιστα πάντων, φιλεῖν δὲ Ἰφαιστώνα. "Κρατερὸς μὲν γάρ," ἐφη, "φιλο-βασιλεὺς ἔστιν, Ἰφαιστών δὲ φιλαλέξανδρος."

30. Ξενοκράτει δὲ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ πεντήκοντα τάλαντα πέμψας, ὡς οὐκ ἐδεξατο μὴ δεῖσθαι φήσας, ἠρώτησεν εἰ μηδὲ φίλον ἔχει Ξενοκράτης· "ἐμοί μὲν γάρ," ἐφη, "μόλις ὁ Δαρείου πλοῦτος εἰς τοὺς φίλους ἤρκεσεν."


32. Πυθόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τυνὸς λοιδορεῖσθαι, "βασι-λικόν," ἐφη, "ἔστιν εὐ ποιοῦντα κακῶς ἁκούειν."

33. Ἀποδημήσκων δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἑταίρους ἀπίδων ἐφη, "μέγαν ὅρῳ μοι τὸν ἐπιτάφιον ἐσόμενον."

1 οὐ παίζοντας] συμπαίζοντας Bernardakis. The question is, of course, whether they played professionally or would not play at all; <σπν>υυ<δη>, a not uncommon attendant of παίζω, would make the first alternative unequivocal, and οὐ συμπαίζοντας (E. Capps) would do the same for the second.

Alexander himself, when he was ill, spent the whole day in throwing dice with Medius, according to Plutarch, Life of Alexander, chap. lxxvi (706 b).

Cf. Plutarch's Life of Alexander, chap. xlvii. (691 f), and Diodorus, xvii. 114.

Cf. Moralia, 331 e and 333 b, and Plutarch's Life of Alexander, chap. viii. (668 e).

Cf. Moralia, 332 e and 458 b; Plutarch's Life of Alexander, chap. lx. (699 c); Arrian, Anabasis, v. 19. 2.
28. Learning that in gambling with dice some of his friends did not enter into the game as a sport, he punished them.\(^a\)

29. Of his foremost and most influential friends he seems to have honoured Craterus most and to have loved Hephaestion best. "For," said he, "Craterus is fond of the king, but Hephaestion is fond of Alexander." \(^b\)

30. He sent ten thousand pounds to Xenocrates the philosopher, but when Xenocrates would not accept them, and said he had no need of them, Alexander asked whether Xenocrates had not a single friend. "For, in my case," said he, "the wealth of Darius was hardly enough for my friends." \(^c\)

31. Porus, after the battle, was asked by Alexander, "How shall I treat you?" "Like a king," said he. Asked again if there were nothing else, he said, "Everything is included in those words." Marvelling at his sagacity and manliness, Alexander added to his kingdom more land than he had possessed before.\(^d\)

32. Learning that he was being maligned by a certain man, he said, "It is kingly to be ill spoken of for doing good." \(^e\)

33. As he was dying, he said, looking towards his companions, "I see that my funeral rites will be imposing." \(^f\)

\(^a\) An oft-repeated aphorism; cf. for example, Plutarch's Life of Alexander, chap. xli. (688 ε); Pro Nobilitate, 19 (Bernardakis ed. vii. p. 268); Diogenes Laertius, vi. 3; Epictetus, Discourses, iv. 6; Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, vii. 36; Dio Chrysostom, Oration xvii., last sentence.

\(^b\) Cf. Arrian, Anabasis, vii. 26. 3; Diodorus, xvii. 117. 4; Quintus Curtius, Hist. Alexandri, x. 5. 5; Justinus, Historiae Philippicae, xii. 15.
34. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ Δημάδης ὁ ρήτωρ ὁμοιὸν ἔφη διὰ τὴν ἀναρχίαν ὁράσθαι τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐκτετυφλωμένῳ τῷ Κύκλωπι.

ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΤ ΤΟΤ ΛΑΓΟΤ

Πτολεμαῖος δὲ Λάγου τὰ πολλὰ παρὰ τοῖς φίλοις ἐδείπνει καὶ ἐκάθευδεν· εἶ δὲ ποτε δειπνίζοι, τοῖς ἐκείνων ἔχρητο μεταπεμπόμενος ἐκπώματα καὶ στρώματα καὶ τραπέζας· αὐτὸς δὲ οὐκ ἐκέκτητο πλεῖω τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἀλλὰ τοῦ πλούτειν ἔλεγε τὸ πλούτιζειν εἶναι βασιλικώτερον.

ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΤ

182 1. 'Ἀντίγονος εἰσέπραττε χρήματα συντόνως· εἰπόντος δὲ τινος, “Αλλ’ οὐκ Ἀλέξανδρος ἦν τοιοῦτος,” “εἰκότως,” εἶπεν, “ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ ἑθέριζε τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἐγὼ δὲ καλαμώμαι.”

2. Τὸν δὲ στρατιωτῶν ἱδὼν τινας ἐν τοῖς θάραξι καὶ τοῖς κράνεσι σφαιρίζοντας ἱσθη, καὶ τοῖς ἠγεμόνας αὐτῶν μετεπέμπετο ἐπανέσαι βουλόμενος· ὅσο δὲ ἦκουσεν ὃτι πύνουσιν, τὰς ἐκείνων ἠγεμονίας τοὺς στρατιώτας ἔδωκε.


4. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν υἱὸν Φίλιππον πυθόμενον πλειό-

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*a Cf. Plutarch’s Life of Galba, chap. i. (1053 c), which also gives Demades as the author; but in Moralia, 336 f, the saying is attributed to Leosthenes. Cf. also Demetrius Phalereus, De elocutione, 284.

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34. When he had come to his end, Demades the orator said that the army of the Macedonians, because of its lack of leadership, looked like the Cyclops after his eye had been put out.  

PTOLEMY, SON OF LAGUS  

Ptolemy, son of Lagus, used, as a rule, to dine and sleep at his friends' houses; and if ever he gave a dinner, he would send for their dishes and linen and tables, and use them for the occasion. He himself owned no more than were required for everyday use; and he used to say that it was more kingly to enrich than to be rich.  

ANTIGONUS  

1. Antigonus was persistent in his demands for money, and when somebody said, "But Alexander was not like this," he replied, "Very naturally; for he reaped Asia, and I am picking up the straws."  

2. Seeing some of his soldiers playing ball in their breastplates and helmets, he was much pleased and sent for their officers, wishing to commend them. But when he heard that they were engaged in drinking, he gave their positions to their soldiers.  

3. When all were astonished because, after he had grown old, he handled matters with mildness and gentleness, he said, "Time was when I craved power, but now I crave repute and goodwill among men."  

4. To his son Philip, who inquired in the presence

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b Ptolemy Soter, king of Egypt, 323–285 (or + 283) B.C.  
d The "One-eyed"; one of Alexander's generals; ruler in Asia Minor, 323–301 B.C.
(182) νων παρόντων, “πότε μέλλομεν ἀναζευγνύναι;” “τί δέδοικας;” εἶπε, “μὴ μόνος τῆς σάλπιγγος οὐκ ἄκουσθς;”

5. Σπουδάσαντος δὲ τοῦ νεανίσκου λαβεῖν κατά-

λυσιν παρὰ γυναικὶ χήρα τρεῖς ἐχοῦσῃ θυγατέρος

ἐνπρεπεῖς, καλέσας τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ἔξιν ἐῖπεν, “οὐκ

ἐξάξεις μου τὸν ύιὸν ἀπὸ τῆς στενοχωρίας;”

6. Νοσήσας δὲ μακρὰν νόσον ὡς ἀνέρρωσεν,

“οὐδὲν,” ἐφη, “χείρον ὑπέμνησε γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἡ

νόσος μὴ μέγα φρονεῖν ὡς ὄντας θυτοῦσ.”

7. Ερμοδότου δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασιν Ἦλιον

παίδα γράψαντος, “οὐ ταῦτα μοι,” ἐφη, “σύνοιδεν

ὁ λασανοφόρος.”

8. Εἰπόντος δὲ τινός ὧτι πάντα καλά καὶ δίκαια

τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν, “ναὶ μᾶ Δία,” εἶπε, “τοῖς τῶν

βαρβάρων ἡμῖν δὲ μόνα καλὰ τὰ καλὰ καὶ μόνα

dίκαια τὰ δίκαια.”

9. Μαρσύου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ δίκην ἔχοντος, ἄξιοντος
dὲ τὴν κρίσιν αὐτῶ γενέσθαι κατ’ οἰκίαν,

“ἔσται μὲν οὖν,” εἶπεν, “ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ καὶ πάντων

ἀκούστων εἰ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦμεν.”

10. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ποτε χειμῶνος ἐν τόποις σπανίζοναυ

tῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἦναγκασε καταζεύξαι καὶ τῶν

στρατιωτῶν τίνες ἐλοιδόρουν αὐτὸν ἄγνοοιντες ὤτι

Δπλησίον ἐστίν, τῇ βακτηρίᾳ τῆς σκηνῆς διαστάλας

1 ἄκουσθς Moralia, 506 D: ἄκουσθν.

a Cf. Moralia, 506 c; Plutarch's Life of Demetrius, chap. xxviii. (902 c), when the remark is addressed to Demetrius. The same remark is attributed to Crassus by Frontinus, Strategemata, 1. 1. 13.

b Repeated by Plutarch in his Life of Demetrius, chap. 70
of numerous persons, "When are we going to break camp?" he said, "What are you afraid of? That you alone may not hear the bugle?"  

5. When the young man was determined to take up his quarters at the house of a widow who had three handsome daughters, he called the quartermaster and said, "Will you not get my son out of his crowded quarters?"  

6. He suffered a long illness, and when he had recovered his strength he said, "Twas nothing so very bad; for the illness has reminded us not to feel too proud, since we are but mortal."  

7. When Hermodotus in his poems wrote of him as "The Offspring of the Sun," he said, "The slave who attends to my chamber-pot is not conscious of that!"  

8. When somebody remarked that all things are honourable and righteous for kings, he said, "Yes indeed, for kings of the barbarians; but for me only the honourable things are honourable and the righteous righteous."  

9. When Marsyas his brother had a lawsuit, and claimed the right to have the trial held at his house, Antigonus said, "It shall be in the Forum and with everybody listening to see whether we do any injustice."  

10. Once upon a time in the winter when he had forced a halt in regions lacking provisions, and some of the soldiers were cursing him, not knowing that he was near, he poked open his tent with his stick,

xxiii. (899 c), and more fully by Frontinus, Strategemata, iv. 1. 10.

Attributed to Alexander by Stobaeus, Florilegium, xxi. 15.

Cf. Moralia, 360 c.
11. 'Αριστοδήμου δὲ τῶν φίλων τινός ἐκ μαγείρου γεγονέναι δοκοῦτος, συμβουλεύοντος δὲ αὐτῶ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων καὶ τῶν δωρεῶν ἀφαιρέων, "οἱ λόγοι σου," εἶπεν, "ὦ Ἀριστοδήμε, περιζωματος ὄξουσιν."

12. 'Αθηναίων δὲ δούλων αὐτοῦ τιμώμενον ἐστὶ τὴν πολυτελὰν ὡς ἐλεύθερον ἐγγραψάντων, "οὐκ ἂν," εἶπεν, "ἦβουλόμην ἐνα 'Αθηναίων ὑπ' ἐμοὶ μαστιγοῦσαί,"

13. Νεανίσκου δὲ τίνων Ἀναξιμένους τοῦ ῥήτορος μαθητῶν λόγον ἐσκεμμένον ἐκ παρασκευῆς Ε ἐπόντος ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, βουλόμενος τι μαθεῖν ἥρωτησεν ἀποσιωπῆσαντος δὲ τοῦ νεανίσκου, "τί λέγεις;" εἶπεν, "ἡ ταῦτ' ἐστὶ τῶν δέλτοισιν ἐγγεγραμμένα;"

14. 'Ετέρου δὲ ῥήτορος ἄκούων λέγοντος ὅτι χιονοβόλος ἡ ὤρα γενομένη λιτοβοτανεῖν ἐποίησε τὴν χώραν, "οὐ παύσῃ μοι," εἶπεν, "ὡς ὀχλῳ χρώμενος;"


16. Πέμπτων δὲ Δημήτριου τὸν ὕδων μετὰ νεῶν

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1 τιμώμενον] γενόμενον Cobet.
2 μαστιγοῦσαί] μεμαστιγώσαθαι Pantazides and S. A. Naber, but μαστιγοῦσαί can be defended as an "imperfect infinitive."
3 λιτοβοτανεῖν Bernardakis: λειτοβοτανεῖν.

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a Repeated in Moralia, 457 ε, and Seneca, De Ira, iii. 22. 2.
b Possibly the son of Eutropion, Moralia, 11 A.
and said, "You'll be sorry if you don't go farther off to curse me." a

11. When Aristodemus, b one of his friends, who, it was whispered, was the son of a cook, advised him to curtail his expenditures and his giving of presents, he said, "Aristodemus, your words have the stink of a kitchen apron."

12. When the Athenians admitted to citizenship a slave of his, held in much esteem, and enrolled him as a free man, he said, "I could wish that one Athenian had not been flogged by me!"

13. A young man, one of the pupils of Anaximenes the orator, pronounced before him a very carefully prepared oration, and he, wishing to gain some further information, asked a question. But when the young man relapsed into silence, he remarked, "What is your answer? Or Is this the content of the written page?" e

14. Hearing another orator say that the season had been snowy, d and so had caused a lack of herbage in the land, he said, "Please stop treating me as you treat a common crowd."

15. When Thrasyllus the Cynic asked him for a shilling, he said "That is not a fit gift for a king to give." And when Thrasyllus said, "Then give me two hundred pounds," he retorted, "But that is not a fit gift for a Cynic to receive." e

16. When he sent Demetrius his son, with many

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a Euripides, Iphigeneia among the Taurians, 787.

b This could hardly refer (as some think) to the unseasonably cold weather in the spring (of 307 B.C.?) recorded in Plutarch's Life of Demetrius, chap. xii. (894 c).

c The story is told more fully in Moralia, 551 e, and by Seneca, De beneficis, ii. 17. 1.
πολλῶν καὶ δυνάμεων ἐλευθερώσοντα τοὺς Ἔλληνας

17. Ἀνταγόρου δὲ τοῦ ποιητοῦ γόγγρον ἔφοντος καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν λοπάδα σείοντος, ἐπιστὰς ἐξόπισθεν, "οἶει," φησί, "τὸν Ὀμηρον, ὁ Ἀνταγόρα, γόγγρον ἔφειν τὰς τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος γράφοντα πράξεις;" καὶ ὁ Ἀνταγόρας, "σὺ δὲ," εἶπεν, "ὡς βασιλεῦ, τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονο νομίζεις πράττοντα τὰς πράξεις ἐκείνας πολυπραγμονεῖν, εἶ τις ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ γόγγρον ἔφει;"

183 18. Ἐπεὶ δ' ὅναρ ἰδὼν χρυσοῦν θέρος ἐξαμῶντα Μιθριδάτην ἐβούλευσάτο κτείναι, καὶ Δημήτριῳ τῷ νῦν φράσας ὄρκωσε σιωπήσεων,¹ παραλαβὼν² τὸν Μιθριδάτην ὁ Δημήτριος καὶ συμπεριπατῶν παρὰ θάλατταν ἐν τῷ αἰγαλῷ κατέγραψε τῷ σαυρωτηρίῳ τοῦ δόρατος, "φεῦγε, Μιθριδάτα." ἐκεῖνος δὲ νοῆσας ἐφυγεν εἰς Πόντον κάκει βασιλεὺσῶν διετέλεσε.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ

1. ἩΡοδίου δὲ πολιορκῶν ὁ Δημήτριος ἔλαβεν ἐν τοῖς προαστείῳ πίνακα Πρωτογένους τοῦ

¹ σιωπήσεων, Life of Demetrius, chap. iv. is probably right: σιωπήσας.
² παραλαβὼν F.C.B.: ὁ δὲ παραλαβὼν. Some slight change is required to make the sentence grammatical. Bernardakis accomplishes the same result by omitting Ἐπεὶ δ' and ὁ Δημήτριος.

* Cf. Plutarch’s Life of Demetrius, chap. viii. (892 b), where the phraseology is slightly different.

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ships and forces, to make the Greeks a free people, he said that his repute, kindled in Greece as on a lofty height, would spread like beacon-fires throughout the inhabited world.\textsuperscript{a}

17. While Antagoras the poet was cooking a conger-eel, and was shaking the skillet with his own hand, Antigonus stepped up behind him and said, "Antagoras, do you imagine that Homer cooked a conger while he was writing of the exploits of Agamemnon?" To which Antagoras retorted, "And do you, Your Majesty, believe that Agamemnon, while he was performing those exploits, was overmuch concerned if anybody in the army cooked a conger?" \textsuperscript{b}

18. In a dream he saw Mithridates reaping a golden harvest, and thereupon planned to kill him. He told Demetrius his son, and bound him by an oath to silence. But Demetrius took Mithridates to walk with him beside the sea, and with the butt of his spear wrote in the sand, "Flee, Mithridates." And Mithridates, understanding the purport, fled to Pontus and reigned there until his end.\textsuperscript{c}

\textbf{DEMETRIUS} \textsuperscript{d}

1. When Demetrius was besieging the Rhodians\textsuperscript{e} he seized in one of the suburbs a painting of the

\textsuperscript{a} Cf. \textit{Moralia}, 668 c, and \textit{Athenaeus}, 340 r, who quotes as his authority Hegesander.
\textsuperscript{b} Plutarch tells the story at length in his \textit{Life of Demetrius}, chap. iv. (890 c); cf. also Appian, \textit{Roman History, Mithridatic Wars}, 9. Mithridates became the founder of the line of Pontic kings, which lasted until 63 B.C., when Mithridates VI. was conquered by Pompey.
\textsuperscript{c} Son of Antigonus, known as Demetrius Poliorcetes (the Besieger).
\textsuperscript{d} In 305–304 B.C.
Žωγράφος τῶν Ἱάλυσον γράφοντος, ἐπικηρυκευσά-
(183) μένων δὲ τῶν Ῥοδίων καὶ φείσασθαι τοῦ πίνακος
παρακαλοῦντων, ἔφη "μᾶλλον ἂν τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς
eικόνας ἢ τὴν γραφῇ ἐκείνην διαφθείραι." σπει-
σάμενος δὲ τοῖς Ῥοδίοις τὴν ἐλέπολιν ἀπέλυ
pαρ’ αὐτοῖς, ὑπόδειγμα τῆς αὐτοῦ μεγαλουργίας
ἐκείνων δὲ ἀνδρείας ἐσομένην.

2. Ἀποστάντων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἔλων τήν
πόλιν ἦδη κακῶς ὑπὸ συτοδείας ἔχουσαν, εὐθὺς
ἐκκλησίας αὐτῶν συναχθέως, ἐπέδωκε δώρεαν
σῖτον αὐτοῖς· δημηγορῶν δὲ περὶ τούτων ἐβαρ-
C βάρσε· τῶν δὲ καθημένων τυνός ὁς ἔδει τὸ ῥήμα
λεχθῆναι παραφωνήσαντος, "οὐκοῦν," ἔφη, "καὶ
τῆς ἐπανορθώσεως ταύτης ἄλλους υἱῶν πεντακισ-
χιλίους ἐπιδίδωμι μεδίμνους."

ANTIGONOS TOT DEUTERON

1. Ἀντίγονος ὁ δεύτερος, Δημήτριου τοῦ πατρὸς
ἀλόντος καὶ πέμψαντός τινα τῶν φίλων καὶ κε-
λεύνοντος μὴ προσέχειν, ᾧν τι γράφῃ βιασθεῖς ὑπὸ
Σελεύκου, μηδὲ παραχωρεῖν τῶν πόλεων, αὐτὸς
ἐγραφεῖ πρὸς Σελευκον ἐξιστάμενος αὐτῷ τῆς
ἀρχῆς ἀπάσης καὶ παραδιδοὺς ὁμηρον ἐαυτὸν ἐπὶ
τῶν πατέρα Δημήτριον ἀπολυθῆναι.

1 ἂν added by Bernardakis.

a The painting was seen by Cicero (Orator, 2 (5)) at
Rhodes; later it was carried to Rome and placed in the
temple of Peace (Pliny, Nat. Hist. xxxv. 36 (102)).
b This engine is described by Diodorus, xx. 48, and
Plutarch, Life of Demetrius, chap. xxi. (898 η).
c The story is told by Plutarch in his Life of Demetrius,
artist Protogenes in which he portrayed Ialysus. The Rhodians sent a herald to him and besought him to spare the painting. He replied that he would sooner destroy the statues and portraits of his father than that painting. And coming to terms with the Rhodians, he left his great siege-engine, the City-taker, with them to serve as a token of his prowess and of their courage.

2. The Athenians revolted, and when he had taken their city, which was already in serious straits from lack of food, an assembly of the people was immediately summoned by him, and he made them a present of grain. In speaking about this before them he lapsed into a barbarism. One of those sitting there repeated the phrase as it should have been spoken, and he said, "For this correction, then, I give you eight thousand bushels more."

ANTIGONUS THE SECOND

1. When Demetrius, the father of Antigonus the Second, had been taken captive, he sent one of his friends and urged Antigonus to pay no attention if he should write anything under compulsion of Seleucus, and not to withdraw from the cities; but Antigonus of his own accord wrote to Seleucus resigning to him his whole kingdom and offering to surrender himself as a hostage on condition that his father Demetrius be released.

chap. xxii. (898 e); Pliny, Nat. Hist. xxxv. 36 (105); and Aulus Gellius, xv. 31.

a Cf. Plutarch’s Life of Demetrius, chap. xxxiv. (905 b).

b Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedonia, 283–239 B.C.

c Cf. Plutarch’s Life of Demetrius, chap. lii. (914 d).
(183) 2. Μέλλων δὲ ναυμαχεῖν πρὸς τοὺς Πτολεμαίους
D στρατηγοὺς, εἰπόντος τοῦ κυβερνήτου πολὺ πλείονας ἐίναι τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ναῦς, "ἐμὲ δὲ," ἐφη, "αὐτὸν παρόντα πρὸς πόσας ἀντιτάττεις;"
3. Ἅριωχωρῶν δὲ ποτε τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπερχο-μένοις οὐκ ἐφη φεύγειν, ἀλλὰ διώκειν τὸ συμ-
φέρον ὑπὸ συν. χείμενον.
4. Ἐπεὶ δὲ νεανίσκος ἀνδρείον πατρός, αὐτὸς δὲ μὴ πάνυ δοκῶν ἀγαθὸς ἐίναι στρατιώτης ἥξιον τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς λαμβάνειν ἀποφοράς, "ἄλλ' ἐγώ," εἶπεν, "ὡς μειράκιον, ἀνδραγαθίας οὐ πατραγαθίας μισθούς καὶ δωρεὰς δίδωμι."
5. Ζήνωνος δὲ τοῦ Κιτιέως ἀποθανόντος, οὐν μάλιστα τῶν φιλοσόφων ἑθαίμασεν, ἔλεγε τὸ θέα-
tρον αὐτοῦ τῶν πράξεων ἀνηρήσκατι.

Ε

ΔΤΣΙΜΑΧΟΤ

1. Αυσίμαχος ἐν Θράκη κρατηθεὶς ὑπὸ Δρομι-
χαίτου καὶ διὰ δίψαν ἐαυτὸν καὶ τὸ στράτευμα
παραδοὺς, ὃς ἐπιεῖν αἰχμαλωτὸς γενόμενος, "ὡς
θεοί," εἶπεν, "ὡς μικρὰς ἡδονῆς ἐνεκα δούλο
ἐμαυτὸν ἐκ βασιλέως πεποίηκα."

2. Πρὸς δὲ Φιλιππίδην τὸν κωμῳδιστῶν1 φίλον
ἀντα καὶ συνήθη, "τίνος σοι," εἶπε, "τῶν ἐμῶν

1 κωμῳδιστῶν, the preferred form, Bernardakis: κωμῳ-
διστῶν.

9 Cf. Moralia, 545 b, and Plutarch’s Life of Pelopidas,
chap. ii. (278 d), both showing variation in wording and
details; also Athenaeus, 209 ε, and Gulick’s note in the

b Cf. Diogenes Laertius, vii. 15.
2. When Antigonus was about to engage in a naval battle against Ptolemy's generals, the pilot said that the ships of the enemy far outnumbered their own. "But," said Antigonus, "how many ships do you think my own presence here is equivalent to?"  

3. Once when he was withdrawing before the advance of the enemy, he said that he was not fleeing, but was following up his advantage, which lay in the rear.  

4. When a young man, son of a brave father, but not himself having any reputation for being a good soldier, suggested the propriety of his receiving his father's emoluments, Antigonus said, "My boy, I give pay and presents for the excellence of a man, not for the excellence of his father."  

5. When Zeno of Citium died, whom he admired most among the philosophers, he said that the audience to hear of his exploits had been taken away.  

LYSIMACHUS  

1. Lysimachus was overpowered by Dromichaetas in Thrace, and because of thirst surrendered himself and his army; and when he drank after he had been made a prisoner, he said, "My God, for what a little pleasure have I made myself a slave from being a king!"  

2. To Philippides the comic poet who was his friend and intimate he said, "What of mine shall I share

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* One of Alexander's generals; later king of Thrace.  
* In 292 B.C.  
* The story is repeated with slight variations in Moralia, 126 E and 555 D; the capture of Lysimachus is recorded in Plutarch's Life of Demetrius, chap. xxxix. (908 b); Polyaeus, Strategemata, vii. 25; Diodorus, xxi. 12.

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μεταδώ;" κάκεινος, "οὐ βούλει, πλὴν τῶν ἀπορρήτων."

ANTIPATROT

1. 'Ἀντίπατρος ἀκούσας τὴν Παρμενίωνος ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῆν, "εἰ μὲν ἐπεβούλευσεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Παρμενίῳ," εἶπε, "τινὶ πιστευτέον; εἰ δὲ μὴ, τί πρακτεὸν;"

2. Ἀντιπατρὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ ῥήτορος ἣδη πρεσβύτου γεγονότος ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ καθαρῷ ἑρείου διαπεπραγμένου καταλείπεσθαι μόνην τὴν γαστέρα καὶ τὴν γλώτταν.

ANTIOXOT TOT TRITOT

1. 'Ἀντίοχος ὁ τρίτος ἐγραψε ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἀν τι γράψῃ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους κελεύων γενέσθαι, μὴ προσέχειν ὡς ἡγυμνοκότι.

2. Τὴν δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἑρείαν ἰδὼν ύπερβολὴ καλὴν φανεῖσαν εὐθὺς ἀνέξευξεν ἐξ Ἐφέσου, φοβοῦμενος μὴ παρὰ γνώμην ἐκβιασθῆ πρᾶξαι τι τῶν οὕχ ὀσίων.

ANTIOXOT TOT IEPAKOS

'Ἀντίοχος ὁ ἐπικληθεῖς Ἰέραξ ἐπολέμει περὶ τῆς 184 βασιλείας πρὸς τὸν ἄδελφον Σέλευκον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Σέλευκος ἢττηθεῖς ὑπὸ Γαλατῶν οὐδαμοῦ φανερὸς

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a Repeated with slight variations in Moralia, 508 c and 517 b.
b Trusted general of Philip and Alexander.
with you?" And the other replied, "What you will, except your secrets." "

ANTIPATER

1. Antipater, hearing of the death of Parmenio at the hands of Alexander, said, "If Parmenio plotted against Alexander, who is to be trusted? And if he did not, what is to be done?"

2. Of Demades the orator, who had already become an old man, he said that he was like an animal which had been eaten at a sacrificial feast; there was left only the belly and the tongue.

ANTIOCHUS THE THIRD

1. Antiochus the Third wrote to the cities that, if he should write ordering anything to be done contrary to the laws, they should pay no attention, assuming that he had acted in ignorance.

2. Seeing the priestess of Artemis surpassingly beautiful in her appearance, he straightway marched forth from Ephesus, for fear that even against his determination he might be constrained to commit some unholy act.

ANTIOCHUS THE HAWK

Antiochus who was nicknamed the Hawk was warring against his brother Seleucus for the kingdom. But when Seleucus, vanquished by the Galatians, could nowhere be found, but, to all appearances, had

\[d\] Antiochus the Great presumably, king of Syria, 223-187 B.C.

\[e\] In 196 B.C. presumably, when he wintered in Ephesus (Livy, xxxiii. 38).

\[f\] In 246 B.C.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(184) ἂν ἄλλ' ἔδοκεν κατακεκόφθαι, θείς τὴν πορφύραν ὁ Ἀντίοχος φαιόν ἴματιον ἀνέλαβε. μετ' ὁλίγον δὲ πυθόμενος τὸν ἀδελφὸν σῴζεσθαι, εὐαγγέλια τοῖς θεοῖς ἐθυσε καὶ τὰ τόπος τὰς ύφ' ἐαυτῷ στεφανηφορεῖν ἐποίησεν.

ΕΤΜΕΝΟΤΣ

Εὐμένης ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ Περσέως ἔδοξεν τεθνάναι· τῆς δὲ φήμης εἰς Πέργαμον κομισθείσης, Β"Ἀτταλος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ περιθέμενος τὸ διάδημα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα γῆμας ἐβασίλευσε· πυθόμενος δὲ προσιόντα ζῶντα τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀπήντησεν ὁσπερ εἰώθης μετὰ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων δοράτων ἔχων· ὁ δὲ Εὐμένης φιλοφρόνως ἀσπασάμενος αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὦδς εἰπόν, "μὴ σπεύδε γῆμαι πρὶν τελευτήσαντ' ἵδης," οὐδὲν ἄλλο παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον οὔτ' εἶπεν ὑποττόν οὔτε ἐποίησεν, ἄλλα καὶ τελευτῶν ἐκείνω τῇ γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπέλιπεν. ἀνθ' ὁν ἐκείνος οὐδὲν εἴ τ' ἐαυτῷ τέκνον ἔθρεψε, πολλῶν γενομένων, ἀλλὰ τῷ Εὐμένους νῦν τὴν βασιλείαν ἔτι ζῶν ἐνηλίκω γενομένω παρέδωκε.

C

ΠΡΡΡΟΤ ΤΟΤ ΗΠΕΙΡΩΤΟΤ

1. Πύρρον οἱ νιὸι παιδεῖς οὔτε ἡρώτων, τίνι

1 ἐαυτῷ (cf. 211 Α) Hatzidakis: ἐαυτὸν or ἐαυτοῦ.

a Cf. Moralia, 489 Α.
b Eumenes II., king of Pergamum, 197–159 B.C.
c Apparently a parody of a line of Sophocles adapted to
been cut down in battle, Antiochus laid aside his purple and assumed a dark robe. But after a little time, learning that his brother was safe and sound, he offered sacrifices to the gods to celebrate the good tidings, and made the people in the cities under him to wear garlands.\(^a\)

**EUMENES\(^b\)**

Eumenes, plotted against by Perseus, was reputed to be dead. When the story was brought to Pergamum, Attalus his brother put on the crown, married his wife, and assumed the rule. But upon learning that his brother was approaching alive, he went to meet him, attended, as was his wont, by his bodyguards, and holding a short spear. Eumenes greeted him kindly and whispered in his ear,

"Haste not to marry ere you see him dead,"\(^e\)

either said nor did anything else during his whole lifetime to arouse suspicion, but when he died he left to Attalus his wife and his kingdom. As a requital, Attalus reared no child of his own, although many were born, but while still living he transferred the kingdom to Eumenes' son when the boy became of age.\(^d\)

**PYRRHUS OF EPEIRUS\(^c\)**

1. The sons of Pyrrhus, when they were children

fit the situation (\(\mu \nu \rho \omega \pi \zeta \gamma \eta \rho \varepsilon \nu \tau \lambda \). See Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Sophocles, No. 601.

\(^a\) The story is told also in *Moralia*, 489 e. Cf. also W. S. Ferguson, "The Premature Deification of Eumenes II.," in *Classical Philology*, i. p. 231.

\(^b\) King of Epeirus circa 307–272 B.C.
(184) καταλείψει τὴν βασιλείαν· καὶ ὁ Πῦρρος εἶπεν, "δὲ ἂν ὑμῶν ὀξυτέραν ἔχῃ τὴν μάχαιραν."

2. Ἐρωτήθησα δὲ πότερον Πῦθων ἡ Καφισίας αὐλητής ἀμείων, "Πολυσπέρχων;" εἶπη, "στρατηγός."

3. Ἐπει δὲ συμβαλὼν Ἡρωμαίοις δὶς ἐνίκησε πολλοὺς τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἀπολέσας, "ἂν ἔτι," εἶπη, "μίαν μάχην Ἡρωμαίους νικήσωμεν, ἀπολύσαμεν."

4. Ἐπει δὲ Σικελίας ἀποτυχὼν ἐξέπλει, μεταστράφησα ὀπίσω πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, "οἶαν," εἶπη, "Ἡρωμαῖοι καὶ Καρχηδονίοις ἀπολείπομεν παλαίστραν."

5. Τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν Ἀετὸν αὐτὸν προσνομενοῦντον, "τι γάρ," εἶπεν, "οὐ μέλλω, τοῖς ὑμετέροις ὅπλοις ὑσπερ ὕκυπτεροι αἱρόμενοι;"

6. Ἀκούσας δὲ ὅτι νεανίσκοι πολλὰ βλάσφημα περὶ αὐτοῦ πίνουτες εἰρήκασιν, ἐκέλευσεν ἀχθῆναι μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἁπάντας· ἀχθέντων δὲ, τὸν πρώτον ἡρώτησεν εἰ ταῦτα εἰρήκασι περὶ αὐτοῦ· καὶ ὁ νεανίσκος, "ταῦτα," εἶπεν, "ὡς βασιλεῦ· πλείονα δὲ ἂν τούτων εἰρήκειμεν, εἰ πλείονα οἶνον εἴχομεν."

1 ὀξυτέραν] ὀξυτάτην Blass.
2 Καφισίας, the reading of the mss. of other authors who mention him. Also the name of a sculptor is so spelled in an inscription: καφισίος.
3 Πολυσπέρχων Xylander, from the Life of Pyrrhus, chap. viii. as well as other writers: πολυσπέρχων or πολυσπέρχης.

asked their father to whom he intended to leave the kingdom; and he said, "To that one of you who keeps his sword sharper."  

2. Being asked whether Python or Caphisias were the better flute-player he said, "Polysperchon is the better general."  

3. When he was twice victorious in conflict with the Romans, but lost many of his friends and commanders, he said, "If we are victorious over the Romans in one more battle, we are lost!"  

4. As he was sailing away from Sicily after his failure there, he turned to look back, and said to his friends, "What a field of conflict are we leaving behind us for the Romans and Carthaginians to wrestle in!"  

5. When the soldiers addressed him as 'Eagle,' he said, "Why not an eagle, when I am borne aloft on the swift wings of your weapons?"  

6. Hearing that some young men had made many defamatory remarks about him while in their cups, he ordered that they should all be brought before him the next day. When they were brought, he asked the first whether they had said these things about him. And the young man replied, "Yes, Your Majesty; and we should have said more than that if we had had more wine."  

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b Cf. Plutarch's Life of Pyrrhus, chap. viii. (387 b).  
c The details may be found ibid. chap. xxii. (397 b). The "Pyrrhic victory" is like the "Cadmean victory," Moralia, 10 A.  
d In 276 B.C.  
e Cf. Plutarch's Life of Pyrrhus, chap. xxiii. (398 f).  
f Ibid. chap. x. (388 b).  
g Told with more details by Plutarch in his Life of Pyrrhus, chap. viii. (387 f), and Valerius Maximus, v. 1, ext. 3. Cf. also Quintilian, vi. 3. 10.
1. 'Antíochos δ' στρατεύσας δεύτερον ἐπὶ Πάρ-θους, ἐν τινὶ κυνηγεσίᾳ καὶ διωγμῷ τῶν φίλων καὶ Ε' θεραπόντων ἀποπλανηθεῖς, εἰς ἐπαυλῖν πενήτων ἁν- θρώπων ἁγιοούμενος εἰσῆλθε· καὶ παρὰ τὸ δεύτερον ἐμβαλὼν λόγον περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἤκουσεν, ὡς τάλλα χρηστός ἠστιν, φίλους δὲ μοχθηροῖς ἐπι- τρέπων τὰ πλείστα παρορᾶ καὶ πολλάκις ἀμελεῖ τῶν ἀναγκαίων διὰ τὸ λίαν φιλόθηρος εἶναι. τὸτε μὲν οὖν ἐσιώπησεν· ἀμα δὲ ἡμέρα τῶν δορυφόρων παραγενομένων ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπαυλὴν φανερὸς γενόμενος, προσφερομένης τῆς πορφύρας αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ δια- δήματος, "ἀλλὰ ἂφι ἃς," εἶπεν, "ἡμέρας οὕμας ἀνείληφα, πρῶτον ἔχθες ἀληθινῶν λόγων ἤκουσα περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ."

F 2. Τῶν δὲ Ἰούδαίων, παλιοκοῦντος αὐτοῦ τὰ Ἰεροσόλυμα, πρὸς τὴν μεγίστην ἔορτὴν αἰτησα- μένων ἐπτὰ ἡμερῶν ἄνοχάς, οὗ μόνον ἐδωκε ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύρους χρυσόκερως παρα- σκευασάμενος καὶ θυμιαμάτων καὶ ἀρωμάτων πλῆθος ἀχρὶ τῶν πυλῶν ἐπόμπευσε· καὶ παραδόος τοῖς ἑκείνων ἱερεὺς τὴν θυσίαν αὐτὸς ἐπανηλθεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. οἱ δὲ Ἰούδαίοι θαυμάσαντες εὐθὺς ἐαυτοὺς μετὰ τὴν ἔορτὴν ἐνεχείρισαν.

ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ

1. Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐτὶ μειράκιον ὅν ἐν πότοις ἐκυ- λυδεῖτο καὶ γυναιξῖν· ἐπεὶ δὲ Μιλτιάδης στρατηγῶν

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*a* Antiochus VII., king of Syria, 137–128 B.C.

*b* The first campaign was against Jerusalem in 133 B.C.

*c* The same facts are narrated by Josephus, Antiquities of the Jews, xiii. 8. 2.

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1. Antiochus, who made his next campaign against the Parthians, in a hunt and chase wandered away from his friends and servants, and unrecognized entered the hut of some poor people. At dinner he brought in the subject of the king, and heard that, in general, he was a decent man, but that he entrusted most matters to friends who were scurvy fellows, and overlooked and often disregarded matters that were imperative through being too fond of hunting. At the time he said nothing; but at daybreak some of his bodyguards arrived at the hut, and his identity was disclosed when the purple and the crown were brought to him. "Howbeit," said he, "since the day when I donned you, yesterday was the first time that I heard true words about myself."

2. The Jews, when he was besieging Jerusalem, asked for an armistice of seven days for their most important festival, and he not only granted this, but he also made ready bulls with gilded horns, and a great quantity of incense and spices, and brought all these in solemn procession as far as the gates. Then, having transferred the offering to the hands of their priests, he returned to his camp. The Jews were amazed, and immediately after the festival placed themselves in his hands.

THEMISTOCLES

1. Themistocles while yet in his youth abandoned himself to wine and women. But after Miltiades,

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\[\text{a} \text{ Leader of the Athenians against the Persians in 480 B.C.} \]
\[\text{b} \text{ Cf. Moralia, 552 B; Athenaeus, pp. 533 D and 576 C.} \]
185 ἐνίκησεν ἐν Μαραθῶι τοὺς βαρβάρους, οὐκέτι ἢν ἐντυχεὶν ἀτακτοῦντι Θεομοστόκλει. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς βαυμάζοντας τὴν μεταβολὴν ἔλεγεν ὡς "οὐκ εὖ με καθεύδειν οὔδὲ ῥαθμεῖν τὸ Μιλτιάδον τρό-παιον."

2. Ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ πότερον Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐβούλετ' ἀν ἦ "Ομήρος εἶναι, "σὺ δ' αὐτὸς," ἔφη, "πότερον ἦθελες ὁ νικῶν Ὀλυμπίασιν ᾧ ὁ κηρύττων τοὺς νικώντας εἶναι;"

3. Ξέρξου δὲ καταβαίνοντος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τῷ μεγάλῳ στόλῳ, φοβηθεὶς Ἐπικύδην τὸν δημ-αγωγὸν αἷσχροκερδῆ καὶ δειλὸν ὄντα μή στρατηγὸς γενόμενος ἀπολέσῃ τὴν πόλιν, ἔπεισεν ἀργυρίῳ τῆς στρατηγίας ἀποστῆναι.

4. Ἀδειμάντου δὲ ναυμαχεῖν μὴ τολμῶντος, εἴ-Β πόντος πρὸς τὸν Θεομοστόκλεα τοὺς Ἑλλήνας παρα-καλοῦντα καὶ προτρέποντα, "ὦ Θεομοστόκλεις, τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀγώσι προεξαιστημένους μαστιγοῦ-σιν ἂεί,2" "ναί," εἶπεν, "ὦ Ὁδείμαντε, τοὺς δὲ λειπομένους οὐ στεφανοῦσιν."

5. Ἐπαραμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἐυρυβιάδου τὴν βακτη-ρίαν ὡς πατάξοντος, "πάταξον μὲν οὖν," εἶπεν, "ἀκουσον δὲ."

1 Ὀλυμπίασιν Bernardakis: ἐν Ὀλυμπίασιν.
2 ἂεί] Wyttenbach would omit, but the embellishment does not seem out of place.
commanding the Athenian army, had overcome the barbarians at Marathon, never again was it possible to encounter Themistocles misconducting himself. To those who expressed their amazement at the change in him, he said that "the trophy of Miltiades does not allow me to sleep or to be indolent." a

2. Being asked whether he would rather have been Achilles or Homer, he said, "How about you yourself? Would you rather be the victor at the Olympic games or the announcer of the victor?" b

3. When Xerxes was descending upon Greece with his mighty armament, Themistocles was afraid of Epicydes the popular leader, unscrupulous and cowardly, lest possibly he might, by being elected general, bring about the ruin of the State; and so he bribed Epicydes to withdraw from his attempt to gain the command. c

4. When Adeimantus lacked the courage to risk a naval battle, and said to Themistocles, who was exhorting and urging on the Greeks, "Themistocles, in the games they always scourge the runners who start before the signal is given," Themistocles replied, "Yes, Adeimantus, but they do not crown those who are left behind in the race." d

5. When Eurybiades lifted his cane as though to strike him, he said, "Strike but listen." e

a The story is told more fully in Plutarch's Life of Themistocles, chap. vi. (114 n).
b Adeimantus is the speaker here, as in Herodotus, viii. 59; but in Plutarch's Life of Themistocles, chap. xi. (117 n), the remark is attributed not to the Corinthian Adeimantus, but to Eurybiades the Spartan, who was in command of the fleet.
c Cf. Plutarch's Life of Themistocles, chap. xi. (117 e); Aelian, Varia Historia, xiii. 40; Diogenes Laertius, vi. 21.
6. Μή πείθων δὲ τὸν Ἐυρυβιάδην ἐν τοῖς στε-
νοῖς ναυμαχήσαι, κρύφα πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον ἐπεμψε παρανών μὴ δεδιέναι τοὺς "Ελλήνας ἀπο-
διδράσκοντας· ἐπεὶ δὲ πεισθεὶς ἐκεῖνος ἤττήθη
ναυμαχήσας ὁποῦ συνήφερε τοῖς "Ελλησὶ, πάλιν
C ἐπεμψε πρὸς αὐτὸν κελεύων φεύγειν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐλ-
λήσοντον τὴν ταχύτητι ὡς τῶν Ἐλλήνων διανοο-
μένων λυέων τὴν γέφυραν, ἵνα σφῶζων τοὺς "Ελ-
λήνας ἐκεῖνον δοκῆ σώζειν.

7. Τοῦ δὲ Σερφίου πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος, ὡς οὐ
οὔτε αὐτὸν ἄλλα διὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐνδοξὸς ἤστων,
"ἀληθῆ λέγεις," εἶπεν, "ἀλλὰ ὄντ' ἂν ἐγὼ
Σερφίου ὧν ἐγενόμην ἐνδοξὸς οὔτε σὺ 'Αθηναῖος."

8. 'Αντιφάτου δὲ τοῦ καλοῦ πρότερον μὲν
ἔρωντα τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα φεύγοντος καὶ κατα-
φρονοῦντος, ἐπεὶ δὲ δόξαν ἐσχη μεγάλην καὶ
dύναμιν, προσερχόμενοι καὶ κολακεύοντος, "ὡς
μεσράκιον," εἶπεν, "ὅτε μὲν ἀμφότεροι ἄλλα
νοῦν ἐσχῆκαμεν."

9. Πρὸς δὲ Συμωνίδην ἐξαιτούμενον τινα κρί-
σιν οὐ δικαίων ἐφ' ἐμὴν ἄν εἶκενον γενέσθαι ποι-
ητὴν ἁγαθὸν ἄδοντα παρὰ μέλος μητ' αὐτὸν
ἄρχοντα χρηστὸν δικάζοντα παρὰ τὸν νόμον.

1 ἄλλα] δ' ἀμα, Life of Themistocles, chap. xviii., is preferred
here by some editors.

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① The details may be found in Plutarch's Life of
Themistocles, chaps. xii.-xvi. (118 a-120 c). The story comes
from Herodotus, viii. 75 and 110. Cf. also Polyaeus,
Strategemata, i. 30. 3 and 4.

② In almost the same words in Plutarch's Life of Themis-
tocles, chap. xviii. (121 b), but the story goes back to
Herodotus, viii. 125, where Timodemus is the speaker, and
Themistocles names the island of Belbina. The man from
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SAYINGS OF KINGS AND COMMANDERS, 185

6. Unable to persuade Eurybiades to engage the enemy's ships in the narrows, he sent a secret message to the barbarian telling him not to be afraid of the Greeks, who were running away. And when the barbarian, by taking this advice, was vanquished in the battle because he fought where the Greeks had the advantage, Themistocles again sent a message to him, bidding him flee to the Hellespont by the speediest route, since the Greeks were minded to destroy the bridge. In this his purpose was, while saving the Greeks, to give the king the impression that he was saving him.a

7. When the man from Seriphus said to him that it was not because of himself but because of his country that he was famous, Themistocles remarked, "What you say is true enough; but if I were from Seriphus, I should not have become famous, nor would you if you were from Athens." b

8. Antiphates, the handsome youth of whom Themistocles was enamoured, avoided him in the earlier days, and looked down upon him, but, after Themistocles had acquired great repute and power, kept coming to him and trying to flatter him. "My boy," said Themistocles, "it has taken time, but now we have both come to have sense." c

9. To Simonides, who petitioned for a legal decision which was not just, he said that Simonides would not be a good poet if he sang out of tune, nor should he himself be a useful official if he gave a decision out of tune with the law.d

Seriphus is found first in Plato, Republic, 329 e and persists thereafter, as in Plutarch and in Cicero, De senectute, 3 (8), and in Origen, Against Celsus, i. 29 (347 e).

c Cf. Plutarch's Life of Themistocles, chap. xviii. (121 A).

d Cf. Moralia, 534 E and 807 B.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(185) 10. Τὸν δὲ νῦν ἐντυφώντα τῇ μητρὶ πλεῖστον Ἑλλήνων ἔλεγε δύνασθαι· τῶν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων ἄρχειν Ἀθηναίους, Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἐαυτὸν, ἐαυτοῦ δὲ τὴν ἑκείνου μητέρα, τῆς δὲ μητρὸς ἑκείνον. E 11. Τῶν δὲ τὴν θυγατέρα μνωμένων αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐπιεικῆ τοῦ πλουσίου προτιμήσας ἁνδρὰ ἔφη ζητεῖν χρημάτων δεόμενον μᾶλλον ἥχρηματα ἁνδρός.
15. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξέπεσε τῶν Ἀθηνῶν τὸ πρώτον, εἶτα καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἀναβας πρὸς βασιλέα καὶ κελευόμενος λέγειν ἔφη τὸν λόγον ἑοικέναι τοὺς ποικίλους στρώμασιν ὡς γὰρ ἑκείνα, καὶ τοῦτον Ἐκτευόμενον μὲν ἐπιδεικνύναι τὰ εἴδη, συστελλό-

1 κολούονσιν] λαιδεροῦσι in some mss. and editions; but the passages cited in note d support κολούονσιν.
2 Ἀθηνῶν Cobet: Ἀθηναίων.

a Cf. Moralia, 1 c; Plutarch's Life of Themistocles, chap. xviii. (121 b); and Life of Cato Major, chap. viii. (340 b).
b Cf. Plutarch's Life of Themistocles, chap. xviii. (121 c); Cicero, De officis, ii. 20 (71); Valerius Maximus, vii. 2, ext. 9. A somewhat similar remark is attributed to Pericles by Stobaeus, Florilegium, lxx. 17, and to a Spartan (on the authority of Serenus), lxxii. 15.

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10. Of his son, who was pert towards his mother, he said that the boy wielded more power than anybody else in Greece; for the Athenians ruled the Greeks, he himself ruled the Athenians, the boy’s mother ruled himself, and the boy ruled the mother.a

11. Of the suitors for his daughter’s hand he esteemed the man of promise higher than the man of wealth, saying that he was looking for a man that was in need of money rather than for money that was in need of a man.b

12. When he offered a plot of land for sale, he ordered the announcement to be made that it also had a good neighbour.c

13. When the Athenians treated him with contumely, he said, “Why do you grow tired of being well served many times by the same men?” He also likened himself to the plane-trees, beneath which men hasten when overtaken by a storm, but, when fair weather comes, they pluck the leaves as they pass by and break off the branches.d

14. The Eretrians, he said humorously, were like cuttle-fish in having a sword e but no heart.f

15. After his banishment from Athens first, and later from Greece, he went to the Persian king, and, when he was bidden to speak, he said that speech is like rugs woven with patterns and figures; for speech, like the rugs, when it is extended, displays its figures, but, when it is rolled into a small compass,

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a Cf. Plutarch’s Life of Themistocles, chap. xviii. (121 c).
b Life of Themistocles, chap. xviii. (121 a), and chap. xxii. (123 a); cf. also Aelian, Varia Historia, ix. 18.
c The “bone” of the cuttle-fish; cf. Aristotle, Historia Animalium, iv. 1. 12.
d Cf. Plutarch’s Life of Themistocles, chap. xi. (118 a).
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

μενον δὲ κρύπτειν καὶ διαφθείρειν. (16) ἵτησατο δὲ καὶ χρόνον ὅπως τὴν Περσικὴν διάλεκτον κατα-
μαθῶν δι' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ μὴ δι' ἑτέρου ποιήσατο τὴν
πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐντευξιν. 1. 17. Πολλῶν δὲ δωρεῶν ἀξιωθεὶς καὶ ταχὺ
πλούσιος γενόμενος πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας εἶπεν, "ὦ
παῖδες, ἀπωλόμεθ' ἄν, εἰ μὴ ἀπωλόλειμεν."

ΜΥΡΩΝΙΔΟΤ

Μυρωνίδης παρήγγειλεν ἐξοδον Ἀθηναίοις ἐπὶ
Βουωτοῦς στρατεύων· ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς ὠρας καὶ
tῶν λοχαγῶν λεγόντων μηδέπω πάντας παρεῖναι,
"πάρεισιν," εἶπεν, "οἱ μέλλοντες μάχεσθαι"
καὶ χρησάμενος αὐτοῖς προθύμοις ἐνίκησε τοὺς
πολεμίους.

ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΟΤ

1. 'Αριστείδης δὲ ὁ δικαίος ἀεὶ καθ' αὐτὸν ἐπο-
lυτεύετο καὶ τὰς ἐταιρείας ἐφευγεν, ὡς τῆς ἀπὸ
tῶν φίλων δυνάμεως ἀδικεῖν ἐπαιρούσης.

2. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὀρμωμένων ἐπὶ τὸν
ἐξοστρακισμὸν ἀνθρωπος ἀγράμματος καὶ ἀγροικος
ὀστρακον ἐχων προσήλθεν αὐτῷ κελεύων ἐγ-
γράψαι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ 'Αριστείδου, "γιγνώσκεις
Β γάρ," ἔφη, "τὸν 'Αριστείδην;" τοῦ δὲ ἀνθρώπου

1 ἐντευξιν] ἐνδείξεν some mss.

a Cf. Plutarch's Life of Themistocles, chap. xxix. (126 c); Thucydides, i. 137.
 b Cf. ibid. i. 138.
 c Cf. Moralia, 328 f and 602 a; Plutarch's Life of The-
mistocles, chap. xxix. (p. 126 f); Polybius, xxxix. 11 (=x1. 5).
 d Noted Athenian general in the fifth century B.C.
 e At Oenophyta in Boeotia, 457 (?) B.C. (Thucydides, 94
it conceals and spoils them. (16) He asked for time so that, when he should have learned the Persian tongue, he might conduct his interview through his own self and not through another.  

17. Being held deserving of many gifts, and speedily becoming rich, he said to his sons, "Boys, we should be ruined now if we had not been ruined before!"

MYRONIDES

Myronides, conducting a campaign against the Boeotians, gave orders to the Athenians for an invasion of the enemy’s territory. When the hour was near, and the captains said that not all were present as yet, he said, "All are present that intend to fight." And, leading them into battle before their ardour had cooled, he won a victory over the enemy.

ARISTEIDES

1. Aristeides the Just was always an independent in politics, and avoided political parties, on the ground that influence derived from friends encourages wrongdoing.

2. At one time when the Athenians had impulsively determined to vote on ostracism, an ignorant country fellow, holding his potsherd, approached him and bade him write on it the name of Aristeides. "Why," said he, "do you know Aristeides?" And

Cf. also Moralia, 345 D ; Diodorus, xi. 31. A similar remark is attributed to Leonidas by Plutarch, Moralia, 225 D, and to Timotheus by Polyaeus, Strategemata, iii. 10. 3.

* Athenian statesman, sixth and fifth centuries B.C.

* Cf. Plutarch’s Life of Aristeides, chap. ii. (319 F).
PLUTARCH’S MORALIA

(186) γυνώσκειν μὲν οὐ φήσαντος, ἀχθεσθαι δὲ τῇ
tοῦ δικαίου προσηγορίᾳ, σωπῆσας ἐνέγραψε τὸ ὅνομα τῷ ὁστράκῳ καὶ ἀπέδωκεν.

3. Ἐξῆθρος δὲ ὁν τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ πρε-σβευτῆς ἐκπεμφθείς σὺν αὐτῷ, “βούλει,” φησίν, “ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπὶ τῶν ὅρων τῆν ἐχθρὰν ἀπο-λίπωμεν; ἂν γὰρ δοκῇ, πάλιν αὐτὴν ἐπανιόντες ληψόμεθα.”

4. Τάξας δὲ τοὺς φόρους τοῖς Ἑλλησιον τοσοῦτον πτωχότερος ἐπανηλθεν ὅσον εἰς τὴν ἀποδημίαν ἀνήλωσεν.

5. Αἰσχυλοῦ δὲ ποιήσαντος εἰς Ἀμφιάραον,
ου γὰρ δοκεῖν ἄριστος ἀλλ’ εἶναι θέλει, βαθείαν ἀλοκα διὰ φρενὸς καρπούμενος,
ἐξ’ ἂς τὰ κεδνα βλαστάνει βουλεύματα:
καὶ λεγομένων τούτων, πάντες εἰς Ἀριστείδην ἀπ-έβλεψαν.

ΠΕΡΙΚΛΕΟΤΣ

1. Περικλῆς, ὅποτε μέλλοι στρατηγεῖν, ἀναλαμ-βάνων τὴν χλαμύδα πρὸς ἕαυτὸν ἔλεγε, “πρόσεχε,

1 ἄριστος] δικαίος, Life of Aristeides, chap. iii.
2 ἐξ] ἄφ in some mss.

a Cf. Plutarch’s Life of Aristeides, chap. vii (323 a); Cornelius Nepos, Aristeides, i. 3.
b Herodotus, viii. 79; Plutarch’s Life of Aristeides, chap. viii. (323 c).
c Cf. Moralia, 809 b; Polyaenus, Strategemata, i. 31; and the following (from a newspaper in 1929): “Paying a tribute to Senator Robinson, the Democratic member of the conference delegation, Senator Reed said; ‘I can say for him that when his ship sails from New York he quits being a Democrat, just as I quit becoming a Republican, leaving politics behind us at the American shore.’”

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when the man said that he did not know him, but was
irritated at his being called 'the Just,' Aristeides
said never a word more, but wrote the name on the
potsherd, and gave it back to him.a

3. He was hostile to Themistocles,b and once, when he was sent as ambassador in his company, he said, "Are you willing, Themistocles, that we should leave our hostility behind us at the boundaries? And then, if it be agreeable, we will take it up again on our return." c

4. When he had fixed the contributions that the Greeks were to pay, he returned poorer by exactly as much as he spent on his journey.d

5. Aeschylus e wrote referring to Amphiaraus,

   His wish is not to seem, but be, the best,f
   Reaping the deep-sown furrow of his mind
   In which all goodly counsels have their root.

And as these words were spoken all looked towards Aristeides.

PERICLES g

1. Whenever Pericles was about to take command of the army, as he was donning his general's cloak, he used to say to himself, "Take care, Pericles; you

a In 478–477 B.C. Aristeides, because of his reputation for fairness, was chosen to determine the initial contribution which each member of the confederacy of Delos should make to the common cause. Cf. Plutarch's Life of Aristeides, chap. xxiv. (333 c); Aelian, Varia Historia, xi. 9.

b Aeschylus, Seven against Thebes, 592; Plutarch quotes the lines also in whole or in part in Moralia, 32 D, 88 B, and Life of Aristeides, chap. iii. (320 b).

c On account of the reading δικαίος in the Life of Aristeides it has been thought that the actor who spoke the words may have substituted "the Just" for "the best" when he saw Aristeides in the audience.

d Athenian general and statesman, fifth century B.C.
(186) Περίκλεις, ἐλευθέρων μέλλεις ἀρχεῖν, καὶ Ἐλλή-νων καὶ Ἀθηναίων.

2. Ἐκέλευσε δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὴν Αἴγιναν ὄσπερ λήμμαν ἀφαιρεῖν τοῦ Πειραιῶς.

3. Πρὸς δὲ φίλον τινὰ ψευδοὺς μαρτυρίας δεό-μενον, ἥ προσῆν καὶ ὄρκος, ἐφησε μέχρι τοῦ βωμοῦ φίλος εἶναι.

D 4. Μέλλων δὲ ἀποθνῄσκειν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐμακά-ριζεν ὅτι μηδεὶς Ἀθηναίων μέλαν ἵματιον δὲ αὐ-τόν ἐνεδύσατο.

ἈΛΚΙΒΙΑΔΟΤ

1. Ἀλκιβιάδης ἔτι παῖς ὃν ἐλήφθη λαβὴν ἐν παλαιόστρα: καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος διαφυγεῖν ἔδακε τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ καταπαλαίωντος: εἰπόντος δὲ ἐκείνου, "δάκιεσ ὃς αἱ γυναῖκες," "οὐ μὲν οὖν," εἶπεν, "ἄλλα ὃς οἱ λέοντες."


Ε 3. Προσελθὼν δὲ διδασκαλεῖς ῥαφιδίαν Ἰλιά-

1 ἐωνημένον] ἐωνημένος Hartman, possible but not imperative.

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a Cf. Moralia, 620 c and 813 d.
b Ibid. 803 A : Plutarch's Life of Pericles, chap. viii. (156 d) and Life of Demosthenes, chap. i. (846 c) : Aristotle, Rhetoric, iii. 10. Athenaeus (99 d) attributes the expression to Demades, an Athenian orator. The people of Aegina, who were Dorian, had been hostile towards the Athenians 98
are about to command free-born men who are both Greeks and Athenians."  

2. He bade the Athenians remove Aegina, "that sore on the eye of the Piraeus."  

3. To a friend who wanted him to bear false witness, which included also an oath, he answered that he was a friend as far as the altar.  

4. On his death-bed he accounted himself happy in that no Athenian, because of him, had ever put on a black garment.  

**ALCIBIADES**  

1. Alcibiades, while still a boy, was caught in a fast hold in a wrestling-school, and, not being able to get away, he bit the arm of the boy who had him down. The other boy said, "You bite like a woman." "No indeed," said Alcibiades, "but like a lion."  

2. He owned a very beautiful dog, for which he had paid two hundred and seventy-five pounds, and he cut off its tail, "so that," as he said, "the Athenians may tell this about me, and may not concern themselves too much with anything else."  

3. Coming upon a schoolroom, he asked for a book of the *Iliad*, and when the teacher said that even before the Persian wars, and in the early years of the Peloponnesian war (431 B.C.) they were forcibly removed from the island by the Athenians.

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*Cf. Moralia, 531 c and 808 A, and Aulus Gellius, i. 3.*  
*Given with more details in Moralia, 543 c, and Plutarch's* *Life of Pericles*, chap. xxxviii. (173 c), and Julian, *Oration* iii. 128 D.  
*Rich and erratic ward of Pericles.*  
*Cf. Plutarch's* *Life of Alcibiades*, chap. i. (192 c). The same story is told of a Spartan in *Moria*, 234 E.  
*In quite different words in Plutarch's* *Life of Alcibiades*, chap. ix. (195 D).
(186) δος ἤτει· τοῦ δὲ διδασκάλου μηδὲν ἔχειν Ὁμήρου φήσαντος, ἐντρύψας αὐτῷ κόνδυλον παρῆλθεν.

4. Ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐπὶ θύρας τοῦ Περικλέους καὶ πυθόμενος αὐτοῦ μὴ σχολάζειν ἀλλὰ σκοπεῖν ὅπως ἀποδώσει λόγους Ἀθηναίοις, "οὐ βέλτιον," ἐφη, "σκοπεῖν ᾗν, ὅπως οὐκ ἁποδώσει;"

5. Καλούμενος δὲ ἐπὶ κρίσιν θανατικὴν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπὸ Σικελίας ἔκρυψεν ἐαυτὸν, εἰπὼν εὐθές εἶναι τὸν δίκην ἐχοντα ζητεῖν ἀποφυγεῖν, ἐξὸν φυγεῖν.

6. Εἰπόντος δὲ τινός, "οὐ πιστεύεις τῇ πατρίδι Ε τὴν περὶ σεαυτοῦ κρίσιν;" "ἐγὼ μέν," ἐφη, "οὐδὲ τῇ μητρί, μὴ πως ἀγνοήσασα τὴν μέλαιναν βάλῃ ψήφον ἀντὶ τῆς λευκῆς."

7. Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁτι θάνατος αὐτοῦ κατέγνωσται καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ, "δείξωμεν οὖν αὐτοῖς," εἶπεν, "ὁτι ζώμεν"· καὶ πρὸς Δακεδαμονίους τρεφάμενος τὸν Δεκελεικὸν ἦγειρεν ἑπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πόλεμον.

ΛΑΜΑΧΟΣ

Λάμαχος ἐπετίμα τινὶ τῶν λοχαγῶν ἀμαρτόντι τοῦ δὲ φήσαντος μηκέτι τοῦτο ποιήσειν, "οὐκ ἔστιν," εἶπεν, "ἐν πολέμῳ δις ἀμαρτεῖν."

1 οὐκ Cobet: μὴ οὐκ.

a Cf. Plutarch s Life of Alcibiades, chap. vii. (194 d), and Aelian, Varia Historia, xiii. 38.

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he had nothing of Homer's, Alcibiades hit him a blow with his fist and passed on.\(^a\)

4. He came to Pericles' door, and upon learning that Pericles was not at liberty, but was considering how to render his accounting to the Athenians, he said, "Were it not better that he should consider how not to render it?" \(^b\)

5. Summoned from Sicily by the Athenians to be tried for his life, he went into hiding, saying that it is silly for a man under indictment to seek a way to get off when he can get away.\(^c\)

6. When somebody said, "Don't you trust your fatherland to decide about you?" he replied, "Not I; nor would I trust even my mother, lest in a moment of thoughtlessness she unwittingly cast a black ballot instead of a white one." \(^d\)

7. Hearing that sentence of death had been passed upon him and his companions, he said, "Let us show them, then, that we are alive," and turning to the Spartan side he started the Decelean war against the Athenians.\(^e\)

LAMACHUS\(^f\)

Lamachus reprimanded one of his captains who had made a mistake, and when the man vowed he would never do it again, Lamachus said, "In war there is no room for two mistakes."

\(^a\) Cf. Plutarch's *Life of Alcibiades*, chap. vii. (194 e); Diodorus, xii. 38; Valerius Maximus, iii. 1, ext. 1.

\(^b\) Cf. Plutarch's *Life of Alcibiades*, chap. xxi. (202 c); Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xiii. 38.

\(^c\) Cf. Plutarch's *Life of Alcibiades*, chap. xxii. (202 d) and Aelian, xiii. 38.

\(^d\) Cf. Plutarch's *Life of Alcibiades*, chap. xxii. (202 d) and Aelian, xiii. 38; cf. also Polyænus, *Strategemata*, i. 40. 6.

\(^e\) Cf. Plutarch's *Life of Alcibiades*, chap. xxii. (202 d) and Aelian, xiii. 38; cf. also Polyænus, *Strategemata*, i. 40. 6.

\(^f\) Brave Athenian general, fifth century B.C.
1. Ἡφικράτης, δοκῶν γιός εἶναι σκυτοτόμου, δόξαν δὲ τὸτε πρῶτον ἐσχεν ὅτε τραυματίας1 πολέμου ἄνδρα μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν ζῶντα συναρπάσας εἰς τὴν ἐαυτοῦ τρυπῆρη μετήγερκεν.

2. Ἔν δὲ φιλία καὶ συμμάχῳ χώρα στρατοπεδεύων καὶ χάρακα βαλλόμενος καὶ τάφρον ὀρυττών ἐπιμελῶς πρὸς τὸν εἶπόντα "τί γὰρ φοβούμεθα;" χειρότην ἐφοσε στρατηγοῦ φωνὴν εἶναι τὴν "οὐκ ἂν προσεδόκησα."

3. Παραταττόμενος δὲ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐφή δεδεναι μὴ τὸν Ἡφικράτην οὐκ ἔσασιν, ὡς καταπλήττεται τῶν ἄλλων πολεμίων.

4. Κρυμόμενος δὲ θανάτου, πρὸς τὸν συκοφάντην, "οἰα ποιεῖς, ὡς ἀνθρώπη," εἶπε, "πολέμου περιεστῶτος, τὴν πόλιν περὶ ἐμοῦ πείθων βουλεύσας καὶ μὴ μετ' ἐμοῦ."

5. Πρὸς δὲ Ἀρμόδιοι τοῦ τοῦ παλαιοῦ Ἀρμόδιοι ἀπόγονον, εἰς δυσγένειαν αὐτῶν λοιδόρουμεν, ἐφη, "τὸ μὲν ἐμὸν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ γένος ἄρχεται, τὸ δὲ σοῦ ἐν σοὶ παῦεται."

6. Ρήτορος δὲ τινος ἐπερωτώντος αὐτῶν ἐν ἑκκλησίᾳ, "τὸν μὲν μέγα φρονεῖς; πότερον ἵππευς

1 τραυματίας] ναυμαχίας οὔσος or ἐν ναυμαχίᾳ is suggested by Bernardakis, but ναυμαχίαν, from Ulpian on Demosthen. Contra Midiam, would be simpler. Some mss. have τραυματίαν and one τραυμένος (i.e. τετραυματισμένος = τραυματίας).

a Famous Athenian general, early part fourth century B.C. A collection of his deeds and sayings may be found in Polyaeunus, Strategemata, iii. 9.

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1. Iphicrates, who was reputed to be the son of a shoemaker, was looked down upon. The first occasion on which he won repute was when, wounded himself, he picked up one of the enemy alive, armour and all, and bore him to his own trireme.

2. Encamping in a friendly and allied country, he threw up a pahsade and ditch with all care, and to the man who said, "What have we to fear?" he replied that the worst words a general could utter were the familiar "I never should have thought it."

3. As he was disposing his army for battle against the barbarians he said he feared that they did not know the name of Iphicrates with which he was wont to strike terror to the hearts of his other foes.

4. When he was put on trial for his life he said to the informer, "What are you trying to do, fellow? At a time when war is all around us, you are persuading the State to deliberate about me instead of with me."

5. In reply to Harmodius, descendant of the Harmodius of early days, who twitted him about his lowly birth, he said, "My family history begins with me, but yours ends with you."

6. A certain speaker interrogated him in the Assembly: "Who are you that you are so proud? Are you cavalryman or man-at-arms or archer or

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*SAYINGS OF KINGS, 186-187*

**IPHICRATES**

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6. A certain speaker interrogated him in the Assembly: "Who are you that you are so proud? Are you cavalryman or man-at-arms or archer or
(187) ἡ ὁπλίτης¹ ἡ τοξότης ἡ πελταστής²;’ "οὐδεὶς," ἔφη, "τούτων, ἀλλ' ο πᾶσι τούτοις ἐπιστάμενος ἐπιτάττειν."

TIMOŒDOT

1. Τιμόθεος εὐτυχὴς ἐνομίζετο στρατηγὸς εἶναι καὶ φθονοῦντες αὐτῷ τινες ἐξωγράφουν τὰς πόλεις
C εἰς κύρτον αὐτομάτως ἐκείνου καθεύδοντος ἐνυδομένας. ἠλέγεν οὖν ο Τιμόθεος, "εἰ τηλυκαύτας πόλεις λαμβάνω καθεύδων, τί με οἴεσθε ποιήσεις ἐγγηγορότα;"

2. Τών δὲ τολμηρῶν στρατηγῶν τινος τραύμα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις δεικνύτων, "ἐγὼ δέ," εἶπεν, "ἡσυχώθην ὅτι μου στρατηγοῦντος ὑμῶν ἐν Σάμῳ καταπελτικόν βέλος ἐγγύς ἐπέσε." Αthenian general, colleague of Iphicrates; numerous stories about him are recorded in Polyaenus, Strat. iii. 10.

3. Τών δὲ ῥήτορον τὸν Χάρητα προαγόντων καὶ τοιούτον ἀξιούντων εἶναι τὸν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγόν, "οὔ τὸν στρατηγόν," εἶπεν ο Τιμόθεος; "ἀλλὰ τὸν τῷ στρατηγῷ τὰ στρώματα κομίζοντα."

XABRIOT

D 1. Χαβρίας ἠλέγε πάλιν κάλλιστα στρατηγεῖν τοὺς μάλιστα γυνώσκοντας τὰ τῶν πολεμίων.

2. Δίκην δὲ φεύγων προδοσίας μετὰ Ἰφικράτους ἐπιτιμᾶντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἰφικράτους ὅτι κινδυνεύοντως εἰς τὸ γυνάσιον βαδίζει καὶ τὴν εἰσ-

² ἡ πελταστής Bernardakis: ἡ πελταστής ἡ πεζὸς or ἡ πεζὸς ἡ πελταστής; but it is not imperative that such readings be always consistent!

¹ The story is found also in Moralia, 99 ε and 440 b.
² Athenian general, colleague of Iphicrates; numerous stories about him are recorded in Polyaenus, Strat. iii. 10.
targeteer?" "None of these," he replied, "but the one who understands how to direct all of them."a

TIMOTHEUSb

1. Timotheus was popularly thought to be a lucky general, and some who were jealous of him painted pictures of cities entering into a trap of their own accord while he was asleep. Whereupon Timotheus said, "If I capture such cities as those while I am asleep, what do you think I shall do when I am awake?"

2. When one of the foolhardy generals was exhibiting to the Athenians a wound he had received, Timotheus said, "But I was ashamed when, at the time I was commanding you in Samos, a missile from a catapult fell near me."

3. When the prominent speakers brought forward Chares, and insisted that the general of the Athenians ought to be a man like him, Timotheus said, "Not the general, but the man who carries the general's bedding!"f

CHABRIASg

1. Chabrias used to say that those men commanded an army best who best knew what the enemy were about.

2. When he was under indictment for treason along with Iphicrates,h Iphicrates rebuked him because, while he was in jeopardy, he went to the gymnasium,

c Of the many repetitions of this story it may suffice to refer to Plutarch's Life of Sulla, chap. vi. (454 b); Moralia, 856 B; Aelian, Varia Historia, xiii. 43.
d Chares, according to Plutarch in his Life of Pelopidas, chap. ii. (278 d). e In 366 B.C. f Cf. Moralia, 788 D.
g Celebrated Athenian general, early part of fourth cent. B.C. h With Callistratus, rather than Iphicrates, in the year 366 B.C. Cf. Demosthenes, Against Meidias, 65.
Ascribed to Philip by Stobaeus, Florilegium, liv. 61.

b Patriotic Athenian orator, fourth century B.C., bitterly opposed to Philip of Macedon.

c Because of his affectation in wearing his hair in a knot on the top of his head, in the very old-fashioned manner. Aeschines the orator regularly uses this name in speaking of him. For the "crobylus" see F. Studniczka, in the Appendix to Classen's edition of Thucydides, i. 6. 3.

d Unprincipled Athenian orator, opponent of Demosthenes.
and spent the usual time at his luncheon. His answer was, "You may go unwashed and unfed, and I may have had my luncheon and a bath and rub-down, but you may rest assured that, if the Athenians reach any adverse decision regarding us, they will put us both to death."

3. He was wont to say that an army of deer commanded by a lion is more to be feared than an army of lions commanded by a deer.\(^a\)

**HEGESIPPUS\(^b\)**

Hegesippus, nicknamed 'Topknot',\(^c\) in a public address was inciting the Athenians against Philip, when someone in the Assembly commented audibly, "You are bringing on war." "Yes, by Heaven, I am," said he, "and black clothes and public funerals and orations over the graves of the dead, if we intend to live as free men, and not to do what is enjoined upon us by the Macedonians."

**PYTHEAS\(^d\)**

Pytheas, while still young, came forward in the Assembly to oppose the resolutions proposed in honour of Alexander. When someone said, "Have you the audacity, young as you are, to speak about such important matters?" he replied, "As a matter of fact, Alexander, whom your resolutions declare to be a god, is younger than I am."\(^e\)

1. Φωκίων ὁ 'Αθηναῖος ὑπ' οὖθεν ὄπρε γελῶν ὑφθη ὑπτε δακρύων.
2. Ἐκκλησίας δὲ γενομένης πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, "σκεπτομένω, ὦ Φωκίων, ἔοικας," "ὁρθῶς," ἕφη, "τοπάζεις· σκεπτομαι γάρ εἰ τι δύναμαι περιελθῶν ὃν μέλλω λέγειν πρὸς 'Αθηναίους."
3. Μαντείας δὲ γενομένης 'Αθηναίου, ὡς εἰς ἀνήρ ἐστιν ἐν τῇ πόλει ταῖς πάντων ἐναντιούμενος γνώμαις, καὶ τῶν 'Αθηναίων ξητεὶν κελεύοντων ἄστις ἑτὶ καὶ βοῶντων, Φωκίων ἐαυτὸν ἔφησε τοῦτον εἶναι· μόνω γὰρ αὐτῷ μηδὲν ἀρέσκειν ὃν οἱ πολλοὶ πράττουσι καὶ λέγουσιν.

4. Ἐπεὶ δὲ λέγων ποτὲ γνώμην πρὸς τὸν δήμον εὐδοκίμης καὶ πάντας ὁμαλῶς ἐώρα τὸν λόγον ἀποδεχομένους, ἐπιστραφεῖς πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἐπεν, "οὐ δὴπο ποιο ποιο τὸ λέγών ἐμαυτὸν λέληθα;"

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*a* Upright Athenian general and statesman, fourth century B.C.
* Ibid. chap. v. (744 a).
* Ibid. chap. viii. (715 c).
* Ibid. Cf. similar remarks of Antisthenes, in Diogenes Laertius, vi. 5 and 8; and of Hippomachus, in Aelian, Varia Historia, ii. 6.
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PHOCION THE ATHENIAN

1. Phocion the Athenian was never seen by anyone to laugh or cry.

2. At a meeting of the Assembly someone said to him, "You seem to be thinking, Phocion." "You guessed right," said he, "for I am thinking whether I can leave out any part of what I am going to say to the Athenians."

3. An oracle was given to the Athenians declaring that there was one man in the city opposed to the opinions of all, whereupon they ordered that search be made to find him, and were very vociferous. But Phocion said that the man was himself, for he was the only one who did not like a single thing of all that the multitude did and said.

4. Once, when he expressed an opinion before the people, he won acclaim, and saw that all alike accepted the view he had expressed, whereupon he turned to his friends and said, "Does it not look as if I had unwittingly said something bad?"

5. When the Athenians were asking for contributions towards a public sacrifice and feast, and all the rest were contributing, he, being importuned to give, said, "I should be ashamed to make a contribution to you and not make restitution to this man," and, as he said this, he pointed to a man who had lent him money.

6. Demosthenes, the orator, said to him, "The Athenians will put you to death if they go mad." "Yes," he replied, "me if they go mad, but you if they keep their senses."


Ibid. chap. ix. (745 f). In *Moralia*, 811 A, Demades is substituted for Demosthenes.
B 7. 'Αριστογείτονος δὲ τοῦ συκοφάντου μέλλον- 
(188) τος ἀποθνήσκειν ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ κατακρίτου 
γεγονότος καὶ δειμένου τὸν Φωκίωνα πρὸς αὐτὸν 
ἐλθεῖν, τῶν δὲ φίλων οὐκ ἔως τῶν πρὸς ἄνθρωπον 
πονηρῶν βαδίζειν, "καὶ ποῦ τις ἂν," εἶπεν, "ἥδιον 
'Αριστογείτοις λαλήσειν;"

8. Ὄργυζομένων δὲ τοῖς Βυζαντίοις τῶν Ἀθη- 
ναίων μὴ δεξαμένους1 τῇ πόλει Χάρητα πεμφθέντα 
μετὰ δυνάμεως βοηθὸν αὐτοῖς πρὸς Φίλιππον, εἰ- 
πόν ὁ Φωκίων ὅτι δεῖ μὴ τοῖς ἀπιστοῦσι τῶν συμ- 
μάχων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀπιστομενοῖς ὀργύζεσθαι τῶν 
στρατηγῶν αὐτὸς ἥρθη στρατηγὸς· καὶ πυτευθεῖς 
C ύπό τῶν Βυζαντίων ἐποίησε τὸν Φίλιππον ἀπελθεῖν 
ἅπακτον.

9. Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκατὸν τάλαντα 
δώρεάν αὐτῷ πέμψαντος, ἡρώτησε τοὺς κομίζοντας 
τῷ δήποτε, πολλῶν ὄντων Ἀθηναίων, αὐτῷ μόνῳ 
tαύτα δίδωσιν Ἀλεξάνδρος· εἰπόντων δὲ ἐκείνων 
ὡς μόνον αὐτὸν ἤγειται καλὸν κἀγαθὸν εἶναι, "οὐκ- 
οῖν," ἔφη, "ἐασάτω με καὶ δοκεῖν καὶ εἶναι 
tοιοῦτον."

10. Αὐτοῦτος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τρυῆρεις, καὶ τοῦ 
δῆμου κελεύοντος οἴνομαστὶ παρεῖναι τὸν Φωκίωνα 
καὶ συμβουλεύειν, ἀναστὰς ἔφη, "συμβουλεύσ 
tούν ὡμίν ἡ κρατεῖν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς αὐτοὺς ἡ φίλους 
eῖναι τῶν κρατοῦντων."

D 11. Λόγου δὲ περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῆς

1 δεξαμένοις, Hartman, is clearly right from the Life of 
Phocion, chap. xiv. (747 f οὔδε αἱ πόλεις ἐδέχοντο . . .): δεξα- 
μένων.

a Cf. Plutarch’s Life of Phocion, chap. x. (746 e).
b Ibid. chap. xiv. (748 a); the date was 339 b.c.
7. Aristogeiton, the informer, was about to be put to death in prison, sentence having been passed upon him, and he wanted Phocion to come to him; but Phocion's friends were averse to his going to see such a wicked man. "And where," said he, "could anyone converse with Aristogeiton with greater pleasure?"  

8. The Athenians were enraged at the people of Byzantium because they had not received Chares in their city when he had been sent with a force to help them against Philip. But when Phocion said that they must not be enraged at those of their allies who distrusted, but at those of their own generals who were distrusted, he was himself chosen general; and he, being trusted by the people of Byzantium, made Philip withdraw without accomplishing his purpose.  

9. When Alexander the king sent him twenty thousand pounds as a present, he asked those who brought the money why it was that, when there were so many Athenians, Alexander offered this to him only. They replied that their king considered him only to be upright and honourable. "Then," said he, "let him suffer me both to seem and to be such."  

10. When Alexander made a demand for triremes, and the people called for Phocion by name to come forward and advise them, he arose and said, "Well then, I advise you either to be conquerors yourselves by force of arms, or else to be the friends of the conquerors."  

11. When word suddenly came, quite unauthenticated, of the death of Alexander, and the orators

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\[ \text{Footnotes:} \]

\[ ^{a} \text{Ibid. chap. xviii. (749 e); cf. also Aelian, Varia Historia, xi. 9.} \]

\[ ^{b} \text{Cf. Plutarch's Life of Phocion, chap. xxi. (751 A).} \]
(188) ἐμπεσόντος ἀδεσπότου, καὶ τῶν ῥητόρων ἀναπηδώντων εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ μὴ μέλλειν ἄλλα πολεμεῖν ἤδη κελευόντων, ὦ Φωκίων ἥξιον περιμεῖναι καὶ γνώναι βεβαιῶς. "εἰ γὰρ τήμερον," ἔφη, "τέθυνε, καὶ αὐρίον ἔσται καὶ εἰς τρίτην 

12. Τοῦ δὲ Δεσσάθινος εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἐμβαλόντος τὴν πόλιν ἐλπίσι λαμπραίς πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ὀνόμα καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐπαιρομένην, τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ ταῖς κυπαρίττοις ἀπείκαζε· "καλοὶ γὰρ ὄντες" ἔφη "καὶ υψηλοὶ καρπὸν οὖκ ἔχουσι." καταρθωμένων δὲ τῶν πρώτων καὶ τῆς πόλεως εὐαγγέλια θυνύσης, ἐρωτηθεὶς εἰ ταῦτα ἐγέλεν αὐτὸς πεπράχθαι, "πεπράχθαι μὲν οὖν," ἔφη, "ταῦτα, Βεδουλεύσθαι δὲ ἐκείνα."


14. Μετ' ὀλίγου δὲ ἥρων οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναίοι τῷ Τοῦ πολέμῳ κρατηθέντες ἐδέξαντο φουρανῷ ὑπ' Ἀντιπάτρου. Μενύλλου δὲ τοῦ τῆς φουράς ἀρχοντος χρήματα τῷ Φωκίων διδόντος, ἀγανακτήσας εἶπε

1 eis τρίτην Wytenbach from the Life of Phocion, chap. xxii.: εἰσέτι.
3 Μικώνα] the Life of Phocion, chap. xxv.: Νικόλωνa.

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immediately leaped to the platform, already urgent that there be no delay, but war at once, Phocion insisted that they wait a while, and learn the facts. "For," said he, "if Alexander is dead to-day, he will be dead to-morrow also, and the day after." a

12. When Leosthenes plunged the State into war, elated as it was by brilliant hopes to aspire to the distinction of freedom and leadership, Phocion likened his words to the cypress-trees. "For," said he, "they are beautiful and tall, but they bear no fruit." However, the first attempts were successful, and, when the State was offering sacrifices to celebrate the good tidings, Phocion was asked whether he wished that these deeds had been done by himself. "Yes," said he, "these deeds done, but that advice given." b

13. When the Macedonians invaded Attica, c and were devastating the land near the sea, he led out the men of military age. Soon many were thronging about him and strongly urging him to "take possession of that hill over there," to "draw up his forces here." "Great Heavens," he said, "how many generals do I see and how few soldiers!" Nevertheless, he engaged the enemy, and overcame them, and slew Micion the Macedonian commander. d

14. After a little time the Athenians were overcome in the war, and compelled by Antipater to submit to receiving a garrison. Menyllus, the commander of the garrison, offered money to Phocion, who said with indignation that Menyllus was no whit

a Cf. Plutarch's Life of Phocion, chap. xxii. (751 ε), also Moralia, 451 f.
b Cf. Plutarch's Life of Phocion, chap. xxiii. (752 λ β); Valerius Maximus, iii. 8, ext. 2.
c In the Lamian war, 322 B.C.
d Cf. Plutarch's Life of Phocion, chap. xxv. (752 ε).
μήτε ἐκεῖνον ’Αλεξάνδρου βελτίωνα εἶναι, καὶ χειρονα τὴν αὐτίαν ἐφ’ ἢ λήψεται νῦν τότε μή δεξάμενος.

15. Ἀντιπατρος δὲ ἔφη, ὡς δυνών αὐτῶ φιλῶν ’Αθηναίων ὄντων οὔτε Φωκίωνα λαβεῖν πέπεικεν οὔτε Δημάδην διδοὺς ἔμπεπληκεν.

16. Ἀξιούντος δὲ Ἀντιπάτρον ποησαί τι τῶν μη δικαίων αὐτῶν, “οὐ δύνασαι,” εἶπεν, “Ἀντιπατρε, καὶ φίλων Φωκίων χρῆσθαι καὶ κόλακι.”

189 17. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀντιπάτρου τελευτῆ ὁμοκρατίας Ἀθηναίων γενομένης κατεγνώσθη θάνατος τοῦ Φωκίωνος ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ τῶν φίλων· οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι κλαίοντες ἡγοῦντο· τῷ δὲ Φωκίωνι σιωπῇ βαδίζοντι τῶν ἐχθρῶν τις ἐνέπτυσεν ἀπαντήσας εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον. ὁ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀποβλέψας, “οὐ παῦσει τις,” εἶπε, “τοῦτον ἁσχημονοῦντα;”

18. Τῶν δὲ μελλόντων συναποθήκευεν ἐνὸς ὀδυρομένου καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντος, “οὐκ ἁγαπᾶς,” εἶπεν, “ὡ Θοῦδιππε, μετὰ Φωκίωνος ἀποθανοῦμενος;”


1 ἔγωγε E. Kurtz: ἔγω σε, suggested long ago, is preferred by Hatzidakis: ἔγω σε. Perhaps αὐτῶ, Aelian, Var. Hist. xii. 49 (i.e. αὐτῷ γε) is right.

a Cf. Plutarch’s Life of Phocion, chap. xxviii. (754 a), and chap. xxx. (755 a).

b Ibid. chap. xxx. (p. 755 b).
better than Alexander, and the ground for his receiving money was not so good as before, since he had not accepted it then.a

15. Antipater said that he had two good friends at Athens; and of the two he had never persuaded Phocion to accept a gift, nor ever sated Demades by giving.b

16. When Antipater required as his right that Phocion do a certain act of unrighteousness, he said, "Antipater, you cannot use Phocion as a friend and flatterer both." c

17. The death of Antipater was followed by a democratic government at Athens, and sentence of death was passed in Assembly on Phocion and his friends. The others were led away weeping, but Phocion was proceeding in silence when one of his enemies met him and spat in his face. He looked toward the officers and said, "Will not somebody make this man stop his bad manners?" d

18. When one of the men who were to die with him wept and cursed, he said, "Are you not content, Thudippus, that you are to die with Phocion?" e

19. When the cup of hemlock was already being handed to him, he was asked if he had any message for his son. "I charge and exhort him," said he, "not to cherish any ill feeling against the Athenians." f

c Repeated by Plutarch in *Moralia*, 64 c, 142 b, 533 a; *Life of Phocion*, chap. xxx. (755 b); *Life of Agis*, chap. ii. (795 e).


f Cf. Plutarch's *Life of Phocion*, chap. xxxvi. (758 d); Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xii. 49.
1. Πευστράτας ὁ Ἀθηναῖον τύραννος, ἐπειτῶν φίλων τινὲς ἀποστάντες αὐτοῦ Φυλήν κατέλαβον, ἧλθε πρὸς αὐτοὺς στρωματοδεσμὸν αὐτὸς κομίζων. πυθανομένων δὲ ἐκείνων τῷ βουλεταί, "πείσασ ύμᾶς," εἶπεν, "ἀπαγαγεῖν ἡ μη πείσας μένειν μεθ' ύμῶν, διὰ τοῦτο ἀφίγμαι συνεσκευασμένος."

2. Διαβληθείς δὲ τῆς μητρὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὡς ἐρά τινος νεανίσκου καὶ κρύφα σύνεστι φοβουμένω καὶ παρατουμένω τὰ πολλά, καλέσας ἐπὶ δείπνου τὸν νεανίσκον ἠρώτησε δειπνήσαντα, "πῶς γέγονεν;" "ἡδέως," δὲ φήσαντος, "ταῦτα σοι," Σέφη, "καθ' ἥμεραν ἔσται, εὰν τῇ μητρί μου ἀρέσκης."

3. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Θρασύβουλος ἔρων αὐτοῦ τῆς θυγατρὸς ἐφίλησεν ἀπαντήσας, παροξυνόμενος ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς, "ἀν τοὺς φιλοῦντας," εἶπε, "μισῶμεν, τί ποιήσομεν τοὺς μισοῦντας;" καὶ ἔδωκε γυναῖκα τῷ Θρασύβουλῳ τὴν παρθένον.

4. Κωμαστὼν δὲ τινῶν περιτυχόντων αὐτοῦ τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ πολλὰ πραξάντων ἀσελγῆ καὶ εἰπόντων, μεθ' ἥμεραν δὲ τοῦ Πευστράτου δεσμένων καὶ δακρυόντων, "ὑμεῖς μέν," ἔφη, "πειράσθη σωφρονεῖν τὸ λοιπὸν. ἡ δ' ἐμὴ γυνὴ τὸ παράπαν ἐχθές οὐδαμῇ προῆλθε.

5. Τῶν δὲ παῖδων, αὐτοῦ γαμεῖν ἑτέραν γυναίκα μέλλοντος, διασπυρανομένων μη τι μεμφόμενο αὐτοὺς εἰη, "ἡ κιστα," εἶπεν, "ἀλλ' ἐπαινῶν

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a Ruler of Athens, at times between 560 and 528 B.C.
b Cf. Valerius Maximus, v. 1, ext. 2. Plutarch also refers to the incident in Moralia, 457 f.
Peisistratus

1. Peisistratus, the despot of the Athenians, on a time when some of his friends had revolted and taken possession of Phyle, came to them carrying a bundle of bedding. When they asked what he meant by this, he said, "To persuade you and get you away from here, or, if I cannot persuade you, to stay with you; that is why I have come prepared."

2. It was whispered to him regarding his mother that she was in love with a certain young man, and had secret meetings with him, but that the young man was afraid and generally asked to be excused. Whereupon Peisistratus invited him to dinner, and after he had dined asked him, "How was it?" And when the young man said, "Very pleasant," Peisistratus said, "You shall have this pleasure every day if you are agreeable to my mother."

3. When Thrasybulus, who was in love with the daughter of Peisistratus, kissed her one day on meeting her, Peisistratus, when incited by his wife against the man, said, "If we hate them that love us, what shall we do to them that hate us?" And thereupon he gave the maiden as wife to Thrasybulus.

4. Some revellers fell in with his wife, and did and said a good many ribald things. The next day when they besought Peisistratus with many tears, he said, "As for you, do you try to conduct yourselves in a seemly manner hereafter, but as for my wife, she did not go out at all yesterday."

5. When he was bent on marrying a second wife, his children inquired whether he had any fault to find with them. "By no means," he said, "but only

e Musonius in Stobaeus, Florilegium, xix. 16, records a similar action on the part of Phocion.
(189) καὶ βουλόμενοι ἑτέρους μοι παῖδας τοιούτους γενέσθαι."

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΦΑΛΗΡΕΩΣ

Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς Πτολεμαῖω τῷ βασιλεῖ παρῆκε τὰ περὶ βασιλείας καὶ ἡγεμονίας βιβλία κτάσθαι καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν "ἀ γὰρ οἱ φίλοι τοῖς βασιλεύσων οὐ χαρροῦσι παρανεῖν, ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις γέγραπται."

Ε

ΛΤΚΟΤΡΓΟΤ

1. Λυκοῦργος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος εἶθισε τοὺς πολίτας κομᾶν λέγων ὅτι τοὺς μὲν καλοὺς ἢ κόμη εὑπρεπεστέρους ποιεῖ, τοὺς δὲ αἰσχροὺς φοβερωτέρους.

2. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν κελέυοντα ποιεῖν ἐν τῇ πόλει δημοκρατίαν "σὺ πρῶτος," εἶπεν. "ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ σου ποίησον δημοκρατίαν."

3. Ἐκελευε δὲ τὰς οἰκίας ποιεῖν ἀπὸ πρίνον καὶ πελέκεως μόνον" αἰσχύνεσθαι1 γὰρ εἰς οἰκίας λιτὰς ἔκπωματα καὶ στρῶματα καὶ τραπέζας πολυτελεῖς εἰσόφεροντας.

4. Πυγμῆν δὲ καὶ παγκράτιον ἀγωνίζεσθαι ἐκώλυσεν, ἵνα μηδὲ παίζοντες ἀπαυδᾶν ἐθίζωνται.

1 αἰσχύνεσθαι] αἰσχύνεσθαι Hartman and S. A. Naber; but the Life of Lycurgus, chap. xiii. suggests that the present is right.

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a Cf. Moralia, 480 b. Plutarch in his Life of Cato Major, chap. xxiv. (351 b), says that Cato as well as Peisistratus made his remark.
b Governor of Athens under the Macedonians, 317–307 b.c.
c Early lawgiver of the Spartans.
d Cf. Moralia, 228 f. infra; Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus,
praise—and the desire to have other children like you.”

DEMETRIUS OF PHALERUM

Demetrius of Phalerum recommended to Ptolemy the king to buy and read the books dealing with the office of king and ruler. “For,” as he said, “those things which the kings’ friends are not bold enough to recommend to them are written in the books.”

LYCUGRUS

1. Lycurgus, the Spartan, introduced the custom among his citizens of wearing their hair long, saying that it made the beautiful more comely and the ugly more frightful.

2. To the man who urged him to create a democracy in the State his answer was, “Do you first create a democracy in your own house.”

3. He ordered that the people build their houses with saw and axe only; for he knew that men are ashamed to bring into simple houses costly vessels, rugs, and tables.

4. He prohibited boxing and prize-fighting so that the people might not even in sport get the habit of crying off.

chap. xxii. (53 d) and Life of Lysander, chap. i. (434 a). The Spartan custom of wearing the hair long is often referred to; for example, Moralia, 189 r and 230 B, infra, Xenophon, Constitution of Sparta, xi. 3.

* Repeated in Moralia, 155 d, 228 d, and Plutarch’s Life of Lycurgus, chap. xix. (52 a).

† Cf. Moralia, 227 b, infra, and Life of Lycurgus, chap. xiii. (47 b).

‡ See Moralia, 228 d, infra, and cf. Life of Lycurgus, chap. xix. (52 a), and Seneca, De Beneficiis, v. 3.
5. Στρατεύειν δὲ πολλάκις ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐκω-λυσεν, ὡς μὴ ποιῶσι μαχιμοτέρους. Ὑστερον γοῦν τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου τρωθέντος, ὁ Ἀνταλκίδας εἴπεν καλὰ διδασκάλια παρὰ Θηβαίων λαμβάνειν αὐτὸν ἐθίσαντα καὶ διδάξαντα πολεμεῖν ἀκοντας.

ΧΑΡΙΛΛΟΥ

1. Χάριλλος ὁ βασίλειος ἐρωτηθεὶς διὰ τὶ νόμους ὀλίγους οὔτω Λυκοῦργος ἐθηκέν, ἀπεκρύπτο τοὺς χρωμένους ὀλίγους λόγους μὴ δεῖσθαι νόμων πολλῶν.

2. Τῶν δὲ εἰλώτων τυνδ ψάρατερον αὐτῶ προσφερομένου, "ναὶ τῷ σιῶ," εἶπε, "κατέκτανον ἄν τυ, αἰ μὴ ὠργίζομαι."

3. Πρὸς δὲ τῶν πυθόμενον διὰ τὶ κομῶσιν εἴπεν ὅτι τῶν κόσμων ἀδαπανώτατος οὔτος ἔστι.

ΘΛΕΚΛΟΤ

190 Τῇλεκλός ὁ βασίλειος πρὸς τὸν ἄδελφον ἐγκαλοῦντα τοῖς πολίταις ὑπὶ ἄγνωμονέστερον αὐτῶ προσφερομένου ἢ ἐκεῖνῳ, "σὺ γάρ," εἶπεν, "οὐκ οἶδας ἀδικεῖσθαι."

1 ναὶ Cobet: νη.
2 ἄν τυ, αἰ Cobet: τεῦ ἐλ.

a Cf. Moralia, 213 f, 217 f, 227 c, infra; Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus, chap. xiii. (47 d); Life of Pelopidas, chap. xv. (285 d); Life of Agesilaus, chap. xxvi. (610 d); Polyaeus, Strategemata, i. 16. 2.

b An early king of Sparta.


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5. He prohibited making war upon the same people many times, so that they should not make their opponents too belligerent. And it is a fact that years later, when Agesilaus was wounded, Antalcidas said of him that he was getting a beautiful return from the Thebans for the lessons he had taught them in habituating and teaching them to make war against their will.\(^a\)

**CHARILLUS\(^b\)**

1. Charillus the king, being asked why Lycurgus enacted so few laws, replied that people who used few words had no need of many laws.\(^c\)

2. When one of the helots conducted himself rather boldly towards him, he said, “By Heaven, I would kill you if I were not angry.”\(^d\)

3. In answer to the man who inquired why he and the rest wore their hair long, he said that of all ornaments this was the least expensive.\(^e\)

**TELECLUS\(^f\)**

Teleclus the king answered his brother, who complained against the citizens because they conducted themselves with less consideration towards him than towards the king, by saying, “The reason is that you do not know how to submit to injustice.”\(^g\)

\(^a\) Cf. *Moralia*, 232 b, infra.
\(^c\) King of Sparta, eighth century B.C.
\(^d\) Repeated in *Moralia*, 232 b, infra; cf. also the similar remark reported in Diogenes Laertius, i. 68, and the general statement in Menander’s *Farmer*, Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* iii. p. 29, Menander no. 95; or Allinson’s Menander in L.C.L., p. 338.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

THEOPOMPIOT

Θεόπομπος ἐν τωι πόλει πρὸς τὸν ἐπιδεικνύμενον τὸ τείχος αὐτῷ καὶ πυθανόμενον, εἰ δοκεῖ καλὸν καὶ υψηλὸν εἶναι, "οὐ δὴ γυναικῶν," εἶπεν.

ΑΡΧΙΔΑΜΟΤ

'Αρχίδαμος, ἐν τῷ Πελοποννησιακῷ πολέμῳ τῶν συμμάχων αξιούντων ὥρισαι τοὺς φόρους αὐτοῖς, εἶπεν, "οἱ πόλεμοι οὐ τεταγμένα αἰτεῖται."

Β

ΒΡΑΣΙΔΟΤ

1. Βρασίδας ἐν ἰσχασὶ συλλαβῶν μὴν καὶ δη-χθεὶς ἀφῆκεν· εἶτα πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας, "οὐδὲν οὕτως," ἐφη, "μικρὸν ἔστιν, οὐ μὴ σῶζεται τολμῶν ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦντας."

2. Ἐν δὲ μάχῃ διὰ τῆς ἀσπίδος ἀκοντισθεὶς καὶ τὸ δόρυ τοῦ τραύματος ἐξελκύσας3 αὐτῷ τούτῳ τὸν πολέμιον ἀπέκτεινεν· ἐπερωτηθεὶς δὲ πῶς ἐτρώθη, "προδούσης μὲ τῆς ἀσπίδος," εἶπεν.

3. Ἐπειδὴ συνέβη πεσεῖν αὐτὸν ἐλευθεροῦντα

1 οὐ δὴ γυναικῶν F.C.B. from Moralia, 212 ε, 215 δ, 230 c (γυναικῶν also S. A. Naber): οὐ δὲι, or οὔδ' εἰ, γυναικῶν.

2 Probably the genitive of all these Doric names should end in α, but the mss. do not show any consistency or uniformity which might serve as a guide.

3 εξελκύσας Moralia 219 c: ἐλκύσας.

a King of Sparta, eighth century B.C.
b Cf. Moralia, 221 f. The remark in varied form is attributed to Agesilaus in Moralia, 212 ε; to Agis in Moralia, 215 δ; and to Panthoidas in Moralia, 230 c; and to an unnamed Spartan by Valerius Maximus, iii. 7, ext. 8.
c Archidamus II., king of Sparta, 469-427 B.C.
THEOPOMPUS

When Theopompus was in a certain city, a man pointed out the wall to him and inquired if it seemed to him to be beautiful and high, and he replied, "It isn't a dwelling-place for women, is it?"

ARCHIDAMUS

When the allies said in the Peloponnesian war it was only right that Archidamus set a limit to their contributions, he said, "War does not feed on fixed rations."

BRASIDAS

1. Brasidas caught a mouse among some dry figs, and, getting bitten, let it go. Then, turning to those who were present, he said, "There is nothing so small that it cannot save its life, if it has the courage to defend itself against those who would lay hand on it."

2. In a battle he was wounded by a spear which pierced his shield, and, pulling the weapon out of the wound, with this very spear he slew his foe. Asked how he got his wound, he said, "Twas when my shield turned traitor."

3. When it came to pass that he fell while trying

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a Repeated in Moralia, 219 A, and in Plutarch's Life of Crassus, chap. ii. (544 B); and Life of Cleomenes, chap. xxvii. (817 E). In his Life of Demosthenes, chap. xvii. (853 E), the saying is put in the mouth of "Crobylus" (i.e. Hegisippus the Athenian orator). See the note on Moralia, 187 E, supra.

b Spartan general in the Peloponnesian war.

c Repeated in Moralia, 79 E and 219 C, and with some variation, 208 F.

d Cf. Moralia, 219 C, infra, and 548 B.
(190) τοὺς ἐπὶ Θράκης Ἑλλήνας, οἱ δὲ πεμφθέντες εἰς Λακεδαίμονα πρέσβεις τῇ μητρὶ προσήλθον αυτοῦ, γενόμενοι μὲν ἡρώτησεν εἰ καλῶς ὁ Βρασίδας ἀπέθανεν· ἔγκωμιαζόντων δὲ τῶν Ὁρακῶν αὐτῶν καὶ λεγόντων ὃς οὔδείς ἄλλος ἦσται τοιοῦτος, "ἀγνοεῖτε," εἶπεν, "ὡς ἔσοδος Βρασίδας μὲν γὰρ ἢν ἄνηρ ἄγαθος, αἱ δὲ Λακεδαίμων πολλῶς ἔχει τήνω κάρρονας."

ΑΓΙΔΟΣ

1. Ἀγις δὲ βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἐφη τοὺς Λακεδαίμονίους ἐρωτῶν πόσοι εἰσίν, ἀλλὰ ποὺ εἰσὶν οἱ πολέμιοι.

2. Ἔν δὲ Μαντινεῖα κωλυόμενος διαμάχεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις πλεῖσσον οὕσιν, εἶπεν, "ἀνάγκη πολλοῖς μάχεσθαι τὸν ἄρχειν πολλῶν βουλόμενον.

3. Ἐπανομένων δὲ τῶν Ἡλείων ἐπὶ τῷ τὰ Ὀλύμπια καλῶς ἄγεσθαι, "τί δὲ," εἶπε, "ποιοῦσι θαυμαστόν, εἰ δι' ἐτῶν τεττάρων μιᾶ ἡμέρα D χρῶνται τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ;" ἐπεμενόντων δὲ τοῖς ἐπαίνοις, ἐφη, "τί θαυμαστὸν εἰ πράγματι καλῶς χρῶνται, τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ;"

4. Πρὸς δὲ ἄνθρωπον πονηρῶν ἐρωτῶντα πολλακὶς τίς ἁριστός εἰῇ Σπαρτιάτῶν, εἶπεν, "ὁ τῶν ἀνομοίοτατος."

5. Ἐτέρου δὲ πυνθανομένου πόσοι εἰσίν οἴοι

1 τίν Cobet: τίνῃ.
2 οἱ (not in the mss.) is found in the other quotations of the passage.

Argileonis (Moralia, 219 d, 270 c, infra).
Ex Repeated in Moralia, 219 d and 240 c, and in Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus, chap. xxv. (55 d).
Son of Archidamus. There were two kings of Sparta.
to win independence for the Greeks who were living within the borders of Thrace, and the envoys sent to Sparta approached his mother, a her first question was whether Brasidas had died honourably. And when the Thracians spoke of him in the highest terms, and said that there would never be another like him, she said, "Ye ken naught aboot it, being from abraid; for Brasidas was e'en a guid mon, but Sparta has mony a better mon than him." b

AGIS c

1. Agis the king said that the Spartans do not ask how many are the enemy, but where are they. d

2. At Mantinea, when efforts were made to dissuade him from risking a battle with the enemy who outnumbered his own men, he said, "He who would rule over many must fight with many." e

3. When the Eleans were commended for conducting the Olympic games honourably, he said, "What wonderful feat is it if they practise justice on one day in four years?" And when these same persons were persistent in their commendation, he said, "What wonder if they practise honourably an honourable thing, that is, justice?" f

4. To a base man, who asked him many times who was the best of the Spartans, he replied, "The one most unlike you." g

5. When another man inquired about the number of this name: Agis II., 427-401 B.C., and Agis III., 338-331 B.C., and there is some confusion as to which said which! Cf. Moralia, 215 c ff., infra. d Cf. Moralia, 215 d, infra. e Ibid. f Ibid. 215 f, and Plutarch’s Life of Lycurgus, chap. xx. (52 c). g Life of Lycurgus and Moralia, 216 c.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(190) Λακεδαίμονιοι, "όσοι," εἶπεν, "ἳκανοὶ τοὺς κακοὺς ἀπείργειν."

6 Καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐτέρου πυθανομένου, "πολλοὶ σοι," ἐφη, "δόξουσιν εἶναι, εὰν αὐτοὺς ἰδῆς μαχο-

μένους."

ΑΤΣΑΝΔΡΟΤ

Ε 1. Λύσαιδρος, Διονυσίου τοῦ τυράννου πέμ-
ψαντος ἱμάτια ταῖς θυγατράσιν αὐτοῦ τῶν πολυ-
τελῶν, σὺν ἔλαβεν, εἰπὼν δεδείναι μὴ διὰ ταύτα μᾶλλον αὐχραί φανώσων.

2. Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ψέγοντας αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῷ δι’ ἀπάτης τὰ πολλὰ πράττειν ὡς ἄναξίων τοῦ Ἡρα-
κλέους, ἐλεγεν ὅπου μὴ ἐφυκνεῖται ἡ λεουτή, προσ-
ραπτέον εἶναι τὴν ἀλωπεκην.

3. Πρὸς δὲ Ἀργείους δικαιότερα τῶν Λακεδα-
μονίων λέγει περὶ τῆς ἀμφισβητουμένης χώρας 
δοκοῦντας, σπασάμενος τὴν μάχαιραν, "ὁ ταύ-
της, 1" ἐφη, "κρατῶν βέλτιστα περὶ γῆς ὅρων 
διαλέγεσαι."

4. Τοὺς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους ὅρων ὁκνοῦντας 
προσμάχεσθαι τοῖς τείχεσι τῶν Κορντίων, ὡς 
εἰδε λαγῷν ἐξαλλόμενον ἐκ τῆς τάφρου, "τοιοῦ-
τος," ἐφη, "φοβεῖσθε πολεμίους, ὥν οἱ λαγοὶ δὲ 
ἀργίαν ἐν τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐγκαθεδύσωσιν;"

5. Μεγαρέως δὲ ἀνδρὸς ἐν κοινῷ συλλόγῳ παρ-

1 ταύτης] ταύτη Pantazides.

* Cf. Moralia, 215 d; (5) infra; Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus, 
chap. xx. (52 d).

b Spartan general at the time of the Peloponnesian war.

c Cf. Moralia, 141 d, 229 Ἀ, and Plutarch's Life of 
Lysander, chap. ii. (434 c). The same story is told of Archi-
damus in Moralia, 218 Ν.

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of the Spartans, he said, "Enough to keep away all bad men." a
6. When another asked the same question, he said, "You will think they are many, if you see them fight."

LYSANDER b

1. When Dionysius, the despot, sent garments of a very costly kind for Lysander's daughters, Lysander would not accept them, saying that he was afraid that the girls would appear more ugly because of them. c
2. To those who found fault with him for accomplishing most things through deception (a procedure which they asserted was unworthy of Heracles) he used to say in reply that where the lion's skin does not reach it must be pieced out with the skin of the fox. d
3. When the Argives seemed to make out a better case than the Spartans about the territory in dispute, he drew his sword, and said to them, "He who is master of this talks best about boundaries of land." e
4. Seeing that the Spartans were reluctant to carry on the battle against the walls of the Corinthians, he said, as he saw a hare leap out of the moat, "Are you afraid of such enemies as these, in whose walls hares go to sleep because of the men's inaction?" f
5. When a man from Megara used frank speech

a Cf. Moralia, 229 b; Plutarch's Life of Lysander, chap. vii. (437 a), Leutsch and Schneidewin, Paroemiographi Graeci, i. p. 30.

b Cf. Moralia, 229 c; Life of Lysander, chap. xxii. (445 d).

c Cf. Moralia, 229 d; Life of Lysander, chap. xxii. (445 d).
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

ρησία χρησαμένου πρὸς αὐτόν, "οἱ λόγοι σου," εἶπε, "πόλεως δέονται."

ΑΓΗΣΙΑΛΟΥ

1. Ἄγησίλαος ἐλεγε τοὺς τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικοῦντας ἐλευθέρους μὲν κακοὺς εἶναι, δούλους δὲ ἀγαθούς.
2. Εἰθίσμενων δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα μέγαν προσαγορεύειν, "τί δαί' ἐκεῖνος," εἶπεν, "ἐμοῦ μείζων, εἰ μὴ δικαίότερος καὶ σωφρονεστερος;"
3. Περὶ ἀνδρείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἐρωτηθεὶς ποτέρα βελτίων, "οὐδὲν ἀνδρείας," ἠφη, "χρήζομεν, ἐὰν πάντες ώμεν δίκαιοι."

191 4. Νυκτὸς δὲ μέλλων κατὰ τάχος ἀναξιονύμεν ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας καὶ τὸν ἐρώμενον ὅρὼν ἀπολειπόμενον διὰ ἀσθένειαν καὶ δακρύουντα, "χαλεπῶν," εἶπεν, "ἀμα ἐλεεῖν καὶ φρονεῖν."
5. Μενεκράτους δὲ τοῦ ἱατροῦ Διὸς προσαγορευομένου, γράφαντος ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν, "Μενεκράτης Ζεὺς βασιλεῖ Ἄγησιλάω χαίρειν," ἀντέγραψεν, "βασιλεὺς Ἄγησιλαος Μενεκράτει ύγιαίειν."

1 δαί (cf. Moralia 213 c) Hatzidakis: δὲ.

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a Cf. Moralia, 71 e and 229 c; Life of Lysander, chap. xxii. (445 d). A similar remark is attributed to Agesilaus in Moralia, 212 e.
b King of Sparta, 398–360 B.C.
c Cf. Moralia, 213 c infra. The remark is attributed to Callicratidas, Moralia, 222 e, infra. Cf. also the similar sentiment recorded in Herodotus, iv. 142.
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towards him in the general council, he said, "Your words need a country to back them." a

AGESILAUS b

1. Agesilaus used to say that the inhabitants of Asia Minor were poor freemen, but good slaves. c

2. Regarding their custom of calling the king of the Persians the Great King, he said, "In what respect is he greater than I, unless he is more upright and self-restrained?" d

3. When he was questioned about bravery and uprightness and asked which was the better, he said, "We have no need of bravery if we are all upright." e

4. When he was about to break camp in haste by night to leave the enemy's country, and saw his favourite youth, owing to illness, being left behind all in tears, he said, "It is hard to be merciful and sensible at the same time." f

5. Menecrates the physician, who was addressed by the title of 'Zeus,' wrote in a letter to him: "Menecrates Zeus to King Agesilaus, health and happiness." Agesilaus wrote in reply: "King Agesilaus to Menecrates, health and sanity!" g

a Cf. Moralia, 78 D, 213 C, 545 A; Plutarch's Life of Agesilaus, chap. xxiii. (608 f); also Xenophon, Agesilaus, 8. 4. A similar remark of Socrates is found in Plato, Gorgias, 470 E.

b Cf. Moralia, 213 c, infra, and Plutarch's Life of Agesilaus, chap. xxiii. (608 f).

c Cf. Moralia, 209 f, infra, and Plutarch's Life of Agesilaus, chap. xiii. (603 b).

d Cf. Moralia, 209 f, infra, and Plutarch's Life of Agesilaus, chap. xiii. (603 b).

f The story is repeated in Moralia, 213 A, and in Plutarch's Life of Agesilaus, chap. xxi. (607 e). Aelian, Varia Historia, xii. 51, and Athenaeus, 289 b, say that it was Philip of Macedon who thus replied to Menecrates.
6. Λακεδαιμόνιων δὲ νικησάντων Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἐν Κορίνθῳ, πυθόμενος τὸ β πλήθος τῶν πολεμών νεκρῶν, "φεῦ τὰς Ἑλλάδος," εἶπεν, "ἄ τοσούτους ύφ’ αὐτᾶς ἀπολώλεκεν, ὡσοις ἀρκεῖ τοὺς βαρβάρους νικῆν ἀπαντασ."  
7. Χρησμῶν δὲ λαβὼν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς ὁν ἥθελεν, εἶτα τῶν ἔφορων κελεύοντων καὶ τὸν Πύθιον ἑρωτήσας περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν, εἰς Δέλφος παραγενόμενος ἡρώτησε τὸν θεόν εἰ ἀπερ τῷ πατρὶ δοκεῖ καὶ αὐτῷ.  
8. Παρατούμενος δὲ τινὰ τῶν φίλων παρὰ τοῦ Καρός Ἰδριέως, ἔγραψε πρὸς αὐτόν, "Νικίας εἰ μὲν οὐκ ἄδικεί, ἂφες: εἰ δὲ ἄδικεί, ἐμοὶ ἂφες· πάντως δὲ ἂφες."  
9. Τῷ δὲ μιμομιμένου τὴν τῆς ἁγιόνος φωνήν ἀκούσαι παρακαλούμενος, " αὐτᾶς," εἶπεν, "ἄκουκα πολλάκις."  
10. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐν Δεύκτρους μάχην, πάντας τοὺς τρέσαντας ἀτίμους εἶναί τοῦ νόμου κελεύοντος, ὦραίτες οἱ ἐφοροὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνδρῶν ἔρημον οὔσαν ἐβούλοντο τὴν ἀτιμιάν λύσαι, καὶ νομοθέτην ἀπεδείξαν τὸν Ἀγγήσιλαον· ὡ δὲ προελθὼν εἰς τὸ μέσον ἐκέλευσε τοὺς νόμους ἀπὸ τῆς αὐρίου κυρίου εἶναι.

1 Ἰδριέως Xylander (from Moralia, 209 ε, and Life of Agesilaus, chap. xiii.): ικριέως or ικαριέως.

a In 394 B.C.
b Cf. Moralia, 211 ε, infra; Plutarch’s Life of Agesilaus, chap. xvi. (604 f); Cornelius Nepos, Agesilaus, 5. 2. The source is probably Xenophon, Agesilaus, 7. 4.
c Apollo, the son of Zeus.
d Cf. Moralia, 208 f, when the oracle at Dodona is mentioned instead of Olympia. It is probable that this story, which was related of Agesipolis by Xenophon, Hellenica, 130
6. The Spartans won a victory over the Athenians and their allies at Corinth, and when he learned the number of the enemy's dead he exclaimed, "Alas for Greece which by her own hands has destroyed so many men, in number enough to conquer all the barbarians!"

7. He received an oracle from Zeus at Olympia such as he wished, and thereupon the Ephors commanded him to ask the Pythian god about the same matter. So, when he arrived at Delphi, he asked the god if his opinion was the same as his father's.

8. In interceding with Hidrieus of Caria for one of his friends he wrote: "If Nicias has done no wrong, let him go free; if he has done wrong, let him go as a favour to me; but let him go anyway."

9. Being urged to hear a man who gave an imitation of the nightingale's voice, he said, "I have heard the bird itself many a time."

10. After the battle of Leuctra, since the law decrees that all who run away in battle shall lose their citizenship, and the Ephors saw that the State was destitute of men, they, wishing to abrogate this penalty, invested Agesilaus with authority to revise the laws. He came forward into their midst, and ordered that beginning with the morrow all laws should be in full force.

iv. 7. 2, and by Aristotle, Rhetoric, ii. 23 (mss. Hegisippus), has been transferred to Agesilaus.

Cf. Moralia, 209 e and 807 f; and Plutarch's Life of Agesilaus, chap. xiii. (603 b).

Cf. Moralia, 212 f and 213 c, infra; Plutarch's Life of Agesilaus, chap. xxi. (607 e); and Life of Lycurgus, chap. xx. (52 e).

Cf. Moralia, 214 b, infra; Plutarch's Life of Agesilaus, chap. xxx. (612 f); Comparison of Agesilaus and Pompey, chap. ii. (662 e); and Polyaeus, Strategemata, ii. 1. 13.
(191) 11. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πεμφθεῖς τῷ βασιλεὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων σύμμαχος ἐπολιορκεῖτο μετ' αὐτοῦ, πολλαπλασιών ὄντων τῶν πολεμίων καὶ περιταφρευόντα τὸ στρατόπεδον, κελεύσαντος ἐπεξείναι καὶ διαμάχεσθαι τοῦ βασιλέως, οὐκ ἐφη διακωλύσεων τοὺς πολεμίους ἰσούς αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι βουλομένους. ἔτι δὲ μικρὸν ἀπολιποῦσις τῆς τάφρου συνάισθατα, κατὰ τὸ τοῦτο παρατάξας ἐπὶ τὸ διαλέιπον καὶ πρὸς ἰσούς ἵσοις ἀγωνισάμενος ἐνίκησεν. 2

12. Ἀποθνῄσκον δὲ τοὺς φίλους ἐκελεύσεις μηδεμίαν πλαστάν, μηδὲ μυθιῶν ποιήσασθαι, τὰς ἐλκύνας οὕτω προσαγορεύων: "ἐὰν γὰρ τι καλὸν ἔργον πεποίηκα, τοῦτο μοι μνημεῖον ἔστως. εἰ δὲ μηδέν, οὐδ' οἱ πάντες ἀνδριάντες."
11. He was sent as an ally to the king of the Egyptians, and was shut up in camp, together with the king, besieged by hostile forces which many times outnumbered their own. As the enemy were digging a ditch around the encampment, the king urged a sally and a decisive battle, but Agesilaus refused to hinder the enemy in their desire to put themselves on an equal footing with the defending force. When the ends of the ditch almost met, he drew up his men at this gap, and contending with equal numbers against equal numbers won a victory.  

12. When he was dying he gave orders that his friends have no 'plaster or paint' used, for this was the way he spoke of statues and portraits. "For," said he, "if I have done any noble deed, that is my memorial; but if none, then not all the statues in the world avail."  

ARCHIDAMUS, SON OF AGESILAUS  

Archidamus, the son of Agesilaus, on seeing the missile shot by a catapult, which had been brought then for the first time from Sicily, cried out, "Great Heavens! Man’s valour is no more!"  

AGIS THE YOUNGER  

1. The Younger Agis, referring to the assertion of Demades that jugglers use the Spartan swords for

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\[\text{\textsuperscript{b}}\] Cf. Moralia, 215 A, infra; Plutarch's Life of Agesilaus, chap. ii. (596 Ρ); Xenophon, Agesilaus, ii. 7; Dio Chrysostom, Oration xxxv. (466 M., 127 R.); Cicero, Letters, v. 12. 7.  

\[\text{\textsuperscript{c}}\] Archidamus III., king of Sparta, 361–338 B.C.  

\[\text{\textsuperscript{d}}\] Cf. Moralia, 219 A, infra.  

\[\text{\textsuperscript{e}}\] Agis III., king of Sparta, 338–331 B.C.
PLUTARCH’S MORALIA

(191) ὑπαματοποιοί, “καὶ μὴν,” ἐφή, “μάλιστα ὁι Δακεδαιμόνιοι τῶν πολεμίων τῶς ἐξήσου ἐφίκνουνται.”

2. Τῷ δὲ προδότῃ παραδοῦναι στρατιώτας τῶν ἐφόρων κελευόντων, οὔκ ἐφή πιστεύειν τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους τῷ προδότι τοὺς ἰδίους.

ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ


ΠΑΙΔΑΡΗΤΟΤ

Παιδάρητος1 οὐκ ἐγκριθεὶς εἰς τοὺς τριακοσίους, ἦτερ ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει πρωτεύοντα τῇ τῇ τάξει, ἰλαρὸς καὶ μειδιῶν ἀπίει, χαίρειν λέγων εἰ τριακοσίους ἡ πόλις ἔχει πολίτας ᾗντον βελτίωνας.

ΔΑΜΩΝΙΔΟΤ

Δαμωνίδας δὲ ταχθεὶς εἰς τὴν τελευταίαν τοῦ χοροῦ τάξιν ὑπὸ τοῦ τοῦ χορὸν ἰστάντος, “ἐγγε,” εἶπεν, “ἐξεύρη πῶς καὶ αὐτῇ ἐντύμος γένηται.”

1 Παιδάρητος in Moralia, 231 b, and Life of Lycurgus, chap. xxv. The mss. of Thucydides viii. give Παιδάρετος: παιδάρετος.

2 αὐτή F.C.B. from Moralia, 149 λ, where the mss. have a similar error: αὐτός, probably due to ἐντύμος: οὗτος Pantazides, ὁ τόπος Bernardakis would add.

a Cf. Moralia, 216 c, infra, and Plutarch’s Life of Lycurgus, chap. xix. (51 ε).
b Attributed to Agis II. in Moralia, 215 c.
c Cleomenes II., king of Sparta, 370–309 B.C.
swallowing because of their small size, said, "But it is a fact that the Spartans, above all men, reach their enemies with their swords." 

2. When the Ephors ordered him to turn over soldiers to a traitor to lead, he said that he did not entrust another's men to the man that betrayed his own.

CLEOMENES

Somebody promised to give to Cleomenes cocks that would die fighting, but he retorted, "No, don't, but give me those that kill fighting."

PAEDARETUS

When Paedaretus was not chosen to be one of the three hundred, an honour which ranked highest in the State, he departed, cheerful and smiling, with the remark that he was glad if the State possessed three hundred citizens better than himself.

DAMONIDAS

When Damonidas was assigned to the last place in the chorus by the director, he said, "Good! You have discovered a way by which even this place may come to be held in honour."


\[b\] Spartan general at the time of the Peloponnesian war; also spelled Paedaritus (and Pedaritus?).


\[e\] Cf. *Moralia*, 149 a and 219 e. A similar remark is attributed to Agesilaus in *Moralia*, 208 b, and the idea is also accredited to Aristippus by Diogenes Laertius, ii. 73.
192 Νικόστρατος δ' τῶν Ἀργεῖων στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ Ἀρχιδάμου χωρίον τι προδοθὲν παρακαλοῦμενος ἐπὶ χρήματι πολλοῖς καὶ γάμῳ Λακαίνης ἦν βούλεται δίχα τῶν βασιλικῶν, ἀπεκρίνατο μὴ εἶναι τὸν Ἀρχιδάμον ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους· τὸν μὲν γὰρ Ἡρακλέα περιόντα τοὺς κακοὺς κολάζειν, Ἀρχιδάμον δὲ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς κακοὺς ποιεῖν.

ΕΤΔΑΜΙΔΟΤ
1. Εὐδαμίδας¹ ἵδιν ἐν Ἀκαδημείας² Ξενοκράτην πρεσβύτερον ἦδη μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν φιλοσοφοῦντα καὶ πνεύμονος ὁτι τὴν ἀρετὴν ξητεί, “πότε οὖν,” εἶπεν, “αὐτὴ κρῆσεται;”

Β 2. Πάλιν ἄκουσας φιλοσόφου διαλεξθέντος ὅτι μόνος ἀγαθὸς στρατηγὸς δ σοφὸς ἐστίν, “ὁ μὲν λόγος,” ἔφη, “θαυμαστὸς, ὁ δὲ λέγων οὐ περισσαλπισταί.”³

АНΤΙΟΧΟΣ
Ἀντίοχος ἐφορεύων, ὡς ἦκουσεν ὅτι Μεσσηνίοις Φιλιππος τὴν χώραν ἔδωκεν, ἠρώτησεν εἰ καὶ τὸ κρατεῖν αὐτοῖς μαχομένους περὶ τῆς χώρας ἔδωκεν.

АНТΑΛΚΙΔΟΤ
1. Ἀνταλκίδας πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναίον ἀμαθεῖς ἀποκαλοῦντα τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, “μόνοι γοῦν,”

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¹ Εὐδαμίδας Xylander from Μοραλία, 220 d: εὐδαμινίδας.
² Ἀκαδημεία the better spelling: ἀκαδημία.
³ περισσαλπισταί Stobaeus, Florilegium, liv. 65.

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a At the time of Archidamus III., 361–338 B.C.
b Brother of Agis III., whom he succeeded in 331–330 B.C.
NICOSTRATUS

Nicostratus, the general of the Argives, was urged by Archidamus to betray a certain stronghold, his reward to be a large sum of money and marriage with any Spartan woman he wished, save only the royal family; but his reply was that Archidamus was not descended from Heracles, for Heracles, as he went about, punished the bad men, but Archidamus made the good men bad.

EUDAMIDAS

1. Eudamidas, seeing Xenocrates, already well on in years, discussing philosophy with his pupils in the Academy, and being informed that he was seeking after virtue, said, "And when will he make use of it?"

2. At another time, after he had listened to a philosopher who argued that the wise man is the only good general, he said, "The speech is admirable, but the speaker has never been amid the blare of trumpets."

ANTIOCHUS

Antiochus, when he was an ephor, heard that Philip had given to the Messenians their land, whereupon he asked whether Philip had also given them the power to prevail in fighting to keep it.

ANTALCIDAS

1. Antalcidas, retorting to the Athenian who called the Spartans unlearned, said, "At any rate,

Cf. Moralia, 220 d.  
Ibid. 220 d infra.
Repeated ibid. 217 f.  
Spartan admiral and politician who negotiated the "Peace of Antalcidas" between Persia and Greece, 387 B.C.
PLUTARCH’S MORALIA

(192) ἐίπεν, "ἡμεῖς οὐδέν μεμαθήκαμεν κακὸν παρ’ ὑμῶν."

C 2. Ἐτέρω δὲ Ἀθηναίου πρὸς αὐτὸν εἴπόντος, "ἀλλὰ μήν ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ Κηφισοῦ πολλάκις ὑμᾶς ἐδιώξαμεν," "ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐδέποτε," εἶπεν, "ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐρώτα.

3. Σοφιστοῦ δὲ μέλλοντος ἀναγνώσκειν ἐγκώμιον Ἡρακλέους, ἐφη, "τίς γὰρ αὐτὸν ψέγει;"

ΕΠΑΜΕΙΝΩΝΔΟΤ

1. Ἐπαμεινώνδου τοῦ Θηβαίου στρατηγοῦντος, οὐδέποτε πανικὸς θόρυβος ἐνέπεσεν εἰς τὸ στρατό-πεδον.

2. Ἐλεγε δὲ τὸν ἐν πολέμῳ θάνατον εἶναι κάλ-λιστον.

3. Τῶν δὲ ὀπλιτῶν δεῖν ἀπέφαινεν εἶναι τὸ σῶμα γεγυμνασμένον οὐκ ἀθλητικῶς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατιωτικῶς. διὸ καὶ τοῖς πολυσάρκοις ἐπολέμει, καὶ τινὰ τουοῦτον ἀπήλασε τῆς στρατιᾶς εἰπὸν ὅτι μόλις αὐτοῦ σκέπουσι τὴν γαστέρα ἀσπίδες τρεῖς ἢ τέσσαρες, δι’ ἦν οὐχ ἑώρακεν αὐτοῦ τὸ αἷδοῖν.

4. Οὐτώ δὲ ἦν εὐτελῆς περὶ τὴν δίαιταν ἵστε κληθεῖσι ἐπὶ δείπνον ὑπὸ γεύσεως εὐρών πεμμάτων

* Cf. Moralia, 217 d. The saying is attributed to Pleistophoros in Moralia, 231 d, and in Plutarch’s Life of Lycurgus, chap. xx. (52 d).

Cf. Moralia, 217 d and 810 f, Plutarch’s Life of Agesilaus, chap. xxxi. (613 d). The Cephisus was a river near Athens, and the Eurotas a river near Sparta.

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we alone have learned no evil from you Athenians." 

2. When another Athenian said to him, "You cannot deny that we have many a time put you to rout from the Cephisus," he said, "But we have never put you to rout from the Eurotas!" 

3. When a lecturer was about to read a laudatory essay on Heracles, he said, "Why, who says anything against him?"

EPAMEINONDAS

1. While Epameinondas the Theban was general, panic never fell upon his troops.

2. He used to say that the most beautiful death was death in war.

3. He used to declare that the heavy-armed soldier ought to have his body trained not only by athletic exercises but by military drill as well. For this reason he always showed a repugnance towards fat men, and one such man he expelled from the army, saying that three or four shields would scarce serve to protect his belly, because of which he could not see a thing below it.

4. He was so frugal in his manner of living that once, when he was invited to dinner by a neighbour, and found there an elaborate display of cake and

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Cf. Moralia, 217 d.

Famous Theban general and statesman, 420-362 B.C. These sayings were doubtless incorporated in Plutarch's Life of Epameinondas, now lost. A collection of stories about Epameinondas will be found in Polyaenus, Strategemata, ii. 3.

Cf. Cornelius Nepos, Epaminondas, xiv. 2. 4 and 5.

(192) καὶ ὃψων καὶ μύρων παρασκευήν ἀπῆλθεν εὐθὺς, εἰτῶν, "ἐγὼ σε θείεν φόμην οὐχ ὑβρίζειν."

5. Τοῦ δὲ μαγείρου τοῖς συνάρχονσιν ἡμερῶν τινων δαπάνην ἀπολογιζομένου, πρὸς μόνον ἡγανάκτησε τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ ἐλαίου· θαυμασάντων δὲ τῶν συναρχόντων, οὐ τὸ τῆς δαπάνης ἐφή λυπεῖν αὐτοῖν, ἀλλ’ εἰ τοσοῦτον ἐλαιον ἐντὸς παραδέδεκται τοῦ σώματος.

6. 'Εστήν δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἁγούσης καὶ πάντων ἐν πότοις καὶ συνοισίαις ὄντων, ἀπήντησε τινὶ τῶν συνήθων αὔχιμηρὸς καὶ σύννοις βαδίζων· θαυμάζοντος δὲ καὶ πυθανομένου τί δὴ μόνος ὦτως ἔχων περίεισιν, "ὅπως," εἶπεν, "ἐξῆ πᾶσιν ὦμῖν μεθύειν καὶ βαθυμεῖν."

7. "Ἀνθρωποι δὲ φαύλον ἐξημαρτηκότα τι τῶν μετρίων, τοῦ μὲν Πελοπίδα παρακαλῶντος, οὐκ ἀφήκε, τῆς δ’ ἐρωμένης δεπηθείσης, ἀφήκεν, εἰπὼν ἘΩΤΙ θοιαύτα πρέπει λαμβάνειν ἐταιριδίοις, ἀλλὰ μὴ στρατηγοῖς.


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a Cf. Moralia, 1099 c, and perhaps Diogenes Laertius, vi. 28.
b Cf. Themistius, Oration vii. 88 c.
c Cf. Moralia, 808 e.
pastry and other dishes, and perfumes as well, he left at once, saying, "I thought this was to be a meal and not a display of arrogance."  

5. When the cook rendered his accounts to Epameinondas and his fellow-officers of the expenses for several days, Epameinondas showed indignation only at the great amount of olive oil. As his fellow-officers expressed their surprise, he said it was not the matter of expense that worried him, but that he had taken into his body so much oil.  

6. While the city was keeping holiday, and all were busy with drinking and social enjoyment, Epameinondas, as he was walking along unwashed and absorbed in thought, met one of his intimate friends, who inquired in surprise why it was that he alone was going about in that state. "So that all of you," said he, "may get drunk and have a holiday."  

7. A worthless fellow, who was guilty of one of the minor offences, he would not let off at the request of Pelopidas, but, when the man's mistress pleaded for him, he let him off, saying that such favours may properly be received by strumpets, but not by generals.  

8. When the Spartans threatened an invasion, and oracles were reported to the Thebans, of which some told of defeat and others of victory, he ordered that these be placed at the right of the speakers' platform, and those at the left. When they had all been so placed, he arose and said, "If you are willing to obey your officers, and come to close quarters with the enemy, these are the oracles for you," and he pointed to those of good omen; "but if you are going to play the cowards in the face of danger, then those," and he glanced at those of ill omen.
9. Πάλιν δὲ προσάγων τοὺς πολεμίους, βροντής γενομένης καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν πυθανομένων τί σημαίνει σοί τὸν θεόν, ἐμβεβροντήσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους εἴπεν οτι τοιούτων χωρίων ἐγγὺς ὀντῶν, ἐν τοιούτοις στρατοπεδεύονσιν.

10. "Ἡδοστὸν δὲ πάντων αὐτῶ τῶν γεγονότων καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἔλεγε τὸ τοῦ1 πατρὸς ἐτί ζῶντος καὶ τῆς μητρὸς έν Λεύκτροις νικῆσαι Λακεδαιμονίους.

11. Εἰσθαύς δὲ φαίνεσθαι τὸν ἀλλὸν χρόνον ἀληθιμένος τὸ σῶμα καὶ φαιδρὸς τῷ προσώπῳ, μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐκείνην τῇ οὐστεραίᾳ προῆλθεν αὐχυμηρὸς καὶ ταπεινὸς· τῶν δὲ φίλων ἑρωτῶντων μὴ τι λυπηρόν αὐτῷ συμπέπτωκεν, "οὐδέν," εἶπεν, "ἀλλ' ἔχθες ἁσθόμην ἐμαντοῦ μεῖζον ἡ καλῶς ἔχει φρονήσαντος· διὸ σήμερον κολάζω τὴν Βάμετριάν τῆς χαρᾶς."

12. Εἰδῶς δὲ τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας ἐπικρυπτομένους τὰ τουαῦτα συμπτώματα, καὶ βουλόμενος ἐξελέγχαι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς συμφορᾶς αὐτῶν, οὐχ ὅμως πᾶσι νεκρῶν ἀναίρεσιν ἀλλ' ἐκάστοις κατὰ πόλιν ἑδωκεν, ὥστε πλείονας ἡ χιλίους ὀντας ὀφθήναι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων.

13. Ἡσοῦνος δὲ τοῦ Θεσπαλῶν μονάρχου συμμάχου μὲν εἰς Θῆβας παραγενομένου, δισχυλίους δὲ χρυσοὺς τῷ Ἐπαμεινώνδα πέμψαντος ἑσχυρῶς πενομένω, τὸ μὲν χρυσίων οὐκ ἔλαβε, τὸν δὲ

1 τὸ τῶν Bernardakis, comparing the other versions in Plutarch: τὸ τῶν γειναμένων αὐτῶν τοῦ.

* Cf. Polyaenus, Strategemata, ii. 3. 3.

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9. On another occasion, when he was leading his troops against the enemy, there came a thunder-stroke, and, when those about him inquired what he thought the god meant to signify by this, he replied, "That the enemy have been thunder-struck out of all sense because, when such places as those are near at hand, they pitch their camp in places such as these." a

10. He used to say that of all the fair and goodly fortune that had fallen to his lot the thing that gave him the greatest gratification was that his victory over the Spartans at Leuctra came while his father and mother were still living. b

11. It was his habit to appear at all times with a well-groomed body and a cheerful countenance, but on the day after that battle he went forth unwashed and with a look of dejection. When his friends asked if anything distressing had befallen him, he said, "Nothing; but yesterday I found myself feeling a pride greater than is well. Therefore to-day I am chastising my immoderate indulgence in rejoicing."

12. Knowing that the Spartans were wont to conceal such calamities as this, and wishing to bring out clearly the magnitude of their disaster, he did not grant them leave to remove their dead all together, but separately by cities, so that it was seen that the Spartan dead numbered over a thousand. c

13. When Jason, monarch of Thessaly, arrived at Thebes as an ally, he sent two thousand pieces of gold to Epameinondas, who was then sadly in want. Epameinondas did not take the money, but with a


b The story is told with slightly more details by Pausanias, ix. 13. 11 and 12.
'Iásöva theasámenos, "áðíkwn," 'efh, "xheìqîn àrcheis"'. ãútvòs ðè pèntíkòntà dràxhàs ðàvèn-
C sàménoò pàrâ tìvòs tûwv pòlitòwv, 'efídion tîs
stratíàs, ènèbalev eìs Pelòpòñnhòv.

14. Áðhìs ðè tòu Òeròwv bavìléwòs trìsmùrións
dàrèikuòs àpòstèlìantòs ãútvò, kàthìhàvto pìkrîs
Dìomèdòntos, eì tòsòutòv plòùn pèplèvekì dià-
èthèròv 'Eòpameiwòndàv' pròs ðè tòn bavìléa lègèn
èkèleusèn õtì tà sùmphèrontà Thèbàiòs frònov
èxì pròika fìlon 'Eòpameiwòndàv, tà ðè ùhù sùm-
ìfèrontà pòlèmìon.

15. 'Èpetì ðè 'Argeëiòi mèn èngènònto sùmìmàgòi
Òhèbàiòwv, 'Aðhàiòwv ðè ðrèsbëeìs eìs 'Arkàdìà
pàragènòmènì katèghòronùm ìmèfòtéròwv, kài Kàllì-
òstratòs ðè rìhtìwv ónèèðìsè tòn 'Oðèstình kài tòn
Òìdìpòda tàìs pòléswv, èpànavàstàs ðò 'Eòpameiwòndàs,
"òmìlògòùmèn," 'efh, "kài parì ìmèì pàtòkàtûn
gevèsthài kài parì 'Argeìèòs ìpìtòkàtûnìì. ìllà
tòuì tàutà dràsàntàs ìmèèìs mèn èxèbàlòmev,
'Àhènàïòì ðè 'ùpèdèèxantò."

16. Pròs ðè tòuì Sòpàrtìàtòs pòllà kài me-
gàlà tòwv Thèbàiòwv katèghòrhèntàs, "òwtoi mèn-
tòi," èîpèn, "ìmàs bràxhùlògòùntàs èpàuàsan."

17. 'Èpetì ðè 'Alèxàndróù tòwv Òrèàiwv tìrànnòv
E pòlèmìon òntà Thèbàiòwv 'Aðhàiòi fìlòv èpòh-
sàntò kài sùmìmàgòì èpòsèhmènìv ãútvòs ìmìwòbò-
líòù tîhì ìmàì kreqì wìnòv pàrèxèn, "ìmèèìs ðè,"
'efh ðò 'Eòpameiwòndàs, "èxìla pròîka pàrèxèòmev

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a Cf. Moralia, 583 f, and Aelian, Varia Historia, xi. 9.
b Cf. Cornelius Nepos, Epaminondas, xv. 4, where the same story is told in more words, and Aelian, Varia Historia,
v. 5, where the fact is recorded in very few words.

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steadfast look at Jason said, “You are beginning wrong.” Then he borrowed a couple of pounds from one of his fellow-citizens to meet his personal expenses in the campaign, and invaded the Peloponnesus.a

14. On a later occasion, when the king of the Persians sent twenty-five thousand pounds to him, he assailed Diomedon bitterly because he had made such a long voyage to corrupt Epameinondas; and he bade him say to the king that if the king should hold views conducive to the good of the Thebans, he should have Epameinondas as his friend for nothing; but if the reverse, then as his enemy.b

15. When the Argives entered the Theban alliance,c ambassadors of the Athenians arrived at Arcadia and accused both nations; and when Callistratus, the chief speaker, held up Orestes and Oedipus as a reproach to their respective cities, Epameinondas, rising to reply, said, “We admit that we have had a parricide among us, and the Argives a matricide; but we expelled from our land those who did these deeds, and the Athenians received them!” d

16. When the Spartans accused the Thebans of a long list of serious offences, he retorted, “These Thebans, however, have put a stop to your brevity of speech!” e

17. When the Athenians took as a friend Alexander, the despot of Pherae, who was an enemy of the Thebans, and he promised to supply the Athenians with meat to be sold at a penny a pound, Epameinondas said, “But we will supply them with

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a In 370 B.C.
b Cf. Moralia, 810 r, and Cornelius Nepos, Epaminondas, xv. 6. 1-3.
c Cf. Moralia, 545 a.
PLUTARCH’S MORALIA

'Αθηναίοις ἐπὶ τὰ κρέα ταῦτα: τὴν γὰρ χώραν αὐτῶν τεμοῦμεν, ἂν πολυπραγμονώσι."  


F 19. Τοῦ δὲ Χαβρίου περὶ Κόρινθον ὁλίγους τινὰς τῶν Ῥηβαίων ὑπὸ τὰ τείχη φιλομαχοῦντας καταβαλόντος καὶ στήσαντος τρόπαιον, ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας καταγελῶν ἔφη, “ἐνταῦθα δεῖ οὐ τρόπαιον ἄλλα Ἐκάταιον8 ἐστάναι”. τὴν γὰρ Ἐκάτην ἐπιεικῶς ἐν ταῖς πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἱδρύνοντο τριόδοις.

20. Ἀπαγγείλαντος δὲ τινὸς ὡς 'Αθηναίοι στρατεύμα καινοῖς κεκοσμημένον ὁπλοῖς εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἀπεστάλκασι, “τι οὖν,” εἶπεν, “’Ἀντιγενίδας στένει3 καίνοις Τέλληνσις αὐλοὺς ἔχοντος;” ἦν δὲ αὐλητής ὁ μὲν Τέλλην4 κάκιστος, ὁ δὲ ’Ἀντιγενίδας κάλλιστος.

194 21. Τὸν δὲ ὑπασπιστὴν αἰσθόμενος εἰληφότα χρήματα πολλὰ παρ’ ἀνδρὸς αἰχμαλώτου γεγονότος,

1 παραϊνὼν] παριὼν S. A. Naber.
2 There can be little doubt that Epameinondas said Ἐκάταιον, although the mss. have a later form Ἐκάτησιον.
3 στένει] ὑπαστερεῖ S. A. Naber.
4 Τέλλην Hatzidakis: Τέλλης.
18. The Boeotians, relaxed by leisure, he was always desirous of keeping continually under arms, and whenever he was chosen Governor of Boeotia he used to urge his advice upon the people, saying, "Bethink yourselves once more, men, for, if I am general, you will have to serve in my army." And he used to call their country, which was flat and exposed, 'the dancing-floor of War,' intimating that they could not hold their power over it if they did not keep a grip on the handles of their shields.

19. Chabrias, in the vicinity of Corinth, having struck down some few Thebans whose eagerness led them to carry the fighting to the foot of the walls, set up a trophy. Epameinondas, ridiculing it, said, "In that place should stand, not a trophy, but a Hecate"; for it was in keeping to set up an image of Hecate, as they used to do, at the meeting of three ways in front of the gates.

20. When somebody reported that the Athenians had sent an army, decked out with novel equipment, into the Peloponnesus, he said, "Why should Antigenidas cry if Tellen has a new flute or two?" (Tellen was the worst of flute-players, and Antigenidas the best.)

21. Learning that his shield-bearer had received a great deal of money from a man who had been taken

\[\textit{Cf. Plutarch's Life of Marcellus, chap. xxi. (310 b),}\]

where two other picturesque expressions of similar meaning are quoted.

\[\textit{Cf. Diodorus, xv. 69.}\]

\[\textit{There are many references to the skill of Antigenidas; it must suffice here to refer only to Moralia, 335 a.}\]
"ἔμοι μέν," εἶπεν, "ἀπόδος τὴν ἀσπίδα, σεαυτῷ δὲ πρὶν κατηλείπον, ἐν ὶ καταζήσεις· οὐκέτι γὰρ ἐθελήσεις κινδυνεύειν ὅμοιῶς εἰς τῶν πλουσίων γεγονός καὶ μακαρίων."

22. Ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ πότερον έαυτόν ἥγεῖται βελτίωνα στρατηγόν ἢ Χαβρίαν ἢ Ἰφικράτην "δύσκριτον," εἶπεν, "ἕως ζώμεν." 23. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Λακωνικῆς ὑποστρέφοντος ἐφευγε θανάτου δίκην μετὰ τῶν συστατῆγων, ὡς ἐπιβαλὼν τῷ Βοιωταρχίᾳ παρὰ τὸν νόμον τέσσαρας μῆνας, τοὺς μὲν συνάρχοντας ἐκέλευεν εἰς έαυτόν ἀναφέρειν τὴν αἰτίαν ὡς ἐκβιασθέντας, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐκ ἐφή βελτίωνας ἔχειν τῶν ἔργων λόγους· εἰ δὲ δεῖ τι πάντως εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς δικαστὰς, ἄξιον, ἂν ἀποκτείνωσιν αὐτόν, ἐπιγράψαι τῇ στήλῃ τὴν καταδίκην, ὅπως οἱ "Ἐλληνες εἰδὼσιν ὅτι μὴ θουλομένους Θηβαίους Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἴμαγκάσε τὴν Λακωνικὴν πυρπολήσαι, πεντακοσίως ἐνιαυτοῖς ἀδήμωτον οὖσαν· οὐκέσαι δὲ Μεσσήνην δι' ἐτῶν τριάκοντα καὶ διακοσίων· συντάξαι δὲ καὶ συναγαγεῖν εἰς ταύταν Ἀρκάδας· ἀποδοῦναι δὲ τοῖς Ἐλληνικαῖς τὴν αὐτονομίαν. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐπράξθη κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν στρατείαν. ἔξηλθον

* Cf. Aelian, Varia Historia, xi. 9; Themistius, Oration vii., 88 c.
captive in the war, he said to him, "Give me back my shield, and buy yourself a tavern in which to spend the rest of your days; for you will no longer be willing to face danger as before, now that you have become one of the rich and prosperous." a

22. Being asked whether he regarded himself or Chabrias or Iphicrates as the better general, he said, "It is hard to decide while we are alive."

23. Upon his return from Laconia he was put on trial for his life, together with his fellow-generals, for having added, contrary to the law, four months to his term of office as Governor of Boeotia. b He bade his fellow-officers to put the responsibility on him, as if their action had been dictated by him, and said that he himself had not any words to speak better than his deeds; but if he absolutely must make a statement to the judges, he required from them as his just due, if they put him to death, to inscribe their sentence upon his tombstone, so that the Greeks might know that Epameinondas had compelled the Thebans against their will to lay waste Laconia with fire and sword, which for five hundred years c had been unravaged; and that he had repopulated Messene after a space of two hundred and thirty years, and had organized the Arcadians and united them in a league, and had restored self-government to the Greeks. As a matter of fact, all these things had been accomplished in that cam-

b When the Thebans invaded the Peloponnesus, 370–369 B.C.

c Plutarch in his Life of Agesilaus, chap. xxxi. (613 b), says "not less than six hundred"; one is probably as correct as the other.
C oδών οἱ δικασταὶ σὺν πολλῇ γέλωτι μηδὲ τὰς (194) ψήφους ἐπ’ αὐτῶν ἀναλαβόντες.

24. Ἐν δὲ τῇ τελευταῖα μάχῃ τρωθεὶς καὶ κομισθεὶς ἐπὶ σκηνῆν ἐκάλει Δαῦφαντον, εἶτα μετ’ ἐκείνου 'Ἰολαίδαιν'. τεθνάναι δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας πυθόμενος ἐκέλευε διαλύσεθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ὡς οὐκ οἴντος αὐτοῖς στρατηγοῦ, καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τὸ ἔργον ἐμαρτύρησεν ὡς εἰδότος ἄριστα τοὺς πολίτας.

ΠΕΛΟΠΙΔΟΤ


2. Τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς, ἔπι μάχην ἐξειόντος αὐτοῦ, δεομένης σώζειν ἑαυτόν, ἄλλως ἐπὶ δεῖν τοῦτο παραίνειν, ἄρχοντι δὲ καὶ στρατηγῷ σώζειν τοὺς πολίτας.

1 Γαλαίδαιν Aelian, Varia Historia, xii. 3: iollaídan (or iollaídat).
2 Ἐπαμεινώνδου F.C.B. Cf. No. 6 infra: ἐπαμεινώνδα, but there is no uniformity in the mss. Bernardakis would read the dative, Ἐπαμεινώνδα, which is probably wrong.
3 Νικόδημῳ, Life of Pelopidas, chap. iii.: νικομίδης. S. A. Naber would read Νικόδημον, but the reading in the Life and in Aelian is against it.

There are many references to this story, and it was even used as a corpus vile for argumentation in the schools, to judge from Cicero, De inventione, i. 33 (55-56) and 38 (69). The story is repeated in Moralia, 540 ν and 799 ε; Aelian, Varia Historia, xiii. 42; Pausanias, ix. 14. 5-7; Cornelius Nepos, Epaminondas, xv. 7. 3-8. 5. Appian, Roman History, Syrian Wars, 40-41, compares the action of Epameinondas.
SAYINGS OF KINGS AND COMMANDERS. 194

Thereupon the judges left the court-room with hearty laughter, and did not even take up their ballots to cast against him.a

24. When in his last battle b he had been wounded and carried into a tent, he called for Daiphantus, and next after him for Iolaïdas, and, learning that the men were dead, he bade the Thebans to make terms with the enemy, since no general was left to them. And the facts bore out his words, for he best knew his fellow-citizens.c

PELOPIDAS

1. Pelopidas, the associate of Epameinondas in command, in reply to his friends who told him that he was neglecting a very necessary business, the amassing of money, said, “Yes, on my word, money is necessary—for Nicodemus here!” d as he pointed to a lame and crippled man.

2. As he was leaving home for the field of battle, his wife begged him to have a care for his life. “This advice,” said he, “should be kept for others, but for a commander and general the advice should be to have a care for the lives of the citizens.” e

with the similar action of Scipio Africanus Major (Moralia, 196 f); and this suggests the probability that Appian had before him Plutarch’s Parallel Lives of Epameinondas and Scipio, now lost.

b At Mantineia, in 362 B.C.
c Cf. Aelian, Varia Historia, xii. 3. Other authors lay stress on the fortitude with which he met his end. Cf. Diodorus, xv. 87; Cornelius Nepos, Epaminondas, xv. 9; Valerius Maximus, iii. 2, ext. 5; Justin, Historiae Philippicae, vi. 8.
d Cf. Plutarch’s Life of Pelopidas, chap. iii. (279 c)
Cf. Aelian, Varia Historia, xi. 9.
e Cf. the Life of Pelopidas, chap. xix. (288 c).
3. Εἰπόντος δὲ τινος τῶν στρατιωτῶν, "ἐμπεπτώκαμεν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους," "τί μᾶλλον," εἶπεν, "ἡ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐκεῖνοι;"

4. Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρασπονδηθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φεραίων τυράννου καὶ δεθεὶς κακῶς αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν, εἰπόντος ἐκείνοι, "οπεύδεις ἀποθανεῖ;"
"πάνυ μὲν οὖν," εἶπεν, "ίνα μᾶλλον παροξυνθῶσι Θηβαῖοι, καὶ σὺ δίκην δῶς τάχιον."

5. Θήβης δὲ τῆς τοῦ τυράννου γυναικὸς ἐλθοῦσα πρὸς Πελοπίδαν καὶ λεγούσης θαυμάζειν ὅτι οὔτως ἰλαρός ἐστι δεδεμένος, αὐτὸς ἐφ' ὑπὶ μᾶλλον θαυμάζειν ἐκεῖνην, ὅτι μὴ δεδεμένη ὑπομένει Ἀλεξάνδρον.

Ε ᾖ. Κομισαμένου δ' αὐτὸν τοῦ Ἐπαμεινώνδου, χάριν εἰπεν ἔχειν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ· πεπειράσθαι γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ νῦν μάλιστα οὐ μόνον πρὸς πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς θάνατον εὐθαρσῶς ἐχοντος.

1 πεπειράσθαι | πεπειραται: some mss.
3. When one of his soldiers said, "We have fallen among the enemy," he said, "Why any more than they among us?" \(^a\)

4. When he fell a victim to the treachery of Alexander, despot of Pherae, and was put in bonds, he upbraided Alexander; and when the despot said, "Are you so eager to die," he replied, "Yes, I certainly am, so that the Thebans may become the more exasperated, and you may get your deserts the sooner." \(^b\)

5. Thebe, the despot's wife, came to Pelopidas and said that she was amazed because he was so cheerful in his bonds. Pelopidas replied that he was even more amazed at her because she without being in bonds could abide Alexander.\(^c\)

6. After Epameinondas had obtained his general's release, Pelopidas said that he felt grateful to Alexander; for by actual test he had now found himself more than ever to be of good courage not only in facing war but also in facing death.

\(^a\) Repeated in the Life of Pelopidas, chap. xvii. (286 vi). A similar remark is attributed to Leonidas, Moralia, 225 vi, infra, and to an unnamed Spartan, 234 vi, infra.

\(^b\) Cf. Plutarch's Life of Pelopidas, chap. xxviii. (293 a).

\(^c\) Ibid. (293 b).
ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΑΠΟΦΘΕΓΜΑΤΑ

MANIOT KOTRIOT

1. Μάνιος Κούριος, ἐγκαλούντων αὐτῷ τινῶν ὅτι τῆς αἰχμαλώτου χώρας ὀλίγον ἐκάστῳ μέρος διένεμενε τὴν δὲ πολλὴν ἐποίησε δημοσίως, ἐπηγέγαγεν μηδένα γενέσθαι 'Ῥωμαίων ὃς ὀλίγην ἡγήσεται γῆν τὴν τρέφουσαν.

2. Σαυνίτων δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἔτην ἄφικομενων πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ χρυσίον διδόντων, ἐτυχεῖν ἐν χύτραις ἔσιν γογγυλίδας. ἀπεκρίνατο δὲ τοῖς Σαυνίταις μηδέν χρυσίον δείσθαι τουοῦτον δεῖπνον δειπνῶν αὐτῷ δὲ βέλτιον εἶναι τοῦ χρυσίον ἔχειν τὸ κρατεῖν τῶν ἕχοντων.

ΓΑΙΩΤ ΦΑΒΡΙΚΙΟΤ

1. Γάιος Φαβρίκιος τὴν ὑπὸ Πύρρου 'Ῥωμαίων

1 Ῥωμαίων ἀποφθεγματα. μανιον κουριον, etc.] these headings are usually omitted in the mss.

a M. Curius Dentatus, consul 290 B.C., and twice later. He conquered the Samnites and defeated Pyrrhus.

b Cf. Pliny, Natural History, xviii. 4 (18); Columella, i. 3. 10; Valerius Maximus, iv. 3. 5; Frontinus, Strategemata, iv. 3. 12.

c There are many references to this incident as typical of 154.
SAYINGS OF ROMANS

MANIUS CURIUS

1. When some complained against Manius Curius because he apportioned to each man but a small part of the land taken from the enemy, and made the most of it public land, he prayed that there might never be a Roman who would regard as small the land that gave him enough to live on.

2. When the Samnites came to him after their defeat and offered him money, he happened to be cooking turnips in pots. He made answer to the Samnites that he had no need of money when he could make his dinner from this sort of food; and for him it was better than having money to hold sway over those who had it.

GAIUS FABRICIUS

1. Gaius Fabricius, upon learning of the defeat of the simple life; cf. for example Plutarch’s Life of Cato Major, chap. ii. (337 A); Athenaeus, 419 A; Cicero, De Republica, iii. 28 (40); Pliny, Natural History, xix. 26 (87); Valerius Maximus, iv. 3. 5. Frontinus, Strategemata, iv. 3. 2, and Aulus Gellius, i. 14, strangely enough, attribute the remark to Fabricius.

A Roman of the old school, simple and honest: consul 282 and 278 B.C. In the later consulship he was in command against Pyrrhus.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΜΟΡΑΛΙΑ

"Λαϊβίνων, 1" είπε, "Πύρρος, ούκ Ἡπειρώτας Ἑρμαίον νευκήκασιν."

2. Εἶθεν δὲ πρὸς Πῦρρον περὶ λύσεως αἰχμαλώτων χρυσίου μὲν πολὺ διδόντως οὐκ ἔλαβεν τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ τὸν μέγιστον ἐλέφαντα τοῦ Πῦρρου παρασκευάσαντος ἐξοπισθεὶν ἀγνοοῦντι τῷ Φαβρίκιῳ ῥήξαντα φωνήν ἐπιφανήναι καὶ τούτου γενομένου, ἐπιστραφεὶς ὁ Φαβρίκιος καὶ μειδίασας, "ἐμέ," εἶπεν, "οὔτε τὸ χρυσίον ἐχθὲς οὔτε σήμερον τὸ θηρίον ἐξεπλήξε." 3. Τοῦ δὲ Πῦρρου παρακαλοῦντος αὐτὸν εἶναι σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν μετ' αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἡγεμονίαν, "οὔδε σοί," ἐφη, "τούτῳ λυσιτελές ἐστιν. Ἡπειρώτας γάρ, εάν ἀμφοτέρους γνώσων ἡμᾶς, ὑπ' ἔμοι βασιλεύσεις μᾶλλον ἥ σοῦ ἐθελήσουσιν."

4. ῾Υπατεύνωτι δὲ τῷ Φαβρίκιῳ προσέπεμψεν Β ἐπιστολὴν ὁ τοῦ Πῦρρου ἰατρός, ἐπαγγελλόμενος, εάν κελεύῃ, φαρμάκοις τὸν Πῦρρον ἀποκτενεῖν ὁ δὲ Φαβρίκιος τὴν ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς Πῦρρον ἐπέμψεν, αὐθενθείας κελεύσας δι' ὁ τι καὶ φίλων κάκιστος ἐστιν κριτὴς καὶ πολεμίων. 5. Ἐπει δὲ φωράσας τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ὁ Πῦρρος τῶν μὲν ἰατρῶν ἐκρέμασε, τῷ δὲ Φαβρίκιῳ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἄνευ λύτρων ἀπέδωκεν, οὐκ ἐδέξατο δωρεάν ἀλλ' ἵσος ἀντέδωκε, μὴ δόξη λαμβάνειν μισθόν· οὔδε γὰρ χάριτι Πῦρρον μεμηνυκέναι τὴν

1 Λαϊβίνων as in the Life of Pyrrhus, chaps. xiv.-xix., and in many other authors: λαβίνω.

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a Cf. Plutarch's Life of Pyrrhus, chap. xviii. (394 c). The defeat of Laevinus was in 280 B.C.

b Ibid. chap. xx. (395 e).

c Ibid. chap. xx. (396 a).

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the Romans by Pyrrhus, said, "Pyrrhus has defeated Laevinus, but the Epirotes have not defeated the Romans."  

2. When he came to see Pyrrhus about ransoming the prisoners of war, Pyrrhus offered him much money, but he would not accept it. On the following day Pyrrhus made ready his biggest elephant, all unknown to Fabricius, to appear and trumpet suddenly behind his back; and when this plan had been carried out, Fabricius turned and said with a smile, "Neither your money yesterday nor your beast to-day has astounded me."  

3. Pyrrhus urged Fabricius to stay with him and be the second in command, but Fabricius said, "But there is no advantage in this for you; for, if the Epirotes come to know us both, they will prefer to be ruled by me rather than by you."  

4. When Fabricius was consul, Pyrrhus's physician sent a letter to him, offering, if he should give the word, to kill Pyrrhus by poison. Fabricius sent the letter to Pyrrhus, bidding him note the reason why he was the worst possible judge both of friends and of foes.  

5. Pyrrhus, having thus discovered the plot, caused his physician to be hanged, and gave back the prisoners of war to Fabricius without ransom. Fabricius, however, would not accept them as a gift, but gave an equal number in return, lest he should give the impression that he was getting a reward. "For," as he said, "it was not to win favour with

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a In 278 B.C.  
b Cf. Plutarch's Life of Pyrrhus, chap. xxi. (396 b); Cicero, De officiis, i. 13 (40), and iii. 22 (86); Valerius Maximus, vi. 5. 1; Aulus Gellius, iii. 8; Frontinus, Strategemata, iv. 4. 2.
(195) ἐπιβουλήν, ἅλλ' ὅπως μὴ δοκῶσι 'Ῥωμαίοι δόλῳ κτείνειν, ὡς φανέρως νικᾶν οὐ δυνάμενοι.

C

1. Φάβιος Μάξιμος Ἀννίβα μάχεσθαι μὴ βουλόμενος ἀλλὰ τρίβειν χρόνῳ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ χρημάτων ἐνδεῖ καὶ σιτίων οὕσαν, ἐπηκολούθει διὰ τῶν τραχέων καὶ ὀρεινῶν ἀντιπαρεξών καταγελώντων δὲ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ παιδαγωγὸν Ἀννίβα καλοῦντων, μικρὰ φροντίζων ἔχρητο τοὺς αὐτοῦ λογισμοῖς· καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἔλεγεν ὅτι τὸν ἐκφυαύματα φοβούμενον καὶ λοιδορίας δειλότερον ἦγειται τοῦ φεύγοντος τοὺς πολεμίους.

2. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ συνάρχοντος Μινουκίου καταβαλόντος τινὰς τῶν πολεμίων πολὺς ἓν λόγος ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἀξίου τῆς 'Ῥώμης, μᾶλλον ἐφή τὴν εὐτυχίαν ἢ τὴν ἀτυχίαν τοῦ Μινουκίου φοβεῖσθαι. καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἐνέδρα περιπεσόντος καὶ κυνοδυνεῦντος ἀπολέσθαι μετὰ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ δυνάμεως, ἐπιβοηθήσας τῶν τε πολεμίων πολλοὺς διέφθειρε κάκεινον ἐσώσεν ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀννίβας εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, "οὐ πολλάκις ύμῖν προύλεγον ἐγὼ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρῶν νεφέλην ὅτι χειμάσει ποτὲ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς;"

3. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐν Κάνναις ἀτυχίαν τῆς πόλεως ἅρχων κατασταθεῖς μετὰ Κλαυδίου Μαρκέλλου,

1 ἀπὸ] ἐπὶ Life of Fabius Maximus, chap. xii.


b Five times consul; dictator 217 B.C. to conduct the war against Hannibal. From his cautious tactics in this war he was called "Cunctator."

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Pyrrhus that he had disclosed the plot, but that the Romans might not have the repute of killing through treachery, as if they could not win an open victory.  

FABIUS MAXIMUS

1. Fabius Maximus wished to avoid a battle with Hannibal, but, in time, to wear out his force, which was in need of both money and food; and so he followed close after him, taking a parallel route, through rough and mountainous places. When most people laughed at him, and called him a slave in attendance on Hannibal, he paid little attention, and continued to follow his own counsels. To his friends he said that he thought the man who feared gibes and jeers was more of a coward than the one who ran away from the enemy.

2. When his colleague in command, Minucius, laid low some of the enemy, and there was much talk of him as a man worthy of Rome, Fabius said that he felt more afraid over Minucius’s good luck than over any bad luck he might have. And not long after, Minucius fell into an ambush and was in great danger of being destroyed together with his forces, when Fabius came to his aid, slew many of the enemy, and rescued him. Whereupon Hannibal said to his friends, “Did I not often prophesy to you regarding that cloud upon the mountains, that some day it would let loose a storm upon us?”

3. After the misfortune which befell the State at Cannae he was chosen consul with Claudius Mar-

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*a* Cf. Plutarch’s *Life of Fabius Maximus*, chap. v. (177 A); Diodorus, xxvi. 3. 1.

*d* Cf. Plutarch’s *Life of Fabius Maximus*, chaps. viii., xi., and xii. (179 A, 180 D, and 181 c); Livy, xxii. 25.

*e* In 216 B.C.
τόλμαν ἐχοντος ἀνδρός καὶ φιλομαχοῦντος ἄεὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀννίβαν, αὐτὸς ἤλπιζεν, εἰ μηδεὶς μάχοιτο, ταξὶ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ Ἀννίβα παρατεωμένην ἀπαγορεύσειν· ἔλεγεν οὖν δ' Ἀννίβας ἥ τι μᾶλλον φοβεῖται Μαρκέλλου μαχομένου Φάβιον μὴ μαχόμενον.

4. Στρατιώτων δὲ τινῶς Λευκάνοι κατηγορηθέντος πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς νύκτωρ ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου πλανῶσα πολλὰς ἔρων γυναικὸς, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα θαυμαστόν ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς πυθανόμενος εἶναι τὸν ἄνδρα, συλλαβεῖν ἐκέλευσε τὴν ἐρωμένην αὐτοῦ κρύφα καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀγαγεῖν· ὡς δὲ ἤχθη, μετα-
F πεμψάμενος τὸν ἄνθρωπον, "οὔ λέληθας," ἔφη, "παρὰ τὸν νόμον ἀπονυκτερεύων· ἀλλ' οὕδε χρηστὸς ὃν πρότερον ἐλελήθεις· τὰ μὲν οὖν ἡμαρτημένα λελύσθω τοῖς ἡμεραγαθημένοις, τὸ δὲ λουτόν ἑση μεθ' ἡμῶν· ἔχω γὰρ ἐγγυητὴν· καὶ προαγαγῶν συνέστησαν αὐτῷ τὸ γύναιον."

5. Ταραντίνους δὲ κατέχοντα φρουρῆ τὸν Ἀννίβαν πλῆν τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἀπαγαγῶν πορρωτάτω δι' ἀπάτης καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔλων καὶ διαρπάσας, τοῦ γραμματέως ἐπερωτήσαντος τί περὶ τῶν ἔρων ἐγνωκεν ἀγαλμάτων, "ἀπολίπωμεν," ἔφη, "Ταρ.
αντίνοις τοὺς θεοὺς κεχολωμένους."

6. Μάρκου δὲ Λιβίου τοῦ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν φρουροῦντος δι' ἑαυτὸν ἐαλωκέναι τὴν πόλιν λέγοντος, 196 οἰ μὲν ἄλλοι κατεγέλων, δ' δὲ Φάβιος εἶπεν

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* Plutarch's Life of Fabius Maximus, chap. xix. (185 a-c).

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cellus, a man possessed of daring and spoiling for a fight with Hannibal. Fabius hoped, if nobody fought with Hannibal, that Hannibal’s forces, being under continual strain, would soon give out. Wherefore Hannibal said that he had more to fear from Fabius who would not fight than from Marcellus who would.  

4. A certain Lucanian soldier was accused of wandering often from the camp at night for love of a young woman. Fabius, on hearing the accusation, ascertained that in other respects the man was an admirable man-at-arms, and he ordered that they secretly seize the man’s mistress and bring her to him. When she was brought, he sent for the man, and said to him, “Your being away at night, contrary to the regulations, has not passed unnoticed, nor, on the other hand, your good service in the past. Therefore let your offences be atoned for by your brave and manly deeds, and in future you will be with us, for I have a surety.” And leading forward the girl he presented her to him.  

5. Hannibal kept the Tarentines in subjection by a garrison—all the city except the acropolis. Fabius drew him away a very long distance by a trick, and captured and sacked the city. When his secretary asked him what decision he had reached in regard to the sacred images, he said, “Let us leave behind for the Tarentines their angered gods.”  

6. Marcus Livius, who had all the time held the acropolis with his garrison, said that it was because of him that the city had been taken. The others laughed at him, but Fabius said, “You are quite

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* Cf. Plutarch’s *Life of Fabius Maximus*, chap. xxii. (187 A-c); Livy, xxvii. 16.
"άληθη λέγεις: εἰ γὰρ μὴ σὺ τὴν πόλιν ἀπέβαλες, οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ ἀνέλαβον."

7. "Ἡδὴ δὲ πρεσβύτερος ὁν, ὅπατεύοντος τοῦ νίκου καὶ χρηματίζοντος ἐν δημοσίω πολλῶν παράντων, ἀναβάς ἐφ᾽ ἵππου προήει1. πέμψαντος δὲ τού νεανίσκου ῥαβδούχου καὶ καταβήναι κελεύσαντος, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι διετράπησαν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Φάβιος ἀποπηδήσας τοῦ ἵππου προσέδραμε παρ᾽ ἡλικίαν καὶ περιβαλὼν τὸν νίκον, "ἐυγε," εἶπεν, "ὡ παῖ, φρονεῖς, αἰσθόμενος τίνων ἀρχεῖς καὶ πηλίκης ἀρχῆς μέγεθος παρεῖληφας."

ΣΚΙΠΙΩΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ

1. Σκιπίων δὲ ὁ πρεσβύτερος τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν στρατευῶν καὶ τῆς πολιτείας σχολὴν ἐν γράμμαις διατριβὴν ποιούμενον, ἔλεγεν ὅποτε σχολάζοι, πλείονα πράττειν.

2. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Καρχηδόνα κατὰ κράτος εἶλε καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τινες αἰχμαλωτον λαβόντες εὐπρεπὴ παρθένον ἥκον κομιζόντες, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐδίδοσαν, "ἡδέως ἄν," ἐφη, "ἐλαβον, εὔπερ ἦν ἰδιωτῆς καὶ μὴ ἄρχων."

1 [ἵππου προήει] ἵππου προσήει Life of Fabius Maximus, chap. xxiv.; but "obviam in equo vehens venit" (Aulus Gellius, ii. 2) rather favours the reading found in the Moralia.

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a Cf. Plutarch’s Life of Fabius Maximus, chap. xxiii. (187 ε); Cicero, De oratore, ii. 67 (273), and De senectute, 4 (11).
b Cf. Plutarch’s Life of Fabius Maximus, chap. xxiv.
right; for, if you had not lost the city, I should not have recaptured it.”

7. When he was already an elderly man, his son was consul, and was attending to the duties of his office in public in the presence of a large number of people. Fabius, mounted, was advancing on horseback. When the young man sent a lictor, and ordered his father to dismount, the others were thrown into consternation, but Fabius, leaping from his horse, ran up more nimbly than his years warranted, and, embracing his son, said, “Well done, my boy; you show sense in that you realize whose official you are, and what a high office you have taken upon you.”

THE ELDER SCIPIO

1. Scipio the Elder used to spend on literature all the leisure he could win from his military and political duties, and he used to say that he was busiest whenever he had nothing to do.

2. When he captured Carthage by assault, some of his soldiers, having taken captive a comely maiden, came to him with her, and offered to give her to him. “I would gladly take her,” said he, “if I were a private and not a commander.”

(188 a); Livy, xxiv. 44; Valerius Maximus, ii. 2. 4; Aulus Gellius, ii. 2.

Scipio Africanus Major, 235-183 B.C., conqueror of the Carthaginians at Zama.

Cf. Cicero, De officiis, iii. 1 “numquam se minus otiosum esse quam cum otiosus ... esset.”

New Carthage in Spain, 210 B.C.; Polybius, x. 8-19; Livy, xxvii. 7 and xxvi. 42-51.

Cf. Polybius, x. 19; Polyagenus, Strategemata, viii. 16. 6; Livy, xxvi. 50; Valerius Maximus, iv. 3. 1; Frontinus, Strategemata, ii. 11. 5; Aulus Gellius, vii. (vi.) 8.
(196) 3. Πολυροκών δὲ πόλιν Βαθείαν, ἣς ὑπερεφαίνετο ναὸς 'Αφροδίτης, ἐκέλευσεν ἐκεί τὰς ἐγνάσις ὀμολογεῖν, ὡς εἰς τρίτην ἐν τῷ ἔρφῳ τῆς 'Αφροδίτης ἄκουσόμενος τῶν διαδικούντων· καὶ τοῦτ' ἐποίησεν, ὡς προεῖπε, τῆς πόλεως ἀλούσης.

4. Πυνθανομένου δὲ τυὸς ἐν Σικελίᾳ τινὶ πεποιθὼς ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα μέλλει τὸν στόλον περιοῦν, δεῖξας αὐτῷ ἐνόπλους ἀνδρὰς τριακοσίους γυναζομένους καὶ πύργον ὑψηλὸν ὑπὲρ θαλάττης, "οὐδείς," ἐφη, "τούτων ἐστὶν ὡστὶ ἐπὶ τὸν πύργον ἀναβὰς τοῦτον οὐκ ἂν ἐαυτὸν ρίψειεν ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ἔμοι κελεύσαντος."

5. Ἐπεὶ δὲ διαβὰς τῆς τε γῆς ἔκρατει καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα τῶν πολεμίων κατέκαυσεν, οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι πέμψαντες ἐποιοῦντο συνήκας, τὰ τε Θῃρία καὶ τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὰ χρήματα δώσειν ὀμολογήσαντες. Ἀννίβου δὲ καταπλεύσαντος εἰς Ἰταλίας, μετεμέλοντο ταῖς ὀμολογίαις διὰ τὸ θαρρεῖν· πυθόμενος δὲ ὁ Σκυπτίων ἐφη μηδὲ βουλομένους αὐτοῖς ἔτι τὰς σπονδὰς φυλάξειν, ἂν μὴ τάλαντα πεντακισχίλια προσεκτείσωσιν, ὧτι μετεπέμψαντο τὸν Ἀννίβαν.

6. Ἐπεὶ δὲ νυκθήνετες οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι κατὰ κράτος περὶ σπονδῶν καὶ εἰρήνης πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἐκέλευσεν εὐθὺς ἀπείνατο τοὺς ἥκοντας, ὡς οὐκ ἄκουσόμενος πρότερον αὐτῶν ἢ Λεύκιον

1 ταῖς ὀμολογίαις] τῆς ὀμολογίας Petavius, perhaps rightly, although μεταμέλομαι is occasionally found with the dative.

* Baria, attested by inscriptions, is probably the right spelling (variants: Barea, Barcia, Badia, Batheia), if the same town is meant.

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3. While he was besieging the city of Baria, in which was visible a temple of Venus overtopping all else, he ordered that in giving sureties for appearance they should specify that place, since he purposed two days hence to hear litigants in this temple of Venus. And so he did, as he had foretold, after the city had been taken.

4. When somebody inquired in Sicily on what he placed his reliance in purposing to take his army across to Carthage, he pointed out to the inquirer three hundred men in armour, who were drilling, and also a lofty tower which overlooked the sea. "There is not one of these men," said he, "who would not go up to the top of that tower and throw himself down head first at my command."

5. When he had crossed over, and was master of the land, and had burned the enemy's camps, the Carthaginians sent to him and made a treaty of peace, agreeing to surrender their elephants and ships, and to pay an indemnity. But when Hannibal had sailed back from Italy, they were sorry because of their agreement, since they did not now feel afraid. Scipio, learning this, said that, not even if they wished it, would he keep the compact unless they paid a million pounds more, because they had sent for Hannibal.

6. When the Carthaginians had been utterly overthrown, they sent envoys to him to negotiate a treaty of peace, but he ordered those who had come to go away at once, refusing to listen to them before

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b Cf. Valerius Maximus, iii. 7. 1; and Aulus Gellius, vi. 1.

c As in Livy, xxix. 1; Valerius Maximus, vii. 3. 3.

d Polybius, xv. 18, and Livy, xxx. 16, indicate similar terms.

e Not noted in Livy, xxx. 35, nor elsewhere, apparently.
7. Ο δὲ Τερέντιος ἐπηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ θριαμβεύοντι πιλίον ἐξων ὡσπερ ἀπελεύθερος. ἀποθανόντος δὲ τούτου ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκφορὰν παραγινομένοις ἐνέχει πίνειν οίνομελι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα περὶ τὴν ταφήν ἐφιλοτιμήθη. ταύτα μὲν οὖν ὦστερον.

8. Ἀντιόχου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως μετὰ τὸ διαβῆναι 'Ρωμαίους ἐπὶ αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀσίαν πέμψαντος πρὸς Ἐφτὸν Σκιπίωνα περὶ διαλύσεως, "ἐδει πρότερον," εἶπεν, "ἀλλὰ μὴ νῦν, ὅποτε καὶ τὸν χαλινὸν καὶ τὸν ἀναβάτην προσδέδεξαι."

9. Χρήματα δὲ τῆς συγκλήτου λαβεὶν αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ταμιείου ἡψισσαμένης, τῶν δὲ ταμιῶν οὐ βουλομένων ἁνοίξαι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκεῖνης, αὐτὸς ἀνοίξειν ἐφή· καὶ γὰρ κλείσθαι δι’ αὐτὸν πλήσαντα χρημάτων τουσώτων το ταμιείον.

10. Πετιλλίου δὲ καὶ Κοιντοῦ πολλὰ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον αὐτοῦ κατηγορησάντων, εἰπὼν ὅτι τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ Καρχηδονίως καὶ Ἀννίβαν ἐνίκησεν· αὐτὸς μὲν ἐφῇ στεφανωσάμενος ἀναβαίνειν εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον θύσων, τὸν δὲ βουλόμενον τὴν

1 αὐτὸν Hatzidakis: αὐτὸν.
2 ταμείου the better spelling: ταμείου.
3 Πετιλλίου the usual spelling: πατιλλίου.

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* Cf. Livy, xxx. 43.
* Cf. Livy, xxx. 45; Valerius Maximus, v. 2. 5.
* Cf. Livy, xxxviii. 55.
* Antiochus the Great.
they brought Lucius Terentius. This Terentius was a Roman, a man of good talents, who had been taken prisoner by the Carthaginians. And when they came bringing the man, Scipio seated him on the tribune next to himself in the conference, and, this done, he took up the negotiations with the Carthaginians, and terminated the war.  

7. Terentius marched behind him in the triumphal procession, wearing a felt cap just like an emancipated slave. And when Scipio died, Terentius provided wine with honey for all who attended the funeral to drink their fill, and did everything else connected with his burial on a grand scale. But this, of course, was later.  

8. Antiochus the king, after the Romans had crossed over to attack him, sent to Scipio to ask about terms of peace. "This should have been done before," said Scipio, "but not now, when you have taken the bit and the rider is in the saddle."  

9. The Senate voted that he should receive a sum of money from the treasury, but the treasurers were not willing to open it on that day; whereupon he said that he would open it himself, for the reason it was kept closed, he declared, was because he had filled it with so much money.  

10. When Petillius and Quintus brought before the people many accusations against him, he remarked that on this very day he had conquered the Carthaginians and Hannibal, and he said that he himself, with a garland on, was on his way up to the Capitol to offer sacrifice, and he bade anyone who so  

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"Cf. Polybius, xxxvi. 36; Appian, Roman History, the Syrian Wars, vi. 29.

"Cf. Polybius, xxxiii. 14; and Valerius Maximus, iii. 7. 1."
There are many references to this incident. Cf. Moralia, 540 f.; Plutarch’s Life of Cato Major, chap. xv. (344 b), Polybius, xxii. 14; Livy, xxxviii. 50-51; Aulus Gellius, iv. 18. See also the note on the similar action of Epameinondas, Moralia, 194 b, supra.

b T. Quintius Flamininus, conqueror of Philip V. of Macedon at Cynoscephalae in 197 b.c.

c That is, without passing through the regular “cursus honorum.” Cf. Plutarch’s Life of Flamininus, chap. ii. (369 c).

d Cf. Plutarch’s Life of Flamininus, chap. xvii. (378 d); Polybius, xviii. 7.
wished to give in his vote about him. With these words he went his way, and the people followed after, leaving behind his accusers still speaking.\(^a\)

**TITUS QUINTIUS\(^b\)**

1. Titus Quintius, from the very first, was a man of such conspicuous talent that he was chosen consul without having been tribune, praetor, or aedile.\(^c\) He was sent in command of the army against Philip, and was prevailed upon to meet him in conference. Philip insisted that he ought to receive some Romans as a guarantee of his safety, since Quintius was accompanied by many of his countrymen and he all alone represented the Macedonians. "The truth is," said Quintius, "that it is you who have made yourself all alone by putting to death your friends and kindred."\(^d\)

2. Having vanquished Philip in battle,\(^e\) he proclaimed at the Isthmian games that henceforth he left the Greeks free and independent.\(^f\) Whereupon, all the Romans who had been taken captive in the days of Hannibal and were the slaves of Greek masters the Greeks purchased from their owners at twenty pounds for each man, and gave them as a present to Quintius; and these followed him in his triumphal procession wearing felt caps on their heads as is the custom for slaves that have been emancipated.\(^g\)

\(^a\) At Cynoscephalae in 197 B.C.: see Plutarch's *Life of Flamininus*, chap. viii. (3' 2 f); Polybius, xviii. 20-27; Livy, xxxiii. 7-10.

\(^b\) Cf. Plutarch's *Life of Flamininus*, chap. x. (374 d); Livy, xxxiii. 32.

\(^c\) Cf. Plutarch's *Life of Flamininus*, chap. xiii. (376 f); Livy, xxxiv. 52; Valerius Maximus, v. 2. 6.
3. Τοὺς δ' Ἀχαιοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν Ζακυνθίων νῆσον διανοομένους στρατεύειν ἐκέλευεν φυλάττεσθαι, μὴ C καθάπερ αἱ χελώναι τὴν κεφαλὴν προτείναντες ἐξω τῆς Πελοποινῆσος κινδυνεύσωσιν.

4. 'Αντιόχου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως ἡκοντος εἰς τὴν 'Ελλάδα καὶ πάντων ἐκπεπληγμένων τὰ πλήθη καὶ τοὺς ὀπλισμοὺς, λόγον ἐπὶ τοιούτον πρὸς τοὺς 'Αχαιοὺς· ἔφη γὰρ ἐν Χαλκίδι παρὰ τῷ ξένῳ δευτερόν θαυμάζειν τὸ τῶν κρεών πλῆθος· εἰπεῖ δὲ τὸν ξένον ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα χορεία ἐστιν ἡδύσμασι καὶ σκευασίας διαφέροντα. "μὴ τούτων μηδὲ ὑμεῖς," ἔφη, "θαυμάζετε τὴν βασιλικὴν δύναμιν, λογχοφόρους καὶ D καταφράκτους καὶ πεζεταίρους καὶ ἀμφιπποτοξότας ἀκούοντες· πάντες γὰρ εἰσὶν οὗτοι Σύροι ὀπλαῖοι ἄλληλων διαφέροντες."

5. Φιλοποίμενον δὲ τῷ στρατηγῷ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐπείσει μὲν πολλοὺς καὶ ὀπλίτας ἔχοντες, χρημάτων δὲ οὐκ εὑποροῦντι, προσπαίζων ἔλεγεν ὅτι χεῖρας ἔχει Φιλοποίμην καὶ σκέλη, γαστέρα δὲ οὐκ ἔχει. καὶ γὰρ τῇ φύσει τοῦ σώματος ἑν καὶ ὁ Φιλοποίμης τοιοῦτος.

ΓΝΑΙΟΣ ΔΟΜΙΤΙΟΤ

Γνάιος² Δομίτιος, οὐν Σκιτίων ὁ μέγας ἀνθ᾽ ἐαυτοῦ τῷ ἀδελφῷ Λευκῷ παρακατέστησεν ἐν τῷ πρὸς 'Αντιόχου πολέμῳ, κατασκεύασµεν τὴν τῶν Εὐολεμίων φάλαγγα, καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν ἠγεμονιζότας. ¹ καὶ] omitted in the mss.

² Γνάιος Meziriacus: γάιός.

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¹ Cf. Plutarch's *Life of Flamininus*, chap. xvii. (378 d); Livy, xxxvi. 32.

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3. When the Achaeans were minded to send an army against the island of the Zacynthians, he bade them beware lest, if they extended their head, tortoise-like, outside of the Peloponnesus they should find themselves in danger.\textsuperscript{a}

4. When Antiochus the king, with a great force, arrived in Greece, and all were terror-stricken at the great numbers of the men and their armament, Flamininus told a story for the benefit of the Achaeans as follows: He said he was in Chalcis dining with a friend, and was amazed at the great number of the meats served. But his friend said that these were all pork, differing only in their seasoning and the way they were cooked. "So then," he said, "do not you, either, be amazed at the king's forces when you hear the names: 'pikemen,' 'panopled,' 'foot-guards,' 'archers with two horses.' For all these are but Syrians differing from one another only in their paraphernalia."\textsuperscript{b}

5. He made a joke at the expense of Philopoemen, general of the Achaeans, who had plenty of horsemen and men-at-arms, but was not well off for money; Quintius said that Philopoemen had arms and legs but no belly. As a matter of fact, Philopoemen, in physical appearance, was something like this.\textsuperscript{c}

**GNÆUS DOMITIUS**\textsuperscript{d}

Gnaeus Domitius, whom Scipio the Great appointed in his stead as a colleague for his brother Lucius in the war against Antiochus, when he had inspected the battle-line of the enemy, and the officers of his

\textsuperscript{b} Cf. Plutarch's *Life of Flamininus*, chap. xvii. (378 ε); Livy, xxxv. 49.

\textsuperscript{c} Cf. Plutarch's *Life of Philopoemen*, chap. ii. (357 Α).

\textsuperscript{d} Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, consul 192 B.C.
κὼν εὐθὺς ἐπιχειρεῖν κελεύντων, ἐφ’ τὴν ἁραν οὐκ ἔπαρκεῖν, ἵνα τοσαύτας μυριάδας κατακόψαντες καὶ διαρράσαντες τὴν ἄποσκευὴν ἐπανελθόντες εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐαυτῶν ἐπιμεληθῶσι, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ ποιήσειν αὐριον καθ’ ἁραν. καὶ συμβαλῶν τῇ ύστεραιᾷ πεντακισμυρίους τῶν πολεμίων ἀνείλεν.

ΠΟΠΛΙΟΙ ΛΙΚΙΝΙΟΙ

Πόπλιος Λικίνιος ὑπάτος στρατηγός, ἥττηθεὶς ὑπὸ Περσέως τοῦ Μακεδόνων βασιλέως ὑπομαχίᾳ, δισχίλιους ὡκτακοσίους ἀπέβαλε, τοὺς μὲν πεσόντας τοὺς δὲ ἀλόντας. ἐπεὶ δὲ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐπέμψεν ὁ Περσεὺς πρέσβεις περὶ σπονδῶν καὶ εἰρήνης, ἐκέλευν δὲ νευκημένος τῶν νευκηκότα ‘Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιτρέπειν τὰ καθ’ αὐτὸν.

ΠΑΤΛΟΥ ΑΙΜΙΛΙΟΤ

1. Παῦλος Αἰμιλίος δευτέραν ὑπατεῖαν μετέλθων ἀπέτυχεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ πρὸς Περσέα καὶ Μακεδόνας πολέμου μῆκος λαμβάνοντος ἀπειρία καὶ μαλακία τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἐκεῖνον ὑπατον ἀπέδειξαν, οὐκ ἔφη χάριν ἔχειν αὐτοῖς· οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἄρχης δεόμενος, ὡς ἐκεῖνων ἄρχοντος, ἡρῆσθαι στρατηγός.

2. Ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς οἶκον εἶξ ἁγοράς καὶ τὴν Τερτιάν τὸ θυγάτριον εὐρίων δεδακρυμένον ἐπυνθάνετο τῆς αἰτίας καὶ τούτων εἰπούσης δὲ ὅτι Περσεὺς τεθνηκεν.

— Cf. Appian, Roman History, the Syrian Wars, vi. 30-36; Livy, xxxviii. 39.
— Ἐ. Licinius Crassus, praetor 176, consul 171 B.C.
— Cf. Polybius, xxvii. 8; Livy, xlii. 62.
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staff urged him to attack at once, said that there was not time enough to hew down so many thousands, plunder their baggage, return to camp, and enjoy their usual comforts; but all this they would do on the morrow at the right time. And on the next day he engaged the enemy, and slew fifty thousand of them.\(^a\)

**PUBLIUS LICINIUS\(^b\)**

Publius Licinius, consul in command of the army, was defeated by Perseus, king of the Macedonians, in a cavalry battle, with the loss of two thousand eight hundred men killed or captured. After the battle, when Perseus sent envoys regarding a treaty of peace, the vanquished bade the victor submit his case to the Romans.\(^c\)

**PAULUS AEMILIUS\(^d\)**

1. Paulus Aemilius, when he was a candidate for a second term as consul, failed of election. But when the war against Perseus and the Macedonians dragged on because of the inexperience and effeminacy of the generals, the people appointed him consul. But he said he owed no thanks to them; for it was not because he wanted office, but because they wanted an officer, that he was chosen general.\(^e\)

2. Coming home from the Forum and finding Tertia, his little daughter, in tears, he asked the reason. And she said, “Our Perseus is dead.”

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\(a\) L. Aemilius Paulus (Macedonicus), a famous Roman general, conqueror of Perseus at Pydna in 168 B.C.; consul 182 and 168 B.C.

PLUTARCH’S MORALIA

(198) ἡμῶν (κυνίδιον δ’ ἦν οὕτως ὅνωμαζόμενον), “ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ,” εἶπεν, “ὁ θύγατερ, καὶ δέχομαι τὸν οἰόνον.”

3. Εὐρών δὲ ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου πολλὴν θρασύτητα καὶ λαλιᾶν παραστρατηγοῦντων καὶ πολυπραγμονοῦντων ἐκέλευσεν ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν καὶ ποιεῖν ὀξείας τὰς μαχαίρας μόνον, αὐτῷ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων μελήσειν.

4. Τὰς δὲ νυκτερινὰς φυλακὰς ἐκέλευσεν φυλάττειν ἄνευ λόγχης καὶ ξίφους, ὅπως ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπεγνωκότες μᾶλλον καὶ διαμαχοῦνται πρὸς τὸν ὑπνόν.

5. Ἑμβαλὼν δὲ διὰ τῶν ἀκρών εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ συντεταγμένους ἱδὼν τοὺς πολεμίους, τοῦ Β Νασικᾶ παρακαλοῦντος αὐτὸν εὐθὺς ἐπιχειρεῖν “εἶγε τὴν σήν,” εἶπεν, “ἡλικίαν εἶχον, αἱ δὲ πολλαὶ μὲ πείραν κωλύουσιν ἐκ πορείας πρὸς φάλαγγα συντεταγμένην μάχεσθαι.”

6. Νικήσας δὲ τὸν Περσέα καὶ τὰς ἐπινικίους ποιούμενος ἐστιάσεις ἐλεγε τῆς αὐτῆς ἐμπειρίας εἶναι στράτευμα φοβερώτατον πολεμίου καὶ συμπόσιον ἠδοτον φίλους παρασχεῖν.


1 παρακρονομένου] παραιτούμενος Life of Aemilius Paulus, chap. xxxiv.

a Cf. Plutarch’s Life of Aemilius Paulus, chap. x. (260 b), quoted from Cicero, De divinatione, i. 46 (103); see too Valerius Maximus, i. 5. 3.

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was a pet dog which had that name.)  "Good luck be with me, my girl," said he; "I accept the omen."a

3. Finding at camp much boldness and talk on the part of would-be generals and meddlers, he told them to keep quiet, and only sharpen their swords, and he would attend to everything else.b

4. He gave orders that the sentinels at night should stand guard without spear or sword, so that, with no hope of defending themselves against the enemy, they might better contend against sleep.c

5. Having invaded Macedonia by way of the mountains, and seeing the enemy standing in battle array, he said, in answer to Nasica's urgings to attack at once, "Oh yes, if I were of your age; but much experience forbids me to fight, immediately after a march, against an army standing in battle array."d

6. Having vanquished Perseus, he said, as he was carrying out the entertainments to celebrate the victory, that it was a part of the same proficiency to provide an army most terrifying to an enemy and a party most agreeable to friends.e

7. Perseus, having been made a prisoner, indignantly spurned the thought of being made a part of his victor's triumph. "That rests with you," said Aemilius, thereby giving him leave to make away with himself.f

a Cf. Plutarch's Life of Aemilius Paulus, chap. xiii. (261 π), and chap. xi. (260 π); Livy, xlv. 22 and 34.

b Cf. Plutarch's Life of Aemilius Paulus, chap. xiii. (262 Α); Livy, xlv. 33, says "without shield."


e Ibid. chap. xxviii. (270 π); Moralia, 615 e. Cf. Stobaeus, Florilegium, xviii. 22.

8. Χρημάτων δὲ ἀπειρων εὑρεθέντων, αὐτὸς μὲν Κόλοκ ἔλαβε, τῷ δὲ γαμβρῷ Τουμερώνιν φιάλην ἀργυρὰν ὀλκῆς πέντε λιτρῶν ἀριστείον ἔδωκε. καὶ τούτῳ φασὶ πρῶτον εἰς τὸν Ἀιλίων ὀίκον εἰσ-ελθεῖν κεμύηλιον ἀργυρῶν.

9. Τεττάρων δὲ παύδων ἀρρένων αὐτῶ γεγο- νότων, δύο μὲν πρότερον ἐτύγχανεν ἐκδεδωκώς ἑτέρους θέσθαι· δυνὼν δὲ οὗτων ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας ὁ μὲν ἡμέραις πέντε πρὸ τοῦ θριάμβου, τετταρεσ- καίδεκα γεγονός ἔτη, ἀπέθανεν, ὁ δὲ ύπερον πέντε τοῦ θριάμβου, δεδεκαέτης. προελθὼν δὲ, τοῦ δήμου συναλγοῦντος αὐτῷ καὶ συμπενθοῦντος, νὸν ἔφη περὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἀδελφος γεγονέναι καὶ ἀκίνδυνος, ὅποτε τῶν εὐτυχισμάτων τὴν νέμεσιν εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἀπερεισμένης τῆς τύχης ὑπὲρ πάντων αὐτὸς ἀναδεδεκταί.

ΚΑΤΩΝΟΣ ΤΟΤ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΤ

1. Κάτων ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τῆς ἀσωτίας καὶ πολυτελείας καθαπτόμενος ἐπεν ὡς χαλεπῶν ἐστὶ λέγειν πρὸς γαστέρα ὁτα μὴ ἔχουσαν.

2. Θαυμάζειν δὲ πῶς σώζεται πόλις, ἐν ᾗ πο- λεῖται πλεῖνοις ἱχθὺς Ἦ βοῦς.

3. Λοιπόν δὲ ποτὲ τὴν ἐπιπολάζουσαν γυναικο- κρατίαν, "πάντες," ἐπεν, "ἀνθρωποι τῶν γυναικῶν

1 Ἀιλίων Life of Aemilius Paulus, chap. xxviii.: αἰμαλίων.
8. Of the unlimited treasure which was found he took nothing himself, but to his son-in-law Tubero a he gave a silver goblet of five pounds weight in recognition of his supreme valour. And this, they say, is the first silver heirloom that ever found its way into the Aelian house. b

9. Of the four male children that were born to him, two he happened to have given to others for adoption. c Of the two that were at home one died five days before his triumph, at the age of fourteen, and the other five days after the triumph, at the age of twelve. When he went forth, and the people expressed their compassion and sympathy, he said that now he had no fears or misgivings about his country, since Fortune had thrust upon his house the retribution due for all their good fortune, and he had received this in behalf of all. d

CATO THE ELDER e

1. The Elder Cato, in assailing the profligacy and extravagance rife among the people, said that it was hard to talk to a belly which had no ears. f

2. He said he wondered how a city could continue to exist unscathed in which a fish sold for more than an ox! g

3. In bitter criticism of the prevalent domination of women, he said, "All mankind rules its women, consolatio, 13; Valerius Maximus, v. 10. 2; Velleius Paterculus, i. 10. Cicero refers briefly to Aemilius's fortitude (De amicit. 2 (9); Tusc. Disput. iii. 28 (70); Letters, iv. 6).


* M. Porcius Cato, the Elder, commonly called the Censor, 234-149 B.C.

** Ibid. and Moralia, 668 b.
(198) ἀρχοῦσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἡμῶν δὲ αἱ γυναῖκες."

Ε 4. "Εφη δὲ βουλέσθαι μᾶλλον εὐεργετήσας μὴ κομίσασθαι χάριν ἡ μὴ ὑποσχεῖν κόλασιν ἀδικήσας, καὶ πάσιν ἀεὶ τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσι χωρίς ἑαυτοῦ δοῦναι συγγνώμην.

5. Παρορμῶν δὲ τοὺς ἀρχοντας ἐπιτημαῖν τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσι ἐλέγε τοὺς δυναμένους κωλύειν τοὺς κακῶς ποιοῦντας, εὰν μὴ κωλύσωι, κελεύειν.

6. Τῶν δὲ νέων ἔφη χαίρειν τοῖς ἐρυθρίωσι μᾶλλον ἡ τοῖς ὠχρώσι.

7. Στρατιώτην δὲ μισεῖν, ὅσ ἐν τῷ περιπατεῖν τὰς χεῖρας, ἐν δὲ τῷ μάχεσθαι τοὺς πόδας κυνεί, ἰέγχει δὲ μείζον ἡ ἀλαλάζει.

Ε 8. Κάκιστον δὲ ἐλεγεν ἀρχοντα εἶναι τὸν ἀρχεῖν ἑαυτοῦ μὴ δυνάμενον.

9. Μάλιστα δὲ ἐνόμιζε δεῖν ἐκαστὸν ἑαυτὸν αἰδεύοντες μηδένα γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ μηδέποτε χωρίς εἶναι.

10. Πολλῶν δὲ ὅρων ἀνισταμένους ἀνδριάντας,

ΕΠΟΔΩΣ,

" ἐμοὶ δὲ," ἔφη, " ἐρωτάν βουλομαι μᾶλλον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, διὰ τὶ ἀνδρίας οὐ κεῖται Κάτωνος ἡ διὰ τὶ κεῖται."

11. Φείδεσθαι δὲ τῆς ἐξουσίας παρεκάλει τοὺς δυνάμενος, ὅπως ἀεὶ παραμένοι τὸ ἐξείναι.

12. Τοὺς δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῆς τιμῆς ἀφαιροῦντας ἐλέγε τῆν ἀρετῆς ἀφαιρεῖν τῆς νεότητος.

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a See the note on Moralia, 185 ι (10), supra.


c Cf. the somewhat similar sentiment attributed to Pythagoras in Stobaeus, Florilegium, xlviii. 112.


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and we rule all mankind, but our women rule us."  

4. He said that he preferred to receive no thanks when he had done a favour rather than to suffer no punishment when he had done a wrong, and that he always granted pardon to all who erred, with the single exception of himself. 

5. In trying to stimulate the officials to administer sharp rebuke to the erring, he used to say that, if those who have the power to discourage crime do not discourage it, then they encourage it. 

6. He said that it gave him more joy to see those of the youth that blushed than those that blanched. 

7. He said that he hated a soldier who plied his hands in marching and his feet in fighting, and whose snore was louder than his battle-cry. 

8. He said that the worst ruler is one who cannot rule himself. 

9. He thought it especially necessary for every man to respect himself, since no man is ever separated from himself. 

10. Seeing that statues were being set up in honour of many men, he said, "As for myself, I had rather that men should ask why there is not a statue of Cato than why there is." 

11. He charged those in power to be sparing of their authority, so that authority might continue always to be theirs. 

12. He used to say that those who rob virtue of honour rob youth of virtue.

\* Life of M. Cato, ibid. 
\* Cf. Moralia, 210 r (33), infra. 
13. Τὸν δὲ ἀρχοντα ἥ κριτὴν ἐλεγε δεῖν μήτε ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων λιπαρεῖσθαι μήτε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδίκων ἐκλιπαρεῖσθαι.

14. Τὴν δὲ ἀδικίαν ἐλεγε, τοῖς ἀδικοῦσι κἂν¹ μὴ φέρῃ κίνδυνον, ἀπασὶ φέρειν.

15. Τῷ δὲ γήρᾳ πολλῶν αἰσχρῶν παρόντων ἥξιον μὴ προστιθέναι τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς κακίας αἰσχύνην.

16. Τὸν δὲ ὅργιόμενον ἐνόμιζε τοῦ μανωμένου χρόνῳ διαφέρειν.

17. "Ἡκιστα δὲ φιλονεῖσθαι τοὺς τῇ τύχῃ χρωμένους ἑπιεικῶς καὶ μετρίως· οὐ γὰρ ἦμιν ἀλλὰ τοῖς περὶ ἣμᾶς φθονοῦσι.

18. Τοὺς δὲ σπουδάζοντας ἐν τοῖς γελοίοις ἐλεγεν ἐν τοῖς σπουδαίοις ἐσεθαι καταγελάστους.

19. Τὰς καλὰς πράξεις ἐλεγε δεῖν καταλαμβάνειν πράξεις καλαῖς, ἢν μὴ τῆς δόξης ἀπορρέωσιν.

20. 'Επετίμα δὲ τοῖς πολίταις ἀεὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς Β αἱρουμένως ἀρχοντας: "δόξετε γάρ," εἶπεν, "μὴ πολλοῦ τὸ ἀρχεῖν ἄξιον ἢ μὴ πολλοῦ τοῦ ἀρχεῖν ἄξιος ἠγείσθαι."

21. Τὸν δὲ τοὺς παραλίους ἀγροὺς πεπρακότα προσεποιεῖτο θαυμάζειν ὡς ἵσχυρότερον τῆς θαλάττης. "α γὰρ ἐκείνη μόλις ἐπικλύζει, οὕτως ῥαδίως καταπέπωκε."

22. Τιμητεῖαν δὲ μετιῶν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὅρων ἰδούν δεομένους τῶν πολλῶν καὶ κολακεύοντας, αὐτὸς

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¹ ἀδικοῦσι κἂν] ἀδικουσιν ἀν E. Kurtz.

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a Cf. Moralia, 784 ι and 829 ι; and Plutarch's Life of M. Cato, chap. ix. (341 d).
b Cf. Horace, Epistles, i. 2. 62; Seneca, De ira, i. 1. 2.
13. An official or a judge, he said, ought neither to require importuning to grant what is right nor to yield to importuning to grant what is wrong.

14. Wrongdoing, he used to say, even if it brings no risk to its authors, brings risk to all.

15. He used to say that, since there are so many odious things connected with old age, it is only right not to add the odium which comes from vice.\(^a\)

16. He had an idea that the man who has lost his temper differs from him who has lost his mind only in duration of time.\(^b\)

17. He said that those who use their good fortune reasonably and moderately are least envied; for people envy not us but our surroundings.

18. He used to say that those who are serious in ridiculous matters will be ridiculous in serious matters.

19. He used to say that it is necessary to make good deeds secure by means of good deeds, so that they may not fall off in their repute.

20. He used to rebuke the citizens for electing always the same men to office. "For," said he, "you will give the impression that you hold office to be of no great worth, or else that you hold not many men to be worthy of office."\(^c\)

21. He pretended to be amazed at the man who had sold his lands bordering on the sea as being himself stronger than the sea. "For," said he, "what the sea only laps, this man has easily drunk up."\(^d\)

22. When he was a candidate for the censorship, and saw the other candidates soliciting the populace and flattering them, he himself cried out that the

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\(^a\) Cf. Plutarch's *Life of M. Cato*, chap. viii. (340 \(d\)).

\(^b\) Ibid.

\(^c\) Ibid.
(199) ἐβοά τὸν δήμον ἀποτόμου χρείαν ἔχειν ἰατροῦ καὶ μεγάλου καθαρμοῦ· δεῖν οὖν μὴ τὸν ἥδιστον, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀπαραίτητον αἱρεῖσθαι. καὶ ταῦτα λέγων ἦρεθ ἐπὶ πάντων.

23. Διδάσκων δὲ τοὺς νέους εὐθαρσῶς μάχεσθαι, οὐκ ἐλεγε τοῦ ξύφους τὸν λόγον μᾶλλον καὶ τὴν φωνὴν τῆς χειρὸς τρέπειν καὶ καταπλήττειν τοὺς πολεμίους.

24. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολεμῶν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Βαύτων ποταμὸν οἰκοδοῦν εἰς κύδωνον ὑπὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων κατέστη, τῶν μὲν Κελτιβήρων ἐπὶ διακοσίως ταλάντοις βουλομένως βοήθειν, τῶν δὲ Ρωμαίων οὐκ ἐώντων ὁμολογεῖν μισθὸν ἀνθρώ- ποις βαρβάροις, ἀμαρτάνειν ἐφησεν αὐτούς· νικών- τας μὲν γὰρ ἀποδόσειν οὐ παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ήττωμένων δὲ, μήτε τοὺς ἄπητη- μένους μήτε τοὺς ἀπαιτοῦντας ἔσεσθαι.

25. Πλείονας δὲ πόλεις ἐλὼν, ὡς φησι, τῶν ἡμερῶν ἂς διέτριψεν ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις, οὐδὲν αὐτὸς πλέον ἐλαβεν· ὅπω ἐφαγε καὶ ἐπιειν ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας.

26. Τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν ἐκάστῳ λίτραν ἀργύρου διανείμας φησι βέλτιον εἶναι πολλοὺς ἐχοντας ἀργύριον ἃ ὀλίγοις χρυσίον ἀπὸ τῆς στρατείας ἐπανελθεῖν· τῶν γὰρ ἀρχόντων οὐδὲν ἄλλο δεῖν ἐν ταῖς ἐπαρχίαις ἡ τὴν δόξαν αὐξάνεσθαι.

27. Πέντε δὲ οἰκέτας εἰχεν ἐπὶ τῆς στρατείας.

1 αὐτῶν as in the Life of M. Cato, chap. x.: αὐτῶν.
2 ἄπητημένους ἀπαιτούμενος, ibid.
3 ἔλαβεν Wytenbach: λαβεῖν.
people had need of a stern physician and a thorough cleansing; they must choose not the most agreeable but the most inexorable man. As a result of his words he was the first choice of the electors.\(^a\)

23. In instructing the young men to fight boldly, he said that oftentimes talk is better than the sword and the voice better than the hand to rout and bewilder the enemy.\(^b\)

24. When he was waging war against the peoples living by the river Baetis,\(^c\) he was put in great peril by the vast numbers of the enemy. The Celtiberians were ready and willing to come to his aid for forty thousand pounds, but the other Romans were against agreeing to pay barbarian men. Cato said they were all wrong; for if they were victorious, the payment would come not from themselves, but from the enemy; and if they were vanquished there would be no debtors and no creditors.\(^d\)

25. He captured cities more in number, as he says, than the days he spent among the enemy, yet he himself took nothing from the enemy’s country beyond what he ate and drank.\(^e\)

26. He distributed to each soldier a pound of silver, saying it was better that many should return from the campaign with silver than a few with gold. For the officials, he said, ought to accept no other increase in the provinces except the increase of their repute.\(^f\)

27. He had five persons to wait upon him in the

\(^a\) Cf. Plutarch’s Life of M. Cato, chap. xvi. (345 d).
\(^b\) Ibid. chap. i. (336 e); cf. also Plutarch’s Life of Coriolanus, chap. viii. (216 f); Life of M. Cato, chap. x. (241 f).
\(^c\) In 195 B.C. in Spain.
\(^d\) Cf. Plutarch’s Life of M. Cato, chap. x. (341 f).
\(^e\) Ibid. chap. x. (342 a).
\(^f\) Ibid.
(199) δὲν εἰς αἰχμάλωτα σώματα τρία πριάμινος, ὡς οὐκ ἔλαθε τὸν Κάτωνα, πρὶν εἰς ὅψιν ἔλθειν, ἀπήγγειλεν.

Ε 28. Παρακληθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ Σκιτίωνος Ἀφρικανοῦ τοὺς Ἀχαιῶν συλλαβέσθαι φυγάσων, ὅπως εἰς τὰς πατρίδας κατέλθωσιν, προσεποιήτο μηδὲν αὐτῶι μέλεων τὸν πράγματος· ἐν δὲ τῇ συγκλήτῳ πολλῶι γυνομένων λόγων ἀναστά, "ὡστερ οὐκ ἔχοντες," εἶπεν, "ἢ πράττωμεν, καθήμεθα περὶ Γραικῶι γεροντῶι ζητοῦντες πότερον ὑπὸ τῶν παρ' ἦμιν ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκεῖ νεκροφόρων ἐξενεχθῶσιν."

29. Ποστομιμοῦ δὲ Ἀλβίνου γράφαμετο ἱστορίας Ἐλληνιστὶ καὶ συγγνώμην παρὰ τῶν ἀκροσιμῶν Θ αἰτοῦντος, εἰρωνεύομενος δὲ Κάτων ἐφα δοτέον εἶναι συγγνώμην, εἰ τῶν Ἀμφικτυώνων ἄριστα-μένων ἄναγκασθεὶς ἐγραψεν.

ΣΚΙΠΙΩΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΟΥ

1. Σκιτίωνα τὸν νεώτερον λέγονσιν ἔτεσι πεντῆ-κοντα καὶ τέπταρας, οἱς ἐβίωσε, μηδὲν πρίασθαι μηδὲν ἀποδόσθαι μηδὲν οἰκοδομήσαν, λίτρας δὲ ἀργύρου τρεῖς καὶ τρίακοντα μόνας ἐν οὐσίᾳ μεγάλῃ δύο δὲ χρυσοῦ καταλιπεῖν καὶ ταῦτα Καρχηδόνος κύριον οὖντα καὶ μάλιστα τῶν στρατη-γῶν πλούτισαν τοὺς στρατιώτας.

2. Τὸ δὲ Πολυβίου παράγγελμα διαφυλάττων

1 Αλβίνου Xylander, from the Life of Cato, chap. xii.: λαβεῖνου.
campaign, one of whom bought three of the captives. But when he discovered that Cato knew of it, he did not wait to come before his master, but hanged himself.\(^a\)

28. He was urged by Scipio Africanus to lend his influence to help the banished AchaeanIs to return to their homes, but he made as though he cared nothing about the matter; in the Senate, however, where the subject aroused much discussion, he arose and said, "We sit here as if we had nothing to do, debating about some poor old Greeks whether they shall be carried to their graves by bearers who live in our country or in Greece." \(^b\)

29. Postumius Albinus wrote a history in the Greek language, in which he craved the indulgence of his readers. Cato said sarcastically that he ought to be granted indulgence if he had written the book under compulsion by a decree of the Ampictyonic Council! \(^c\)

**SCIPIO THE YOUNGER  \(^d\)**

1. The Younger Scipio, they say, in the fifty-four years of his life bought nothing, sold nothing, built nothing, and left only thirty-three pounds of silver and two of gold in a great estate. So little he left, in spite of the fact that he was master of Carthage, and was the one among the generals who had made his soldiers richest.\(^e\)

2. He observed the precept of Polybius, and tried by Plutarch (No. 28 in the catalogue of Lamprias; see also the *Life of Tib. Gracchus*, chap. xxi. 834 d, and *Life of C. Gracchus*, chap. x. 839 c); and without doubt many of the sayings found here were incorporated in it. \(^e\) Cf. Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xi. 9; Polybius, xviii. 35; Pliny, *Natural History*, xxxiii. 50 (141).
3. 'Ετι δὲ νέος ὧν τοσαύτην εἶχε δόξαν ἀνδρείας καὶ συνέσεως ὡστε Κάτωνα μὲν τὸν πρεσβύτερον εἶπείν ἐρωτηθέντα περὶ τῶν ἐν Καρχηδόνι στρατευομένων, ἐν οἷς καὶ Σκιπίων ἦν,
οἱς πέπνυται, τοι δὲ σκιαὶ αἰώσουσιν.

4. Εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἄρμην ἐλθόντος ἀπὸ στρατείας, ἐκάλουν αὐτὸν, οὐκ ἐκείνω χαριζόμενοι, ἀλλὰ ὡς Καρχηδόνα δι᾽ ἐκείνου ταχύ καὶ βαδίως ληφόμενοι.

5. 'Επεὶ δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς τὸ τείχος, τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας ἀμυνομένων ῥόμη, συνείδε ἡ τὴν διὰ μέσον θάλατταν οὐ πάνυ βαθείαν οὖσαν τοῦ Πολυβίου συμβουλεύοντος αὐτῷ κατασπέραι τριβόλους συνήροις ἡ σανίδας ἐμβάλλειν κεντρωτάς, Ἡ ὃπως μὴ διαβαίνοντες οἱ πολέμιοι προσμάχωνται τοῖς χώμασι, ἐφ' ἡ γελοῖον εἴναι κατειληφότας τὰ τείχα καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐντὸς ὄντας εἴτα πράττεων ὃπως οὐ μαχοῦνται τοῖς πολέμιοις.

6. Εὐρών δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἀνδριάντων Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ ἀναθημάτων ἀπὸ Σικελίας μεστήν οὖσαν, ἕκη-

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1 ἀπὸ στρατείας ἐπὶ υπατείαν Wyttenbach.

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*a* Cf. Moralia, 659 e. Aelian, Varia Historia, xiv. 38, speaks of the advice as given by Epameinondas to Pelopidas, possibly confusing the two Scipios, and the two Lives (of Epameinondas and the elder Scipio)!

*b* Cf. Moralia, 805 λ; Plutarch’s Life of M. Cato, chap. xxvii. (352 e); Livy, Epitome of Book xlix. It may be 186
never to leave the Forum before he had in some way made an acquaintance and friend of somebody among those who spoke with him.\(^a\)

3. While he was still a young man he had such repute for bravery and sagacity that when Cato the Elder was asked about the men in the army at Carthage, of whom Scipio was one, he said,

He, and he only, has wisdom; the rest are but fluttering shadows.\(^b\)

4. When he came to Rome from a campaign, the people called him to office,\(^c\) not by way of showing favour to him, but hoping through him to capture Carthage speedily and easily.

5. After he had passed the outer wall, the Carthaginians stoutly defended themselves in the citadel. He perceived that the sea lying between was not very deep, and Polybius advised him to scatter in it iron balls with projecting points, or else to throw into it planks full of spikes so that the enemy might not cross and attack the Roman ramparts.\(^d\) But Scipio said that it was ridiculous, after they were in possession of the walls and well within the city, to endeavour to avoid fighting the enemy.\(^e\)

6. He found the city full of Greek statues and votive offerings, which had come from Sicily, and so inferred from Suidas, s.v. \(\delta \iota \sigma \sigma \omega \omega \iota \iota \nu\), that the original source was Polybius. The Homeric quotation is from the \textit{Odyssey}, x. 495.

\(^a\) The consulship in 147 b.c. \textit{Cf.} Velleius Paterculus, i. 12. 3.

\(^b\) \textit{Cf.} Zonaras, ix. 29.

\(^c\) An account of the capture of Carthage is given by Diodorus, xxxii. 23-25, and Appian, \textit{Roman History, the Punic Wars}, xix. 127-132. \textit{Cf.} also Valerius Maximus, iii. 7. 2.
(200) ῥυξε τους ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων παρόντας ἐπιγυνώσκειν καὶ κομιζεσθαι.

7. Τῶν δὲ χρημάτων οὔτε δοῦλον οὔτε ἀπελεύθερον εἰα λαβεῖν οὐδένα, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πρίασθαι, πάντων ἀγόντων καὶ φερόντων.

8. Γαίω δὲ Λαίλῳ τῷ φιλιτῷ τῶν ἑταίρων υπατείαν μετίοντι συμπράττων ἐπηρώτησε Πομπήιον εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπατείαν μετείησεν· ἔδοκε δὲ ὁ Πομπήιος υἱὸς αὐλητοῦ γεγονέναι τοῦ δὲ φίλον τους μὴ μετέναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν Λαίλιον ἐπαγγελλομένου ἑμπεριάξειν καὶ συναρχαιρεσίας, πιστεύσαντες καὶ περιμένοντες ἐκείνου ἐξηπατηθήσαν· ἀπηγγέλλετο γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐν ἅγορᾷ περίων καὶ δεξιόμενος τοὺς πολίτας. ἀγανακτούντων δὲ τῶν ἅλλων, ὁ Σκιπίων γελάσας, "ἀβελτερία γε," εἶπεν, "ἡμῶν, καθάπερ οὐκ ἄνθρωπος μέλλοντες ἀλλὰ θεοὺς παρακαλεῖν, πάλαι διατρίβομεν αὐλητήν ἀναμένοντες."

9. Ἀππιλοῦ δὲ Κλαυδίου περὶ τῆς τιμητικῆς ἀρχῆς ἀμιλλωμένου πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ λέγοντος, ὅτι πάντας ὁνομαστὶ Ὁρμαλοὺς αὐτὸς ἀσπάζεται, Σκιπίωνος ὁλίγον δεῖν ἁγιώσωτος ἀπαντάς, "ἀλήθη λέγεις," εἶπεν, "ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐκ εἰδέναι πολλοὺς ἅλλο ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ἁγιοεύθεια μεμελήκεν."

10. Ἐκέλευε δὲ τοὺς πολίτας, ἐπειδὴ ἐτύγχανον πολεμοῦντες Κελτήρων, ἀμφοτέρους ἐπὶ τὴν

1 ἐπαγγελλομένου F.C.B.: ἐπαγγελλόμενος.
2 γε Wytenbach: δὲ.

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a Cf. Diodorus, xxxii. 25; Cicero, Against Verres, ii. 35 (86) and iv. 33 (73); Livy, Epitome of Book li.; Valerius Maximus, v. 1. 6.
b Cf. Moralia, 97 c, and note e on p. 187.
he caused proclamation to be made that the men from those cities who were there might identify them and carry them away.\(^a\)

7. He would not allow either slave or freedman of his to take anything or even buy anything from the spoil, when everybody was engaged in looting and plundering.\(^b\)

8. He was active in the support of Gaius Laelius, the dearest of his friends, when he was a candidate for the consulship, and he inquired of Pompey \(^c\) whether he also was a candidate. (It was reputed that Pompey was the son of a flute-player.) Pompey said that he was not a candidate, and offered to take Laelius about with him and help him in his canvass, and they, believing his words and waiting for his co-operation, were completely deceived. For it was reported that Pompey was himself going about and soliciting the citizens. The others were indignant, but Scipio laughed and said, "It is because of our own stupidity; for, just as if we were intending to call not upon men but upon gods, we have been wasting any amount of time in waiting for a flute-player!" \(^d\)

9. When Appius Claudius was his rival \(^e\) for the censorship, and asserted that he greeted all the Romans by name, while Scipio knew hardly one of them, Scipio said, "You are quite right; for I have not taken such pains to know many as to be unknown to none." \(^f\)

10. He bade the people, inasmuch as they happened to be waging war against the Celtiberians, to send

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\(^a\) Quintus Pompey, consul 141 b.C.
\(^b\) Cf. Cicero, De amicitia, 21 (77).
\(^c\) In 142 B.C.
\(^d\) Cf. Plutarch’s Life of Aemilius Paulus, chap. xxxviii. (275 c).
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(200) στρατεύειν ἐκπέμψαντας ἣ προσβευτὰς ἣ χιλιάρ-χους μάρτυρας λαμβάνειν καὶ κρίτας τῆς ἐκάστου ἅρετῆς τοὺς πολεμοῦντας.

11. Ἀποδειχθεῖς δὲ τιμητής νεανίσκον μὲν ἀφείλετο τὸν ὑππον, ὦ τὸ δειπνών πολυτελῶς, ἐν Ἑἰρράκχονεν ἐπολεμεῖτο, μελίπηκτον εἰς σχῆμα τῆς πόλεως διαπλάσας καὶ τοῦτο Καρχηδόνα προσεπων προύθηκε διαρράσας τοὺς παροῦσαν καὶ πυθανομένου τοῦ νεανίσκου τῆς αὐτίαν δι' ἦν ἀφήγητα τὸν ὑππον, "ἐμοῦ γάρ," ἐφη, "πρότερος Καρχηδόνα διήρπασας."

12. Γάλον δὲ Λυκίνων ἴδων παρερχόμενον, "οἶδα," ἐφη, "τοῦτον ἐπιωρκηκότα τὸν ἀνδραμιδενός δὲ κατηγορούντος, οὐ δύναμαι κατήγορος αὐτὸς εἶναι καὶ δικαστής."

13. Ἐκπεμφθέντα δ' αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς τριτον, ὡς φησὶ Κλεισίμαχος,

ἀνθρώπων ὑβριν τε καὶ ευνομίνῃ ἐφορῶντα, πόλεων ἐθνῶν βασιλέων ἐπίσκοπον, ὡς εἰς Ἀλέξαν-


drειαν ἢκε καὶ τῆς νεῶς ἀποφθέ ἐβάδιζε κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔχων τὸ ἴματον, ἡξίουν ἀποκαλύφασθαι περιθέοντες οἱ Ἀλέξανδρεῖς καὶ δείξαι ποθοῦσαν αὐτοῖς τὸ πρόσωπον. τοῦ δὲ ἀποκαλυφαμένου, κραυγὴν καὶ κρότον ἐποίησαν. τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως

1 αὐτὸς] αὐτὸς van Herwerden.

2 αὐτὸν . . . τριτον] τριτον αὐτὸν Hartman, presumably on the basis of Justin xxxviii. 8. 8; but it is also true that this was the third important commission given to Scipio from the Senate.

3 ὑβριν from Moralia 777 A: πόλεων or πολέων.

a Cf. Cicero, Oration for Cluentius, 48 (134); Valerius Maximus, iv. 1. 10.

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out both himself and his rival either as legates or tribunes of the soldiers, and take the word and judgement of the fighting men in regard to the valour of each.

11. After he was made censor, he deprived a young knight of his horse because, at the time when war was being waged against Carthage, this young man had given an expensive dinner for which he had ordered an honey-cake to be made in the form of the city, and, calling this Carthage, he set it before the company for them to plunder. When the young man asked the reason why he had been degraded, Scipio said, "Because you plundered Carthage before I did!"

12. Seeing Gaius Licinius coming before him, he said, "I know that this man is guilty of perjury, but, since no one accuses him, I cannot myself be both accuser and judge."

13. He was sent out by the Senate a third time for the purpose, as Cleitomachus says, of

Looking upon men's arrogant acts and their acts of good order,

that is, as an inspector of cities, peoples, and kings; and when he arrived at Alexandria and, after disembarking, was walking with his toga covering his head, the Alexandrians quickly surrounded him, and insisted that he uncover and show his face to their yearning eyes. And so he uncovered amid shouting and applause. The king could hardly keep up with

\[b\] Poseidonius (instead of Cleitomachus) is found in *Moralia, 777 a*, and is also suggested by Athenaeus, *549 d.*

\[c\] Homer, *Od. xvii. 487*. Scipio's journeyings, beginning in 141 B.C., took him over most of the countries around the eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea.
μόλις ἀμμλωμένου βαδίζουσιν αὐτοῖς δι’ ἄργιαν καὶ τρυφήν τοῦ σώματος, ὁ Σκιπίων ἀτρέμα ἐπὶ τοῦ Παναίτιον ψυχρόσας ἐίπεν, “ηὗ ὑ τής ἐπιδημίας ἦμών Ἀλεξανδρεῖς ἀπολελαύκασι. δι’ ἦμᾶς γὰρ ἐξωράκασι τὸν βασιλέα περιπατοῦντα.”

14. Συναπεδήμεις δὲ αὐτῷ ϕίλος μὲν εἰς φιλόσοφος Παναίτιος, οὐκέται δὲ πέντε· καὶ τούτων εὖ ἀποθανόντος ἐπὶ τής ἕξενης, ἄλλον μὴ βουλόμενος πρίασθαι ἀπὸ τῆς Πώμης μετεπέμβατο.

15. Τῶν δὲ Νομαντίων ἀμάχων εἶναι δοκοῦντων καὶ πολλοὺς νευκηκώτων στρατηγοὺς, ὑπατον ἀπέδειξε Σκιπίωνα τὸ δεύτερον ὁ δήμος ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον. Ὄρμημένων δὲ πολλῶν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατείαν, καὶ τούτῳ διεκώλυσεν ἡ σύγκλητος, ὃς ἔρημον τῆς Ἑταλίας ἐσομένης. καὶ χρήματα λαβεῖν τῶν Β ἔτοίμων οὐκ εἶσαν, ἀλλὰ τὰς τελωνικὰς προσοδοὺς ἀπέταξαν οὕτως ἠχοῦσας. δὲ Σκιπίων χρημάτων μὲν οὖκ ἐφῇ δεῖσθαι, τὰ γὰρ ἐαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν φιλῶν ἐξαρκέσειν· περὶ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐμέμβατο, χαλεπὸν γὰρ εἶναι τὸν πόλεμον, εἰ μὲν δι’ ἀνδρείαν τῶν πολεμίων ἤττηνται τοσαυτάκις, ὅτι πρὸς τοιούτους, εἰ δὲ δι’ ἀνανδρίαν τῶν πολιτῶν, ὃτι μετὰ τοιούτων.

16. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον πολλὴν ἀταξίαν καὶ ἀκολασίαν καὶ δευσιδαμονίαν καὶ τρυφὴν κατέλαβε, μάντεις μὲν εὐθὺς ἐξῆλασε καὶ θύτας καὶ πορνοβοσκοὺς, σκεύη δὲ προσέταξεν

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* Ptolemy VII., called ‘Physcon’ by the Alexandrians because of his fat and unwieldy body.

b Cf. Moralia, 777 A; Diodorus, xxxiii. 28a; Athenaeus, 192
them in walking because of his inactive life and his pampering of his body, and Scipio whispered softly to Panaetius, "Already the Alexandrians have received some benefit from our visit. For it is owing to us that they have seen their king walk."  

14. His one companion on his travels was a friend Panaetius, a philosopher, and there were five servants. When one of these died in a foreign land, he did not wish to buy another, and so sent for one from Rome.  

15. Inasmuch as the Numantians seemed invincible in battle and had vanquished many generals, the people made Scipio consul the second time for this war. When many were eager to enlist for the campaign, the Senate intervened, on the ground that Italy would be unprotected. Moreover, they would not allow him to take money from what was already on hand, but set aside for his use the revenues from taxes not yet due. Scipio said that he did not need money, for his own and that of his friends would be sufficient; but in regard to the soldiers he did find fault. For he said that the war was a hard war; if it was owing to the bravery of the enemy that they had been vanquished so many times, then it was hard because it was against such men; if it was owing to the want of bravery in their own citizens, then it was hard because it must be conducted with such men.  

16. When he arrived at the camp, and found there much disorder, licentiousness, superstition, and luxury, he straightway drove out the soothsayers, diviners, and panders, and issued orders to send 549 D; Cicero, Academics, ii. 2 (5); Justin, Historiae Philippicae, xxxviii. 8. 8.  

* Cf. Athenaeus, 273 A (=Polybius, Frag. 166, ed. Hultsch); Valerius Maximus, iv. 2. 13.  

* In 134 B.C.  

* Cf. Appian, Roman History, the Wars in Spain, xiv. 84.
17. *Mmμίου δὲ τίνος χιλιάρχου λαβὼν ὑποζύ-

18. "Ετέρον δὲ θυρεόν ἐπιδείξαντος ἐδ κεκοσμη-

19. Τοῦ δὲ τον χάρακα ἀραντός σφόδρα πιέζε-

1  ἀργυρῶν as in *Moralia, 175 ε, and elsewhere: ἀργυρῶν.
2  πόλτον: πολτόν or πότον.
3  τριάκοντα] δεῖ τριάκοντα or εξήκοντα Cobet.

b A famous Corinthian potter.
c Presumably the period of his disgrace and punishment.
e So in Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xi. 9. Slightly variant
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away all camp-utensils except a pot, a spit, and an earthenware drinking-cup. But he conceded a goblet of silverware of not more than two pounds weight to those who wished to keep such. He forbade bathing, and of those who took a rub-down he required that each man should rub himself, saying that the pack-animals, not being provided with hands, needed somebody to rub them. He also issued orders that the soldiers should eat their luncheon standing, and that it should be something uncooked, but that they might recline at dinner, and this should be bread or porridge simply, and meat roasted or boiled. He himself went about with a black cloak pinned around him, saying that he was in mourning for the disgrace of the army.*

17. He detected in the baggage carried by the pack-animals of Memmius, a military tribune, wine-coolers set with precious stones, the work of Thericles, b and said to him, “By such conduct you have made yourself useless to me and your country for thirty days, c but useless to yourself for your whole lifetime.” d

18. When another man showed him a shield beautifully ornamented, he said, “A fine shield, young sir; but it is more fitting that a Roman rest his hopes in his right hand rather than in his left.” e

19. Another carrying a timber for the palisade said that it was awfully heavy. “Very likely,” said Scipio, “for you put more trust in this wood than in your sword.” f

versions are to be found in Polyenaus, Strategemata, viii. 16. 4; Frontinus, Strategemata, iv. 1. 5; Livy, Epitome of Book lvii.

Cf. Polyenaus, Strategemata, viii. 16. 3; Livy, Epitome of Book lvii.
20. Ὅρων δὲ τὴν ἀπόνοιαν τῶν πολεμίων ἔλεγεν ὡνείσθαι τοῦ χρόνου τὴν ἀσφάλειαν· τὸν γὰρ ἀγαθὸν στρατηγὸν ὅσπερ ἰατρὸν ἐσχάτης δεῖσθαι. Εἰτὶς διὰ τοῦ σιδήρου θεραπείας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπιθέμενος ἐν καιρῷ τοὺς Νομαντίους ἐτρέψατο.

21. Τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων τοὺς ἤττημένους κακίζοντων, τί' πεφεύγασιν οὐς τοσαυτάκις ἐδίώξαν, εἰπεῖν τινα λέγεται τῶν Νομαντίων ὡς τὰ προβατα ταύτα καὶ νῦν ἑστιν, δὲ πομην ἄλλος.

22. Ἡπεί δὲ τὴν Νομαντιάν ἐλών καὶ θραμβεύσας τὸ δεύτερον πρὸς Γάιον Γράκχον ὑπὲρ τε τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῶν συμμάχων κατέστη διαφορά, καὶ λυποῦμενος ὁ δῆμος ἐθορύβησεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, "ἐμέ," εἰπεν, "οὐδέποτε στρατοπέδων ἀλαλαγμός ἐθορύβησεν, οὔτε γε συγκλύδων ἄνθρωπων, ἀλλ' ὁ μητέρα τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀλλὰ μητρινῶν οὖσαν ἐπίσταμαι."

23. Τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Γάιον βοώντων κτείναι τὸν τύραννον, "εἰκότως," εἰπεν, "οἱ τῇ πατρίδι πολεμοῦντες ἐμὲ βούλονται προανελεῖν· οὐ γὰρ οἶνον τῇ τῆς Ῥώμης πεσεῖν Σκιπίωνος ἐστῶτος οὐδὲ ζῆν Σκιπίωνα τῆς Ῥώμης πεσούσης."

**KAIKIIOIT METEALOT**

1. Καυκίλιος Μέτελλος ὀχυρῷ χωρίῳ βουλευόμενος προσαγαγεῖν, εἰπόντος ἐκατοντάρχου πρὸς

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1 τῇ ἐν Bernardakis, ὑπὶ Hatzidakis.

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a Cf. Aulus Gellius, xiii. 3. 6, where Scipio quotes a similar aphorism of his father's.
b Appian relates that Numantia was reduced by systematic siege (Wars in Spain, 89 ff.).
c Cf. Polyænus, Strategemata, viii. 16. 5; Velleius Paterculus, ii. 4; Valerius Maximus, vi. 2. 3.
20. Observing the recklessness of the enemy, he said that he himself was buying security with time; for a good general, like a physician, needed to operate with steel only as a last resort. Nevertheless he attacked at the proper time and routed the Numantians.

21. When the older men asked the defeated soldiers why they were such cowards as to flee from the men they had so often pursued, one of the Numantians is said to have replied that the sheep were still the same sheep, but another man was their shepherd.

22. After he had captured Numantia and celebrated his second triumph, he had a falling out with Gaius Gracchus in regard to the Senate and the allies; and the people, feeling much aggrieved, set out to shout him down on the rostra. But he said, "The battle-cry of armed hosts has never discomfited me, and much less can that of a rabble of whom I know full well that Italy is not their real mother, but their stepmother."

23. When the men about Gracchus cried out, "Kill the tyrant," he said, "Very naturally those who feel hostile towards our country wish to make away with me first; for it is not possible for Rome to fall while Scipio stands, nor for Scipio to live when Rome has fallen."

**CAECILIUS METELLUS**

1. When Caecilius Metellus was desirous of leading his men against a strongly fortified place, a centurion

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\[d\] Distinguished Roman general, consul 143 B.C.; sometimes confused with Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus, whose life Plutarch either wrote or intended to write (*Life of Marius*, chap. xxix.).
202 ávtón ὃς, ἐὰν δέκα μόνους ἀποβάλη, ἤψυχες τὸ χωρίον, ἤρωτησεν αὐτὸν εἰ βοῦλοιτο εἰς τῶν δέκα γενέσθαι.

2. Τῶν δὲ νεωτέρων τινὸς χιλιάρχου πυνθανο-μένου τί μέλλει ποιεῖν, "εἰ τοῦτο," ἐφη, "συν-ειδέναι μοι τὸν χιτωνώσκον ἐνώμιζον, ἀποδυσάμενος ἀν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐπέθηκα.

3. Σκιπίων δὲ ἔσωντι πολεμῶν, ἀποθανόντος ἡχθέσθη, καὶ τοὺς μὲν υἱόν ἑκέλευσεν ὑποδύντας ἀρασθαι τὸ λέχος, τοῖς δὲ θεοῖς ἐφή χάριν ἔχειν ὑπὲρ τῆς 'Ῥώμης, ὅτι παρ' ἄλλοις οὐκ ἐγένετο Σκιπίων.

ΓΑΙΟΤ ΜΑΡΙΟΤ

1. Γάιος Μάριος ἐκ γένους ἀδόξου προϊὼν εἰς Β πολετείαν διὰ τῶν στρατευῶν, ἀγορανομίαν τὴν μεῖξον παρήγγειλεν· αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὅτι λείπεται τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλάττωνα μετῆλθε· κάκεινης ἀποτυχῶν, ο_CLICKED οὐκ ἀπέγνω τοῦ πρω-τεύσεων 'Ῥωμαίων.

2. Ἰξίας δὲ ἔχων ἐν ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς σκέλεσι παρέσχεν ἄδετος ἐκτεμεῖν τῷ ἱατρῷ, καὶ μὴ στενά-ξας μηδὲ τὰς ὀφρῶς συναγαγὼν ἐνεκαρτέρησε τῇ χειρουργίᾳ· τοῦ δὲ ἱατροῦ μεταβαινοντος ἐπὶ θάτε-

1 ἀποβάλη] ἀπολάχυ (!) Hartman.
2 τοῦτο Wyttenbach (as in Moralia, 506 δ): τοῦτον.

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a Cf. Moralia, 506 d; Valerius Maximus, vii. 4. 5. Frontinus, Strategemata, i. 1. 12, attributes the remark to Metellus Pius (consul 52 b.c. with Pompey).

b Cicero, De amicitia, 21 (77), and De officiis, i. 25 (87).

c Cf. Pliny, Natural History, vii. 45 (144), and Valerius Maximus, iv. 1. 12.

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said that with the loss of only ten men Metellus could take the place. Metellus asked him if he wished to be one of the ten!

2. A certain centurion among the younger men inquired what he was going to do. "If I thought," said he, "that the shirt on my back knew what is in my mind, I would strip it off and put it in the fire."^a

3. He was bitterly opposed to Scipio while Scipio lived,^b but felt very sad when he died, and commanded his sons to take part in carrying the bier. He said that he felt grateful to the gods, for Rome's sake, that Scipio had not been born among another people.^c

GAIUS MARIUS^d

Gaius Marius came from an obscure family and advanced into political life through his military services. He announced himself a candidate for the greater^e aedileship, but, perceiving that he was running behind, on the very same day he went after the lesser.^f Failing also to obtain that, he nevertheless did not give up the idea that he should some day be the first among the Romans.^g

2. He had large varicose veins on both legs, and, refusing to be fastened down, he submitted these to his physician for excision; and without a groan or even a contraction of his eyebrows he underwent the operation with fortitude. But as the physician

^d Famous Roman general, seven times consul; he lived 157–86 B.C.
^e The office of curule aedile.
^f That of plebeian aedile.
^g Cf. Plutarch's Life of C. Marius, chap. v. (408 a); Cicero, Pro Plancio, 21 (51).
(202) rov, oûk ἡθέλησεν εἰπὼν οὐκ εἶναι τὸ θεράπευμα τῆς ἀληθινοῦς ἀξίου.

3. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Λούσιος ὁ ἀδελφόθεν, αὐτὸν τὸ δεύτερον ὑπατεύοντος, ἐβιάζετο τῶν ἐν ὥρᾳ στρατευομένων τινὰ ὑπὸματι Τρεβῶνιον, ὁ δὲ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτόν, καὶ πολλῶν κατηγοροῦντων οὖν ἡρμῆσατο C κτείναι τὸν ἄρχοντα, τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν εἶπε καὶ ἀπεδίεξε· κελεύσας οὖν ὁ Μάριος τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀριστείαις διδόμενον στέφανον κοιμηθήναι τῷ Τρεβωνίῳ περεύθηκε.


5. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς Κυμβρικοῖς πολέμοις Καμαρίνων3 D χαλίους ἀνδρᾶς ἀγαθοὺς γενομένους ὁμοῦ ‘Ῥωμαίοις ἐποίησε, κατ’ οὐδένα νόμον πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐγκαλοῦντας ἑλεγε τῶν νόμων οὔκ ἐξακούσαι διὰ τὸν τῶν ὀπλῶν ψόφον.

6. Ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐμφυλίῳ πολέμῳ περιταφρενόμενος

1 τῷ χάρακι τοῦ . . . χάρακος in the Life of C. Marius, chap. xviii., is preferable, but not imperative.
2 ἔχουσι] ἔχωσι some mss., but the indicative stands in the Life of C. Marius, chap. xviii.
3 Καμαρίνων in the Life of C. Marius, chap. xxviii. Latin has e, Greek usually a.

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a Cf. Plutarch's Life of C. Marius, chap. vi. (408 ε); Cicero, Tusculan Disputations, ii. 15 (35) and 22 (53); Pliny, Natural History, xi. 104 (252).

b Cf. Plutarch's Life of C. Marius, chap. xiv. (413 ν); Cicero, Oration for Milo, 4 (9); Valerius Maximus, vi. 1. 12.
turned his attention to the other leg, Marius would not consent, saying that the cure was not worth the pain.\textsuperscript{a}

3. In his second consulship Lusius, his nephew, attempted an indecent assault on one of the youths in the army, by the name of Trebonius, and the youth killed Lusius. When many accused him of the crime, he did not deny that he had killed the officer, and disclosed the circumstances; whereupon Marius ordered the crown which is given for deeds of supreme valour to be brought, and this he placed upon Trebonius.\textsuperscript{b}

4. Encamped against the Teutons in a place which had little water, when the soldiers said they were thirsty, he pointed out to them a river flowing close by the enemy’s palisade, saying, “There is drink for you which can be bought with blood.” And they called upon him to lead them on while the blood within them was fluid and not all dried up by their thirst.\textsuperscript{c}

5. In the Cimbrian wars a thousand men of Camerenum who had acquitted themselves bravely he made Roman citizens, in accord with no law. To those who complained he said that he did not hear the laws because of the clash of arms.\textsuperscript{d}

6. In the Civil War,\textsuperscript{e} when he found himself

\textsuperscript{a} Cf. Plutarch’s Life of C. Marius, chap. xviii. (416 Α); Frontinus, Strategemata, ii. 7. 12; Florus, Epitome of Roman History, i. 38. 8 ff.

\textsuperscript{b} Cf. Plutarch’s Life of C. Marius, chap. xxviii. (421 ε); Cicero, Oration for Corn. Balbus, 20 (46); Valerius Maximus, v. 2. 8. Cf. also Cicero, Pro Milone, 4 (10), “silent enim leges inter arma.”

\textsuperscript{c} Usually called the Social War (ὁ συμμαχικὸς πόλεμος), 90–88 B.C.
(202) καὶ πολιορκουόμενος ἐκαρτέρει, τὸν οἰκείον ἀναμένων καίρον. εἰπόντος δὲ Πομπαίδου Σίλλωνος πρὸς αὐτόν, "εἰ μέγας εἰ στρατηγός, ὃ Μάριε, καταβᾶς διαγώνισαι," "οὐ μὲν οὖν," εἶπεν, "εἰ μέγας εἰ στρατηγός, ἀνάγκασον με διαγωνίσασθαι καὶ μὴ βουλόμενον."

ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ ΛΟΤΤΑΣΙΟΤ

Κάτλος Λοντάτιος ἐν τῷ Κυμβρικῷ πολέμῳ παρὰ τὸν Ἀτίσσωνα ποταμοῦ στρατοπεδεύων, ἔπει Ε τοὺς βαρβάρους ὄροντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διαβαίνειν ἐπιχειροῦντας ἀνέχομεν, μὴ δυνάμενος αὐτοὺς κατασχεῖν ὑμημέρον εἰς τοὺς πρῶτοι τῶν ἀποτρεχόντων, ὅπως δοκῶσι μὴ φεύγειν τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀλλὰ τῷ στρατηγῷ κατακολούθειν.

ΣΤΕΛΛΑ

Σύλλασ ὁ εὐτυχῆς ἀναγορευθεὶς τῶν μεγίστων εὐτυχιῶν ἐποιεῖτο δύο, τὴν Πίον Μετέλλου φιλίαν, καὶ τὸ μὴ κατασκάψαι τὰς Ἀθῆνας ἀλλὰ φείσασθαι τῆς πόλεως.

ΓΑΙΟΤ ΠΟΠΙΛΛΙΟΤ

Γάιος Ποπιλλιός ἐπέμβας πρὸς ᾿Αντίοχον ἐπιστολὴν παρὰ τῆς συγκλήτου κομίζων, κελεύουσαν

1 Πομπαίδου Wyttenbach (as in the Life of Cato Minor, chap. ii., and elsewhere): πομπαίον.
2 Σύλλα, the usual form: Συλλοῦ.

*a Or possibly Poppaedius.
*c Quintus Lutatius Catulus, consul 102 B.C. with C. Marius; general in the war against the Cimbri. The event here described happened in 101 B.C.
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surrounded by a trench and cut off by the enemy, he held out and bided his own time. Pompaedius\(^a\) Silo said to him, "If you are a great general, Marius, come down and fight it out." Marius replied, "If you are a great general, make me fight it out when I do not wish to do so!"\(^b\)

**CATULUS LUTATIUS\(^c\)**

Catulus Lutatius, in the Cimbrian War, was encamped beside the Atiso\(^d\) River. The Romans, seeing the barbarians crossing to attack, retreated, and he, not being able to check them, made haste to put himself in the front rank of those who were running away so that they might not seem to flee from the enemy, but to be following their commander.\(^e\)

**SULLA\(^f\)**

Sulla, who was called the Fortunate, counted two things among his greatest pieces of fortune: the friendship of Pius Metellus, and the fact that he had not razed Athens, but had spared the city.\(^g\)

**GAIUS POPILLIUS\(^h\)**

Gaius Popillius was sent\(^i\) to Antiochus bearing a letter from the Senate commanding him to with-

\(^a\) Presumably the same river which the Roman writers call the Athesis.

\(^b\) Cf. Plutarch's *Life of C. Marius*, chap. xxiii. (418 f).

\(^c\) L. Cornelius Sulla, 138–78 B.C.; the dictator.

\(^d\) Cf. Plutarch's *Life of Sulla*, chap. vi. (454 d), chap. xiv. (460 e), and the *Comparison of Lysander and Sulla*, chap. v. (478 b).

\(^e\) Consul 172 B.C.

\(^f\) In 168 B.C. to Antiochus IV. (Epiphanes).
απάγεω εξ Αἰγύπτου τὸ στράτευμα καὶ μὴ σφητερίζεσθαι τῶν Πτολεμαίου τέκνων ἄφανῶν ὄντων τὴν βασιλείαν προσιόντα δ' αὐτὸν διὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδου πόρρωθεν ἀσπασαμένου τοῦ Ἀντιόχου φιλοφρόνως, οὐκ ἀνταπασάμενος τοῦ γραμματέων ἐπεδώκεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀναγνοῦσ' ἐφή βουλεύσεσθαι καὶ δώσειν τὴν ἀπόκρισιν, τῷ κλήματι γύρων περὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Ποπίλλιος περιέγραψεν εἰπὼν, "ἐνταῦθα τοῖς ἐστώς βουλευσαι καὶ ἀπόκριναι." πάντων δὲ τὸ φρόνημα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καταπλαγέντων τοῦ τε Ἀντιόχου ποιήσεων ὁμολογοῦντος τὰ δοκοῦντα 203 ᾿Ῥωμαίοις, οὕτως ἡσσάσατο καὶ περεπτυξέν αὐτὸν ὁ Ποπίλλιος.

ΑΕΤΚΟΛΛΑΟΤ

1. Λεύκουλλος ἐν ᾿Αρμενία μετὰ μυρίων ὀπλωτῶν καὶ χιλίων ἑπτέων ἐπὶ Τιγράνην ἐχώρει πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδας στρατιάς ἔχοντα τῇ πρὸ μίᾶς νυνών1 ὀκτωβρίων, ἐν ἤ πρότερον ὑπὸ Κύμβρων ἢ μετὰ Καμπίωνος2 διεφθάρη δύναμις. εἰπόντος δὲ τινος ὅτι ᾿Ῥωμαίοι τὴν ἡμέραν ἀφοσιούνται καὶ δεδοίκασιν, "οὔκοιν," ἐφή, "σήμερον ἀγωνισώμεθα προθύμως, ἵνα καὶ ταύτην εἰς ἀποφράδος καὶ σκυθρωπῆς ποιήσωμεν Ἰλαρᾶν καὶ προσφιλῆ ᾿Ῥωμαίοις."

2. Τοὺς δὲ καταφράκτους μάλιστα φοβούμενων

1 νυνών: νυνών.
2 Καμπίωνος Xylander: σκιπίωνος.

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* Cf. Polybius, xxix. 27; Appian, Roman History, the Syrian Wars, 66; Cicero, Philippiices, viii. 8 (23); Livy, xlv. 12; Justin, Historiae Philippicae, xxxiv. 3; Valerius Maximus, vi. 4. 3; Velleius Paterculus, i. 10. In Pliny, 204
draw his army from Egypt, and not to usurp the kingdom of Ptolemy's children who were bereft of their parents. As he was making his approach through the camp, Antiochus welcomed him graciously while he was still a long way off, but he, without returning the salutation, delivered the document. When the king had read it, he said that he would think about it, and give his answer; whereupon Popillius drew a circle about him with his staff and said, "While you stand inside that line, think about it and answer." All were astounded at the man's lofty spirit, and Antiochus agreed to comply with the Roman decree; which done, Popillius saluted him and embraced him.a

LUCULLUS b

1. Lucullus in Armenia with ten thousand men-at-arms and a thousand horsemen was proceeding against Tigranes, who had an army of an hundred and fifty thousand men, on the sixth day of October, the day on which, some years before, the force with Caepio had been annihilated by the Cimbrians. When somebody remarked that the Romans set that day aside as a dread day of expiation, he said, "Then let us on this day strive with might and main to make this, instead of an ill-omened and gloomy day, a glad and welcome day to the Romans." c

2. His soldiers feared most the men in full armour, Natural History, xxxiv. 11 (24), Cn. Octavian is substituted for C. Popillius.

b Roman general, friend of Sulla the dictator; he defeated Mithridates and Tigranes.

c In 105 B.C.

d Cf. Plutarch's Life of Lucullus, chap. xxviii. (510 c).
ΓΝΑΙΟΤ ΠΟΜΠΗΙΟΤ

1. Γναίος Πομπήιος υπὸ Ρωμαίων ἡγαπήθη τοσοῦτον ὅσον ὁ πατήρ ἐμφήθη. νέος δὲ ὃν παντάπασι τῇ Σύλλα μερίδι προσέθηκεν αὐτῶν καὶ μήτε ἄρχων μήτε βουλευῶν πολλοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἐτρατολογίσεως. καὶ Σύλλα καλοῦντος οὐκ ἔφη δίχα λαφύρων οὐδὲ ἀναίμακτον ἐπιδείξειν τῷ αὐτοκράτορι τὴν δύναμιν. οὐδὲ ἥλθε πρότερον πρὶν ἡ πολλαῖς μάχαις νικήσαι τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν πολεμίων.

2. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πεμφθεῖς εἰς Σικελίαν ὑπὸ Σύλλα στρατηγὸς ἐπυνθάνετο τοὺς στρατιῶτας ἐν ταῖς ὁδοίωριας ἐκτρεπομένους βιάζεσθαι καὶ ἀρπάζειν, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους πλανωμένους καὶ περιθέοντας ἐκόλασε, τῶν δὲ πεμπομένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σφαγίδας ἐπέβαλλε ταῖς μαχαίραις.

3. Μαμερτίνου δὲ τῆς ἐναντίας γενομένους μερίδος οἶος ἥν ἀποσφάττειν ἀπαντᾷ. Σθεννίον δὲ τοῦ δημαγωγοῦ φήσαντος οὐ δίκαια ποιεῖν

1 ἐπιδείξειν ἐπιδείξαι some mss.
2 οἶος Hatzidakis and Hartman: οἶος τε.

\[a\] Cf. Plutarch’s *Life of Lucullus*, chap. xxviii. (510 d-511 b).
\[b\] The triumvir.

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but he bade them not to be afraid, saying that it would be harder work to strip these men than to defeat them. He was the first to advance against the hill, and observing the movement of the barbarians, he cried out, "We are victorious, my men," and, meeting no resistance, he pursued, losing only five Romans who fell, and he slew over an hundred thousand of the enemy.

GNAEUS POMPEY

1. Gnaeus Pompey was loved by the Romans as much as his father was hated. In his youth he was heart and soul for Sulla's party, and without holding public office or being in the Senate, he enlisted many men in Italy for the army. When Sulla summoned him, he refused to present his troops before the commander-in-chief without spoils and without their having been through bloodshed. And he did not come until after he had vanquished the generals of the enemy in many battles.

2. When he was sent by Sulla to Sicily in the capacity of general, he perceived that the soldiers on the marches kept dropping out of the ranks to do violence and to plunder, and so he punished those who were straggling and running about, and placed seals upon the swords of those who were officially sent by him.

3. The Mamertines, who had joined the other party, he was like to put to death to a man. But Sthennius, their popular leader, said that Pompey

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Cf. Plutarch's Life of Pompey, chap. i. (619 B).

a Ibid. chap. vi. (621 d).

b Ibid. 621 F.

c Cf. Plutarch's Life of Pompey, chap. x. (624 A).
(203) αὐτὸν ἀνθ' ἐνὸς αἰτίου πολλοὺς ἀναιτίους κολάζοντα, τούτον δὲ αὐτὸν εἶναι τοὺς μὲν φίλους πείσαντα, τοὺς δὲ ἐχθροὺς βιασάμενον ἐλέοθαι τὰ Μαρίων-θαυμάσας ὁ Πομπήιος ἐφη συγγνώμην ἐχειν Μα-μερτίνους ὑπὸ τοιούτου πεισθεῖσιν ἄνδρός, δὲ τὴν πατρίδα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς προτιμᾶ. καὶ τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὸν Σθέννιον ἀπέλυσεν.

4. Εἰς δὲ Λιβύην διαβάς ἐπὶ Δομίτιον καὶ μάχῃ μεγάλῃ κρατήσας, ἀστασαμένων αὐτὸν αὐτο-κράτορα τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐφή μὴ δέχεσθαι τὴν τιμὴν, ἐως ὁρθὸς ἔστηκεν ὁ χάραξ τῶν πολεμίων. Εἰ οἱ δὲ, καίπερ ὀμβρὸν πολλὸν κατέχοντος, ὀρμή-σαντες διεπόρθησαν τὸ στρατόπεδον.

5. Ἐπανελθόντα δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Σύλλας ταῖς μὲν ἄλλαις τιμαῖς ἐδέξατο φιλοφρόνως καὶ Μάγνων προσηγόρευσε πρῶτος αὐτὸν. θριαμβεύσαι δὲ βουλόμενον οὐκ εἶπα μηδέπω μετέχοντα βουλής. εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Πομπηίου πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας ἀγνοεῖν τὸν Σύλλαν ὅτι καὶ τὸν ἡλιον ἀνατέλλοντα πλείονες ἢ δύοντα προσκυνοῦσιν, ὁ μὲν Σύλλας Ф ἀνεβόησε “θριαμβευέτως.” Σερούλιος δὲ ἀνὴρ ἀριστοκρατικὸς ἡγανάκτει, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐνίσχατο πολλοὶ τῷ θριάμβῳ δωρεάς τινας ἀπαιτοῦντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐφὴ μᾶλλον ἀφήςει τὸν θρίαμβον ἢ κολακεύσεις ἐκεῖνος, νῦν ἐφη καὶ μέγαν ἄληθῶς ὅραν καὶ ἄξιον τοῦ θριάμβου τὸν Πομπηίου.

6. Ἐθεοὺς δὲ ὄντος ἐν Ἄρωμῃ τοῖς ἐπιπεδοῖν, ὅταν

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a Cf. Plutarch’s Life of Pompey, 623 f, where Sthen(n)is stands instead of Stethnionus (Stthenno, Moralia, 815 ε), and the Himerians instead of the Mamertines.

b In 81 B.C.
was not doing right in punishing many innocent men instead of one man who was responsible, and that this man was himself, who had persuaded his friends, and compelled his enemies, to choose the side of Marius. Much amazed, Pompey said that he could pardon the Mamertines if they had been persuaded by a man like him who valued his country above his own life; and thereupon he liberated both the city and Stennius.  

4. He crossed over to Africa against Domitius and overcame him in a mighty battle; then, when the soldiers were hailing him as commander-in-chief, he said he could not accept the honour while the enemy's palisade still stood upright. And they, in spite of a heavy rain that enveloped them, swept on and plundered the camp.

5. When he returned, Sulla received him graciously with many honours, and was the first to call him 'Magnus' (The Great). He desired to celebrate a triumph, but Sulla would not allow him to do so, since he was not as yet a member of the Senate. When Pompey remarked to those present that Sulla did not realize that more people worship the rising than the setting sun, Sulla cried out, "Let him have his triumph!" Servilius, a man of noble family, was indignant, and many of the soldiers stood in his way with their demands of largess before his triumph. But when Pompey said that he would rather give up his triumph than curry favour with them, Servilius said that now he saw that Pompey was truly great, and deserved his triumph.  

6. It is a custom in Rome for the knights, when

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*a* Cf. Plutarch's *Life of Pompey*, chaps. xi.-xii. (624 c-f).  
*b* Ibid. chaps. xiii.-xiv. (625-626 b); *Moralia*, 804 f.
στρατευόμενον τὸν νόμιμον χρόνον, ἀγεώς τὸν ἵππον εἰς ἁγορᾶν ἐπὶ τοὺς δύο ἄνδρας, οὐς τιμητὰς καλοῦσιν, καὶ καταραπθησαμένους τὰς στρατεύεις καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ύφ᾽ οἷς ἐστρατεύσαντο τὴν ἡμέραν ἐπιαίνων ἡ ψόγων τῶν προσηκόντων· ὑπατεύων ο Πομπήιος κατήγαγεν αὐτὸς τὸν ἵππον ἐπὶ τοὺς τιμητὰς Γέλλιον2 καὶ Δέντλον· ἐκείνων δὲ ὠσπερ έθος ἐστὶ πυθομένων, εἰ πάσας ἐστράτευται τὰς στρατεύεις, “πάσας,” εἶπεν, “ὑπ᾽ ἐμαυτῷ αὐτοκράτορι.”

7. Τῶν δὲ Σερπώριον γραμμάτων κρατῆσας ἐν Ἰβηρία, ἐν οἷς ἦσαν ἐπιστολαὶ πολλῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ καὶ μεταβολῇ τῆς πολιτείας τὸν Σερπώριον εἰς 'Ῥώμην καλοῦντων, κατέκαυσε πάσας διδοὺς μετανοῆσαι καὶ βελτίωνας γενέσθαι τοὺς πονηροὺς.

8. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Φραάτης ὁ Πάρθων βασιλεὺς ἐπέμψε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄξιῶν ὅρω χρήσθαι τῷ Εὐφράτῃ, μᾶλλον ἐφι χρήσθαι3 Ρωμαίοις ὅρῳ πρὸς Πάρθους τῷ δικαίῳ.

9. Λευκίων δὲ Λευκόουλλου μετὰ τὰς στρατεύεις ἀφεκότος αὐτὸν εἰς ἡδονὰς καὶ πολυτελῶς ζῶντος, τὸν δὲ Πομπήιον ὡς παρ᾽ ἡλικίαν τὸν πολλὰ πράττειν ὑπέγεντος, “μᾶλλον” ἐφή “γε- ροτινὶ τὸ τρυφᾶν ἡ4 τὸ ἀρχεῖν εἶναι παρ᾽ ἡλικίαν.”

1 οἷς Wytenbach: οἷς.
2 Γέλλιον Xylander (as the name is recorded elsewhere): τέλλιον or στέλλιον.
3 χρήσθαι] χρήσθεθαι in the Life of Pompey, chap. xxxiii.
4 ἡ] ἡ νέω Pantazides and S.A. Naber, but this is quite discredited by the other three versions. (Cf. note 4.)

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they have completed the regular term of service in the army, to lead their horses into the Forum, one at a time, before the two men whom they call censors, and after enumerating their campaigns and the generals under whom they served, to receive such commendation or censure as is fitting. Pompey, who was then consul, with his own hand led his horse before the censors, Gellius and Lentulus, and when they asked him, in conformity with the custom, whether he had served all his campaigns, he replied, "Yes, all, and under myself as commander-in-chief." a

7. On gaining possession of the papers of Sertorius in Spain, among which were letters from many leading men inviting Sertorius to come to Rome with a view to fomenting a revolution and changing the government, he burned them all, thus offering an opportunity for the miscreants to repent and become better men. b

8. When Phraates, king of the Parthians, sent to him, claiming the right to set his boundary at the river Euphrates, he said that the Romans set justice as their boundary towards the Parthians. c

9. Lucius Lucullus, after his campaigns, gave himself up to pleasures and lived very expensively, and strongly disapproved of Pompey's yearning for the strenuous life as something out of keeping with his years. But Pompey said that for an old man it was more out of keeping with his years to be a voluptuary than to hold office. d

a Cf. Plutarch's Life of Pompey, chap. xxii. (630 a).

b Ibid. chap. xx. (p. 629); similar stories are told of others, as, for example, of William III. of England.

c Ibid. chap. xxxiii. (637 c).

d Ibid. chap. xlvii. (644 e); Life of Lucullus, chap. xxxviii. (518 b); Moralia, 785 e.
10. Nooouvrt δὲ αὐτῷ κύλην ὁ ἰατρὸς λαβεῖν προσετάξειν· οἵ δὲ ἤτοιτοντες οὐχ εὑρον (ὅν γὰρ παρ' ὁραν), ἐφη δὲ τις εὑρεθήσεσθαι παρὰ Λευκοῦλλῳ δι' ἑτούς τρεφομένας· "εἰτα," ἐφη, "εἰ μὴ Λευκοῦλλος ἐτρύφα, Πομπήιος οὐκ ἀν ἐξησε·" καὶ χαίρειν ἐάσας τὸν ἰατρὸν ἐλαβε τῶν εὐπορίστων.

11. Ἰσχυρὰς δὲ συποδείας ἐν Ῥώμῃ γενομένης, ἀποδειχθεὶς λόγῳ μὲν ἄγορᾶς ἐπιμελητῆς, ἔργῳ δὲ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης κύριος, ἐπλευσεν εἰς Διβύνην καὶ ΢αρδόνα καὶ Σικελίαν καὶ πολύν ἄθροισας σύτον ἐσπευδειν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην. μεγάλου δὲ χειμῶνος γενομένου καὶ τῶν κυβερνητῶν ὅκνουντων, πρῶτος ἐμβάς καὶ τὴν ἄγκυραν ἀραι κελεύσας ἀνεβόση, "πλεῖν ἀνάγκη, ἔτην οὐκ ἀνάγκη."

12. Τῆς δὲ πρὸς τὸν Κάσαρα διαφορᾶς ἀποκαλυπτομένης καὶ Μαρκελλίνου τινὸς τῶν ὑπὸ Πομπηίου προῆλθαι δοκοῦντων μεταβεβλημένου δὲ πρὸς Κάσαρα πολλὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν συγκλήτω D λέγοντος, "οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ Μαρκελλίνε," εἰπεν, "ἐμὸι λοιδορούμενος, δι' ὅν εξ ἄφονον λόγιος ἐκ δὲ πεινατικοῦ2 ἐμετικοῦς γέγονας;"

13. Πρὸς δὲ Κάτωνα πικρῶς καθαφάμενον ὅτι πολλάκις αὐτοῦ προσαγορεύοντος τὴν Κάσαρος

1 ἀνάγκη . . . ἀνάγκη Iunius (as in the Life of Pompey, chap.1.): ἀναγκάζη . . . ἀναγκάζη.
2 πεινατικοῦ is preferred by Bernardakis, but both forms seem to have been in use.

a Cf. Plutarch's Life of Pompey, chap. ii. (620 B); Life of Lucullus, chap. xl. (518 F); Moralia, 786 Λ. Stobaeus, Florilegium, xvii. 43, quotes from Musonius a similar story about Zeno the philosopher.

b In 57 B.C.

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10. When he was ill his physician prescribed a thrush as diet, but those who tried to get one did not find any, for thrushes were out of season; however, somebody said that they would be found at the house of Lucullus, where they were kept the year round. "So then," said Pompey, "if Lucullus were not a voluptuary, Pompey could not live!" and letting his physician go, he made his diet of things not so hard to procure.\(^a\)

11. At a time when there was a serious scarcity of grain in Rome \(^b\) he was appointed nominally overseer of the market,\(^c\) but actually supreme master on land and sea, and sailed to Africa, Sardinia, and Sicily. Having got together a great quantity of grain, he was eager to get to Rome. A great storm arose and the pilots were hesitating, when he, going on board first himself, gave orders to weigh anchor, crying out, "To sail is a necessity; to live is not a necessity." \(^d\)

12. When his falling-out with Caesar came to light, one Marcellinus, who was among those reputed to have been advanced by Pompey but had gone over to Caesar, inveighed against him at great length in the Senate. "Marcellinus," said Pompey, "are you not ashamed to revile me, when it is all owing to me that you, from being inarticulate, have become so fluent, and from being a starveling, are now able to eat and disgorge and eat again?" \(^e\)

13. Cato assailed him bitterly, because when he himself had often foretold that Caesar's power and his

\(^a\) He was appointed praefectus annonae for five years.

\(^b\) Cf. Plutarch's Life of Pompey, chap. xlix. and li. (645 c-676 A); Dio Cassius, xxxix. 9; Zonaras, x. 5; Cicero, Letters to Atticus, iv. 1. 7.

\(^c\) Cf. Plutarch's Life of Pompey, chap. li. (646 e).
(204) δύναμιν καὶ αὐξήσων οὐκ ἐπ’ ἀγαθῷ τῆς δημοκρατίας
γνωμένην αὐτὸς ἀντέπραττεν, ἀπεκρίνατο, “τὰ
μὲν σὰ μαντικότερα, τὰ δὲ ἐμὰ φιλικότερα.”

14. Περὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ παρρησιαζόμενος εἶπεν, ὡς
πάσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐλαβὲ θὰττον ἥ προσεδόκησε, καὶ
καταβούτο θὰττον ἥ προσεδοκῆθη.

15. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐν Φαρσάλῳ μάχην φεύγων
εἰς Αἰγύπτον, ὡς ἐμελλε διαβαίνειν ἐκ τῆς τριήρους
Ε ἐἰς ἀλευρικὸν πλοῖον ἀποστείλαντος τοῦ βασιλέως,
ἐπιστραφεὶς πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὸν ὦν οὔδὲν
ἐτερὸν ἢ τὸ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους εἶπεν,

ὅστις δὲ πρὸς τύραννον ἐμπορεῦεται,
κείνου ’στι δοῦλος, κἂν ἐλευθερὸς μόλῃ.

μεταβὰς δὲ καὶ πληγεῖς ξίφει καὶ στενάξας ἀπαξ,
εἰπὼν δὲ μηδὲν ἄλλ’ ἐγκαλυφάμενος, παρέδωκεν
έαυτὸν.

ΚΙΚΕΡΩΝΟΣ

1. Κικέρων ο ῥήτωρ εἰς τούνομα σκωπτόμενος
καὶ τῶν φιλῶν μεταθέσθαι κελεύόντων, ἐφ’ ὑπὸ τὸν
Κικέρωνα ποιήσεων τῶν Κατώνων καὶ τῶν Κάτλων
καὶ τῶν Σκαύρων εὐδοκότερον.

2. Ἐκπωμα δὲ ἀργυροῦν τοὺς θεοὺς ἀνατιθεῖσ

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a Cf. Plutarch's Life of Pompey, chap. lx. (651 ε); Life of Cato Minor, chap. liii. (787 δ).
b Cf. Plutarch's Life of Pompey, chap. liv. (647 ε).
c In 48 B.C.
d Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag., Sophocles, no. 789; quoted by Plutarch also in Moralia, 33 d and the Life of Pompey,
chap. lxxviii. (661 λ). Appian, Civil Wars, ii. 84, and Dio Cassius, xlii. 4, also state that Pompey quoted these verses.
rise to fame boded no good to the democracy, Pompey had taken the opposite side; whereupon Pompey replied, "Your words were more prophetic, but my actions were more friendly."  

14. Speaking frankly about himself, he said that he had attained every office sooner than he had expected, and laid it down sooner than had been expected.  

15. After the battle of Pharsalus he fled to Egypt, and as he was about to transfer from the trireme to a fishing-boat which the king had sent for him, he turned to his wife and son, and said never a word except the lines of Sophocles:

Whoever comes to traffic with a king  
Is slave to him, however free he come.

When he landed, he was struck with a sword, and uttering one groan, he covered his face and surrendered himself to be slain.

CICERO  

1. Cicero, the orator, was often twitted about his name, and his friends urged him to have it changed, but he said that he would make Cicero to be held in higher esteem than the Catos, the Catuli, and the Scauri.  

2. When he dedicated a silver goblet to the gods, shortly before his death when he was slain by order of the king's counsellors.

Cicero had a collection of jokes in three volumes (Quintilian, Inst. Or. vi. 3. 5; Macrobius, Sat. ii. 1. 12), so that the few found here can only be regarded as samples which have a personal touch.  

Cf. Plutarch's Life of Cicero, chap. i. (861 c).
3. Τῶν δὲ ῥητόρων τοὺς μέγα βοῶντας ἐλεγε δι’ ἀσθένειαν ἐπὶ τὴν κραυγὴν ώς χωλόνς ἄνα-βαίνειν ἓφ’ ἵππον.


5. Μετέλλου δὲ Νέπωτος εἰπόντος πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι “πλείονας μαρτυρῶν ἀπεκτονας ἣ συνηγορῶν 205 σέσωκας,” “καὶ γὰρ ἔστιν,” ἐφῆ, “πλεῖον ἐμοὶ πίστεως ἡ λογιότητος.”


7. Διοδότω δὲ τῷ διδασκάλῳ τῶν ῥητορικῶν ἀποθανόντι κόρακα λιθινὸν ἐπιστήσαντος αὐτοῦ, δικαίω τῇ τὸν ἁμομήθην γεγονέναι πέτεσθαι γὰρ τοῦτον οὐ λέγειν ἐδίδαξεν.


9. Πρὸς δὲ τῶν δοκοῦντα Λίβυν ἀπὸ γένους

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*a* Cf. Plutarch’s *Life of Cicero*, where, a few lines earlier, the derivation of “Cicero” from *cicer*, “chick-pea,” is explained.

*b* Ibid. chap. v. (863 c).

*c* Ibid. chap. vii. (864 c).

*d* Ibid. chap. xxvi. (873 f); *Moralia*, 541 f.

he caused the engraver to cut the letters of his first two names, but instead of "Cicero" to engrave a chick-pea.\(^a\)

3. He used to say that those of the orators who are given to violent vociferation rely on noise to carry them through because of weakness, just as lame men mount horses.\(^b\)

4. Verres, who had a son that had been anything but virtuous when a boy, rebuked Cicero for effeminacy and called him a corruptor of youth. "Don't you know," said Cicero, "that it is proper for children to be scolded behind the doors of their own home?"\(^c\)

5. Metellus Nepos said to him, "You have caused the death of more men by your testimony than you have saved by your advocacy." "Yes," said Cicero, "the reason is that I am endowed with more credibility than eloquence!"\(^d\)

6. When Metellus kept asking him who his father was, Cicero said, "The answer to that same question your mother has made the more difficult for you!" For Metellus's mother was far from virtuous, and Metellus himself was light-minded, vacillating, and carried away by his impulses.\(^e\)

7. When Diodotus, Metellus's teacher of oratory died, Metellus had a marble raven placed over his grave. "A very just tribute," said Cicero, "for he taught Metellus to be high-flown, but not to be a speaker."\(^f\)

8. Vatinius, who was at odds with Cicero, and was a bad character generally, Cicero heard was dead, and then later discovered that he was alive. "Curses on the rascal who lied so!" said he.\(^g\)

9. To a man who appeared to be of African race, and

\(^a\) Ibid.
\(^b\) Ibid. chap. xxvi. (873 e).

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(205) εἶναι, φήσαντα δὲ αὐτοῦ μὴ ἀκούειν λέγοντος, “καὶ μὴν οὐκ ἀτρύππητον ἔχεις τὸ οὖς,” εἶπε.


12. Οὐκοκνίων δὲ ἀπαντήσας μετὰ τριῶν θυγατέρων ἀμορφοτάτων τῇν ὄψιν ἄτρέμα πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἶπεν

Φοίβου ποτ’ οὐκ ἔωντος ἐσπειρεν τέκνα.


14. Πομπηίου δὲ καὶ Καίσαρος διαστάτων, ἐφη, “γυγνώσκω ὃν φύγω, μὴ γυγνώσκων πρὸς ὃν φύγω.”

15. Καὶ Πομπηίου ἐμέμψατο τὴν πόλιν ἐκ-

a Cf. Plutarch’s Life of Cicero, chap. xxvi. (873 e). The story is told also in Moralia, 631 d. The pierced ears suggest a slave.

b Cf. Plutarch’s Life of Cicero, chap. xxvi. (874 A), where the name of the man is given as Publius Const.  

c Life of Cicero, chap. vii. (864 d), where the sphinx is of ivory. Cf. also Pliny, Natural History, xxxiv. 18 (48), and Quintilian, Inst. Or. vi. 3. 98. Intimacy with the sphinx, the author of riddles, should have helped Hortensius!

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asserted that he could not hear Cicero when he spoke, Cicero retorted, "Yet you have ears that are not wanting in holes." a

10. Cicero summoned as a witness in a certain case Castus Popillius, who wanted to be a lawyer, but was ignorant and stupid. When he denied knowing anything, Cicero said, "Very likely you think you are being asked about some point of law!" b

11. Hortensius, the orator, received as a fee a silver sphinx from Verres. When Cicero used innuendo in something that he said, Hortensius declared that he had no skill in solving riddles. Cicero retorted, "And yet you have the sphinx at your house!" c

12. Meeting Voconius with three daughters who had very ugly faces, he said softly to his friends,

Phoebus forbade when he his children got. d

13. When Faustus, the son of Sulla, because of a multitude of debts, posted a notice of an auction of his goods, Cicero said, "I find this notice more welcome than the kind which his father used to post." e

14. When Pompey and Caesar took opposite sides, he said, "I know from whom I flee without knowing to whom to flee." f

15. He blamed Pompey for abandoning the city,


b Cf. Plutarch’s Life of Cicero, chap. xxvii. (874 d), and Cicero, Letters to Atticus, ix. 11. The reference, of course, is to the proscription lists of men condemned which Sulla posted.

c Ibid. chap. xxxvii. (879 d); Cicero, Letters to Atticus, viii. 7. 2 "ego vero quem fugiam habeo, quem sequar non habeo."
16. Γενόμενος δ' οὖν παρὰ Πομπηίῳ καὶ πάλιν μετανοῶν, ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ Πομπηίου ποῦ Πείσωνα τὸν γαμήρον ἀπολελοιπεν ἐφη, "παρὰ τῷ σῷ πενθερῷ.

17. Μεταβαλομένου δὲ τινος ἀπὸ Καίσαρος πρὸς τὸν Πομπηίου, λέγοντος ὑπὸ σπουδῆς καὶ προ-θυμίας ἀπολελοιπέναι τὸν ἵππον, βέλτιον ἐφη αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ ἵππου βεβουλεύσθαι.

18. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἀπαγγέλλοντα τοὺς Καίσαρος φίλους σκυθρωποὺς εἶναι, "λέγεις," ἐφη, "δυσ-νοεῖν αὐτοὺς Καίσαρι."

19. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐν Φαρσάλῳ μάχην Πομπηίου μὲν φυγόντος, Νωνίου δὲ τινος ἐτὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀετοὺς ἔπτα φήσαντος εἶναι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θαρρεῖν παρακαλοῦντος, "καλῶς ἀν παρῆνες," εἶπεν, "εἶ κολοῦοις ἐπολεμοῦμεν."

20. Ἑπεὶ δὲ Καίσαρ κρατήσας τὰς Πομπηίου καταβεβλημένας εἰκόνας ἀνέστησε μετὰ τιμῆς, ἐφῆ περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγων ὁ Κυκέρων ὅτι τοὺς Πομπηίου Καίσαρ ἀνδριάντας ἤστας τοὺς αὐτοὺς πήγνυσιν.

21. Οὔτω δὲ πολλοῦ τὸ καλῶς λέγειν ἐτίμα τε καὶ περὶ τοῦτο μάλιστα ἡγομία, ἦστε προκειμένης δίκης ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκατὸν ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἐπικειμένης τῆς
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\(^{a}\) Cf. Plutarch's *Life of Pompey*, chap. lxxiii. (652 f); Cicero, *Letters to Atticus*, vii. 11. 3, and x. 8. 4.

\(^{b}\) Pompey married Caesar's daughter Julia as his fourth wife.

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and imitating Themistocles rather than Pericles, when his situation was not like that of Themistocles, but rather that of Pericles.\(^a\)

16. When he went over to Pompey’s side, changing his mind again, and was asked by Pompey where he had left Piso, his son-in-law, he said, “With your father-in-law!” \(^b\)

17. One man changed from Caesar’s side to Pompey’s, and said that as the result of haste and eagerness he had left his horse behind. Cicero said that the man showed greater consideration—for his horse!

18. To the man who reported that Caesar’s friends were downcast he retorted, “You speak as if they were Caesar’s foes!” \(^c\)

19. After the battle of Pharsalus, when Pompey had fled, one Nonius declared that on their side were still seven eagles, and exhorted them, therefore, to have courage. “Your advice would be good,” said Cicero, “if we were making war on jackdaws.” \(^d\)

20. After Caesar had conquered, he set up again with honour Pompey’s statues which had been thrown down. Cicero, in speaking of him, said that Caesar, by restoring Pompey’s statues, made his own secure.\(^e\)

21. He set a very high value on excellent speaking, and strove especially for this, so much so that once, when he had a case to plead before the court of the centumviri, and the day was almost come, and his

\(^a\) Cf. Plutarch’s Life of Cicero, chap. xxxviii. (880 b).
\(^b\) Ibid. 880 c.
\(^c\) Plutarch repeats this story in Moralia, 91 A; Life of Caesar, chap. lvii. (734 e); Life of Cicero, chap. xI. (851 d). Cf. Suetonius, Divus Iulius, 75.
Plutarch’s Moralia

1. Πλούταρχος, "Ερωτα ἀπαγγείλαντα αὐτῷ τὸν ὀικέτην εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ὑπερτερῆναι τὴν δίκην ἠλευθέρωσε.

Γαίος Καῖσαρος

1. Γάιος Καῖσαρ, ὁτὲ Σύλλαν ἐφευγεν ἐτι μειράκιον ὄν, περεύσεσε πειραταῖς· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτηθεῖς ἀρχυρίον πλῆθος κατεγέλασε τῶν ληστῶν ὡς ἄγνοοιντων ὃν ἔχουσι, καὶ διπλάσιον ὁμολόγησε δῶσειν· ἐπείτα φρουρούμενοι, ἐςς συνῆγε τὰ χρήματα, προσέταττεν ἥσυχιαν αὐτῷ παρέχειν κομμομένῳ καὶ σωπαν. λόγους δὲ καὶ ποιήματα γράφων ἀνεγίνωσκεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ τοὺς μὴ λίαν ἑπαυνούντας ἀναισθήτους καὶ βαρβάρους ἀπεκάλει καὶ μετὰ γέλωτος ἢπειλε κρεμάν αὐτούς· ὁ καὶ 206 μετ’ ὄλγον ἐποίησεν. τῶν γὰρ λύτρων κομμοθέντων ἀπολυθεῖσι καὶ συναγαγὼν ἀνδρας ἐξ Ἀσίας καὶ πλοῖα συνήρπασε τοὺς ληστὰς καὶ προσήλωσεν.

2. Ἐν δὲ ρώμη πρὸς Κάτλον πρωτεύοντα ἥρωμαίων εἰς ἀμυλλαν ύπὲρ τῆς ἀρχαρεωσύνης καταστάσιας καὶ προπεμπόμενοι ύπὸ τῆς μητρὸς ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας, "σήμερον," εἴπεν, "ὅ μήτερ, ἁρνεότα ὁν ὑδὸν ἡ φυγάδα ἐξεις."

3. Πομπηίαν δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα κακῶς ἀκούσασαν ἐπὶ Κλωδίων παραιτησάμενος, εἰτα τοῦ Κλωδίου φεύγοντος ἐπὶ τούτῳ δίκην μάρτυς εἰσαχθεῖς

a C. Julius Caesar also made a collection of apophthegms (Cicero, Letters, ix. 16. 4; Suetonius, Divus Iulius, 56), and it is said that he possessed unusual discrimination in recognizing the genuine work of any writer.

b Cf. Plutarch’s Life of Caesar, chaps. i.-ii. (708 a-d); Suetonius, Divus Iulius, 4; Velleius Paterculus, Roman History, ii. 41; Valerius Maximus, vi. 9. 15.
slave Eros reported to him that the case had been postponed to the following day, he gave the slave his freedom.

**GAIUS CAESAR**

1. Gaius Caesar, while still a young man, in trying to escape from Sulla, fell into the hands of pirates. First of all, when demand was made upon him for a very large sum of money, he laughed at the robbers for their ignorance of the man they had in their power, and agreed to give double the sum. Later, being kept under guard while he was getting together the money, he enjoined upon the men that they should give him a quiet time for sleep and should not talk. He wrote speeches and poems, and read them to his captors, and those who did not speak very highly of them he called dull barbarians, and threatened laughingly to hang them. And this he actually did a little later. For when the ransom was brought, and he was set free, he got together men and ships from Asia Minor, seized the robbers, and crucified them.

2. In Rome he entered into a contest against Catulus, the leading man among the Romans, for the office of Pontifex Maximus, and, as he was accompanied to the door by his mother, he said, "To-day, mother, you shall have as your son a Pontifex Maximus or an exile.”

3. He put away his wife Pompeia because her name was linked in gossip with Clodius, but later, when Clodius was brought to trial on this charge, and

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*Sayings of Romans, 206*

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- In 63 B.C.
(206) οὐδὲν εἶπεν φαῦλον περί τῆς γυναικός· ἐρομένου δὲ τοῦ κατηγόρου, "διὰ τί τοίνυν ἐξέβαλες αὐτήν," B "ὁτι τὴν Καίσαρος," ἐφη, "γυναῖκα καὶ διαβολῆς δεὶ καθαρὰν εἶναι."

4. Τάς δ' Ἀλέξανδρου πράξεις ἀναγνώσκων ἐδάκρυσε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἶπεν ὅτι "ταύτην τὴν ἥλικιαν ἔχων ἐνίκησε Δαρείον, ἐμοὶ δὲ μέχρι νῦν οὐδὲν πέτρακτι."

5. Πολύχνιον δὲ αὐτοῦ λυπρὸν ἐν ταῖς Ἀλπεσι παρερχομένου, καὶ τῶν φίλων διαπορούντων εἰ καὶ ἑνταῦθα τινες στάσεις εἰσὶ καὶ ἀμιλλαὶ περὶ πρωτείων, ἐπιστάσας καὶ σύννους γενόμενος, "μᾶλλον ἂν," ἐφη, "ἐβουλόμην πρῶτος ἑνταῦθα εἶναι ἡ δεύτερος ἐν 'Ῥώμῃ."

6. Τῶν δὲ τολμημάτων τὰ παράβολα καὶ μεγάλα C πράττεν ἐφη δεῖν, ἄλλα μὴ βουλεύεσθαι.

7. Καὶ διέβη τὸν Ῥουβίκωνα ποταμὸν ἐκ τῆς Γαλατικῆς ἐπαρχίας ἐπὶ Πομπηίου, εἰπὼν πᾶσι,1 "ἀνερρίφθω κύβος.

8. ἔπει δὲ Πομπηίου φεύγοντος ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἐκ2 τῆς 'Ῥώμης, καὶ Μέτελλος ἐπαρχὸς ὁν τοῦ ταμείου3 βουλόμενον αὐτὸν χρήματα λαβεῖν ἐκώλυε καὶ τὸ ταμείον4 ἀπέκλεσεν, ἥπειλθην ἀπο-

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1 πᾶσι F.C.B. (= πρὸς τοὺς παρώντας in the Life of Pompey, chap. lx.): πᾶσ of the mss. could be kept and explained, but it is not found elsewhere in Plutarch with this expression, and Cobet would omit it here also; but it may have been substituted for πᾶσι under the influence of πᾶσ ἀνέρριψε κύβος, Aristoph. Frag. 673 Kock: E. Capps suggests πάξ.

2 ἐκ supplied: not in mss.

3 ταμείου the preferable mss. form: ταμείου.

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a Cf. Plutarch's Life of Caesar, chap. x. (712 c); Life 224
Caesar was cited as a witness, he spoke no evil of his wife. And when the prosecutor asked, "Then why did you put her out of the house?" he replied, "Because Caesar's wife must be free from suspicion."

4. While he was reading of the exploits of Alexander, he burst into tears, and said to his friends, "When he was of my age he had conquered Darius, but, up to now, nothing has been accomplished by me."

5. As he was passing by a miserable little town in the Alps, his friends raised the question whether even here there were rival parties and contests for the first place. He stopped and becoming thoughtful said, "I had rather be the first here than the second in Rome."

6. He said that the venturesome and great deeds of daring call for action and not for thought.

7. And he crossed the river Rubicon from his province in Gaul against Pompey, saying before all, "Let the die be cast."

8. When Pompey had fled to sea from Rome, Caesar wished to take money from the treasury, but Metellus, who was in charge, tried to stop him, and locked up the treasury, whereupon Caesar threatened.

of Cicero, chap. xxix. (875 e); Dio Cassius, xxxvii. 45; Suetonius, Divus Iulius 6 and 74.


Ibid. chap. xxxii. (723 f); Life of Pompey, chap. lx. (651 d); Suetonius, Divus Iulius, 32 "iacta alea est" or "esto." The expression seems to have been proverbial; cf. Leutsch and Schneidewin, Paroemiographi Graeci, i. p. 383 and the references; Aristophanes, Frag. 673 Kock, Com. Att. Frag. i. p. 557 and Menander, Frag. 65, ibid. iii. p. 22.
(206) κτενεῖν αὐτόν· καταπλαγέντος δὲ τοῦ Μετέλλου, “τούτο,” εἶπεν, “ὁ νεανίσκε, φησαι μοι χαλεπώ-
τερον ἢν ἢ ποιήσαι.”

9. Τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν αὐτῶ βραδέως εἰς Δυρ-
rάχιον ἐκ Βρεντεσίου κομιζομένων, λαθῶν ἀπαντᾷ-
eis πλοίον ἐμβὰς μικρὸν ἐπεχείρησε διαπλεῖν τὸ
D πέλαγος· συγκλυζομένου δὲ τοῦ πλοίου, ποιήσας
τῷ κυβερνήτῃ φανερὸν εαυτὸν ἀνεβόησε, “πίστευε
τῇ τύχῃ γνοὺς ὅτι Καίσαρα κομίζεις.”

10. Τότε μὲν οὖν ἐκολύθη, τοῦ χειμῶνος ἰσχυ-
ροῦ γενομένου καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν συνδραμόντων
καὶ περιπαθοῦντων, εἰ περιμένει δύναμιν ἄλλην ὡς
ἀπιστῶν αὐτοῖς· εἶπε δὲ μάχης γενομένης νικῶν ὁ
Πομπήιος οὐκ ἐπεξήγλθεν, ἀλλὰ ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὸ
στρατόπεδον, “τήμερον,” εἶπεν, “ἣν ἡ νίκη παρὰ
τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀλλὰ τὸν εἰδώτα νικάν οὐκ ἔχουσον.”

Ε 11. Ἐν δὲ Φαρσάλῳ Πομπήιον παρατεταγμέ-
νην τὴν φάλαγγα κατὰ χώραν ἐστάναι καὶ προσ-
δέχεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους παρεγγυήσαντος, ἀμαρτεῖν
αὐτὸν ἔλεγε τὸν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς μετ’ ἐνθοσιασμοῦ
tόνον καὶ ῥοίζον ἐκλύσαντα τῶν στρατιωτῶν.

a Cf. Plutarch’s Life of Caesar, chap. xxv. (725 c); Life of Pompey, chap. lxii. (652 c); Appian, The Civil
Wars, ii. 41 and 138; Dio Cassius, xlii. 17. 2; Cicero,
Letters to Atticus, x. 4. 8; Lucan, Pharsalia, iii. 114-153.
b The story is often told. Cf. for example, Moralia, 319 b;
Plutarch’s Life of Caesar, chap. xxxviii. (726 d); Appian,
Roman History, the Civil Wars, ii. 57; Dio Cassius, xlii.
46; Suetonius, Divus Iulius, 58; Lucan, Pharsalia, v. 580;
Valerius Maximus, ix. 8. 2.
c At Dyrrachium, 48 b.c.
d Cf. Plutarch’s Life of Caesar, chap. xxxviii. (726 d)
and xxxix. (727 b); Life of Pompey, chap. lxv. (654 a);
to kill him. Metellus was astounded, but Caesar said, "Young man, that was harder for me to say than to do."  

9. As the transportation of his soldiers from Brundusium to Dyrrachium proceeded slowly, he, without being seen by anybody, embarked in a small boat, and attempted the passage through the open sea. But as the boat was being swamped by the waves, he disclosed his identity to the pilot, crying out, "Trust to Fortune, knowing it is Caesar you carry."  

10. At that time he was prevented from crossing, as the storm became violent, and his soldiers quickly gathered about him in a state of high emotion if it could be that he were waiting for other forces because he felt he could not rely on them. A battle was fought and Pompey was victorious; he did not, however, follow up his success, but withdrew to his camp. Caesar said, "To-day the victory was with the enemy, but they have not the man who knows how to be victorious."  

11. At Pharsalus Pompey gave the word for his regiments after they had formed for battle to stand in their tracks and meet the onset of the enemy. In this Caesar said that he made a mistake, inasmuch as he lost the effect on his soldiers of the intensity and excitement which comes from rushing to the onset with enthusiasm.  

Appian, Roman History, the Civil Wars, ii. 62; Dio Cassius, xli. 50; Suetonius, Divus Iulius, 36.  

* In 48 B.C.  

† Cf. Plutarch's Life of Caesar, chap. xlv. (729 B); Life of Pompey, chap. lxix. (656 c); Caesar, Civil War, iii. 92. Appian (The Civil Wars, ii. 79) says that this statement was found in Caesar's letters.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(206) 12. Φαρνάκην δὲ νικήσας τὸν Ποντικὸν ἐξ ἐφόδου πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἐγραψεν, "ἡλθον εἶδον ἐνίκησα."

13. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐν Λιβύῃ τῶν περὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα φυγήν καὶ ἦταν Κάτωνος ἑαυτὸν ἀνελόντος, "φθονῶ σου Κάτων," εἶπε, "τοῦ θανάτου καὶ γὰρ σὺ ἐμοὶ τῆς σῆς σωτηρίας ἐφθόνησας."

14. 'Αντώνιον δὲ καὶ Δολοβέλλαν ύφορωμένων ἐνίων καὶ φυλάττεσθαι κελεύντων, οὐ τούτους ἐφη δεδείναι τοὺς βαναύσους καὶ λιπώντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἱσχυνοὺς καὶ ώχρους ἐκείνους, δείξας Βροῦτον καὶ Κάσσιον.

15. Λόγου δὲ παρὰ δεῖπνον ἐμπεσόντως περὶ θανάτου ποιὸς ἀριστος, "ὁ ἀπροσδόκητος," εἶπε.

ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΤΟΤ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΤ

1. Καίσαρ ὁ πρῶτος ἐπικληθεῖς Σεβαστός, ἔτι μειράκιον ὡν 'Αντώνιον ἀπήτει δισχύλιας πεντακο-

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* In 47 B.C. Cf. Plutarch's Life of Caesar, chap. 1. (731 f); Appian, The Civil Wars, ii. 91; Dio Cassius, xlii. 48. According to Suetonius, Divus Iulius, 37, these words (' veni, vidi, vici ') were borne aloft in Caesar's triumph.

b Cf. Plutarch's Life of Caesar, chap. liv. (733 b); Life of Cato Minor, chap. lxxii. (794 c); Appian, The Civil Wars, ii. 99; Dio Cassius, xlii. 12.

c Cf. Plutarch's Life of Caesar, chap. lxii. (737 c); Life of Antony, chap. xii. (921 b); Life of Brutus, chap. viii. (987 c). Shakespeare, Julius Caesar, i. 2:

Let me have men about me that are fat:
Sleek-headed men and such as sleep o' nights:
Yond Cassius has a lean and hungry look:
He thinks too much: such men are dangerous.

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12. After he had conquered Pharnaces of Pontus by a swift drive against him, he wrote to his friends, "I came, saw, conquered." a

13. Following upon the flight of Scipio and his followers in Africa Cato took his own life; whereat Caesar said, "I begrudge you your death, Cato, for you begrudged me the saving of your life." b

14. Some looked with suspicion upon Antony and Dolabella and urged Caesar to be on his guard, but he said that he did not fear these fat and sleek tradesmen and craftsmen but those lean and pale fellows, indicating Brutus and Cassius. c

15. When the conversation at dinner once digressed to the subject of death, regarding what kind of death is the best, he said, "Sudden death." d

CAESAR AUGUSTUS

1. Caesar, who was the first to bear the title of Augustus, was only a youth when he made formal demand upon Antony for the million pounds f which seems to incorporate all the terms used in the Lives, but to ignore ἑαυτὸνον in this passage.

d Cf. Plutarch's Life of Caesar, chap. lxiii. (737 F); Appian, The Civil Wars, ii. 115; Suetonius, Divus Iulius, 87.

* These sayings of Augustus were, beyond doubt, incorporated in the Life of Augustus which Plutarch wrote (No. 26 in Lamprias's list of Plutarch's writings). Augustus (Octavian) was Julius Caesar's grand-nephew.

f Plutarch in his Life of Antony, chap. xv. (922 C), says 4000 talents, which would be the same as 24,000,000 drachmae (or denarii), a little less than the amount given here. Velleius Paterculus, ii. 60, says sestertium septiens miliens (=700,000,000 sesterces), or about £6,000,000!
2. Ἡπείρ ἐπὶ Ῥωμητάλκης ὁ τῶν Ὄρακὼν βασιλεὺς ἀπ’ Ἀντωνίου μεταβαλόμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐμετριάζειν παρὰ τοὺς πότους, ἀλλ’ ἣν ἐπαγαθεὶς ὑνειδίζων τὴν συμμαχίαν, προσπών τοῖς τῶν ἅλλων βασιλέως ὁ Καίσαρ ἔπειν, “ἔγὼ προδοσίαν φιλῶ, προδότας δ’ οὐκ ἔπαινώ.”

3. Τῶν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρέων μετὰ τὴν ἁλώσιν τὰ δευνότατα πείσεσθαι προσδοκῶντων, ἀναβάς ἐπὶ Β τὸ βήμα καὶ παραστησάμενος ὁ Ἀρειών τὸν Ἀλέξανδρέα φέιδεσθαι μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἐφ’ ἑρῶ πρῶτον διὰ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ κάλλος, ἐπειτα διὰ τὸν κτίστην Ἀλέξανδρον, τρίτον δὲ δι’ ὁ Ἀρειών τὸν φίλον.

4. Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Ἑρώς ὁ τὰ ἐν Λιγύπτῳ διοικῶν ὤρτυγα τὸν κρατοῦντα πάντων ἐν τῷ máχεσθαι

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1 ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας δ’ ἂν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἑπεὶ Θεορνάκος: ἐκ τῆς οὐς (cf. the Life of Cicero, chap. xliii.) Hartman.
2 Ῥωμητάλκης the preferred spelling: Ῥωμητάλκης.

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a Suetonius, Divus Iulius, 83, says 300 sesterces, which is in agreement with the amount stated by Plutarch.
b Cf. Plutarch's Life of Cicero, chap. xliii. (883 a); Life of Antony, chap. xvi. (922 b); Life of Brutus, chap. xxii. (994 b); Appian, The Civil Wars, iii. 28; Dio Cassius, xlv. 3-5; Velleius Paterculus, ii. 60.
c Plutarch repeats this aphorism in his Life of Romulus,
had belonged to the first Caesar, who had been assassinated, and which Antony had transferred from Caesar’s house to his own keeping; for Augustus wished to pay to the citizens of Rome the sum which had been left to them by Caesar, three pounds to each man. But when Antony held fast to the money, and also suggested to Augustus that, if he had any sense, he had better forget about his demand, Augustus announced an auction of his ancestral property and sold it; and by paying the bequest he fostered popularity for himself and hatred for Antony on the part of the citizens.¹

2. Rhoemetalces, king of the Thracians, who had changed his alliance from Antony to Augustus, could not practise moderation when there was any drinking going on, and gave much offence by his disparaging remarks about his new alliance, whereat Augustus, as he drank to one of the other kings, said, “I like treachery, but I cannot say anything good of traitors.” ²

3. After the capture of Alexandria, the people of the city were expecting to be treated with the most frightful severity, but when he had mounted the tribune and had directed Areius of Alexandria to take a place beside him, he declared that he spared the city, first because of its greatness and beauty, secondly because of its founder, Alexander, and thirdly because of Areius his own friend.³

4. When it was told him that Eros, procurator in Egypt, had bought a quail which had defeated all chap. xvii. (28 a). Stobaeus, liv. 63, quotes Philip of Macedon as the author of a similar remark.

¹ Cf. Plutarch’s Life of Antony, chap. lxxx. (953 A); Dio Cassius, li. 16; Julian, Letters, No. 51 (ad Alexandrinos); Suetonius, Augustus, 89.
(207) καὶ ἀγάττητον ὄντα πριάμενος ὀπτήσας κατέφαγε, μετεπέμψατο αὐτὸν καὶ ἀνέκρωνεν· ὄμολογήσαντα δὲ ἐκέλευσεν ἑστῶ νηὸς προσηλωθῆναι.

5. "Εν δὲ Σικελία Ἀρείων ἀντὶ Θεοδώρου κατέστησε διωκητὴν· ἐπιδόντος δὲ τινὸς αὐτῶ βιβλίων, ἐν ὧ γεγραμμένον ἦν, "φαλακρὸς η' κλέπτης Θεόδωρος ὁ Ταρσεύς· τί σοι δοκεῖ;" ἀναγνώσοις Καῖσαρ ὑπέγραψε, "δοκεῖ."  

6. Παρὰ δὲ Μαυκήνα τοῦ συμβιωτοῦ καθ’ έκαστον ἐναυτὸν ἐν τοῖς γενεθλίοις δώρων ἐλάμβανε φιάλην.

7. ᾧ Θηνώδωρῳ δὲ τῷ ϕιλοσόφῳ διὰ γῆρας εἰς οἰκον ἀφεθήναι δεηθέτων συνεχώρησεν. επεὶ δὲ ἀσπασάμενος αὐτὸν ὁ 'Ἀθηνόδωρος εἶπεν, "ὅταν ὄργιον ἴσης, Καῖσαρ, μηδὲν εἴπης μηδὲ ποιήσῃς πρὸτερον ἂν τὰ εἰκοσὶ καὶ τέταρα γράμματα διελθέων πρὸς ἑαυτὸν," ἐπιλαβόμενος αὐτοῦ τῆς χειρός, "ἐτι σοῦ παρόντος," ἐφη, "χρείαν ἔχω· καὶ κατέσχεν αὐτὸν ἐναυτῶν ὀλων, εἶπὼν ὦτι

D ἐστι καὶ σιγῆς ἀκίνδυνον γέρας.

8. Ἀκούσας δὲ ὦτι Ἀλέξανδρος δύο καὶ τριάκοντα γεγονός ἐτη κατεστραμμένος τὰ πλείστα διηπόρει τι ποιήσῃ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον, ἔθαυμαζεν εἰ μὴ μεῖζον Ἀλέξανδρος ἐργὸν ἠγείτο τού κτήσασθαι τὴν ἥγεμονίαν τὸ διατάζαι τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν.

1 ἦ] καὶ Cobet: καὶ φαλακρὸς καὶ κλέπτης is suggested by Bernardakis.

* A Stoic philosopher from Tarsus. Dio Cassius, lvi. 43, relates a story about his practical instruction. He was later allowed to return home (Strabo, xiv. 5. 14, p. 674). 232
others in fighting and was the undisputed champion, and that Eros had roasted this quail and eaten it, the emperor sent for him and examined him regarding the charge; and when the man admitted the fact, the emperor ordered him to be nailed to a ship's mast.

5. In Sicily he appointed Areius procurator in place of Theodorus; and when someone handed him a paper on which was written, "Theodorus of Tarsus is a bald-pate or a thief; what opinion have you?" Caesar, having read it, wrote underneath, "It is my opinion."

6. From Maecenas, his bosom-friend, he used to receive each year on his birthday a drinking-cup as a birthday present.

7. Athenodorusa the philosopher, because of his advanced years begged to be dismissed and allowed to go home, and Augustus granted his request. But when Athenodorus, as he was taking leave of him, said, "Whenever you get angry, Caesar, do not say or do anything before repeating to yourself the twenty-four letters of the alphabet," Augustus seized his hand and said, "I still have need of your presence here," and detained him a whole year, saying,

"No risk attends the meed that silence brings."  

8. He learned that Alexander, having completed nearly all his conquests by the time he was thirty-two years old, was at an utter loss to know what he should do during the rest of his life, whereat Augustus expressed his surprise that Alexander did not regard it as a greater task to set in order the empire which he had won than to win it.


10. Γάιον δὲ τῶν θυγατριδῶν εἰς Ἀρμενίαν ἀποστέλλων ἥτετο παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὐνοοιν αὐτῷ τὴν Πομπηίαν, τόλμαν δὲ τὴν Ἀλέξανδρον, τύχην δὲ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ παρακολουθήσαι.

11. Ὁρμαίοις δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔλεγεν ἀπολείψειν διάδοχον, ὅς οὐδέποτε περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πράγματος δὲς ἐβουλεύσατο, Τιβέριον λέγων.


13. Τῶν δὲ Εὐρυκλέους κατηγόρων ἐνὸς ἀφει-

1 aitias] aitia van Herwerden.
2 διαχειμάσαι F.C.B.: διαχειμάζειν. Or perhaps ἀν should be omitted, simply to accord with what little we know of the historical facts.

a Lex Iulia de adulteriis et de pudicitia. Cf. Horace, Odes, iv. 5. 21; Dio Cassius, liv. 16.

b C. Caesar, son of M. Agrippa and Julia.

c Cf. Moralia, 319 d.
9. After promulgating the law about adulterers, in which it was specified how the accused were to be tried, and how the convicted were to be punished, he later, under stress of anger, fell upon a young man whose name had been linked in gossip with his daughter Julia, and struck him with his fists; but when the young man cried out, "You have made a law, Caesar," such a revulsion of feeling came over him that he refused food the rest of the day.

10. When he dispatched Gaius his daughter's son into Armenia, he besought the gods that the popularity of Pompey, the daring of Alexander, and his own good luck might attend the young man.

11. He said that he would leave to the Romans as his successor on the throne a man who never had deliberated twice about the same thing, meaning Tiberius.

12. When he was trying to quiet the young men in high station who were in an uproar, and they paid no heed, but continued with their uproar, he said, "Do you young men listen to an old man, to whom old men listened when he was young."

13. When, as it appeared, the Athenian people had committed some offence, he wrote from Aegina that he supposed they could not be unaware that he was angry; otherwise he would not have spent the whole winter in Aegina. But he neither said nor did anything else to them.

14. One of the accusers of Eurycles was unsparing

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*a* Cf. *Moralia*, 785 d.

*b* Cf. Dio Cassius, liv. 7, who says, however, that Augustus spent the winter (21 B.C.) in Samos.

*c* Presumably the Eurycles who pursued Cleopatra's ship (on board which was Antony) at Actium; cf. Plutarch, *Life of Antony*, chap. lxvii. (947 a).

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208 15. Πείσωνος δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐκ θεμελίων ἀρχί
πάσης στέγης ἐπιμελῶς οἰκοδομοῦντος, "ἐυ-
θυμον," ἔφη, "με ποιεῖς οὕτως οἰκοδομῶν, ὡς
ἀιδίου τῆς 'Ῥώμης ἐσομένης.'

1 διοργισθεὶς Bases and Kronenberg: διὸ ὅργισθεὶς.

* The fourth book (which tells of Brasidas), as the books are now numbered, would be in point: but we know that
and tiresome with his frank utterances, and went so far as to say, "If these things, Caesar, do not seem to you to be of high importance, order him to repeat for me the seventh a book of Thucydides"; and Augustus, much incensed, ordered the man away to prison, but, on learning that he was the sole survivor of Brasidas's descendants, he sent for him, and, after reproving him moderately, ordered that he be released.

15. When Piso b built his house with great care from the foundation to the roof-tree, Augustus said, "You make my heart glad by building thus, as if Rome is to be eternal."

anciently the history of Thucydides was divided into thirteen books (and into nine books) as well as into eight books.

b Probably Cn. Calpurnius Piso, consul 7 B.C., but it may have been his father, of the same name, or L. Calpurnius Piso.
SAYINGS OF SPARTANS
(APOPHTHEGMATA LACONICA)
INTRODUCTION

Plutarch was an admirer of the old Spartan virtues, and it seems altogether probable that the collection of sayings of Spartans was made by him as literary material for use in his writing, as he tells us was his custom (Moria, 457 d and 464 f), and many of the sayings are actually found incorporated in his other works. That he did not use all the material which he had accumulated is no more than is to be expected from a discriminating author.

The title (Sayings of Spartans) stands as No. 169 in Lamprias's list of Plutarch's works.

A selection from the sayings of the more famous Spartans is incorporated in the Sayings of Kings and Commanders, which covers a broader field, including both Greeks and Romans, and so does not contain the entire collection of Spartan sayings. For example, in the Spartan Sayings, under the name of Agesilaus are found seventy-nine different sayings, but only twelve of these are selected for inclusion in the Sayings of Kings and Commanders, so that the Emperor Trajan (if the collection was made for him) should not be overburdened in his reading!

The ms. tradition of these Spartan sayings is in sad confusion. The Spartans spoke in the Doric dialect, yet according to the ms. tradition of Plutarch they spoke sometimes Doric, more often Attic, and
SAYINGS OF SPARTANS

occasionally used Aeolic forms! It is not likely, for example, that the mother of Brasidas spoke Doric (190 c) and Attic (219 d) in making the same remark, or that Brasidas spoke sometimes Doric and sometimes Attic (219 c-d), or that Charillus said the same thing in both Doric (189 f) and Attic (232 c). The explanation probably is that Plutarch copied these anecdotes as he found them in the books from which he made his excerpts. Xenophon, for example, or Thucydides seldom uses Doric, but represents the Spartans as speaking Attic, as frankly as Herodotus or Aeschylus represents the Persians as speaking Greek. So on the stage in England or America, or in novels, French or German characters speak English, or *vice versa*—a convention which is universally accepted. Hence it should not disturb us to find Plutarch recording remarks of Spartans in the Attic dialect, nor should we hastily conclude that the mss. are all wrong.

It would be possible, with our present knowledge, to translate all these Spartan sayings into the Doric dialect, but to do so would be a useless *tour de force*. It would be as if the editor of a newspaper were to insist that every story about a Scotchman or a Yankee should be edited to conform to the correct Scotch or Yankee dialect—a rather futile proceeding. Hence no radical changes have been made in the ms. tradition. Only when the mss. show a distinct attempt to quote in Doric has an effort been made to make the Doric consistent in itself.

It will not escape the attentive reader that the names of the Spartans whose sayings are quoted are arranged in alphabetical order, for the purpose, without doubt, of facilitating reference to them.
ΑΠΟΦΘΕΓΜΑΤΑ ΛΑΚΩΝΙΚΑ

ΑΓΑΣΙΚΛΕΟΤΣ

(208)

Β 1. 'Αγασικλής ὁ Λακεδαίμων ἀβατειός, θαυμάζοντος τινος ὑπὸ φιλήκουσ ὡν οὐ προσδέχεται Φιλοφάνη τὸν σοφιστήν, ἔφη, "τούτων χρήζω μαθητὴς εἶναι, ὡν εἶναι¹ καὶ νιὸς."

2. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν εἰπόντα πῶς ἄν τις ἀδορυφόρητος ὑπὸ ἀρχεῖν ἀσφαλῶς δύνατο, "ἐὰν οὖτως," ἔφη, "αὐτῶν ἀρχη, ὥσπερ οἱ πατέρες τῶν νιῶν."

ΑΓΗΣΙΑΛΟΤ ΤΟΤ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΤ

1. Ἀγησίλαος ὁ μέγας παρὰ πότον ποτε λαχῶν συμποσίαρχος, ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ ὀἴνοχον πόσον Σ ἐκάστῳ προσφέρῃ, ἔφη, "ἐὰν μὲν πολὺς ὦν ὄστι παρεσκευασμένος, ὧν ἐκαστὸς αὐτεῖ: ἐὰν ὃς ὀλῖγος, ἐξ ἵσον δίδου πᾶσιν."

2. Κακούργου δὲ τῶν ἐμμόνῳς ὑπομείναντος βασάνους, "ὡς σφόδρα πονηρός," ἔπειν, "ἄνθρω-

¹ εἶναι F.C.B.; εἰμ. Hartman would omit εἰμ.
² ἔφη added by Bernardakis after οἶνος, but it seems more likely to have dropped out after προσφέρῃ (προσφέρει or προσφέροι most mss.).

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SAYINGS OF SPARTANS

AGASICLES

1. When someone expressed surprise to Agasicles, king of the Spartans, because, although he was very fond of reading and lectures, yet he would not admit to his presence Philophanes, a learned man, he said, “I want to be a pupil of those whose son I should like to be as well.”

2. In answer to a man who raised the question how anyone could possibly rule in safety without the protection of a bodyguard, he said, “If one rules his subjects as fathers rule their sons.”

AGESILAUS THE GREAT

1. Agesilaus the Great was once chosen by lot to be master of ceremonies at an evening party, and, when he was asked by the slave who poured the wine how much wine he should serve to each man, Agesilaus said, “If much wine has been provided, as much as each one asks for; but if only a little, then give to all equally.”

2. When a malefactor endured tortures without flinching, Agesilaus said, “What an out-and-out

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*a One of the early kings of Sparta.

*b Cf. Homer, Od. ii. 47.

*c Cf. the note on 190 f, supra. Many anecdotes about Agesilaus may be found in Polyænus, Strategemata, ii. 1.

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3. "Επανούντος δὲ τινος ῥήτορα ἐπὶ τῷ δυνατῶς αὐξεῖν τὰ μικρά πράγματα, οὐδὲ σκυτοτόμον, ἔφησεν, εἶναι σπουδαῖον, ὃς μικρῷ ποδὶ ύποδήματα ἑγάλα περιτίθησιν.


5. Ὁπότε δὲ ψεγόντων ἢ ἑπανούντων τινῶν ἀκούοι, οὐχ ἤττον ὦτο δεῖν καταμανθάνειν τοὺς τῶν λεγόντων τρόπους ἢ περὶ ὅν λέγοιεν.

6. "Ετι δὲ παῦδα αὐτὸν ὄντα, γυμνοπαιδίας ἀγομένης, ὁ χοροποιὸς ἐστησεν εἰς ἀσθενώ τόπουν, ὁ δὲ ἐπείσθη καίπερ ἡδῆ βασιλεὺς ἀποδεδειγμένος Ε καὶ εἶπεν "εὐγε. δείξω γὰρ ὅτι οὐχ οἱ τόποι τοὺς ἀνδρᾶς ἑντίμους, ἀλλ' οἱ ἀνδρες τοὺς τόπους ἐπι-δεικνύουσιν:"

7. Προστάττοντος δὲ τινὸς αὐτῷ ἱατροῦ περι-

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1 ἀνθρώπως E. Kurtz: ἀνθρώπος.
2 ἐπιδεικνύουσι] ἀποδεικνύουσι Hartman.

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a Cf. Moralia, 224 c, infra, and Cicero, De oratore, i. 54 (231).
b Adapted from Homer, Il. i. 527.
c In almost the same words, but with a different turn of the thought, in Xenophon, Agesilaut, 11. 4.

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villain the man is, devoting his endurance and fortitude to such base and shameful purposes!"

3. When someone praised an orator for his ability in making much of small matters, Agesilaus said that a shoemaker is not a good craftsman who puts big shoes on a small foot.\(^a\)

4. When someone said to him, "You have agreed," and kept repeating the same thing, Agesilaus said, "Yes, of course, if it is right; but if not, then I said so, but I did not agree." And when the other added, "But surely kings ought to carry out 'whatsoever they confirm by the royal assent,'"\(^b\) Agesilaus said, "No more than those who approach kings ought to ask for what is right and say what is right, trying to hit upon the right occasion and a request fitting for kings to grant."

5. Whenever he heard people blaming or praising, he thought it was no less necessary to inform himself about the ways of those who spoke than of those about whom they spoke.\(^c\)

6. When he was still a boy, at a celebration of the festival of the naked boys the director of the dance assigned him to an inconspicuous place; and he obeyed, although he was already destined to be king,\(^d\) saying, "Good! I shall show that it is not the places that make men to be held in honour, but the men the places."\(^e\)

7. When a physician prescribed for him an over-

\(^a\) Plutarch in his Life of Agesilaus, chaps. i. and ii. (596 A and 597 B), says that Agesilaus was brought up as a private citizen, and did not become king until after the death of Agis.

\(^b\) Cf. Moralia, 149 A. In 219, infra the remark is attributed to Damonidas, and Diogenes Laertius, ii. 73, assigns it to Aristippus.
erγoτέραν θεραπείαν καὶ οὐχ ἀπλήν, ὡς νῆ τῷ θεῷ;" 2 ήσυν, "οὐ πάντως μοι πρόκειται ζῆν οὐδὲ πάντα ἀναδέχομαι."

8. Ἐφεστῶς δὲ ποτὲ τῷ βωμῷ τῆς Χαλκιόικου βουθυτῶν, ἐπειδὴ θείρ αὐτὸν ἐδακεν, οὐ διετράπη λαβὼν δὲ περιφάνως ἐναντίον πάντων ἀπέκτεινε, προσεπών, "νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς ἱδέως τὸν ἐπίβουλον καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ."

9. "Ἀλλοτε ἱδῶν μὲν ἐλκόμενον ἐκ θυρίδος ὑπὸ παιδαρίου κρατοῦντος, ἐπεὶ δὲ μὺς ἐπιστραφεῖς ἔδακεν τὴν χείρα τοῦ κρατοῦντος καὶ ἐφυγεν, ἐπὶ-δειξας τοὺς παροῦσιν ἔπεν, "ὅταν τὸ ἐλάχιστον ζῶν οὕτως ἀμύνηται τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας, τί τοὺς ἄνδρας προσήκει ποιεῖν λογίζεσθε."

10. Βουλόμενος δὲ τὸν πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην συντῆ-σαθαὶ πόλεμον ἑνεκα τοῦ ἐλευθερώσα τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἕλληνας, τῷ κατὰ Δωδήμην Διὸς ἐχρήσατο μαντεῖως, κελεύσαντος δὲ, 3 τὸ χρησθὲν ἀνήγγειλε τοῖς ἐφόροις· οὐ δὲ ἐκέλευσαν αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀφικόμενον περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν πυνθάνεσθαι. πορευθεὶς οὖν εἰς τὸ μαντεῖον ἐπηρώτησεν οὕτως, ""Ἀπόλλων, ἥ δοκεῖ σοι δὲ καὶ τῷ πατρί;" συναινέσαντος δὲ, αἱρεθεὶς οὕτως ἐστρατεύσατο.

11. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Τιςσαφέρνῃς ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν φοβηθεὶς τὸν Ἀγασιλαύν ἐποιήσατο σπουδᾶς, τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶ τὰς Ἕλληνικὰς ἀφήσειν αὐτονόμους βασιλέα, μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως πολὺ

1 Hartman would omit καὶ οὐχ ἀπλὴν and οὐδὲ πάντα ἀναδέχομαι.

2 νῆ τῷ θεῷ] ναι τῷ σιω Cobet.

3 After κελεύσαντος δὲ the mss. have ὅπερ ἐστίν ὃς δοκεῖ στρατεύσατα, which is pretty clearly an explanatory clause which has become incorporated in the text: deleted by Wyttenbach.

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elaborate course of treatment, not at all simple, he said, "Egad, it is not ordained that I must live at all hazards, and I refuse to submit to everything." a

8. As he was standing at the altar of Athena of the Brazen House sacrificing a heifer, a louse bit him; but he did not turn a hair, and, picking it off, he cracked it openly before the eyes of all, saying, "By Heaven, it is a pleasure to kill the plotter even at the altar."

9. At another time he saw a mouse being dragged from a hole by a boy who had hold of him, and the mouse turned and bit the hand that held him and escaped; whereupon Agesilaus called the attention of the bystanders to this, and said, "When the smallest animal thus defends itself against those who do it wrong, consider what it becomes men to do." b

10. Desiring to bring about the war against the Persian for the sake of setting free the Greeks living in Asia, he consulted the oracle of Zeus at Dodona, and when the god bade him to go on, he reported the answer to the Ephors. And they bade him go to Delphi and ask the same question. Accordingly he proceeded to the prophetic shrine and put his question in this form: "Apollo, are you of the same opinion as your father?" And Apollo concurring, Agesilaus was chosen, and began the campaign. c

11. Tissaphernes, at the outset, in fear of Agesilaus, made a treaty, agreeing that the king should leave him the Greek cities free and independent, but, after sending for a great army from the king, he

a Cf. the similar attitude of Pompey, 204 b, supra.

b Cf. the similar story about Brasidas in Moralia, 79 e, 190 b, and 219 c.

c Cf. Moralia, 191 b, supra, and the note.
(209) στράτευμα πόλεμον κατήγγειλεν αὐτῷ, εἰ μὴ ἀπίοι τῆς Ἀσίας, ἁσμενὸς τὴν παράβασιν δεξαμενος ὁμηροκομοῦν τοῦ καρπούντος τοῦ Πιεσοφέρνους ἀθροίσαντος, ἀρας εἰς Φρυγίαν ἐνέβαλε· καὶ λαβὼν πόλεις πλείστας καὶ χρημάτων πλῆθος, ἐφετοῖς φίλων, "ἐπιστευσάμενον μὲν ἄδικείν ἁσβέσεις, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους παραλογίζεσθαι οὐ μόνον δίκαιον καὶ ἐπίδοξον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἢδυ καὶ κερδαλέον."  

12. Τοῖς δ’ ἵππευσιν ἐλαττωθεὶς ἀνεκώρησεν εἰς Ἐφεσον καὶ τοῖς εὐπόροις προεῖπε παρέχειν ἵππον ἀνθ’ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἄνδρα, ἀπολυόμενον τῆς στρατείας· ὡστε ταχύ συνήχθησαν καὶ ἵπποι καὶ ἄνδρες ἐπιτήδειοι ἀντὶ δειλῶν καὶ πλουσίων. καὶ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ἐφετεῖ ξηλῶν καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων θήλειαν ἵππον ἀγαθὴν λαβόντα κακῶν ἄνδρα καὶ πλουσίων τῆς στρατείας ἀπολύσαι.

13. Ἑπεὶ δὲ κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ τοὺς αἵμαλώτους γυμνοὺς πωλεῖν ἐπιτραποκήν ὡς λαφυροπόλαι, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἐσθήτους ἦσαν ὡνηταὶ πολλοὶ, τῶν δὲ σωμάτων λευκῶν καὶ ἀπαλῶν παντάπασι διὰ τᾶς σκιατραφίας κατεγέλων ὡς ἀχρήστων καὶ μηδενὸς ἄξιων, ἐπιστάς ὦ Αγησίλαος, "ταῦτα μὲν," εἶπεν, "ὑπὲρ ὅν μάχεσθε, οὕτω δὲ οἷς μάχεσθε."  

1 ἄδικείν as in the Life of Agesilaus, chap. ix. : ἀδίκως.
2 ἵππον] ἵππον ἑκαστὸν ἰδίων.
3 ἀπολυόμενον] ἀπολυόμενον in some mss.
4 μάχεσθε] μαχεῖσθε in some mss.

* Cf. Plutarch’s Life of Agesilaus, chap. ix. (600 c): Xenophon, Hellenica, iii. 4. 5 ff., Agesilaus, 1. 10; Diodorus, xiv. 79; Polyaeus, Strategemata, ii. 1. 8-9; Cornelius Nepos, xvii., Agesilaus, 2 and 3; Frontinus, Strategemata, i. 8. 12.
declared war on Agesilaus unless he should depart from Asia. Agesilaus gladly welcomed the transgression, and set forth as if he were intending to advance into Caria; and when Tissaphernes had concentrated his forces there, Agesilaus, by a rapid movement thence, invaded Phrygia; and having taken very many cities and a wealth of spoil, he said to his friends, "To do wrong after making a treaty is impious, but to outwit the enemy is not only right and reputable, but also pleasant and profitable."  

12. Finding himself inferior in horsemen, he retreated to Ephesus, and there made proclamation to the men of means that they should each provide a horse and a man, and thus gain their own release from service. As a result there were collected, in a very short time, both horses and capable men in place of wealthy cowards. Agesilaus said he was emulating Agamemnon; for Agamemnon accepted a good mare and released from service a base man of wealth.

13. When, in obedience to his orders that the prisoners of war be sold naked, those charged with selling the spoils so offered them, there were many buyers for the clothing, but as for the prisoners' bodies, altogether white and soft because of their indoor life, the buyers derided them as useless and worthless. And Agesilaus, stepping up, said, "These are the things for which you fight, and these are the men whom you fight."

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\[a\] Cf. Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. ix. (600 d); Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iii. 4. 15, and *Agesilaus*, 1. 24.


\[c\] Cf. Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. ix. (600 e); Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iii. 4. 19, *Agesilaus*, 1. 28; Polyaeus, ii. 1. 5; Athenaeus, 550 e.
14. Τρειβάμενος δὲ περὶ Λυδίαν Τισσαφέρνην

D καὶ πλείστους ἀνελών, κατέτρεχε τῆς βασιλέως χώρας. τούτων δὲ χρήματα αὐτῷ προσπέμψαντος καὶ ἀξιοῦντος διαλύσασθαι τῶν πόλεμων, ὁ Ἀγγείλαος τῆς μὲν εἰρήνης ἐφή τὴν πόλιν εἶναι κυρίαν, τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας πλουτίζων ἤδεσθαι μάλλον ἡ αὐτῶς πλουτῶν. καλὸν δὲ νομίζειν Ἐλλήνας οὐ δῶρα λαμβάνειν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ λάφυρα κτάσθαι.

15. Μεγαβάτου δὲ τοῦ Σπυθριδάτου παιδός, ὁς ἦν κάλλιστος τὴν μορφήν, προσελθόντος αὐτῷ ὡς ἀσπασομένου καὶ φιλήσοντος διὰ τὸ σφόδρα δοκεῖν ἀγαπᾶσθαι, ἔξεκλινεν· ως δὲ ἐπαύσατο ἐκεῖνος προσιών, ἐπεξήγησεν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀγγείλαος· τῶν δὲ φίλων φαμένων ὡς αὐτὸς εἰη αὐτίος τρέσας τὸ Ε τοῦ καλοῦ ἐντος 1 φιλήματος ἐλθεῖν, κἂν 2 μὴ ἀποδειλά, 3 ἦσεν ἐκεῖνον, χρόνον οὐκ ὄλγον πρὸς αὐτῶ γενόμενος ὁ Ἀγγείλαος καὶ διασωπήσας "ούδεν," ἐφη, "ἀς 4 πείθεων ἐκεῖνον ἡμᾶς"· ἐγὼ γάρ μοι δοκῶ τῶν τοιούτων βουλεῦσαι ἐπάνω εἶναι, ἢ τὴν εὐανδροτάτην τῶν ἀντιτεταγμένων πόλιν κατὰ κράτος ἔλειν· ἁμεῖν, γὰρ ἐστὶν ἄκριτον πνεύματε τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τοῦ ἐτέρων ἀφαίρεσθαι."

16. Τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀκριβῆς ὄν καὶ νόμιμος, ἐν τοῖς φιλικοῖς πράγμασιν ἐνόμιζε πρόφασιν εἶναι τὸ

1 ἐντος added by F.C.B.
2 κἂν F.C.B.; καὶ.
3 ἀποδειλά F.C.B.; ἀπὸ δειλάς (φιλήμα, εἰ ἐθέλει καὶ μὴ ἀποδειλάσει Kronenberg).
4 ἀς Wyttenbach (δεϊν Κρονένμπεργκ): δεῖν.
5 ἡμᾶς] ἡμᾶ Kronenberg from the Life of Agesilaus, chap. xi. There are more elaborate attempts to improve the passage (dependent mostly on the Life of Agesilaus, ibid.); cf. the editions of Wyttenbach and Bernardakis.

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14. Having routed Tissaphernes in the Lydian country and slain a great many of his men, he proceeded to overrun the king's country. The king sent money to him, and in return asked for a cessation of hostilities, but Agesilaus said that the State alone had the power to make peace, and that it gave him more pleasure to enrich his soldiers than to be rich himself, and that he thought it a grand thing that the Greeks did not accept gifts from the enemy, but took spoils instead.\(^a\)

15. When Megabates, Spithridates' son, who was most fair of form, came near to him as if to greet him with a kiss because the boy felt that he was held in affection by Agesilaus, Agesilaus drew back. And when the boy stopped coming to see him, Agesilaus asked for him; whereupon his friends said that he had only himself to blame, because he shrank from coming within kissing distance of the fair one, and if he would not act the coward, the boy would come again. Agesilaus, reflecting by himself for no brief time in uninterrupted silence, finally said, "There is no need of our trying to persuade him; for I feel that I had rather be above such things than to take by storm the most populous city of our opponents, since it is better to preserve one's own liberty than to deprive others of theirs." \(^b\)

16. In almost all matters he was exact in observing the law, but in anything affecting his friends he thought that too rigid justice in dealings with them

\(^a\) Cf. Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. x. (601 A-B), where the remark is made to Tithraustes, who was sent by the king to supplant Tissaphernes. Cf. also Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iii. 4. 25, and *Agesilaus*, 4. 6.

\(^b\) Cf. Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xi. (602 A); *Moralia*, 31 c (81 A); Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, 5. 4-5.
λίαν δίκαιον πρὸς αὐτούς. φέρεται γωνίς ἐπιστόλιον
weeks paraistoumenou των τῶν φίλων πρὸς Ἰὸδρεά
tὸν Καρά, οὕτως: "Νῦκιας εἰ μὲν οὐκ ἀδικεῖ, ἀφεῖ·
ei δὲ ἀδικεῖ, ἐμοὶ ἄφες· πάντως δὲ ἄφες."

17. Ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς πλείστοις ὑπὲρ τῶν φίλων
tουοῦτοι τὸ Ἀγησίλαος· ἔστι δὲ ὁ πρὸς τὸ συμ-
fέρου ἐξήρτο τὸ καιρῷ μᾶλλον. ἀναζωγήσες γοῦν
ποτε γειομείης θορυβωδεστεράς, ἀσθενοῦντα κατα-
lπῶν τὸν ἐρώμενον, ἐκείνου δεομένου καὶ ἀνα-
caloῦντος μετὰ δακρύων αὐτού, ἐπιστραφεῖς εἰπεν
"ὡς χαλεπὸν ἐστιν ἠλει νὰ καὶ φρονεῖν."

18. Δίαιται δὲ τὴν περὶ τὸ σῶμα οὐδὲν ἀμείνονα
τῶν συνόντων εἶχε, κόρου μὲν καὶ μέθης τὸ παράπαν
ἀπεχόμενος, ὡπυρὶ δὲ ὁ δεσπότης ἀλλ' ἀρχομένῳ
ὑπὸ τῶν πράξεων χρώμενος· πρὸς δὲ θάλπος οὕτως
καὶ ψυχὸς εἶχεν, ὦστε μόνος ἀεὶ χρήσθαι ταῖς
ώραις· ἐν μέσοις δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις σκηνῶν
οὐδενὸς ἀμείνονα κοίτην εἰχεν.

19. Διετέλει δὲ λέγον τὸν ἀρχοντα προσήκειν οὐ
μαλακία καρτερία δὲ καὶ ἀνδρεία δὴ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν
περιεῖναι.

20. Πυθομένου γωνίς τῶν τί περιεποίησαν οἱ
Δυκώργου νόμοι τῇ Ὑπάρτῃ, "καταφρονεῖν," ἔφη,
"τῶν ἡδονῶν."

1 δὴ F.C.B. (probably corrupted to δεῖ and then into the
infinitive): δεῖν. προσήκειν in the line above should be kept,
as it stands in Xenophon, Agesilas, 5. 2, the source of the
quotation.

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a Cf. Plutarch's Life of Agesilas, chap. xiii. (603 b);
Moralia, 191 b, supra.
b Cf. Plutarch’s Life of Agesilas, chap. xiii. (603 c);
Moralia, 191 a, supra.
c Cf. Plutarch’s Life of Agesilas, chap. xiv. (603 d);
was but a poor excuse. At any rate, there is a note of his in circulation addressed to Hidriereus the Carian, in which he asks for the release of one of his friends in these words: “If Nicias is not guilty, let him go; but if he is guilty, let him go for my sake; but let him go anyway.”

17. Such, then, was Agesilaus in his friends’ behalf in most matters; but there are instances when, in meeting a critical situation, he showed more regard for the general weal. At any rate, on a time when camp was being broken in some disorder, and Agesilaus was leaving behind his loved one who was ill, and the loved one implored him and called him back with tears, Agesilaus, turning round, exclaimed, “How hard it is to be merciful and sensible at the same time!”

18. The mode of living which he followed personally was in no wise better than that of his associates. He refrained always from overeating and from heavy drinking. Sleep he treated, not as a master, but as governed at all times by what he had to do; and such was his attitude towards heat and cold that he alone was able to make good use of the different seasons; and in his tent, which was in the midst of his soldiers, he had no better bed than anybody else.

19. He was continually saying that the commander ought rightly to be superior to the privates not in soft living and luxury, but in endurance and courage.

20. At any rate, when someone inquired what advantage the laws of Lycurgus had brought to Sparta, he said, “Contempt for pleasures.”

Xenophon, Agesilaus, 5. 2-3, and 9. 5; Cornelius Nepos, xvii., Agesilaus, 5. 2.

Cf. Xenophon, Agesilaus, 5. 2.
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(210) 21. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἐπιθαυμάζοντα τὴν μετριότητα τῆς ἐσθήτου καὶ τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Δακεδαιμονίων "ἀντί ταύτης," ἐφη, "τῆς διαίτης, ὥς ξένε, τὴν ἑλευθερίαν ἀμώμεθα."1

Β 22. "Ἀλλοι δὲ προτρεπομένου ἀνίεσθαι καὶ λέγοντος διὰ τὸ τῆς τύχης ἀδηλον μήποτε καιρὸς τοῦτο γένηται, 'ἄλλ' ἐγώ," εἶπεν, 'ἐμαυτόν έθίζω μελετῶν' ὡς 'ἐν μηδεμία μεταβολῇ μεταβολὴν ζητεῖν.'


24. Θάσιοι δὲ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν διαπορευομένω μετὰ τοῦ στρατεύματος ἀλφίτα καὶ χήνας καὶ στραγήματα καὶ μελίπηκτα καὶ ἄλλα παντοδαπὰ βρώματα τε καὶ πώματα3 πολυτέλη ἐπεμβαν μόνα δὲ τὰ ἀλφίτα δεξάμενος τὰ λοιπὰ ἀπάγειν ἐκε- λευσεν ὁπίσω τοὺς κεκομικότας,4 ὥς οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ὅντα χρήσιμα. λιπαροῦντων δὲ καὶ δεομένων πάντως λαβεὶν, ἐκελευσεν αὐτὰ τοὺς εἶλοσι δια- δοῦναι.5 πυθομένων δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν, ἐφη, "τοὺς ἀνδραγαθίαν ἀσκοῦντας τὰς τοιαύτας λυχνείας οὔχ ἀρμόζει προσίεσθαι· τὰ γάρ δελεᾶζοντα τοὺς ἀνδραποδώδεις τῶν ἑλευθέρων ἀλλότρια.

1 ἀμώμεθα] μώμεθα Valekenaeer, μνώμεθα S. A. Naber.
2 μελετῶν or ἀσκῶν F.C.B.: λέγων.
3 πώματα the preferred form: πώματα.
4 κεκομικότας] κομίζοντας some mss.
5 διάδουναι] διαδιδοῦσθαι some mss.
21. In answer to the man who expressed surprise at the plainness of the clothes and the fare both of himself and of the other Spartans, he said, “From this mode of life, my friend, we reap a harvest of liberty.”

22. When someone else urged him to relax, and said that, because of the uncertainty of fortune, the opportunity for this might never come to him, he replied, “I accustom myself by training to seek to find a change in no change.”

23. Even when he had grown old, he followed the same course; and in answer to someone who asked him the reason why, at his age, he went about with no undergarment in such very cold weather, he said, “So that the young men may imitate, having the oldest men and the officials as an example.”

24. The Thasians, as he was marching through their country with his army, sent to him flour, geese, sweetmeats, honey-cakes, and other costly foods and drinks of all kinds. The flour alone he accepted, but the rest of the things he bade those who had brought them to carry back because these were of no use to the Spartans. But when the Thasians importuned him and begged him by all means to take all, he gave orders to distribute them among the Helots. And when the Thasians inquired the reason, he said, “It is not in keeping that those who practise manly virtues should indulge in such gormandizing, for things that allure the servile crowd are alien to free men.”


\[b\] Cf. Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xxxvi. (616 ρ), where the scene is laid in Egypt, as also in Cornelius Nepos, xvii., *Agesilaus*, 8. 3-4. The story is found also in Athenaeus, 657 ν, and in Aelian, *Varia Historia*, iii. 20, where it is told of Lysander.
25. Πάλιν δὲ τῶν Θασίων διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν μεγάλως D ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ εἰδρυτῆσθαι, ναὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποθεώσει τιμησάντων, καὶ περὶ τούτου πρεσβείαν ἀποστελλόντων, ἀναγνώσας τὰς τιμὰς, ἂς αὐτῷ προσήνεγκαν οἱ πρεσβεῖς, ἡρωτήσεις εἰ ἡ πατρίς αὐτῶν ἀποθεοῦν ἀνθρώπους δύναται· φαμένων δὲ, "ἀγετ'," ἐφη, "ποιήσατε πρῶτους θεοὺς· καὶ τούτ' ἂν πράξητε, τότε πιστεύσως ὑμῖν ὅτι κάμε δυνητεύσει θεον ποιῆσαι."

26. Τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἑλληνικῶν ἔθνων ψηφισμένων ἐν ταῖς ἐπιφανεστάταις πόλεσιν εἰκόνας ἀνιστάν αὐτοῦ, προσέγραψεν, "ἐμοὶ μηδεμία εἰκών ἔστω μηδὲ γραπτὴ μηδὲ πλαστὴ μηδὲ κατασκευαστὴ."

27. Θεασάμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας οἰκίαν τετραγώνους ὄροφωμένην δοκοῖς ἡρωτήσει τὸν κεκτημένον εἰ τετράγωνα παρ᾿ αὐτοῖς φύται ξύλα· φαμένου δὲ οὕ, ἄλλα στρογγύλα, "τι οὖν;' εἶπεν, "εἰ τετράγωνα ἤν, στρογγύλ’ ἄν’ ἐτελεῖτε;"

28. Ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ ποτὲ ἄχρι τῶν εἰών οἱ τῆς Λακωνικῆς ὅροι, τὸ δόρυ κραδάνας εἶπεν "ἄρισ οὗ τοῦτο φθάνοι."  

29. "Ἀλλοι δὲ ἐπίζητοντος διὰ τί ἀτείχιστος ἡ Σπάρτη, ἐπιδήλεξας τοὺς πολῖτας ἐξωπλισμένους "ταῦτά ἔστων," εἶπε, "τὰ Ὁκεδαιμονίων τεῖχη."

1 ἀποθεώσει [ἀποθεώσει] van Herwerden.
2 θεοὺς added by Bernardakis, but it is not absolutely necessary.
3 στρογγύλ’ ἄν Bernardakis; στρογγύλα.
4 φθάνοι] there are grounds for emending to τοῦτ’ ἄν φθάνη.

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1 Cf. Moralia, 191 d. supra, and the note. By “constructed” he probably refers to the gold and ivory statues which were common among the Greeks.
25. At another time the Thasians, because of a feeling that they had been greatly befriended by him, honoured him with temples and deifications, and also sent an embassy to inform him of their action. When he had read the honours which the ambassadors proffered to him, he asked if their country had the power to deify men; and when they answered in the affirmative, he said, "Go to; make gods of yourselves first, and if you can accomplish this, then will I believe that you will be able to make a god of me also."

26. When the Greek peoples of Asia voted to erect statues of him in their most prominent cities, he wrote to them: "Let there be no image of me painted or sculptured or constructed." a

27. Seeing in Asia a house roofed with square beams, he asked the owner if timber in that country grew square. And when the man said, "No, but round," he said, "Well, then, if they were square, would you finish them round?" b

28. Being asked once how far the bounds of Sparta extended, he said, with a flourish of his spear, "As far as this can reach." c

29. When someone else wished to know why Sparta was without walls, he pointed to the citizens in full armour and said, "These are the Spartans' walls." d

a Cf. Moralia, 227 c, infra, and Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus, chap. xii. (47 c).

b Cf. Moralia, 190 e (3), supra, and 217 e (7), 218 f (2), 229 c (6), infra, and 267 c.

c Cf. Moralia, 217 e, infra (Antalcidas); Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus, chap. xix. (52 b); Plato, Laws, 778 d; Epictetus, in Stobaeus, Florilegium, v. iii.; Demosthenes, Oration xviii. (De corona), 299 (325); Claudius Claudianus, (viii.), Panegyr. de quarto consulatu Honorii, 508. Cf. also Moralia, 238 e (28), infra.

d Cf. Moralia, 228 e (28), infra.
30. "Αλλου δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπιζητοῦντος, "οὐ λίθοις

31. Τοῖς δὲ φίλοις παρῆγγειλε μὴ χρήμασιν,

32. Οπότε δὲ βούλοιτο ἔργον τι ταχέως ὑπὸ

33. Ἐμεγαλύνετο δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ μηδενὸς ἢττον

34. Θεωρήσας δὲ τινα Λάκωνα χωλὸν ἐπὶ

35. Ἐρωτῶμενος δὲ πῶς μεγάλην δόξαν περι-

36. Ἐπιζητοῦντος δὲ τινὸς διὰ τὸ Σπαρτιάται

37. Μακαρίζοντος δὲ τινὸς τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα

38. Πολλὴν δὲ τῆς 'Ασίας ύφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιη-

a See note d on previous page.

b Cf. Xenophon, Agesilaus, 5. 3. Plutarch tells the same sort of thing about C. Marius in his Life, chap. vii. (409 b).
30. When another person put the same question, he said, "Cities ought not to be fortified with stones and timbers, but with the strong virtues of their inhabitants." 

31. He advised his friends to endeavour to be rich, not in money, but in bravery and virtue.

32. Whenever he wished a task to be quickly performed by his soldiers, he himself took hold first in the sight of all.

33. He found more cause for pride in his working quite as hard as anybody, and in his mastery over himself, rather than in his being king.

34. When he saw a lame Spartan going forth to war and asking where he could get a horse, Agesilaus said, "Don't you realize that war has need, not of those who run away, but of those who stand their ground?"

35. Being asked how he had fostered his great repute, he said, "By showing contempt for death."

36. When someone desired to know why Spartans do battle amidst the sound of fifes, he said, "So that, as all keep step to the music, the cowardly and the brave may be plainly seen."

37. When someone dwelt upon the great good fortune of the king of Persia, who was a very young man, Agesilaus said, "But even Priam at that time of life had not met with misfortune."

38. When he had brought a great part of Asia

\[c\] Cf. *Moralia*, 198 e (8), supra.

\[d\] Cf. 217 c, 234 e, infra; Valerius Maximus, iii. 7, ext. 8.

\[e\] Cf. 216 c (18), infra.

\[f\] Cf. Thucydides, v. 70; Xenophon, *Constitution of Sparta*, 13. 8; Lucian, *On Dancing*, 10; Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, ii. 16 (37); Valerius Maximus, ii. 6. 2.

\[g\] Cf. *Moralia*, 113 e.
(211) σάμενος διέγγω χωρεῖν ἐπ' αὐτὸν βασιλέα, ὅπως παύῃ σχολήν αὐτὸν ἁγοντα καὶ διαφθείροντα τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων δημαγωγούς.

39. Μεταπεμφθεῖς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφόρων ἑνεκα τῆς τοῦ περιστηκότος τῆς Σπάρτην Ἑλληνικοῦ πολέμου αἰτίας διὰ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Πέρσου διαπεμφθέντα χρήματα, εἰπὼν τὸν ἄγαθὸν ἁρχοντα δεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν Βούμων ἁρχεσθαι, ἀπέπλευσε τῆς Ἀσίας πολὺν ἑαυτοῦ πόθον τοῖς ἐνταῦθα Ἑλλησι καταλιπὼν.

40. Τοῦ δὲ Περσικοῦ νομίσματος χάραγμα τὸ ἐξότιν ἑχοντος, ἀναζευγνύων ἔφη τρισμυρίους τοξόταις ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἕξελαυνοντι τῆς Ἀσίας τοσοῦτων γάρ εἰς Ἀθηνας καὶ Θῆβας κομισθέντων διὰ Τιμοκράτους χρυσῶν δαρεικῶν καὶ διαδοθέντων τοῖς δημαγωγοῖς, ἐξεπολεμώθησαν οἱ δῆμοι πρὸς τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας.2

41. Καὶ ἀντέγραψε τοῖς ἐφόροις ἐπιστολὴν τῷ διδ., ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τοῖς ἐφόροις χαίρειν.

Τὰν πολλὰν τᾶς Ἀσίας κατεστρεψάμεθα, καὶ τῶς βαρβάρως ἐλάσαμες, καὶ ἐν τὰ Ἰωνία ὀπλα Π ἐπούσαμες πολλά· ἐπεὶ δὲ κέλεσθε με κατὰ τὰν προθεσμίαν παραγώνοντι, ἐπομαὶ τὰ ἐπιστολά, σχεδὸν δ' αὐτῶν καὶ φθάσω· ἄρχω γὰρ οὐκ ἐμαυτῷ ἁρχάν, ἄλλα τὰ πόλει καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις· καὶ τότε

1 τοῦ, not in the mss. apparently, seems necessary.
2 Σπαρτιάτας in the Life of Agesilaus, chap. xv.: στρατιώτας.

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a Cf. Plutarch’s Life of Agesilaus, chap. xv. (603 ε); Xenophon, Hellenica, iii. 5. 1, and iv. 1. 41, and Agesilaus, 1. 7.
b Cf. Plutarch’s Life of Agesilaus, chap. xv. (p. 603 ε); Xenophon, Hellenica, iv. 2. 1-3, and Agesilaus, 1. 36; Cornelius Nepos, xvii., Agesilaus, 4. 1-4.

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under his control, he decided to march against the
king himself, so that he might put an end to the
king's spending his time in leisure and corrupting
the popular leaders among the Greeks.\footnote{\textit{\textsuperscript{a}}}

39. When he was summoned home by the Ephors
because of the war declared against Sparta by the
surrounding Greek states, influenced by the money
which had been sent to them by the Persian, he
said that the good commander ought to be subject
to the command of the laws, and sailed away from
Asia, leaving behind a great yearning for him among
the Greeks there.\footnote{\textit{\textsuperscript{b}}}

40. Inasmuch as the Persian coinage was stamped
with the figure of a Bowman, he said, as he was break-
ing camp, that he was being driven out of Asia by
the king with thirty thousand bowmen; for such
was the number of gold pieces brought to Athens
and Thebes through Timoerates and distributed
among the popular leaders; and thus the people
were stirred to hostilities against the Spartans.\footnote{\textit{\textsuperscript{c}}}

41. He wrote a letter in reply to the Ephors as
follows:

"Agesilaus to the Ephors greeting.
"We hae conquered the maist pairt of Asia,
and made the barbarians rin, an' in Ionia we hae
built mony an armed camp. But gin ye bid me
come back as ye hae set the limit, I'll come after
the letter, or I'll mebbe get there afore it; for
I rule, no for masel', but for the State and oor allies.

\footnote{\textit{\textsuperscript{c}}} Cf. Plutarch's \textit{Life of Agesilaus}, chap. xv. (604 c); \textit{Life of Artaxerxes}, chap. xx. (1021 b); Xenophon, \textit{Hellenica}, iii. 5. 1. Xenophon (l.c.) says that the Persian
gold went to Thebes, Corinth, and Argos, and the Athenians
were eager for the war (naturally, as it was a war of revenge)
without being bribed.\footnote{\textit{\textsuperscript{c}}}

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(211) ἀρχων ἀρχει ἀλαθέως κατὰ δίκαιον, ὅταν καὶ ἄρχηται ὑπὸ τε νόμων καὶ ἐφόρων ἦ οἰοὶ ἃν ἄλλοι ἐν πόλει ἄρχοντες ὄσων."

42. Ὁς δὲ διαβάσα τὸν Ἐλλησποντον ἐβάδιζε διὰ τῆς Ὀράκης, ἐδεήθη μὲν οὐδενὸς τῶν βαρβάρων, πέμπων δὲ πρὸς ἐκάστους ἐπυθάνετο πότερον δ ὡς φιλιάν ἦ ὡς πολεμίαν διαπορεύηται τὴν χώραν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι φιλικῶς ἐδέχοντο καὶ παρέπεμπον οἱ δὲ καλούμενοι Τραλλείς, ὅσ καὶ Ἑρέξης, ὡς λέγεται, ἐδώκε ὁ διόρα, τῆς διόδου μισθοῦ ἤτοι τὸν Ἀγγείλαον ἐκατὸν ἀργυρίου τάλαντα καὶ γυναίκας τοσαύτας. δὲ δὲ κατειρωνευσάμενοι αὐτοὺς καὶ φήσας τί οὖν οὐκ εὐθὺς ἦλθον ληψόμενοι, προῆ γε καὶ συμβαλῶν αὐτοῖς παρατεταγμένους τρεφάμενοι καὶ διαφθείρας πολλοὺς διήλθεν.

43. Τῷ δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς τὸ αὐτὸ ἐρώτημα προσέπεμψε φήσαντος δ' ἐκεῖνον βουλεύσεσθαι, "βουλευέσθω τοῖς," εἶπεν, "ημεῖς δὲ πορευσόμεθα." θαυμάσας οὖν τὴν τόμαν καὶ δείσας ἐκέλευσεν ὡς φίλον προάγειν.

Ε 44. Τῶν δὲ Θετταλῶν τοῖς πολεμίοις συμμαχοῦντων, ἐπόρθει τὴν χώραν· εἰς δὲ Λάρισαν ἐπέμψε Ξενοκλέα καὶ Σκύθην περὶ φιλίας· συλληφθέντων δὲ τούτων καὶ παραφυλαττομένων, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι βαρέως φέροντες ἠμοτο δεῖν τὸν Ἀγγείλαον περιστρατοπεδεύσαντα πολιορκεῖν τὴν Λάρισαν. δ

1 Τραλλεῖς in the Life of Agesilas, chap. xvi.: Τρωάδεις.  
2 ἐδώκε ἰδι.: ἐδώκε.  
3 βουλεύσεσθαι ἰδι.: βουλεύσεσθαι.  
4 προάγειν ἰδι. (Cobet): προάγειν.  
5 Λάρισαν the regular spelling in inscriptions: Λάρισαν.
An’ a mon truly rules richt whan he gangs wi’ the laws an’ the Ephors or whatever ither rulers there may be in the State.”

42. When he had crossed the Hellespont and was marching through Thrace he made no request of any of the barbarian peoples, but sent to each to inquire whether, as he passed through their country, he should find it friendly or hostile. Nearly all received him in a friendly manner, and helped him on; but the people called Trallians, to whom as it is said even Xerxes gave gifts, demanded of Agesilaus, as the price for passing through their land, an hundred talents of silver and an equal number of women. And he, making fun of them, asked why they did not come at once to get all this, and, leading on his forces to where the Trallians were drawn up for battle, he engaged them, and, having routed them with great slaughter, he marched through.

43. To the king of the Macedonians he sent to propound the same question; and when the king said that he would consider it, Agesilaus said, “Let him consider it, then, but we will be marching on.” Amazed at his boldness, and fearful, the king accordingly bade him advance as a friend.

44. Since the Thessalians were in alliance with his enemies, he ravaged their country. To Larissa, however, he sent Xenocles and Scythes to suggest an amicable agreement. But when these were seized and detained, the rest of his men bore it very ill, and thought that he ought to encamp about Larissa and

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a The letter contains a suspicious number of words for a Laconic letter!

b Nos. 42, 43, and 44 are to be found consecutively in nearly the same words in Plutarch’s *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xvi. (604 d-e).
Plutarch's Moralia

δὲ φήσας οὐκ ἂν ἐθελήσαι Θετελάνων ὅλην λαβεῖν ἀπολέοντας τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸν ἐτερον ὑποσπόνδους αὐτοὺς ἀπέλαβεν.

F 45. Πυθόμενος δὲ μάχην γεγονόντω σε περὶ Κόρινθον, καὶ Σπαρτιατῶν μὲν παντάπασιν οἱ γούς τεθναίοι, Κορινθίων δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων αὐτοῖς παμπόλλους, οὐκ ὥφθη περι-χαρῆς οὐδ' ἐπηρμένοις τῇ νίκῃ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνω βαρὺ στενάξας, "φεῦ ταῦτα Ἑλλάδος," ἔφη, "ἀν τοσούτοις υπ' αὐτᾶς ἀπολώλεκεν, ὥσοι ἄρκει τῶς βαρβάρως νικῶν ἀπαντᾶς."

46. Ψαρσαλίων δὲ προσκεμένων καὶ κακουργούντων αὐτοῦ τὸ στράτευμα, πεντακοσίους ἄττι-πεύσι πρεψάμενος αὐτοῖς τρόπαιον ἔστησεν ὑπὸ τῶν Ναρθακίων καὶ τὴν νίκην ἐκεινὴν πάντων ὑπερ-γάπτησεν, ὅτι συντησάμενος τὸ ἱππικὸν αὐτὸς δὲ ἐαυτὸν, τούτῳ μόνῳ τοὺς μέγιστον ἐφ' ἱππικῇ φρονοῦντας ἐκράτησεν.

212 47. Διφρίδα δὲ οὐκοθέν ἀπαγγείλαντος αὐτῶ νεθύς ἐκ παρόδου ἐμβαλείν εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν, καίτοι ἐκ μείζονος παρασκευῆς ὑστερον τοῦτο ποίησι διανοούμενος, οὐκ ἀπειθήσας τοῖς ἀρχοὺς, μετα-πεμψάμενος δύο μόρας τῶν περὶ Κορίνθου στρα-τευμένων ἐπέβη τῆς Βοιωτίας. καὶ συμβαλὼν ἐν

1 τᾶς and ἂ the Doric forms for the sake of consistency: τῆς and ἂ.
2 κακουργούντων] κακούντων Life of Agesilaus, chap. xvi.
3 μόρας Turnebus: μοῖρας or μυρίαδας.

* See note b on previous page.
* In 394 B.C. Cf. Xenophon, Hellenica, iv. 2. 18 ff.
* Cf. Plutarch’s Life of Agesilaus, chap. xv. (604 f);
lay siege to it. But he declared that he would not lose either one of those men for the whole of Thessaly, and got them back by coming to terms with the enemy.\textsuperscript{a}

45. When he learned that a battle had been fought in the vicinity of Corinth,\textsuperscript{b} and that only a very few of the Spartans had fallen, but a vast number of the Corinthians and Athenians and the others on their side, he was not observed to be overjoyed or elated at the victory, but with a very deep sigh said, "Hech, sirs, for Greece, wha her ane sel' has killed sae mony men—as mony as micht pit doon a' the barbarians." \textsuperscript{c}

46. When the Pharsalians beset him and harassed his army, he routed them with five hundred horsemen, and set up a trophy at the foot of Mount Narthacium. And he was better satisfied with this victory than with all others, because he himself by his own efforts had built up this company of cavalry,\textsuperscript{d} and with this alone he had overcome those who took the greatest pride in horsemanship.\textsuperscript{e}

47. Diphridas\textsuperscript{f} brought word to him from home that he should at once, as he passed by, invade Boeotia. It had been his purpose to do this later after making more adequate preparation, but he did not disobey those in authority, and, after sending for two divisions of the army in the field at Corinth, he entered Boeotia. At Coroneia he engaged

\textit{Moralia, 191 A (6), supra, and the note; Xenophon, \textit{Hellenica}, iv. 3. 1, \textit{Agesilaus}, 7. 4; Diodorus, xiv. 86; Cornelius Nepos, xvii., \textit{Agesilaus}, 5. 2.}
\textsuperscript{a} See 209 b, supra.
\textsuperscript{c} Cf. Plutarch's \textit{Life of Agesilaus}, chap. xvi. (605 A); Xenophon, \textit{Hellenica}, iv. 3. 3-9, \textit{Agesilaus}, 2. 2-5.
\textsuperscript{d} One of the Ephors.
(212) Κορωνεία. Ῥήβαιος Ἀθηναῖος Ἀργεῖος Κορυθίος Λοκροίς ἀμφοτέρους ἐνίκησε, καὶ τοὺς ἅπαντας ταύρους κακῶς τὸ σώμα διακείμενος, τὴν μεγίστην μάχην, ὡς φησὶ Ξενοφῶν, τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν γενομένων.

48. Οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν περὶ τῶν βίων καὶ τήν διά τὰς τοσαύτας εὐτυχίας καὶ νῖκας ἥλλαξεν οἶκαὶ ἐπανελθὼν.

B 49. Ὁρῶν δ' ἐνίοις τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπὸ ἑπτατριούς δοκοῦντας εἶναι τινὰς καὶ μεγαλομνηστοῦντας ἐπευξεῖς τὴν ἀδελφὴν Κυνίσκαν ἀρμὰ καθείσαν Ὁλυμπιάσιν ἀγωνίσσοσθαι, βουλόμενος ἑυδείξασθαι τοῖς Ἐλλησιοῖς ὡς οὐδεμιᾶς ἐστὶν ἀρετής πλούτου δὲ καὶ δαπάνης τὰ τοιάῦτα.

50. Ξενοφῶντα δὲ τὸν σοφὸν ἐξων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ σπουδαζόμενον ἐκέλευε τοὺς παῖδας ἐν Λακεδαιμονίᾳ τρέφειν μεταπεμβαμένου, ὡς τὸ κάλλιστον τῶν μαθημάτων παιδεὑρησομένους, ἀρχεῖν τε καὶ ἀρχεῖσθαι.

C 51. Ἀλλοτε δ' ἐρωτώμενοι διὰ τὰ μάλιστα παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους εὐδαιμονιζόμενοι οἱ Σπαρτῖται, "διότι," εἶπε, "παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀσκοῦσιν ἀρχεῖν τε καὶ ἀρχεῖσθαι."

1 καθείσαν Life of Agesilaus, chap. xx. : καθίσασαν.
2 ὡς ibid. (Kronenberg).

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a Hellenica, iv. 3. 16, Agesilaus, 2. 9. Xenophon took part in the battle (Anabasis, v. 3. 6).
b Cf. Plutarch's Life of Agesilaus, chaps. xvii. and xviii. (605 a-f); Xenophon, Hellenica, iv. 3. 15-20, Agesilaus, 2. 9-16.
d Cf. Plutarch's Life of Agesilaus, chap. xx. (606 d); Xenophon, Agesilaus, 9. 6; Pausanias, iii. 8. 1-2; iii. 15. 1; 266
in battle Thebans, Athenians, Argives, Corinthians, and the two Locrian peoples, and, although he was in desperate straits by reason of the many wounds in his body, he was victorious in the greatest battle, as Xenophon says,\textsuperscript{a} of those fought in his day.\textsuperscript{b}

48. After he returned home he made no change in anything touching his life and his manner of living on account of so many successes and victories.\textsuperscript{c}

49. Seeing that some of the citizens thought themselves to be somebody and gave themselves great airs because they kept a racing stud, he persuaded his sister Cynisca to enter a chariot in the races at Olympia, for he wished to demonstrate to the Greeks that this sort of thing was no sign of excellence, but only of having money and being willing to spend it.\textsuperscript{d}

50. He had with him Xenophon the philosopher, who was treated with marked consideration, and he urged Xenophon to send for his sons, and bring them up in Sparta, where they would be taught the fairest of all lessons—to rule and to be ruled.\textsuperscript{e}

51. On one other occasion he was asked what was the especial reason why the Spartans were fortunate above all other peoples, and he replied, "Because they, above all others, make it their practice to rule and to be ruled."\textsuperscript{f}

\textsuperscript{a} Cf. Plutarch's \textit{Life of Agesilaus}, chap. xx. (606 d), and Diogenes Laertius, ii. 51 and 54.

\textsuperscript{b} Cf. \textit{Moralia}, 215 c, \textit{infra}; Plutarch's \textit{Life of Lycurgus}, chap. xxx. (58 c), and \textit{Life of Agesilaus}, chap. i. (596 d); Xenophon, \textit{Agesilaus}, 2. 16.
52. Δυσάνδρου δὲ τελευτήσαντος, εύρων ἐταιρείαν πολλὴν συνεστώσαν, ἢν ἐκείνος εὐθὺς ἐπανελθὼν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας συνεστήσεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον, ὥρμησεν αὐτὸν ἐξελέγχειν οἷος ἢν ξῶν πολίτης. καὶ λόγον ἀναγνώσει ἐν βιβλίῳ ἀπολελειμμένον, δὴ ἐγραφεῖ μὲν Κλέων ὁ Ἀλικαρνασσεύς, ἐμελλὲ δὲ λέγειν ἀναλαβὼν ὅ Δυσάνδρος ἐν τῷ δῆμῳ περὶ πραγμάτων καὶ μεταστάσεως τοῦ πολιτεύματος, ἠθέλησεν εἰς μέσον ἐξενεγκεῖν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τις τῶν γερόντων τὸν λόγον διελθὼν καὶ φοβηθεὶς τὴν δευτερημότητα συνεβούλευσε μὴ τὸν Δυσάνδρον ἀνορύττευν, ἀλλὰ τὸν λόγον μᾶλλον αὐτῷ συγκατορύπτευν, ἐπείσθη καὶ ἠθύχαιον.

53. Τοὺς δὲ ὑπεναντιομένους αὐτῷ φανερῶς μὲν οὐκ ἔταραττε. διαπραττόμενος δὲ πέμπεσθαί τινας ἀεὶ στρατηγοὺς καὶ ἄρχοντας εἰς αὐτῶν ἐπεδείκνυε γενομένους ἐν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις πονηροὺς καὶ πλεονέκτας· εἰτα κρυμμένους πάλιν αὐτὸν θητῶν καὶ συναγωνιζόμενος οἰκείος ἐποιεῖτο καὶ μεθύστη πρὸς ἑαυτὸν, ὡστε οὐδένα ἀντίπαλον εἶναι.

54. Ἔδειθη τις αὐτοῦ γράψαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐπ᾽ Ἀσίας ἐξένοις, ὅπως τῷ τῷ δικαίῳ· "ἀλλ’ οἱ ἐμοὶ ἐξένοι," εἶπε, "τα δίκαια δι’ ἑαυτῶν, κἂν ἐγὼ μὴ γράψω, ποιοῦσι."  

55. Ἐπεδείκνυε τις αὐτῷ τῆς πόλεως τὸ τείχος ὄχυρον καὶ καρπερῶς ἄγαν ἐξωκοδομημένον, καὶ

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1 διελθὼν Hartman: ἐπελθών.
2 πέμπεσθαί Life of Agesilaus, chap. xx.: δ’ ἐπεσθαί.

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* Cf. Moralia, 229 f., infra; Plutarch’s Life of Lysander, chap. xxiv. (447 D), and chap. xxx. (450 E); Life of Agesilaus, chap. xx. (606 E).
52. After Lysander's death he found a huge association banded together, which Lysander, immediately after his return from Asia, had organized against him, and he set out to show up Lysander by pointing out what kind of a citizen he had been when he was alive. So, after reading a speech which had been left among Lysander's papers, the author of which was Cleon of Halicarnassus, and which Lysander had been intending to appropriate and deliver before the people on the subject of revolution and changing the form of government, Agesilaus wished to make it public. But when one of the aged men read the speech, and was frightened at its cleverness, and advised him not to disinter the dead Lysander, but rather to inter the speech along with him, he took the advice and did nothing.  

53. Those who covertly opposed him he did not openly put to confusion, but managed to have some of them always sent out as generals and officers, and then he would proceed to demonstrate that they had proved themselves unprincipled and greedy in exercising their authority. Then later, when they were brought to trial, his rôle this time would be to help them and defend them at their trial; and thus he won their allegiance, and brought them over to his own side, so that there was nobody who opposed him. 

54. Somebody wanted him to write to his friends in Asia so that the petitioner might meet with right treatment there. "But," said Agesilaus, "my friends of themselves do what is right, even if I do not write to them."

55. Somebody in a foreign land pointed out to Agesilaus the city wall, high towering and exceedingly massive in its construction, and asked Agesilaus
56. Megarews de tinos peri tis polews pro's avto'n megalauchoymenou, "meirakion," efhi, "oi logoi sou pollhis dynameos deontai."

57. "A de tous allos eora thumamazontas edokei mpedi ginwiskein. Kai pote Kalipipidh is o twv tragwidiwv upokritis, onoma kai doxan exwv en tois "Ellhni kai spoudaazomevos upo pantwn, prwton mev aphtntisnev autw kai proseipen, epeita sobarow eis toous sumperipatontas embalwv eauntov, epedeiknuto nomyzwv ekeinov arxein1 tinos philofrovniesew. Telos de eipen, "ouk epituxinwsekous me, o basileus, ou'd hikonas ostis eimi;" o de 'Agnisilaos apoblefas eis auton eipen,2 "all' ou tiv eos Kalipipidas o deiklyktas;" ou'tw de Lakedaimonoi toous mimois kaloudin.

58. Tou de mimoymenou tiv tis anhdovos fwnh akousai paraikaloumenos, parhthosato phousas "aut- tas akouka pollakis."

59. Menekratois de tou Iatrou, epeie kata-
tuchon en tisw apeignosphena theorpeias Zews epeljyth, foroikous tauty chrwmewon tiv prose-

1 arxein Life of Agesilaus, chap. xxi.: arxe.
2 eipen added from ibid.

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a Cf. Moralia, 190 a, supra, 215 b, 230 c, infra, and Valerius Maximus, iii. 7, ext. 8.

b The remark is usually attributed to Lysander: cf. Plutarch's Life of Lysander, chap. xxii. (445 b); Moralia, 71 e, 190 e, supra, 229 c, infra: Themistius, Oration xxvii. 270
if it looked grand to him. "Yes," said Agesilaus, "grand indeed, not for men though, but for women to live in." 

56. When a man from Megara boasted greatly about his city, Agesilaus said, "Young man, your words need a great power to back them." 

57. Things which he saw other people admiring he seemed not even to notice. For example, once upon a time Callippides, the tragic actor, who had a name and repute among the Greeks, and was received everywhere with the most flattering attention, first of all put himself in front of Agesilaus and addressed him, and then pompously thrust himself into the company that was walking with him, thus making it plain that he expected the king to begin some friendly conversation, and finally he said, "Your Majesty, do you not recognize me, and have you not heard who I am?" At that Agesilaus looked towards him and said, "Are ye no Callippidas the shawman?" That is what the Spartans call the strolling players.

58. When he was invited to hear the man who imitated the nightingale's voice, he begged to be excused, saying, "I hae heard the bird itsel' mony a time."

59. Menecrates the physician, who, because of his success in curing certain persons who had been given up to die, had to be called Zeus, used to drag

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334 c. The idea was originally expressed by Adeimantus to Themistocles in Herodotus, viii. 61.

Famous for his impressive acting. Cf. Xenophon, Symposium, 3. 11; Aristotle, Poetics, chap. 26; Plutarch, Moralia, 348 ε; Polyainus, Strategemata, vi. 10.

Cf. Plutarch's Life of Agesilaus, chap. xxi. (607 δ).

Life of Agesilaus, chap. xxi. (607 ε); Moralia, 191 β; Life of Lycurgus, chap. xx. (52 ε). A similar remark is attributed to Pleistarchus, Moralia, 231 c, infra.

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(213) νυμία, καὶ δὴ πρὸς τὸν 'Αγησίλαον ἐπιστείλας τολμήσαντος οὕτω, "Μενεκράτης Ζεὺς βασιλεῖ 'Αγησιλάω χαίρειν," οὐκ ἀναγνώσας τὰ λοιπὰ ἀντέγραψε, "βασιλεῦς 'Αγησίλαος Μενεκράτει ὑγιαίνειν."

Β 60. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κόνων καὶ Φαρνάβαζος τῷ βασιλέως ναυτικῷ θαλασσικρατοῦντες ἐπολιῷρκουν τὰ παράλλα τῆς Λακωνικῆς, ἐτειχίσθη δὲ τὸ ἁστιν τῶν 'Αθηναίων Φαρνάβαζου χρήματα δόντος, εἱρήνην ἐποιήσαντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς βασιλέα· καὶ πέμπουσι πολίτην Ἀνταλκίδαν πρὸς Τιρίβαζον, ¹ τοὺς ἐν τῇ 'Ασίᾳ Ἕλληνας, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐπολέμησαν Ἀγησίλαος, βασιλεῖ παραδιδόντες. οθὲν δὴ ἡ ἠκίστα ² συνέβη τῆς κακοδοξίας ταύτης Ἀγησιλάως μετασχεῖν· ὁ γὰρ Ἀνταλκίδας ἐχθρὸς ἦν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὴν εἱρήνην ἕξ ἀπαντὸς ἔπραττεν, ὡς τοῦ πολέμου τὸν Ἀγησίλαον αὐξόντος καὶ ποιοῦντος ἐνδοξότατον καὶ μέγιστον.

61. Οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐπόντα μηδίζεων τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπεκρίθη μᾶλλον τοὺς Μήδους λακωνίζειν.

C 62. Ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ ποτε ὁποτέρα βελτίων τῶν ἀρετῶν, ἀνδρεία η δικαιοσύνη, οὐδὲν ὁφελος ἀνδρείας ἐφασκεν εἰναι μὴ παρούσης δικαιοσύνης· εἰ ³

¹ Τιρίβαζον the usual spelling: Τιρίβαζον.
² ἠκίστα Life of Agesilaus, chap. xxiii.: κάκιστα.
in this title on all occasions, and even went so far in
his effrontery as to write to Agesilaus in this fashion:
"Menecrates Zeus to King Agesilaus, health and
happiness." Agesilaus did not read any further,
but wrote in reply,
"King Agesilaus to Menecrates, health and sanity!"a

60. When Conon and Pharnabazus with the Great
King's fleet were masters of the sea and blockaded
the Spartans' coast, and the walls of Athens had
been rebuiltb with the money provided by Pharna-
bazus, the Spartans made peace with the king.c
They sent one of their citizens, Antalcidas, to Tiri-
bazus, and surrendered into the king's power those
Greeks in Asia Minor for whose freedom Agesilaus
had fought. It follows, therefore, that Agesilaus
could not have had the slightest thing to do with this
disreputable business; for Antalcidas was at enmity
with him, and employed every resource in working
for the peace, because he felt that the war made
Agesilaus great and enhanced his repute and
importance.d

61. Yet, in answer to a man who said that the Spartans
were becoming pro-Persian, Agesilaus said that rather
the Persians were becoming pro-Spartan!e

62. Being asked once which was better of the
virtues, bravery or justice, he said that there is no
use for bravery unless justice is also in evidence, and

Macedon by Aelian, Varia Historia, xii. 51, and Athenaeus,
289 b.

b In 393 B.C. (Xenophon, Hellenica, iv. 8. 10).
c The peace of Antalcidas, 387 B.C. (Xenophon, Hellenica,
v. 1. 29; Plutarch, Life of Artaxerxes, chap. xxi. (1022 a)).
d Cf. Plutarch's Life of Agesilaus, chap. xxiii. (608 c).
e Ibid. 608 d; cf. also Plutarch's Life of Artaxerxes,
chap. xxi. (1022 c).
(213) δὲ δίκαιοι πάντες γένουτο, μηδὲν ἀνδρείας δεηθῇσεσθαι.  

63. Εἰθομένων δὲ τῶν τῆς Ἀσίας κατοικοῦντων τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα μέγαν προσαγορεύειν, “τί δαλ ἐκεῖνος ἐμοὶ μεῖζων,” ἔφη, “εἰ μὴ δικαιότερος καὶ σωφρονέστερος;”  

64. Ἠσαύριος δὲ τοὺς τῆς Ἀσίας κατοικοῦντας ἐλευθέρους μὲν κακοὺς, δουλοὺς δὲ ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι.  


66. Τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν δειν ἐφασκε πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἐναντίον τὸλμαν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους εὐνοιαν ἔχειν.  

D 67. Ἐπιζητοῦντος δὲ τινος τίνα δει μανθάνειν τοὺς παῖδας, “ταυτ’;” εἶπεν, “οἷς καὶ ἄνδρες γενόμενοι χρήσονται.”  

68. Δικαίοντος δὲ τινα δύκην αὐτοῦ, καὶ του μὲν κατηγόρου εὑε ἐφηκότος τοῦ δὲ ἀπολογουμένου φαύλως, λέγοντος δὲ πῶς ἐκαστα, “Ἀγησίλαος, δεί τὸν βασιλέα τοὺς νόμους βοηθεῖν,” “καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν,” ἔφη, “εἰ τίς σοι διέσκαπτε καὶ τὸ ιμάτιον εἰ ἀφήρετο, προσεδέχου ἄν τὸν οἰκοδόμον ή τὸν τὸ ἱμάτιον υφάναντα ἐπικουρήσεις σοι;”  

69. Ἐπιστολῆς δὲ αὐτοῦ παρὰ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως κομισθείσης, τῆς εἰρήνης γενομένης, ἂν  

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1 δεηθῇσεσθαι, δεηθῇσεσθαι in the Life of Agesilaus, chap. xxiii., and in Stobaeus, Florilegium, vii. 72.  
2 Stobaeus, Florilegium, liv. 49, adds ἕπρα καὶ τοὺς καιροὺς λογισμὸν.

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a Cf. Moralia, 190 f (3), supra, and Plutarch's Life of Agesilaus, chap. xxiii. (608 f).  
b Cf. the note on Moralia, 190 f (2), supra.

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if all men should become just they would have no need of bravery.⁴

63. The inhabitants of Asia were accustomed to give to the king of Persia the title of 'The Great,' but Agesilaus said, "In what, pray, is he greater than I, unless he is more just and more self-controlled?" ⁵

64. He used to say that the inhabitants of Asia were poor freemen, but good slaves.⁶

65. Being asked how one might most surely have a good name among men, he said, "If one say what is best and do what is most honourable."

66. He used to say that a general ought to be possessed of boldness towards the enemy and kindness towards the men under him.⁷

67. When someone desired to know what boys ought to learn, he said, "That which they will use when they become men." ⁸

68. Once when he was sitting as judge the accuser spoke well and the defendant poorly, merely repeating in answer to each point, "Agesilaus, a king must uphold the laws;" whereat Agesilaus said, "And if somebody had broken into your house, and if somebody had robbed you of your coat, should you expect that the builder of the house or the maker of the coat would come to your assistance?"

69. After the peace was made, ⁹ a letter from the king of Persia was brought to him, of which the

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⁴ Cf. the note on Moralia 190 f (1), supra.
⁵ Stobaeus, Florilegium, liv. 49, adds, "and reasoning power to meet crises."
⁶ Leotychidas (224 D, infra) and Aristippus (Diogenes Laertius, ii. 80) expressed the same opinion, which has been repeated ad nauseam by professors of paedagogy.
⁷ The peace of Antalcidas, 387 b.c. See Moralia, 213 A-B, supra.
(213) ὃ μετὰ Καλλίου τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου Πέρσης ἔγγεικε περὶ ξενίας καὶ φιλίας, οὐκ ἔλαβεν εἰπὼν ἀπαγγείλαι βασιλεῖ ὡς ἰδία μὲν πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐδὲν δέοι ἐπιστολὰς πέμπειν· ἢν δὲ φίλος τῇ Λακεδαιμονὶ καὶ τῇ 'Ελλάδι εὖνοις ἃν φαίνηται, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς φίλος αὐτῷ κατὰ κράτος ἑσοῦτο· ἐὰν μέντοι ἐπιβουλεύων ἀλισκῆται, "μηδ' ἂν πάνω πολλὰς δέχωμαι ἐπιστολὰς, πυτευέτω φίλον με ἔξειν."

70. Φιλοτεκνότατος δ' ἂν διαφερόντως, λέγεται ὅτι μικροὶς τοῖς παιδίοις κάλαμον περιβεβηκώς ὡσπερ ἔππον οὐκοὶ συνεπαιζεν· ὁδεῖς δὲ ὑπὸ τινὸς τῶν φίλων παρεκάλει μηδενὶ φράζεων, πρὶν ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς πατὴρ παιδῶν γένηται.

71. Συνεχῶς δὲ αὐτὸ τοῖς Θηβαίοις πολεμοῦντος καὶ τρωθέντος ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, φασὶ τὸν 'Αντάλκιδαν εἰπεῖν, "καλὰ τὰ διδασκάλια παρὰ Θηβαίων ἀπολαμβάνεις, μὴ βουλομένους αὐτοὺς μηδ' ἐπισταμένους μάχεσθαι διδάξας." τῷ γὰρ ὅτι Θηβαίοις αὐτοὺς ἐαυτῶν πολεμικωτάτους τότε φασὶ γενέσθαι ταῖς πολλαῖς στρατείαις τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς. διὸ καὶ Λυκοῦργος ὁ παλαιὸς ἐν ταῖς καλομέναις Ἡράτραις ἀπείπε πολλάκις ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς στρατεύειν, ὡπως πολεμεῖν μὴ μανθάνωσιν.

1 παιδίοις] παιδίοις οὗτοι, Life of Agesilaus, chap. xxv. 2 πρὶν ἂν ἰδιδ. : πρὶν.

a Cf. Plutarch's Life of Agesilaus, chap. xxiii. (608 f); Xenophon, Agesilaus, 8. 3 (in almost the same words as here); Aelian, Varia Historia, x. 20.

b Cf. Plutarch's Life of Agesilaus, chap. xxv. (610 c); Aelian, Varia Historia, xii. 15. Diogenes Laertius and Valerius Maximus (viii. 8, ext. 1), tell this story of Socrates.

c In the invasion of Boeotia in 378 B.C.
Persian with Callias the Spartan was the bearer, in regard to hospitality and friendship; but Agesilaus would not receive it, bidding the man to take back word to the king that there was no need to send letters to him personally; that if the king showed himself to be a friend to Sparta and well disposed towards Greece, he himself, to the very best of his power, would be a friend to the king. But if the king should be caught plotting against Greece, he went on to say, "even if I receive many letters, let him not believe that he shall have me for a friend."  

70. He was unusually fond of children, and it is said that at home he used to mount astride a stick as a hobby-horse and play with his children when they were little. But when he was seen thus by one of his friends, he begged the man to tell nobody before he had children of his own.  

71. He made war continually upon the Thebans, and when he was wounded in the battle, they say that Antalcidas exclaimed, "This is a fine reward which you are receiving from the Thebans for giving them lessons in fighting when they had no desire to fight, and no knowledge even of fighting!" For, as a fact, they say that the Thebans at that time were more warlike than they had ever been before, owing to the many campaigns of the Spartans against them. It was for this reason that Lycurgus of old, in his so-called 'Decrees,' forbade campaigning frequently against the same peoples, so that these should not learn to make war.  

\[\text{Cf. Plutarch's Life of Agesilaus, chap. xxvi. (610 D); Life of Pelopidas, chap. xv. (285 D); Moralia, 227 c, infra.}\]

\[\text{Cf. Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus, chap. xiii. (47 D), Moralia, 189 r, supra; Polyaenus, Strategemata, i. 16. 2.}\]
72. 'Επει δὲ ἥκουσέ ποτε δυσχεράναι τοὺς συμ-
214 μάχους διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς στρατείας, ὅλιγοι οὖν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις πολλοὶς ἀκολουθοῦντας, ἐλέγξαι θεολόμενος αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος ἐκέλευσεν ἀπαντας τοὺς συμμάχους καθίσαι μετ' ἀλλήλων ἀναμεμμμένοις, ἵδι δὲ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν· εἰτὰ ἐκήρυττε τοὺς κεραμεῖς ἀνύστασθαι πρῶτος, ὡς δὲ ἀνέστησαν οὕτως, δευτέρους ἐκήρυττε τοὺς χαλκεῖς, εἰτὰ τέκτονας ἐφεξῆς καὶ οἰκοδόμους, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τεχνῶν ἐκάστην. πάντες οὖν ὅλιγον δεῖν ἀνέστησαν οἱ σύμμαχοι, τῶν δὲ Λακεδαι-
μονίων οὐδείς· ἀπείρητο γὰρ αὐτοῖς τέχνην ἐργά-
ζεσθαι ἡ μανθάνεις βάιαυσον. οὕτως δὴ γελάσας ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, "ὁράτε," εἶπεν, "ὡς ἄνδρες, ὥσιν Β πλείονος ὑμῶν στρατιώτας ἐκπέμπομεν ἡμεῖς;"

73. 'Εν δὲ τῇ περὶ Δεύκτρα μάχῃ, πολλῶν Λα-
κεδαιμονίων φυγόντων καὶ τούτων ταῖς ἐκ τοῦ νόμου ἀτιμίαις2 υπευθύνων ὄντων, οἱ ἐφοροὶ ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν τὴν πόλιν ὀρῶντες δεομένην στρατιωτῶν ἐβούλοντο τὴν ἀτιμίαν λῦσαι καὶ τοὺς νόμους τηρεῖν. αἴρονται οὖν νομοθέτην τὸν Ἀγησίλαον· ὁ δὲ προσελθὼν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον, "νομοθέτης μὲν ὅμως ἂν γενοῦμην ἐτέρων νόμων," εἶπε, "τοῖς γὰρ οὖσιν οὕτως ἂν προσθέηται τι οὕτως ἂν ἄφελομεν οὕτως C μεταποιήσαμεν· τοὺς δὲ ὄντας ἡμῶν νόμους κυρίους εἶναι καλῶς ἔχουσιν ἐστίν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐριον.

74. Τὸν δ' Ἐπαμεινῶνδαν ἐπελθόντα μετὰ το-

1 πολλοὶ ἀκολουθοῦντας Meziriacus: πολλοὶ ἀκολουθοῦντες.
2 ἀτιμίαι Xylander (as clearly indicated by Moralia, 191c, and the Life of Agesilaus, chap. xxx.): aitiales.
72. When he heard once that the allies had come to be disaffected because of the continual campaigning (for they in great numbers followed the Spartans who were but few), wishing to bring their numbers to the proof, he gave orders that the allies all sit down together indiscriminately and the Spartans separately by themselves; and then, through the herald, he commanded the potters to stand up first; and when these had done so, he commanded the smiths to stand up next, and then the carpenters in turn, and the builders, and each of the other trades. As a result, pretty nearly all of the allies stood up, but of the Spartans not a single one; for there was a prohibition against their practising or learning any menial calling. And so Agesilaus, with a laugh, said, "You see, men, how many more soldiers we send out than you do." 

73. In the battle of Leuctra many Spartans ran away to escape the enemy, and these were liable to disgrace as provided by the law. The Ephors, seeing the State bereft of men when it was in great need of soldiers, wished to do away with the disgrace, and also to observe the laws. Accordingly they chose Agesilaus as lawgiver; and he, coming into the public meeting, said, "I would not become a lawgiver to enact another set of laws, for in the present laws I would make no addition, subtraction, or revision. It is good that our present laws be in full force, beginning with the morrow." 

74. Although Epameinondas came on with such

\[a\] Cf. Plutarch's Life of Agesilaus, chap. xxvi. (610 e); Polyaeus, Strategemata, ii. 1. 7.

\[b\] Cf. Plutarch's Life of Agesilaus, chap. xxx. (612 f); and the note on Moralia, 191 c (10), supra.
(214) σοῦτον ἰεύματος καὶ κλύδωνος, τῶν Θηβαίων καὶ συμμάχων μεγαλαυχουμένων ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ, ὅμως εἴρξε τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἀναστρέψαι ἐποίησεν, ὅλιγων ὄντων τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει.

75. 'Εν δὲ τῇ περὶ Μαντίνειαν μάχη παρεκλευσάτο τοῖς Λακεδαμινοίοις τοὺς ἄλλους εάσαντας πάντας Ἐπαμεινώνδα μάχεσθαι, μόνους λέγων τοὺς ἐμφρονας ἀνδρείους εἶναι καὶ μόνους νίκης αἰτίους ὑπάρχειν· εἰ δὲν τούτον ἄνελοιεν, τῶν ἄλλους ὑποχειρίους ποιήσειν· ἀφρονας γὰρ D εἶναι καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀξίους. οἱ καὶ συνέβη· τῆς γὰρ νίκης σὺν Ἐπαμεινώνδα οὐσίσι καὶ φυγῆς γεγομένης, ἐπιστραφέντα αὐτῶν καὶ ἀνακαλούμενον τοὺς ἱδίους τῶν Λακεδαμινῶν τις καριώς ἐπάταξε, καὶ πεσόντος ἀναστρέφαντες ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς οἱ σὺν Ἦλιον ἔφαμελλον τὴν νίκην ἐποίησαν, παρὰ πολὺ μὲν τῶν Θηβαίων χείρόνων, παρὰ πολὺ δὲ τῶν Λακεδαμινῶν ἄμεινόνων φανέντων.

76. Χρημάτων δὲ δεομένης τῆς Σπάρτης πρὸς πόλεμον καὶ ἐξοντροφούσης, ἐπορεύθη ὁ Ἐγγυόνδος εἰς Αἰγυπτικόν μεταπεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Αἰγυπτίων ἐπὶ μισθῷ· διὰ δὲ τὸ λιτὸν τῆς ἔσθήτος χαὶ καταφρόνησιν ἦλθε τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις· προσεδόκων Ε γὰρ τὸν Σπάρτης βασιλέα καθάπερ τὸν Περσῶν κεκοσμημένον ὀφεσθαι διαπρεπῶς τὸ σῶμα, φαύλην ἔχοντες περὶ βασιλέων δόξαν. ἐδειξε γούν

1 ἄνελοιεν Bases and E. Kurtz: ἄνελοιμεν.
2 καριώς] καριὰν Cobet.
an overwhelming tide, and the Thebans and their allies were boasting mightily over the victory, nevertheless Agesilaus kept him out of the city and made him turn back, although the number of persons in the city was very small.

75. In the battle of Mantinea he urged the Spartans to pay no attention to any of the others, but to fight against Epameinondas, for he said that only men of intelligence are valiant and may be counted upon to bring victory; if, therefore, they could make away with that one man, they would very easily reduce the others to subjection; for these were unintelligent and worthless. And so it came to pass. For while the victory rested with Epameinondas, and the rout of the enemy was complete, as he turned and was cheering on his men, one of the Spartans struck him a fatal blow; and when he had fallen, Agesilaus's men, rallying from their flight, made the victory hang in the balance, and the Thebans showed themselves far inferior, and the Spartans far superior.

76. When Sparta was in need of money for war, and was supporting a mercenary force, Agesilaus set out for Egypt, having been summoned by the king of the Egyptians for a goodly remuneration. But because of the simplicity of his clothes he came into contempt among the people there; for they had been expecting that they should see the king of Sparta, like the king of Persia, with his person magnificently apparelled—a sorry opinion for them to hold regarding kings. At any rate, he showed them, before they

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a The expression is that of Theopompus, as Plutarch tells us in his Life of Agesilaus, chap. xxxi. (613 b).

b Cf. Xenophon, Hellenica, vii. 5. 10; Diodorus, xv. 83; Cornelius Nepos, xvii., Agesilaus, 6. 1-3.
αὐτοῖς μεταξὺ, ὡς τὸ μεγαλεῖον καὶ ἀξιόλογον νοήσει καὶ ἀνδρεία κτᾶσθαι προσήκει.

77. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς παρ’ αὐτῷ παραστήσεσθαι μέλλοντας ἐάρα δεδιότας τὸν ἐπιόντα κύνδυνον διὰ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων πλῆθος (εἰκοσι γὰρ ἦσαν μυριάδες) καὶ τὴν τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ὀλγύτητα, πρὸ τῆς παρα-

78. Περιταφοευνόντων δὲ τῶν πολεμίων τὸ στρα-

tόπεδον αὐτὸ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ Νεκτανάβιος, εἰ 

συνεμάχει, ἀξιοῦντος ἐπεξεῖναι καὶ διαμάχεσθαι,

οὔκ ἐφ’ ἀκακωλύσεως τῶν πολεμίων ὑσοις αὐτοῖς 

gενέσθαι βουλομένους. ἔτι δὲ μικρὸν ἀπολύτησις 
tῆς τάφρος συνάψα, κατὰ τοῦτο παραπάξα τὸ 
dιαλείπον καὶ πρὸς ὑσοὺς ὑσοὶς ἀγωνισάμενος

1 προμηθήσεσθαι F.C.B.: προβρήσεσθαι or προδύσασθαι.
2 ὑπεστραμμένην Meziriacus: ὑπεστραμμένη.
3 εἰχεν Pantazides and E. Kurtz: εἰχεν.
4 συναναληφθέντες] συναλειφθέντες Pantazides.
5 Νεκτανάβιος Wyttchenbach (as in the Life of Agesilaus, 

chaps. xxxvii.-xxxix.): νεκτάβιος.
6 διακωλύσεων Hatzidakis and E. Kurtz (from Moralia, 

191 D): διακωλύσεων.

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were done with him, that the proper way to acquire greatness and distinction is by understanding and manly virtues.a

77. When he saw that his men were on the point of capitulating, for fear of the oncoming danger because of the vast number of the enemy (two hundred thousand) and the small number with him, he determined, before drawing up the battle-line, to forestall this by a plan unknown to the others. And upon his hand he wrote the word victory with the letters turned towards the left. Then, as he received the liver from the priest, he placed it on the hand which had the writing upon it. Holding it for rather a long time, he showed perplexity, and kept up a pretence of not knowing what to do, until the marks of the letters had been taken up by the liver and imprinted upon it. Then he exhibited it to those who with him were to engage in the struggle, saying that the gods through the letters had revealed victory. So his men, feeling that they had a sure sign that they were to overcome the enemy, became bold for the battle.b

78. While the enemy were digging a ditch to surround his position (as they could do by reason of their vast numbers), and Nectanabis, with whom he was allied, was insistent upon a sortie and a decisive battle, Agesilaus said that he would not hinder the enemy in their desire to put themselves on equal terms with the defenders. And when the trench lacked but little of completion, he drew up his men in the open space between the ends, and, fighting with equal numbers against equal numbers,

a Cf. Plutarch's Life of Agesilaus, chap. xxxvi. (616 b); Cornelius Nepos, xvii., Agesilaus, 7. 2.

b A similar trick of Alexander's is told by Frontinus, Strategemata, i. 11. 14.

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(215) τροπὴν ἐποιήσατο καὶ πολὺν φόνον τῶν πολεμίων ὀλίγους τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν στρατιώτας καὶ χρῆματα πολλὰ τῇ πόλει διεσέμβατο.

79. Κατὰ δὲ τὸν Ἀιγύπτου ἀπόπλουν ἀποθνῄσκων ἐνετείλατο τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν μῆτε πλαστὰν μῆτε γραπτὰν μῆτε μυθιλὰν τοῦ σώματος εἰκόνα ποιήσασθαι, "εἰ γάρ τι καλὸν ἔργον πεποίηκα, τούτῳ μου μνημεῖον ἔσται· εἰ δὲ μὴ, οὐδ’ οἱ πάντες ἀνδριάντες, βαναύσων καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀξίων ἔργα ὁντες.”

B

ΑΓΗΣΙΠΟΛΙΔΟΣ ΤΟΤ ΚΛΕΟΜΒΡΟΤΟΤ

1. Ἀγησίπολις δ' Κλεομβρότου, εἴπόντος τινὸς ὡς τὸν Φιλίππος ἐν ὀλίγαις ἥμεραις "Ολυνθον κατέσκαψε, "μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς," εἶπεν, "ἀλλὰ τοιαῦτὴν ἐν πολλαπλασίον χρόνῳ οὐκ οἰκοδομήσει."

2. "Ἀλλον δὲ εἴπόντος ὡς μετὰ τῶν ἄκμαξοντων βασιλεύων ὁμήρευσε καὶ οὐχ οἱ παιδεῖς οὐδ’ αἱ γυναικεῖς αὐτῶν, "δικαίως," εἶπεν, "αὐτοὺς γὰρ ήμᾶς καλῶς ἔχουν ἑστὶ τὰς αὐτῶν ἀμαρτίας φέρειν."

3. Βουλομένου δ’ αὐτοῦ σκύλακας οὖκ οἴκοθεν μεταπέμφασθαι, ὡς τις εἶπεν, "οὐκ ἔστων ἑξαγωγῆς παρ’ αὐτῶν," "οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄνδρῶν," ἐφη, "πρόσθεν, ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐγένετο."

ΑΓΗΣΙΠΟΛΙΔΟΣ ΤΟΤ ΠΑΤΣΑΝΙΟΤ

'Ἀγησίπολις δ' Πατσανίου, 'Αθηναίων πρὸς αὐτὸν

1 Aἰγύπτου] Bernardakis prefers ἀπ’ Aἰγύπτου.

Cf. Plutarch’s Life of Agesilaus, chap. xxxix. (618 A), Moralia, 191 c (11), supra, and the note.
Cf. Moralia, 191 d (12), supra, and the note.
he routed the enemy with great slaughter by means of few soldiers with him, and sent home much money for the State.\footnote{79. On his way home from Egypt death came to him, and in his last hours he gave directions to those with him that they should not cause to be made any sculptured or painted or imitative representation of his person. "For if I have done any goodly deed, that shall be my memorial; but if not, then not all the statues in the world, the works of menial and worthless men, will avail." }

AGESIPOLIS, SON OF CLEOMBROTUS

1. Agesipolis, son of Cleombrotus, when somebody said that Philip in a few days had razed Olynthus to the ground, said, "By Heaven, he will not build another like it in many years!"

2. When someone else remarked that he while king had been made hostage with those in the prime of life, and not their children or their women, he said, "That is but just, for it is good that we ourselves should bear the consequences of our own mistakes."

3. When he wished to send for some dogs from home, and someone said, "There is no such export permitted from there," he said, "Nor was there of men before this; but now it has been done!"

AGESIPOLIS, SON OF PAUSANIAS

Agesipolis, the son of Pausanias, when the Atheni-
PLUTARCH’S MORALIA

(215) περὶ ὀν εἶχον πρὸς ἄλληλους ἐγκλημάτων τὴν τῶν Μεγαρέων πόλιν ἐκκλητον λαμβανόντων, “αισχρόν,” ἐφη, “ὁ Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς ἀφηγησαμένους τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἤττων εἰδέναι Μεγαρέων τὸ δίκαιον.”

ΑΠΙΔΟΣ ΤΟΤ ΑΡΧΙΔΑΜΟΥ

1. Ἀγις ὁ Ἀρχιδάμος, τῶν εἰρήνων ποτὲ εἰπόντων, “βάδιζε τοὺς ἤβητοντας ἔχων ἐπὶ τὴν τούτου πατρίδα, ἕγινεται δὲ σοι αὐτὸς οὕτως ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν,” “καὶ πώς,” εἶπε, “καλῶς ἔχων ἐστιν, ὁ ἐφοροῦ, τοσοῦτος νέος πιστεύειν τῷ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ πατρίδα προδίδοντι.”

2. Ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ τὶ μάλιστα μάθημα ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀσκεῖται, “τὸ γιγνώσκειν,” εἶπεν, “ἄρχειν τε καὶ ἀρχεσθαι.”

3. Ὅνικ ἐφῆ δὲ τοὺς Λακεδαίμονίους ἔρωταν πόσοι εἰσὶν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἄλλα ποῦ εἰσίν.

4. Ἐν δὲ Μαντινεία καλυόμενος διαμάχεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις πλείοσιν οὕσιν, εἶπεν, “ἀνάγκη πολλοῖς μάχεσθαι τὸν ἄρχειν πολλῶν βουλόμενον.”


6. Διερχόμενος δὲ τὰ τῶν Κορινθίων τείχη καὶ θεασάμενος ύψηλά τε καὶ ὀχυρὰ ἐπὶ πολὺ

* Agis II., king of Sparta, 427–401 B.C. Some of the sayings attributed to him here should doubtless be assigned to the younger Agis (Agis III.).

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ans offered to accept the city of Megara as arbitrator regarding some complaints which they had each against the other, said, "It is a shame, men of Athens, that those who have held the hegemony of the Greeks should know less about justice than the Megarians."

**AGIS, SON OF ARCHIDAMUS**

1. Once upon a time the Ephors said to Agis the son of Archidamus, "Take the young men and march against the country of this man here. He will himself guide you to its citadel." "And how, sirs," said Agis, "is it right to entrust so many youths to a man who is betraying his own country?" 

2. Being asked what form of instruction was most in vogue in Sparta, he said, "Knowledge of how to rule and to be ruled." 

3. He said that the Spartans did not ask 'how many are the enemy,' but 'where are they?'

4. When, at Mantineia, he was not permitted to risk a decisive battle with the enemy, who outnumbered his men, he said, "He who would rule over many must fight with many."

5. When someone inquired how many Spartans there were, he said, "Enough to keep all bad men away."

6. As he was going about among the walls of the Corinthians and observed that they were high and

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*b See the note on *Moralia*, 191 e (2), *supra*, where the saying is attributed to the younger Agis.
*c Cf. the note on 212 c (51), *supra*.
*d Cf. the note on 190 c (1), *supra*.
*e Cf. the note on 190 c (2), *supra*.
*f Cf. the note on 190 d (5), *supra*. 

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Ε τε παρατείνοντα, “τίνες,” εἶπεν, “αἱ τὸν τόπον (215) κατοικοῦσαι1 γυναῖκες;”


8. Ἡς δὲ Ἀργεῖοι μετὰ τὴν ἡτταν ἀπήντων αὐτῶν πάλιν θρασύτερον, ταραττομένους ὅραν τοὺς συμμάχους, “θαρρεῖτε,” εἶπεν, “ὁ ἄνδρες· ὅπου γὰρ ἡμείς οἱ νικώτες ὥρρῳδον, τί δοκεῖτε ποιεῖν τοὺς ὑφ’ ἡμῶν νευκημένους;”


10. Ἐπαινούντων δὲ τινων Ἡλείους, ὧτι δικαιοτατοῖ εἰσὶ περὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Ὀλυμπίων, “καὶ τὶ μέγα,” εἶπεν, “ἡ θαυμαστὸν ποιοῦσιν, εἰ ἐν ἐτεσὶ πέντε μᾶ ὑμῶν ἡμέρα δικαιοσύνη χρώνται;”


12. Συμβουλεύοντος δὲ τινος ὧτι δεῖ τοῖς φιλογονοῦσι τῶν πολεμίων διδόναι δίοδον, “καὶ πῶς,”

1 ai . . . κατοικοῦσαι Wyttenbach in his note on 190 A, and E. Kurtz: ai . . . κατοικοῦσι.

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a Cf. the note on 190 A, supra.
b Cf. Moralia, 232 ε (2), infra.

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towering and vast in extent, he said, "What women live in that place?" a

7. When a lecturer said, "Speech is the most important thing of all," he retorted, "Then if you are silent, you are of no worth at all!"

8. When the Argives, after their defeat, met him again with greater boldness, and he saw that his allies were greatly perturbed, he said, "Do not be afraid, men; for when we who are victorious are frightened, what do you think those vanquished by us are doing?"

9. In answer to the ambassador from Abdera, who, after winding up a long discourse, asked him what report he should make to his people at home, he said, "Report that during all the time you wanted to speak I listened in silence." b

10. When some commended the people of Elis because they were very just in conducting the Olympic games, he said, "What great or marvellous accomplishment is it if they practise justice on one day only in four years?" c

11. In answer to those who said that some members of the other royal house d were jealous of him he said, "So then, their own ill fortune will make them miserable and, besides that, the good fortune of myself and of my friends."

12. When someone proffered the advice that they ought to give a passage-way to those of the enemy who were fleeing, e he said, "And how, if we do not

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a Cf. the note on 190 c (3), supra.
b The Spartans had two kings and consequently two royal families.
c This was a part of the tactics of Agesilaus according to Polyaeus, Strategemata, ii. 1. 4. e Cf. Xenophon, Hellenica, iv. 2. 22 and iv. 3. 19.
13. Προφερομένου¹ δε τινος περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἑλευθερίας οὐκ ἀγενή μὲν, δυσχερὴ δὲ ἐπιτελεσθήναι, "προσδέονται σου, ὧν ἐσεῖ, ἐφη, "οἱ λόγοι δυνάμεως καὶ χρημάτων."

14. Δέχοντος δε τινος ὅτι Φιλίππος αὐτοῖς ἀνεπίβατον τὴν Ἑλλάδα ποιήσει, "ἰκανή ἡμῖν," ἐφη, "ὥς ἐσεῖ, ἡ ἐν τῇ ἴδιᾳ ἀναστροφῇ."

15. Προσβευτῆς ἐκ Περίνθου παραγενόμενος εἰς Λακεδαιμονία ἐμακρηγόρει: ὦς δὲ ἐπαύσατο λέγων καὶ ἣρωτα τὸν Ἀγιν τι δει τοῖς Περίνθίοις ἀπαγγέλαι, "τι δ' ἄλλο," ἐφη, "ἡ ὅτι σὺ μὲν μόλις ἐπαύσω λέγων, ἐγὼ δ' ἐσιώπων²;"

Β 16. Προσβεύσων δε μόνος ἤκε πρὸς Φιλίππον ἐπούντος δ' ἐκεῖνον, "τι τούτο; μόνος ἤκεις;" ἐφη, "καὶ γὰρ πρὸς ἑνα."

17. Φήσαντος δε τινος τῶν προσβυτέρων πρὸς αὐτὸν γηραιόν ὁντα, ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἀρχαία νόμιμα ἐκλυόμενα ἔωρα ἄλλα δὲ παρεισδυόμενα μοχθηρά, διότι τὰ ἀνῶ κάτω ἣδη γίγνεται ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ, παῖζων εἰπε, "κατὰ λόγον οὕτω προβαίνει τὰ πράγματα, εἰ τούτῳ γίνεται· καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ παῖς ὃν ἦκονον παρὰ τοῦ πατρός, ὃτι τὰ ἀνῶ κάτω γέγονε παρ' αὐτοῖς· ἐφη δὲ καὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτῶ παιδί

¹ προφερομένου Wyttenbach: προφερομένου.
² δ' ἐσιώπων Eusebius and Wyttenbach: δ' σιώπων.

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¹ The same idea which is expressed in *Moralia*, 212 e (56), supra.
² This remark must have been made by the younger Agis (Agis III.).
fight those who because of cowardice are fleeing, shall we fight those who because of bravery stand their ground?"

13. When someone brought forward a plan, for the freedom of the Greeks, which, while not lacking idealism, was difficult to put into practice, he said, 'Your words, my friend, need the backing of power and money." a

14. When someone said that Philip would make Greece forbidden ground to them, he said, "It is quite enough, my friend, for us to go and come within the confines of our own land." b

15. An ambassador who had come from Perinthus to Sparta made a long harangue; and when he had stopped speaking and asked Agis what report he should make to the people of Perinthus, Agis said, "What else except that it was hard for you to stop speaking, and that I said nothing?" c

16. He came alone on an embassy to Philip, and when Philip exclaimed, "What is this? Have you come all alone?" he said, "Yes, for I came to only one man." d

17. When one of the elderly men said to him in his old age, inasmuch as he saw the good old customs falling into desuetude, and other mischievous practices creeping in, that for this reason everything was getting to be topsy-turvy in Sparta, Agis said humorously, "Things are then but following a logical course if that is what is happening; for when I was a boy, I used to hear from my father that everything was topsy-turvy among them; and my father said that,

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a This remark also must be assigned to the younger Agis. Cf. *Moralia*, 233 f (29), *infra*, and 511 a, where an unnamed Spartan makes this retort to Demetrius.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(216) ὃντι τοῦτο εἰρηκέναι ὡστε οὐ χρῆ θαυμάζειν, εἰ C χείρω τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα τῶν προτέρων, ἀλλ' εἰ ποιν' ἐθεῖ καὶ παραπλῆσια γένοιτο.’’


ΑΓΙΟΣ ΤΟΤ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΟΤ

1. Ἀγις ὁ νεώτερος, Δημάδου λέγοντος ὑπὶ τὰ Δακωνικὰ ξίφη διὰ μικρότητα καταπίνουσιν οἱ θαυματοποιοί, “καὶ μὴν,” ἐφη, “οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι τῶν πολεμίων τότε ξίφεσιν ἐφικνοῦνται.’’

2. Πρὸς δὲ ἀνθρωπον πονηρὸν ἔρωτῶντα πολλάκις τῆς ἁριστος εἰπ̣ Σπαρτιάτης, ἐπιτευ,1 “ὁ σοί ἀνομοιότατος.”

ΑΓΙΟΣ ΤΟΤ ΤΕΛΕΤΤΑΙΟΤ


1 ἐπιτευ (as in Moralia, 190 D), F.C.B.: not in mss.
2 κλαίεις γὰρ Life of Agis, chap. xx.

a The latter part of this has been suspected on account of the length. For the sentiment cf. Homer, Od. 276-277; Horace, Odes, iii. 6. 46; Aratus, Phaenomena, 123-127.
b Cf. Moralia, 210 f (35), supra.

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when he was a boy, his father had said this to him; so nobody ought to be surprised if conditions later are worse than those earlier, but rather to wonder if they grow better or remain approximately the same." a

18. Being asked how one could be a free man all his life, he said, "By feeling contempt for death." b

THE YOUNGER AGIS c

1. The younger Agis, when Demades said that the jugglers who swallow swords use the Spartan swords because of their shortness, retorted, "But all the same the Spartans reach their enemies with their swords." d

2. In answer to a base man who asked repeatedly who was the best Spartan, he said, "The one most unlike you." e

THE LAST AGIS f

Agis, the last of the kings of Sparta, was arrested as the result of treachery and condemned by the Ephors without a trial. As he was being led away to the halter he saw one of the officers weeping, and said, 'Stop your weeping for me, man. For in spite of my being put to death in such defiance of law and justice, I am superior to those who are taking my life.' With these words he willingly offered his neck for the noose. g

a Cf. the note on 191 e (1).

b Cf. the note on 190 d (4).

c Agis III., king of Sparta, 338-331 B.C.

'Акрότατος, ἐπεί ὦ γονεῖς αὐτὸν ἄδικον τι συμπράξαι αὐτοῖς ἥξιον, μέχρι τινὸς ἀντέλεγεν· ὡς δὲ ἐνέκειντο, ἐπεν, "ἐώς μὲν παρ' ύμῖν ἤν, οὐκ ἐπεὶ δὲ με τῇ πατρίδι παρέδοτε καὶ τοῖς ταύτῃς νόμοις, ἐτι δὲ δικαιοσύνη καὶ καλοκαγαθία ἐπαθείσατε ὡς ἐδύνασθε, τούτοις πειράσομαι μᾶλλον ἡ ὕμιν ἐπεσθαί· καὶ ἐπεὶ θέλετε μ' ἄριστα πράττειν, ἄριστα δὲ τὰ δικαία ἐστὶ καὶ ἱδιώτη καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἄρχοντι, πράξω ἃ θέλετε· ἃ δὲ λέγετε παρατίθομαι.'

ΑΛΚΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΤΗΛΕΚΛΟΤ

1. Ἀλκαμένης ὁ Τηλέκλους, πυθομένου τινὸς πῶς ἢν τις ἄριστα βασιλεῖαν διατηροῖ, "ἐι περὶ πλείονοις," ἐφη, "τὸ κέρδος μὴ ποιοῖτο."
2. Ἐτέρου δὲ ἐπιζητοῦντος διὰ τί παρὰ Μεσ- Φ σφνίων δῶρα ὦν ἐδέξατο, "ὅτι λαβόντος μου," ἐφη, "πρὸς τοὺς νόμους εἰρήνην ἄγειν ἀδύνατον."
3. Λέγοντος δὲ τινος ὦτι συνεσταλμένως ζη ἰκανὴν οὐσίαν κεκτημένοις, "καλὸν γάρ," ἐφη, "πολλὰ κεκτημένον ζην κατὰ λογισμὸν καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν."

1 δὲ] Bernardakis would write δ' ἐν: Kronenberg τε.
2 ἐδύνασθε F.C.B.: ἡδύνασθε.
3 μᾶλλον added by Bernardakis.
4 μ' added by F.C.B.
5 ἄριστα] τὰ ἄριστα Kronenberg.
6 Τηλέκλου Xylander: τηλέκρου.

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a Son of Cleomenes II. He died before his father, and so never became king.
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ACROTATUS

Acrotatus, when his parents claimed it was his duty to co-operate with them in some unjust action, spoke in opposition up to a certain limit. But when they insisted, he said, "While I was with you, I had not the slightest idea of justice; but since you have surrendered me to our country and its laws, and, besides, have had me instructed in justice and honourable conduct so far as lay in your power, I shall try to follow these rather than you. And since your wish is for me to do what is best, and since what is just is best both for a private citizen, and much more so for a ruler, I will do what you wish; but as for what you propose I shall beg to be excused."

ALCAMENES, SON OF TELECLUS

1. Alcamenes, the son of Teleclus, when somebody inquired how a man could best keep a kingdom secure, said, "If he should not hold his own advantage too high."

2. When another person sought to know the reason why he did not accept gifts from the Messenians, he said, "Because if I took the gifts, it would be impossible to maintain peace with impartial regard for the laws."

3. When someone said that he lived a straitened life while possessed of plenty of property, he said, "Yes, for it is a noble thing for one who possesses much to live according to reason and not according to his desires."

b Cf. a similar remark of Agesilaus, Moralia, 534 d.

c King of Sparta, 779-742 B.C. (the date is uncertain).
PLUTARCH’S MORALIA

ANAXANDRIDOT


4. Ἐσέρου δὲ τινὸς λέγοντος, ὅτι βλάπτουσιν αἰ δόξαι καὶ ὅτι τοῦτων ὁ ἀπαλλαγεῖς εὐδαιμονήσει, “οὐκοῦν οἱ τὰ ἀδίκα ποιοῦντες,” ἔφη, “κατὰ τὸν σὸν λόγον εὐθαίμονες ἢ εἰεν’ πῶς γὰρ ἂν τὸς ἱεροσυλῶν ἢ ἀδικῶν δόξης ἐπιμελοῦτο;”


6. Ἐρωτῶντος δὲ τινὸς αὐτὸν διὰ τὶ τὰς περὶ θανάτου δίκαις πλείοσιν ἥμεραις οἱ γέροντες κρίνουσιν, κἂν ἀποφύγῃ τις, ἔτι οὐδὲν ἥττον ἔστιν ὑπόδικος, “πολλαῖς μέν,” ἔφη, “ἡμέραις κρίνουσιν, ὅτι περὶ θανάτου τοῖς διαμαρτάνουσιν οὐκ ἔστι

a King of Sparta, circa 560–520 B.C.
ANAXANDRIDAS

1. Anaxandridas, the son of Leo, in answer to a man who took much to heart the sentence imposed upon him of exile from the country, said, "My good sir, be not downcast at being an exile from your country but at being an exile from justice."

2. To a man who told the Ephors of things that were needful, but spoke at greater length than would have sufficed, he said, "My friend, in needless time you dwell upon the need!"

3. When someone inquired why they put their fields in the hands of the Helots, and did not take care of them themselves, he said, "It was by not taking care of the fields, but of ourselves, that we acquired those fields."

4. When someone else said that high repute works injury to men and that he who is freed from this will be happy, he retorted, "Then those who commit crimes would, according to your reasoning, be happy. For how could any man, in committing sacrilege or any other crime, be concerned over high repute?"

5. When another person asked why the Spartans, in their wars, ventured boldly into danger, he said, "Because we train ourselves to have regard for life and not, like others, to be timid about it."

6. When someone asked him why the elders continue the trials of capital cases over several days, and why, even if the defendant is acquitted, he is none the less still under indictment, he said, "They take many days to decide, because, if they make an error in a capital case, there can be no reversal of

Attributed to Leo, the father of Anaxandridas, in Moralia, 224 f (3), and to Leonidas, the son of Anaxandridas, in Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus, chap. xx. (52 b).
(217) μεταβολεύσασθαι: νόμως δὲ ὑπόδικον δεῖσει εἶναι, ὦτι κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον ἂν εἶη καὶ τὸ κρείττονα βουλεύσασθαι."

ΑΝΑΞΙΛΑ 1

'Αναξιλάς πρὸς τὸν θαυμάζοντα διὰ τὶ ὁ ἐφορός τοὺς βασιλεύσαιν οὐχ ὑπεξανιστάνται, καὶ ταῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων καθιστάμενοι, "διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν," ἔφη, "δι᾽ ὧν καὶ ἐφορεύουσιν."

ΑΝΔΡΟΚΛΕΙΔΟΥ

'Ανδροκλείδας ὁ Λάκων πηρωθεὶς τὸ σκέλος κατέταξεν αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς πολεμιστάς· ὡς δ᾽ ἐνίσταντο2 τινὲς διακωλύουσε οὕτω ἐπετήρωτο, "ἀλλ᾽ οὐ φεύγοντα," εἶπε, "μένοντα δὲ δεῖ τοὺς ἄντιτεταγμένους μάχεσθαι."

ΑΝΤΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ

1. 'Ανταλκίδας ἐν Σαμοθράκη μνούμενος, ἐρω-

1 αναξιλά Wytenbach: αναξιλοῦ.  
2 ὁ ἐνίσταντο Wytenbach: ὁ ἐνίσταντο.

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a For the fact cf. Plato, Apology, chap. xxvii. (37 A); Thucydides, i. 132.
 b King of Sparta in the earlier part of the seventh century B.C.
 c Son of Archidamus, perhaps one of the arbiters between Athens and Megara over Salamis, seventh century B.C.  
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the judgement; and the accused continues, perforce, to be under indictment of the law, because, under this law, it may be possible, by deliberation, to arrive at a better decision.”

ANAXANDER, SON OF EURYCRATES

Anaxander, the son of Eurycrates, when someone inquired why the Spartans did not amass money in the public treasury, said, “So that those made the guardians of it may not become corrupt.”

ANAXILAS

Anaxilas, in answer to the man who wondered why the Ephors did not rise and offer their places to the kings, and this, too, although they were appointed to their position by the kings, said, “For the very same reason that they hold the office of Ephor.”

ANDROCLEIDAS

Androcleidas the Spartan, who had a crippled leg, enrolled himself among the fighting-men. And when some persons were insistent that he be not accepted because he was crippled, he said, “But I do not have to run away, but to stay where I am when I fight the opposing foe.”

ANTALCIDAS

1. When Antalcidas was being initiated into the mysteries at Samothrace, he was asked by the priest

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\( \text{\textsuperscript{a}} \) Cf. Xenophon, Constitution of Sparta, 15. 6; and Nicolaus quoted by Stobaeus, Florilegium, xliv. 41 ad fin.

\( \text{\textsuperscript{b}} \) Possibly the opponent of Lysander, mentioned in Plutarch’s Life of Lysander, chap. viii. (437 c).

\( \text{\textsuperscript{c}} \) Cf. the note on Moralia, 210 r (34), supra.

\( \text{\textsuperscript{d}} \) See the note on Moralia, 192 b, supra.

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1) τηθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱερεύς τί δεινότερον δὲδρακεν ἐν τῷ βίω, "εἰ τί μοι πέπρακται τοιοῦτον, εἰσονται," εἶπεν, "ἀυτοὶ οἱ θεοὶ."

2. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἀμαθεῖς καλοῦντα τοὺς Δακε
dαιμονίους Ἀθηναίον, "μόνοι γοῦν," εἶπεν, "ἡμεῖς οὐδὲν μεμαθήκαμεν παρ' ὑμῶν κακόν."

3. 'Ετέρου δ' Ἀθηναίου πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος, "ἀλλὰ μὴν ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ Κηφισοῦ πολλάκις ὑμᾶς εἰδωξαμεν," "ἡμεῖς δὲ," ἐφη, "οὐδεποτε ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑυρώτα."

4. 'Ερωτηθεῖς δὲ πῶς ἂν τις μάλιστα ἀρέσκοι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, "ἐὶ ἥδωστα μὲν," ἐφη, "ἀυτοῖς διαλέγωτο, ὡφελίμωτα δὲ προσφέροιτο."

5. Σοφιστοῦ δὲ μέλλοντος ἀναγινώσκειν ἐγκώ-

Ε μιον 'Ηρακλέους, "τίς γὰρ αὐτόν," ἐφη, "ψέγει;"

6. Πρὸς 'Αγησίλαον πληγέντα ἐν μάχῃ ὑπὸ 

Θηβαίων, "ἀπέχεις," εἶπε, "τὰ διδασκάλια, μὴ 

βουλομένους αὐτοὺς μηδ' ἐπισταμένοις μάχεσθαι 

didáxas." ἐδόκουν γὰρ ταῖς συνεχέσιν ἔπ' αὐτοὺς 

toū 'Αγησιλάον στρατείας μάχημοι γεγονέναι.

7. Τείχη δὲ ἐλεγεν εἰναι τῆς Ἐπάρτης τοὺς νέους, 

ὄρια δὲ τὰς ἐπιδορατίδας.

8. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἐπιζητοῦντα διὰ τὶ ἐγχειριδίοις 

βραχέσι κατὰ πόλεμον χρώνται Δακεδαμόνιοι, 

"διότι," εἶπε, "πλησίων τοῖς πολεμίους μα-

χόμεθα."

1 διὰ τί F.C.B. (the usual formula): ὅτι.

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a The same story is told of I.ysander in Moralia, 229 d (10), infra, and of an unknown Spartan in Moralia, 236 d (68), infra.

b Cf. the note on Moralia, 192 b (1), supra.

c Cf. the note on Moralia, 192 c (2), supra.

d Cf. Moralia, 213 c (65), supra.

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what especially dreadful thing he had done during his life, and he replied, "If any such deed has been committed by me, the gods themselves will know it."a

2. In answer to the Athenian who called the Spartans unlearned, he said, "At any rate we are the only people who have learned no evil from you."b

3. When another Athenian said to him, "You must admit that we have many a time put you to rout from the Cephisus," he retorted, "But we have never put you to rout from the Eurotas."c

4. Being asked how anybody could best make himself agreeable to people, he said, "If his conversation with them is most pleasant and his suggestions most profitable."d

5. When a lecturer was about to read a laudatory essay on Heracles, he said, "Why, who says anything against him?"e

6. When Agesilaus was wounded in battle by the Thebans, Antalcidas said to his face, "You have your just reward for the lessons in fighting you have given to that people who had no desire to fight and no knowledge even of fighting." For it appeared that they had been made warlike by the continual campaigns of Agesilaus against them.f

7. He used to say that the young men were the walls of Sparta, and the points of their spears its boundaries.g

8. In answer to the man who sought to know why the Spartans use short daggers in war, he said, "Because we fight close to the enemy."h

a Cf. the note on Moralia, 192 c (3), supra.
b Cf. the note on Moralia, 189 v (5), supra.
c Cf. the notes on Moralia, 210 e (28, 29, 30), supra.
d Cf. the note on Moralia, 191 e, supra.
ANTIOXOT

F 'Αντίοχος ἐφορεύων ὃς ἦκουσεν ὅτι Μεσσηνίους Φίλιππος τῆν χώραν ἔδωκεν, ἥρωτησεν εἰ καὶ δύναμιν αὐτοῖς παρέσχετο ὡστε μαχομένους περὶ τῆς χώρας κρατεῖν.

ΑΡΕΩΣ

1. "Ἀρεύς, ἐπαινοῦντων τινῶν ὅτι ἰδίας ἄλλα τινας τῶν ἀλλοτρίων γυναικῶν, "μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς," εἴπε, "περὶ τῶν καλῶν καγαθῶν γυναικῶν οὐδένα δεί λόγον εἰκῆ λέγεσθαι, ἀγνοεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτὰς τὸ παράπαν, ὅποια τυχόνουσιν, πλὴν μόνοις τοῖς συμβιούσι."  

2. Διὰ Σελυνοῦντος δὲ ποτε τῆς Σικελίας πορευόμενος ἰδίων ἐπὶ μνήματος ἐλεγεῖον ἐπιγεγραμμένον,

οβεννύντας ποτὲ τούσδε τυραννίδα χάλκεος "Αρης
eἰλε. Σελυνοῦντος δὲ ἀμφὶ πύλαις ἔθανον,

"δικαῖως," ἐφη, "ἀπεθάνετε τυραννίδα καιομένην ἀποσβεννύναι ἐπιχειρήσαντες. τούναντίον γὰρ ἔδει ὀλὴν αὐτὴν ἅφειναι κατακαίναι."

ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝΟΣ

218 1. Ἀρίστων, ἐπαινοῦντος τινὸς τῆν τοῦ Κλεομένους χρείαν, ὅτι ἐρωτηθεῖς τί δεῖ τῶν ἁγαθῶν βασιλεὰ ποιεῖν, εἴπε, "τοὺς μὲν φίλους εὐεργετεῖν τοὺς δὲ ἐχθροὺς κακῶς ποιεῖν," "καὶ πόσω

1 Apeous."Apeus Cobet: arηγευς."Aρηγευς.
ANTIOCHUS

Antiochus, when he was Ephor, hearing that Philip had given the Messenians their land, asked if he had also provided them with the power to prevail in fighting to keep it.a

AREUS b

1. Areus, when some men commended, not their own wives, but certain wives of other men, said, "By Heaven, there ought to be no random talk about fair and noble women, and their characters ought to be totally unknown save only to their consorts." c

2. Once upon a time, when he was passing through Selinus in Sicily, he saw inscribed upon a monument this elegiac couplet:

Here at Selinus these men, who tyranny strove to extinguish,
Brazen-clad Ares laid low; nigh to our gates were they slain.
Whereupon he said, "You certainly deserved to die for trying to extinguish tyranny when it was ablaze; rather you ought to have let it burn itself out completely." d

ARISTON e

1. When someone commended the maxim of Cleomenes, who, on being asked what a good king ought to do, said, "To do good to his friends and evil to his enemies," Ariston said, "How much better,

a Repeated in Moralia, 192 b, supra.

b Areus I., king of Sparta, 309–265 B.C.

c Cf. Moralia, 220 d and 242 e, infra; Thucydides, ii. 45.

d Cf. Plutarch’s Life of Lycurgus, chap. xx. (52 e).

e King of Sparta, circa 560–510 B.C.
(218) κρείττον,” ἐφι, “ὡ λῶστε, τοὺς μὲν φίλους εὐεργετεῖν τοὺς δὲ ἐξήρωσ φίλους ποιεῖν;” αὐτὴ Σωκράτους ὀμολογομενὴ πρὸς πάντων χρεία οὖσα καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναφέρεται.

2. Πυθανομένου δὲ τινος πόσοι Σπαρτιάται τὸ πλῆθος, “ὁσοι ἰκανοὶ,” εἶπε, “τοὺς ἐξήρωσ ἀπερίκειν.”

3. Τῶν Ἀθηναίων δὲ τινος ἐπαινοῦ ἐπιτάφιον Β ἀναγνώσκοντος τῶν πεσόντων ὑπὸ Δακεδαιμονίων, “ποδαποὺς οὖν, ἐφη, “τοὺς ἡμετέρους νομίζεις εἶναι νικήσαντας τούτους;”

APXIDAMIDOT

1. Ἀρχιδαμίδας πρὸς τὸν ἐπαινοῦντα Χάριλλον, ὅτι πρὸς ἀπαντᾷς ὀμοίως πρᾶος ἦν, “καὶ πῶς τις,” ἐφη, “δικαίως ἂν ἐπαινοῖτο, εἰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πονηροὺς πρᾶος εἶν.”

2. Μεμφομένου δὲ τινος Ἐκαταὶὸν τὸν σοφιστήν, ὅτι παραληφθεῖς εἰς τὸ συσσότιον αὐτῶν οἴδας ἐλεγεν, “ἀγνοεῖν μοι δοκεῖς,” εἶπεν, “ὅτι ὁ εἰδὼς λόγον καὶ τὸν τοῦ λέγειν καὶ ροῦν οἴδαν.”

APXIDAMOT TOT ZETXIDAMOT

1. Ἀρχιδαμὸς ὁ Ζευξιδάμου, πυθομένου τινὸς αὐτοῦ τίνες προεστήκασι τῆς Σπάρτης, “οἱ νόμοι καὶ τὰ ἀρχεῖα,” ἐφη, “κατὰ τοὺς νόμους.”

1 Χάριλλος is the usual spelling in Plutarch. The mss. of other writers also show both forms: Χαρίλαος.

a But not quite in these words; cf. Plato, Republic, i. chap. ix. (335 b ff.), Crito, chap. x. (49 a ff.), Gorgias, 469 a-b and 475 b-d.

b A similar remark is attributed to Cleobulus by Diogenes Laertius, i. 91.

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my good sir, to do good to our friends, and to make friends of our enemies?" This, which is universally conceded to be one of Socrates' maxims, is also referred to Ariston.

2. When someone inquired how many Spartans there were in all, he said, "Enough to keep away our enemies."

3. When one of the Athenians read a memorial oration in praise of those who fell at the hands of the Spartans, he said, "What kind of men, then, do you think ours must be who vanquished these?"

ARCHIDAMIDAS

1. Archidamidas, in answer to a man who commended Charillus because he was gentle towards all alike, said, "And how could any man be justly commended if he be gentle towards the wicked?"

2. When somebody found fault with Hecataeus the sophist because, when he was received as a member at the common table, he spoke not a word, Archidamidas said, "You do not seem to realize that he who knows how to speak knows also the right time for speaking."

ARCHIDAMUS, SON OF ZEUXIDAMUS

1. Archidamus, the son of Zeuxidamus, when someone inquired of him who were at the head of Sparta, said, "The laws and the magistrates in accordance with the laws."

Cf. the note on Moralia, 190 d (5), supra.

Perhaps the remark of another man named Ariston who lived later.

Cf. Moralia, 55 e and 537 d.

Cf. Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus, chap. xx. (52 c).

Archidamus II., king of Sparta, 469–427 B.C.
2. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἐπαινοῦντα καθαρωδὸν καὶ θαν-μάζοντα τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ, "ὦ λύστε," ἔφη, "ποιον γέρας παρὰ σοι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἔσται, ὅταν καθαρωδὸν οὖτως ἐπανεῖς;"


4. Υπισχνουμένου δὲ τινος αὐτῷ τὸν οἶνον ἱδον ποιήσειν, "πρὸς τί;" ἔφη, "καὶ γὰρ δαπανηθήσεται πλείων καὶ ποιήσει τὰ ἀνδρεία ἀχρηστοτερα."  

5. Στρατοπεδεύων δὲ περὶ Κόρινθου1 εἴδεν ἐκ του2 περὶ τὸ τεῖχος τόπου λαγωνίως ἁναστάντας· εἶπεν οὖν πρὸς τοὺς συστρατιώτας, "ἐνάλωτοι ἡμῶν οἱ πολέμιοι εἰσι."  

6. Δύο δὲ τινῶν διαιτητήν αὐτῶν λαβόντων, ἀγαγὸν εἰς τὸ τῆς Χαλκιούκου τέμενος ἐξώρκισεν ἐμμείναι τοῖς κριθεῖσιν αὐτοὺς· ὁμοσάντων δὲ ἐκεῖνων, "κρίνω τοῖνυν," ἔφη, "μὴ πρῶτερον ἀπελθεῖν ὑμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ τεμένους, πρὶν ἄν τὰ πρὸς ἄλληνος Ε διαλύσῃσθε."  

7. Ταῖς δὲ θυγατράσων αὐτῶν ἱματισμὸν πολυ-τελῆ Διονυσίου τοῦ Σικελίας τυράννου πέμψαντος, οὐκ ἐδέξατο εἰπών, "φοβοῦμαι μὴ περιθέμεναι αἱ κόραι φανῶσι μοι αἰσχραί."  

1 'Επὶ οὐ δὲ τῆν Κορινθίων πόλιν μετὰ στρατεύματος in some mss.  

2 ἐκ τοῦ Hartman: ἐκ τοῦ.

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a Cf. Moralia, 223 r, infra (15), where the saying is attributed to Cleomenes.

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2. In answer to a man who praised a harper and expressed amazement at his ability, he said, “My good sir, what honours shall you be able to offer to good men when you have such praise for a harper?”

3. When someone, in introducing a musician to him, remarked, “This man is a good musician,” he said, “And in this country of ours that man there rates as a good soup-maker,” thus implying that there was no distinction between giving pleasure through the sound of instruments and giving it through the preparation of appetizing foods and soup.

4. When somebody promised him to make the wine pleasant to the taste, he said, “What for? For more of it will be used, and it will make the men’s eating together less beneficial.”

5. As he was establishing his camp hard by the city of Corinth, he saw hares start up from a spot near the wall. He said therefore to his fellow-soldiers, “The enemy are ours.”

6. When two persons accepted him as arbiter, he took them to the sacred precinct of Athena of the Brazen House, and made them swear to abide by his decision; and when they had given their oaths, he said, “My decision, then, is that you are not to leave this sacred precinct before you compose your differences.”

7. When Dionysius, the despot of Sicily, sent costly raiment to Archidamus’s daughters, he would not accept it, saying, “I am afraid that, if the girls should put it on, they would appear ugly to me.”

— See Moralia, 240 ν (2), infra, which makes the meaning of this passage quite clear.

— A similar remark is attributed to Lysander in Moralia, 190 E, supra, and 229 ν, infra.

— Cf. the note on Moralia, 190 ν (1), supra.
8. Θεασάμενος δὲ τὸν υἱὸν προπετῶς μαχόμενον Ἀθηναίοις, "ἡ τῇ δυνάμει πρόσθες," ἐφη, "ἡ τοῦ φρονήματος ὑφες." 1

ΑΡΧΙΔΑΜΟΥ ΤΟΤ ΑΓΗΣΙΑΟΤ

1. Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ἀγησιάος, Φίλιππον μετὰ τὴν ἐν Χαιρωνεία μάχην σκληροτέραν αὐτῷ ἑπιστολὴν γράφαντος, ἀντέγραψεν, "εἰ μετρήσαις τὴν σαυτοῦ σκιάν, οὐκ ἂν εὑροις αὐτὴν μείζονα γεγενημένην ἢ πρὶν νυκάν." 2

2. Ἐφωτιθείς δὲ πόσης χώρας κρατοῦσιν οἱ Σπαρτιάται, "όσης ἂν," ἐφη, "τῷ δόρατι ἐφίκωντα." 3

3. Περιάνδρου δὲ τοῦ ἰατροῦ ἀξιολόγου κατὰ τέχνην ὄντος καὶ ἐπαινομένου ἐσ τὰ μάλιστα, φαίλα δὲ ποιήματα γράφαντος, "τὶ δήποτε, ὃ Περιάνδρε," εἰπεν, "ἄντι χαρίζεστον ἰατροῦ κακὸς ποιητῆς καλείσθαι ἐπιθυμεῖς;" 4

4. Ἐν δὲ τῶ πρὸς Φίλιππον πολέμῳ συμβολευόντων τινῶν ὅτι πόρρω τῆς οἰκείας τὴν μάχην συνάπτειν δεῖ, "ἀλλ᾽ οὐ τοῦτο," ἐφη, "ὅραν δεῖ, ἀλλ᾽ οὗ μαχόμενοι 3 κρείττονες τῶν πολεμίων ἔσομεθα." 5

5. Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας αὐτὸν, ὅτε τὴν πρὸς Ἀρκάδας μάχην ἐνίκησε, "βέλτιον ἂν ἦν, εἰ τῇ φρονήσει," ἐφη, "αὐτοὺς ἐνικῶμεν μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ ἰσχύι." 6

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1 φρονήματος ὑφες] θράσους ὕψει Stobaeus, Flor. liii. 12.
2 ὃ οὐ Wytenbach (οὗ or ἦ Hatzidakis): οι (or ei).
3 μαχόμενοι Pantazides: μαχούμενοι (εὐμαχούμενοι).
4 Archidamus III., king of Sparta, 361–338 B.C.
5 Cf. the note on Moralia, 210 e (28), supra.
8. Observing that his son was fighting impetuously against the Athenians, he said, "Either add to your strength, or subtract from your courage."

ARCHIDAMUS, SON OF AGESILAUS

1. Archidamus, the son of Agesilaus, when Philip, after the battle of Chaeroneia, wrote him a somewhat haughty letter, wrote in reply, "If you should measure your own shadow, you would not find that it has become any greater than before you were victorious.

2. Being asked how much land the Spartans controlled, he said, "As much as they can reach with the spear." 

3. Periander, the physician, was distinguished in his profession and commended very very highly, but was a writer of wretched verses. "Why in the world, Periander," said Archidamus, "do you yearn to be called a bad poet instead of a skilful physician?"

4. In the war against Philip, when some proffered the advice that they ought to engage him in battle at a good distance from their own land," Archidamus said, "No, that is not what we ought to look to, but where, in fighting, we shall be superior to the enemy.

5. In answer to those who commended him when he had been victorious in battle against the Arcadians, he said, "It would have been better if we had vanquished them by intelligence rather than by strength."

The policy of Demosthenes (e.g. Olynthiac i. ad fin.).

6. "Ote ðe eis 'Arkaðían ēnēbale, πυθόμενος βοθείν αὐτοῖς 'Hleíous épésteilev αὐτοῖς, "'Arχídaimos 'Hleíous' kalón ἡσυχία.'"

7. Tòv ðe συμμάχων ἐν τῷ Πελοποννησιακῷ πολέμῳ ἐπιζητοῦντος πόσα χρήματα ἀρκέσει, καὶ ἀξιοῦντων ὄρισαι τοὺς φόρους, "ὁ πόλεμος," ἔφη, "οὐ τεταγμένα σιτεῖται." 2

8. Καταπελτικοῦ ðe ἰδών βέλος τότε πρῶτον ἐκ Σικελίας κομισθέν ἀνεβόησεν, "Ἡράκλεις, ἀπόλωλεν ἄνδρὸς ἀρετά." 3

9. Ἐπεὶ ðe οὐκ ἐβούλοντο "Ελληνες πείθεσθαι αὐτῷ καὶ λῦσαι τὰς πρὸς Αντίπατρον καὶ Κρατερὸν Β τοὺς Μακεδόνας ὁμολογίας καὶ ἑλεύθεροι ἐίναι, ὡς χαλεπωτέρων ἐσομενίων Λακεδαιμονίων ἡ Μακεδόνων, ἐπε, "πρόβατον μὲν ἂεὶ τὴν αὐτὴν φθέγγεται φωνῆν, ἀνθρωπος ðe πολλάς καὶ ποικίλας, ἐώς ἂν τὸ δόξαν ἑπιτελέσῃ." 4

ΑΣΤΙΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΣ

'Αστικρατίδας, εἰπόντος τυώς αὐτῷ μετὰ τὸ ἡττήθηναι Ἁγιν τὸν βασιλέα ἐν τῇ πρὸς Αντίπατρον καὶ τῇ Μεγάλην πόλιν, "τι πούησετε, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι; ἡ δουλεύσετε Μακεδόνων;" ἐπε, "τι ðε; καλύσαι ἂν δύνατο Αντίπατρος μαχομένους ἡμᾶς ἀποθανεῖν ύπὲρ τῆς Σπάρτης;"

1 ἡσυχία] ἁσυχία Valckenaer.
2 σιτεῖται] ξητεῖ in most mss. But see 190 a, supra.
3 'Αντίπατρον Wyttenbach: 'Αντίγονον.

a The saying is attributed to Periander by Diogenes Laertius, i. 97.
b Cf. the note on Moralia, 190 a, supra. The saying plainly belongs to Archidamus II. (218 c, supra), who lived 310
6. When he invaded Arcadia, he learned that the Eleans were supporting the Arcadians, and so he sent this letter to them: "Archidamus to the Eleans. Quiet is a good thing." 

7. In the Peloponnesian war, when his allies sought to know how much money would be sufficient, and said it was only fair that he set a limit to their contributions, he said, "War does not feed on fixed rations." 

8. When he saw the missile shot by a catapult, which had been brought then for the first time from Sicily, he exclaimed, "Great Heavens! man's valour is no more!"

9. When the Greeks were not willing to take his advice and break their agreements with Antipater and Craterus the Macedonian, and be free, because of a feeling that the Spartans would be harsher than the Macedonians, he said, "A sheep or a goat bleats always in the same way, but a man talks in a great variety of ways until he accomplishes what he has set his mind upon."

ASTYCRATIDAS

When someone said to Astycratidas, after the defeat of Agis their king in the battle against Antipater in the vicinity of Megalopolis, "What will you do, men of Sparta? Will you be subject to the Macedonians?" he said, "What! Is there any way in which Antipater can forbid us to die fighting for Sparta?"

at the time of the Peloponnesian war. See Plutarch's Life of Cleomenes, chap. xxvii. (817 e).

c Cf. Moralia, 191 D, supra.

d Either Antipater (Wyttenbach's certain emendation) or Antigonus (mss.) is too late for Archidamus III., who died in 338 B.C.
BIANTOS

1. Brias\(^1\) ἐν ἴσχασι συλλαβῶν μῶν καὶ δηχθείς ἄφηκεν. ἔτα ἀπό τοῦς παρόντας, "οὐδὲν οὕτως," ἔφη, "μικρόν ἔστιν, δ’ οὐ σῶζεται τολμῶν ἄμψεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦντας."

2. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς μάχηι διὰ τῆς ἀσπίδος ἀκοντισθείς καὶ τὸ δόρον τοῦ τραύματος ἐξελκύσας αὐτῷ τούτῳ τὸν πολέμιον ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ πῶς ἐτρώθη ἐρωτηθείς, "προδούσῆς με," ἔφη, "τῆς ἀσπίδος."

3. Ἐξελθὼν δὲ ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἔγραψε τοῖς ἐφόροις, "ἀσσα δὴ λωμαί\(^3\) πράξω ποτ τὸν πόλεμον ἢ τεθναξόμαι."

4. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνέβη πεσεῖν αὐτὸν ἐλευθεροῦντα τοὺς ἐπὶ Θράκης Ἐλλήνας, οἱ δὲ πεμφθέντες εἰς Ἀλκεδαίμονα πρέσβεις τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ Αργιλεωνίδι προτῆθον πρῶτον μὲν ἡρώτησαν εἰ καλῶς ὁ Βρασίδας ἐπελεύσητος. ἐγκωμιαζόντων δὲ τῶν Θρακῶν καὶ λεγόντων ὡς ουδὲς ἄλλος ἐστὶ τουσίτως, "ἀγνοεῖτε," εἶπεν, "ο ξένοι· Βρασίδας γὰρ ἦν μὲν

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\(^{1}\) Brias, Bia[\textsuperscript{1}]

\(^{2}\) οὐ] μη 190 β (1), supra.

\(^{3}\) δῆλωμαι Valckenaer: δηλώμαι.

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\(a\) It seems almost certain that this anecdote is the same as that told of Anaxibius by Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iv. 8. 32-39, 312
BIAS

Bias, caught in an ambush by Iphicrates the Athenian general, and asked by his soldiers what was to be done, said, "What else except for you to save your lives and for me to die fighting?"

BRASIDAS

1. Brasidas caught a mouse among some figs, and, when he got bitten, let it go. Then, turning to those who were present, he said, "There is nothing so small that it does not save its life if it has the courage to defend itself against those who would lay hand on it."

2. In a battle he was wounded by a spear which pierced his shield, and, pulling the weapon out of the wound, with this very spear he slew his foe. Asked how he got his wound, he said, "'Twas when my shield turned traitor."

3. As he was going forth to war he wrote to the Ephors, "What I wull to dae I'll dae as regards the war or be a deid mon."

4. When it came to pass that he fell in trying to win independence for the Greeks who were living in the region of Thrace, the committee which was sent to Sparta waited upon his mother Argileonis. Her first question was whether Brasidas had come to his end honourably; and when the Thracians spoke of him in the highest terms, and said that there was no other like him, she said, "You have no knowledge of that, sirs, being from abroad; for Brasidas was but if so, the name is out of alphabetical order, and the mistake must be ancient.

*b See the note on *Moralia*, 190 b, *supra*.
*c Ibid. (1).*
*d Ibid. (2).*
PLUTARCH’S MORALIA

Ε ἀνήρ ἀγαθὸς, πολλοὺς δ’ ἐκεῖνου κρείττονας ἔχει (219) ἡ Σπάρτη.”

ΔΑΜΩΝΙΔΟΤ

Δαμωνίδας ταχθεὶς ἐσχατὸς τοῦ χοροῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ τοῦ χοροῦ ἰστῶντος, “εὖγε,” εἶπεν, “ὡ χοραγέ, ἐξεῦρες πῶς καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ χώρα ἀτιμὸς οὔσα ἐντιμὸς γένηται.”

ΔΑΜΙΔΟΣ

Δάμις πρὸς τὰ ἐπισταλέντα παρὰ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου θεοῦ εἶναι θησίσασθαι, “συγχωροῦμεν,” ἔφη, “Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἐὰν θέλῃ, θεὸς καλεῖσθαι.”

ΔΑΜΙΝΔΟΤ

F Δαμίνδας, Φιλίππου ἐμβαλόντος εἰς Πελοπόννησον καὶ εἰπόντος τινός, “κινδυνεύουσι δεινὰ παθεῖν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εἰ μὴ τὰς πρὸς αὐτὸν διαλλαγὰς ποιήσονται,” “ἀνδρόγυνε,” εἶπε, “τί δ’ ἂν πάθομεν δεινὸν θανάτου καταφρονήσαντες;”

ΔΕΡΚΤΛΙΔΟΤ

Δερκυλίδας, Πύρρου τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τῆς Σπαρτιάτιδος ἐχοντος, πεμφθεὶς πρὸς αὐτὸν προσβενυτης, τοῦ Πύρρου προστάττοντος καταδέχεσθαι τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν Κλεώνυμον ἡ γνώσθησθαι ὦς οὐδενὸς τῶν ἄλλων ἀνδρείωτεροι τυγχάνοντι, ὑποτυχῶν εἶπεν, “εἰ μὲν θεὸς ἐστιν, οὐ φοβοῦμεθα τοῦτον οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀδικοῦμεν. εἰ δὲ ἄνθρωπος, οὐχ ἡμῶν γε κρεῖττων.”

1 Δαμίνδας] Δαµάδας (a name found in Spartan inscriptions) is suggested by Bernardakis.

a See the note on Moralia, 190 b (3), supra.
b See the note on Moralia, 191 f, supra.

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indeed a good man, but Sparta has many better than he was."  

**DAMONIDAS**

Damonidas, being assigned to the last place in the chorus by the director, exclaimed, "Good! You have discovered, sir, how this place which is without honour may be made a place of honour."  

**DAMIS**

Damis, with reference to the instructions sent from Alexander that they should pass a formal vote deifying him, said, "We concede to Alexander that, if he so wishes, he may be called a god."  

**DAMINDAS**

When Philip invaded the Peloponnesus, and someone said, "There is danger that the Spartans may meet a dire fate if they do not make terms with the invader," Damindas exclaimed, "You poor womanish thing! What dire fate could be ours if we have no fear of death?"

**DERCYLIDAS**

Dercylidas, when Pyrrhus had his army near Sparta, was sent to him as ambassador; and when Pyrrhus stated that they must receive their king Cleonymus, or they would find out that they were no braver than any of the rest, Dercylidas interrupted to say, "If this man is a god, we do not fear him, for we are guilty of no wrong; but if he is a man, he is surely not superior to us."
1. Δημάρατος, ὁ Ὀρόντου πρὸς αὐτὸν σκληρό

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terōn ὁμιλήσαντος καὶ εἰπόντος τινός, "σκληρῶς

1. Δημάρατος, ὁ Ὀρόντου πρὸς αὐτὸν σκληρό,

σοι κέχρηται Ὀρόντης, ὃ θυμάρατες," "οὐδὲν

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ήμαρτεν εἰς ἐμέ," εἶπεν "οἱ γὰρ πρὸς χάριν

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ὁμιλοῦντες βλαπτοῦσιν, οἷς οἱ μετὰ ἀπεχθείας."

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2. Ἐρωτησάντος δὲ τινός διὰ τί τοὺς μὲν τὰς

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ἀσπίδας παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀποβαλόντας ἀτιμοῦσιν τοὺς

ἀσπίδας παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀποβαλόντας ἀτιμοῦσιν τοὺς

dὲ τὰ κράνη καὶ τοὺς θώρακας οὐκέτι, "ὅτι,

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ἐφη, "τούτα μὲν έαυτῶν χάριν περιτίθενται, τῇ

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de ἀσπίδα τῆς κούνης τάξεως ένεκα."

de ἀσπίδα τῆς κούνης τάξεως ένεκα."

3. Ψάλτου δὲ ἀκρούμενος, "οὐ κακῶς," εἶπε,

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"φαίνεται μοι φλυαρεῖν."

"φαίνεται μοι φλυαρεῖν."

4. Ἐν δὲ τινὶ συνεδρίῳ ἐρωτῶμενος πότερον διὰ

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Β μωρίαν ἡ δὲ ἀπορίαν λόγων σωπᾶ, "ἀλλ' ὁ γε

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μωρὸς οὐκ ἀν δύνατο σωπᾶν," ἐφη.

μωρὸς οὐκ ἀν δύνατο σωπᾶν," ἐφη.

5. Πυθομένου δὲ τινος διὰ τί φεύγει τῇ Ἱππάρ- 5. Πυθομένου δὲ τινος διὰ τί φεύγει τῇ Ἱππάρ-

τῃ βασιλεὺς οὖν, "ὅτι," ἐφη, "κρείττονες αὐτῆς

τῇ βασιλεὺς οὖν, "ὅτι," ἐφη, "κρείττονες αὐτῆς

οἱ νόμοι εἰσί." 2

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6. Τῶν δὲ Περσῶν τινός διὰ τὸ συνεχές τῆς

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dωροδοκίας τὸν ἐρώμενον αὐτοῦ ἀπαγαγόντος καὶ

dωροδοκίας τὸν ἐρώμενον αὐτοῦ ἀπαγαγόντος καὶ

λέγοντος, "ὦ Δάκων, τεθήρευκά σου τὸν ἐρώ-

λέγοντος, "ὦ Δάκων, τεθήρευκά σου τὸν ἐρώ-

μενον," "μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς," ἐφη, "οὐχὶ οὐ γε, ἀλλ' 6

μενον," "μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς," ἐφη, "οὐχὶ οὐ γε, ἀλλ' 6

ήγορακας."

ήγορακας."

7. Ἀποστάντος δὲ τινος τῶν Περσῶν τοῦ βασι-

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λέως καὶ μεταπεισθέντος ὑπὸ Δημαράτου ἐπαν-

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2 αὐτῆς] αὐτοῦ Pantazides.

2 αὐτῆς] αὐτοῦ Pantazides.
1. Demaratus, when Orontes had talked to him rather haughtily and someone remarked, "Orontes has treated you haughtily, Demaratus," said, "He has committed no fault against me; for it is those who talk to please that do harm, not those who talk with hatred at heart."

2. When someone asked why they visited disgrace upon those among them who lost their shields, but did not do the same thing to those who lost their helmets or their breastplates, he said, "Because these they put on for their own sake, but the shield for the common good of the whole line."

3. As he was listening to a musician, he said, "He seems to do his silly task fairly well." 

4. In a council meeting he was asked whether it was due to foolishness or lack of words that he said nothing. "But a fool," said he, "would not be able to hold his tongue."

5. When someone inquired why he was an exile from Sparta, being a king, he said, "Because her laws are more powerful than I am."

6. When one of the Persians, by unremitting bribery, had got away from him his beloved youth, and said to him, "Ho, Spartan, I have captivated your beloved," he said, "Not you, I swear, but you have bought and paid for him!"

7. When one of the Persians deserted from the king and was persuaded by Demaratus to change

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*b Cf. the similar remarks in *Moralia*, 220 f (6) and 234 d (42), *infra.*

*c Cf. the similar remark of Bias in *Moralia*, 503 f, and of Solon in Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, xxxiv. 15.*
(220) εἰθείν καὶ μέλλοντος τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ Πέρσην διαχειρίζεσθαι, "αἰσχρόν," ἔφη, "ὦ βασιλέι, οτε μὲν ἔχθρος ἦν σοι, μὴ δύνασθαι δίκην τῆς ἀπο-
C στάσεως παρ’ αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν, ὅτε δὲ φίλος γέγονεν, ἀποκτείνειν."

8. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν παρασιτοῦντα τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ
περὶ τῆς φυγῆς πολλάκις ἐπισκόπτοντα αὐτόν,
"οὐ μαχοῦμαι σοι," ἔφη, "ἄ ἔνει· κατανάλωκα
gὰρ τὴν τοῦ βίου τάξιν."

ΕΚΠΡΕΠΟΣ

'Εκπρέπης1 ἐφορὸς Φρύνιδος τοῦ μουσικοῦ σκε-
pάρων τὰς δύο τῶν ἐννέα χορδῶν2 ἔξετεμεν, εἰπὼν,
"μὴ κακοῦργεῖ τὴν μουσικήν."

ΕΠΑΙΝΕΤΟΤ

'Επαινετος πάντων ἔφη τοὺς ψεύστας τῶν ἀμαρ-
tημάτων καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων αἰτίους εἶναι.

ΕΤΒΟΙΔΟΤ

Εὐβοῖδας ἀκούων τινῶν ἐπαινοῦντων γυναικὰ
ἀλλοτρίαν οὐκ ἀπεδέχετο, φήσας, "ὡς περὶ
gυναικείας φύσεως παρὰ τοὺς ἔξω λόγων εἶναι
οὐδένα δεῖ.

ΕΤΔΑΜΙΔΟΤ ΤΟΤ ΑΡΧΙΔΑΜΟΤ

1. Εὐδαμίδας ὁ 'Αρχιδάμου, ἀδελφὸς δὲ Ἡ Ἀγίδος,
ίδων Ξενοκράτην ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ3 πρεσβύτερον ἦδη

1 Εκπρεποῦς, 'Εκπρέπης Xylander and Wytenbach: Εμπρε-
poůς, 'Εμπρεπῆς.
2 χορδῶν added by Eusebius from the Life of Agis, chap. x.,
and Moralia 84 a.
3 Ἀκαδημείᾳ the better spelling: ἀκαδημίᾳ.

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his mind and return, and the king was going to have him put to death, Demaratus said, “For shame, your Majesty! To think that when this man was your enemy you could not punish him for his desertion but now that he has become your friend, you would put him to death!”

8. In answer to a man who was a parasite of the king and often jeered at him over his exile, he said, “I have no quarrel with you, my friend; for I have squandered my position in life.”

**ECPREPES**

Ecprepes, an Ephor, cut out with an adze two of the nine strings of Phrynis the musician, saying, “Do not murder music.”

**EPAENETUS**

Epaenetus said that liars are to blame for all sins and crimes.

**EUBOEDAS**

Euboedas, on hearing some men praising the wife of another man, could not stomach it, saying, “In regard to a woman’s endowments there should be absolutely no talk among those outside the family.”

**EUDAMIDAS, SON OF ARCHIDAMUS**

1. Eudamidas, the son of Archidamus and the brother of Agis, seeing Xenocrates in the Academy,

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*a* The story is repeated in Plutarch’s *Life of Agis*, chap. x. (799 r), and with variations in *Moralia*, 84 a, 238 c (infra); Athenaeus 636 r; Boethius, *De Musica*, i. 1.

*b* Cf. the note on *Moralia*, 217 r, supra.

*c* Eudamidas I., king of Sparta, 330–300 (?) B.C.
(220) μετά τῶν γνωρίμων φιλοσοφοῦντα, ἐπύθετο τής ὁ πρεσβύτης· φαμένου δὲ των ὧν σοφὸς ἀνήρ καὶ τῶν ζητοῦντων τῷ ἁρτῇν, "καὶ πότε," ἔφη, "χρῆσεται αὐτῇ, ἐὰν ἀρτι ζητῇ;"  
Ε 2. Ἀκούσας δὲ φιλοσόφου διαλεξθέντος ὧτι μόνος ἀγαθὸς στρατηγὸς ὁ σοφὸς ἔστιν, "ὁ μὲν λόγος," ἔφη, "θαυμαστός· ὁ δὲ λέγων ἀπίστος· οὐ γάρ περισσάλπισται."  
3. Τὴν θέσιν δὲ Ξενοκράτους εἰρηκότος καὶ καταπανομένου, παρῆν ὁ Εὐδαμίδας· ὃς δὲ ἐπὶ τις τῶν μετὰ αὐτοῦ "ὄτε πάρεσμεν ἥμεις, τότε πέπαιναται:" "καλῶς γε;" ἔφη, "εἴπερ ἥδη ἔλεξε ταῦτα ἄ ἐξρηξε:: τοῦ δ' εἰπόντος "καλὸν ἦν ἀκοῦσαι: "ἡ καὶ πρὸς δεδειπνηκότα μολόντες," εἶπεν, "ἡξιοῦμεν ἂν πάλιν αὐτὸν δειπνεῖς;"  
4. Πυθανομένου δὲ τινός διὰ τί, τῶν πολιτῶν Ἀἱρομένων τὸν πρὸς Μακεδόνας πόλεμον, αὐτὸς ἥσυχιὰν ἄγειν δοκιμάζει, ":" ἔφη, "οὐ χρῆξω ψευδομένους αὐτοὺς ἐλέγξαι."  
5. ΄Ετέρου δὲ προφερομένου τὰ κατὰ Περσῶν ἀμυστεία καὶ προτρέποντος ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, "ἀγνοεῖν," ἔφη, "μοι δοκεῖς γε ὧτι ταύτῶν ἐστὶ χιλίων προβάτων κρατήσαντα πεντῆκοντα λύκοις μάχεσθαι;"  
6. Ψάλτου δὲ τινὸς εὐημερήσαντος, ἥρωτησαν αὐτὸν ποδαπός τις αὐτῷ δοκεῖ εἶναι, "μέγας," ἔφη, "κηληκτᾶς ἐν μικρῷ πράγματι."  

1 περισσάλπισται] περισεσάλπιγκται Stobaeus, Flor. liv. 65.  
2 ἔ Wyttenbach: δὲ.  
3 ἂν added by van Herwerden and Pantazides.  
4 ἐστὶ] ἐστὶ τῷ E. Kurtz.  

*Cf. the note on *Moralia*, 192 Α, *supra.*
already well on in years, discussing philosophy with his acquaintances, inquired who the old man was. Somebody said that he was a wise man and one of the seekers after virtue. "And when will he use it?" said Eudamidas, "if he is only now seeking for it?"*

2. Hearing a philosopher discoursing to the effect that the wise man is the only good general, he said, "The speech is admirable, but the speaker is not to be trusted; for he has never been amid the blare of trumpets."*

3. Xenocrates had been expounding his theme, and had just reached the stopping-point when Eudamidas arrived. One of the persons with him remarked, "Just when we arrive he comes to the stopping-point." "Quite properly so," said Eudamidas, "if he has already said all he wanted to say." "It would have been nice to hear him," said the other. "Indeed," said Eudamidas, "and if we came to a man who had just dined, should we insist that he eat another dinner?"

4. Someone inquired why, when the citizens professed to be all for war against the Macedonians, he himself decided in favour of keeping the peace. He replied, "Because I do not need to prove that they are lying."

5. When another man brought up their brave successes against the Persians, and was urgent for the war, Eudamidas said, "You do not seem to realize that your proposition is the same as fighting fifty wolves after overcoming a thousand sheep!"

6. When a certain musician made a great hit, they asked Eudamidas what he thought of the man, and he replied, "He has great power to charm in a trifling matter."
7. 'Επαινοῦντος δὲ τινος τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἔφη, "καὶ τίς ἂν ταύτην τὴν πόλιν δεύτερος ἐπαινοή, ἢν οὖνεὶς ἐστερέξε γενόμενοι βελτίων;”

8. Ἀργείου δὲ τινος λέγοντος, ὡς φαυλότεροι γίγνονται κατὰ τὰς ἀποδημίας οἱ Λάκωνες ἔξ-221 ιστάμενοι τῶν πατρίων νόμων, "ἀλλ’ οὐ χ ύμείς γε,” ἔφη, "εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην ἐλθόντες χεῖροντες ἀλλὰ βελτίωνες γίνεσθε.”

9. Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ κηρύκαντος ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ κατ-ιέναι τοὺς φυγάδας ἀπαντας εἰς τὴν ἱδίαν πλὴν Θηβαίων, "ἀτυχές μὲν,” ἔφη, "ὡ Θηβαῖοι, τὸ κήρυγμα ἀλλ’ ἐνδοξον’ μόνοις γὰρ ύμᾶς φοβεῖται Ἀλεξάνδρος.”

10. Ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ τίνος ἕνεκα πρὸ τῶν κινδύ-νων τοῖς Μουσαίς σφαγάζονσιν, "ὅπως,” ἔφη, "αἱ πράξεις λόγων ἀγαθῶν τυγχάνονς.”

ΕΤΡΤΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΤ ΤΟΤ ΑΝΑΞΑΝΔΡΙΔΟΤ

Β Εὐρυκρατίδας ὁ Ἀναξάνδριδος, πυθομένου τινὸς διὰ τί τὰ περὶ τῶν συμβολαίων δίκαια ἐκάστης ἡμέρας κρίνοντι οἱ ἐφοροί, "ὅπως,” ἔφη, "καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις πιστεύουμεν ἀλλήλοις.”

ΖΕΤΞΙΔΑΜΟΤ

1. Ἰενείδαμος, πυθανομένου τινὸς διὰ τί τοὺς περὶ τῆς ἀνδρείας νόμους ἀγράφους τηροῦσι καὶ

1 τὰ περὶ Wyttenbach: περὶ τὰ or περὶ.

a "Lions at home, but foxes abroad" was proverbial. Cf. Plutarch’s Comparison of Lysander and Sulla, chap. iii. (476 e).

b In 323 B.C. Cf. Diodorus, xviii. 8.

c Cf. Moralia, 238 b, infra ; Plutarch’s Life of Lycurgus, chap. xxi. (53 d).
7. When someone praised Athens, he said "And who could praise that city deservedly, towards which nobody has ever felt any affection for having been made a better man by it?"

8. When a man from Argos said that the Spartans became more unscrupulous on going abroad and being out of the control of their long-established laws, a he said, "But you, when you come to Sparta, do not become worse, but better."

9. When Alexander caused proclamation to be made at Olympia that all exiles might return to their own land, b save only the Thebans, Eudamidas said, "The proclamation for you, men of Thebes, is unfortunate, but very complimentary; for it is you only that Alexander fears."

10. Being asked for what purpose they offered sacrifice to the Muses before hazardous ventures, he said, "So that our deeds may find good words." c

EURYCRATIDAS, SON OF ANAXANDRIDAS d

Eurycratidas, the son of Anaxandridas, when someone inquired why the Ephors try cases involving contracts e each day, said, "So that also amid our enemies we may trust one another."

ZEUXIDAMUS f

1. When someone inquired why they kept the laws in regard to bravery unwritten, and did not have

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*d Presumably Eurycratidas, son of Anaxander, mentioned by Herodotus, vii. 204, in the genealogy of Leonidas. He was king of Sparta in the first half of the sixth century B.C.
* Cf. Aristotle, Politics, iii. 1, 10 (1275 b).
f Presumably the son of Leotychidas II., king of Sparta (Moralia, 224 ε). He died before his father, and so never became king.
(221) τοῖς νέοις ἀπογραφήμενοι οὖ διδόασιν ἀναγνώσκειν, C "ὅτι," ἔφη, "συνεθείζεσθαι δεῖ ταῖς ἀνδραγαθίας κρείττων ὦν ἡ ταῖς γραφαῖς προσέχειν."

2. Αἴτωλοῦ δὲ των λέγοντος ὅτι τοῖς ἀνδραγαθεῖν δυναμένοις κρείττων τῆς εἰρήνης ὁ πόλεμος, "οὐ μᾶ τοὺς θεοὺς," ἔφη, "ἀλλὰ τούτοις κρείττων ὁ θάνατος τῆς ζωῆς."

ΗΡΩΝΔΟΤ

Ἡρώνδας, Ἀθήνησιν ἀλόντος τινὸς γραφήν ἀργίας, παρῶν καὶ πυθόμενος ἔκελευσεν ἐπιδείξαι αὐτῷ τὸν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν δίκην ἠττηθέντα.

ΘΕΑΡΙΔΟΤ

Θεαρίδας ξίφος ἀκονῶν ἠρωτήθη εἰ ὃξυ ἐστὶν, καὶ εἶπεν, "ὁξύτερον διαβολῆς."

ΘΕΜΙΣΤΕΟΤ

Θεμιστέας ἐπροεῖπε μὲν Λεωνίδα τῷ βασιλεὶ τῆν Ἰανησομένην ἀπώλειαν περὶ Θερμοπύλας αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν συντρατευμένων αὐτῶ, μάντις ὄν ἀποπεμπόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Λεωνίδα εἰς τὴν Λακεδαιμόνα προφάσει τοῦ ἀπαγγελεῖ τὰ συμβήσομενα, ταῖς δὲ ἀληθείαις ἡνὶ μὴ παραπόληται, οὐκ ἤνε- σχετο ἀλλ' εἶπε, "μακατή ἐπεμβάθην οὐκ ἄγγελια-φόρος."

1 dei] δεῖ is suggested by Wyttenbach.
2 ὦν added by F.C.B.
3 Θεμιστέας] Μεγαστής in Herodotus, vii. 221.

On the subject see Busolt, Griechische Staatskunde (Munich, 1926), p. 815.

Cf. Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus, chap. xxiv. (54 ε). The free population of Sparta did no labour.
them written down and thus give them to the young men to read, Zeuxidamus said, "Because the young ought to accustom themselves to deeds of manly valour, a better thing than to apply their mind to writings."

2. When a certain Aetolian asserted that, for those who are able to play the part of real men, war is better than peace, Zeuxidamus said, "By Heaven, no; but for such men death is better than life."

HERONDAS

Herondas was at Athens when a man there was found guilty on a charge of not having any occupation, and, when he heard of this, he bade them point out to him the man who had been convicted of the freeman's crime!

THEARIDAS

Thearidas, as he was whetting his sword, was asked if it was sharp, and he replied, "Sharper than slander."

THEMISTEAS

Themisteas foretold to Leonidas, the king, the coming destruction both of himself and of his fellow-soldiers at Thermopylae, for he was a prophet. He was sent away by Leonidas to Sparta, on the pretext of announcing there what would come to pass, but in reality so that he should not suffer death with the rest. He, however, would not brook this, but said, "I was sent out to fight, not to carry messages."

A somewhat different version is to be found in *Moralia*, 866 c. The original is in Herodotus, vii. 221, where the seer's name is given as Megistias.
1. Θεόπομπος πρὸς τὸν ἐρωτήσαντα πῶς ἂν τις ἀσφαλέστατα τηροῦ τὴν βασιλείαν, "εἰ τοὺς μὲν 
φίλους," ἔφη, "μεταδίδοιη παρρησίας δικαίας, τοὺς 
δὲ ἀρχομένους κατὰ δύναμιν μὴ περιορίζῃ ἀδικου-
μένους."

2. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἔξονα τὸν λέγοντα ὅτι παρὰ τοὺς 
Ε αὐτοῦ πολίτας καλεῖται φιλολάκων, "κρείττον," 
ἔφη, "ἡν σὲ φιλοπολίτην ἡ φιλολάκωνα καλεῖσθαι." 

3. Τοῦ δ’ ἐκ τῆς "Ηλίδος πρεσβευτοῦ εἰπόντος 
ὅτι διὰ τοῦτ’ αὐτὸν ἔσαπεστειλαν οἱ πολίται, ὧν 
μόνος τὸν Δακονικὸν ἐξήλωσε βίον, "καὶ πότερον," 
ἔφη, "ὁ σος ὅ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν βίος βελτίων 
estί;" τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος τὸν αὐτοῦ, "πῶς οὖν ἂν," 
ἔφη, "αὐτὴ ἡ πόλις σφύζειτο, ἐν ἡ πολλῶν ὄντων 
eis μόνος ἀγαθὸς εστὶ;"

4. Λέγοντος δὲ τινος ὅτι ἡ Σπάρτη σφύζεται διὰ 
toús βασιλείας ἀρχικοὺς ὄντας, "οὐκ," ἔφη, "ἀλλὰ 
diá toús polítais peiθarχικοὺς ὄντας."

5. Πυλίων δὲ αὐτῶ ἁεῖξοναι τιμᾶς ψηφισμέ-
νου, ἀντέγραψεν ὅτι τὰς μὲν μετρίας ὁ χρόνος 
aῦξει, τὰς δ’ ὑπεραιροῦσα ἀφανίζει.

6. Ἐπιδεικνυμένου δὲ τινος αὐτῶ τεῖχος καὶ 
πυρηνομένου εἰ καρτερὸν καὶ υψηλὸν, "οὐ δὴ 
γυναικῶν;" εἶπεν.

1 ἀντέγραψεν Wyttenbach: ἐνέγραψεν.
2 οὐ δὴ γυναικῶν as in 190 A, F.C.B. (γυναικῶν also S. A. 
Naber): οὐδέ εἰ γυναικῶν εἶπεν ἢν.

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SAYINGS OF SPARTANS, 221

THEOPOMPUS

1. Theopompus, in answer to a man who asked how anyone could keep a kingdom most securely, said, "If he concede to his friends their just share of frank speech, and, so far as lies in his power, do not suffer any of his subjects to be wronged."

2. In answer to a man from abroad who said that among his own citizens he was called a lover of Sparta, he said, "It would be better to be called a lover of your own country than a lover of Sparta."

3. When the ambassador from Elis said that his citizens had sent him for the especial reason that he alone emulated the Spartan way of living, Theopompus said, "Is your way of living or that of the other citizens better?" And when the man said that his own was, Theopompus said, "How, then, can that State be saved in which, among many citizens, only one is a good man?"

4. When someone said that Sparta was saved through its kings, because they were competent to rule, he said, "Not so, but through its citizens, because they are obedient to the rulers."\[b\]

4. When the people of Pylos voted him some unusually high honours, he wrote in reply that time increases modest honours, but obliterates those that are extravagant.

6. When someone pointed out to him a wall, and inquired if it was strong and high, he said, "Is it not a place where women live?"\[c\]

\[a\] King of Sparta at the time of the first Messenian war, eighth (?) century B.C.

\[b\] Cf. Moralia, 816 ε, and Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus, chap. xxx. (58 n).

\[c\] Cf. the note on 190 α, supra. This paragraph is not found in some mss.

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PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

ΘΩΡΤΚΙΩΝΟΣ

Θωρυκίων ἐκ Δελφῶν παραγενόμενος, ἵδιν τὸ Φιλίππου στρατόπεδον ἐν Ἰσθμῷ τὰ στενὰ κατ-ειληφότος,1 "κακοὺς," ἔφη, "πυλωροὺς ύμᾶς, ὥν Κορίνθιοι, ἡ Πελοπόννησος ἔχει."

ΘΕΚΤΑΜΕΝΟΤΗΣ

Θεκταμένης, καταγοντών αὐτοῦ θάνατον τῶν ἐφόρων, ἀπήγει μειδίων καὶ τινος τῶν παρόντων ἐρωτήσαντος εἰ καὶ καταφρονεῖ τῶν τῆς Σπάρτης νομίμων, "οὕτι," εἶπεν, "ἀλλὰ γέγηθα ὅτι δεῖ μὲ τὴν ξημιὰν ἐκτείναι ταύτην, παρ' οὐδενὸς οὔτε τι αἰτήσαντα" οὔτε δανεισάμενον."

ΠΠΙΟΔΑΜΟΥ 222 'Ιππόδαμος, οτὲ 'Αγίων 'Αρχιδάμῳ παρετάττετο, συμπεμφθείς3 τῷ Ἰππίδι εἰς Σπάρτην ἔκει τὰς χρείας παρέχεσθαι, "ἄλλ' οὔτος," ἔφη, "οὕτω καλλίω4 θάνατον ἀποθανοῦμαι ἢ ὑπὲρ Σπάρτας ἀνδραγαθῶν". ἢν δὲ βεβιωκὼς ὑπὲρ τὰ ὀγυδού-κοντα ἔτη καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα λαβὼν τὰ ὁπλα καὶ στὰς ἐν δεξίᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως, μαχόμενος ἀπο-θυήσκει.

ΠΠΙΟΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ

1. 'Ιπποκράτιδας πρὸς τὸν τῆς Καρίας σατράπην ἐπιστειλαντα δι' ὁ τι Λακεδαιμόνιος ἀνὴρ ἐπιβου-

1 κατειληφότος] κατειληφός S. A. Naber.
2 τι αἰτήσαντα Madvig: διαιτήσαντα με.
3 'Αρχιδάμῳ . . . συμπεμφθείς] 'Αντιπάτρῳ . . . πεμφθείς Wyttenbach.
4 καλλίω Wyttenbach (καλλίων van Herwerden): κάλλιον.
5 ἦ added by F.C.B.

a Cf. Cicero, Tusculan Disputations, i. 42 (100).
b The attempt has been made to identify Hippodamus 328
THORYCION

Thorycion, arriving from Delphi and seeing in the Isthmus the forces of Philip, who had already gained possession of the narrow entrance, said, "The Peloponnesus has poor gate-keepers in you, men of Corinth!"

THECTAMENES

Thectamenes, when the Ephors condemned him to death, went away smiling. Someone among the bystanders asked him if he felt such contempt for the laws of Sparta. "No," said he, "but I rejoice to think that I must pay this penalty myself without begging or borrowing anything from anybody."

HIPPODAMUS

Hippodamus, when Agis was taking his place on the field of battle beside Archidamus, was sent with Agis to Sparta to render his services there. "But look you," said he, "I shall meet no more honourable death than in playing the part of a brave man for Sparta's sake." (He was over eighty years old.) And thereupon, seizing his arms and taking his stand at the king's right hand, he fell fighting.

HIPPOCRATIDAS

1. This is the answer of Hippocratidas to the governor of Caria who wrote a letter to him because with the Hippodamus mentioned in Athenaeus, 452 a and in Polyaenus, Strategemata, ii. 15, and, by emendation, to reconcile this passage with the time of Agis IV.; but both Agis II. and Agis III. had fathers named Archidamus, and it is quite possible that the incident of sending away from danger the old man and the young heir to the throne took place as here narrated.

* The name occurs in Herodotus, viii. 131, as one of the earlier kings of Sparta.
PLUTARCH’S MORALIA

Β λευόντων τινῶν συνείδως τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν κατεσω-
(222) πῆσε, καὶ προσθέντα1 πῶς χρύσεται αὐτῷ, ἀντ-
έγραψεν, "εἰ μὲν μέγα τι ἁγαθὸν αὐτὸν πεποίηκας,
κατάκτανε: εἰ δὲ μή, ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἔκβαλε δειλὸν
πρὸς ἄρετὴν άντα."

2. Ἀπαντήσαντος δὲ ποτε αὐτῷ μειρακίου, ὃ
ηκολούθει ἔραστῆς τις, καὶ διατραπέντος, "μετὰ
τοιούτων" ἐφῆ "βαδίζειν δεῖ, μεθ’ ὃν ὀφθεῖς τὴν
αὐτὴν χρόαν τηρήσεις."

ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΤ

1. Καλλικρατίδας ναύαρχος, τῶν Λυσάνδρου φί-
λων ἄξιοντων ἐπιτρέψαι αὐτοῖς ἐνα τινὰ τῶν ἔχθρῶν
C ἀνελεῖν καὶ λαβεῖν πεντήκοντα τάλαντα, καίτοι
σφόδρα δεόμενοι χρημάτων εἰς ὁψῶνα τοῖς ναύταις,
οὗ συνεχώρησε. Κλέανδρος δὲ σύμβουλος ἦν,
"α.labelX δέ γεων' ἄν ἐλαβον," ἔπεν, "εἰ σὺ ἡμῖν.
" καὶ γὰρ αὐτός," ἔπεν, "εἰ σὺ ἡμῖν."”

2. Παραγενόμενος δὲ πρὸς Κύρον τὸν νεώτερον
εἰς Σάρδεις, σύμμαχον ὄντα Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἐπὶ
χρήματα τῷ ναυτικῷ, τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκέλευ-
σεν εἰσαγγείλαι ὅτι βούλεται Κύρῳ ἐντυχεῖν· ὡς δ’
ἡκουσε πῖνειν, "προσμενῶ," ἔπεν, "ἔως ἂν πίῃ."”

D καὶ τότε μὲν ἀπηλλάγη, ως ἐγνὼ ὦχ ὦχον τε εἶναι
συμβαλεῖν αὐτῷ ἐκείνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, δόξας ἀγροκό-
τερος εἶναι. τῇ δ’ ἐχομενήν, ως πάλιν αὐτὸν πῖνειν
ἡκουσε καὶ οὐ προϊόντα,2 φήσας, "οὐχ οὔτω σπου-

1 προσθέντα F.C.B.: προσθέντος.
2 προϊόντα] παριέντα Kronenberg from Life of Lysander, chap. vi.

"Upright and straightforward Spartan who commanded
the Spartan fleet at the battle of Arginusae in 406 B.C. He
was killed in the battle.

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a man from Sparta had been privy to the plot of certain conspirators, and had said nothing about it; and the governor added a line, asking how he should deal with him. Hippocratidas wrote in reply: "If you have done him any great favour, put him to death; but if not, expel him from your country, for he is a poltroon so far as any virtue is concerned."

2. When a youth with a lover in attendance met him one day, and turned colour, he said, "You ought to walk with persons such that when you are seen with them you shall keep the same complexion."

CALLICRATIDAS

1. Callicratidas, an admiral, when Lysander's friends made him a fair offer that he permit them to make away with one of their enemies and receive ten thousand pounds, although he was in sore need of money for rations for his sailors, would not consent. Cleander, who was a member of his council, said, "But I would take it, if I were you." "And so would I," said Callicratidas, "if I were you!"

2. When he came to Cyrus the Younger at Sardis (who was allied with the Spartans) to get money for his fleet, on the first day he bade them send in word that he wished to have an audience with Cyrus. But when he was told that Cyrus was busy drinking, he said, "I will wait till he has finished drinking." And at that time he withdrew, when he realized that it was not possible to meet Cyrus on that day, thus creating the impression that he was somewhat lacking in manners. On the succeeding day, when he was again told that Cyrus was drinking and would not come forth, he said, "We must not be so eager to

b Cf. the reply of Alexander, Moralia, 180 c (11).

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PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(222) δαστέον χρήματα λαβεῖν ὃς μηδὲν ἀνάξιον τῆς Σπάρτῆς ποιεῖν," ἀπηλλάγη εἰς "Εφεσον, πολλὰ μὲν ἐπαρώμενος κακὰ τοῖς πρῶτοις ἐντρυφηθεῖσιν ὑπὸ βαρβάρων καὶ διδάσασιν αὐτοῖς υβρίζειν διὰ πλοῦτον· ὥμοιο δὲ πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας ὃς, ὅταν πρῶτον εἰς Σπάρτην παραγένηται, πάντα ποιήσει ὑπὲρ τοῦ διαλλάξαι τοὺς "Ελλήνας, ὃς φοβερότεροι τοῖς βαρβάροις εἶν καὶ παύσαντο τῆς ἐκείνων ἐπ' Ε ἀλλήλους δεὸμενοι δυνάμεως.

3. Ἑρωτηθεὶς δὲ ὅποιοι ἄνδρες εἰσὶν οἱ "Ἰωνεῖς, ἀλλὰ δοῦλοι ὃς ἄγαθοι·

4. Τού δὲ Κύρου τὸν μισθὸν προπέμψαντος τοῖς στρατιῶταις καὶ ἔνενα αὐτῷ, μόνον ἐλαβε τὸν μισθὸν τὰ δὲ ἔξενα ἄντεπεμβε, φήσας μὴ δεῖν φιλίαν αὐτῷ ἰδίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τὴν κοινὴν πρὸς ἀπαντάς Λακεδαιμονίους γεγονων καὶ αὐτῷ ἅπαρχειν.

5. Μέλλων δὲ περὶ τὰς Ἀργινούσας ναυμαχεῖν, Ἐρμώνος τοῦ κυβερνῆτον εἰπόντος ὅτι καλῶς ἔχεις Α ἀποπλεῦσαι, αἱ γὰρ τριήρεις τῶν Ἀθηναίων πολλῷ πλείους εἰσίν, εἴπε, "καὶ τί τοῦτο; ἀλλὰ φεύγεις αἰσχρὸν καὶ βλαβέρον τῇ Σπάρτῃ· κένοντα δὲ ἡ ἀποθανεῖν ἡ νικάν ἀρίστων·

6. Προθυσάμενος δὲ, ὡς ἥκουσε τοῦ μάντεως σημαίνεσθαι διὰ τῶν ἐμπύρων τῷ μὲν στρατῷ νίκην τῷ δὲ στρατηγοὺς θάνατον, οὐδὲν καταπλαγεῖς εἴπεν, "οὐ παρ' ἐνα τὰ Σπάρτασ· ἀπο-

1 δὲ Bernardakis: τε.
2 τὰ Σπάρτας Bernardakis: τὰ Σπάρτα (τὰν Σπάρταν, Life of Pelopidas, chap. ii.).

a Cf. Plutarch's Life of Lysander, chap. vi. (436 c); Xenophon, Hellenica, i. 6. 6-7.
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SAYINGS OF SPARTANS, 222

get money as to do anything unworthy of Sparta,” and withdrew to Ephesus, invoking many evil curses on those who were first wantonly treated by the barbarians and had taught the barbarians to be arrogant because of wealth. And he swore to the persons present that, just so soon as he should arrive at Sparta, he would do everything to bring about a reconciliation among the Greeks, that they might become more formidable to the barbarians, and cease begging them for their resources to use against one another.a

3. Being asked what kind of men the Ionians were, he said, “Poor freemen, but good slaves.” b

4. When Cyrus sent on money to pay the soldiers, and special presents for himself as a token of friendship, he took the money only and sent back the presents, saying that there was no need of any private friendship between him and Cyrus, but the general friendship which had been contracted with all the Spartans would serve also for him.c

5. As he was about to engage in the naval battle at Arginusae, Hermon the pilot said that it would be well to sail away, for the ships of the Athenians were many more in number; but Callicratidas said, “And what of that? To flee is a disgrace and an injury to Sparta. No; to stay here, be it death or be it victory, is best.” d

6. As he offered sacrifice before the battle, and heard from the seer that the indications of the omens were victory for the army, but death for its commander, he said, not at all disconcerted, “Sparta’s

a Cf. the note on Moralia, 190 f (1), supra.
b Cf. Moralia, 213 d (69), supra.
c Cf. Xenophon, Hellenica, i. 6. 32; Cicero, De officiis, i. 24 (84).

d 333
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θανόντος γάρ μου ούδὲν ἡ πατρίς ἐλαττωθήσεται·
εἰς ἁντερός δὲ τοῖς πολεμίσσις, ἐλαττωθήσεται." ἀπο-
δείξας οὖν ἄνθ' ἑαυτόν Κλάενδρον ἥγεμόνα ὁρμησεν
ἐπὶ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, καὶ μαχόμενος τελευτᾶ.

ΚΛΕΟΜΒΡΟΤΟΤ ΤΟΤ ΠΑΤΣΑΝΙΟΤ

223 Κλεόμβροτος ο Παυσανίου, ξένου τυχός διαφερο-
μένου πρὸς τὸν πατέρα περὶ ἄρτης, "μέχρι τοῦ-
τού," εἶπεν, "κρείττων σοῦ ἔστω δ' ο πατήρ, μέχρι
ἀν καὶ σὺ γεννήσῃς."

ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΟΤΣ ΤΟΤ ΑΝΑΞΑΝΔΡΙΔΟΤ

1. Κλεομένης ὁ 'Αναξανδρίδους τὸν μὲν Ὁμήρου
Λακεδαμινῶν εἶναι ποιητὴν ἤφη, τὸν δὲ Ἡσίοδον
τῶν εἰλών· τὸν μὲν γὰρ ὡς χρή πολεμεῖν, τὸν
dὲ ὡς χρή γεωργεῖν παρηγγελκέναι.

2. Ἀναγός δὲ ἐφημέρους πρὸς Ἀργείους ποιη-
σάμενος, φυλάξας αὐτούς, τῇ τρίτῃ νυκτί κοιμωμέ-
νοις4 διὰ τὸ πεποιθέναι ταῖς σπονδαῖς ἐπέθετο· καὶ
tοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτευε, τοὺς δὲ αἰχμαλώτους ἔλαβεν.

Β 3. Ὀνείδιζόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ παραβάσει τῶν ὄρκων,
oὐκ ἤφη προσομοσκοκέαν ταῖς ἡμέραις τὰς νύκτας·
ἀλλος τε καὶ ὁ τι ἂν κακὸν τις ποιή τοὺς πολεμίσσι,
tοῦτο καὶ παρὰ θεός καὶ παρὰ ἀνθρώποις δίκης
ὑπέρτερον νομίζεσθαι.

1 ἔστιν] ἔσται S. A. Naber.
2 σὺ] σὺ νῦν S. A. Naber.
3 'Αναξανδρίδου F.C.B.: 'Αναξανδρίδεως.
4 κοιμωμένοις F.C.B.: κοιμωμένους.

* Cf. Plutarch’s Life of Pelopidas, chap. ii. (177 δ).
b King of Sparta, 380–371 b.c.
* Cf. Moralia, 227 f (14), infra, and Plutarch’s Life of
Lycurgus, chap. xv. (48 c).
* King of Sparta, circa 517–488 b.c.

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fate rests not with one man. For, if I am killed, my country will not be impaired in any way; but if I yield to the enemy, it will be." And so, after appointing Cleander to take his place as commander, he put forth without delay for the naval engagement, and met his death in the battle.

CLEOMBROTUS, SON OF PAUSANIAS

Cleombrotus, the son of Pausanias, when a man from abroad was disputing with Cleombrotus's father about excellence, said, "My father is a better man than you—until you too have become a father."

CLEOMENES, SON OF ANAXANDRIDAS

1. Cleomenes, the son of Anaxandridas, said that Homer was the poet of the Spartans, and Hesiod of the Helots; for Homer had given the necessary directions for fighting, and Hesiod for farming.

2. Having made an armistice of seven days with the Argives, he kept a watch on them, and on the third night, when they were sleeping because of their reliance on the truce, he attacked them, and slew some and took the others prisoners. When he was reproached for his violation of his oath, he said that he had not included the nights as well as the days in his plighted word; and anyway, whatever ill one can do to one's enemies is regarded, among both gods and men, as something vastly higher than justice.

*Cf. Aelian, Varia Historia, xiii. 19.
*Cf. Cicero, De officis, i. 10 (33). Herodotus, vi. 78-79 (followed by other writers), relates that Cleomenes defeated the Argives by a different trick.
*For the phrase cf. Euripides, Electra, 584; and Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag., Euripides, no. 758.
4. Συνεβή δ' αυτῷ τού μὲν "Αργοὺς, δι' δὲ παρεσπόνδησαν, ἀποπεσεῖν διὰ τὸ τὰς γυναικάς τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν καθελοῦσας ὅπλα τούτοις αὐτὸν ἁμύνεσθαι· καὶ ύστερον δὲ τῶν φρενῶν ἔξω γενόμενον
C δράξασθαι τινος μαχαίριον καὶ αὐτὸν ἀνατεμεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν σφυρῶν ἔως ἐπὶ τοὺς καρίους τόπους, καὶ οὕτως ἐκλυπεῖν τὸν βίον γελώντα καὶ σεσηρότα.

5. Τοῦ δὲ μάντεως ἀποτρέποντος μὴ ἁγεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀργείων πόλιν τὸ στράτευμα, τὴν γὰρ ἐπιἀνοδὸν αὐσχρὰν γενήσεσθαι, προσελθὼν τῇ πόλει ὡς τὰς μὲν πύλας κηκλεισμένας εἶδε, τὰς δὲ γυναικὰς ἐπὶ τῶν τείχων, "αὐτή σοι," ἐφη, "ἡ ἐπάνοδος αὐσχρὰ φαίνεται εἶναι, ἐν ἡ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τεθνηκότων αἱ γυναῖκες τὰς πύλας κηκλείκασιν;"

6. Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς λοιδοροῦντας αὐτὸν τῶν Ἀργείων ὡς ἐπιόρκον καὶ ἁσβῆ, "τοῦ μὲν' κακῶς μὲ' λέγειν," ἐφη, "ὑμεῖς κύριοι, τοῦ δὲ κακῶς ὑμᾶς ποιεῖν ἐγώ."

D

7. Τοῖς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Σάμου πρέσβεσι παρακαλοῦσιν αὐτὸν Πολυκράτει τῷ τυράννῳ πολεμεῖν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μακρολογοῦσιν, "ὁν εἰρήκατε," ἐφη, "τὰ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὐ μέμνημαι, διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τὰ μέσα οὐ συνήμη· τὰ δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οὐ δοκιμάζω."  

8. Πειρατοῦ δὲ καταδραμόντος τὴν χώραν καὶ ὡς ἑαλω, λέγοντος ὅτι "τροφήν οὐκ εἰχον τοῖς στρατιώταις παρέχειν, πρὸς τοὺς ἔχοντας οὖν,  


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a Cf. Moralia, 245 d, infra; Pausanias, ii. 20. 8; Poly- 

aenus, viii. 33.

b Cf. Herodotus, vi. 75 and 84; Athenaeus, 427 c; 

Aelian, Varia Historia, ii. 41. His madness was traditionally 
ascribed to over-indulgence in strong drink.
4. It was his fortune to be repulsed from Argos, to gain which he had violated the truce, owing to the women's taking down the weapons in the shrines and defending themselves against him with these.\(^a\) Later he went out of his mind, and, getting hold of a small dagger, he slashed himself, beginning with his ankles until he reached the vital parts, and thus departed this life laughing and grinning.\(^b\)

5. The seer tried to dissuade him from leading his army against the city of the Argives, for the return, he said, would be made in disgrace. But when Cleomenes had advanced near the city, and saw the gates closed and the women upon the walls, he said, "Does it seem to you that the return from here can be made in disgrace, where, since the men are dead, the women have barred the gates?"

6. In answer to those of the Argives who upbraided him as an impious perjurer, he said, "You have the power to speak ill of me, but I have the power to do ill to you."

7. To the ambassadors from Samos who urged him to make war upon the despot Polycrates, and for this reason spoke at great length, he said, "What you said at the beginning I do not remember; for that reason I do not comprehend the middle part; and the conclusion I do not approve."\(^c\)

8. A certain pirate overran the country, and, when he was captured, said, "I had not the means to provide subsistence for my soldiers; therefore, to

\(^a\) Cf. Herodotus, iii. 46, and the note on 216 a (15), supra. The traditional date of the mission from Samos (525 B.C.) seems too early to fall within Cleomenes's reign, but the chronology is uncertain.
(223) ἢκοντὶ δ’ οὐκ ἄν δόντας, βία ληψόμενος ἦλθον,” ἐφη, “σύντομος ἡ πονηρία.”


Ε 10. Τῶν δὲ πολιτῶν τινος λέγοντος ὅτι τὸν ἀγαθὸν βασιλεὰ πάντη πάντως πράον εἶναι δεῖ, “οὐκοῦν,” ἐφη, “ἀρχί τού μὴ εὐκαταφρόνητον εἶναι.”

11. Ἐλκυσθέος δὲ νόσῳ μακρᾷ, ἐπεὶ καθαρταῖς καὶ μάντεσι προσείχε τὸ πρῶν οὐ προσέχων, θαυμάζοντος τινος, “ἳ θαυμάζεις;” ἐφη, “οὐ γάρ εἰμὶ ὃ αὐτὸς νῦν καὶ τότε· οὐκ ὃν δὲ ὃ αὐτὸς οὐδὲ τὰ αὐτὰ δοκιμάζω.”

Γ 12. Σοφιστοῦ δὲ τινος περὶ ἄνδρείας λέγοντος πλεῖω, ἐγέλασε· τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος, “ἳ γελᾶς, Κλεόμενες, περὶ ἄνδρείας λέγοντος ἀκούων, καὶ ταῦτα βασιλεὺς ὃν;” “ὁτι,” ἐφη, “ἐξένε, καὶ ἢ χειλιδῶν εἰ περὶ αὐτῆς ἐλεγε, τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἂν ἐποίουν· εἰ δὲ ἄστός, πολλὴν ἂν εἰχον ἡρεμίαν.”

13. Τῶν δὲ Ἀργείων τῆν προτέραν ἦτταν φασκόντων ἀναμαχεῖσθαι, “θαυμάζω,” ἐφη, “εἰ δύο συλλαβῶν προσθήκη νῦν κρείττονες ἐγένεσθε ἡ πρόσθεν ἦτε.”

14. Λουδορόντος δὲ τινος αὐτὸν καὶ φήσαντος “θρυπτικὸς εἶ, ὡ Κλεόμενες,” “ἀλλὰ κρείττον,”

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a For a similar change in the attitude of Pericles and of Bion cf. Plutarch’s Life of Pericles, chap. xxxviii. (173 a) and Diogenes Laertius, iv. 54.

b Presumably in the battle over Thyrea in 546 B.C. Cf. Herodotus, i. 82, and the reference in Plato, Phaedo, 89 c. 338
those who had it, but would not willingly give it, I came with the purpose of taking it by force.” To this Cleomenes said, “Villainy is curt.”

9. When a certain low fellow spoke ill of him, he said, “So it is for this reason, is it, that you speak ill of everyone, that we, busied in defending ourselves, may not have time to speak of your baseness?”

10. When one of the citizens said that the good king ought to be mild at all times and in every way, he remarked, “Yes, but not to the extent of being despised.”

11. When he was afflicted with a lingering illness, and began to give attention to mind-healers and seers, to whom formerly he had given no attention, someone expressed surprise. “Why are you surprised?” said he; “for I am not now the same man that I was, and, not being the same man, I do not approve the same things.”

12. When a public lecturer spoke at considerable length about bravery, he burst out laughing; and when the man said, “Why do you laugh, Cleomenes, at hearing a man speak about bravery, and that, too, when you are a king?” “Because, my friend,” he said, “if it had been a swallow speaking about it, I should have done the same thing, but if it had been an eagle, I should have kept very quiet.”

13. When the people of Argos asserted that they would wipe out their former defeat by fighting again, he said, “I wonder if by the addition of a word of two syllables you have now become more powerful than you were before!”

14. When someone upbraided him, saying, “You are inclined to luxury, Cleomenes,” he said, “Well, 

* The word “again.” They had lost in the previous fighting.
15. Ψάλτην δὲ τις αὐτῷ βουλόμενος συστήσας
224 τά τε ἄλλα τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπήνει καὶ ψάλτην αὐτοῦ ἔφη κράτιστον εἶναι τῶν Ἑλλήνων: ὃ δὲ δεῖξας τινὰ τῶν πλησίων, "νη τοὺς θεοὺς," ἔφη, "οὕτος παρ' ἐμοὶ ζωμοποιοῖς."

16. Μαιανδρίου δὲ τοῦ τῆς Σάμου τυράννου διὰ τὴν Περσῶν ἐξοδον εἰς Ἐπάρτην φυγόντος καὶ ἐπιδείξαντος ὡς ἐκεκομίκει χρύσεα τε καὶ ἀργύρεα ἐκπώματα χαριζομένου τε ὡς βουλεύει, ἐλαβε μὲν οὐδὲν, εὐλαβοῦμενος δὲ μὴ ἐτέρους τις τῶν ἁστών διαδῷ, πορευθεὶς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑφόρους, ἀμενον ἔφη εἶναι τῇ Σπάρτῃ τὸν ξένον ἐαυτοῦ Σάμον ἀπαλλάττεσθαι τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ἢν μὴ Β πείσῃ τινὰ τῶν Σπαρτιάτῶν κακὸν γενέσθαι. οἱ δὲ ὑπακούσαντες ἐξεκήρυξαν τὸν Μαιανδρίου αὐτῆς ἡμέρας.

17. Εἶπόντος δὲ τινος, "διὰ τὶ πολεμοῦντας ὑμῖν Ἀργείους πολλάκις κρατήσαντες οὐκ ἀνηρή-κατε;" "οὐδ' ἂν ἀνέλοιμεν," ἔφη, "ὡς ἄν γυμ-ναστὰς τοὺς νέοις ἔχουμεν."

18. Ψυχανομένου δὲ τινος αὐτοῦ διὰ τὶ Σπαρ-τιάται τοῖς θεοῖς οὐκ ἀνατιθέασι τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν πολε-μίων σκῦλα, "ὁτι," ἔφη, "ἀπὸ δειλῶν ἐστίν."

1 πλησίων Bernardakis: πλησίων.
2 Μαιανδρίου, Μαιανδρίου F.C.B. (as always elsewhere): Μαιανδρίου, Μαιανδρίου.
3 Most mss. add also τὰ γοῦν ἀπὸ τῶν κεκτημένων διὰ δειλίαν, κτλ. . . . θεοῖς ἀνατιθέναι, as in 224 f (4) infra.
that is better than being unjust. And you are
avaricious although you possess property enough.”

15. When someone, wishing to introduce a musician
to him, said, in addition to other commendations,
that the man was the best musician among the
Greeks, Cleomenes pointed to one of the persons
near, and said, “Yonder man, I swear, ranks with
me as the best soup-maker.” a

16. Maeandrius, the despot of Samos, because of
the inroad of the Persians, fled to Sparta, and ex-
hibited all the gold and silver vessels which he had
brought with him, and offered to favour Cleomenes
with as many as he wished; but he would have none,
and, taking good care that the man should not dis-
tribute any among the rest of the citizens, he went
to the Ephors and said that it was better for Sparta
that his own friend and guest from Samos should
withdraw from the Peloponnesus, so that he should
not persuade anyone of the Spartans to become a bad
man. And they listened to his advice and proclaimed
the expulsion of Maeandrius that very day. b

17. When someone said, “Why have you not killed
off the people of Argos who wage war against you so
often?” he said, “Oh, we would not kill them off,
for we want to have some trainers for our young
men.”

18. When somebody inquired of him why Spartans
do not dedicate to the gods the spoils from their
enemies, he said, “Because they are taken from
cowards.” c

a Cf. Moralia, 218 c (3) supra, where the saying is attri-
buted to Archidamus II.
b The story is taken from Herodotus, iii. 148, in part
word for word.
c Cf. Moralia, 224 f (4) infra.

M 341
ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΟΤΣ ΤΟΤ ΚΛΕΟΜΒΡΟΤΩΤ

Κελομένης ὁ Κλεομβρότου, διδόντος αὐτῷ τινος μαχίμους ἀλεκτρυόνας καὶ λέγοντος ὅτι μαχόμενοι ἀποθνήσκουσι περὶ νίκης, "τῶν κατακτεινόντων τούνων αὐτούς," ἔφη, "τινὰς δοὺς μου, ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ τούτων ἀμείνους."

ΛΑΒΩΤΩΤ

Λαβώτας, μακρολογοῦντός τινος, εἶπε, "τί μοι μικρῶν πέρι μεγάλα φροιμάζῃ; οὐσον γὰρ εἰ ἡ πράγμα, τοσοῦτος1 καὶ ὁ λόγος ὃς χρῆσαι."  

ΛΕΩΤΙΧΙΔΟΤ

1. Λεωτυχίδας ὁ πρώτος, λέγοντός τινος ὡς

2. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἑρωτώντα πῶς ἄν τις μάλιστα διαφυλάττοι τὰ παρόντα τῶν ἀγαθῶν, εἶπεν, "εἴ μὴ πάντα τῇ τύχῃ πιστεύοι."  

3. Ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ τὶ δεῖ μάλιστα μανθάνειν τοὺς ἐλευθέρους παίδας, "ταῦτ;', ἔφη, "ὁσαπερ ἄν αὐτοὺς ὦφελήσειεν2 ἄνδρας γενομένους."  

4. Πυθανομένου δὲ τινός διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν ὀλγο- 

ποτοῦσι οἱ Σπαρτιάται, ἔφη, "ἴνα μὴ ἄλλοι υπὲρ ἥμων βουλεύωνται, ἄλλα ἡμεῖς υπὲρ ἄλλων."  

1 τοσοῦτος F.C.B.: τοσοῦτον.
2 ὦφελήσειεν F.C.B.: ὦφελήσειαν.
SAYINGS OF SPARTANS, 224

CLEOMENES, SON OF CLEOMBROTUS

Cleomenes, the son of Cleombrotus, when someone offered him fighting cocks and said that they would die fighting for victory, said, "Well then, give me some of those that kill them, for those are better than these." a

LABOTAS b

Labotas, when someone spoke at very great length, said, "Why, pray, such a big introduction to a small subject? For proportionate to the topic should be the words you use." c

LEOTYCHIDAS d

1. Leotychidas the First, when somebody remarked to him that he was very changeable, said, "Yes, because of varying occasion; not like all you because of your baseness."

2. In answer to the man who asked how any man could best preserve his present state of good fortune, he said, "By not trusting everything to chance."

3. Being asked what freeborn boys had best learn, he said, "Those things which may help them when they become men." e

4. When someone inquired for what reason the Spartans drank so little, he said, "So that others may not deliberate over us, but we over others."

a Cf. the note on Moralia, 191 f, supra.

b An early king of Sparta.

c Cf. the note on Moralia, 208 c (3), supra.

d King of Sparta in the seventh century B.C.

e Cf. the note on Moralia, 213 d (67), supra.
1. Leowtyxidou toY Aristonos

1. Leowtyxidou toY Aristonos proS ton eipontas E oti kacaS auton oti toY Demaraton legovsi, "ma tovs theous," efhi, "ou theumazou, kalous gar legew oudeis an autow duniheiv."  
2. Tis de' egynterou pollhs drakontos peri thn klen elixheintos kai tov manteon peras apofoino-mewn eivai, "outi emouy," efhi, "dokei, all' ei h klenis twi drakonti perieilikhs, peras an hiv."  
3. ProS Filippou ton orfoselesthn pantelwv ptochoon ontas, legontas de oti oi par' autw mou-thenetes meta twn ton biou telenthn euigmaoousi, "ti oiv, o anotthe," eipev, "ou twn tachisthn apor-F thniskoies, ev ama paisi2 kadoaioun kai penvan klaivos;" 
4. Puthemonou de twnos dia ti ta apd twn poleimwn opta tois theous ouk anatithasv, efhi oti taw dia twn deiwn twv kektwmewn thraebentas oute tous neous oran kalon outhe tois theous anatithenai.

Leontos toY Etrikratida

1. Léowν ὁ Ἔβρυκρατίδα ἐρωτηθείς, ποίαν τις ἄν πόλιν οἰκήσας ἀσφαλῶς οἰκοίη, "οποιον," ἔφη, "μήτε πλεῖως μήτε ἐλάττωνα κεκτήσονται οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες· καὶ ὁποιον τὸ μὲν δίκαιον ἰσχύσει, τὸ δὲ ἀδικοῦ ἀσθενεῖ ἔσται."

1 tis . . . pollhs F.C.B.; tis . . . pollh.  
2 ev ama paisi Bernardakis: eva anapaisi.

a Doubtless the son of Menares, Leotychidas II., king of Sparta, circa 491-469 B.C.  
b The same story is found in Diogenes Laertius, ii. 35 (of Socrates), and in Stobaeus, Florilegium, xix. 5 (of Plato).  
c The saying is attributed to the others also; cf. Clement.
1. Leotychidas, the son of Ariston, in answer to a man who said that the sons of Demaratus were speaking ill of him, remarked, "Egad, I don't wonder; for not one of them could ever speak a good word."

2. When at the adjacent gate a snake had coiled around the key, and the soothsayers declared this to be a prodigy, he said, "It doesn't seem so to me, but if the key had coiled around the snake, that would be a prodigy!"

3. This is his retort to Philip, the priest of the Orphic mysteries, who was in the direst straits of poverty, but used to assert that those who were initiated under his rites were happy after the conclusion of this life; to him Leotychidas said, "You idiot! Why then don't you die as speedily as possible so that you may with that cease from bewailing your unhappiness and poverty?"

4. When someone inquired why they did not dedicate to the gods the arms taken from the enemy, he said that property wrested from its owners owing to cowardice it is not good either for the young men to see, or to dedicate to the gods.

Leo, son of Eurycratidas

1. When Leo, the son of Eurycratidas, was asked what kind of a city one could live in so as to live most safely, he said, "Where the inhabitants shall possess neither too much nor too little, and where right shall be strong and wrong shall be weak."
2. Ὄρων δὲ τοὺς ἐν Ὁλυμπίᾳ δρομεῖς σπουδάζοντας περὶ τὴν ἀφεσιν ἢν πλεονεκτησοῦν, "ὁσῳ μᾶλλον," ἐφη, "οἱ δρομεῖς σπουδάζουσι περὶ τῆς ταχυτητὸς ἡ περὶ τῆς δικαιοσύνης."

3. Ἀκαίρως δὲ τυνος περὶ πραγμάτων οὐκ ἀχρήστων διαλεξθέντος, "ὦ ξένε," εἶπεν, "οὐκ ἐν δέοντι χρῆ τῷ δέοντι."

ΛΕΩΝΙΔΟΣ ΤΟΤ ΑΝΑΞΑΝΔΡΙΔΑ

1. Λεωνίδας ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδα, ἀδελφὸς δὲ Κλεο-225 μένους, πρὸς τινα εἰπόντα, "πλὴν τοῦ βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν οὐδὲν διαφέρεις," "ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν," ἐφη, "εἰ μὴ βελτίων ὑμῶν ἡμὴν, ἐβασιλεύον."  

2. Τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Γοργοῦς πυθανομένης, ὅτε εἰς Ἑρμοπούλας ἔσχες τῷ Πέρσῃ μαχούμενος, εἴ τι αὐτῇ ἐντέλλεται, ἐφη, "ἀγαθοὶ γαμεῖσθαι καὶ ἀγαθὰ τίκτειν."

3. Λεγόντων δὲ τῶν ἐφόροιν ὀλίγους ἄγειν αὐτοῦ εἰς Ἑρμοπούλας, "οὐκ ἀλλὰ πλέονας," ἐφη, "πρὸς ἧν βαδίζομεν πράξειν."

4. Πάλιν δὲ αὐτῶν εἰπόντων, "μή τι ἦτερον διέγνωκας ποιεῖν ἢ τάς παρόδων τῶς βαρβάρως κωλύειν;" "τῶ λόγῳ," ἐφη, "τῷ δ' ἐργῳ ἀποθανοῦμεν ὑπὲρ τῶν 'Ελλήνων."

Β 5. Γενόμενος δὲ ἐν Ἑρμοπούλαις πρὸς τοὺς συστρατιῶτας εἶπε, "λέγοντι τὸν βάρβαρον ἐγγὺς

—

1 οὐκ, ἀλλὰ πλέονας (πλέονας;) F.C.B.: οὐκ, ἄλλα or οὐκ ὀλίγους, or nothing at all (οὐκ, ἄλλα ἀλλικ or οὐκ, ἄλλα πολλοῦς is suggested by Bernardakis).

2 τάς παρόδων τῶς βαρβάρως Kronenberg: τάς παρόδους τῶν βαρβάρων.

—a Cf. the note on Moralia, 216 f (2), supra.
2. Seeing that the runners at Olympia were eager to gain some advantage in starting, he said, "How much more eager are the runners for a quick start than for fair play!"

3. When someone, at an inappropriate time, discoursed about some matters which were not unprofitable, he said, "My friend, in needless time you dwell upon the need!"a

LEONIDAS, SON OF ANAXANDRIDAS b

1. Leonidas, the son of Anaxandridas and the brother of Cleomenes, in answer to a man who remarked, "Except for your being king, you are no different from the rest of us," said, "But if I were no better than you others, I should not be king."

2. His wife Gorgo inquired, at the time when he was setting forth to Thermopylae to fight the Persian, if he had any instructions to give her, and he said, "To marry good men and bear good children."c

3. When the Ephors said that he was taking but few men to Thermopylae, he said, "Too many for the enterprise on which we are going."d

4. And when again they said, "Hae ye decided to dae aught else save to keep the barbarians from gettin' by?" "Nominally that," he said, "but actually expecting to die for the Greeks."

5. When he had arrived at Thermopylae, he said to his comrades in arms, "They say that the bar-

b The hero of Thermopylae. These sayings were doubtless incorporated, or meant to be incorporated, in Plutarch's Life of Leonidas, according to what he says in Moralia, 866 B; and some of them may be found in Moralia, 854 E-874 D (De Herodoti malignitate).

c Cf. Moralia, 240 E (6), infra, and 866 B.

d Ibid. Cf. also 225 B (8 and 9), infra, and 866 B.
(225) γενόμενον προΐμεν, 1 ἂμε 2 δὲ χρονοτριβέειν ἣδη γὰρ ἥ κανέόμες 3 τῶς βαρβάρως ἡ αὐτοὶ τεθνάμεν μέλλομες.

6. Λέγοντος δὲ τινος, "ἀπὸ τῶν διστευμάτων τῶν βαρβάρων οὐδὲ τῶν ἡλιον ἰδεῖν ἔστων," "οὐκοῦν," ἔφη, "χάριμεν, εἰ ὑπὸ σκιὰ αὐτοῖς μαχεσθήμεθα."


8. Εἰπόντος δὲ τινος "οὐ Λεωνίδα, πρὸς πολλοὺς μετ' ολίγων διακινδυνεύσων οὕτω πάρει;" "εἰ μὲν οἷον θέλει με," ἔφη, "τῷ πλῆθει, οὐδὲ ἡ πᾶσα C Ἐλλάς ἀρκεῖ. βραχέτα γὰρ μοίρα τοῦ ἐκείνων πλῆθους ἐστίν. εἰ δὲ ταῖς ἀρεταίς, καὶ οὕτος ὁ ἀριθμὸς ἰκανός."


10. Ξέρξου δὲ γράψαντος αὐτῷ "ἐξεστὶ σοι μὴ θεομαχοῦντι, μετ' ἔμοι δὲ ταττομένης, τῆς Ἐλλάδος μοναρχείν," ἀντέγραψεν, "εἰ τὰ καλὰ τοῦ βίου ἐγίγνωσκες, ἀπέστης ἂν τῆς τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιθυμίας. ἐμοὶ δὲ κρείττων οὐ ύπὲρ τῆς Ἐλλάδος θάνατος τοῦ μοναρχείν τῶν ὀμοφύλων."

11. Πάλιν δὲ τοῦ Ξέρξου γράψαντος, "πέμψον D τὰ ὅπλα," ἀντέγραψε, "μολὼν λάβε."
barian has come near and is comin' on while we are wastin' time. Truth, soon we shall either kill the barbarians, or else we are bound to be killed oursel's."

6. When someone said, "Because of the arrows of the barbarians it is impossible to see the sun," he said, "Won't it be nice, then, if we shall have shade in which to fight them?"  

7. When someone else said, "They are near to us," he said, "Then we also are near to them."  

8. When someone said, "Leonidas, are you here to take such a hazardous risk with so few men against so many?" he said, "If you men think that I rely on numbers, then all Greece is not sufficient, for it is but a small fraction of their numbers; but if on men's valour, then this number will do."

9. When another man remarked the same thing he said, "In truth I am taking many if they are all to be slain."

10. Xerxes wrote to him, "It is possible for you, by not fighting against God but by ranging yourself on my side, to be the sole ruler of Greece." But he wrote in reply, "If you had any knowledge of the noble things of life, you would refrain from coveting others' possessions; but for me to die for Greece is better than to be the sole ruler over the people of my race."

11. When Xerxes wrote again, "Hand over your arms," he wrote in reply, "Come and take them."

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*a* The remark is attributed to Dieneces by Herodotus, vii. 226. *Cf.* Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, vii. 46; Valerius Maximus, iii. 7, ext. 8; Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, i. 42 (101).

*b* *Cf.* Moralia, 194 D, supra, and 234 B.

*c* *Cf.* Moralia, 225 A (3), supra, and 866 B.
12. Βουλομένου δ' αυτοῦ ἦδη τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιτίθεσθαι, οἱ πολέμαρχοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔβασαν ὅτι δεῖ προσμένειν αὐτὸν τοὺς ἄλλους συμμάχους· "οὐ γάρ," ἐφη, "πάρεισιν οἱ μάχεσθαι μέλλουτε; ἦν οὖν ἵστε ὅτι μόνοι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους μάχονται οἱ τοὺς βασιλέας αἰδούμενοι καὶ φοβοῦμενοι;"

13. Τοίς δὲ στρατιώταις παρήγγειλεν ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι ὡς ἐν "Αἴδου δειπνοποιησομένους.

14. Ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ διὰ τὸ οἱ ἀριστοί τὸν ἐνδοξὸν θάνατον τῆς ἀδόξου προκρίνουσι ζωῆς, "ὅτι," ἐφη, "τὸ μὲν τῆς φύσεως ὕδιον, τὸ δὲ αὐτῶν εἶναι νομίζουσιν."

Ε 15. Τοὺς δὲ ἠθέους βουλόμενοι σώσαι καὶ ἐπιστάμενοι ἀντικρούσι οὐκ ἀνεξόμενοιν, σκυτάλας δοὺς καθ' ἕνα αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἐφόρους ἐπεμιξε. καὶ τῶν τελείων δὲ τρεῖς ἐβουληθῇ διασώσαι· οἱ δὲ συννοῆσαντες οὐκ ἠνέσχυσεν λαβεῖν τὰς σκυτάλας· ἢν δὲ μὲν εἶπεν, "οὐ κῆρυξ ἄλλα μαχητὰς ἀκολουθήσα"· ὃ δὲ δεύτερος, "αὐτὸν μὲνών κρέσσων ἄν εἴην"· ὃ δὲ τρίτος, "οὐχ ύστερος τούτων, πρῶτος δὲ μαχήσομαι."

ΔΟΧΑΓΟΤ

Λόχαγος δ' Πολυαινίδου καὶ Σείρωνος πατήρ, ἀπαγγείλαντος τινος αὐτῷ ὅτι τῶν νιῶν τεθνήκοι ὁ ἐτερος, "πάλαι ἦδειν," ἐφη, "ὁτι ἀποθανεῖν F αὐτὸν ἐδει.
12. He wished to engage the enemy at once, but the other commanders, in answer to his proposal, said that he must wait for the rest of the allies. "Why," said he, "are not all present who intend to fight? Or do you not realize that the only men who fight against the enemy are those who respect and revere their kings?"

13. He bade his soldiers eat their breakfast as if they were to eat their dinner in the other world.

14. Being asked why the best of men prefer a glorious death to an inglorious life, he said, "Because they believe the one to be Nature's gift but the other to be within their own control."

15. Wishing to save the lives of the young men, and knowing full well that they would not submit to such treatment, he gave to each of them a secret dispatch, and sent them to the Ephors. He conceived the desire to save also three of the grown men, but they fathomed his design, and would not submit to accepting the dispatches. One of them said, "I came with the army, not to carry messages, but to fight;" and the second, "I should be a better man if I stayed here"; and the third, "I will not be behind these, but first in the fight."

LOCHAGUS

Lochagus, the father of Polyaeides and Seiron, when word was brought to him that one of his sons was dead, said, "I have known this long while that he was fated to die."

wrapped around a cylinder, and on the surface thus formed the message was written. When the thong was received it was applied to a duplicate cylinder kept by the recipient, and so the message was read.

\[\text{Cf. Moralia, 866 b; and Herodotus, vii. 221, 229, 230.}\]

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1. Λυκούργος ὁ νομοθέτης βουλόμενος ἐκ τῆς προὔπαρχούσης διαίτης τούς πολίτας εἰς σωφρονε- 
stέραν βίου τάξιν μετάγειν καὶ καλοκαγαθικοὺς ἀπεργάζεσθαι (ἅβροδίαιτοι γὰρ ἤσαν) δύο σκύλακας ἀνέθρεψε ταῦτον πατρός καὶ μητρός γενομένους· καὶ τὸν μὲν εἴθισε περὶ λιχνείας οἴκοι ἔσασι· τὸν δὲ ἐπαγόμενος ἔσκισε περὶ κυνηγείας. ἔπειτα ἀγαγών εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἔθηκεν ἀκάνθας καὶ λιγνείας τυνάς, ἀφῆκε δὲ καὶ λαγών. ἐκατέρου δ' ἐπὶ τὰ συνήθη οἰκομέσαντος καὶ θατέρου τὸν λαγών χειρω- 
ςαμένου, εἶπεν, ὃ ὅρατε, ὡς πολίται, ὅτι ταῦτον
226 γένους ὑπάρχοντες ἐν τῇ τοῦ βίου ἀγωγῇ παρὰ 
πολὺ ἄλληλων διάφοροι ἀπέβησαν, καὶ πονητικω- 
tέρα τῆς φύσεως ἢ ἄσκησις πρὸς τὰ καλὰ τυγ- 
χάνει;

Τινὲς δὲ φασὶν, ὃς ὅ παρῆγγε σκύλακας, οἳ ἐκ 
tῶν αὐτῶν γεγονότες ἐτύγχανον, ἄλλ' ὃ μὲν εἰς 
oκουρών, ἄτερος δ' ἐκ κυνηγετικῶν καὶ κατηκτό 
tὸν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ χείρονος γένους πρὸς τὰ κυνηγεῖα 
ὕσκησε, τὸν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἀμείνονος περὶ λιχνείας 
μόνον εἴθισεν. εἰθ' ἐκατέρου ἐφ' ὃ εἴθιστο ὀρμή-
ςαντος, φανερὸν ποιήσας ὅσον ἡ ἀγωγῇ πρὸς τὰ 
ἀμείνω καὶ χεῖρω συλλαμβάνεται, εἶπεν, ὃνυκοῦν 
καὶ ἡμᾶς, ὡς πολίται, οὐδὲν ἡ παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς 
θαυμαζομένη εὐγένεια καὶ τὸ ἄφ' 'Ἡρακλέους εἶναι
Β οὐνήσων, εἰ μὴ πράττομεν δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἀπάντων 
ἀνθρώπων ἐπιδοξότερος καὶ εὐγενέστερος ἐφάνη,

1 ὃς] omitted in most mss.
LYCURGUS

1. Lycurgus, the lawgiver, wishing to recall the citizens from the mode of living then existent, and to lead them to a more sober and temperate order of life, and to render them good and honourable men (for they were living a soft life), reared two puppies of the same litter; and one he accustomed to dainty food, and allowed it to stay in the house; the other he took afield and trained in hunting. Later he brought them into the public assembly and put down some bones and dainty food and let loose a hare. Each of the dogs made for that to which it was accustomed, and, when the one of them had overpowered the hare, he said, "You see, fellow-citizens, that these dogs belong to the same stock, but by virtue of the discipline to which they have been subjected they have turned out utterly different from each other, and you also see that training is more effective than Nature for good." 

But some say that he did not bring in dogs which were of the same stock, but that one was of the breed of house dogs and the other of hunting dogs; then he trained the one of inferior stock for hunting, and the one of better stock he accustomed to dainty food. And afterwards, as each made for that to which it had become accustomed, he made it clear how much instruction contributes for better or worse, saying, "So also in our case, fellow-citizens, noble birth, so admired of the multitude, and our being descended from Heracles does not bestow any advantage, unless we do the sort of things for which he was manifestly the most glorious and most noble of all mankind, and

b As in Moralia, 3 A.
(226) ἀσκοῦμενοι καὶ μανθάνοντες καλὰ δι’ ὀλοῦ τοῦ βίου.”

2. Ἄναδασμὸν δὲ τῆς γῆς ποιήσας καὶ ἀπασών ἵσον κλήρον τοῖς πολίταις νείμας, λέγεται ὡστερὸν ποτε χρόνω τήν χώραν διερχόμενον ἡ ἀποδημίας ἁρτι τεθερσμενήν, ἴδὸντα τοὺς σωροὺς κειμένους παρ’ ἀλλήλους καὶ ὀμαλοὺς ἥσθηναι, καὶ μειδιά-

3. Καὶ τῶν χρεῶν δὲ ἀποκοτός εἰσηγησάμενος C ἐπεχείρησε καὶ τὰ κατ’ οἰκον ὅντα πάντα εἴς ἱσον διαρεῖν, ὅπως παντάπασιν ἐξέλοι τὸ ἄνυσον καὶ ἀνώμαλον. ἔπει δὲ χαλεπῶς ἐώρα προαδεξομένους τὴν ἀντικρο ἀφαιρεσιν, τὸ τε χρυσοῦν καὶ ἄργυ-

D ψαρεῖν πρὸς ἀμοιβὴν τούτου, περιώρισε. τοὺτον ἰδοὺν, ἐξέπεσε τῆς Λακεδαιμονος ἄδικαι πᾶσα. οὔτε γὰρ κλέπτειν οὔτε δωροδοκεῖν οὔτε ἀποστερεῖν ὡς ἅρπαξειν ἔτι ἐδύνατό τις, ἰ ὁ μήτε κατακρύπται δυνατὸν ὢς μήτε κτήσασθαι ἀ ἐκλείπον μήτε χρῆσοσθαι αἰκίνδυνον, μήτε ἐξάγειν ἢ ἐπάγειν ἀσφαλές. πρὸς τούτων καὶ ἀπάντων τῶν περι-

τῶν ἔνενελαίαν ἐποίησατο. διὸ οὔτε ἔμπορος οὔτε σοφιστής οὔτε μάντις ἢ ἀγύρτης οὔτε τῶν κατα-

σκευασμάτων δημιουργὸς εἰς ἔτι τῆν Σπάρτην.

1 διερχόμενον and ἴδοντα F.C.B. from the Life of Lycurgus, chap. viii. (which has ὅρωντα): διέρχομενος and ἴδων (or μειδιάσαντα might be changed to μειδιάσας).

2 κτῆσασθαι] κεκτήσασθαι in Life of Lycurgus, chap. ix.

3 ἢ] Kronenberg would omit.
unless we practise and learn what is good our whole life long."

2. He made a redistribution of the land, and assigned an equal share to all the citizens; and it is said that a while later, on returning from abroad, as he passed through the country, where the harvesting had just been finished, and saw the cocks of grain standing near together in even lines, he was much pleased, and said with a smile to those who were with him that it looked as if all the Spartan land belonged to many brothers who had recently divided it.  

3. Having introduced the abolition of debts, he next undertook to divide equally all household furnishings, so as to do away completely with all inequality and disparity. But when he saw that the people were likely to demur about assenting to this outright spoliation, he decreed that gold and silver coin should in future have no value, and ordained that the people should use iron money only. He also limited the time within which it was lawful to exchange their present holdings for this money. When this had been done, all wrongdoing was banished from Sparta. For nobody was able to steal or to accept a bribe or to defraud or rob any more, when the result was something of which concealment was not possible, nor was its acquisition envied, nor its use without risk, nor its exportation or importation safe. As an added measure, he brought about the banishment from Sparta of everything not absolutely necessary. And, by reason of this, no merchant, no public lecturer, no soothsayer or mendicant priest, no maker of fancy articles ever made his way into

a Related with more detail by Plutarch in his Life of Lycurgus, chap. viii. (44 A).
4. Ἐπιθέσθαι δὲ τῇ τροφῇ καὶ τὸν ζήλον ἀφ- 
ελέσθαι τοῦ πλούτου διανοηθεὶς τὰ συνοιτία εἰσ-
Ε ηγήσατο. πρὸς γοῦν τοὺς ἐπιζητοῦντας διὰ τί 
tαῦτα συνεστήσατο καὶ μεθ’ ὁπλῶν κατ’ ὀλίγους 
tοὺς πολίτας διήρηκεν, "ὀπως," εἶπεν, "ἐξ ἐτοίμου 
tὰ παραγγελλόμενα δέχωνται, καὶ εάν τι νεωτερι-
ξωσιν, ἐν ὀλίγοις ἦ τὸ ἀμπλάκημα, ἰσομοιρία τε 
tῆς τροφῆς καὶ πόσεως ἢ καὶ μῆτε πόσει τυπὸ 
βρῶσει ἄλλα μηδὲ στρωμνὴ ἢ σκεύεσιν ἢ ἀλλω 
tυπὸ τὸ σύνολον πλέον ἔχῃ ὁ πλοῦσιος τοῦ πένητος."
5. Ἀζηλον δὲ ποιήσας τὸν πλούτον, οὐδενὸς 
οὐδὲ χρῆσθαι οὐδὲ ἐπιδείξαι δυναμένου, ἐλέγε 
tὸς τοὺς συνήθεις, "ὡς καλὸν ἐστὶν, ὃ ἔταιροι, διὰ 
τῶν ἐργῶν ἐπιδείξαι τὸν πλούτον ὁποῖος ἐστὶ τῇ 
ἄληθείᾳ, ὅτι τυφλὸς."
6. Παρεφύλαξε δὲ ὡστε μηδὲ οίκοι προδευτη-
σαντας ἐξεῖναι βαδίζειν ἐπὶ τὰ συνοιτία πεπληρω-
μένους ἐτέρων ἑδεσμάτων ἢ πωμάτων⁴. ἐκάκιον δὲ 
oi λοιποὶ τὸν μὴ πιόντα ἢ φαγόντα μετ’ αὐτῶν, ὡς 
ἀκρατῆ καὶ πρὸς τὴν κοινὴν ἀπομαλακίζομεν 
δίαιταν· ἐξημοιοῦτο δὲ καὶ ὁ φανερὸς γενόμενος.
"Ἀγιδὸς γοῦν μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον τοῦ βασιλέως 
ἐπανελθόντος ἀπὸ στρατείας (καταπεπολεμήκει δὲ 

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⁴ πωμάτων the better spelling: πομάτων.
Sparta. The reason was that he permitted no handy coinage to circulate among them, but instituted the iron coinage exclusively, which in weight was over a pound and a quarter, and in value not quite a penny.\(^a\)

4. Having determined to make an attack upon the prevailing luxury, and to do away with the rivalry for riches, he instituted the common meals. And in answer to those who sought to know why he had established these, and had divided the citizens, when under arms, into small companies, he said, “So that they may get their orders promptly, and, in case they cherish any radical designs, the offence may be confined to a small number; also that there may be for all an equal portion of food and drink, and so that not only in drink or food, but in bedding or furniture or anything else whatsoever, the rich man may have no advantage at all over the poor man.”\(^b\)

5. Having made wealth unenviable, since nobody could make any use or show of it, he said to his intimate friends, “What a good thing it is, my friends, to show in actual practice the true characteristic of wealth, that it is blind!”\(^c\)

6. He took good care that none should be allowed to dine at home and then come to the common meal stuffed with other kinds of food and drink. The rest of the company used to berate the man who did not drink or eat with them, because they felt that he was lacking in self-control, and was too soft for the common way of living.\(^d\) Moreover, a fine was laid upon the man who was detected. A case in point is that of Agis, their king, who, returning from a long campaigning in which he had overcome the Athenians in

\(^a\) Plutarch amplifies this account in his *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. x. (45 b).

\(^b\) *Ibid.* (45 c).

\(^c\) *Ibid.* (45 d).
227 'Αθηναίους), βουλομένου παρὰ τῇ γυναικὶ μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ δειπνῆσαι καὶ μεταπεμπομένου τὰς μερίδας, οὐκ ἐπεμψαν οἱ πολέμαρχοι: μὲν ἡμέραν δὲ φανερῶ γενομένου τοῖς ἑφόροις, ἐξημωθή ὑπ᾿ αὐτῶν.

7. Πρὸς οὖν τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν νομοθετημάτων χαλεπήνατε οἱ εὐποροὶ ἐπισυνέστησαν καὶ ἐβλασφήμοναν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐβαλλον, καταλεύσας βουλόμενοι διωκόμενος δὲ διέπεσε διὰ τῆς ἄγορᾶς· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐφθάσεν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς χαλκοϊκών 'Αθηνᾶς καταφυγών. "Αλκανδρὸς δὲ ἐπιστραφέντος αὐτοῦ διώκων τῇ βακτηρίᾳ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐξέκοψε αὐτοῦ. τούτον δὲ κοινῷ δόγματι παραλαβὼν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ οὔτε κακῶς διέθηκεν ἢ οὔτε ἐμέμψατο, συνδιατώμενον δὲ ἐχών ἀπέδειξεν ἐπαινετὴν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῆς διαίτης ἦν εἰχε σὺν αὐτῷ, καὶ καθόλου τῆς ἀγωγῆς ἔρασθην. τὸν δὲ πάθους ὑπόμνημα ἱδρύσατο ἐν τῷ τῆς Χαλκοϊκοῦ τεμένει ἱερὸν 'Αθηνᾶς, Οπτιλλέτων προσαγορεύος τοὺς γὰρ ὀφθαλμοὺς ὀπτίλλους οἱ τῇ δε Δωρείας λέγουσιν.

8. Ἐρωτηθείς δὲ διὰ τί οὖν ἐχρήσατο νόμοις ἐγγράφοις, "ὁτί," ἐφη, "οἱ πεπαιδευμένοι καὶ ἄχθεντες τῇ προσηκούσῃ ἀγωγῇ τὸ τοῦ καρυδὶ χρήσμον δοκιμάζουσι."  

9. Πάλιν δ' ἐπιζητοῦντων τινῶν, διὰ τὸ ὄροφήν C ἀπὸ πελέκεως ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐπιτιθέναι προσέταξε,
war, wished to dine at home with his wife on this one
day, and sent for his allowance of food; but the
military commanders would not send it; and the
following day, when the matter was disclosed to the
Ephors, he was fined by them.\(^a\)

7. The well-to-do citizens resented legislation of
this type, and, banding together, they denounced
him and pelted him, wishing to stone him to death.
As he was being pursued, he rushed through the
market-place; and he out-distanced almost all his
pursuers, and gained refuge in the shrine of Athena
of the Brazen House; only, as he turned around,
Alcander, who was pursuing him, put out one of his
eyes by a stroke of his staff. But when, later,
Lycurgus received Alcander, who was handed over
to him for punishment by vote of the people, he did
not treat him ill nor blame him, but, by compelling
him to live under the same roof with him, he brought
it to pass that Alcander had only commendation for
Lycurgus and for the manner of living which he had
found there, and was altogether enamoured of this
discipline. Lycurgus dedicated a memorial of his
unhappy experience in the shrine of Athena of the
Brazen House, and gave to her the added epithet of
Optilletis; for the Dorians in this part of the world
call the eyes ‘ optics (optilloi).’\(^b\)

8. Being asked why he had not made any use of
written laws, he said, "Because those who are trained
and disciplined in the proper discipline can determine
what will best serve the occasion."\(^c\)

9. At another time when some sought to know why
he had ordained that the people should use only an
axe in putting a roof on their houses, and make a

\(^a\) Cf. Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus, chap. xiii. (47 \(a\)).

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(227) θύραν δὲ ἀπὸ πρίονος μόνου καὶ μηδείνος τῶν ἄλλων ἐγχειρείων, "ὅπως ἂν," ἐφη, "μετριάζομεν οἱ πολίται περὶ πάντα, ὡσα εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν εἰσ-ἀγουσι, καὶ μηδὲν τῶν παρ’ ἄλλως ζηλουμένων ἐχωσιν."

10. Ἐκ δὲ ταύτης τῆς συνήθειας φασὶ καὶ Δεω-τυχίδης τὸν πρῶτον βασιλέα δειπνοῦντα παρὰ τινι, καὶ θεσάμενον τῆς στέγης τοῦ οἴκου τῆς παρα-σκευῆς πολυτελῆ καὶ φαντασματικῆν, ἐρώτησε τὸν ἐξένων εἰ τετράγωνα παρ’ αὐτοῖς ξύλα φιέται.

11. Ἐρωτηθείς δὲ διὰ τί ἐκάλυσεν ἐπὶ τούς αὐτοὺς πολεμίους πολλάκις στρατεύεσθαι, ἐφη, "ίνα μὴ πολλάκις ἀμύνεσθαι συνεθιζόμενοι ἐμ-πευροὶ πολέμου γένωνται." διὸ καὶ Ἀγεσιλάος ἐγκλῆμα οὐ βραχὺ ἐδοξεῖν εἶναι, ταῖς εἰς τὴν D Βοιωτίαν συνέχεσιν εἰσβολαῖς καὶ στρατείαις τοὺς ᾿Οῆβαιῶν ἀντιπάλους Δακεδαμονίων κατασκευά-σαντος.1 τετρωμένον γοῦν ἰδὼν αὐτὸν Ἀνταλκίδας, "καλά," εἶπε, "τροφεία ἀπέχεις, μὴ βουλομένους αὐτοὺς μηδὲ εἰδότας μᾶχεσθαι διδάξαι."

12. Ἀλλοῦ δὲ ἐπιζητοῦντος, διὰ τί τὰ σώματα τῶν παρθένων δρόμοις καὶ πάλαις καὶ βολαίς δίσκων καὶ ἀκοντίων διεπόνησεν, "ὡ," ἐφη, "ἡ τῶν γεννωμένων βίζωσις ἱσχυρὰν ἐν ἱσχυροῖς σώμασιν ἀρχὴν λαβὼνα καλῶς βλαστάνη, αυτὰ τε μετὰ βύμης τοὺς τόκους υπομένουσαν ῥαδίως τε ἀμα καὶ καλῶς ἁγωνιζόμεναι πρὸς τὰς ὑδίνας,

1 Ἀγεσιλάος or Ἀγεσιλάψ but usually κατασκευάσαντος; presumably they should agree as in the Life of Lycurgus, chap. xiii.

2 μηδὲ to accord with other quotations of the passage.: μήτε.

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a Cf. Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus, chap. xiii. (47 c), and Moralia, 189 e (3), supra.
door with a saw only and none of the other tools, he said, "So that the citizens may be moderate in regard to all the things which they bring into the house, and may possess none of the things which are the cause of rivalry among other peoples." 

10. It was because of this custom also that their first king Leotychidas, dining at somebody's house and observing the construction of the ceiling, which was expensive and embellished with panels, asked his host if timbers grew square in their country!

11. Being asked why he had prohibited frequent campaigns against the same foes, he said, "So that they may not, by becoming accustomed to defending themselves frequently, become skilled in war." It was for this reason also that there appeared to be no slight ground for complaint against Agesilaus, who by his almost continual inroads and campaigns into Boeotia had rendered the Thebans a match for the Spartans. At any rate Antalcidas, when he saw him wounded, exclaimed, "You have got a handsome reward as you deserve for your fostering care in teaching them to fight when they did not wish to fight and did not even know how."

12. When someone else desired to know why he instituted strenuous exercise for the bodies of the maidens in races and wrestling and throwing the discus and javelin, he said, "So that the implanted stock of their offspring, by getting a strong start in strong bodies, may attain a noble growth, and that they themselves may with vigour abide the birth of their children and readily and nobly resist the pains

b In Corinth, according to Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus, chap. xiii. (47 e); cf. also Moralia, 189 E, supra, and the note.

c Cf. Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus, chap. xiii. (47 D), and Moralia, 189 D, supra, and the note.
(227) καὶ, εἰ τις ἀνάγκη γένοιτο, δύνανται ύπερ αὐτῶν καὶ τέκνων καὶ τῆς πατρίδος μάχεσθαι."

Ε 13. Μεμφομένων δὲ τινων τὴν γύμνωσιν τῶν παρθένων ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς καὶ τὴν αὐτίαν ξητοῦντων, "ὦ", ἡφη, "τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐπιτηδεύονται μηδὲν μείον ἔχωσι μήτε κατὰ σώματος ἵσχυν καὶ ύγίειαν μήτε κατὰ ψυχῆς φιλοτιμίαν καὶ ἅρετῆν, δόξης δὲ τῆς παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ύπερφρονώσων." ὀθεν καὶ περὶ Γοργοῦς ἱστορεῖται τῆς Λεωνίδου γυναικὸς τοιούτου, εἰπούσης γὰρ τινος, ως ἐσοκε χένης, πρὸς αὐτὴν ώς "μόναν τῶν ἀνδρῶν Γ ἀρχετε ἰμεῖς αἱ Λάκαναι," ἀπεκρίνατο, "μόναν γὰρ ἦμεις ἀνδρᾶς τίκτομεν.

14. Εἰρήσας δὲ τοὺς ἀγάμους τῆς ἐν ταῖς γυμνοπαιδίαις θέας καὶ ἀτμιμᾶν προσθείς, πολλὴν πρόνοιαν ἐποιήσατο τῆς παιδοποιίας γίμας δὲ καὶ θεραπείας, ἣν νέοι πρεσβυτέροις παρείχον, ἑστέρησε. καὶ τὸ πρὸς Δερκυλίδαν ῥηθὲν οὕδεις ἐμέμψατο, καὶ περὶ εὐδόκιμον ὄντα στρατηγὸν ἔπιοντι γὰρ αὐτῷ τῶν νεωτέρων ταῖς ἔδρασι οὗς ὑπείξεν εἰπὼν, "οὕδὲ γὰρ ἐμοί σὺ τὸν ὑπείξοντα ἐγέννησας."

15. Πυθανομένου δὲ τινος, διὰ τὶ τὰς κόρας ἐνομοθέτησεν ἀπροῖκους ἐκδίδοσθαι, "ὅπως," ἡφη, "μήτε δι' ἐνδειαν ἀγαμοὶ τίνες ἐδαθῶσι μήτε διὰ περιουσίαν σπουδάζωνται, ἐκαστὸς δὲ εἰς τὸν τρό-

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a Cf. Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus, chap. xiv. (47 F); Suidas, Lexicon, under Lycurgus.


c Ibid. chap. xv. (48 c); and Moralia, 223 A, supra.
of travail; and moreover, if the need arise, that they may be able to fight for themselves, their children, and their country."

13. When some persons expressed disapproval of the nudity of the maidens in the procesions, and sought to know the reason for it, he said, "So that they, by following the same practices as the men, may not be inferior to them either in bodily strength and health or in mental aspirations and qualities, and that they may despise the opinion of the crowd." Wherefore is recorded also in regard to Gorgo, the wife of Leonidas, a saying to this effect: when some woman, a foreigner presumably, remarked to her, "You Spartan women are the only women that lord it over your men," she replied, "Yes, for we are the only women that are mothers of men!"

14. By excluding the unmarried from looking on at the festival of the naked youth, and by laying upon them other additional disgrace, he created much concern about having children. He also deprived them of the honour and attention which the young bestowed on their elders. And nobody said a word against the remark which was made to Dercylidas, although he was a general and in high repute; for one of the younger men, as Dercylidas approached, did not rise to offer his seat, saying, "No, for you are not the father of any son who will rise and offer his seat to me."

15. When someone inquired why he had made a law that girls should be given in marriage without any dowry, he said, "So that some of them shall not be left unwedded because of lack of means, and some shall not be eagerly sought because of abundant wealth, but that each man, with an eye to the ways
\[\text{PLUTARCH'S MORALIA}\]

\[\text{πον τὴς παιδὸς ἀφορῶν ἀρετὴ τὴν αἴρεσιν ποιῶν-228 ται.}\]

16. Ὁρίσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν χρόνον τῶν τε γαμουμένων καὶ τῶν γαμοῦντων, πρὸς τὸν ζητοῦντα, \"\"\" \"읍, \"τὰ γεννώμενα ἵσχυρὰ ἢ ἐκ τελείων γεννώμενα.\"

17. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν θαυμάζοντα, δὴ ὦ τι τὸν γεγαμηκότα ἀπείρεξε μὴ συγκοιμᾶσθαι τῇ γεγαμημένῃ, προσέταξε δὲ τὸ πλείστον τῆς ἡμέρας συνενία τοῖς ἡλικιώταις καὶ τὰς νύκτας ὅλας συναναπαύσεθαι, τῇ δὲ νύμφῃ κρύφα καὶ μετ' εὐλαβείας συνενία, \"\"όπως, \"ἐφη, \"καὶ τοὺς σώμασιν ἰσχυροὶ ὅσι διακορεῖς μὴ γενόμενοι, καὶ τῷ φιλεῖν ἂν καινοὶ Β ὑπάρχωσι καὶ τὰ ἐκγυνα ἑρρωμενέστερα παρέχωσι.\"

18. Καὶ τὸ μὲν μύρον ἐξῆλασεν ὡς τοῦ ἑλαίου φθορὰν καὶ ὀλέθρον, τὴν δὲ βαφικὴν ὡς κολακεῖαν αἰσθήσεως.

19. Πάσι δὲ τοῖς περὶ τοῦ τοῦ σώματος καλωπισμὸν δημιουργοῖς ἀνεπίβατον ἐποίησε τὴν Σπάρτην, ὡς διὰ τῆς κακοτεχνίας τὰς τέχνας λυμαινομένοις.

20. Τοσαύτη ὦ κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους σωφροσύνη τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀπείχε τῆς ὑστερον περὶ αὐτῶν εὐχερείας, ὡς πρότερον ἀπιστον εἶναι τὸ τῆς μοιχείας παρ' αὐταῖς. \[\text{καὶ} \]

1 \(\text{ποιῶνται} \) \(\text{ποιεῖται} \) \(\text{in some mss.}\)
2 \(\text{ήτούντα} \) \(\text{Xylander would add τὴν αἰτιὰν.}\)
3 \(\text{αὐταῖς} \) \(\text{αὐτοῖς} \) \(\text{Kronenberg from the Life of Lycurgus, chap. xv.}\)

\[\text{a Cf. Aelian, Varia Historia, vi. 6.}\]
\[\text{b Cf. Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus, chap. xv. (48 ν), and Xenophon, Constitution of Sparta, 1. 6.}\]
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of the maid, shall make virtue the basis of his choice." For this reason he also banished from the State all artificial enhancement of beauty.\(^a\)

16. He set limits to the time of marriage for both men and women, and, in answer to the man who inquired about this, he said, "So that the offspring may be sturdy by being sprung from mature parents."\(^b\)

17. In answer to a man who expressed surprise because he debarred the husband from spending the nights with his wife, but ordained that he should be with his comrades most of the day and pass the whole night in their company, and visit his bride secretly and with great circumspection, he said, "So that they may be strong of body and never become sated, and that they may be ever fresh in affection, and that the children which they bring into the world may be more sturdy."\(^c\)

18. He banished perfume on the ground that it spoiled and ruined the olive oil,\(^d\) and also the dyer's art on the ground that it was a flattery of the senses.

19. To all whose business was the enhancement of personal beauty he made Sparta forbidden ground, for the reason that they outraged the arts through the vileness of their art.\(^e\)

20. So strict in those times was the virtue of the women, and so far removed from the laxity of morals which later affected them,\(^f\) that in the earlier days the idea of adultery among them was an incredible

\(^a\) Cf. Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus, chap. xv. (48 ε), and Xenophon, Constitution of Sparta, 1. 5.

\(^b\) Cf. Seneca, Quaestiones Naturales, iv. 13. 9. Perfumes in ancient times were made with a base of oil; cf. Moralia, 127 b.

\(^c\) Cf. Plutarch’s Life of Lycurgus, chap. ix. (p. 44 f).

\(^d\) Athenaeanus, 142 f, quotes Phylarchus at some length regarding the degeneration of the Spartans.
C λόγος ἀπομνημονεύεται Γεραδάτας τινὸς Σπαρτιάς (228) τού τῶν σφόδρα παλαίων, ὅς ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ ξένου, τί πάσχουσιν οἱ μοιχοὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς, οὐδὲν γὰρ ὦραν περὶ τούτου νενομοθετημένον ὑπὸ Λυκούργου, εἶπεν, "οὐδέσ, ὃ ξένε, γύγνεται μοιχὸς παρ' ἥμιν." ἐκείνου δὲ ὑπολαβόντος, "ἂν οὐν γένηται," "ταῦταν," ἐφη ὁ Γεραδάτας "ἐκτίνει μέγαν, ὅς ὑπερκύψας τὸ Ταύγητον ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐρώτα πίεται." θαυμάσαντος δὲ ἐκείνου καὶ φήσαντος, "πῶς δὲ ἂν γένιοτο βοῦς τηλικοῦτος;" γελάσας ὁ Γεραδάτας "πῶς γὰρ ἂν," ἐφη, "μοιχὸς ἐν Σπάρτῃ γένοιτο, ἐν Ἦ πλοῦτος μὲν καὶ τρυφῇ καὶ καλλωπισμὸς ἀτιμάζονται, αἰδῶς δὲ καὶ εὐκοσμία καὶ τῶν ἰγνομένων πειθὼν πρεσβεύεται;"

21. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἀξιοῦντα δημοκρατίαν ἐν τῇ D πόλει καταστήσασθαι ὁ Λυκούργος εἶπε, "σὺ πρῶτος ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ σου ποίησον δημοκρατίαν."

22. Πυνθανομένου δὲ τινὸς διὰ τὶ μικρὰς οὕτως καὶ εὐτελεῖς ἐτάξε τῶν θεῶν τὰς θυσίας, "ὅπως," ἐφη, "μηδέποτε τιμῶντες τὸ θεῖον διαλείπωμεν."

23. Μόνα δὲ ταῦτα τῶν ἀθλημάτων ἐφέντος αὐτοῦ τοῖς πολίταις ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ὅπου ἡ χείρ οὐκ ἀνατείνεται, ἐπύθετο τὶς τὴν αἰτίαν· ὁ δὲ, "ὅπως,"

1 Γεραδάτας, Γεραδάτας | Γεράδα, Γεράδας in the Life of Lycurgus, chap. xv.
2 ταῦταν ἐκτίνει μέγαν . . . τηλικοῦτος: γελάσας Xylander from the Life of Lycurgus, chap. xv.: the mss. have only ταῦταν ἐφη ὁ Γεραδάτας.

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thing. There is still recalled a saying of a certain Geradatas, a Spartan of the very early times, who, on being asked by a foreigner what was done to adulterers in their country, since he saw that there had been no legislation by Lycurgus on that subject, said, “Sir, there is never an adulterer in our country.” But when the other retorted with, “Yes, but if there should be?” Geradatas said, “His penalty is to provide an enormous bull which by stretching his neck over Mount Taygetus can drink from the river Eurotas.” And when the other in amazement said, “But how could there ever be a bull of that size?” Geradatas laughed and said, “But how could there ever be an adulterer in Sparta, in which wealth and luxury and adventitious aids to beauty are held in disesteem, and respect and good order and obedience to authority are given the highest place?”

21. In answer to the man who was insistent that he establish a democracy in the State Lycurgus said, “Do you first create a democracy in your own house.”

22. When someone inquired why he ordained such small and inexpensive sacrifices to the gods, he said, “So that we may honour the Divine powers without ceasing.”

23. As he permitted the citizens to engage only in that kind of athletic contests in which the arm is not held up, somebody inquired what was the reason.

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*a* In part this is in close agreement with Plutarch’s *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xv. (49 c), but the main point, which is lacking in the mss., is usually inserted here by the editors from the *Life*. See the critical note 2.

*b* Cf. the note on *Moralia*, 189 e (2), *supra*.

*c* Cf. the note on *Moralia*, 172 b, *supra*.

(228) εἶπε, "μηδεὶς αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ πονεῖν ἀπαντᾶν ἑθίζεται."


26. Τοὺς δὲ συμβουλευομένους τῶν Θηβαίων περὶ τῆς ἱερουργίας καὶ τοῦ πένθους, ἢν ποιοῦνται τῇ Δευκόθεᾳ, συνεβουλευσεν εἰ μὲν θεὸν ἦγοι-καὶ, μὴ θρηνεῖ, εἰ δὲ ἀνθρώπων, μὴ ἱερουργεῖν ὑπὸ θεῶ.

27. Ἡρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐπιζητοῦντας τῶν πολιτῶν, "πῶς ἄν πολεμῶν ἐφοδιῶ ἀλεξομεθα;" "ἐὰν πτωχοί," ἐφη, "μένητε καὶ μη μεῖζων ἀτερὸς θατέρου ἐρᾶτε εἶναι.

28. Καὶ πάλιν ἐπιζητοῦντων περὶ τειχῶν, οὐκ ἐφη πόλιν εἶναι ἀτείχωστον, ἢτις ἀνδρᾶς καὶ οὐ πλίθους ἐστεφάνωται.

29. Ἐπεμέλοντο δὲ οἱ Σπαρτιάται καὶ τῆς κό-μης, ἀπομνημονεύοντες τινα Δυνοῦργον λόγον περὶ

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1 βλάπτωμεν E. Kurtz: βλάπτωμεν.
2 μένητε Life of Lycurgus, chap. xix.: ἢτε.
3 μείζων from μέσων (sic !) Life of Lycurgus, chap. xix.: μείζων.
4 ἐρᾶτε εἶναι F.C.B. from the Life of Lycurgus, chap. xix.; with the omission of one syllable -ατ- gives almost exactly the queer ms. reading ἐρεεῖν (or ἐρεεύει): ἐρῆν εἶναι Sintenis.

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a Cf. the note on 189 ε (4), supra.
b Cf. Xenophon, Constitution of Sparta, 12. 5.
c Cf. Plutarch’s Comparison of Lysander and Sulla, 477 d.
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He replied, "So that no one of the citizens shall get the habit of crying quits in the midst of a hard struggle." a

24. When someone asked why he ordered a frequent change of camping-place, he said, "So that we may inflict greater injury upon our enemies." b

25. When someone sought to know why he forbade assaults on walled places, he said, "So that valiant men may not suffer death at the hands of a woman or a child or some such person." c

26. When some of the Thebans advised with him in regard to the sacrifice and the lamentation which they perform in honour of Leucothea, he advised them that if they regarded her as a goddess they should not bewail her, but if they looked upon her as a woman they should not offer sacrifice to her as to a goddess. d

27. In answer to some of the citizens who desired to know, "How can we keep off any invasion by enemies," he said, "If you remain poor, and no one of you desires to be more important than another." e

28. And at another time, when they raised a question about fortifications, he said that a city is not unfortified whose crowning glory is men and not bricks and stones. f

29. The Spartans gave particular attention to their hair, recalling a saying of Lycurgus in reference to it,

As a matter of fact, the Spartans were quite without ability to attack a walled town, as is clear from Herodotus, ix. 70, and Thucydides, i. 102.

d This saying of Xenophanes seems to have been attributed by someone to Lycurgus. Cf. *Moralia*, 171 e, 379 b, and 763 c; also Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, ii. 23. 27.

e Cf. Plutarch’s *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xix. (52 b).

f Cf. the note on *Moralia*, 210 e (29), supra.
τούτου, ὦτι τοὺς μὲν καλοὺς εὐπρεπεστέρους ποιεῖ, τοὺς δὲ αἰσχροὺς φοβερωτέρους.

30. Παρείττεμεν δὲ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις τρεφαμένους καὶ νικήσαντας μέχρι τοῦ βεβαιώσασθαι τὸ νίκημα ἐπιδιώκειν, εἶτα εὐθὺς ἀναχωρεῖν· οὔτε γενναίον̣ οὔτε ἑνετὸν Ἑλληνικὸν φονεύειν τοὺς παρακεχωρηκότας φάσκων· εἶναι δ' οὔ μόνον καλὸν τοῦτο καὶ μεγαλόψυχον̣ ἀλλὰ καὶ χρῆσιμον. εἰδότας γὰρ τοὺς μαχομένους πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὅτι φείδονται μὲν τῶν ἐνδιδόντων, ἀναροῦσι δὲ τοὺς ύψισταμένους, τοῦ μένει τὸ φεύγειν ὠφελιμώτερον ἡγησάσθαι.  

31. Πυρθανομένου δὲ τινος, διὰ τὶ τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων νεκροὺς ἀπηγόρευεσκε σκυλεύειν, "ὅπως,"

229 ἔφη, "μὴ κυπτάζοντες περὶ τὰ σκῦλα τῆς μάχης ἀμελῶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν πενίαν ἀμα τῇ τάξει διασώζοσι.

ΑΤΣΑΝΔΡΟΤ

1. Λύσανδρος, Διονυσίου τοῦ τῆς Σικελίας τυράννου πέμψαντος αὐτοῦ ταῖς θυγατράσιν ἱμάτια πολυτελῆ, οὐκ ἔλαβεν εἰπών δεδιέναι, μὴ διὰ ταῦτα μᾶλλον αἰσχραὶ φανῶσιν. ἀλλ' ὅλγον ὑστερον πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν τυράννου ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως ἀποσταλεῖς προσβευτῆς, προσπέμψαντος αὐτῶν τοῦ Διονυσίου δύο στολὰς καὶ κελεύσαντος ἢν βούλεται ταύτην ἑλόμενον τῇ θυγατρὶ κομίζειν, αὐτὴν ἐκεὶ-

1 οὔτε γενναίον supplied by the editors from the Life of Lycurgus, chap. xxii.
2 εἶναι F.C.B. to fit the construction: ἢν Life of Lycurgus, chap. xxiii., from which the sentence εἶναι δ' . . . μεγαλόψυχον is added here by most editors. But the whole paragraph looks like a memorandum.
3 ἡγησάσθαι] ἡγησάσθαι most mss., perhaps rightly.
that it made the handsome more comely and the ugly more frightful.\(^a\)

30. He gave instructions that in war, when they had put the enemy to flight and had gained a victory, they should continue the pursuit only far enough to make their success assured, and then return immediately; for he said that it was neither a noble trait nor a Greek trait to slay those who had yielded, and this policy was not only honourable and magnanimous, but useful as well; for the opposing army, knowing that they customarily spared those who surrendered, but made away with those who resisted, would regard it as more profitable to flee than to stay.\(^b\)

31. When somebody inquired why he forbade spoiling the enemy's dead, he said, "So that the soldiers may not, by looking about covertly for spoil, neglect their fighting, but also that they may keep to their poverty as well as to their post."\(^c\)

**LYSANDER**

1. When Dionysius, the despot of Sicily, sent costly garments for Lysander's daughters, he would not accept them, saying that he was afraid that because of them his daughters would appear ugly rather than beautiful.\(^d\) But a little later, when he was sent as ambassador to the same despot from the same State, Dionysius sent to him two robes and bade him choose whichever one of them he would, and take it to his daughter; but Lysander said that

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\(^a\) Cf. the note on *Moralia*, 189 \(\varepsilon\) (1), *supra*.

\(^b\) Cf. Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xxii. (54 \(\delta\)); Thucydides, v. 73; Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, i. 16. 3.

\(^c\) Cf. *Moralia*, 224 \(B\) (16), *supra*.

\(^d\) Cf. the note on *Moralia*, 190 \(\varepsilon\) (1), *supra*. 

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(229) νὴν ἐφη βέλτιον αἰρήσεσθαι· καὶ λαβὼν ἀμφοτέρας ἀπῆλθεν.

2. Ὅ δὲ Λύσανδρος, δεινὸς σοφιστὴς γενόμενος καὶ ἀπάταις τὰ πολλὰ ποικίλλων, τὸ δίκαιον ἐν μόνῳ τῷ λυσιτελεῖ τιθέμενος καὶ τὸ καλὸν ἐν τῷ συμφέροντι, τὸ ἀληθὲς ἔλεγε τοῦ ψεύδους κρεῖττον εἶναι, ἐκατέρου δὲ τῇ χρείᾳ τὴν ἀξίαν καὶ τὴν Β τιμὴν ὀρίζεσθαι.

3. Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ψέγοντας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ δι’ ἀπάτης τὰ πλείστα πράττειν, ὡς ἀνάξιον τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, καὶ δόλῳ οὐκ ἀντικρυς κατορθοῦντα, γελῶν ἔλεγεν ὅπου μὴ ἐφικνεῖται τῇ λεοντῇ,¹ προσπατείν εἶναι τὴν ἀλωπεκὴν.

4. Ἐπιμεμφομένων δ’ ἐτέρων αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς παραβάσεις τῶν ὀρκῶν, οὐς ἐν Μιλήτῳ ἐπούςατο, ἔλεγε, "τοὺς μὲν παῖδας ἀστραγάλοις δεῖ ἐξαπατᾶν, τοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας ὀρκοὺς.'

5. Νικήσας δὲ τοὺς Ἄθηναιός ἐξ ἐνέδρας περὶ Ἀγιός ποταμοὺς καὶ λιμῶ πέσας αὐτοὺς παρεστήσατο τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἔγραψε τοῖς ἐφόροις, "ἐαλώκασιν αἱ Ἀθήναι.'

C 6. Πρὸς Ἀργείους δὲ περὶ γῆς ὀρων ἀμφισβητοῦντας πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ δικαιότερα λέγειν αὐτῶν φάσκοντας, σπασάμενος τὴν μάχαιραν, "ὁ

¹ τῇ λεοντῇ] ἧ λεοντῇ, as in Moralia, 190, and the Life of Lysander, chap. vii., Car. Schmidt.
² ἐπιμεμφομένων Wyttenbach: ἀπομεμφομένων.

⁴ The legendary ancestor of both lines of Spartan kings; cf. Herodotus, vii. 204 and viii. 131.
⁵ Cf. the note on Moralia, 190 E (2), supra.
she herself would make a better choice, and, taking them both, he departed.

2. Lysander, who was a clever quibbler, and given to employing cunning deceptions to further most of his designs, counted justice as mere expediency, and honour as that which is advantageous. He said that the truth is better than falsehood, but that the worth and value of either is determined by the use to which it is put.\(^a\)

3. In answer to those who blamed him because of his carrying out most of his designs through deception, which they said was unworthy of Heracles,\(^b\) and gaining his successes by wile in no straightforward way, he said laughing that where he could not get on with the lion's skin it must be pieced out with the skin of the fox.\(^c\)

4. When others censured him for his violation of his oaths which he had made in Miletus he said that one must trick children with knuckle-bones, but men with oaths.\(^d\)

5. He conquered the Athenians by a ruse at Aegospotami, and by pressing them hard through famine he forced them to surrender their city, whereupon he wrote to the Ephors, "Athens is taken."\(^e\)

6. In answer to the Argives, who were disputing with the Spartans in regard to the boundaries of their land and said that they had the better of the case,

\(^a\) Repeated in *Moralia*, 330 f, where it is attributed to Dionysius; *Moralia*, 741 c; Diodorus, x. 9. 1; Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* lxxiv. (399 R., 640 M.); Polyaeacus, *Strategemata*, i. 45. 3; and Aelian, *Varia Historia*, vii. 12, who says that some attribute it to Lysander, and others to Philip of Macedon.

\(^b\) According to Plutarch, *Life of Lysander*, chap. xiv. (441 B), the Ephors objected to the verbosity of the dispatch!
7. Τοὺς δὲ Βοιωτοὺς ἑπαμφοτερίζοντας, ὅτε διηει τὴν χώραν, ὀρῶν, προσέπεμψε πυθανόμενος πότερον ὀρθοὶς τοῖς δόρασιν ἢ κεκλιμένους δια-
πορεύεται τῇ χώρᾳ αὐτῶν.

8. Μεγαρέως δὲ ἀνδρός ἐν τῷ κοινῷ συλλόγῳ παρχησία χρησαμένου πρὸς αὐτὸν, "οἱ λόγοι σου," εἶπεν, "ὁ ἔξε, πόλεως δεόνται."

9. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κορινθίων ἀφεστῶτων διερχόμενος παρὰ τὰ τείχη τοὺς Δακεδαιμονίους ἔωρα προσβάλ-
λειν ὀκνοῦντας, καὶ λαγώς τις ὑφθη διαπηδῶν τὴν 
τάφρον, "οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε," εἶπεν, "ὁ Σπαρτιάται,
τοιούτους φοβοίμενου πολεμίους, ἄν οἱ λαγωνιλι 
ἀργίαν τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐγκαθεύδουσιν;"

10. Ἐν δὲ Σαμοθράκη χρηστηριαζομένω αὐτῷ ὁ ἴερεὺς ἐκέλευσεν εἰπεῖν, ὁ τῷ ἀνομώτατον ἔργῳ αὐτῶ ἐν τῷ βίῳ πέπρακται. ἐπηρώτησεν οὖν,
"πότερον σοῦ τοῦτο κελεύοντος ἢ τῶν θεῶν τοῦτο 
δεὶ ποιεῖν;" φαμένον δὲ, "τῶν θεῶν, " "σὺ 
τοίνυν," ἐφη, "ἐκποδῶν μοι μετάστηθι,2 κάκεινοις 
ἐρῶ, ἐὰν πυνθάνωσιν."

11. Πέρσου δὲ ἐρωτήσαντος ποιᾶν μάλιστα ἐπαι-
νεὶ πολιτείαν, "ητις," ἐφη, "τοὺς ἀνδρείους καὶ 
δειλοῖς τὰ προσήκοντα ἀποδίδουσιν.

12. Πρὸς δὲ τῶν εἰπόντα, ὅτι ἐπαυνοῦ ἄυτὸν καὶ 
ὑπερασπάζοιτο, "δύο βοῦς ἔχω," ἐφη, "ἐν ἀγρῷ:

1 ταύτης] ταύτῃ Pantazides.
2 μετάστηθι Hatzidakis: κατάστηθι.

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a Cf. the note on Moralia, 190 e (3), supra.
c Cf. the note on Moralia, 190 f (5), supra.
he drew his sword and said, "He who is master of this talks best about boundaries of land." a

7. Seeing that the Boeotians were wavering at the time when he was about to pass through their country he sent to them to inquire whether he should march through their land with spears at rest or ready for action. b

8. When a Megarian in the common council used plain words to him, he said, "My friend, your words need a city to back them." c

9. When the Corinthians had revolted and he was going through their country along by the walls and saw that the Spartans were reluctant to attack, a hare was seen leaping across the ditch, whereupon he said, "Are you not ashamed, men of Sparta, to be afraid of such enemies as these, who are so slack that hares sleep in the walls of their city?" d

10. As he was consulting the oracle in Samothrace, the priest bade him tell what was the most lawless deed that had ever been committed by him in his lifetime. Lysander asked, "Must I do this at your command or at the command of the gods?" When the priest said, "At the command of the gods," Lysander said, "Then do you take yourself out of my way, and I will tell them in case they inquire." e

11. When a Persian asked what kind of a government he commended most highly, he said, "The government which duly awards what is fitting to both the brave and the cowardly."

12. In answer to a man who said that he commended him and was very fond of him, he said "I have two oxen in a field, and although they

a Cf. the note on Moralia, 190 e (4), supra.

b Cf. the note on Moralia, 217 c (1), supra.
13. Λοιδόρομένου δὲ τινὸς αὐτῷ, εἶπε, "λέγε πυκνῶς, ὃς ξενύλλιον, λέγε μηδὲν ἐλλειπτών, ἂν σου δύνη τὰν ψυχὰν κενώσαι κακῶν, ὥν έοικας πλήρης εἶναι."

F 14. Χρόνω δ’ ὑστερον μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἀντι-
λογίας συμμαχικῆς γενομένης, Ἀγησίλαος ἦλθεν
ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Λυσάνδρου οἰκίαν, ὡς τὰ περὶ αὐτῆς
γράμματα διασκέψηται: ταῦτα γὰρ παρ’ αὐτῷ
κατέσχεν ὁ Λύσανδρος. εὗρε δὲ καὶ βιβλίον
γεγραμμένον τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ περὶ τῆς πολιτείας,
ὡς χρὴ τῶν Εὐρυπωντιδῶν καὶ Ἄγιαδῶν τὴν
βασιλείαν ἀφελομένους εἰς μέσον θεῖαι καὶ
ποιεῖσθαι τὴν αἴρεσιν ἐκ τῶν ἀριστῶν, ἵνα μὴ τῶν
ἀφ’ Ἡρακλέους, ἀλλὰ τῶν οἶος Ἡρακλῆς, τῇ
ἀρέτῇ κρυνομένων, τὸ γέρας ἢ, ἢ κάκεινος εἰς
θεῶν τιμὰς ἀνήχθη. καὶ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ὄρμησε
μὲν εἰς τοὺς πολίτας ἑξενεγκεῖν καὶ παραδείκνυαι
τὸν Λύσανδρον οἶος ὃν πολιτῆς διαλαμβάνοι, καὶ
ἐπὶ διαβολῇ τῶν Λυσάνδρου φίλων. Κρατίδην3 δὲ
φασί τότε προεστῶτα τῶν ἑφόρων, εὐλαβηθέντα
μὴ πείσῃ ἀναγνωσθεῖς ὁ λόγος, ἐπιλαβέσθαι τοῦ
'Αγησιλάου καὶ εἰπεῖν ως ὥσ ἢ δεὶ ἀνορύττειν τὸν
Λύσανδρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν λόγον αὐτῷ συγκατορύτ-
τειν, πανούργως καὶ πιθανῶς συντεταγμένοι.

1 Εὐρυπωντιδῶν Wyettenbach: εὐρυπωτιδῶν.
2 τῶν oios Life of Iysander, chap. xxiv.; oios.
3 Κρατίδην[ Λακρατίδαν Life of Iysander, chap. xxx.; but
the name of Cratidas is recorded as an ephor in an inscription
both may utter no sound, I know perfectly well which one is lazy and which one is the worker.”

13. When someone was reviling him, he said, “Talk right on, you miserable foreigner, talk, and don’t leave out anything if thus you may be able to empty your soul of the vicious notions with which you seem to be filled.”

14. Some time after his death, when a dispute arose regarding a certain alliance, Agesilaus came to Lysander’s house to examine the documents in regard to this, for Lysander had kept these at his own house. Agesilaus found also a book written by Lysander in regard to the government, to this effect: that the citizens should take away the kingship from the Euryponits and the Agiads and put it up for election, and make their choice from the best men, so that this high honour should belong not to those who were descended from Heracles, but to men like Heracles, who should be selected for their excellence; for it was because of such excellence that Heracles was exalted to divine honours. This document Agesilaus was bent upon publishing to the citizens, and demonstrating what kind of a citizen Lysander had been in secret, and with the purpose also of discrediting the friends of Lysander. But they say that Cratidas, who at that time was at the head of the Ephors, anxious lest, if the speech should be read, it might convert the people to this way of thinking, restrained Agesilaus and said that he ought not to disinter Lysander, but to inter the speech along with him, since it was composed with a vicious purpose and in a plausible vein.

\[a\] Cf. the note on Moralia, 231 c (1), infra.

\[b\] Cf. the note on Moralia, 212 c (52), supra.
15. Τούς δὲ μνηστεύσαντας αυτοῦ τὰς θυγατέρας, εἶτα μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν πένητος εὐθεῖόντος ἀπειπαμένους, ἐξημώσαν οἱ ἐφοροὶ, ὅτι πλοῦσιον μὲν νομίζοντες ἑθεράπευον, δίκαιον δὲ καὶ χρηστὸν ἐκ τῆς πενίας ἐπιγνόντες ὑπερείδον.

NAMERTOT

Ναμέρτης προσβεντῆς ἀποσταλεῖς, μακαρίζοντός τινος αυτὸν τῶν ἐκείθη διότι πολύφιλος εἶη, ἡρώ-βτησεν εἰ δοκίμων ἔχει τίνι τρόπῳ πειράζεται ὁ πολύφιλος· ἐπιζητοῦντος δὲ θατέρου μαθεῖν, "ἀτυχία," εἶπεν.

NIKANDROT

1. Νίκανδρος, εἰπόντος τινὸς ὃτι κακῶς αυτὸν λέγουσιν Ἀργείου, "οὐκοῦν," ἔφη, "δίκην τίνους τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς κακῶς λέγοντες."

2. Πυθομένου δὲ τινὸς διὰ τῇ κομῳδίᾳ καὶ πωγω-νοτροφοῦσιν, "ὅτι," ἔφη, "πάντων κάλλιστος καὶ ἀδαπανώτατος ἀνδρὶ ὁ ὁδίος κόσμος."

3. Τῶν Ἀθηναίων δὲ εἰπόντος τινὸς, "λίαν ἀντέχοσθε, ὃ Νίκανδρε, τοῦ σχολάζειν," "ἀλήθης;" ἔφη, "ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὃσπερ ύμεῖς ὡς τοὺς τοῖς σπουδαζομεν;"

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a Cf. Plutarch’s Life of Lysander, chap. xxx. (451 a), and Lelian, Varia lHistoria, vi. 4, and x. 15.

b Cf. John Heywood, Proverbs, part i. chap. 11: “But indeede a friend is never known till a man have neede.”

c An early Spartan king, perhaps circa 809-770 B.C. He was the son of Charillus (Moralia, 189 f, supra).

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15. The suitors of his daughters, when after his
death he was found to be a poor man, renounced
their obligations; but the Ephors punished them
because when they thought he was rich they courted
his favour, but when they found from his poverty
that he was just and honest they disdained him.\(^a\)

**NAMERTES**

Namertes was sent as an ambassador, and when
one of the people in that country congratulated him
because he had many friends, he asked if this man
had any sure means of testing the man of many
friends; and when the other desired to learn, Namertes said, “By means of misfortune.”\(^b\)

**NICANDER**\(^c\)

1. Nicander, when someone said that the Argives
were speaking ill of him, said, “Well then, they are
paying the penalty for speaking ill of the good!”\(^d\)

2. When someone inquired why the Spartans wore
their hair long and cultivated beards, he said,
“Because for a man his own adornment is the very
best and cheapest.”\(^e\)

3. When one of the Athenians said, “Nicander,
you Spartans insist too much on your principle of
doing no work,” he said, “Quite true; we do not
make work of this thing or that thing in your
haphazard fashion.”\(^f\)

\(^a\) He was invading Argolis and laying waste the country; see Pausanias, iii. 7. 4.
\(^b\) Cf. the note on *Moralia*, 189 f (3), *supra*.
\(^c\) Cf. *Moralia*, 348 f and 710 f; Plato, *Laws*, 803 c-d.
\(^d\) Cf. *Moralia*, 221 c, *supra*.
1. Πανθοίδας πρεσβεύων εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἐπι-
δεικνύντων αὐτῶν τεῖχος ἐχυρόν, εἶπε, “νὴ τοῦς
θεοὺς, ὦ ἔνοι, καλὴ γυναικωνίτις.”

2. 'Εν Ἀκαδημεία 1 δὲ τῶν φιλοσόφων διαλεγο-
μένων πολλὰ καὶ σπουδαία, ἔπερωτῶντων δὲ τὸν
Πανθοίδαν μετὰ ταῦτα τί δοκοῦσιν αὐτῶ οἱ λόγοι
οὗτοι εἶναι, “τί δ’ ἄλλο,” ἔφη, “ἡ σπουδαίοι;
ὀφελος δ’ οὐδέν, μὴ χρωμένων υμῶν αὐτῶς.”

ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΟΥΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΛΕΟΜΒΡΟΤΟΥ

1. Παυσανίας ὁ Κλεομβρότου, Δηλίων δικαιο-
λογουμένων περὶ τῆς νῆσου πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ
λεγόντων ὅτι κατὰ τόν νόμον τόν παρ’ αὐτοῖς οὐθ’
D αἱ γυναῖκες εἰς τῇ νῆσῳ τίκτουσιν οὐθ’ οἱ τελευτή-
σαντες βάπτονται, “πῶς ἄν οὖν,” ἔφη, “ἀὐτὴ
πατρὶς υμῶν εἰη, ἐν ἧ οὔτε γέγονε τις υμῶν οὐτ’
ἔσται 4;”

2. Τῶν δὲ φυγάδων αὐτῶν προτρεπομένων ἐπὶ
tους Ἀθηναίους ἀγειν τὴν στρατιὰν λεγόντων τε
ὅτι τοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις ἀνακριττομένου αὐτοῦ
ἔσυριττον αὐτῶν μόνοι, “τί οὖν οἶτεθε,” ἔφη,
“τοὺς οὗτε εὗ ἐπασχον συρίττοντας παθόντας
κακῶς ποιήσειν;”

3. Πυθαγομένου δὲ τινος διὰ τὶ Τυρταίον τὸν

1 Ἀκαδημεία the usual spelling: ἀκαδημεία.
2 οὐθ’, Bernardakis: οὔθ’ or οὐθε.
3 οὖ added by Cobet.
4 ἔσται] κελεσται van Herwerden.

a A Spartan harmost who fell at Tanagra, 377 b.c.
b Cf. the note on Moralia, 190 a, supra.
PANTHOEDAS

1. Panthoedas went on embassy to Asia and when they pointed out to him a very strong wall he said, “By Heaven, strangers, fine quarters for women!”

2. When the philosophers in the Academy were conversing long and seriously, and afterwards some people asked Panthoidas how their conversation impressed him, he said, “What else than serious? But there is no good in it unless you put it to use.”

PAUSANIAS, THE SON OF CLEOMBROTUS

1. Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus, at the time when the people of Delos were asserting their rightful claims to the island against the Athenians, and said that according to the law which prevailed among them there were no births and no burials in the island, said, “How can this be your native land in which no one of you has ever been born nor shall ever be hereafter?”

2. When the exiles were inciting him to lead his army against the Athenians, and saying that, when his name was proclaimed at Olympia, they were the only people who hissed him, he said, “What do you think that those who hissed when they were being well treated will do if they are treated ill?”

3. When someone inquired why the Spartans had

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\[\textit{Cf.} \textit{Moralia}, 192 \textit{b}, 220 \textit{d}, \text{ and } 1033 \textit{b-e.}\]

\[\text{Regent of Sparta from } 479 \text{ B.C. ; commander at Plataea.}\]

\[\text{The law seems to have been put into effect (426-425 B.C.) some years after the death of this Pausanias (468 B.C.).}\]

\[\text{Cf. Thucydides, iii. 104.}\]

\[\text{A similar remark is attributed to Philip of Macedon in } \textit{Moralia}, 143 \textit{f}, 179 \textit{a}, \text{ and } 457 \textit{f}.\]
Tyrrtaeus, according to tradition, was a native of Athens.


* Cf. Herodotus, ix. 82.
made Tyrtaeus the poet a citizen, he said, "So that a stranger shall never appear as our leader." 

4. In answer to the man who was weak in body, but was urging that they risk a battle against the enemy by both land and sea, he said, "Are you willing to strip yourself and show what kind of a man you are—you who advise us to fight?"

5. When some people were amazed at the costliness of the raiment found among the spoils of the barbarians, he said that it would have been better for them to be themselves men of worth than to possess things of worth.

6. After the victory at Plataea over the Persians he ordered that the dinner which had been prepared for the Persians should be served to himself and his officers. As this had a wondrous sumptuousness, he said, "By Heaven, the Persian was a greedy fellow who, when he had all this, came after our barley-cake."

PAUSANIAS, THE SON OF PLEISTOANAX

1. Pausanias, the son of Pleistoanax, in answer to the question why it was not permitted to change any of the ancient laws in their country, said, "Because the laws ought to have authority over the men, and not the men over the laws."

2. When, in Tegea, after he had been exiled, he commended the Spartans, someone said, "Why did you not stay in Sparta instead of going into exile?" And he said, "Because physicians, too, are wont to spend their time, not among the healthy, but where the sick are."

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Adapted from "SAYINGS OF SPARTANS, 230" by H. T. Hamilton, 1906.
8. Πυθανομένου δέ τινος αὐτοῦ πῶς ἀν δυνηθεῖν τοὺς Ὁράκας νικῆσαι, "εἰ τὸν ἀριστον," εἶπε, "στρατηγὸν καταστήσαμεν."


5. Μεμφομένου δὲ τινος αὐτοῦ τῶν φίλων, διότι Ἰατρόν τυχα κακῶς λέγει, πείραν οὐκ ἔχων αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ ἀδικηθεῖς τι, "οὕτι," εἶπεν, "εἰ ἔλαβον αὐτοῦ πείραν, οὐκ ἂν ἔζων."


ΠΑΙΔΑΡΗΤΩΤ

Β 1. Παιδάρητος, λέγοντος τινος ὅτι πολλοὶ εἶπαν οἱ πολέμιοι, "οὐκοῦν," ἐφη, "ἡμεῖς εὐκλεέστεροι εὐσώμεθα: πλείους γὰρ ἀποκτενοῦμεν."

2. Ἡδὼν δὲ τυχα τῇ μὲν φύσει μαλακόν δι' ἐπιεἰκειαν δὲ ἑπαυνούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, ἐφη, "οὔτε ἄνδρας γυναῖξιν ὁμοίους οἴτας ἑπαυνεῖν δεῖ οὔτε γυναῖκας ἄνδρασιν, εὰν μὴ τὴν γυναίκα χρεία τις καταλάβῃ." 3. Οὐκ ἐγκριθεῖς δ' εἰς τοὺς τρικοσίους, ἦτις ἐν τῇ πόλει πρωτεύουσα τιμῇ τῇ τάξει ἦν, ἱλαρος καὶ μειδιών ἄπηγε: ἀνακαλεσαμένων δ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐφόρων καὶ πυθανομένων δ' ὅ τι γελᾶ, εἶπε,

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a See the note on Moralia, 191 f, supra.
3. When someone inquired of him how they could become able to conquer the Thracians, he said, “If we should make the best man our general.”

4. When a physician paid him a visit and said, “You have nothing wrong with you,” he said, “No, for I do not employ you as my physician.”

5. When one of his friends blamed him because he spoke ill of a certain physician, although he had never had anything to do with him, and had not suffered any harm at his hands, he said, “Because if I had ever had anything to do with him I should not now be alive.”

6. When the physician said to him, “You have lived to be an old man,” he said, “That is because I never employed you as my physician.”

7. He said that the best physician was the man who did not allow his patients to rot, but buried them quickly.

PAEDARETUS

1. Paedaretus, when someone said that the enemy were many in number, remarked, “Then we shall be the more famous, for we shall kill more men.”

2. Seeing a certain man who was effeminate by nature, but was commended by the citizens for his moderation, he said, “People should not praise men who are like to women nor women who are like to men, unless some necessity overtake the woman.”

3. When he was not chosen as one of the three hundred, which was rated as the highest honour in the State, he went away cheerful and smiling; but when the Ephors called him back, and asked why he was laughing, he said, “Because I congratulate

* Cf. Herodotus, viii. 124; Xenophon, Constitution of Sparta, 4. 3.
(231) "δί' ὅ τι συγχαίρω τῇ πόλει τριακοσίων κρείτ.
ο τονάς μου πολίτας ἔχουσιν."

ΠΛΕΙΣΤΑΡΧΟΣ

1. Πλείσταρχος δ' Λεωνίδου πρὸς τὸν ἐπερωτή-
σαντα, διὰ τίνα αὕτιαν οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων βασι-
λέων προσαγορεύονται, "οtin," εἶφη, "έκεινοι μὲν
ἄγαν2 βασιλεύειν ἔχρηζον, οἳ δ' ἔκεινων ύστεροι
οὐδαμῶς."

2. Συνηγόρου δὲ τινός γελοίω λέγοντος, "οὐ
φυλάξῃ, ὃ ἔξειν," εἶφη, "συνεχῶς γελοιάζων, ὥσπος
μὴ γελοίος γένη, ύστερπ καὶ οἳ συνεχῶς παλαίοντες
παλαισταί;"

3.3 Πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἀγδόνα μυμούμενον, "ἥδιον,
ἐφι, ὃ ἔξειν, αὔτής ἀκούσα τῆς ἀγδόνος."

4. Λέγοντος δὲ τινος οὗτοι κακολόγοι τις αὐτῶν
ἐπήμε, "θαυμᾶζω," εἶφη, "εἰ μὴ τις αὐτῷ εἴπεν
οὗτος ἀπέθανον. ξώντα γὰρ ἔκεινος οὐδένα καλῶς
λέξαι δύναται."

ΠΛΕΙΣΤΩΝΑΚΤΟΣ

Πλειστώναξ δ' Παυσανίου, Ἄττικον τινος ῥή-
τορος τοὺς Λακεδαίμονιους ἀμαθείς ἀποκαλοῦντος,

1 δ added by Bernardakis.
2 ἄγαν Kronenberg from ἄγαν μονάρχεὶν in the Life of
Lycurgus, chap. ii.: ἄγεω ἢ or ἄγιν.
3 No. 3 is not in all mss.

a Cf. the note on Moralia, 191 f, supra.
b King of Sparta, 480–458 B.C.
c One of the two lines of the kings of Sparta was called
"Agids" (or "Agiads") from Agis, the second of that line,
and the other "Eurypon" from Eurypon, the third of
that line. Cf. Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus, chap. ii. (40 D);
Strabo, viii. 366; Pausanias, iii. 7. 1.

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the State for having three hundred citizens better than myself." a

PLEISTARCHUS b

1. Pleistarchus the son of Leonidas, in answer to one who asked him for what reason they did not take their titles from the names of the first kings, said, "Because the first kings needed to be absolute monarchs, but those who followed them had no such need." c

2. When a certain advocate kept making jests, he said, "You had better be on your guard, my friend, against jesting all the time, lest you become a jest yourself, just as those who wrestle all the time become wrestlers."

3. In retort to the man who imitated a nightingale, he said, "My friend, I have had more pleasure in hearing the nightingale itself." d

4. When someone said that a certain evil-speaker was commending him, he said, "I wonder whether possibly someone may not have told him that I was dead; for the man can never say a good word of anybody who is alive." e

PLEISTOANAX f

Pleistoanax, the son of Pausanias, when an Attic orator called the Spartans unlearned, said, "You are

Presumably Plutarch means that the later Spartan kings did not wish to perpetuate the memory of any harshness, which would have been suggested by the names of the earlier absolute monarchs.

a Cf. the note on Moralia, 212 r (58), supra.
b Cf. the note on Moralia, 224 d (1), supra.
c King of Sparta, 458-408 B.C.
"ορθῶς," ἔφη, "λέγεις· μόνοι γὰρ Ἑλληνῶν ἡμεῖς οὔδὲν κακὸν μεμαθήκαμεν παρ’ ὅμων."

ΠΟΛΥΔΩΡΟΣ

1. Πολυδώρος ὁ Ἀλκαμένος, ἀπειλοῦντός τινος τοῖς ἐχθροῖς συχνά, "οὐ συνήσῃς," ἔφη, "τῆς τιμωρίας τὸ πλεῖστον καταναλίσκων μέρος;"

Ε 2. Ἐξάγοντος δ' αυτοῦ τὸ στράτευμα ἐπὶ Μεσσηνίην, ἤρετο τις εἰ τοῖς ἁδελφοῖς μάχεσθαι μέλλει, οὐκ ἔφη, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκλήρωτον τῆς χώρας βαδίζειν.¹

3. Ἀργείων δὲ πάλιν μετὰ τὴν τῶν τριακοσίων μάχην ἐκ παρατάξεως πανδημεὶς κρατηθέντων, τὸν Πολυδώρον οἱ σύμμαχοι παρεκελεύοντο μὴ παρεῖναι τὸν καυρόν, ἀλλ' ἐπελθόντα τῷ τείχει τῶν πολεμίων τὴν πόλιν ἐλείν· βάστον γὰρ ἔσσεσθαι, τῶν μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἀπολωλότων, τῶν γυναικῶν δὲ ἀπολελειμμένων ἔφη οὖν πρὸς αὐτοὺς, "τὸ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἰσοῦ μαχόμενον νικᾷ τοὺς ἐναντιομένους ἐστὶ μοι καλὸν, τὸ δ' ύπερ τῶν ὄρων τῆς χώρας μεμαχημένον τὴν πόλιν ἐπιθυμεῖν λαβεῖν οὐ δίκαιον τίθεμαι εἶναι; Οὕθων γὰρ χώραν ἀπολαβεῖν οὐ καταλαβέσθαι πόλιν."

4. Ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ διὰ τὶ Σπαρτιᾶται κατὰ πόλεμον κινδυνεύονσιν ἀνδρεῖς, "ὄτι," ἔφη, "αἰδεῖσθαι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἔμαθον οὐ φοβεῖσθαι."

¹ βαδίζειν F.C.B.; βαδίζει.
quite right, for we alone of the Greeks have learned no evil from you."\(^a\)

**POLYDORUS\(^b\)**

1. Polydorus, the son of Alcamenes, when a certain man was continually making threats against his enemies, said, “Don’t you see that you are using up the best part of your vengeance?”

2. As he was leading out his army to Messene, someone asked him if he was going to fight against his brothers. He said that he was not, but was merely proceeding to the unassigned portion of the land.

3. The Argives, after the battle of the three hundred,\(^c\) were again overcome, with all their forces, in a set battle, and the allies urged Polydorus not to let slip the opportunity, but to make a descent upon the enemy’s wall and capture their city; for this, they said, would be very easy, since the men had been destroyed and the women only were left. He said in answer to them, “To my mind it is honourable, when fighting on even terms, to conquer our opponents, but, after having fought to settle the boundaries of the country, to desire to capture the city I do not regard as just; for I came to recapture territory and not to capture a city.”

4. Being asked why the Spartans risked their lives so bravely in war, he said, “Because they have learned to respect their commanders and not to fear them.”\(^d\)

\(^a\) Cf. the note on Moralia, 192 \(b\) (1), *supra.*

\(^b\) King of Sparta in the second part of the eighth century B.C.

\(^c\) Herodotus, i. 82.

\(^d\) Cf. Moralia, 217 \(a\) (5), and 227 \(d\) (12).
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

ΠΟΛΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΣ

Πολυκρατίδας¹ προσβεύων πρὸς τοὺς βασιλέως στρατηγοὺς μεθ’ ἑτέρων, ἐρωμένων αὐτῶν πότερον ἰδία πάρεισιν ἡ δημοσία ἐπέμφθησαν, "αἰκα τύχωμες, δημοσία," εἶπεν, "αἱ δὲ μὴ, ἰδία."

ΦΟΙΒΙΔΟΥ

Φοιβίδας, πρὸ τοῦ κινδύνου τοῦ Λευκτρικοῦ λεγόντων τυπῶν δείξειν τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην τὸν ἀγαθὸν, πολλοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐφησέν, ἀξίαν εἶναι, δυναμένην τὸν ἀγαθὸν δεῖξαι.

ΣΟΟΤ

232 Σόον³ λέγεται ἐν χωρίῳ χαλεπῷ καὶ ἀνύδρῳ πολιορκοῦμεν ὑπὸ Κλειτορίων διμολογήσαι τὴν δορικτητον αὐτοῖς ἀφεῖναι γῆν, εἰ πίουν οἰ ⁴ μετ’ αὐτοῦ πάντες ἀπὸ τῆς πλησίον πηγῆς ἐφρούρουν δ’ αὐτὴν οἱ πολέμιοι. γενομένων δὲ τῶν ὅρκων, συναγαγόντα τοὺς μεθ’ ἑαυτοῦ διδόναι τῷ μὴ πιόντι τὴν βασιλείαν οὐδενὸς δὲ καρτερήσαντος ἄλλα πάντων πιόντων, αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι καταβάντα καὶ περιρρανάμενον, ἐτὶ τῶν πολεμίων παρόντων, ἀπελθεῖν καὶ τὴν χώραν κατασχεῖν ὡς μὴ πιόντα.

¹ Πολυκρατίδας] Πολυστράτιδας Life of Lycurgus, chap. xxv. ² αἰκα τύχωμες... al Cobet (partly from the Life of Lycurgus, chap. xxv.): αἰκε τύχωμεν... ei de. ³ Σόον Xylander: σόον. ⁴ ol added by Turnebus. ⁵ ἀπελθεῖν Turnebus (from the Life of Lycurgus, chap. ii.): ἐπελθεῖν.

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POLYCRATIDAS

Polycratidas was sent, along with others, as ambassador to the king's generals, and when these asked whether they were there as private citizens or had been sent as public representatives, he said, "If we succeed, public; if not, private." 

PHOEBIDAS

Phoeboidas, before the hazardous engagement at Leuctra, when some remarked that this day would show the brave man, said that the day was worth much if it had the power to show the brave man.

SOUS

The story is told that Soüs, being besieged by the Cleitorians in a rugged and waterless stronghold, agreed to give up to them the land which he had captured by the spear if all the men with him should drink from the neighbouring spring. This spring the enemy were guarding. When the oaths had been exchanged, he got together his men and offered the kingdom to the man who would not drink; however no one had the strength to resist, but they all drank; whereupon he came down after all the rest, and sprinkled himself, the enemy still being present, and went back and took possession of the land on the ground that he had not drunk.

\[a\] Cf. Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xxv. (55 c).
\[b\] Spartan general, fourth century b.c.
\[c\] Third king of Sparta, second of the Eurypontid line according to tradition.
\[d\] Cf. Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. ii. (40 c).
Β 1. Τήλεκλος¹ πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, ὅτι ὁ πατὴρ λέγει κακῶς αὐτὸν, "εἰ μὴ αὐτῷ,” ἔφη, "λεκτὸν² ἦν, οὐκ ἄν ἔλεγεν."

2. Εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ ἄδελφοῦ, ὅτι οὐχ ὀμοίως αὐτῷ προσφέρονται οἱ πολῖται ὡς ἐκείνῳ ὅτι ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν, ἄγνωμονέστερον δὲ, εἶπε, "οὐ γὰρ οὐκ οἶδας ἀδικεῖσθαι, ἐγὼ δὲ."  

3. Ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ διὰ τί ἔθος παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ τοὺς νεώτερους τοῖς προσβυτέροις ἐξανίστασθαι, "ὁπως,” ἔφη, "περὶ τοὺς μὴ προσήκοντας οὕτως ἔχοντες τιμῆς μᾶλλον τιμῶσι τοὺς γονέας.”

4. Πυθομένου δὲ τινος πόσην κέκτηται οὐσίαν, ἔφη, "οὐ πλείω τῆς ικανῆς.”

ΧΑΡΙΛΛΟΥΤ

1. Χάριλλος ἐρωτηθεὶς διὰ τί τοὺς νόμους ὁ Λυκοῦργος οὕτως ὀλίγους ἔθηκεν, "ὀτι,” ἔφη, C "τοῖς ὀλίγα λέγουσιν ὀλίγων καὶ νόμων ἐστὶ χρεία.”

2. Πυθομένου δὲ τινος διὰ τί τὰς μὲν κόρας ἀκαλύπτους, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ἐγκεκαλυμμένας εἰς τούμφανες ἁγουσίων, "ὀτι,” ἔφη, "τὰς μὲν κόρας ἄνδρας εὑρεῖν δεῖ, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας σφῆσιν τοὺς ἔχοντας.”

¹ Τήλεκλος Xylander: τήλεκρος.
² λεκτὸν] λεκτέων Bernardakis, but unnecessarily. See, for example, Jebb on Sophocles, O.C. 1360.

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a See the note on Moralia, 190 A.
b Cf. Moralia, 190 A, supra.
1. Teleclus, in answer to the man who said that Teleclus's father was speaking ill of him, said, "If he had had no cause to speak, he would not have spoken."

2. When his brother said to him that the citizens did not comport themselves toward himself as they did toward the king (although he was of the same family), but with much less consideration, he said, "The reason is, you do not know how to submit to injustice, and I do."

3. Being asked why it was the custom among them for the younger men to rise up and give place to the elder, he said, "So that, having this attitude regarding honour toward those who are not related to them, they may pay greater honour to their parents."

4. When someone inquired how much property he possessed, he said, "Not more than enough."

1. Charillus, being asked why Lycurgus made so few laws, said, "Because those who use few words have need of but few laws."

2. When someone inquired why they took their girls into public places unveiled, but their married women veiled, he said, "Because the girls have to find husbands, and the married women have to keep to those who have them!"

Cf. Moralia, 237 d, infra; Xenophon, Constitution of Sparta, 6. 1-3.

An early king of Sparta; traditionally a contemporary of Lycurgus. Another spelling is Charilaus.

Cf. Moralia, 189 r (1), supra.
3. Τών δὲ εἰλάτων τινὸς θρασύτερον αὐτῷ προσφερομένου, "εἰ μὴ ύργιζόμην," εἶπε, "κατέκτανον ἂν σε."

4. 'Ερωτήσαντος δὲ τινός αυτὸν τίνα νομίζει πολιτείαν ἁρίστην, ἔφη, "ἐν ἂν περὶ ἀρετῆς πλείστην πολιτευόμενοι πρὸς ἄλληλους ἄνευ στάσεως ἀγωνίζεσθαι θέλωσιν.

5. Πυθανομένου δὲ τινος διὰ τί πάντα τὰ τῶν θεῶν ξόανα μεθ' ὅπλων ἠδρυτα παρ' αὐτοῖς, "ὁπως," ἔφη, "μήτε τὰ κατὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὀνείδη λεγόμενα διὰ τὴν δειλίαν ἐπὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀναφέρωμεν, μήτε οἱ νέοι ἄνοπλοι τοῖς θεοῖς εὔχωνται."

6. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν πυθόμενον διὰ τί κοιμώσων εἶπεν, "ὅτι τῶν κόσμων οὐ φυσικὸς καὶ ἀδάπανος οὐτός ἐστιν."

ΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΛΑΚΩΣΙΝ ΑΔΟΞΩΝ
ΑΠΟΦΘΕΓΜΑΤΑ 1

1. Σαμίων πρεσβευταῖσι μακρολογοῦσιν ἔφασαν οἱ Σπαρτιάται, "τὰ μὲν πράτα2 ἐπιλελάσμεθα,3 τὰ δὲ ύστερα οὐ συνῆκαμε4 διὰ τὸ τὰ πράτα2 ἐπιλελάσθαι."

Ε 2. Ῥήτορος μακρὸν κατατείναντος λόγου καὶ τὰς ἀποκρύσεις αἰτοῦντος, ἵνα τοῖς πολίταις ἀπαγγελῆ, "ἀπάγγελλε τοῖς," ἔφασαν, "ὁτι μόλις μὲν σὺ ἐπαύσως λέγων, μόλις δὲ ἥμεις ἀκούοντες."

1 διαφορα ... αποφθεγματα omitted in most mss.
2 πράτα Cobet: πρώτα.
3 ἐπιλελάσμεθα Cobet: ἐπιλελάθαμες.
4 συνῆκαμεσ] συνείκαμε Cobet.
3. When one of the Helots conducted himself rather boldly toward him, he said, "If I were not angry, I would kill you." a

4. When someone asked him what he thought to be the best form of government, he said, "That in which the greatest number of citizens are willing, without civil strife, to vie with one another in virtue." b

5. When someone inquired why all the statues of the gods erected among them were equipped with weapons, c he said, "So that we may not put upon the gods the reproaches which are spoken against men because of their cowardice, and so that the young men may not pray to the gods unarmed."

6. In answer to the man who inquired why they wore their hair long, he said, "Because this is the natural and inexpensive form of ornament." d

VARIOUS SAYINGS OF SPARTANS TO FAME UNKNOWN

1. When the ambassadors of the Samians spoke at great length, the Spartans said to them, "We hae forgot the first part, and the later part we did na ken because we hae forgot the first." e

2. When a speaker extended his remarks to a great length, and then asked for answers to report to his citizens, they said, "Report that you found it hard to stop speaking and we to listen." f

a Cf. Moralia, 189 f (2), supra.
b Cf. Moralia, 154 e.
c Cf., for example, Head, Historia Numorum (Oxford, 911), p. 434.
d Cf. the note on Moralia, 189 f (3), supra.
e Cf. Moralia, 216 a (15), supra.
f Cf. Moralia, 216 a (15), supra.
3. Πρὸς Θηβαίους περί τινων ἀντιλέγοντας "ἡ φρονεῖν," εἶπον, "δεὶ ἐλαττον ἡ δύνασθαι μείζον." 
4. Λάκων ἐρωτθεῖς δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ταῖς τοῦ πόλιος θρίχαι ἐπὶ πολὺ κομώσας ἔχει, εἶπεν, "ίνα βλέπων τὰς πολιάς μηδὲν ἀνάξιον αὐτῶν πράττω." 
5. "Ἀλλος πυθομένον τινός, "διὰ τί ἐγχειρίδιος βραχέως χρησθε;" "ίνα πλησίον," εἶπε, "τοῖς πολεμίους εἰς χεῖρας ἱκώμες." 
6. Ἐπανούντοσ τινος τοὺς Ἀργείους μαχητάς, Λάκων εἶπεν, "ἐν Τροίᾳ." 
7. Ἐπερος ἄκουσας δειπνήσαντάς τινας βιάζεσθαι πίνειν, "μὴ καὶ ἐσθίειν," εἶπε, "βιάζονται;" 
8. Πινδάρου γράφαντος, 

'Ελλάδος ἐρείσμα Αθήναι, 
Λάκων ἐφη καταπεσεῖν ἂν τὴν 'Ελλάδα ὁχυμένην ἐρείσματι τοιοῦτῳ.

10. Πρὸς δὲ τινα προσιέμενον τάς ἐκ διαβολῆς βλασφημίας Λάκων εἶπε, "παῦσαι κατ' ἐμοῖ τὰ ὡτα χορηγών." 
11. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν κολαζόμενον καὶ λέγοντα, "ἀκων ἠμαρτον," εἶπε τις, "ἀκων τοῖνν καὶ κολάζου." 

1 Ἀργείους van Leewen: ἀρίστους.

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a Cf. Moralia, 218 e (8), supra.
b A thousand years before.
c Perhaps the reference is to the expression πρὸς βίαν πίνειν found in Alcaeus (No. 20 in Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. iii. 396
3. In answer to the Thebans who were disputing with them over some matters, they said, "You should have less pride or more power."  
4. A Spartan, being asked why he wore his beard so very long, said, "So that I may see my grey hairs and do nothing unworthy of them."  
5. Another, in answer to the inquiry, "Why do you use short swords?" said, "So that we may get close to the enemy."  
6. When someone was praising the Argive warriors, a Spartan said, "Yes, at Troy!"  
7. Another, being told that some people after dining are forced to drink, said, "What, and are they forced to eat also?"  
8. When Pindar wrote,  

Athens the mainstay of Greece,  

a Spartan said that Greece was like to fall if it rested on any such mainstay as that!  
9. Someone on seeing a painting in which Spartans were depicted being slain by Athenians, kept repeating, "Brave, brave Athenians." A Spartan cut in with, "Yes, in the picture!"  
10. To a man who was listening avidly to some spitefully slanderous remarks a Spartan said, "Stop being so generous with your ears against me!"  
11. To a man who was being punished, and kept saying, "I did wrong unwillingly," someone retorted, "Then take your punishment unwillingly."

p. 156), Sophocles (Frag. 669 Nauck) and Aristophanes (Acharnians, 73). Cf. also Menander, The Arbitrants, lines 4-5 (in L.C.L. p. 18) where the same words are used.  
4 Frag. No. 76 (ed. Christ).  
* Cf. the similar remark of Simonides quoted in Stobaeus, Florilegium, ii. 42.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

12. 'Idwv tis en apoxwrhsei thakouvta, épí di-
frwn anhprwv, "mê gêvnoito," ei pne, "en tai-
khai oîcheoun ouc èstov ézanaosthna proso-
nterw.

13. Xwv potê kat' epidiwmian apo deîpnuv
emevantov en twv efeperei kai xesantov èpi twv
difraiv, èvtha oi' efporoi ekâthnto, to mèn prwton
isxurwv anexhntov toûs pousantvas mh polita
truvkánwvis. wos de' ëssthnto oû Xwv ësas, ekhmuzev,
'tois Xwvês efhmnw ãselgai'nev.

14. 'Epeiv dé tis tás ámunydhala twn sklerwv
èora diuplasión twloymenás, "mê spânoi," èfy,
oi lîthoi;

15. Tîlas tis ápóda và braxheian pánu sárka
evôn, ei pe, "fwnà tû tis èsoi và oudeîn all.

16. 'Idwv tis twv Lakkowû Dionegê thû kûa
perlabmântov anhpranta xâlkeon, ùxhos òntos
sfodroû, èpítulo eî ðygâ' árnâmavémov dé, "tî
ouv," èfy, "mèga poièis;

17. 'Oneidwseis tis twv Metapontiwn eîs de-
Blîan ùpô Lâkwnos, "állass mûn," èfy, "ouc olýga
tîs állovtrias èhoxmen." dé dé, "ouc mónon ára,
èfy, "deilo állass kai áðikoî èsthe.

18. Kat' epidiwmian tis èn Spârthi krepidou-
menos ðrðos èpî thätêrou skâloûs ei pe prôs Lákkwna,

1 thakouvta F.C.B.: thakevntas (thakevntas Life of Lycurgus,
chap. xx.)

* Not in Sparta, of course.
" As in Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus, chap. xx. (52 r).
A similar story is told of the Clazomenians by Aelian,
Varia Historia, ii. 15.
Cf., for example, Athenaeus, 53 A.
"Vox et praeterea nihil."
A part of his self-imposed training to inure himself to
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12. Someone, seeing men seated on stools in a privy, said, "God forbid that I should ever sit where it is not possible to rise and yield my place to an older man." b

13. When some Chians, on a visit to Sparta, vomited after dinner in the hall of the Ephors, and befouled with ordure the very chairs in which the Ephors were wont to sit, the Spartans, first of all, instituted a vigorous investigation, lest possibly these might be citizens; but when they learned that they were, in fact, Chians, they caused public proclamation to be made that 'The Spartans grant permission to the Chians to be filthy.' c

14. When someone saw almonds of the hard sort selling at double the price of others, he said, "Are stones so scarce?"

15. A man plucked a nightingale and finding almost no meat, said, "It's all voice ye are, and nought else." e

16. One of the Spartans saw Diogenes the Cynic holding his arms around a bronze statue in very cold weather, f and asked Diogenes if he were cold; and when Diogenes said "No," the other said, "What great thing are you doing then?"

17. One of the people of Metapontum, being reproached for cowardice by a Spartan, g said, "But as a matter of fact we have not a little of the country of other states"; whereupon the Spartan replied, "Then you are not only cowardly, but also unjust."

18. A man who was visiting Sparta stood for a long time upon one foot, and said to a Spartan, "I do cold, as in the summer he used to roll in the hot sand to inure himself to heat, according to Diogenes Laertius, vi. 23. g Possibly Cleonymus (Diodorus, xx. 104).

19. Μεγαλυνομένου τών ἐπὶ τῇ ῥήτορικῇ τέχνῃ, εἰπὲ τις Λάκων, “ ἀλλὰ ναὶ” τῷ σιώ, τέχνη ἀνευ τοῦ ἀληθείας ἤθθαι οὔτε ἔστιν οὔτε μῆποτε γένηται.”


22. Τῶν παρὰ Λυσιμάχῳ στρατευμένων ἑρωτηθεῖς τις ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, μὴ τις τῶν εἰλώτων ἔστι, “σὺ δ’ οἶει,” ἐφη, “ἐπὶ τὸ παρὰ σοῦ τετρόφολον Λάκωνα ἥξεω;”


24. Ἀθηναίων ἀξιούντων, ὥστε παρέδωκαν τὸ ἀστυ, Σάμον αὐτοῖς μόνον ἔᾶσαι, εἶπον, “ὁταν

1 ναὶ Cobet: νὴ.

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a In almost the same words in Plato, Phaedrus, 260 e.
b Cf. Plutarch, Life of Agesilaus, chap. xxxi. (613 d).
c Cf. Moralia, 234 c (10), infra.
not think that you, sir, could stand upon one foot as long as that" ; and the other interrupting said, "No, but there is not a single goose that could not do it."

19. When a man boasted greatly of his art in speaking, a Spartan said, "By Heaven, there is no art nor can there be an art without a firm hold on truth." a

20. When an Argive said once upon a time, "There are many tombs of Spartans in our country," a Spartan said, "But there is not a single tomb of an Argive in our country," indicating by this that the Spartans had often set foot in Argos, but the Argives had never set foot in Sparta. b

21. A Spartan having been taken prisoner in war and put up for sale, when the crier said, "I offer a Spartan for sale," stopped his mouth, saying, "Cry a prisoner of war." c

22. One of the men serving in the army of Lysimachus, being asked by him whether he were not one of the Helots, said, "Do you suppose that any Spartan would come to get the sixpence which you pay?"

23. At the time when Thebans had conquered the Spartans at Leuctra and advanced to the river Eurotas itself, one of them, boasting, said, "Where are the Spartans now?" A Spartan who had been captured by them said, "They are not here; otherwise you would not have come thus far."

24. At the time when the Athenians had surrendered their city, d they declared it was only right that Samos should be left to them, but the Spartans

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a At the close of the Peloponnesian war, 404 B.C. Samos had been the naval base for the Athenians during the preceding years.
(233) αὐτῶν οὐκ ἦτε, τότε καὶ ἄλλους ἔχειν ζητεῖτε;" ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἡ παροιμία

ὅς αὐτὸς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔχει Σάμον θέλει.

25. Πόλων τινα κατὰ κράτος ἐλόντων Δακεδαιμονίων, οἱ ἐφοροὶ εἶπον, "οὐχεῖται τὸ πάλαισμα τῶν νέων: οὐκετί ἔξουσιν ἀνταγωνιστᾶς οἱ νέοι." 1

26. Ἀλλην πόλων ὑποσχυμένου τοῦ βασιλέως Ε αὐτῶν τέλεον ἀφανεῖν ἢν συνεβεβήκει πράγματα πολλάκις παρεσχῆσθαι τοῖς Δάκωσιν, οὐκ ἐπέστρεφαν, φάμενοι, "μηδαμῶς ἀφανίσης μηδ' ἀνέλης τὴν ἁκόνην τῶν νέων."

27. Τοῖς παλαιοῖς παιδοτρίβας οὐκ ἔφιστανον, ἵνα μὴ τέχνης ἀλλ' ἀρετῆς ἡ φιλοτιμία γένηται. διὸ καὶ Λύσανορίδας2 ἑρωτώμενος, ὡσποδὲ ὁ Χάρων ἐνίκησεν αὐτόν, "τὰ πολυμηχανία" εἶπε.

28. Φιλίππου γράφοντος, ὦτε εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν παρεγένετο, πότερον βούλονται φίλιον ἐλθεῖν ἢ πολέμιον αὐτὸν, ἀντεφώνησαν, "οὐδέτερον."

29. Πρεσβευτὴν τινα διαπεμψάμενοι πρὸς 'Αντιγονον τὸν Δημητρίου, πυθόμενοι ὧτι ἐκάλεσεν F αὐτὸν βασιλέα, ἐξημίωσαν, καίτοι μεδίμνων πυρὸν ἐκάστῳ παρ' αὐτὸν σιτοδείας οὔσης κομίζοντα.

30. Δημητρίου ἐγκαλοῦντος ὦτι ἕνα πρεσβευτὴν

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1 Pantazides would omit οὐκέτι . . . οἱ νέοι.
2 Λύσανορίδας Wytenbach (from Moralia, 576 λ, and Life of Pelopidas, chap. xiii.): Λύσανδρος. Lysander seems not to have come into contact with Charon.

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* Cf. Dio Chrysostom, Oration lxxiv. (637 M., 395 R.); Leutsch and Schneidewin, Paroemiographi Graeci, i. p. 292 (Diogenianus, vii. 34), and ii. p. 571 (Apostol. xiii. 5).
said, "Do you, at a time when you do not even own yourselves, seek to possess others?" From this incident arose the proverb:  

Who does not own himself would Samos own.

25. When the Spartans had taken by storm a certain city, the Ephors said, "Gone is the wrestling-school of our young men; they no longer will have competitors."  

26. When their king promised to wipe out completely another city which, as it happened, had given much trouble to the Spartans, they would not allow it, saying, "You must not abolish nor remove the whetstone of our youth."  

27. They appointed no trainers to instruct in wrestling so that the rivalry might be not in skill, but in courage. This is the reason why Lysanoridas, when he was asked how Charon had conquered him, said, "By his great resourcefulness."  

28. Philip wrote at the time when he entered their country, asking whether they wished that he should come as a friend or as a foe; and they made answer, "Neither."  

29. They sent an ambassador to Antigonus, son of Demetrius, and, upon learning that the ambassador had addressed Antigonus as King, they fined him, although he had brought for each one of them a bushel and a half of wheat at a time when there was great scarcity of food.  

30. When Demetrius complained that they had

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* The last clause looks like an explanatory comment. Pantazides would omit it.  
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

έπεμψαν πρὸς αὐτόν, "οὐχ ἰκανὸς οὖν," εἶπον, "εἰ πρὸς ἑνα εἶς;"

31. Ἐνεγκαντός τινος ἀρίστην γνώμην μοχθηροῦ, ταύτην μὲν ἀπεδέξαντο, περιελόμενοι δὲ τούτου περιέθηκαν ἐτέρῳ καλῶς βεβιωκότι.
32. Ἀθελφῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφερομένων, τὸν πατέρα ἐξημίωσαν ὅτι τοὺς νεῖς στασιάζοντας περιωρᾶ.
33. Ὡάληθν ἐπιδημήσαντα ἐξημίωσαν ὅτι δα-
κτύλοις κυθαρίζει.
34. Δύο παίδεσ ἐμάχοντο, ἀτερος δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν ἐτερὸν ἐτρωσε δρεπάνῳ πληγῇ θανασίμῳ· τῶν δὲ συνήθων παίδων, ἐπεὶ διαλύεσθαι ἐμελλόν, ἐπι-
αγγελλομένων ἀμυνεῖσθαι καὶ ἀναρίσεων τὸν πλήξαντα, "μηδαμῶς," εἶπε, "πρὸς θεῶν, οὐ γὰρ 234
dίκαιον καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἐγὼ ἐποίησα τοῦτο, εἰ ἐφθασα καὶ ἄγαθος ἐγενόμην."
35. Ἐτερον παιδάριον, ἐπεὶ παρὴν δ καιρός, ἐν ὧ κλέπτεων νενόμιστο τοὺς ἐλευθέρους παίδας δ τι
τις δύνατο καὶ μὴ λαθεῖν αἰσχρὸν ἢν, ὡς οἱ σὺν
αὐτῶ παίδες ζων ἐκλεφαν ἀλωπέκιοι καὶ ἔδοσαν
αὐτῶ φυλάττειν, παραγενομένων τῶν ἀπολωλεκό-
tων ἐπὶ ξῆτησιν, ἔτυχε μὲν ὑποβαλὼν τὸ ἀλωπέκιον
ὑπὸ τὸ αὐτὸ ᾿ημάτιον, ἀγριαίωντος δὲ τοῦ θηρίου
καὶ τὴν αὐτὸν πλευρὰν κατεσθάνων μέχρι τῶν
σπλάγχνων, ἥρεμει, ὡς μὴ γένηται καταφανῆς.
ὡς δὲ ύστερον ἐκείνων ἀπελθόντων ἐθεάσαντο τὸ
γεγονὸς οἱ παίδες καὶ ἐμέμφοντο, λέγοντες ἄμεινον

a Cf. Moralia, 216 b (16), supra.
b Cf. Moralia, 41 b, and 801 b; Aeschines, Against Timarchus, 180-181; Philo Judaeus, The Worse Plotting against the Better, 195 b; Aulus Gellius, xviii. 3.
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sent only one ambassador to him, they replied, "Is it not enough—one to one?"  

31. When a bad man brought in a very good idea, they accepted it; but they took it away from him and bestowed the right of proposing it upon another man who had lived a virtuous life.  

32. When two brothers quarrelled with each other, the Spartans fined the father because he permitted his sons to quarrel.  

33. They fined a visiting harp-player because he played the harp with his fingers.  

34. Two boys were fighting, and one of them wounded the other mortally with the stroke of a sickle. The friends of the wounded boy, as they were about to separate, promised to avenge him and make away with the one who had struck him, but the boy said, "In Heaven’s name do not, for it is not right; the fact is, I should have done that myself if I had been quick enough and brave enough."  

35. In the case of another boy, when the time had arrived during which it was the custom for the free boys to steal whatever they could, and it was a disgrace not to escape being found out, when the boys with him had stolen a young fox alive, and given it to him to keep, and those who had lost the fox came in search for it, the boy happened to have slipped the fox under his garment. The beast, however, became savage and ate through his side to the vitals; but the boy did not move or cry out, so as to avoid being exposed, and later, when they had departed, the boys saw what had happened, and blamed him, saying that  

Thus making the music pleasanter to hear than if he had used the plectrum. *Cf. Moralia*, 802 f.
36. Περιτυχόντες τινές Λάκκωι καθ’ ὀδὸν εἶπον, "εὐτυχήκατε, ἄρτιως ἐντεθεῖσαν λῃστῶν ἀπίοντων." οἱ δὲ, "οὐ μὰ τὸν Ἑνυάλιον, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνοι μὴ περιτυχόντες ἦμιν."

37. Λάκκων ἔρωτηθείς τι εἶπόσταταί, εἶπεν, "ἐλευ-θερὸς εἶναι."

38. Παῖς Σπαρτιάτης αἰχμαλωτισθεὶς ὑπ’ Ἀντι-μόνοι τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ πραθείς τά μὲν ἀλλά πάντα ὑπῆκοος ἢν τῷ πριαμένῳ, ὅσα ἦσσοτο προσ-ήκεν ἐλευθέρω ποιεῖν· ὅς δὲ προσέταξεν ἁμίδα κομιζεῖν, οὐκ ἤνέσχετο εἰπών, "οὐ δουλεύσω." ἐνισταμένου δὲ ἐκείνου, ἀναβάς ἐπὶ τὸν κέραμον καὶ εἰπών, "ὁνήσῃ τῆς ἄνης," ἔβαλεν ἐαυτὸν κάτω καὶ ἐτελεύτα.

39. Ἑτερος πωλούμενος, εἰπόντος τινός, "ἐὰν ἀγοράσω σε, χρήσιμος ἦσῃ;" "καὶ μὴ ἄγοράσης" εἶπεν.

40. "Ἀλλος αἰχμαλωτὸς πυπασκόμενος, τοῦ κή-ρυκος ἐπιλέγοντος αὐδάτοσον πωλεῖν, "κατάρατε," εἶπεν, "οὐκ ἔρεις αἰχμαλῶτων;"

41. Λάκκων ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος μυῖαν ἔχων ἐπὶ-

1 ἀλγηδόνα μὴ ἐνδόντα Bernardakis: ἀλγηδόναν ἢ εὐδόντα or ἀλγηδόσι only.
2 ὁνήσῃ Wyttenbach: εἶσῃ (οἰμώξῃ Meziriacus, οὐκ ὁνήσῃ Cubet, οί οἰ Bernardakis: μετανοήσῃ?).

a The story is told more briefly in Plutarch’s Life of Lycurgus, chap. xviii. (51 b).
b Cf. the note on Moralia, 194 d (3), supra.

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it would have been better to let the fox be seen than to hide it even unto death; but the boy said, "Not so, but better to die without yielding to the pain than through being detected because of weakness of spirit to gain a life to be lived in disgrace." a

36. Some people, encountering Spartans on the road, said, "You are in luck, for robbers have just left this place," but they said, "Egad, no, but it is they who are in luck for not encountering us." b

37. A Spartan being asked what he knew, said, "How to be free."

38. A Spartan boy, being taken captive by Antigonus the king and sold, was obedient in all else to the one who had bought him, that is, in everything which he thought fitting for a free person to do, but when his owner bade him bring a chamber-pot, he would not brook such treatment, saying, "I will not be a slave"; and when the other was insistent, he went up upon the roof, and saying, "You will gain much by your bargain," he threw himself down and ended his life. c

39. Another one being sold, when someone said, "If I buy you, will you be good and helpful?" said, "Yes, and if you do not buy me." d

40. Another captive being put up for sale, when the crier announced that he was offering a slave for sale, said, "You damnable wretch, won't you say 'a captive'?" e

41. A Spartan had as an emblem on his shield a

c *Cf. Moralia, 242 d (30), infra.  This story is repeated by Philo Judaeus, Every Virtuous Man is Free, chap. xvii. (882 c): Seneca, Epistulae Moral. no. 77 (x. 1. 14), and is referred to by Epictetus, i. 2.

d *Cf. Moralia, 242 c (29), infra.

• *Cf. Moralia, 233 c (21), supra.
42. "Ετερος, ἐν συμποσίῳ προσενεχθείς λύρας, "οὐ Λακωνικόν," εἶπε, "τὸ φλυαρεῖν."

43. Σπαρτιάτης ἐρωτηθεὶς εἰ ἀσφαλῆς ἢ εἰς Σπάρτην ὅδος εἶπεν, "ὄποιος κά τις ἢς"2. οἱ μὲν γὰρ λέοντες βαδίζοντι ὅπα καὶ λέωντι,3 τῶς δὲ λαγῶς ἐπὶ τὰς γὰς κήνας4 θηρεύμες."

44. Ἐν χειραψία περικρούοντος τοῦ προστραχηλί-Ε ἄγωντος κενοσπούδως καὶ καταστώντος ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, ἐπειδὴ τῷ σώματι ἐλέειπτο ὁ προσπεσών, ἔδακε τὸν βραχίονα· καὶ ὁ ἑτερος εἶπε, "δάκνεις, ὁ Λάκων, ἄσπερ αἱ γυναίκες. "οὐ μὲν οὖν," εἶπεν ἀτερος, "ἀλλ' ἄσπερ οἱ λέοντες."

45. Χωλὸς ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἐξιὼν, ἐπακολουθούντων αὐτῷ τινών καὶ γελώντων, ἐπιστραφεῖς εἶπε, "κακαὶ κεφαλαί, οὐ φεύγοντα δεί τοῖς πολεμίοις μάχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μένοντα καὶ τὴν τάξιν φυλάττοντα."

46. "Ετερος τοξευθεῖς καὶ τὸν βίον ἐκλείπων, ἐλεγεν, οὐ μέλει μοι τοῦτο ὅτι ἀποθανοῦμαι,5 ἀλλ' ὅτι ὑπὸ γυνίδους τοξότου καὶ μηδὲν πράξας."

1 ὁτι added by Turnebus.
2 κά τις ἃς F.C.B.: κα ἃς Hartman: καθίσης or καθίσεις.
3 ὁτα κα λέωντι Bernardakis: ἄπο καλέωντι or ἀποκλαίοντι.
4 τὰς γᾶς κῆνας (γᾶς κοινῆς) F.C.B.: τὰ σκηνᾶ (τὰ εὐνῆς) Bernardakis).
5 Most mss. have a slightly briefer version.

*Cf. Moralia, 220 a (3). For the expression of similar sentiments see Plutarch's Life of Themistocles, chap. ii. (112 c); Cicero, Tusculan Disputations, i. 2 (4).
fly, and that, too, no bigger than life-size. When some mockingly said that he had done this to escape being noticed, he said, "Rather that I may be noticeable; for I come so close to the enemy that my emblem is seen by them in its true size."

42. Another, when a lyre was brought in at an evening party, said, "It is not Spartan to indulge in nonsense."  

43. A Spartan, being asked if the road into Sparta were safe, said, "That depends on what kind of a mon ye are; for the lions gang about where they wull, but the hares we hunt over that land."

44. In a clinch one wrestler, who had the other by the neck, overpowered him with little effort, and pulled him to the ground. Since the one who was down was at a disadvantage in using his body, he bit the arm that held him. His opponent said, "Spartan, you bite like a woman." "No, indeed," said he, "but like a lion."  

45. A lame man was going forth to war, and some persons followed after him laughing. He turned around and said, "You vile nodules! A man does not need to run away when he fights the enemy, but to stay where he is and hold his ground."  

46. Another, mortally wounded by an arrow, said, as his life was ebbing away, "I am not troubled because I must die, but because my death comes at the hands of a womanish archer, and before I have accomplished anything."  

b The same story is told of Alcibiades in Moralia, 186 b (1), and in Plutarch's Life of Alcibiades, chap. i. (192 c).  

c Cf. Moralia, 210 r (34), and 217 c; Valerius Maximus, iii. 7, ext. 8.  

d Callicrates at the battle of Plataea (Herodotus, ix. 72).  

e Repeated by Plutarch, Life of Aristeides, chap. xvii. (329 c).
47. Εἰς πανδοκεῖόν τις καταλύσας καὶ δοῦσ᾽ ὄψοιν τῷ πανδοκεῖ σκευάσαι, ὡς ἄτερος τυρὸν ἦτει καὶ ἔλαιον, "τί," ἥφι, "εἰ τυρὸν εἶχον, ἐτὶ ἀν ἐδεόμυν ὄψοιν;

48. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν μακαρίζοντα Λάμπων τὸν Αἴγινήτην, διότι ἐδόκει πλούσιωτάτος εἶναι ναυκληρία πολλά ἔχων, Λάκων εἶπεν, "οὐ προσέχω εὐδαιμονία ἐκ σχοινίων ἀπηρτημένη.

49. Ἐξόντος δὲ τῶν Λάκων ὅτι ὕσσεται, ἀπεκρίνατο, "ἑλεύθεροι γὰρ εἰμὲς· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι, αἰκὰ μὴ τάληθη λέγωντι, οἰμώζονται.

50. Προθέμενος τις νεκρὸν στῆσαι ὅρθον, ὡς πάντα ποιῶν οὐκ ἐδύνατο, "νη Δία," εἶπεν, "ἐνδουν τι εἶναι δεῖ.

51. Τύννιχος, Ὁρασύβουλος τοῦ παιδὸς ἀποθανόντος, εὐρώστως ἤγεγκε· καὶ ἐπίγραμμα εἰς τούτον ἐγένετο,

235 τὰν Πυτάναν Ὁρασύβουλος ἐπ᾽ ἀσπίδος ἦλθεν ἄπνους ἐπὶ πρὸς Ἀργείων τραύματα δεξάμενος, δεικνὺς ἀντία πάντα· τὸν αἰματόεντα δ᾽ ὁ πρέσβυς θεῖς ἐπὶ πυρκαίῃν Τύννιχος εἶπε τάδε, ὁ "Δευλοὶ κλαίεσθωσαν· ἐγὼ δὲ σε, τέκνων, ἀδακρυς θάψω, τὸν καὶ ἐμὸν καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιον." Τύννιχος was famous for his ships and his wealth. Cf., for example, Moralia, 787 a; Demosthenes, Or. xxiii. 211 (691).

52. Ἀλκιβιάδη τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ βαλανέως ἐπὶ 1 θεῖς ... τάδε] παῖδ᾽ ... τιθεῖς Palatine Anthology vii. 229.

a Repeated in Moralia, 995 b, where the meat is fish. Cf. also Aelian, Varia Historia, 787 a; Demosthenes, Or. xxiii. 211 (691).

b Lampis was famous for his ships and his wealth. Cf., for example, Moralia, 787 a; Demosthenes, Or. xxiii. 211 (691).

47. A man stopped at an inn and gave the innkeeper a piece of meat to prepare; and when the innkeeper asked for cheese and oil besides, the other said, "If I had cheese, what need should I have of meat too?" 

48. In answer to the man who called Lampis of Aegina happy, because he seemed very rich in having many cargoes on the sea in ships, a Spartan said, "I do not pay much attention to happiness that hangs by ropes!"

49. When somebody told a Spartan that he was lying, the Spartan replied, "Yea, we are free men; but ither, if they dinna tell the truth, will rue it."

50. When someone set himself to make a corpse stand upright, and, for all his efforts, was unable to do this, he said, "Egad, there is need of something inside."

51. Tynnichus, when his son Thrasybulus was slain, bore it sturdily; and this epigram was written on him:

Lifeless to Pitane came, on his shield upborne, Thrasybulus;
Seven the wounds he received, pierced by the Argive spears;
All in the front did he show them; and him with his blood-stained body
Tynnichus placed on the pyre, saying these words in his old:
"Let the poor cowards be mourned, but with never a tear shall I bury
You, my son, who are mine, yea, and are Sparta's as well."

52. When the keeper of a bath was pouring in a

\[\text{Cf. Moralia, 229 a (2).}\]
\[\text{Attributed to Dioscorides in the Palatine Anthology, vii. 229 (The Greek Anthology in the L.C.L., ii. p. 130).}\]
(235) πλείστον παραχέοντος ὑδωρ, Λάκων εἶπε, "τί τοῦτο\(^1\) ὡς οὐ καθαρῷ; σφόδρα δὲ ὡς ῥυπαρῷ πλείον παραχεὶ;""  

53. Φιλίππου τοῦ Μακεδόνος προστάττοντός Βτινα δι᾽ ἐπιστολῆς, ἀντέγραψαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι "περὶ ὧν ἀμιν\(^2\) ἔγραφας, Οὐ."  
"Ὅτε δὲ ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν καὶ ἔδοκον ἀπαντεῖς ἀπολείπονται, εἶπε δὲ πρὸς τινὰ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, "τί νῦν ποιῆσετε, ὦ Λάκωνε;" "τὶ γάρ," ἐφη, "ἀλλο ἦ ἄνδρείως ἀποθανοῦμεθα; μόνοι γὰρ ἤμεῖς Ἑλλήνων ἐλεύθεροι εἶναι καὶ μὴ ὑπ' ἀκούειν ἄλλοις ἐμάθομεν."  

54. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀγίδος ἤταν, ὁμήρους αἰτοῦντος Ἀντιπάτρου πεντήκοντα παῖδας, ἕτεοκλῆς ἐφορεύσων εἶπε παῖδας μὲν ὡς δώσειν, ἢν μὴ ἀπαίδευτον γένωνται, τῆς πατρίου ἀγωνῆς ἀτευκτῆσαντες· οὐδὲ πολῖται γὰρ ἄν εὑρησαν πρεσβύτας δὲ ἦ γυναῖκας, εἰ βουλοίτο, διπλασίους δώσειν.  
Ο ἀπειλοῦντος δὲ αὐτοῦ δεινά, εἰ μὴ λάβοι, ἀπεκρίναντο κοινῇ, "ἐὰν χαλεπώτερα θανάτου ἐπιτάτης, εὐκολώτεροι ἀποθανοῦμεθα;"  

55. Πρεσβύτης ἐν Ὁλυμπίᾳ συντελούμενοι τοῦ ἀγῶνος προθυμοῦμενος θεάσασθαι, καθέδρας ἡπόρει πολλοὺς δ᾽ ἐπιπορευόμενος τόπους ὑβρίζετο καὶ ἐσκώπτετο, μηδενὸς αὐτοῦ παραδεχομένου· ὡς δὲ κατὰ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἦκεν, ἀνέστησαν πάντες οἱ παῖδες καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἄνδρῶν τοῦ τόπου ἐκ-

\(^1\) τοῦτο\] τοῦτῳ, if necessary.  
\(^2\) παραχεῖ F.C.B.: παρέχει εἰς παράχει.  
\(^3\) ἀμιν the regular Doric form: ἀμινν.
great quantity of water for Alcibiades, a Spartan said, "Why all this for him as if he were not clean? The fellow is pouring in extra water as if for a very dirty man."

53. When Philip of Macedon sent some orders to the Spartans by letter, they wrote in reply, "What you wrote about, 'No.'" When he invaded the Spartans' country, and all thought that they should be destroyed, he said to one of the Spartans, "What shall you do now, men of Sparta? And the other said, "What else than die like men? For we alone of all the Greeks have learned to be free, and not to be subject to others."

54. After the defeat of Agis, Antipater demanded fifty boys as hostages, but Eteocles, who was Ephor, said they would not give boys, lest the boys should turn out to be uneducated through missing the traditional discipline; and they would not be fitted for citizenship either. But the Spartans would give, if he so desired, either old men or women to double the number. And when Antipater made dire threats if he should not get the boys, the Spartans made answer with one consent, "If the orders you lay upon us are harsher than death, we shall find it easier to die."

55. While the games were being held at Olympia, an old man was desirous of seeing them, but could find no seat. As he went to place after place, he met with insults and jeers, and nobody made room for him. But when he came opposite the Spartans, all the boys and many of the men arose and yielded

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*d Agis III., in 331 B.C.

e A different version of the Spartans' reply is given in Moralia, 64 d.

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(235) χωροῦντες· τῶν δὲ Πανελλήνων ἐπισημηναμένων\(^1\) κρήτω τὸ ἔθος καὶ ὑπερεπανούντων, ὁ πρεσβύτης κινήσας

πολιόν τε κάρη πολιόν τε γένειον
καὶ δακρύσας, "οἶμοι τῶν κακῶν," φησίν, "ὡς
D ἄπαντες μὲν οἱ "Ελληνες ἐπίστανται τὰ καλὰ,
χρώνται δ’ αὐτοῖς μόνοι Δακεδαμίνοι." Φασὶ δὲ τινες ὅτι καὶ Ἀθήνησι τὸ αὐτὸ ἐγένετο. 
Παναθηναίων γὰρ ὄντων οἱ Ἄττικοι γέροντα προεπηλάκιζον, προσκαλούμενοι μὲν ὡς παρα-
δεξόμενοι, εἰ δὲ παραγένοιτο, οὐ προσδεχόμενοι,
ὡς δὲ διεξόνσ σχεδὸν ἄπαντας ἐγένετο κατὰ τοὺς
Δακεδαμίνων θεωροὺς, ἄπαντες τῶν βάθρων ἀναστάντες τοῦ τόπου παρεχώρουν: ἀγαπηθεὶς δὲ
ὁ ὄχλος ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι ἐκρότησε μετὰ πολλῆς
Ε ἐπισημασίας, καὶ τις ἐϊπε τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, "καὶ
τώ σιώ, ῥασαί μὲν οἱ Ἀθηναίοι τὰ καλὰ, οὐ πράσ-
σουσιν δὲ."

56. Ἐπαίτης ἤτησε Δάκωνα: "ἀλλὰ εἰ δοῦν
σοι," ἐφη, "μᾶλλον πτωχεύσεις, τῆς δὲ ἀσχη-
μοσύνης σου ταύτης ὁ πρῶτος μεταδῶς αὐτίς,
ἀργόν σε ποιήσας."

57. Δάκων ἵδων ἀγείροντά τινα θεοίς, οὐδὲν
ἐϊπε φροντίζειν θεῶν πτωχοτέρων ἐαυτοῦ.

58. Λαβών τις μοιχὸν ἐπ’ αἰσχρά γνωναικί,
"ἀθλε," ἐϊπε, "τὶς τοι τάγκα;"

\(^1\) ἐπισημηναμένοι Cobet: ἐπισημηνιωσμένων.
\(^2\) καὶ Cobet: νη.

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* Homer, II. xxii. 74, and xxiv. 516.
* Cf. Cicero, De senectute, 18 (63-64); Valerius Maximus, iv. 5, ext. 2.
their places. Whereupon the assembled multitude of Greeks expressed their approbation of the custom by applause, and commended the action beyond measure; but the old man, shaking

His head grey-haired and grey-bearded, and with tears in his eyes, said, "Alas for the evil days! Because all the Greeks know what is right and fair, but the Spartans alone practise it."

Some say that the same thing happened at Athens also. It was at the time of the Panathenaic festival, and the people of Attica were teasing an old man in an unseemly manner, calling him to them as if they were intending to make room for him, and not making room if he came to them. When he had passed through almost all the spectators and came opposite the delegates of the Spartans, they all arose from where they were sitting and gave him place. The crowd, delighted, applauded the action with great approval, and one of the Spartans said, "Egad, the Athenians know what is right and fair, but do not do it."  

56. A beggar asked alms of a Spartan, who said, "If I should give to you, you will be the more a beggar; and for this unseemly conduct of yours he who first gave to you is responsible, for he thus made you lazy."

57. A Spartan, seeing a man taking up a collection for the gods, said that he did not think much of gods who were poorer than himself.

58. A man who caught another in adultery with an ugly woman said, "Puir soul! what was yer muckle need?"

"In Moralia, 525 D, the same saying is attributed to a man of Byzantium."
59. "Αλλος ἄκοινων ρήτορος μεγάλας στρέφοντος
περιόδους, " ἀλλὰ ναὶ τῷ σιω," εἶπεν, "ἀνδρεῖος
γε ὁ ἄνθρωπος· πρὸς οὐδὲν ὑποκείμενον εὑ στρο-
βιλοί1 τήν γλώτταν."

60. Εἰς Λακεδαίμονα παραγενόμενός τις καὶ τὴν
πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβύτας τῶν νέων τιμῆν θεασάμενος,
"ἐν Σπάρτῃ μόνη," εἶπε, "λυσιτελεὶ γηράσκειν."

61. Ἐρωτηθεὶς Λάκων ὁποῖος ἐστὶ Τυρταῖος ὁ
ποιητής, "ἀγαθός," εἶπε, "κακκονήμονες νέων ψυχάς."

62. Ἐτερος ἄλγων τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔξηκε ἐπὶ
πόλεμον· λεγόντων δὲ αὐτῶν τινων, "ποὺ ἀπει
οὕτως ἔχων ἢ τὶ ποιήσων;" "κἂν μηδὲν ἔτερον
πράξω," ἐφη, "πολεμίου γε μάχαιραν ἀμβλυνῦ."}

63. Βοῦλις καὶ Σπέρχες3 Λακεδαίμονις πορευ-
θέντες ἐθελονταί πρὸς Ξέρξην τὸν Πέρσων βασιλέα
ἐπὶ τιμωρία ἥν ὠφειλεν ἡ Λακεδαίμων κατὰ χρη-
236 σμόν, διότι κήρυκας περιθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ Πέρσου
ὡς αὐτοὺς ἀπέκτειναν. ἔλθοντες πρὸς τὸν Ξέρξην
ἐκέλευν ὃ βούλεται τρόπω διαχρήσασθαι αὐτοὺς
ὑπὲρ Λακεδαίμονίων. ὡς δὲ ἔκεινος ἄγασθεῖς
ἀπέλυσε τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ ἥξιον μὲνειν παρ' αὐτῶ,
"καὶ πῶς ἂν," ἐφασαν, "δυναίμεθα ζην ἐνταῦθα,
pατρίδα καταλιπόντες καὶ νόμοις καὶ τούτους τοὺς
ἀνδρας, ὑπὲρ ὧν τοσαύτην ἠλθομεν ὅδον ἀποθανοῦ-
μενοί;" Ἰνδαίον δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐπὶ πλέον
δεομένω καὶ λέγοντος τεῦξεσθαι αὐτοὺς τῆς ἦς
tιμῆς τοὺς κόλαστα ἐν προαγωγῇ φίλοις τοῦ βασι-

1 στροβιλοί] στροβιλῶν E. Kurtz.
2 κακκονήμονες van Herwerden (cf. also Moralia, 959 b, and the
Life of Cleomenes, chap. ii.): κακκανείων.
3 Βοῦλις καὶ Σπέρχες, the usual spelling elsewhere, e.g.
Moria, 815 E: βοῦρις καὶ σπέρτις (Herodotus, vii. 134 has
Σπέρτις).

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59. Another, listening to an orator rolling off long sentences, said, "Egad, but the man has courage; he twists his tongue well about no subject at all."

60. One man who came to Sparta, and observed the honour which the young render to the old, said, "Only in Sparta does it pay to grow old." \(^a\)

61. A Spartan, being asked what kind of a man Tyrtaeus the poet was, said, "A good man to sharpen the spirit of youth."

62. Another who had sore trouble with his eyes was going forth to war; and when some said to him, "Where are you going in that state, or what do you purpose to do?" he said, "Even if I accomplish nothing else, I may at least blunt an enemy's sword."

63. Bulis and Sperchis of Sparta went as volunteers to Xerxes king of the Persians, to render satisfaction which Sparta owed according to an oracle, because the people had killed the heralds sent to them by the Persian. These men came before Xerxes and bade him make away with them in any manner he desired, as representing the Spartans. But when he, filled with admiration, let them go free, and was insistent that they remain with him, they said, "And how should we be able to live here, abandoning our country and laws and those men in whose behalf we made such a long journey to die?" And when Indarnes \(^b\) the general besought them at greater length, and said that they would receive equal honour with the friends of the king who stood highest in

\(^a\) A similar sentiment is attributed to Lysander by Cicero, *De senectute*, 18 (63).

\(^b\) Hydarnes in Herodotus, vii. 135.
64. Δάκων, ἐπεὶ τῇ μὲν προτέρᾳ ἡμέρᾳ δ' ἥδεν αὐτῶν ἐξέκλινε, τῇ δ' ἡ ξένης στρώματα χρησάμενος δαιμόνως ὑπεδέχετο, ἐπιβάς τούς στρώμασι κατεπάτει, ἐπιλέγων διὰ ταῦτα ἐξῆς οὐδ' ἐπὶ ψιάθοι υπνωκέναι.

65. Ἑτέρος ἐλθὼν εἰς 'Αθηναῖς καὶ ὅρων τους Ἀθηναίους τὸ πάριχος ἀποκηρύσσοντας καὶ τὸ ὀφοῦ, καὶ τελευνόντας καὶ πορνοβοσκοῦντας, καὶ ἐτερὰ ἔργα ἄσχημονα πράττοντας, καὶ μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ἡγομένους ὅτε ἐπανήλθεν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα,

66. Ἀλλος ἐρωτώμενος περὶ τινος ἀπεκρίνατο "οὖ"· ὡς δὲ ὁ ἐρωτήσας ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι "ψεῦδη," "ὅρᾶς οὖν," ἐφη, "ὅτι μάταιος ἔλθεν ἐπὶ οἷς ἐπιστασαι ἐρωτῶν."

67. Ἡκὼν ποτε κατὰ προσβείαν Δάκωνες πρὸς Λύγδαμων τὸν τύραννον· ὡς δ' ἐκεῖνος ὑπερτιθέμενος πολλάκις συντυχεὶν ἀνεβάλλετο, τὸ δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι μαλακῶς ἐξειν αὐτῶν ἐφη τις, οἱ προσβείες, "λέγε αὐτῷ," ἐλίπον, "ὅτι μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐ παλαιοσύνην Πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐληλύθαμεν, ἀλλὰ διαλεξηθησόμενοι."

68. Δάκωνα τινὰ τις μυσταγωγῶν ἦρωτα τί

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*a Cf. Moralia, 815 e; Dio Chrysostom, Or. lxxvi. ad fin.; Stobaeus, Florilegium, vii. 70, and xxxix. 27 (quoting Serenus). The ultimate source is probably Herodotus, vii. 134-136.*
advancement, they said, "You seem to us not to know what is the meed of liberty, which no man of sense would exchange for the kingdom of the Persians." 

64. Because a friend with whom a Spartan was intending to stay dodged him on the first day, and on the next day, having borrowed bedding, received him sumptuously, the Spartan jumped on the bedding and trod it under foot, remarking that it was because of this that yesterday he had not had even straw to sleep on.

65. Another, on going to Athens, saw that the Athenians were hawking salt fish and dainties, collecting taxes, keeping public brothels, and following other unseemly pursuits, and holding none of them to be shameful. When he returned to his own country, his fellow-citizens asked how things were in Athens, and he said, "Everything fair and lovely," speaking sarcastically and conveying the idea that among the Athenians everything is considered fair and lovely, and nothing shameful.

66. Another, being asked a question, answered "No." And when the questioner said, "You lie," the other said, "You see, then, that it is silly of you to ask questions to which you know the answer!"

67. Once upon a time, ambassadors from Sparta arrived at the court of Lygdamis the despot. But as he tried to put them off and repeatedly postponed the interview, and, to crown all, it was asserted that he was in a delicate condition, the Spartans said, "Tell him, in God's name, that we have not come to wrestle with him, but to have a talk with him."

68. When someone, initiating a Spartan into the Mysteries, asked him what his conscience told him
(236) πράξας ἐαυτῷ σύνοιδεν ἀσεβέστατον, δὲ δὲ, "γιγνώσκον δέ μᾶλλον καὶ λέγοντος, "πάντως σε δεὶ εἰπεῖν," ὃ Δάκων ἀντηρώτης, "τίνι με δεὶ εἰπεῖν, σοὶ ἥ τῷ θεῷ;" τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος, "τῷ θεῷ," "σὺ τούτων," ἔφη, "ἀποχώρησον."

69. "Ετέρος νυκτὸς μνήμα παριῶν καὶ φαντασώθεις δαιμόνιον τι ἐπέδραμε τῇ λόγχῃ διαράμενος, καὶ ἐναπερείδων εἶπε, "πῇ με φεύγεις, δῖς ἀποθανοῦμεν θυγχή;"

70. "Ἀλλος εὐξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ Δευκάτα ῥίππεων ἐαυτὸν ἀνέβη καὶ ὑπέστρεψεν ἵδων τὸ ύψος· ὅνει Εἰδύχαμενος δὲ εἶπεν "οὐκ ὣμαν τὰν εὐχάν ἀλλὰ μείζονος εὐχᾶς δεῖσθαι."

71. "Ἀλλος ἐπὶ παρατάξεως τῷ πολεμίῳ τὸ ἔφος καταφέρειν μέλλων, ἐπεὶ τὸ ἀνακλητικὸν ἐστήμηνεν, οὐκέτι κατήνευκεν νυθομένον δὲ τῶν διὰ τὸν ἔχθρον ἔχων ὑποχείριον οὐκ ἀπέκτεινεν, "ὄτι," ἔφη, "βέλτιον ἐστι τοῦ φονεύσων τὸ πείθεσθαι τῷ ἄρχοντι."

72. Δάκων τινὶ ἕττωμένῳ ἐν Ἐλυμπίᾳ εἶπε τις "δ ἀνταγωνιστῆς, ὃ Δάκων, ἐγένετό σου κρεῖττων ὀμὲν ὁμίλητο", ἔφη, "ἀλλὰ καββαλικώτερος."

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\[a\] A similar story is told of Antalcidas, *Moralia*, 217 c (1), and of Lysander, *Moralia*, 229 d (10), *supra*.

\[b\] *Cf.* *Moralia*, 273 f; Plutarch's *Comparison of Pelopidas and Marcellus*, chap. iii. (317 d); Epictetus, ii. 6. The
was the most unholy deed he had ever done, he said, "The gods know." And when the other became even more insistent, and said, "It is absolutely necessary that you tell," the Spartan asked in turn, "To whom must I tell it? To you or to the god?" And when the other said, "To the god," the Spartan said, "You go away then."  

69. Another, passing by a tomb at night, and imagining that he saw a ghost, ran at it with uplifted spear, and, as he thrust at it, he exclaimed, "Where are you fleeing from me, you soul that shall die twice?"

70. Another, having vowed to throw himself from the Leucadian cliff, went up and came down again after seeing the height. Being jeered at for this, he said, "I did na think my vow needed anither greater vow to dae it!"

71. Another, in the thick of the fight, was about to bring down his sword on an enemy when the recall sounded, and he checked the blow. When someone inquired why, when he had his enemy in his power, he did not kill him, he said, "Because it is better to obey one's commander than to slay an enemy."  

72. Someone said to a Spartan who was defeated at Olympia, "Spartan, your opponent proved himself the better man." "No," said he, "not that, but more upsetting!"

source is doubtless Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, iv. 1. 3, and Chrysantas is the man's name.

c For a similar sentiment see *Moralia*, 233 e (27), *supra*.
THE ANCIENT CUSTOMS OF THE SPARTANS
(INSTITUTA LACONICA)
INTRODUCTION

Plutarch wrote an article about the Spartans, as he tells us in his Life of Lysander, chap. xvii. (443 A). The only question, therefore, that can be raised is whether The Ancient Customs of the Spartans is that article. It is true that adverse judgement has been pronounced upon it, mainly because of some infelicities of language, and the character of the last chapter; yet, whether written by Plutarch or by another, it is in the main the work of Plutarch, and much of it comes from the same source as Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus. The body of facts and traditions here set down is, in great part, to be found scattered here and there in other writers, especially in the extant histories of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, to say nothing of other historians whose works are now lost. Much had been brought together, long before Plutarch's time, in the Constitution of Sparta, which is printed among the works of Xenophon.

A hint that various sources were used in making this compilation may be found in the fact that some of the verbs are in the present tense and others in the past.
TA ΠΑΛΑΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ 
ΕΠΙΤΗΔΕΥΜΑΤΑ

1. Τών ἐσιώντων εἰς τὰ συσσίτια ἐκάστῳ δεικνύων ὁ πρεσβύτατος τὰς θύρας, "διὰ τούτων," φησὶν, "οὐδεὶς ἐξέρχεται λόγος."

2. Δοκιμαζομένον μάλιστα παρ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ μέλανος λεγομένου ζωμοῦ, ὡστε μὴ κρεαίνου δεῖσθαι τοὺς πρεσβύτερους, παραχωρεῖν δὲ τοῖς νεανίσκοις, λέγεται Διονύσιος ὁ τῆς Σικελίας τύραννος τοῦτον χάριν Λακωνικὸν μάγειρον πρίασθαι καὶ προστάξαι σκευάσαι αὐτῷ μηδενὸς φειδόμενον ἀναλώματος· ἔπειτα γευσάμενον καὶ δυσχεράναντα ἀποτύπωσαί· καὶ τὸν μάγειρον ἔπειν, "ὁ βασιλεὺς, τοῦτον δὲ 237 τὸν ζωμὸν γυμνασάμενον Λακωνικῶς καὶ τῷ Ἕλερτα λελουμένον ἐποψάθαι."

3. Πιόντες οἱ Λάκωνες ἐν τοῖς συσσιτίοις μετρίως ἀπίασι δίχα λαμπάδος· οὐ γὰρ ἔξεστι πρὸς φῶς βαδίζειν οὔτε ταύτῃ οὔτε ἄλλῃ ὁδόν, ὅπως

1 τα παλαια . . . επιτηδευματα] omitted in most mss.
2 τοῖς νεανίσκοις Turnebus, as in the Life of Lycurgus, chap. xii.: τοὺς νεανίσκους.

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THE ANCIENT CUSTOMS OF THE SPARTANS

1. To each one of those who comes in to the public meals the eldest man says, as he points to the doors, "Through these no word goes out." a

2. A thing that met with especial approval among them was their so-called black broth, so much so that the older men did not require a bit of meat, but gave up all of it to the young men. It is said that Dionysius, the despot of Sicily, b for the sake of this bought a slave who had been a Spartan cook, and ordered him to prepare the broth for him, sparing no expense; but when the king tasted it he spat it out in disgust; whereupon the cook said, "Your Majesty, it is necessary to have exercised in the Spartan manner, and to have bathed in the Eurotas, in order to relish this broth." c

3. The Spartans, after drinking in moderation at their public meals, go away without a torch. In fact, they are not permitted to walk with a light either on this route or on any other, so that they may become

a Cf. Moralia, 697 E; Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus, chap. xii. (46 d); and the scholium on Plato's Laws, 633 A.

b Plutarch, in his Life of Lycurgus, says, "one of the kings of Pontus."

c Cf. Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus, chap. xii. (46 e), when a slightly different version is given, as also in Cicero, Tusculan Disputations, v. 34 (98), and Stobaeus, Florilegium, xxix. 100.
(237) ἔθιζωνται σκότους καὶ νυκτὸς εὐθαρσίως καὶ αδεῶς ὀδεύειν.

4. Γράμματα ἕνεκα τῆς χρείας ἐμάνθανον· τῶν δὲ ἅλλων παιδευμάτων ἐγνήλασίαν ἐποιοῦντο, οὐ μᾶλλον ἀνθρώπων ἡ λόγων. ἡ δὲ παιδεία ἦν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸ ἄρχεσθαι καλῶς καὶ καρτερεῖν πονοῦντα καὶ μαχόμενον νυκᾶν ἢ ἀποθνήσκειν.

5. Διετέλουν δὲ καὶ ἀνευ χιτῶνος, ἐν ἰμάτιον εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν λαμβάνοντες, αὐχμηροὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ λουτρῶν καὶ ἀλειμμάτων κατὰ τὸ πλείστον ἀπεχόμενοι.

6. Ἐκάθευδον δὲ οἱ νέοι ὅμοι κατ' ἱλήν καὶ κατὰ ἀγέλην ἐπὶ στιβάδων, ὡς αὐτοὶ συνεφάροιν, τοῦ παρὰ τῷ Ἐυρώτα πεφυκότος καλάμου τὰ ἀκρα ταῖς χερσὶν ἀνευ σιδήρου κατακλάσαντες· ἐν δὲ τῷ χειμώνι τοὺς λεγομένους λυκόφωνας¹ ὑπεβάλλοντο καὶ κατεμείγνυσαν ταῖς στιβάσι, θερμαντικὸν ἔχειν τί τῆς ἱλῆς δοκοῦσης.

7. Ἐράν τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς σπουδαίων παιδῶν ἐφε-το· τὸ δὲ πλησιάζειν αἰσχρόν νενόμιστο, ὡς τοῦ σώματος ἐρωταίς ἀλλ' οὗ τῆς ψυχῆς· ὁ δὲ ἐγκληθεὶς ὡς ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃ πλησιάζων ἀτιμὸς διὰ βίου ἦν.

8. Ἐθος ἦν καὶ τοὺς νεωτέρους ὑπὸ τῶν πρε-σβυτέρων ἐρωτάσθαι ποῦ πορεύονται καὶ ἐπὶ τί,

¹ λυκόφωνας in the Life of Lycurgus, chap. xvi.: λυκοφάνας or λυκοφόνας.

a Cf. Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus, chap. xii. (46 f); Xenophon, Constitution of Sparta, 5. 7; Plato, Minos, 320 a.

b Cf. Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus, chap. xvi. (50 b); Isocrates, Panathenaicus, 209.

c Life of Lycurgus, 50 c; Xenophon, Constitution of Sparta, 2. 4; Justinus, Historiae Philippicae, iii. 3. 5.

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accustomed to travelling in darkness at night con-
dfidently and fearlessly.\(^a\)

4. They learned to read and write for purely practical reasons; but all other forms of education they banned from the country, books and treatises being included in this quite as much as men. All their education was directed toward prompt obedience to authority, stout endurance of hardship, and victory or death in battle.\(^b\)

5. They always went without a shirt, receiving one garment for the entire year, and with unwashed bodies, refraining almost completely from bathing and rubbing down.\(^c\)

6. The young men slept together, according to division and company, upon pallets which they themselves brought together by breaking off by hand, without any implement, the tops of the reeds which grew on the banks of the Eurotas. In the winter they put beneath their pallets, and intermingled with them, the plant called lycophon, since the material is reputed to possess some warming qualities.\(^d\)

7. Affectionate regard for boys of good character was permissible, but embracing them was held to be disgraceful, on the ground that the affection was for the body and not for the mind. Any man against whom complaint was made of any disgraceful embracing was deprived of all civic rights for life.\(^e\)

8. It was the custom that the younger men should be questioned by the elder as to where they were going and for what, and also that the elder should

\(^{a}\) Cf. Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xvi. (50 c).

\(^{b}\) Ibid. chap. xviii. (51 d); Xenophon, *Constitution of Sparta*, 2. 12-14; Aelian, *Varia Historia*, iii. 10 and 12.
(237) καὶ τὸν μὴ ἀποκρινόμενον ἡ προφάσεις πλέκοντα ἐπιπλήττειν· ὃ δὲ μὴ ἐπιπλήττων παρόντος αὐτοῦ ἀμαρτάνοντα ἐνοχὸς ἦν τῷ ἵσῳ ἐπιτιμῶν ὑπὲρ καὶ ὃ ἀμαρτών· καὶ ὃ δυσχεραῖνων δὲ, εἰ ἐπιτιμῶτο, ἐν μεγάλῳ ὀνείδει ἦν.

9. Ἐὰν τὸς φωραθεὶς ἀμαρτάνων, ἐδει τοῦτον βωμὸν τινα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει κύκλῳ περιέναι, ἡ ψόγον ἀδοντα πεποιημένον εἰς ἕαυτόν· ὑπὲρ ἦν οὐδὲν ἔτερον ἡ ἐπιπλήττειν αὐτὸν ἔαυτῷ.

10. Καὶ τοὺς νέους δὲ οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἰδίους αἰδείσθαι πατέρας καὶ ὑπηκόους τούτους εἶναι, ἀλλὰ πάντας τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἐντρέπεσθαι, καὶ ὅπως ὑποχωροῦντας καὶ καθέδρας ὑπεξισταμένους καὶ παρόντων ἡ ἱσυχάζοντας. διὸ καὶ ἥρχεν ἐκαστος οὐχ ὑσπερ ἐν ταῖς ἅλλαις πόλεσι τῶν αὐτοῦ τέκνων καὶ δούλων καὶ κτημάτων, ἀλλ' ὑσπερ τῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν του πλησίων, ὅπως ὅτι μάλιστα κοινωνώσα καὶ φροντίζωσιν ὡς οὐκείων.

11. Παῖς δὲ ὑπὸ τινος κολασθεῖς, εἰ τῷ πατρὶ ἐξήγγειλεν, αἰσχρὸν ἦν τῷ πατρὶ μὴ προσενέτειναι Ε ἀκούσαντα πάλιν ἐτέρας· ἐπίστευον γὰρ ἑαυτοῖς ἐκ τῆς πατρίου ἀγωγῆς μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν προστάζα τοῖς τέκνοις.

12. Κλέπτουσι δὲ οἱ νέοι καὶ τῶν σετῶν ὃ τι ἄν δύνωνται, μανθάνοντες εὐφυῶς ἐπιτιθεσθαι τοῖς καθεύδουσιν ἡ ῥαθύμως φυλάττοντοι· τῷ δὲ ἀλόντι ζημία πληγαὶ καὶ τὸ πεινήν. γλύσχρον γὰρ αὐτοῖς

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a Cf. Xenophon, Constitution of Sparta, 2. 10.
b Cf. Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus, chap. xv. (48 c), where this form of punishment is visited upon the bachelors.
c Cf. the note on Moralia, 232 b (3), supra.
rebuke the one who did not answer or tried to contrive plausible reasons.\(^a\) And the elder who did not rebuke a younger who did wrong in his presence was liable to the same reprimand as the wrongdoer. And anyone who showed resentment, if he was reprimanded, was in great opprobrium.

9. If anyone was detected in wrongdoing he had to go round and round a certain altar in the city, chanting lines composed as a reprehension of himself, and this was nothing else than his own self rebuking himself.\(^b\)

10. Moreover, the young men were required not only to respect their own fathers and to be obedient to them, but to have regard for all the older men, to make room for them on the streets, to give up their seats to them, and to keep quiet in their presence. As the result of this custom each man had authority, not as in other states over his own children, slaves, and property, but also over his neighbour's in like manner as over his own, to the end that the people should, as much as possible, have all things in common, and should take thought for them as for their own.\(^c\)

11. When a boy was punished by anybody, if he told his father, it was a disgrace for his father, upon hearing this, not to give him another beating; for they had confidence one in another, as the result of their ancestral discipline, that no one had ordered their children to do anything disgraceful.\(^d\)

12. The boys steal whatever they can of their food, learning to make their raids adroitly upon people who are asleep or are careless in watching. The penalty for getting caught is a beating and no food.

\(^{a}\) Cf. Xenophon, *Constitution of Sparta*, 6. 2.
ēstι δειπνων, ὃπως δι' αὐτῶν ἀμμυνόμενοι τὴν ἐν-
δειαν ἀναγκάζονται τολμᾶν καὶ πανοργεῖν.

13. Τὸδε᾿ ἐργον τῆς συνοδείας· διά τα ταῦτα γλί-
σχρα ἢν καὶ ἴν ἐθνίζωνται μηδέποτε γίγνεσθαι
F πλήρεις, δύνασθαι δὲ πεινὴν οὔτω γὰρ ὄντο καὶ
ἐν πολέμω χρησιμωτέρους ἔσεσθαι, εἰ δύναιτο
καὶ ἀντίθεστες ἐπιπονῆσαι· καὶ ἐγκρατεστέρους
de καὶ εὐτελεστέρους, εἰ πλεῖως χρόνον διάγοιεν
ἀπὸ μικρᾶς δαπάνης· τὴν δ᾿ ἀνοψίαν ὑποφέρειν,3
ὡς βρώμα τὸ τυχὸν προσφέρεσθαι, ὄντο τὴνε-
νότερα τὰ σώματα ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλλειπούσης ποιεῖν
τροφῆς, νομίζοντες εἰς βάθος τε καὶ πλάτος ὀρμῆς
πιεζόμενα5 ἐπαίρειν εἰς ύψος τὰ σώματα, καὶ καλὰ
dὲ ποιεῖν· τὰς γὰρ ἰσχνὰς καὶ διακένουσ ἔξεις
ὑπακούειν πρὸς τὴν διάρθρωσιν, τὰς δὲ πολυ-
τρόφους6 διὰ βάρος ἀντιβαίνειν.

238 14. Ἐσποῦδαζον δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰ μέλη καὶ τὰς
ὡδὰς οὐδὲν ἦττον· κέντρον δὲ ἐίχε ταῦτα ἐγερτικὸν
θυμοῦ καὶ φρονήματος καὶ παραστατικῶν ὀρμῆς
ἐνθουσιώδους καὶ πρακτικῆς. καὶ ἡ λέξις ἢν
ἀφελῆς καὶ ἀθρυπτος· οὐδὲν δὲ ἐτερον ἐίχεν ἢ
ἐπαίνους τῶν γενικῶς ἥσαντων καὶ ὑπέρ τῆς
Σπάρτης ἀποθανόντων καὶ εὐδαιμονιζόμενων, καὶ
ψόγους τῶν τρεσάντων ὡς ἀλγείων καὶ κακο-

1 τὸδε F.C.B. (τούτο in the Life of Lycurgus, chap. xvii.);
τὸ δὲ.
3 ὑποφέρειν Meziriacus: ἀποφέρειν.
5 πιεζόμενα Turnebus: πιεζόμενον.
6 πολυτρόφουs Xylander: πολυτρόπουs.

a Cf. Plutarch’s Life of Lycurgus, chap. xvii. (50 e);
Xenophon, Constitution of Sparta, ii. 6-9; Isocrates, Tha
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For the dinner allowed them is meagre, so that, through coping with want by their own initiative, they may be compelled to be daring and unscrupulous.\(^a\)

13. This was the object of the starvation diet. It was meagre both for the reasons given and purposely that the youth should never become accustomed to being sated, but to being able to go without food; for in this way, the Spartans thought, the youth would be more serviceable in war if they were able to carry on without food, and they would be more self-controlled and more frugal if they lived a very considerable time at small expense. And to put up with the plainest diet, so as to be able to consume anything that came to hand, they thought made the youths' bodies more healthy owing to the scanty food, and they believed that this practice caused the bodies, repressed in any impulse towards thickness and breadth, to grow tall, and also to make them handsome; for a spare and lean condition they felt served to produce suppleness, while an overfed condition, because of too much weight, was against it.\(^b\)

14. They were no less seriously concerned over their music and their songs. These contained a stimulus to awaken a spirit of pride and to afford an inspiring and effective impulse. Their language was simple and plain, consisting merely of praise of those who had lived noble lives, and had died for Sparta, and are now counted among the blessed, and also censure of those who had played the coward, and now, Panathenaicus, 211-214; Heracleides Ponticus, Frag. ii. 8, in Müller, Frag. Hist. Graec. ii. p. 211.

\(^a\) Cf. Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xvii. (51 A) and Xenophon, *Constitution of Sparta*, 2. 5-6. Unfortunately the text of both passages is none too good.
(238) δαίμονα βιούτων βίον. ἐπαγγελίαν τε καὶ μεγαλαυχίαν πρός ἀρετήν πρέπουσαι1 ταῖς ἡλικίαις. (15) τριῶν οὖν χορῶν οντων κατὰ τὰς τρεῖς ἡλικίας καὶ συνισταμένων ἐν ταῖς ἐορταῖς, ὁ μὲν τῶν γερόντων ἀρχόμενος ἤδεν,

ἀμεσ ποκ2 ἢμες ἀλκιμοὶ νεανίαι.

Β εἶτα  ὁ τῶν ἀκμαζόντων ἀνδρῶν ἀμειβόμενος,

ἀμεσ δὲ γ' εἰμές3: αἱ δὲ λῆς, αὐγάζεο.

ὁ δὲ τρίτος ὁ τῶν παίδων,

ἀμεσ δὲ γ' ἐσσόμεσθα πολλῷ κάρρωνες.

16. Καὶ οἱ ἐμβατήριοι δὲ ῥυθμοὶ παρορμητικοὶ πρὸς ἀνδρείαν καὶ θαρραλεστήτητα καὶ ὑπερφρόνησιν θανάτου, οἷς ἔχρωντο ἐν τε χοροῖς καὶ πρὸς αὐλὸν ἐπάγοντες τοῖς πολεμίοις. ὁ γὰρ Λυκοῦργος παρέξευξε τῇ κατὰ πόλεμον ἀσκήσει τὴν φιλομονίαν, ὅπως τὸ ἄγαν πολεμικὸν τῷ ἐμμελεῖ κερασθὲν συμφωνίαν καὶ ἀρμονίαν ἔχῃ. διό καὶ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις προεθύνετο ταῖς Μοῦσαις ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἵνα λόγου ἄξιας παρέχωσι τὰς πράξεις οἱ μαχόμενοι.

C καὶ μνήμης εὔκλεοις.

1 ἐπαγγελίαν...μεγαλαυχίαν...πρέπουσαι Pantazides and F.C.B.: ἐπαγγελία...μεγαλαυχία...πρέπουσα. Kronenberg would put them all in the acc. plural.

2 ποκ Life of Lycurgus, chap. xxi.: ποτ'.

3 εἰμές Moralia, 544 E: εἴσεμέν.

a Pollux, Lexicon, iv. 107, says that the three choirs were established by Tyrtaeus.

b Cf. Moralia, 544 E; Plutarch’s Life of Lycurgus, chap. xxi. (53 b). Other references may be found in Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. iii. p. 661, or Diehl, Anthologia Lyrica Graeca, ii. p. 197, or Edmonds, Lyra Graeca (in the L.C.L.), iii. p. 530.

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presumably, are living a tormenting and ill-fated existence; and therewith profession and boasting in regard to valour, such as was fitting for the different periods of life. (15) So there were three choirs, corresponding to the three periods of life, which were made up at their festivals, and the choir of old men would begin with this song:

Young valiant men long days ago were we.

Then the choir of men in the prime of life would sing in response,

And that are we; look, if you will, and see.

And the third choir, that of the boys, would sing,

And better far 'tis certain we shall be.

16. Moreover the rhythmic movement of their marching songs was such as to excite courage and boldness, and contempt for death; and these they used both in dancing, and also to the accompaniment of the flute when advancing upon the enemy. In fact, Lycurgus coupled fondness for music with military drill, so that the over-assertive warlike spirit, by being combined with melody, might have concord and harmony. It was for this reason that in time of battle the king offered sacrifice to the Muses before the conflict, so that those who fought should make their deeds worthy to be told and to be remembered with honour.  

Cf. Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus, chap. xxi. (53 B-D); Thucydides, v. 70; Dio Chrysostom, Or. ii. 31 M., 92 R.; Athenaeus, 632 f; Valerius Maximus, ii. 6. 2; Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. ii. p. 404.
17. Et τὸς παραβαινοντι τι τῆς ἀρχαίας μουσικῆς, οὐκ ἐπέτρεπον· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Τέρπανδρον ἀρχαίκωτερον ὄντα καὶ ἀριστον τῶν καθ’ ἑαυτὸν κιθαρωδῶν καὶ τῶν ἡρωικῶν πράξεων ἐπαινέτην, ὡς οἱ ἐφοροὶ ἔξημισαν καὶ τὴν κιθάραν αὐτοῦ προσεπατάλευσαν φέροντες, ὅτι μίαν μόνην χορδήν ἐνέτεινε περισσοτέραν τοῦ ποικίλου τῆς φωνῆς χάριν· μόνα γὰρ τὰ ἀπλούστερα τῶν μελῶν ἔδοκε·

18. Τῶν δὲ τάφων¹ ἄνειλε τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν ἀπασαν ὁ Λυκοῦργος, ἐν τῇ πόλει θάπτει τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ πλησίων ἔχειν τα μνημεία τῶν ἱερῶν² συγχωρήσας. περείλε δὲ καὶ τοὺς μισσοῦσ.² συνθάπτειν δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπέτρεψεν, ἀλλ’ ἐν φοινικίδι καὶ φύλλοις ἐλαιὰς θέντας τὸ σῶμα περιστέλλειν κατ’ ἴσον ἀπαντας. ἄνειλε δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐπιγραφὰς τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν μνημείων, πλὴν τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ τελευτησάντων, καὶ τὰ πένθη καὶ τοὺς ὀδυμοῦσ.

19. 'Αποδημεῖν δὲ οὐκ ἔξην αὐτοῖς, ἵνα μὴ ἔξειν· Ε κὼν ἔθων καὶ βίων ἀπαιδευτῶν μετέχωσι.

¹ τάφων] ταφῶν Bernardakis (probably from ταφᾶς in the Life of Lycurgus, chap. xvii.).
² For ἔχειν ... ἱερῶν Hartman would read ἐχειν τα ἱρία, and Kronenberg would omit περείλε ... μισσοῦσ, both contradicted by the Life of Lycurgus, chap. xxvii.

For variant versions of the story see the note on Moralia, 220 c, supra.

Cf. Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus, chap. xxvii. (56 a), and Heracleides Ponticus, Frag. 2. 8, in Müller, Frag. Hist. Graec. ii. p. 211.
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17. If anyone presumed to transgress in any way the rules of the good old music, they would not permit this; but even Terpander, one of the oldest and the best harp-player of his time as well as a devoted admirer of the deeds of heroes, the Ephors none the less fined, and carried away his instrument and nailed it to a wall because he put in just one extra string for the sake of the variety in the notes; for they approved only the simpler melodies. Moreover, when Timotheus was competing at the Carneian Festival, one of the Ephors took a knife, and asked him on which side he should cut out the superfluous strings beyond the usual seven.

18. Lycurgus did away with all superstitious fear connected with burials, granting the right to bury the dead within the city, and to have the tombs near the shrines. He also abolished the pollutions associated with death and burial. He permitted the people to bury nothing with their dead, but only to enfold the body in a red robe and olive leaves, and all to treat their dead alike. He also did away with the inscriptions on tombs, except of those who had met their end in war, and also did away with mourning and lamentation.

19. It was not allowed them to go abroad, so that they should have nothing to do with foreign ways and undisciplined modes of living.

There are many references to the studied isolation of the early Spartans. The most important are Plutarch’s Life of Lycurgus, chap. xxvii. (56 c), and the Life of Agis, chap. x. (799 ρ); Xenophon, Constitution of Sparta, 14. 4; Aristophanes, Birds, 1012; Aristotle, Frag. 543 (ed. Rose). Cf. also the note on Moralia, 237 a, supra, and the references given in the Teubner ed. of Plutarch’s Lives (1926), iii. 2, p. 45 (Lycurgus, chap. xxvii.).
(238) 20. Καὶ ἐξενθάλασας δὲ εἰσηγήσατο, ὅπως οἱ παρεισχόντες μὴ διδάσκαλοι κακοῦ τινος τοῖς πολίταις ύπάρχοσι.
21. Τῶν πολιτῶν δὲ ἂν μὴ ὑπομείνῃ τὴν τῶν παιδῶν ἀγωγῆν οὐ μετείχε· τῶν τῆς πόλεως δικαίων.
22. 'Ἔνιοι δὲ ἐφασαν ὅτι καὶ τῶν ξένων ἂν ὑπομείνῃ τὴν τοιαύτην ἀσκησιν τῆς πολιτείας κατὰ τὸ βούλημα τοῦ Δυκοῦργου μετείχε· τῆς ἀρχήθειν διατεταγμένης μοίρας.
Πωλείν δὲ οὐκ ἔζην. (23) τοῖς τῶν πλησίον δ’ οἰκέταις ὃς ἰδίως χρῆσαι ἔδος ἦν, εἰ που δέοντο, καὶ κυσί καὶ ἢποις, εἰ μὴ οἱ δεσπόται χρῆσοιεν· καὶ ἐν ἁγρῷ δὲ εἷς τῶν τινος ἡλικίας γενόμενος δεσηθείη, ἀνοιξας καὶ βαστάσας τὰ ἐπιτίθεσια τοῦ ἐχόντος, τὰ σημεία σημενάμενος κατέλειπεν.
24. 'Εν τοῖς πολέμοις φοινικιῶν ἐχρώντο· ἂμα μὲν γὰρ ἡ χρόα ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς ἀνδρικῆ εἶναι, ἂμα δὲ τὸ αἰματῶδες τοῦ χρώματος πλείονα τοῖς ἀπείροις φόβοιν παρέχει· καὶ τὸ μὴ εὑπερίφωρον δὲ τοῖς πολέμοις εἶναι, ἐὰν τὶς αὐτῶν πληγῆ, ἀλλὰ διαλαυθάνειν διὰ τὸ ὁμόχρων χρῆσιν.
25. 'Ὅταν στρατηγῆματί τοὺς πολέμοις νυκῆ-

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1 μετέιχε·] μετέσχει would be preferable. E. Kurtz would read μετέχει, but the formal rules of grammar are not always observed!
2 τὰ σημεῖα] Bernardakis would place after ἀνοιχας, as is suggested from Xenophon, Constitution of Sparta, 6. 7.
3 παρέχει] παρέχειν some mss.

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a See note c on previous page.
b Cf. Xenophon, Constitution of Sparta, 3. 3.
c There is no doubt that some foreigners resided for a time at Sparta; Alcibiades, for example.
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20. Lycurgus also introduced the practice of banning all foreigners from the country, so that these should not filter in and serve to teach the citizens something bad.\textsuperscript{a}

21. Whosoever of the citizens would not submit to the discipline to which the boys were subjected had no participation in civic rights.\textsuperscript{b}

22. Some used to assert that whosoever among the foreigners would submit to such discipline as was enjoined by the constitution in accordance with the programme of Lycurgus might become a member of the division assigned to him at the beginning.\textsuperscript{c}

The selling of anything was not permitted; (23) but it was their custom to use the neighbours' servants as their own if they needed them and also their dogs and horses, unless the owners required them for their own use. And in the country, if anyone found himself lacking anything and had need of it, he would open an owner's storehouse and take away enough to meet his need, and then replace the seals and leave it.\textsuperscript{d}

24. In wars they used red garments for two reasons: first, the colour they thought was a manly colour, and second, the blood-red hue causes more terror in the minds of inexperienced. Also, if anyone of them receive a wound, it is advantageous that it be not easily discovered by the enemy, but be unperceived by reason of the identity of colour.\textsuperscript{e}

25. Whenever they overcome their enemies by

\textsuperscript{a} Cf. Xenophon, Constitution of Sparta, 6. 3-4; Aristotle, Politics, ii. 5.

\textsuperscript{b} Cf. Xenophon, Constitution of Sparta, 2. 3; the scholiuim on Aristophanes, Acharnians, 319; Aelian, Varia Historia, vi. 6; Valerius Maximus, ii. 6. 2.
σωσι, βοῦν τῷ Ἀρεί θύουσιν ὅταν δ' ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ, ἀλεκτρυόνα, ἑθίζωντες τοὺς ἕγονένας οὐ μόνον πολεμικοὺς ἄλλα καὶ στρατηγικοὺς εἶναι.

239 26. Ταῖς εὐχαῖς προστιθέασι τὸ ἄδικεῖσθαι δῦνασθαι.

27. Εὐχή δ' αὐτῶν διδόναι τὰ καλὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄγαθοῖς, καὶ πλέον οὐδέν.

28. Ἀφροδίτην σέβουσι τὴν ἐνόπλιον καὶ πάντας δὲ τοὺς θεοὺς θήλεις καὶ ἀρρενας λόγχας ἑχοντας ποιοῦνται, ὡς ἀπάντων τὴν πολεμικὴν ἄρετὴν ἑχοντων.

29. Ἐπιλέγουσι δὲ καὶ οἱ παροιμιαζόμενοι τὰν χεῖρα ποτιφέροντα τὰν τύχαν καλεῖν, ὡς δέον ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τοὺς θεοὺς μετὰ τοῦ ἐγχειρεῖν τι καὶ πράττειν, ἄλλως δὲ μή.

30. Τοῖς παισίν ἐπεδείκνυον τοὺς εἰλωτας μεθύσαντες εἰς ἀποτροπὴν πολυνωίας.

B 31. Ἔθος ἂν αὐτῶς μηδὲ κόπτειν τὰς αὐλείους ἄλλα ἐξωθεῖν βοῶν.

32. Στιλεγγίσων οὐ σιδηραῖς ἄλλα καλαμίνας ἐχρώντο.

33. Κωμωδίας καὶ τραγωδίας οὐκ ἥκροντο, ὡς μήτε ἐν σπουδῇ μήτε ἐν παιδίᾳ ἀκούσων τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων τοῖς νόμοις.

1 μεθύσαντες Wyttenbach, as is plain from the Life of Lycurgus, chap. xxviii. and the Life of Demetrius, chap. i.: μεθύσαντες.

* Cf. the note on 232 d, supra.

b Cf. Leutsch and Schneidewin, Paroemiographi Graeci, ii. p. 653, for the ancient versions of "God helps those who help themselves"; also Babrius, Fabulae, no. 20.

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outgeneralling them, they sacrifice a bull to Ares, but when the victory is gained in open conflict, they offer a cock, thus trying to make their leaders habitually not merely fighters but tacticians as well.

26. To their prayers they add the petition that they may be able to submit to injustice.

27. And their prayer is that the gods give them fair and honourable requital for their good deeds, and that is all.

28. They worship Aphrodite in her full armour, and the statues of all the gods, both female and male, they make with spear in hand to indicate that all the gods have the valour which war demands.a

29. Those fond of proverbs are wont to quote this on occasion:

Yer ain hand use when Fortune ye would call,
thus indicating that calling on the gods for aid ought to be accompanied by effort and action on one’s own part, or else they should not be invoked.b

30. They used to make the Helots drunk and exhibit them to the young as a deterrent from excessive drinking.c

31. It was their custom not to knock on the outer doors but to call from outside.

32. The strigils which they used were not made of metal but of reeds.

33. They did not attend either comedy or tragedy, so that they might not hear anyone speak either in earnest or in jest against the laws.d

a Cf. Moralia, 455 E; Plutarch’s Life of Lycurgus, chap. xxviii. (57 A); Life of Demetrius, chap. i. (889 A); Plato, Laws, 816 E; Clement of Alexandria, Paedagogus, iii. chap. viii. ad init. (41. 5); Diogenes Laertius, i. 103.

b Cf. Plato, Laws, 816 ff. where a different conception is expressed.
(239) 34. Ἀρχίλοχον τὸν ποιητὴν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι
gενόμενον αὐτὸς ὄρας ἐδίωξαν, διότι ἐπέγνωσαν
αὐτὸν πεπουκότα ὡς κρείττον ἐστιν ἀποβαλεῖν τὰ
ὀπλα ἡ ἀποθανεῖν.

ἀστίδι μὲν Σατων τις ἀγάλλεται, ἢν περὶ θάμνῳ
ἐντός1 ἄμωμητον κάλλιπον οὐκ ἐθέλων·
αὐτὸς δὲ ἐξέφυγον θανάτου τέλος.2 ἀσπίς ἐκείνη
ἐρρέτω· ἐξαύθης κτήσομαι οὐ κακίω.

35. Κόραϊς καὶ κόροις κοινὰ τὰ ἱερά.
36. Σκιραφίδαν ἐξημίωσαν οἱ ἔφοροι, ὅτι ὑπὸ
πολλῶν ἕδικείτο.
37. Σακκοφόρον ἀνεῖλον, διότι παρυφὴν εἰς τὸν
σάκκουν ἐνέβαλεν.
38. Τὸν ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου νεανίσκον ἐπετίμων,
ὅτι τὴν εἰς Πυλαίαν ὁδὸν ἠπίστατο.
39. Κηφισοφόντα, εἰπόντα περὶ τοῦ τυχόντος
δύνασθαι ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν λέγειν, ἐξεβαλον,
φάμενοι τὸν ἀγαθὸν μυθητὰν δεῖν τοῖς πράγμασιν
ὑσον τὸν λόγον ἐχείν.
40. Οἱ παίδες παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἐξανόμενοι μάστιξι

D δι’ ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τῆς Ὀρθίας
Ἀρτέμιδος μέχρι θανάτου πολλάκις διακαρτηροῦσιν
ιλαροὶ καὶ γαῦροι, ἀμιλλώμενοι περὶ νίκης πρὸς

1 ἐντός Brunck: ἐντός.
2 αὐτὸς . . . τέλος omitted here, is found in Sextus Empiricus, Pyrrhon. Hypotyposes, iii. 216 (p. 182).

a For the numerous references to the action of Archilochus
see Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. ii. p. 384, Archilochus, no. 6,
or better Diehl, Anthologia Lyrica Graeca, i. p. 213. Cf.
also Horace, Odes, ii. 7. 10, and Valerius Maximus, vi. 3,
ext. 1.
b What is meant is uncertain; possibly (as suggested by
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34. Archilochus the poet, when he arrived in Sparta, they ordered to depart that very instant because they learned that he had written in his verses that it is better to throw away one's arms than to be killed:

    Shield that was mine, fair armour, now gladdens the heart of some Saian;
    Sorry I left it behind tangled in brush in my path;
    But for myself I escaped from the clutches of Death. Let perdition
    Take the old shield, for no worse surely I'll get the next time.

35. The temples and religious services were open to maidens and youths alike.

36. The Ephors fined Sciraphidas because he was wronged by many.

37. They made away with a man who wore the very coarsest clothing, because he inserted a border in his garment.

38. They reprimanded the young man from the gymnasium because he knew well about the road to Pylaea.

39. Cephisophon, who asserted that he could speak the whole day long on any topic whatsoever, they expelled from the country, saying that the good orator must keep his discourse equal to the subject in hand.

40. The boys in Sparta were lashed with whips during the entire day at the altar of Artemis Orthia, frequently to the point of death, and they bravely endured this, cheerful and proud, vying with one another for the supremacy as to which one of them

the use of the word elsewhere) a place where men met for gossip and loose talk.

*Cf. Moralia, 208 c (3), supra.*
There are many references to this practice, which seems to have been kept up even in Plutarch’s time according to his *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xviii. (51 ν). Cf. also his *Life of Aristéides*, chap. xvii. (329 ν); Xenophon, *Constitution of Sparta*, 2. 9; Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* iii. p. 458 (Nicolaus Damasc., *Frag.* 114); Lucian, *Anacharsis*, 38; Philostratus, *Apollonius*, vi. 20, who explains the custom as originating in earlier human sacrifice, but on this see J. G. 444.
could endure being beaten for the longer time and the greater number of blows. And the one who was victorious was held in especial repute. This competition is called 'The Flagellation,' and it takes place each year.\(^a\)

41. One of the noble and blessed privileges which Lycurgus appears to have secured for his fellow-citizens was abundance of leisure. In fact it was not permitted them to take up any menial trade at all; and there was no need whatever of making money, which involves a toilsome accumulation, nor of busy activity, because of his having made wealth wholly unenvied and unhonoured. The Helots tilled the soil for them, paying a return which was regularly settled in advance. There was a ban against letting for a higher price, so that the Helots might make some profit, and thus be glad to do the work for their masters, and so that the masters might not look for any larger return.\(^b\)

42. It was forbidden them to be sailors and to fight on the sea. Later, however, they did engage in such battles, and, after they had made themselves masters of the sea, they again desisted, since they observed that the character of the citizens was deteriorating sadly. But they changed about again, as in all else. For example, when money was amassed for the Spartans, those who amassed it were con-

Frazer in his commentary on Pausanias, iii. 16. 10. Among Latin writers cf., for example, Cicero, Tusculan Disputations, ii. 14 (34).

\(^a\) Cf. Moralía, 214 a, supra, and the note; Xenophon, Constitution of Sparta, 7. 1-6; Isocrates, Busiris, 20; Müller, Frag. Hist. Graec. iii. p. 458 (Nicolaus Damasc. Frag. 114); Josephus, Against Apion, ii. 229; Aelian, Varia Historia, vi. 6; Athenaeus, 657 d.
γ' συναγαγόντες θανάτω κατεδικάσθησαν. Ἦλικα-
μένει γὰρ καὶ Θεοπόμπω τοῖς βασιλεύσι χρησμὸς
έδοθη
ἀ φιλοχρηματία Σπάρταν ὀλείει. 1

ἀλλ' ὁμως Δύσανδρος ἐλὸν Ἄθηναίους πολὺν
χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον εἰσήγαγε, καὶ παρεδέξαντο
καὶ ἐτύμησαν τὸν ἀνδρα.

Τοῖς μὲν οὖν Δυκούργου χρωμένη νόμων ἡ πόλις
καὶ τοῖς ὁρκοῖς ἐμμείνασα ἐπρώτευε τῆς Ἔλλαδος
εὐνομία καὶ δόξῃ χρόνων ἑτῶν πεντακοσίων· κατ' ὁλίγον δὲ παραβιασμένων καὶ πλεονεξίας καὶ
240 φιλοπλουτίας παρεισδυνόμενη, καὶ τὰ τῆς δυνάμεως
ἡλαττοῦτο· καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι διὰ ταῦτα δυσμενῶς
εἰχον πρὸς αὐτοὺς. ἄλλ' ὁμως οὕτως ἔχοντες μετὰ
τὴν Φιλίππου τοῦ Μακεδόνος ἐν Χαιρωνεία νύκην,
pάντων αὐτῶν τῶν Ἔλληνων ἡγεμόνα κατὰ τε γῆν
καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἀναγορευσάντων, καὶ μεταζύ
δ' Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν νῦν μετὰ τὴν Ἡθβαίων κατα-
στροφήν, μόνοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καίπερ ἀτείχιστον
πόλιν ἔχοντες καὶ ὀλίγου πάνυ ὄντες διὰ τοὺς
συνεχείς πολέμους καὶ πολὺ ἀσθενέστεροι καὶ
ἐυχείρωτοι γενόμενοι, πάνυ βραχέα τινὰ ξύπτυρα
dιασώζοντες τῆς Δυκούργου νομοθεσίας, οὔτε
Β συνεστράτευσαν οὔτε τούτοις οὔτε τοῖς μεταξὺ
Μακεδονίκοις βασιλεύσιν, οὔτε εἰς συνέδριον κοινὸν
eἰσήλθον οὐδὲ φόρον ἤγεγκαν· ἐως οὗ παντάπασιν

1 ὀλείει or ἀπολεί F.C.B.: ὀλεῖ.

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1 Cf. Leutsch and Schneidewin, Paroemiographi Graeci, i. p. 39, and i. p. 201, and the references there given; also Diodorus, viii. 12. 5, and Plutarch, Life of Agis, chap. ix. (799 b). 446
demned to death; for to Alcamenes and Theopompus, their kings, an oracle had been given:

Eager desire for money will bring the ruin of Sparta.

Yet, nevertheless, when Lysander had taken Athens, he brought home much gold and silver, and they accepted it, and bestowed honours on the man.

As long as the Spartan State adhered to the laws of Lycurgus and remained true to its oaths, it held the first place in Greece for good government and good repute over a period of five hundred years. But, little by little, as these laws and oaths were transgressed, and greed and love of wealth crept in, the elements of their strength began to dwindle also, and their allies on this account were ill-disposed towards them. But although they were in this plight, yet after the victory of Philip of Macedon at Chaeroneia, when all the Greeks proclaimed him commander both on land and sea, and likewise, in the interval following, proclaimed Alexander, his son, after the subjugation of the Thebans, the Spartans only, although they dwelt in an unwalled city, and were few in number because of their continual wars, and had become much weaker and an easy prey, still keeping alive some feeble sparks of the laws of Lycurgus, did not take any part in the campaigns of these or of the other kings of Macedon who ruled in the interval following, nor did they ever enter the general congress or even pay tribute. So it was,

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b To abide by his laws until he should return. Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus, chap. xxix. (57 d).

* Ibid. 58 A; cf. also Diodorus, vii. 12. 8.

d In 338 B.C.

e In 335 B.C.

f An echo from Plato, Laws, 677 b.

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(240) ύπεριδόντες τὴν Δυκούργου νομοθεσίαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων πολιτῶν ἐτυπαντεύθησαν μηδὲν ἐτὶ σφόδρως τῆς πατρίου ἀγωγῆς, καὶ παραπλήσιοι τοῖς ἄλλοις γενόμενοι τὴν πρόσθεν εὐκλείαν καὶ παρρησίαν ἀπέθεντο καὶ εἰς δουλείαν μετέστησαν, καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καθάπερ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἔλληνες ἐγένοντο.
until they ceased altogether to observe the laws of Lycurgus, and came to be ruled despotically by their own citizens, preserving nothing of their ancestral discipline any longer, and so they became much like the rest, and put from them their former glory and freedom of speech, and were reduced to a state of subjection; and now they, like the rest of the Greeks, have come under Roman sway.
SAYINGS OF SPARTAN WOMEN
(LACAENARUM APOPHTHEGMATA)
WILLIAM P. MILLER

[Signature]

[Date]
INTRODUCTION

Of the *Sayings of Spartan Women* the same may be said as of the *Sayings of Spartans*. It truly represents the work of Plutarch, and many of the sayings are repeated elsewhere in his writings; others perhaps in his writings that are now lost. Whether the sayings were collected in this form by Plutarch or by someone else is a matter of minor importance.
ΔΑΚΑΙΝΩΝ ΑΠΟΦΘΕΓΜΑΤΑ

ΑΡΓΙΛΕΩΝΙΔΟΣ

'Αργυλεωνίς ἢ Βρασίδου μήτηρ, τελευτήσαντος αὐτῆς τοῦ νεόν, ὡς παραγενόμενοι τινες τῶν 'Αμφιπολιτῶν εἰς Σπάρτην ἤκουν πρὸς αὐτῆν, ἡρώτησεν εἰ καλῶς καὶ ἄξιος τῆς Σπάρτης ὁ νῦν ἑτελεύτας μεγαλυνόντων δ' ἐκείνοιν καὶ λεγόντων ἀριστον ἐν τοῖς ποιούσις ἔργοις ἀπάντων Λακεδαίμονίων εἶναι, εἶπεν, "ὅ έξενοι, καλὸς μὲν ἢν κάγαθος ὁ παῖς μου, πολλοὺς δ' ἄνδρας Λακεδαίμον ἔχει Δ τήνω κάρρονας."

ΓΟΡΓΟΤΣ

1. Γοργώ βασιλέως Κλεομένου θυγάτηρ, 'Αρισταγόρου τοῦ Μιλησίου παρακαλοῦντος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς βασιλέα πόλεμον ὑπὲρ Ἦώνων καὶ ὑπ' ἱσχυμένου χρημάτων πλῆθος καὶ ὅσῳ ἀντέλεγε πλείονα προστιθέντος, "καταθερεῖ σε," ἔφη, "ὅ πάτερ, τὸ ξενύλλιον, ἐὰν μὴ τάχιον αὐτὸν τῆς οἰκίας ἐκβάλησ."  

2. Προστάξαντος δὲ ποτε αὐτῆς τοῦ πατρὸς δούναι τινι σίτον εἰς μισθὸν λόγον καὶ προστιθέντος, "ἐδίδαξε γὰρ μὲ τὸν οίνον χρηστὸν ποιεῖν,"

1 The title, λακαίνων ἀποφθεγματα, and the headings, ἀργίλεωνίδος, etc., are almost always omitted in the mss.
ARGILEonis, the mother of Brasidas, when her son had met his death, and some of the citizens of Amphipolis arrived at Sparta and came to her, asked if her son had met his death honourably and in a manner worthy of Sparta. And when they proceeded to tell of his greatness, and declared that he was the best of all the Spartans in such enterprises, she said, "Sirs, my son was a gude and honourable mon, but Sparta has mony a mon better than him."  

GORGO  

1. Gorgo, daughter of king Cleomenes, when Aristagoras of Miletus was urging her father to enter upon the war against the Persian king in behalf of the Ionians, promising a vast sum of money, and, in answer to Cleomenes' objections, making the amount larger and larger, said, "Father, the miserable foreigner will be your ruin if you don't get him out of the house pretty soon!"  

2. Once when her father told her to give some grain to a man by way of remuneration, and added, "It is because he showed me how to make the wine

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\(^a\) At the battle of Amphipolis, 422 B.C.  
\(^b\) Cf. the note on *Moralia*, 190 B., *supra*.  
\(^*\) Gorgo later became the wife of Leonidas.  
\(^d\) Cf. *Herodotus*, v. 48-51.
(240) "οὐκοῦν, ὦ πάτερ," ἐφη, "δὲ τῷ οἶνος πλειων Ἐ ἐκποθήσεται καὶ οἱ πίνουτες θρυπτικότεροι καὶ χεῖρονες γενήσονται."

3. Τὸν δ' Ἀρισταγόραν ὑπὸ τινος τῶν οἰκετῶν ὑποδούμενον θεασαμένη, "πάτερ," ἐφη, "δὲ ξένος χειρας οὐκ ἔχει."

4. Ξένου δὲ τινος μαλακῶς καὶ σχολῆ1 προσ-αγαγόντος, παρωσαμένη αὐτόν, "οὐκ ἀπεὶ ἐν-τεῦθεν," εἶπεν, "οὔδε τὰ τῆς γυναικὸς δυνά-μενος;"

5. Ἐρωτηθείσα δὲ ὑπὸ τινος Ἀττικῆς, "διὰ τί ύμείς ἀρχετε μόναι τῶν ἀνδρῶν αἱ Λάκαωναί;" "οὕτω," ἐφη, "καὶ τίκτομεν μόναι ἀνδρας."

6. Προτρεπομένη δὲ τὸν ἀνδρα Δεωνίδαν ἐξ-ιόντα εἰς Θερμοπύλας ἄξιον τῆς Σπάρτης φανήναι, ἦρωτα τι χρή πράττειν; ὃ δὲ ἐφη, "ἀγαθὸν γαμεῖν καὶ ἀγαθὰ τίκτειν."

ΓΤΡΤΙΑΔΟΣ

1. Γυρτιάς, Ἀκροτάτου ποτὲ τοῦ θυγατριδοῦ αὐτῆς ἐκ τινος τῶν παδῶν μάχης πολλὰς πληγὰς λαβόντος καὶ ἀπενεχθέντος οἰκαδὲ ὡς τεθνηκότος, κλαίοντων τῶν οἰκείων τε καὶ γνωρίμων, "οὐ σω-Φ πήσετε;" ἐφη. ἐδείξε γάρ οἷον ἀίματος ἦν". καὶ οὐκ ἐφη δεῖν τοὺς ἁγαθοὺς βοῶν ἀλλ’ ἰατρεύ-σθαι.

1 καὶ σχολῆ (or σχολῆ]) στόλην Stephanus, perhaps rightly.  
2 οὔδε Bernardakis: οὕτε.  
3 Λάκαωναί, the usual form: λάκωναί.

⁴ Cf. the note on Moralia, 218 ν (4), where the same idea is attributed to Archidamus.

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taste good,” she said, “Then, father, there will be more wine drunk, and the drinkers will become more intemperate and depraved.”

3. When she had watched Aristagoras having his shoes put on and laced by one of the servants, she said, “Father, the foreigner hasn’t any hands!”

4. When a foreigner made advances in a mild and leisurely way, she pushed him aside, saying, “Get away from here, you who cannot play a woman’s part either!”

5. Being asked by a woman from Attica, “Why is it that you Spartan women are the only women that lord it over your men,” she said, “Because we are the only women that are mothers of men.”

6. As she was encouraging her husband Leonidas, when he was about to set out for Thermopylae, to show himself worthy of Sparta, she asked what she should do; and he said, “Marry a good man, and bear good children.”

GYRTIAS

1. Gyrtias, when on a time Acrotatus, her grandson, in a fight with other boys received many blows, and was brought home for dead, and the family and friends were all wailing, said, “Will you not stop your noise? He has shown from what blood he was sprung.” And she said that people who were good for anything should not scream, but should try to find some remedy.

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b Cf. Diogenes Laertius, vi. 44, where Diogenes the cynic goes Gorgo one better.


e The last sentence is borrowed from Plato, *Republic*, 604 c.
2. "Οτε ἄγγελος ἦλθεν ἐκ Κρήτης τὸν Ἀκροτότου θάνατον ἀπαγγέλλων, "οὐκ ἐμελλὲν," ἐφη, "πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἦκων ἦ αὐτὸς ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἀποθανεῖσθαι ἡ κατακανεῖν ἐκείνους; ἦδιον δ' ἀκούειν ὅτι ἀπέθανε καὶ ἑαυτῆς καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίως καὶ τῶν προγόνων, ἦ εἰ ἔξη τὸν ἄπαντα χρόνον κακὸς ὄν.

ΔΑΜΑΤΡΙΑΣ

Δαματρία τὸν νῦν δειλὸν καὶ ἀνάξιον ἑαυτῆς ἀκούσασα, παραγενόμενον ἀνείλε· τὸ δ' ἐπίγραμμα ἐπ' αὐτῆς τόδε,

τὸν παραβάντα νόμους Δαμάτριον ἔκτανε μάτηρ ἀ Δακεδαιμονία τὸν Δακεδαιμόνιον.

ΛΑΚΑΙΝΩΝ ΑΔΗΛΩΝ

241 1. Ἐτέρα Λάκαινα τὸν νῦν λιποτακτήσαντα ως ἀνάξιον τῆς πατρίδος ἀνείλεν, εἰποῦσα, "οὐκ ἐμὼν τὸ φίτυμα." ἐφ' ἦς τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τόδε,

ἐρρε κακὸν φίτυμα διὰ σκότος, οὗ διὰ μίσος Ἐυρώτας δειλαίς μηδ' ἐλάφουσι ρέοι.

ἀχρείον σκυλάκευμα, κακὰ μερίς, ἐρρε ποθ' "Ἄιδαν,

ἐρρε· τὸ μὴ Σπάρτας ἀξίουν οὐδ' ἔτεκον.

1 κατακανεῖν F.C.B.: κατακαίνειν.
2 ἑαυτὸν in some mss.
3 λιποτακτήσαντα, the preferred form: λειποτακτήσαντα.

a Son of Areus I., king of Sparta. He fell in battle at Megalopolis in 265 B.C., but the fact that his father Areus had been fighting in Crete may account for the intrusion of Crete here. Pausanias (viii. 27. 11) makes a more serious error in confusing this Acrotatus with his grandfather of the same name.
2. When a messenger came from Crete bringing the news of the death of Acrotatus, she said, "When he had come to the enemy, was he not bound either to be slain by them or to slay them? It is more pleasing to hear that he died in a manner worthy of myself, his country, and his ancestors than if he had lived for all time a coward." 

DAMATRIX

Damatrix heard that her son had been a coward and unworthy of her, and when he arrived, she made away with him. This is the epigram referring to her:

Sinner against our laws, Damatrius, slain by his mother,  
Was of the Spartan youth; she was of Sparta too.

OTHER SPARTAN WOMEN TO FAME UNKNOWN

1. Another Spartan woman made away with her son, who had deserted his post, on the ground that he was unworthy of his country, saying, "Not mine the scion." This is the epigram referring to her:

Off to your fate through the darkness, vile scion, who makes such a hatred,  
So the Eurotas flow not e'en for the timorous deer.  
Worthless whelp that you are, vile remnant, be off now to Hades;  
Off! for never I bore Sparta's unworthy son.

b Cf. the similar saying of a Spartan woman, quoted by Teles in Stobaeus, Florilegium, cviii. 83.


e Cf. Moralia, 242 a, infra.
2. "Αλλη ἀκούσασα τὸν υἱὸν ἐν παρατάξει πεσόντα ἔφη,
   "δειλοὶ κλαιόσθωσαν· ἐγώ δὲ σε, τέκνον, ἄδακρυς θάπτων· τὸν καὶ ἐμὸν καὶ Δακεδαμιόνον."

3. 'Ακούσασά τις τὸν υἱὸν σεσωμενον καὶ πεφευγότα ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων, γράφει αὐτῷ, "κακὰ
   φάμα τευ κακκέχυντα· ἥ ταύταν νῦν ἐκνυψά ἡ μὴ ἔσο."' 

B 4. "Αλλη, τῶν υἱῶν φυγόντων ἐκ μάχης καὶ
   παραγενομένων ὡς αὐτήν, "ποῦ," φησίν, "ήκετε
   δραπετεύσαντες, κακὰ ἀνδράποδα; ἡ δεύρο οὕθεν
   ἐξέδυσε καταδυσόμενοι;" ἀνασυραμένη καὶ ἐπι-
   δείξασα αὐτοῖς.

5. Προσάγοντά τις τὸν υἱὸν θεασαμένη ἐπόθετο,
   "τί πράττει ἡ πατρίς;" εἰπόντος δὲ, "πάντες
   ἀπολώλασι," κεραμίδα ἀρασα ἐπαφήκεν αὐτῷ καὶ
   ἀνείλεν, εἶποῦσα, "σὲ οὖν κακάγγελον ἐπεμβάν
   ἡμῖν;"

6. Διηγομένου τινὸς τῇ μητρὶ γενναίον θανατὸν
   τοῦ ἄδελφου, "EMPL' οὖκ αἰσχρόν," εἶπε, "τῆς
   τοιαύτης συνοδίας ἀποτυχεῖν;"

C 7. 'Εκπέμψασα τις τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτῆς πέντε
   ὄντας ἐπὶ πόλεμον, ἐν τοῖς προαστείοις ἐιστήκει
   καραδοκοῦσα τί ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἀποβῆσοιτο· ὡς δὲ
   παραγενόμενός τις πυθομένη ἀπήγγειλε τοὺς
   παίδας ἀπαντας τετελευτηκέναι, "ἄλλαν οὖ τούτο

1 θάπτω S. A. Naber and Hartman: καὶ ἰλαρά θάπτω. Pantazides would omit καὶ ἐμὸν καὶ to accomplish the same result, but cf. 235 λ.
2 νῦν Hatzidakis: νῦν.
3 ποῦ] ποὶ Stobaeus, Florilegium, cviii. 83.
4 ἐπιδείξασα] δείξασα ibid.
2. Another, hearing that her son had fallen on the field of battle, said:

"Let the poor cowards be mourned, but, with never a tear do I bury
You, my son, who are mine, yea, and are Sparta's as well."

3. Another, hearing that her son had been saved and had run away from the enemy, wrote to him, "Ill report is spread about ye; aither clear yersel' of this or stop yer living."

4. Another, when her sons had run away from battle and come to her, said, "Where have you come now in your cowardly flight, vile varlets? Do you intend to slink in here whence you came forth?" And with these words she pulled up her garment and showed them.

5. One woman, observing her son coming towards her, inquired, "How fares our country?" And when he said, "All have perished," she took up a tile and, hurling it at him, killed him, saying, "And so they sent you to bear the bad news to us!"

6. As a man was narrating to his mother the noble death of his brother, she said, "Isn't it a shame, then, to have missed his company on such a journey?"

7. One woman sent forth her sons, five in number, to war, and, standing in the outskirts of the city, she awaited anxiously the outcome of the battle. And when someone arrived and, in answer to her inquiry, reported that all her sons had met death, she said,

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*Cf. Moralia, 235 A, supra.

*Cf. Moralia, 246 A, and Teles as quoted by Stobaeus, Florilegium, cviii. 83.

*Cf. Moralia, 242 b (22), infra.

8. Θάπτουσά τις τὸν υἱόν, ὡς γραίδιον εὐτελές προσελθὼν αὐτῇ, "οὐ γυναῖ, τὰς τύχας," εἶπε, "νὴ τῶ σιω ἄλλα τὰς καλὰς γ'," ἐφή. "καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐ ἐνεκεν ἐτεκον, ἵν' ὑπέρ τὰς Σπάρτας ἀποθάνῃ, τούτῳ μοι συνέβη."  

9. Σεμνουμένης γυναικὸς τινος Ἰωνικῆς ἐπὶ τινὶ τῶν ἐαυτῆς ὑφασμάτων ὅντι πολυτελεί, Λάκανα ἐπιδείξασα τοὺς τέτταρας υἱοὺς ὅντας κοσμιωτάτους, "τοιαύτα," ἐφη, "δεὶ εἶναι τὰ τῆς καλῆς καὶ ἀγαθῆς γυναικὸς ἔργα καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐπαίρεσθαι καὶ μεγαλαυχεῖν."

10. "Ἀλλή ἀκούσασα περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ, ὡς κακῶς ἐπὶ τῆς ξένης ἀναστρέφοιτο, ἔγραψε, "κακὰ τεν' φάμα κακκέχυται· ταῦταν ἀπώθεν ἡ μη ἕσο."  

11. Παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ Χίων φυγάδες ἐλθόντες εἰς Σπάρτην πολλὰ Παιδαρῆτον κατηγόρουν· μετα-Επεμβαμένη δὲ αὐτοὺς ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ Τελευτία καὶ ἀκούσασα ὅν ἐνεκάλουν, ἑπεὶ ἐδόκει αὐτῇ ἀμαρτάνειν ὡς υἱός, ἐπέστειλεν, "ἀ μάτηρ Παιδαρῆτω". ἡ βελτίωνα πράσσε ἡ αὕτη μένε, ἀπογνοῦς τὰς ἐς Σπάρταν σωτηρίαν."

1 τευ Valckenenaer as in no. 3 supra (241 Α) and Stobaeus, Florilegium, cviii. 83: τοι.  
3 Παιδαρῆτον, -τω] Πεδαρῆτον, -τω is perhaps the correct spelling; cf. Thucydides, viii. 28.  

Cf. Plutarch’s Life of Agesilaus, chap. xxix. (612 c-d). 462
"I did not inquire about that, you vile varlet, but how fares our country?" And when he declared that it was victorious, "Then," she said, "I accept gladly also the death of my sons." a

8. Another was burying her son, when a commonplace old woman came up to her and said, "Ah the bad luck of it, you puir woman." "No, by Heaven," said she, "but good luck; for I bore him that he might die for Sparta, and this is the very thing that has come to pass for me." b

9. When a woman from Ionia showed vast pride in a bit of her own weaving, which was very valuable, a Spartan woman pointed to her four sons, who were most well-behaved, and said, "Such should be the employments of the good and honourable woman, and it is over these that she should be elated and boastful." c

10. Another, hearing about her son that he was conducting himself badly in a foreign land, wrote to him, "Ill report is spread about ye; pit this from ye or else stop yer living." d

11. Of somewhat similar character is this: Chian exiles came to Sparta, and accused Paedaretus of many misdeeds; whereupon his mother Teleutia sent for them and, after listening to their complaints, feeling that her son was in the wrong, sent him this letter: "Mither to Paedaretus. Aither dae better, or stay whare ye are, and gie up hope o' gaen back safe to Sparta."

b The story is told also by Teles in Stobaeus, Florilegium, cviii. 83; cf. also Cicero, Tusculan Disputations, i. 42 (102).

c Cf. Severus in Stobaeus, Florilegium, v. 47, and the similar story of the Roman Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi.

d Cf. Moralia, 241 a (3), supra.
12. 'Ετέρα ἐπι ἀδικήματι τῷ παιδί κρινομένω, "τέκνον," εἶπεν, "ἡ τάς αὐτίας ἡ σεαυτόν τοῦ ζῆν ἀπόλυσον."


14. "Αλλή, τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτῆς ἀφικομένου ἀπὸ παρατάξεως τετρωμένου τὸν πόδα καὶ σφόδρα ἀλγοῦντος, "ἐὰν τῆς ἀρετῆς," εἶπε, "μεμνήθη ὦ τέκνον, καὶ ἀπόνου ἑσῃ καὶ θαρρῆσεις."

15. Λάκων τρωθεὶς ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ βαδίζων μὴ δυνάμενος, τετραποδίστι ὀδενεῖ. αἰσχυνομένω δ' αὐτῷ εἶναι γελοῖος ἡ μῆτηρ, "καὶ τόσῳ βέλτιον, ὦ τέκνον," εἶπε, "μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνδρείᾳ γεγενθέναι ἡ αἰσχύνεσθαι ἐπὶ γέλωτι ἀνοητῷ;


18. "Αλλή πρὸς τὸν νῦν λέγοντα μικρὸν ἔχειν τὸ ξίφος εἶπε, "καὶ βῆμα πρόσθες."

19. "Αλλή ἀκούσασα, ὅτι ὁ νῦς αὐτῆς ἐν παρατάξει ἀνδραγαθήσας ἀπέθανεν, "ἐμὸς γὰρ ἤν;"

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1 εἶναι F.C.B., ἐπὶ τῷ Wytenbach: ἐν.

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a Cf. Moralia, 331 b; Stobaeus, Florilegium, vii. 29; Cicero, De oratore, ii. 61 (249).

b Referred to Gorgo as the author by Aristotle in his 464
12. Another, when her son was being tried for some offence, said to him, “My child, either rid yourself of the charges, or rid yourself of life.”

13. Another, as she accompanied a lame son on his way to the field of battle, said, “At every step, my child, remember your valour.”

14. Another, when her son came back to her from the field of battle wounded in the foot, and in great pain, said, “If you remember your valour, my child, you will feel no pain, and be quite cheerful.”

15. A Spartan, wounded in battle and unable to walk, was crawling on all fours. He was mortified at being so ridiculous; but his mother said to him, “How much better to be joyful over your bravery rather than to be mortified at silly laughter.”

16. Another, as she handed her son his shield, exhorted him, saying, “Either this or upon this.”

17. Another, as her son was going forth to war, said, as she gave the shield into his hands, “This shield your father kept always safe for you; do you, therefore, keep it safe, or cease to live.”

18. Another, in answer to her son who said that the sword which he carried was short, said, “Add a step to it.”

19. Another, hearing that her son had been slain fighting bravely in the line of battle, said, “Yes, he

Aphorisms, as quoted by Stobaeus, Florilegium, vii. 31, but it is often spoken of as a regular Spartan custom. Cf., for example, the scholium on Thucydides, ii. 39. Ancient writers were not agreed whether the second half meant to fall upon the shield (dead or wounded) or to be brought home dead upon it. In support of the second (traditional) interpretation cf. Moralia, 235 a, and Valerius Maximus, ii. 7, ext. 2.

Cf. Moralia, 191 e, supra.
(242) έιπε. περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐτέρουν 1 πυθομένη ὅτι ἀποδειλιάσας σφόζεται, "οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἐμός," ἔφη.

20. 'Ετέρα ἀκούσασα τεθνάνα τὸν ὕον ἐν μάχῃ καθάπερ ἔτετακτο "κάτθετε αὐτὸν," ἔφη, "ἀναπληρωσάτω δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου τάξιν ὁ ἄδελφός." 

21. "Ἀλλὰ πομην τελόσα πάνδημον ἦκουσεν ἐπὶ τῆς παρατάξεως νικάν τὸν ὕον, ἐκ δὲ τῶν τραυμάτων πολλῶν γενομένων θηρίσκειν. οὐ περιελομενή οὖν τὸν στέφανον, ἄλλα σεμνυνθεῖσα πρὸς τὰς πλησίον εἶπεν, ὡς πολλῷ κάλλιον, ὃ φίλαι, Β ἔστιν ἐν παρατάξει νικώντα τελευτᾶν ἡ τὰ 'Ολυμπία περιγυγνεμένον ἔην.'

22. Διηγομένου τινὸς τις ἄδελφη γενναίον θάνατον τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτῆς, ἐκεῖνη εἶπεν ὅτι "ὅσον ἐπὶ ἐκείνῳ γέγηθα, τοσοῦτον ἐπὶ σοὶ ἄχθομαί, ἐναρέτου συνοδίας ἀπολειφθέντι." 

23. Δάκαινη τις προσέπεμψει, εἰ φθορα συνεπνεύει. ἡ δὲ ἔφη, "παῖς μὲν οὖν ξύμαθον τῷ πατρὶ πείθεσθαι, καὶ τούτῳ ἐπράξα· γυνῇ δὲ γενομένῃ τῷ ἄνδρι εἰ οὖν δικαιά με παρακαλεῖ, τούτῳ φανερὸν ποιησάτω πρῶτον." 

24. Παρθένος πενιχρὰ ἐρωτηθεῖσα τίνα δίδωσι τῷ γαμοῦντι προίκα, "τὴν πάτριον," ἔφη, "σω-φροσύνην." 

C 25. Δάκαινα ἐρωτηθεῖσα εἰ τάνδρι 3 προσελήλυθεν, "οὐκ ἐγώ," εἶπεν, "ἀλλ' ὁ ἄνηρ ἐμοὶ." 

1 τοῦ ἐτέρου] τοῦ ἐτέρου Wytenbach, but cf. no. 1 supra (241 λ).
2 κάτθετε] θάπτετε S. A. Naber.
3 τάνδρι A. Platt as in Moralia, 140 c: ἄνδρι mss.

a Cf. Moralia, 241 λ, supra.
b Cf. the somewhat similar story about Xenophon in Moralia, 118 ১.
was mine." But learning in regard to her other son that he had played the coward and saved his life, she said, "No, he was not mine." 

20. Another, hearing that her son had been killed in battle on the spot where he had been placed, said, "Lay him away, and let his brother take his place."

21. Another, engaged in conducting a solemn public procession, heard that her son was victorious on the field of battle, but that he was dying from the many wounds he had received. She did not remove the garland from her head, but with a proud air said to the women near her, "How much more noble, my friends, to be victorious on the field of battle and meet death, than to win at the Olympic games and live!"

22. As a man was relating to his sister the noble death of her son, she said, "As glad as I am for him, I am sorry for you that you were left behind when you might have gone in such brave company."

23. A man sent to a Spartan woman to ask if she were inclined to look with favour upon seduction; she replied, "When I was a child I learned to obey my father, and made that my practice. Then when I became a married woman, my husband took that place. So if the man's proposal is honourable, let him lay the matter before my husband first."

24. A poor girl, being asked what dowry she brought to the man who married her, said, "The family virtue."

25. A Spartan woman, being asked if she had made advances to her husband, said, "No, but my husband has made them to me."

* Cf. Moralia, 241 b (6), supra.
  d Cf. Moralia, 140 c.
(242) 26. Κρύφα τις διαπαρθενευθείσα καὶ διαφθείρασα τὸ βρέφος οὕτως ἐνεκαρτέρησε μηδεμίαν προενεγκαμένη φωνήν, ὡστε καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ ἄλλους πλησίον ὄντας λαθεῖν ἀποκυήσασα· τὸ γὰρ μέγεθος τῶν ἀλγηδῶν τῇ εὔσχημοσύνῃ τὸ ἁσχημὸν προσπεσόν ἐνίκησε.

27. Λάκανα πιπρασκομένη καὶ ἐρωτωμένη τί ἐπίσταται, ἐφη, "πιστὰ ἦμεν."


29. Ἐρωτηθείσα τις ὑπὸ τινος, εἰ ἔσται ἀγαθή, ἄν αὐτῆς ἁγοράσῃ, εἶπε, "καὶ μή ἁγοράσῃς."


" Cf. Moralia, 234 c (39), supra.
* Cf. Moralia, 234 b (37 and 38), supra.
26. A girl had secret relations with a man, and, after bringing on an abortion, she bore up so bravely, not uttering a single sound, that her delivery took place without the knowledge of her father and others who were near. For the confronting of her indecorum with decorum gained the victory over the poignant distress of her pains.

27. A Spartan woman who was being sold as a slave, when asked what she knew how to do, said, "To be faithful."

28. Another, taken captive, and asked a similar question, said, "To manage a house well."

29. Another, asked by a man if she would be good if he bought her, said, "Yes, and if you do not buy me."  

30. Another who was being sold as a slave, when the crier inquired of her what she knew how to do, said, "To be free." And when the purchaser ordered her to do something not fitting for a free woman, she said, "You will be sorry that your meanness has cost you such a possession," and committed suicide.
BRAVERY OF WOMEN
(MULIERUM VIRTUTES)
INTRODUCTION

Plutarch's well-chosen selection of stories about the bravery of women was composed for his friend Clea, who held high office among the priestesses at Delphi, and to whom he dedicated also his treatise on Isis and Osiris. He speaks of it as a supplement to a conversation on the equality of the sexes, which he had with Clea on the occasion of the death of Leontis, of blessed memory, suggested no doubt by the noble character of the departed. It is not impossible that some of the topics discussed in that conversation are included here also, so as to make the book a complete and finished whole.

The treatise stands as No. 126 in Lamprias's list of Plutarch's works.

Polyaenus drew freely from this book to embellish his *Strategemata*, as a glance at the notes on the following pages will show.

Novelists who still write of virtuous women and heartless villains may find some material in this work of Plutarch's. They need not be ashamed to glean where a great poet has reaped.
Περὶ ἀρετῆς, ὁ Κλέα, γυναικῶν οὐ τὴν αὐτῆν τῶν Θουκυδίδη γνώμην ἔχομεν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ, ἢς ἂν ἐλάχιστος ἢ παρὰ τοῖς ἐκτὸς ψόγου πέρι ἡ ἐπαίνου λόγος, ἀρίστην ἀποφαίνεται, καθάπερ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τοῦνομα τῆς ἀγαθῆς γυναικὸς οἴόμενος δεῖν κατά-
kleiston εἶναι καὶ ἀνέξοδον. ἦμιν δὲ κομψότερος

μὲν ὁ Γοργίας φαίνεται, κελεύων μὴ τὸ εἰδος ἀλλὰ τὴν δόξαν εἶναι πολλοὶς γνώριμον τῆς γυναικὸς·
ἄριστα δ’ ὁ Ῥωμαίων δοκεῖ νόμος ἔχεω, ὡσπερ ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξί δημοσίᾳ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν
tοὺς προσήκοντας ἀποδιδοὺς ἐπαίνους. διὸ καὶ

Δεοντίδος τῆς ἀρίστης ἀποθανούσης, εὐθὺς τε μετὰ σοῦ τότε πολὺν λόγον εὗχομεν οὐκ ἀμοιροῦντα

παραμυθίας φιλοσόφου, καὶ νῦν, ὡς ἐβουλήθης,1 τὰ ὑπόλοιπα τῶν λεγομένων εἰς τὸ μίαν εἶναι καὶ τὴν

243 αὐτῆν ἀνδρός καὶ γυναικὸς ἀρετὴν προσανέγραψά

σοι, τὸ ἱστορικὸν ἀποδεικτικὸν ἔχοντα καὶ πρὸς

ῄδουν μὲν ἄκοης οὐ συντεταγμένα2: εἰ δὲ τῷ

πείθοντι καὶ τὸ τέρπον ένεστὶ φύσει τοῦ παρα-

1 ἐβουλήθης the preferable form: ἐβουλήθης.

2 συντεταγμένα the Basel edition of 1542: συντεταγμένην.

a Thucydides, ii. 45.

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BRAVERY OF WOMEN

Regarding the virtues of women, Clea, I do not hold the same opinion as Thucydides. For he declares that the best woman is she about whom there is the least talk among persons outside regarding either censure or commendation, feeling that the name of the good woman, like her person, ought to be shut up indoors and never go out. But to my mind Gorgias appears to display better taste in advising that not the form but the fame of a woman should be known to many. Best of all seems the Roman custom, which publicly renders to women, as to men, a fitting commemoration after the end of their life. So when Leontis, that most excellent woman, died, I forthwith had then a long conversation with you, which was not without some share of consolation drawn from philosophy, and now, as you desired, I have also written out for you the remainder of what I would have said on the topic that man's virtues and woman's virtues are one and the same. This includes a good deal of historical exposition, and it is not composed to give pleasure in its perusal. Yet, if in a convincing argument delectation is to be found also by reason of

b Cf. Moralia, 217 f., supra.

c Cf. Plutarch's Life of Camillus, chap. viii. (133 B), Livy, v. 50; Cicero, De oratore, ii. 11 (44).
(243) δείγματος, οὗ φεύγει χάριν ἀποδείξεις συνεργῶν ὁ λόγος οὐδ' αἰσχύνεται

taís Mouúsais
tás Xάριτας συγκαταμιγνύς
callístane1 συνυγίαν,

ὅς Εὐρυπίδης φησίν, ἐκ τοῦ φιλοκάλου μάλιστα
tῆς ψυχῆς ἀναδούμενος τὴν πίστιν.

Φέρε γάρ, εἰ λέγοντες τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι ζωγραφίαν
ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν παρειχόμεθα τοιαύτας γραφὰς
γυναικῶν, οἴας Ἀπελλῆς ἀπολέοντεν ἡ Ζεῦξις ἡ
Νικόμαχος, δρ' ἄν τις ἑπετύμησεν ἡμῖν, ὃς τοῦ

Β χαριζομένη καὶ ψυγαγωγεῖν μᾶλλον ἡ τοῦ πείθειν

στοχασμένοις; ἐγώ μὲν οὐκ ὀίμαι.

Τί δέ; ἐὰν ποιητικὴν πάλιν ἡ μαντικὴ2 ἀπο-

φαίνοντες οὐχ ἔτεραν μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἔτεραν δὲ γυ-


ναικῶν οὖσαν, ἀλλὰ την αὐτὴν, τὰ Σαπφοῦς μέλη
toīs Ἀνακρέοντος ἡ τὰ Σιβῦλλης λόγια τοῖς

Βάκιδος ἀντιπαραβάλλωμεν,3 ἔξει τις αἰτιάσασθαι
dικαίως τὴν ἀπόδειξιν, ὅτι χαίροντα καὶ τερπό-


μενον ἐπάγει τῇ πίστει τῶν ἀκροατῆν; οὐδὲ τοῦτ'

ἂν εἴποις.

Καὶ μὴν οὐκ ἔστω ἄρετῆς γυναικείας καὶ ἄν-

δρείας ὁμοιότητα καὶ διαφορὰν ἀλλοθεν καταμαθεῖν

C μᾶλλον, ἡ βίος βίους καὶ πράξεως πράξεως ὥστε

ἐργα μεγάλης τέχνης παρατιθέντας ἀμα καὶ


skopoiûntas, εἰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει χαρακτῆρα καὶ
tῦπον ἡ Σεμιράμεως μεγαλοπραγμοσύνη τῇ Σεσώ-

1 taís Mouúsais tás Xáritas ... callístane] tás Xáritas [taís]
Mouúsais ... ἀδίσταν Euripides mss.: callístane Plut. mss.
2 μαντικὴ Cobot: μμαντικήν.
3 ἀντιπαραβάλλωμεν Dinse: ἀντιπαραβάλλομεν.

a Hercules Furens, 673. Plutarch probably quoted from
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the very nature of the illustration, then the discussion is not devoid of an agreeableness which helps in the exposition, nor does it hesitate

To join
The Graces with the Muses,
A consort ing most fair,
as Euripides says,\(^a\) and to pin its faith mostly to the love of beauty inherent to the soul.

If, conceivably, we asserted that painting on the part of men and women is the same, and exhibited paintings, done by women, of the sort that Apelles, or Zeuxis, or Nicomachus has left to us, would anybody reprehend us on the ground that we were aiming at giving gratification and allurement rather than at persuasion? I do not think so.

Or again, if we should declare that the poetic or the prophetic art is not one art when practised by men and another when practised by women, but the same, and if we should put the poems of Sappho side by side with those of Anacreon, or the oracles of the Sibyl with those of Bacis, will anybody have the power justly to impugn the demonstration because these lead on the hearer, joyous and delighted,\(^b\) to have belief in it? No, you could not say that either?

And actually it is not possible to learn better the similarity and the difference between the virtues of men and of women from any other source than by putting lives beside lives and actions beside actions, like great works of art, and considering whether the magnificence of Semiramis has the same character and pattern as that of Sesostris, or the intelligence of memory, as he made one transposition and one substitution.

\(^a\) Cf. the critical note.

\(^b\) Cf. Horace, Ars Poetica, 426.
(243) στριος ἢ ἢ Τανακυλλίδος σύνεσις τῇ Σερονίου τοῦ βασιλέως, ἢ τὸ Πορκίας φρόνημα τῷ Βροῦτον καὶ τὸ Πελοπίδου τῷ Τιμοκλείας, κατὰ τὴν κυριωτάτην κοινότητα1 καὶ δύναμιν ἐπειδὴ διαφοράς γε τινας έτέρας, ὥσπερ χροίας ίδιας, αἱ ἀρεταὶ διὰ τὰς φύσεις λαμβάνουσι καὶ συνεξομοιοῦνται τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις ἔθεσι καὶ κράσεις σωμάτων καὶ τροφαῖς καὶ διαίταις. ἄλλως γὰρ ἄνδρεῖος ὁ D'Αχιλλεύς ἄλλως ὁ Άιας καὶ φρόνησις 'Οδυσσέως οὐχ ὁμοία τῇ Νέστορος οὐδὲ δίκαιος ὦσαύτως Κάτων καὶ 'Αγησίλαος, οὐδ' Εἰρήνη φίλανδρος ως "Αλκηστίς οὐδὲ Κορνηλία μεγαλόφρων ως 'Ολυμπιάς. ἀλλὰ μὴ παρὰ τούτο πολλὰς καὶ διαφόρους ποιώμεν ἄνδρείας καὶ φρονήσεις καὶ δικαιοσύνας, ἂν μόνον τοῦ λόγου τοῦ οἰκείου μηδεμίαν αἱ καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἀνομοιοτήτες ἐκβιβάζωσι.2

Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄγαν περιβόητα καὶ ὅσων οἶμαι σε βεβαίως3 βιβλίως ἐντυχοῦσαν ἑστοιρίαν ἔχειν καὶ γνώσιν ἡδὴ παρῆσον πλὴν εἰ μὴ τινά τόσα τὰ κοινά καὶ δεδημευμένα πρὸ ἡμῶν ἑστοιρήσαντας ἀκοῆς ἡξία διαπέφευγεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδιᾷ γνωαίξιν ἡξία λόγου πέπρακται, Ε βραχέα τῶν κοινῶν οὐ χειρόν ἐστὶ προϊστορῆσαι.

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1 κοινότητα Meziriacus: καυνότητα.
2 ἐκβιβάζωσι Wyettenbach: ἐκβιβάζωσι.
3 βεβαίως F.C.B. (note the same slip in the mss. in 243 β): βεβαίως.

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*Cf. Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, and Places*, chap. xxiii. (Hippocrates in the L.C.L., i. p. 132); Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, i. 33 (80); Porphyry, *De Abstinentia*, iii. 8; 478
Tanaquil the same as that of Servius the king, or the high spirit of Porcia the same as that of Brutus, or that of Pelopidas the same as Timocleia's, when compared with due regard to the most important points of identity and influence. For the fact is that the virtues acquire certain other diversities, their own colouring as it were, due to varying natures, and they take on the likeness of the customs on which they are founded, and of the temperament of persons and their nurture and mode of living. For example, Achilles was brave in one way and Ajax in another; and the wisdom of Odysseus was not like that of Nestor, nor was Cato a just man in exactly the same way as Agesilaus, nor Eirene fond of her husband in the manner of Alcestis, nor Cornelia high-minded in the manner of Olympias. But, with all this, let us not postulate many different kinds of bravery, wisdom, and justice—if only the individual dissimilarities exclude no one of these from receiving its appropriate rating.

Those incidents which are so often recited, and those of which I assume that you, having kept company with books, have assuredly record and knowledge, I will pass over for the present; but with this exception: if any tales worthy of perusal have escaped the attention of those who, before our time, have recorded the commonly published stories. Since, however, many deeds worthy of mention have been done by women both in association with other women and by themselves alone, it may not be a bad idea to set down first a brief account of those commonly known.

cf. Diogenes Laertius, vii. 127, for the statement of the contrary view.
Τών ἀπ' Ἔλλην περὶ τὴν ἀλωσίν ἐκφυγόντων οἱ πλείστοι χειμώνι χρησάμενοι, καὶ διὰ ἀπειρίαν τοῦ πλοῦ καὶ ἀγνοιαν τῆς θαλάττης ἀπενεχθέντες εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ περὶ τὸν Θύμβριν ποταμὸν ὀρμοὺς καὶ ναυλόχοις ἀναγκαίοις μόλις ὑποδραμόντες, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐπιλανώντο περὶ τὴν χώραν φραστήρων

F δεόμενοι, ταῖς δὲ γυναιξὶν ἐμπίπτει λογισμός, ώς ἦτειοῦν ἰδρυσις ἐν γῇ πᾶσης πλάνης καὶ ναυτιλίας εὑ τε καὶ καλῶς πράττουσιν ἀνθρώπουσι ἀμείων ἔστι, καὶ πατρίδα δεῖ poiein αὑτοῦς, ἀπολαβεῖν δὲν ἀπολωλέκασι μὴ δυνάμενους. ἐκ δὲ τούτου συμφρονήσασαι κατέφλεξαν τὰ πλοῖα, μιᾶς κατ- αρξαμένης ὡς φασί Ῥώμης. πράξασαι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀπήντων βοηθοῦσι πρὸς τὴν θά- λατταν, καὶ φοβοῦμενα τὴν ὄργην αἱ μὲν ἀνδρῶν

244 οἱ ὀ ἱκεῖων ἀντιλαμβανόμενα καὶ καταφιλούσαι λυπαρῶς, ἐξεπράνουν τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς φιλοφροσύνης. διὸ καὶ γέγονε καὶ παραμένει ταῖς Ῥωμαιῶν γυναιξὶν ἔτι νῦν ἔθος ἀσπάζεσθαι μετὰ τοῦ κατα- φιλέαν τοὺς κατὰ γένος προσήκοντας αὑταῖς.

Συνιδόντες γὰρ ως έοικε τὴν ἀνάγκην οἱ Τρώες καὶ ἀμα πειρώμενοι τῶν ἐγχωρίων, εὐμενῶς καὶ φιλανθρῶποι προσδεχομένων, ἠγάπησαν τὸ πραχ- θὲν ύπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ συγκατώκησαν αὐτοῦς τῶν Δατύνως.

1 πᾶσης Xylander: πᾶση. 2 δεὶ Xylander: δε.

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* Cf. Moralia, 265 b; Plutarch’s Life of Romulus, chap. i. (17 v); Polyaeus, Strategemata, viii. 25. 2. The story 480
I. THE TROJAN WOMEN

Most of those that escaped from Troy at the time of its capture had to weather a storm, and, because of their inexperience in navigation and ignorance of the sea, were driven upon the shores of Italy, and, in the neighbourhood of the river Tiber, they barely escaped by running in, under compulsion, where there were anchorages and havens. While the men were wandering about the country, in search of information, it suddenly occurred to the women to reflect that for a happy and successful people any sort of a settled habitation on land is better than all wandering and voyaging, and that the Trojans must create a fatherland, since they were not able to recover that which they had lost. Thereupon, becoming of one mind, they burned the ships, one woman, Roma, taking the lead. Having accomplished this, they went to meet the men who were hurrying to the sea to save the ships, and, fearful of their anger, some embraced their husbands and some their relatives, and kissed them coaxingly, and mollified them by this manner of blandishment. This is the origin of the custom, which still persists among the Roman women, of greeting their kinsfolk with a kiss.

The Trojans, apparently realizing the inevitable necessity, and after having also some experience with the native inhabitants, who received them kindly and humanely, came to be content with what had been done by the women, and took up their abode there with the Latins.

differs in some details from Virgil's account, as was noted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus in his Roman Antiquities, i. 72-73.
Τὸ δὲ τῶν Φωκίδων ἐνδόξου μὲν οὐ τετύχηκε Β συγγραφέως, οὐδενὸς δὲ τῶν γυναικέων ἐλαττον εἰς ἀρετήν ἔστι, μαρτυρούμενον ἵπποις τε μεγάλοις, ἢ δρῶσι Φωκεῖς ἐτί νῦν περὶ Ὁμπολοῦ, καὶ δόγμασι παλαιοὶ, ὥν τὸ μὲν καθ’ ἐκαστὸν τῆς πράξεως ἐν τῷ Δαῖφαντοι βίῳ γέγραπται, τὸ δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν τοιούτον ἑστιν.

"Ασπονδὸς ἦν Θεταλοῖς πρὸς Φωκέας πόλεμος· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχοῦσας αὐτῶν καὶ τυράννους ἐν ταῖς Φωκικαῖς πόλεσιν ἦμέρα μιᾶ πάντας ἀπέκτειναν, οἱ δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίων ἐκείνων ὁμήρους κατηλῆσαν· εἶτα πανοπτικαὶ διὰ Δοκρῶν ἐν-έβαλον, δόγμα θέμενοι μιθηνὸς φείδεσθαι τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ, παίδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας ἀνδραποδίσασθαί.

C Δαῖφαντος οὖν ὁ Βαβυλλίου, τρίτος αὐτῶς ἀρχων, ἔπεισεν τοὺς Φωκεῖς μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀπαντήσαντας τοῖς Θεταλοῖς μάχεσθαι, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ἀμα τοῖς τέκνοις εἰς ἑνα πού τόπον συναγαγόντας εἰς ἄπασθι τῆς Φωκίδος, ὕλην τε περιήγησαν ξύλων καὶ φυλακὰς καταλιπεῖν, πρόσταγμα δόντας, ἃν αἰσθηνεῖται νυκωμένοις αὐτοῖς, κατὰ τάχος τὴν ὕλην ἀνάψαι καὶ καταπρῆσαι τὰ σώματα. Ψηφισμένων δὲ ταῦτα τῶν ἄλλων, εἰς ἕξαναστὸς ἐφι δίκαιον εἶναι ταῦτα συνδοκεῖν καὶ ταῖς γυναιξίν. D εἰ δὲ μή, χαίρειν ἑὰν καὶ μή προσβιάζεσθαι. τού-

1 μὲν αὐτοῦς] αὐτοῖς μὲν Dinse.
II. THE WOMEN OF PHOCIS

The deed of the women of Phocis has not found any writer of high repute to describe it, yet it is not inferior in point of bravery to anything ever done by women, as is attested by imposing sacred rites which the Phocians perform even to this day in the neighbourhood of Hyampolis, and by ancient decrees. Of these events a detailed account of the achievements is given in the Life of Daiphantus, and the women’s part was as follows.

The Thessalians were engaged in a war without quarter against the Phocians. For the Phocians had slain on one day all the Thessalian governors and despots in their cities. Whereupon the Thessalians massacred two hundred and fifty Phocian hostages; then with all their forces they made an invasion through Locris, having previously passed a resolution to spare no grown man, and to make slaves of the children and women. Accordingly Daiphantus, Bathyllius’s son, one of the three governors of Phocis, persuaded the men to meet the Thessalians in battle, and to bring together into some one place the women with their children from all Phocis, and to heap about them a mass of faggots, and to post guards, giving them instructions that, if they learned the men were being vanquished, they should with all haste set fire to the mass and reduce the living bodies to ashes. Nearly all voted approval of the plan, but one man arose in the council and said it was only right that the women approve this also; otherwise they must reject it, and use no compulsion. When

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*a* One of Plutarch’s Lives which has not been preserved. It is No. 38 in the catalogue of Lamprias.

*b* Cf. Aeschines, *De falsa legatione*, 140.
(244) τοῦ τοῦ λόγου διελθόντος εἰς τὰς γυναῖκας, αὐτὰ
cαθ' ἑαυτὰς συνελθόνται ταῦτα ἐντολάς εἰπηφισαντο καὶ
tῶν Δαφάντων ἀνέδησαν, ὡς τὰ ἄριστα τῇ Φωκίδι
bεβουλευμένων. τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ τοὺς πάθας ἤδιᾳ
φασὶν ἐκκλησίασαντας ἐπηφισάσθαι.

Πραγμάτων δὲ ταύτων, συμβαλόντες οἱ Φωκεῖς
πέρι Κλεονᾶς τῆς ᾿Αμπολίδος ἐνίκησαν. τὸ μὲν
οὖν ψήφισμα Φωκέων ᾿Απόνοιαν οἱ ᾿Ελλήνες
ἀνέμασαν. ἐφίμην δὲ ἐκ πασῶν μεγίστην τὰ
Ε’Ελαφηβόλια μέχρι νῦν τῇ ᾿Αρτέμιδι τῆς νίκης
ἐκείνης ἐν ᾿Αμπολίδι τελοῦσιν.

III.  XIAI

Χίοι Δευκανίαν ἐπήκισαν ὡς τοιαύτης αἰτίας.
ἐγάμει τις ἐν Χίῳ τῶν δοκοῦντων γυναικῶν εἶναι,
ἀγομένης δὲ τῆς νύμφης ἔπλεξαν, ὁ βασιλεὺς
’Ἰπποκλός, ἐπιτίθεας ὃν τῷ γαμοῦντι καὶ παρὸν
ἀσπέριν ὀλοκληρωμένος ἐπὶ τῷ ἱερί, τοῖς ῾Οδεῖν ῾Ηρακλείσκον πράξων,
αλλ’ ἐθεὶ κοινῷ καὶ παϊδιᾶ χρώμενον· οἱ δὲ βίλοι
τοῦ γαμοῦστοι ἀπέκτειναν αὐτὸν.

Μηνιμάτων δὲ τοῖς Χίοις προφανομέον καὶ τοῦ

Φ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος τοὺς ’Ἰπποκλόν ἀνελόντας ἀνελεῖ,
ἄπαντες ἔβασαν ἵπποκλόν ἀνηρηκέναι. πάντασ
οὖν αὖθις ὁ θεὸς ἐκέλευσε τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπεῖν, εἰ
πάσιν τοῦ ἄγους μέτευστοι. οὔτω δὴ τοὺς αἰτίους
καὶ μετασχόντας τοῦ φόνου καὶ συνεπαινέσαντας

1 ταυτὰ Duebner: ταυτα.
2 ἐπήκισαν Xylander: ἐπήκησαν.
3 γυναικῶν γεωμοδών S. A. Naber wrongly.

* "Phocian Desperation," according to Pausanias, x. 1. 7.
* Cf. Polyaeus, Strategemata, viii. 66.

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report of this speech reached the women, they held a meeting by themselves and passed the same vote, and they exalted Daiphantus for having conceived the best plan for Phocis. It is said that the children also held an assembly on their own account and passed their vote too.

After this had been done, the Phocians engaged the enemy near Cleonae of Hyampolis, and gained the victory. To this vote of the Phocians the Greeks gave the name of "Desperation"; and the greatest festival of all, the Elaphebolia in honour of Artemis, they celebrate in Hyampolis even to this day in commemoration of that victory.

III. THE WOMEN OF CHIOS

The reason which led the Chians to appropriate Leuconia as a settlement was as follows: One of the men who appear to have been prominent in Chios was getting married, and, as the bride was being conducted to his home in a chariot, the king, Hippoclus, a close friend of the bridegroom, being there with the rest amid the drinking and merry-making, jumped up into the chariot, not with intent to do anything insulting, but merely following the common custom and indulging in facetiousness. Whereupon the friends of the bridegroom killed him.

Signs of divine anger were soon disclosed to the Chians, and the god of the oracle bade them slay the slayers of Hippoclus, but they said that they all had slain Hippoclus. So the god bade them all leave the city, if they were all involved in the crime. And thus the guilty, both those who had taken a hand in the murder and those who had in any way assented to it,
άμωσγέπως, οὐκ ὀλίγους γενομένους οὐδ’ ἀδυνάτους ὀντας, ἀπώκυσαν εἰς Λευκωνίαν, ἣν Κορωνείς ἀφελόμενοι πρότερον ἐκτήσαντο μετ’ Ἐρυθραίων. ὁ θετερόν δὲ πολέμου πρὸς τοὺς Ἐρυθραίους αὐτοῖς γενομένου, μέγιστον Ἱώνων δυναμένους τότε, κάκεινων ἐπὶ τὴν Λευκωνίαν στρατευσάντων 245 ἀντέχειν μὴ δυνάμενοι, συνεχώρησαν ἐξελθέων ὑπόσπονδοι, χλαίναν μίαν ἐκάστου καὶ ἰματίον ἄλλο δὲ μηδὲν ἐχοντος. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐκάκικυν αὐτοὺς, εἰ προέμενοι τὰ ὄπλα γυμνοὶ διὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐξίσουν ὡμομοκέναι δὲ φασκόντων, ἐκέλευν αὐτοὺς τὰ μὲν ὄπλα μὴ καταλεπτέω, λέγειν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ὅτι χλαίνα μὲν ἐστὶ τὸ ἐξοτόν, χιτῶν δ’ ἡ ἀσπίς, ἀνδρὶ θυμὸν ἐχοντι. πεισθέντων δὲ ταῦτα τῶν Χίων καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἐρυθραίους παρρησιαζομένων καὶ τὰ ὄπλα δεικνύοντων, ἐφοβήθησαν οἱ Ἐρυθραιοί τὴν τόλμαν αὐτῶν καὶ Β οὔδείς προσήλθεν οὐδ’ ἐκώλυσεν, ἀλλ’ ἡγάπησαν ἀπαλλαγέντων. οὔτοι μὲν οὖν θαρρεῖν διδαχθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν οὕτως ἑσώθησαν.

Τούτων δ’ οὔδεν τι λειπόμενον ἔργον ἀρετῆ καὶ χρόνος ὑστερον πολλοῖς ἐπράχθη ταῖς Χίων γυναιξίν, ὅπηνικα Φίλιππος ὁ Δημιουργὸς πολυορκών τὴν πόλιν ἐκήρυξε κήρυγμα βάρβαρον καὶ ὑπερήφανον, ἄφιστασθαι τοὺς οἰκέτας πρὸς ἐαυτὸν ἔπ’ ἐλευθερία καὶ γάμω τῆς κεκτημένης, ὡς συνοικιῶν αὐτοὺς ταῖς τῶν ἐπεσποτῶν γυναιξί. δεινὸν δ’ αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ ἄγριον θυμὸν λαβοῦσαι, μετὰ τῶν

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a Cf. Herodotus, i. 18; Frontinus, Strategemata, ii. 5. 15.

b Philip V.; the date is probably 201 b.c.
being not few in number nor without strength, the Chians sent away to settle in Leuconia, which they had earlier wrested from the Coroneans and taken possession of with the co-operation of the Erythraeans.

Later, however, they became involved in war with the Erythraeans, the most powerful of the Ionians; and when these marched against Leuconia, they were not able to hold out, and agreed to evacuate the town under truce, each man to have one cloak and one inner garment and nothing else. The women, however, called them cowards if they purposed to lay down their arms and go forth naked through the midst of the enemy. But when the men said that they had given their oath, the women bade them not to leave their arms behind, but to say, by way of answer to the enemy, that the spear serves as a cloak, and the shield as a shirt, to a man of spirit. The Chians took this advice, and when they used bold words towards the Erythraeans and displayed their weapons, the Erythraeans were frightened at their boldness, and no one approached them nor hindered them, but all were well pleased at their departure. So the Chians, having been taught courage by their women, were saved in this way.

A deed which does not in the least fall short of this one in bravery was performed by the women of Chios many years later at the time when Philip, son of Demetrius, was besieging their city, and had made a barbarous and insolent proclamation bidding the slaves to desert to him, their reward to be freedom and marriage with their owners, meaning thereby that he was intending to unite them with the wives of their masters. But the women, suddenly possessed of fierce and savage spirit, in company with
PLUTARCH’S MORALIA

(245) Οὐδενὸς δ’ ἦττον ἐνδοξὸν ἔστι τῶν κοινῆς διαπεπραγμένων γυναικῶν ἐργῶν ὁ πρὸς Κλεομένην περὶ ’Ἀργούς ἀγῶν, ὁν ἡγοῦντα, Τελεσίλλης τῆς ποιητρίας προτρεψαμένης. ταύτην δὲ φασὶν οἰκίας οὐσαν ἐνδόξου τῷ δὲ σώματι νοσηματικὴν εἰς θεοῦ.

D πέμψας περὶ ὑγείας· καὶ χρησθὲν αὐτῇ Μοῦσας θεραπεύειν, πειθομένην τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐπιθεμένην ὑδῆ καὶ ἄρμονία τοῦ πολέμου ἀπαλλαγὴν ταχὺ καὶ θαυμάζεσθαι διὰ ποιητικὴν ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν.

’Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κλεομένης ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνας (οὐ μὴν, ὥς ἐνιοῖ μυθολογοῦν, ἐπτα καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἐπτακοσίως πρὸς ἐπτακισχίλιοις) ἐβαδίζε ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ὀρμὴ καὶ τὸλμα Δαμόνος παρέστη ταῖς ἀκμαζούσαις τῶν γυναικῶν ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς πολέμιους ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος. ἡγομένης δὲ τῆς Τελεσίλλης, ὁπλα λαμβάνοντι καὶ παρ’ ἐπαλείν ἰστάμεναι κύκλῳ τὰ ἐναρκτὶ περιεστείσαν, ὥστε θαυμάζειν τοὺς πολέμιους.

1 προσλαμβάνουσαι] προσταλαμπτοῦσαι Wyettenbach.
2 θεοῦ Meziriacus: theōs.
3 τῷ idem: τῇ.

* Cf. Moralia, 223 β; Herodotus, vi. 76 ff; Pausanias, ii. 20. 8.

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their slaves, who were themselves equally indignant and supported the women by their presence, hastened to mount the walls, both bringing stones and missiles, and exhorting and importuning the fighting men until, finally, by their vigorous defence and the wounds inflicted on the enemy by their missiles, they repulsed Philip. And not a single slave deserted to him.

IV. THE WOMEN OF ARGOS

Of all the deeds performed by women for the community none is more famous than the struggle against Cleomenes for Argos, which the women carried out at the instigation of Telesilla the poetess. She, as they say, was the daughter of a famous house but sickly in body, and so she sent to the god to ask about health; and when an oracle was given her to cultivate the Muses, she followed the god’s advice, and by devoting herself to poetry and music she was quickly relieved of her trouble, and was greatly admired by the women for her poetic art.

But when Cleomenes king of the Spartans, having slain many Argives (but not by any means seven thousand, seven hundred and seventy-seven, as some fabulous narratives have it) proceeded against the city, an impulsive daring, divinely inspired, came to the younger women to try, for their country’s sake, to hold off the enemy. Under the lead of Telesilla they took up arms, and, taking their stand by the battlements, manned the walls all round, so that the enemy were amazed.

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b Six thousand according to Herodotus, vii. 148. Cf. also vi. 77-82. The date is put about 494 B.C. or possibly earlier.

c Found in the temples according to Moralia, 223 b.
toν μὲν οὖν Κλεομένη πολλῶν πεσόντων ἀπεκρούσαντο. τὸν δὲ ἔτερον βασιλέα Δημάρατον, ὡς Σωκράτης φησίν, ἐντὸς γενόμενον καὶ κατασχόντα τὸ Παμφυλιακὸν ἔξεσαν. οὕτω δὲ τῆς πόλεως περιγενομένης, τὰς μὲν πεσούσας ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῶν γυναίκῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ὀδοῦ τῆς Ἀργείας ἔθαψαν, ταῖς δὲ σωθείσαις ὑπόμνημα τῆς ἀριστείας ἔδωσαν ἱδρύσασθαι τοῖς 'Ευναλίων. τὴν δὲ μάχην οἱ μὲν ἐβδόμη λέγουσιν ἵσταμένου μηνὸς, οἱ δὲ νομηνίᾳ γενέσθαι τοῦ νῦν μὲν τετάρτου, πάλαι δ' Ἐρμαίου παρ' Ἀργείοις, καθ' ἑκείνην τὰν Ἡβριστικὰ τελοῦσι, γυναίκας μὲν ἀνδρείοις χιτῶσι καὶ χλα-Γ μύσιν, ἀνδρᾶς δὲ πέπλοις γυναίκῶν καὶ καλύπτραις ἀμφιενύντες.

Ἐπανορθοῦμενοι δὲ τῇν ὀλγανιδρίαν, οὐχ ὡς Ἡρόδοτος ἰστορεῖ τοῖς δούλοις, ἀλλὰ τῶν περιοικῶν ποιησάμενοι πολίτας τοὺς ἀρίστους, συνήκισαν τὰς γυναίκας· ἐδόκοι δὲ καὶ τούτους ἀτμαξείς καὶ περιμοῦν ἐν τῷ συγκαθεύδειν ὡς χείρονας. Ὁδεῖν ἐθεντὸ νόμον τὸν κελεύντα πώγωνα δεῖν ἑχούσαι 1 συναναπαύεσθαι τοῖς ἀνδράσι τὰς γεγαμημένας.

V. ΠΕΡΣΙΔΕΣ

246 Πέρσας Ἀστυάγου βασιλέως καὶ Μήδων ἀποστήσας Κύρος ἥττηθη μάχῃ. φεύγουσι δὲ τοῖς Πέρσαις εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ὀλγυον ἀπεχόντων συνεισπέσειν τῶν πολεμίων, ἀπήντησαν αἰ γυναίκες πρὸ τῆς

1 ἑχούσας] ἑχουσι Ε. Kurtz misses the irony!

b Herodotus, vi. 83, does not say quite this. Cf. Aristotle, Politics, v. 3. 7.
c Approval by indirection!
d Cf. Polyaeus, Strategemata, vii. 45. 2; Justin, Historiae Philippicae, i. 6.
BRAVERY OF WOMEN, 245-246

The result was that Cleomenes they repulsed with great loss, and the other king, Demaratus, who managed to get inside, as Socrates says, and gained possession of the Pamphyliacum, they drove out. In this way the city was saved. The women who fell in the battle they buried close by the Argive Road, and to the survivors they granted the privilege of erecting a statute of Ares as a memorial of their surpassing valour. Some say that the battle took place on the seventh day of the month which is now known as the Fourth Month, but anciently was called Hermaeus among the Argives; others say that it was on the first day of that month, on the anniversary of which they celebrate even to this day the ‘Festival of Impudence,’ at which they clothe the women in men’s shirts and cloaks, and the men in women’s robes and veils.

To repair the scarcity of men they did not unite the women with slaves, as Herodotus records, but with the best of their neighbouring subjects, whom they made Argive citizens. It was reputed that the women showed disrespect and an intentional indifference to those husbands in their married relations from a feeling that they were underlings. Wherefore the Argives enacted a law, the one which says that married women having a beard must occupy the same bed with their husbands!

V. THE PERSIAN WOMEN

At the time when Cyrus induced the Persians to revolt from king Astyages and the Medes he was defeated in battle. As the Persians were fleeing to the city, with the enemy not far from forcing their way in along with the Persians, the women ran out
(246) πόλεως καὶ τοὺς πέπλους ἐκ τῶν κάτω μερῶν ἐπάρασι, "ποί φέρεσθε," εἶπον, "ὡ κάκιστοι πάντων ἀνθρώπων; οὐ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα γε δύνασθε καταδύναι φεύγοντες, οἴνοι ἔξεγένεσθε." ταύτην τὴν ὄψιν ἀμα καὶ τῆν φωνήν αἰδευθέντες οἱ Πέρσαι καὶ κακίσαντες ἐαυτούς ἀνέστρεψάν τε καὶ συμβαλόντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς πολεμίους. Β ἐκ τούτου κατέστη νόμος, εἰσελάσαντος βασιλέως εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐκάστην γυναῖκα χρυσοῦν λαμβάνειν; Κύρου νομοθετήσαντος. Ὡχον δὲ φασί, τά τ' ἀλλα μοχθηρόν καὶ φιλοκερδέστατον βασιλέων ὄντα, περικάμψαι τὴν πόλιν ἄεί καὶ μὴ παρελθεῖν ἀλλ' ἀποστερήσαι τῆς δωρεᾶς τὰς γυναίκας. 'Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ καὶ δίς εἰσῆλθε καὶ ταῖς κυνόσαις διπλοῦν ἐδωκε.

VI. KELTAI

Κελτοίς, πρὶν ὑπερβαλεῖν ὁ Ἀλπεώς καὶ κατοικη-σαί τῆς Ἰταλίας ἣν νῦν νέμονται χώραν, στάσις C ἐμπεσοῦσα δενή καὶ δυσκατάπαυστος εἰς πόλεμον ἔμφυλιον προῆλθεν. αἱ δὲ γυναίκες ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ὅπλων γενόμεναι καὶ παραλαβοῦσαν τὰ νείκη δι-ήτησαν οὕτως ἀμέμπτως καὶ διέκριναν, ὥστε φιλάν πάσι θαυμαστὴν καὶ κατὰ πόλεις καὶ κατ' οἴκους γενέσθαι πρὸς πάντας. ἐκ τούτου διετέλουν περὶ τε πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης βουλεύομενοι μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς συμμάχους ἀμφίβολα δι' ἑκείνων βραβεύοντες. ἐν γοῦν ταῖς πρὸς Ἀννίβαν συνθῆκας ἐγράψαντο, Κελτῶν μὲν ἐγ-

a Cf. Moralia, 241 b, supra.
b Cf. Xenophon, Cyropaedia, viii. 5. 21.
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to meet them before the city, and, lifting up their garments, said, "Whither are you rushing so fast, you biggest cowards in the whole world? Surely you cannot, in your flight, slink in here whence you came forth." The Persians, mortified at the sight and the words, chiding themselves for cowards, rallied and, engaging the enemy afresh, put them to rout. As a result of this it became an established custom that, whenever the king rode into the city, each woman should receive a gold coin; the author of the law was Cyrus. But Ochus, they say, being a mean man and the most avaricious of the kings, would always make a detour round the city and not pass within, but would deprive the women of their largess. Alexander, however, entered the city twice, and gave all the women who were with child a double amount.

VI. THE CELTIC WOMEN

Before the Celts crossed over the Alps and settled in that part of Italy which is now their home, a dire and persistent factional discord broke out among them which went on and on to the point of civil war. The women, however, put themselves between the armed forces, and, taking up the controversies, arbitrated and decided them with such irreproachable fairness that a wondrous friendship of all towards all was brought about between both States and families. As the result of this they continued to consult with the women in regard to war and peace, and to decide through them any disputed matters in their relations with their allies. At all events, in their treaty with Hannibal they wrote the provision that, if the Celts

(246) καλούντων Καρχερίδονίους, τοὺς ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ Καρχηδονίων ἐπάρχους1 καὶ στρατηγοὺς εἶναι δικαστάς· ἀν δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι Κελτοίς ἐγκαλώσι, τὰς Κέλτων D γυναῖκας.

VII. ΜΗΛΙΑΙ

Μήλιοι γῆς χρήζοντες ἀμφιλαφοῦς Νυμφαίων ἠγεμόνα τῆς ἀποκλίας ἐπουήσαντο, νέον ἄνδρα καὶ κάλλει διαφέροντα· τοῦ δὲ2 θεοῦ πλεῖν κελεύσαντος αὐτοὺς, ὅπου δ’ ἂν ἀποβάλωσι τοὺς κομιστήρας, ἐκεῖ κατοικεῖν, συνέπεσε τῇ Καρίᾳ προσβαλόσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀποβὰσι τὰς ναύς ὑπὸ χειμῶνος διαφθαρῆται. τῶν δὲ Καρων οἱ Κρύασσοι3 οἰκοῦντες, εἶτε τὴν ἀπορίαν οἰκτίραντες εἶτε δείσαντες αὐτῶν
Ε τὴν τόλμαν, ἐκέλευον οἰκεῖν παρ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς χώρας μετέδωκαν· εἶτα πολλὴν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ λαμβάνοντας αὐξῆσιν ὅρωντες, ἐπεβούλευον ἀνελεῖν εὐωχίαν τινὰ καὶ θοῖνη ταρακενάσαντες. ἐτυχεὶ δὲ Καρίνης παρθένοις ἐρῶσα τοῦ Νυμφαίου καὶ λανθάνουσα τοὺς ἄλλους· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Καφένη· πραττομένων δὲ τοιῶν οὗ δυναμένη τὸν Νυμφαίον περιορᾶν ἀπολλύμενον, ἐξήγγειλε τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῷ τῶν πολιτῶν. ὡς οὖν ἦκον οἱ Κρυασσεῖς καλοῦντες αὐτοὺς, οὐκ ἔβη νόμον ὁ Νυμφαῖος "Ἐλλησίν εἶναι βαδίζειν ἐπὶ δειπνὸν ἀνευ γυναικῶν.
F ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ Κάρες ἐκέλευον ἄγεν καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας. οὕτω δὴ φράσας τὰ πεπραγμένα Μηλίους ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀνόπλους ἐν ἱματίοις

1 ἐπάρχους] ἰππάρχους Polyaeunus, Strategemata, vii. 50.
2 δὲ added by Meziriacus.
3 Κρύασσον Xylander: κρύασσαν.
complained against the Carthaginians, the governors and generals of the Carthaginians in Spain should be the judges; and if the Carthaginians complained against the Celts, the judges should be the Celtic women.

VII. THE WOMEN OF MELOS

The Melians, being in need of wide acres, put in charge of the colony to be sent forth Nymphaeus, a young man and unusually handsome. The god bade them sail, and wherever they should lose their transports to settle in that place. It came about, as they put in at Caria and went ashore, that their ships were destroyed by a storm. The Carian inhabitants of Cryassus, whether pitying their sorry plight or fearing their boldness, bade them live near themselves, and gave them a portion of their land. Later, seeing their great expansion in a short time, they plotted to make away with them, after preparing a sumptuous banquet for the purpose. It happened that a Carian maiden was in love with Nymphaeus, but nobody else was aware of this. Her name was Caphene. As the plan was being put into operation, she could not suffer Nymphaeus to be put to death, and so she disclosed to him the intention of her fellow-citizens. So, when the Cryassians came to invite them, Nymphaeus said that it was not the custom for the Greeks to go to dinner without women. When the Carians heard this, they told them to bring the women too. On this understanding Nymphaeus informed the Melians of what had been done, and told the men to go to the

* Cf. Polyaenus, Strategemata, viii. 64.
βαδίζειν, τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν ἐκάστην ἐξίφος ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ κομίζειν καὶ καθέξεσθαι παρὰ τὸν αὐτής. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ δείπνου μεσούντος ἐδόθη τὸ σύνθημα τοῖς Καραί καὶ συνήσθοντο τὸν καιρὸν οἶ "Ἐλλήνες, αἱ μὲν γυναίκες ἀμα πᾶσαι τοὺς κόλπους διέσχον, οἱ δὲ τὰ ἐξίφη λαβόντες ἐπέθεντο τοῖς βαρβάροις καὶ διέφθειραν αὐτούς ἀμα πάντας κατασάμενοι δὲ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην καταβαλόντες, 247 ὕκισαν' ἔτεραν, ἣν νέαν Κρώσσον ὄνόμασαν. ἡ δὲ Καφένη τῷ Νυμφαίῳ γαμηθεῖσα τιμὴν καὶ χάριν ἐσχε ταῖς ἐυεργεσίαις πρέπουσαν. ἄξιον οὖν ἀγασθαὶ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τὴν σωπῆν καὶ τὸ θάρσος, καὶ τὸ μηδεμίαν ἐν πολλαῖς μηδ' ἀκούσαν ὑπὸ δειλίας κακήν γενέσθαι.

VIII. ΤΥΡΡΗΝΙΔΕΣ

Τυρρηνῶν τοῖνυν τῶν Λήμνον καὶ "Ιμβρον κατασχόντων, ἄρπασάντων δὲ Βραυρωνόθεν τὰς 'Ἀθηναίων γυναῖκας, ἐγένοντο παῖδες, οὓς ἐξῆλασαι 'Αθηναίοι μεξοβαρβάρους ὄντας ἐκ τῶν νῆσων. οἱ δ' εἰς Ταῦναρον κατάραντες ἐγένοντο χρήσιμοι Σπαρτιάταις περὶ τῶν εἰλωτικῶν πόλεμον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολτείας καὶ γάμων τυχόντες, οὐκ ἄξιούμενοι δὲ ἄρχειν καὶ βουλῆς, ὑπόνοιαν ἐσχόν ὡς ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ συνερχόμενοι καὶ διανοούμενοι τὰ καθεστῶτα κινεῖν. συλλαβόντες οὖν αὐτοὺς οἱ Δακεδαμόνιοι καὶ καθείρζαντες ἐφύλαττον ἴσχυ

1 ὕκισαν Xylander: ὕκησαν.

a Cf. Moralia, 296 b; Polyaenus, Strategemata, vii. 49; Herodotus, iv. 145-148 and vi. 138 (who says that the men were descendants of the Argonauts); Valerius Maximus, iv. 6, ext. 3; Conon, Narrationes, 36 and 47.

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place unarmed in conventional attire, but that each of the women should carry a sword in the fold of her garment and sit beside her husband or male relative. When, about the middle of the meal, the predetermined signal was given to the Carians, and the Greeks realized that the time had come, all the women at the same instant threw open the fold of their garments and the men, seizing the swords, attacked the barbarians and slew them all together. Then, taking possession of the land and razing that city, they built another, to which they gave the name of New Cryassus. Caphene married Nymphaeus and received the honour and gratitude merited by her valuable services. It is right and proper to admire both the silence and the courage of the women, and that not a single one of them among so many was led by timidity to turn coward even involuntarily.

VIII. THE ETRUSCAN WOMEN

When the Etruscans had gained possession of Lemnos and Imbros, they carried away forcibly from Brauron Athenian women, and children were born to them. These the Athenians expelled from the islands on the ground that they were in part barbarian, and they put in at Taenarum and made themselves useful to the Spartans in the war with the Helots. For this they received citizenship and the right of intermarriage, but were not deemed worthy to hold office or to be members of the Senate, and this gave colour to the idea that some radical design underlay their coming together, and that they purposed to disturb the established institutions. Accordingly the Spartans took them into custody and, shutting them up in prison, placed a strong guard
(247) ρῶς, ζητοῦντες ἐλείν σαφέσι καὶ βεβαιώς ἐλέγχοις. αἱ δὲ τῶν καθειργμένων γυναῖκες ἐπὶ τὴν ἐιρκτὴν παραγενόμεναι, πολλαῖς ἱκεσίαις καὶ δεήσει παρείθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν φυλάκων ὅσον ἀποσάσασθαι καὶ προσεπείν τους ἄνδρας. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰσήλθον, ἐκέλευον αὐτοὺς μεταμφιεύνοντα ταχὺ τὰ ἰμάτια καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἑκείναις ἀπολυτείν, τὰ C δὲ ἐκείνων ἐνδύντας αὐτοὺς ἀπιέναι περικαλυψαμένους. γενομένων δὲ τούτων, αἱ μὲν ὑπέμειναν αὐτοῦ παραταξάμεναι πρὸς πάντα τὰ δεινά, τοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας ἐξαπατηθέντες οἱ φύλακες παρῆκαν ὃς δὴ γυναῖκας.

Ἐκ δὴ τούτου καταλαβομένων αὐτῶν τὰ Ταῦγετα, καὶ τὸ εἰλωτικὸν ἀφιστάντων καὶ προσδεχόμενων, οἱ Σπαρτιᾱταί εἰς πολὺν φόβον καταστάντες ἐπεκηρυκεύσαντο καὶ διηλάγησαν ἐπὶ τῷ κομίσασθαι μὲν αὐτοὺς τὰς γυναῖκας, χρήματα δὲ καὶ ναῦς λαβόντας ἐκπλεύσαν καὶ γῆς τυχόντας D ἀλλαχόσε ἢ καὶ πόλεως ἀποίκους Λακεδαίμονις καὶ συγγενεῖς νομίζεσθαί. ταῦτ' ἐπραττὼν οἱ Πελασγοὶ Πόλλων ἡγεμόνα καὶ Δελφόν καὶ Κραταιδάν Λακεδαίμονίσις λαβόντες καὶ μέρος μὲν αὐτῶν ἐν Μῆλῳ κατώκησαν· τοὺς δὲ πλεῖστος οἱ περὶ Πόλλων ἔχοντες εἰς Κρήτην ἐπλευσαν, ἀποτειρώμενοι τῶν λογίων. ἐχρήσθη γὰρ αὐτοῖς, ὅταν τὴν θεον καὶ τὴν ἄγκυραν ἀπολέσωσι, παύσασθαι πλάνης καὶ πόλιν ἐκεί συνοικίζειν. ὀρμισθεῖσιν οὖν πρὸς τῇ λεγομένῃ Χερρονήσῳ ὥρυβοι πανικὸι

over them, seeking to convict them by clear and certain proofs. The wives of the prisoners, coming to the prison, by dint of many prayers and intreaties, were permitted by the guards to pass within just to greet and to speak to their husbands. When they had gone inside they bade their husbands to change their clothing quickly, leaving their own for their wives, and then, putting on their wives’ garments, to depart with their faces covered. This done, the women waited there, prepared to face all terrors, but the guards were deceived and allowed the men to pass, supposing, of course, that they were women.

Following this, they seized the strongholds on Mount Taygetus, incited the body of Helots to revolt, and gladly received them as an addition to their forces. The Spartans were thrown into a great state of fear and, sending heralds, made peace with them, the conditions being that they should get back their wives, should receive money and ships, and sail away and, having found land and a city elsewhere, be considered as colonists and kindred of the Spartans. This the Pelasgians did, taking as leaders Pollis and Delphus and Crataidas, all Spartans. A part of them settled in Melos, but Pollis and his associates, with the great majority, sailed to Crete, testing the truth of the oracles. For an oracle had been given them that whenever they should lose their goddess and their anchor they should cease from their wanderings and found a city in that place. So, when they had come to anchor off that part of Crete which is called the Chersonese, panic confusion fell upon them by

* Who, according to other accounts, were to be put to death that night.

* Cf. Thucydides, v. 84.
prosépeton nymphwr, ὑφ' ὄν διαπτοηθέντες ἐν·

Ε ἐπήθησαν εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἀκόσμως, ἀπολυτόντες ἐν

τῇ γῇ ἔδαυν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, ὁ πατρὸς ἤν αὐτοῖς

εἰς Λήμνον ἕκ Βραύρωνος κομισθέν, ἐκ δὲ Λήμνου

πανταχωθεὶς συμπεριαγόμενον. ἔπει δὲ τοῦ θορύβου

λῆξαντος ἐπόθησαν αὐτῷ κατὰ πλοῦν, ἀμα δ' ὁ

Πόλλις κατέμαθε τῇ ἀγκύρᾳ τὸν ὄνυχα μὴ προσ-

ῶντα (βία γὰρ ἐλκομένης ὃς ἔοικεν ἐν τόποις

ὑποπέτρου ἀποσπασθεὶς ἐλαθε), περαινεσθαί τὰ

πυθόχρηστα φήσας ἐσήμαινεν ἀναστρέφειν· καὶ

F κατέσχε τὴν χώραν, καὶ μάχαις πολλαίς τῶν ἀντι-

ταξαμένων ἐπικρατήσας Λύκτων ἤκησε καὶ πόλεις

ἄλλας ὑποχειρίους ἐλαθε. διὸ καὶ νομίζουσιν

αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τε διὰ τὰς μητέρας κατὰ γένος

προσήκειν καὶ Σπαρτιατῶν ἀποίκους εἶναι.

IX. ΛΤΚΙΑΙ

Τὸ δ' ἐν Λυκίᾳ γενέσθαι λεγόμενον μυθώδες

μὲν ἑστιν, ἔχει δὲ τινὰ φήμην ὁμοίον μαρτυροῦσαν.

'Αμισώδαρος γὰρ, ὡς φασιν, ὁν Ἰσάραν Λύκιοι

καλοῦσιν, ἤκεν ἐκ τῆς περὶ Ζέλειαν ἀποικίας

Λυκίων, ληστρίδας ἄγων ναῦς, ὃν Χιμαρρος

ἤγειτο, πολεμιστὴς μὲν ἀνήρ ὄμος δὲ καὶ θηριώδης.

ἔπλει δὲ πλοῖω λέοντα μὲν ἔχοντι πρώραθεν ἐπι-

ςήμου, ἐκ δὲ πρύμνησ δράκοντα, καὶ πολλὰ κακὰ

1 ὁμοίον] ὁμοίον Meziriacus.

a Cf. Aristotle, Politics, ii. 10. 2.
b Cf. Homer, II. vi. 152 ff. and the scholia on II. xvi. 328; 500
night, by which they were so excited that they leaped aboard in utter disorder, leaving behind on land an ancient statue of Artemis which had been handed down to them from their ancestors, having been originally brought to Lemnos from Brauron, and from Lemnos had been carried about with them in all their journeyings. But when at sea, as the confusion subsided, they missed this, and at the same time Pollis discovered that the fluke was gone from the anchor (for apparently it had been broken off as the anchor dragged in some rocky places, without anybody’s noticing its loss), he declared that the god-given predictions were now fulfilled, and gave the signal to return. He took possession of the country, prevailed in many battles over those who ranged themselves against him, settled Lyctus, and took other cities under his control. Because of all this people regard them as related to the Athenians by descent on account of their mothers, and as colonists of the Spartans also.

IX. THE LYCIAN WOMEN

That which is said to have happened in Lycia sounds like a myth, yet it has some supporting testimony in the tales that are told. Amisodarus, as they say, whom the Lycians call Isaras, arrived from the Lycian colony in the vicinity of Zeleia, bringing with him pirate ships, in command of which was Chimarrhus, a warlike man, bloodthirsty and brutal. He sailed in a vessel which had a lion as its figurehead at the prow, and a serpent at the stern. He did much evil

Hyginus, *Fabulae*, no. 57; Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, ii. 3. Is Chimarrhus a Chimaera?
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(248) τοὺς Λυκίους ἐποίει, καὶ πλεύσαι τὴν θάλασσαν οὐκ ἦν οὐδὲ τὰς ἐγγὺς θαλάσσας πόλεις οἰκεῖν.

Τοῦτον οὖν ἀποκτείνας ὁ Βελλερόφόντης φεύ-γοντα τῷ Πηγάσῳ διώξας, ἐκβαλὼν δὲ καὶ τὰς 'Αμαζόνας, οὐδενός ἐτύγχανε τῶν δικαίων, ἀλλ' ἦν ἀδικώτατος περὶ αὐτὸν 'Ἰοβάτης· οθέν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐμβὰς εὐζάτῳ καὶ αὐτὸν τῷ Ποσειδῶνι τὴν χώραν ἀκαρπον γενέσθαι καὶ ἀνόητον. εἰθ' ὁ μὲν ἀπῆει κατευξάμενος, κῦμα δὲ διαρθέν ἐπέκλυε τὴν γῆν' καὶ θέαμα δεινὸν ἦν, ἐπομένης μετεώρου τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἀποκρυπτούσης τὸ Β Πεδίον. ἐπεὶ δὲ, τῶν ἀνδρῶν δειμένων τὸν Βελ-λερόφοντην ἐπισχέσιν, οὐδὲν ἐπείθον, αἱ γυναῖκες ἀνασυράμεναι τοὺς χιτωνίσκους ἀπῆντησαν αὐτῷ· πάλιν οὖν ὑπ' αἰσχύνης ἀναχωροῦντος ὀπίσω καὶ τὸ κῦμα λέγεται συνυποχωρήσαι.

Τινὲς δὲ τοῦ λόγου τοῦτον παραμυθοῦμενοι τὸ μυθῶδες οὐ φασὶ κατάραις ὑπαγαγέσθαι τὴν θάλασσαν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ πεδίου τὸ πιότατον ὑποκείσθαι τῇ θαλάσσῃ ταπεινότερον· ὄφρυν δὲ παρατείνουσαν ἄκτης, ἢ διείργε τὴν θάλασσαν,

C ἐκρηξία τοῦ Βελλερόφοντην, καὶ βία τοῦ πελάγους ἐπιφερομένου καὶ κατακλύζοντος τὸ πεδίον, τοὺς μὲν ἀνδρὰς οὐδὲν περαίνειν δειμένων αὐτοῦ, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ἀθρόας περιχυθείςας αἰδοὺς τυχεῖν καὶ ἀποπαύσαι τὴν ὀργήν.

Οἱ δ' ὦλοις τὴν λεγομένην Χίμαιραν ὅρος ἀντήλιον γεγονέναι φασὶ καὶ ποιεῖν ἀνακλάσεις ἐν τῷ θέρει χαλεπᾶς καὶ πυρώδεις, ὕψ' ὦν ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίον

* Bellerophon's winged horse (which may be found represented on the coins of Corinth).

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to the Lycians, and it was not possible to sail the sea or even to live in the cities near the sea.

This man Bellerophon slew, pursuing him with Pegasus as he was trying to escape. Bellerophon also drove out the Amazons, but met with no just treatment; in fact, Iobates was most unjust with him. Because of this, Bellerophon waded into the sea, and prayed to Poseidon that, as a requital against Iobates, the land might become sterile and unprofitable. Thereupon he went back after his prayer, and a wave arose and inundated the land. It was a fearful sight as the sea, following him, rose high in air and covered up the plain. The men besought Bellerophon to check it, but when they could not prevail on him, the women, pulling up their garments, came to meet him; and when he, for shame, retreated towards the sea again, the wave also, it is said, went back with him.

Some, attempting to explain away the mythical element in this account, assert that he did not get the sea to move by imprecations, but that the most fertile part of the plain lies below the sea-level, and Bellerophon broke through the ridge extending along the shore, which kept the sea out; then, as the ocean rushed in violently and covered up the plain, the men accomplished nothing by beseeching him, but the women, flocking about him in a crowd, met with respect, and caused his anger to subside.

Still others assert that the Chimaera, as it was called, was nothing but a mountain facing the sun, and that it caused reflexions of sunlight, fierce and fiery in the summer time, and by these, striking all over

Cf. Homer, II. vi. 162.
(248) σκεδασμένων μαρανεσθαί τούς καρπούς. τὸν δὲ Βελλεροφόντην συμφρονήσαντα διακόψα τοῦ κρημνοῦ τὸ λειότατον καὶ μάλιστα τὰς ἀνακλάσεις ἀνταποστέλλων. ἐπεὶ δ᾽ οὐκ ἔτυγχανε χάριτος, ὄργη πρὸς ἁμναν τραπέσθαι τῶν Λυκίων, πεισθήναι δ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν.

D “Ἡν δὲ Νύμφις ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ περὶ Ἡρακλείας αἰτίαν εὑρήκεν, ἡκιστα μυθόδης ἐστὶ, λέγει γάρ, ὅτι σὺν ἄγριον ἐν τῇ Εανθίων χώρᾳ καὶ ζῶα καὶ καρποὺς λυμαινόμενον ἄνελὼν ὁ Ἀθλεροφόντης οὐδεμιᾶς ἔτυγχανεν ἀμοιβής· καταρασσαμένου δὲ τῶν Εανθίων αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Ποσειδῶνα, πάν τὸ πεδίον ἐξήνθησαν ἁλμυρίδα καὶ διέφθαρτο παντάπασι, τῆς γῆς πικρᾶς γενομένης· μέχρι οὖ τὰς γυναίκας αἴδεσθε δεομένας εὐξατο τῷ Ποσειδῶνι τὴν ὀργήν ἀφεῖναι. διὸ καὶ νόμος ἢν τοῖς Εανθίοις μὴ πατρόθεν ἄλλο ἀπὸ μητέρων χρηματίζειν.

X. ΣΑΛΜΑΤΙ∆ΕΣ

Ε ’Αννίβα δὲ τοῦ Βάρκα, πρὶν ἐπὶ ‘Ῥωμαίους στρατεύειν, ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ πόλει μεγάλη Σαλματική προσμαχομένου, πρῶτον μὲν ἐδείσαν οἱ πολιορκούμενοι καὶ συνέθεντο ποιῆσεν τὸ προστατόμενον, Ἀννίβα τριακόσια δόντες ἀργυρίου τάλαντα καὶ τριακόσιοι όμήρους. ἀνέντος δὲ τῇ πολιορκίαν ἐκείνου, μεταγνώνεις οὐδὲν ἔπραττον ὧν ὤμο-

1 ἀνακλάσεις καὶ ἀνακαθάρσεις, “burning reflexions,” in some mss.

b Cf. Herodotus, i. 173, and the note in A. H. Sayce’s edition (London, 1883), where many of the numerous parallels are cited.

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the plain, the crops were dried up; and that Bellerophon, sensing this, cut away the smoothest part of the precipice which mostly sent back the reflexions. When, however, he met with no gratitude, in anger he turned to avenge himself upon the Lycians, but was prevailed upon by the women.

But the reason which Nymphis gives in the fourth book of his treatise about Heracleia is least mythical of all; for he says that Bellerophon killed a wild boar which was making havoc of the stock and crops in the land of the Xanthians, but obtained no fitting reward; whereupon he addressed to Poseidon imprecations against the Xanthians, and the whole plain suddenly became glittering with a salt deposit and was completely ruined, since the soil had become saline. This lasted until Bellerophon, out of respect for the women who besought him, prayed to Poseidon to give up his anger. For this reason it was the custom for the Xanthians to bear names derived not from their fathers but from their mothers.

X. THE WOMEN OF SALMANTICA

When Hannibal, the son of Barca, before making his campaign against the Romans, attacked a great city in Spain, Salmantica, at first the besieged were terrified, and agreed to do what was ordered by giving him six thousand pounds and three hundred hostages. But when he raised the siege, they changed their minds and did nothing of what they had agreed to do.

\[a\] Cf. Polyaeus, Strategemata, vii. 48.
\[b\] Probably about 220 B.C. Cf. Polybius, iii. 14 and Livy, xxi. 5.
Φλόγησαν. αὐθίς οὖν ἐπιστρέψατος αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπὶ διαρπαγῇ χρημάτων κελευσαντος ἐπικειεῖται τῇ πόλει, παντάπασι καταπλαγέντες οἱ βάρβαροι συνεχώρησαν ἐξελθεῖν ἐν ἰματίῳ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους, ὀπλα καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ τὴν πόλιν καταλυόντας. αἱ δὲ γυναικεῖς οἴομενα τῶν μὲν ἀνδρῶν φωράσειν ἕκαστον ἐξιόντα τοὺς πολεμίους, αὐτῶν δ' οὐκ ἂν ἀφασθαί, εἴη δὲ ἀποκρύψασθαι συνεξεπιπτον τοῖς ἀνδράσιν. ἐξελθόντων δὲ πάντων ὁ Ἀννίβας φρουράν Μασαισυλίων ἐπιστήμασε ἐν τῷ προαστεῖῳ συνείχεν αὐτούς, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι τὴν πόλιν ἀτάκτως ἐμπεσόντες διήρπαζον. πολλῶν δ' ἀγομένων, οἱ Μασαισύλιοι καρτερεῖν οὐκ ἐδύναντο 249 βλέποντες οὐδὲ τῇ φυλακῇ τὸν νοῦν προσεῖχον, ἅλλ' ἡγανάκτουν καὶ ἄπεχώρουν ὡς μεθέξοντες τῆς ὕφελείας. ἐν τούτω δ' αἱ γυναικεῖς ἐμβοηθοῦσαι τοῖς ἀνδράσι τὰ ἐξίφη παρέδοσαν, ἐνιαί δὲ καὶ δ' ἑαυτῶν ἐπετίθεντο τοῖς φρουροῦσι. μία δὲ καὶ λόγχην ἐξαρπάσασα Βάνωνος τοῦ ἐρμηνεύως αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἐπαισεν· ἐπεχεῖ δὲ τεθωρακισμένως· τῶν δ' ἄλλων τοὺς μὲν καταβαλόντες, τοὺς δὲ τρεψάμενοι, διεξέπεσον ἄθροοι μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν. πυθόμενος δ' ὁ Ἀννίβας καὶ διώξας τοὺς μὲν καταλειφθέντας εἶλεν. οἱ δὲ τῶν ὀρῶν ἐπι- Βλαβόμενοι παραρχῆμα μὲν διέφυγον, ύστερον δὲ πέμψαντες ἱκτηρίαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατηχήσαν, ἄδειας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας τυχόντες.

1 ἐν] ἐν Polyaenus, Strategemata, vii. 48: ἐν ἐν van Herwerden; but cf. Moralia, 276 ο, and Polyaenus, Strategemata, v. 19 and viii. 64, all of which have ἐν only.

2 ἐδύναντο the preferable form: ἰδύναντο.
So he returned and ordered his soldiers, with the promise of plunder, to attack the city. At this the barbarians were panic-stricken, and came to terms, agreeing that the free inhabitants should depart clad in one civilian garment, and should leave behind weapons, property, slaves, and their city. The women, thinking that the enemy would search each man as he came out, but would not touch the women, took swords, and, hiding them, hastened out with the men. When all had come out, Hannibal set over them a guard of Masaesylan soldiers in a place near the city, and kept them there under constraint. The rest of the soldiers rushed into the city in disorder and set to plundering. As much booty was being carried off, the Masaesylans could not bear to be merely spectators, nor did they keep their mind on their watching, but were much aggrieved and started to move away as if to have their share of the spoils. At this juncture the women, calling upon the men, handed them the swords, and some of the women of themselves attacked their guards. One of them snatched away the spear of Banon the interpreter, and smote the man himself; but he happened to have on his breast-plate. Of the others, the men struck down some, routed the rest, and forced a way out in a body, accompanied by the women. Hannibal, learning of this, sent in pursuit of them, and caught those who could not keep up. The others gained the mountains, and, for the time, escaped. Afterwards, however, they sent a petition to him, and were restored to their city, and received immunity and humane treatment.

3 καταλειφθέντας εἴλεν] καταληφθέντας Hatzidakis, ἀνείλεν van Herwerden, would perhaps make Hannibal too bloodthirsty.
XI. ΜΙΛΗΣΙΑΙ

(249) Τὰς Μιλησίων ποτὲ παρθένους δεινὸν πάθος καὶ ἄλλοκοτον κατέσχεν, ἐκ δὴ τινος αὐτίας ἀδήλου· μάλιστα δὲ εἰκάζετο κράσιν ἐκοστατικῆν καὶ φαρμακώδη λαβῶν ὃ ἀὴρ τροπὴν αὐταῖς καὶ παραφορὰν τῆς διανοίας ἐνεργάσασθαι. πάσας μὲν γὰρ ἐξαίφνης ἐπιθυμία θανάτου καὶ πρὸς ἁγχόνῃ ὅρμῃ περιμανῆς ἐνεπίπτε, σολλαὶ δὲ ἀπῆγχοντο λαν·

C θάνουσαί· λόγου δὲ καὶ δάκρυα γονέων καὶ παρθενορίαν φίλων οὐδὲν ἐπέραινον, ἀλλὰ περιήγησαν ἐπινοιας καὶ πανουργίας ἀπάσης τῶν φυλαττόντων, ἔστις διαχρώμεναι. καὶ τὸ κακὸν ἐδόκει δαιμονιόν εἶναι καὶ κρείττον ἀνθρωπίνης βοηθείας, ἀχρι ὧν γνώμη νοῦν ἔχοντος ἀνδρὸς ἑγγάφη προ- βούλευμα, τὰς ἀπαγχομένας γυμνᾶς ἐκκομίζονται διὰ τῆς ἁγορᾶς· καὶ τούτο κυρωθὲν οὐ μόνον ἐπέσχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντελῶς ἐπαυσε θανατώσας τὰς παρθένους. μέγα δὴ τεκμήριον εὐφυίας καὶ ἀρετῆς ἡ τῆς ἁδοξίας εὑλάβεια καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὰ δεινότατα τῶν ὄντων, θάνατον καὶ πόνον, ἀδειῶς ἔχουσας αἰσχροῦ φαντασίαν μὴ ὑπομείναι μηδ’ ἐνεγκεῖν αἰσχύνης μετὰ θάνατον ἐσομένης.

XII. ΚΕΙΑΙ

Ταῖς Κείων1 παρθένοις ἐθος ἢν εἰς ἱερὰ δημόσια συμπορεύεσθαι καὶ διημερεύειν μετ’ ἀλλήλων, οἱ


* Cf. Polyaeus, Strategemata, viii. 63. Aulus Gellius, xv. 10, translates the story from a lost work of Plutarch's 508
XI. THE WOMEN OF MILETUS

Once upon a time a dire and strange trouble took possession of the young women in Miletus for some unknown cause. The most popular conjecture was that the air had acquired a distracting and infectious constitution, and that this operated to produce in them an alteration and derangement of mind. At any rate, a yearning for death and an insane impulse toward hanging suddenly fell upon all of them, and many managed to steal away and hang themselves. Arguments and tears of parents and comforting words of friends availed nothing, but they circumvented every device and cunning effort of their watchers in making away with themselves. The malady seemed to be of divine origin and beyond human help, until, on the advice of a man of sense, an ordinance was proposed that the women who hanged themselves should be carried naked through the market-place to their burial. And when this ordinance was passed it not only checked, but stopped completely, the young women from killing themselves. Plainly a high testimony to natural goodness and to virtue is the desire to guard against ill repute, and the fact that the women who had no deterrent sense of shame when facing the most terrible of all things in the world, death and pain, yet could not abide nor bear the thought of disgrace which would come after death.

XII. THE WOMEN OF CEOSS

It was a custom for the maidens of Ceos to go in a company to the public shrines and spend the day (De anima), in which it was doubtless repeated. Cf. Bernardakis’s ed. of the Moralia, vii. p. 21.
(249) δὲ μνηστήρες ἑθεώντο παιζοῦσας καὶ χορευοῦσας· ἐσπέρας δὲ πρὸς ἐκάστην ἀνὰ μέρος βαδίζοντο διηκονοῦντο τοὺς ἀλλήλως γονεύσι καὶ ἀδελφοῖς ἄχρι τοῦ καὶ τοὺς πόδας ἀπονίζειν. ἦρων πολλάκις μᾶς πλείονες οὔτω κόσμον ἔρωτα καὶ νόμιμον, ὡστε τῆς κόρης ἐγγυθείσης εὔ τοὺς ἄλλους εὐθὺς πεπαῦθαι. κεφάλαιον δὲ τῆς εὐταξίας τῶν Ε γυναικῶν, τὸ μὴ μοιχείαν μὴτε φθοράν ἀνέγγυνον ἑτῶν ἐπτακοσίων μνημονεύσθαι παρ’ αὐτοῖς γενομένην.

XIII. ΦΩΚΙΔΕΣ

Τῶν ἐν Φωκεύσι τυράννων κατειληφότων Δελφοὺς καὶ τὸν ἱερὸν κληθέντα πόλεμον Θεβαίων πολεμοῦντων πρὸς αὐτούς, αἱ περὶ τὸν Διὸνυσον γυναίκες, ὡς Θυιάδας ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐκμανεῖσαι καὶ περιπλανηθεῖσαι νυκτὸς ἔλαθον ἐν 'Αμφίσσῃ γενόμεναι· κατάκοποι δ’ οὖσαι καὶ μηδέπω τοῦ φρονείν παρόντος αὐταίς, ἐν τῇ ἄγορᾷ προείμεναι τὰ σώματα ἑσποράδην ἔκειντο καθεύδουσαι. τῶν δ’ Ἀμφισσεων αἱ γυναίκες, φοβηθεῖσαι μὴ διὰ τὸ σύμμαχον τὴν πόλιν Φωκέων γεγονέναι καὶ συνοικος στρατιωτῶς παρεῖναι τῶν τυράννων ἀγνωμονηθῶς αἱ Θυιάδες, ἐξεδραμον εἰς τὴν ἁγορὰν ἄπασαι καὶ κύκλῳ περιστάσαι σιωπῆ κοιμωμέναι μὲν οὐ προσήεσαι, ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐξανέστησαν, ἄλλα περὶ ἄλλα ἐγίγνοντο θεραπεύουσαι καὶ τροφὴν προσφέρουσαι·

\[supra\ 244 a\]. A better title for this story would be 'The Women of Amphissa.'

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together, and their suitors watched their sports and dances. At evening they went by turns to each one's home and waited upon one another's parents and brothers even to washing their feet. Very often more than one youth would be in love with one maid, but their love was so orderly and so controlled by custom, that when the girl became engaged to one, the others ceased their attentions at once. The net result of this orderly behaviour on the part of the women was that there was no memory of a case of adultery or seduction in that country for the space of seven hundred years.

XIII. THE WOMEN OF PHOCIS

When the despots in Phocis had seized Delphi, and the Thebans were waging war against them in what has been called the Sacred War, the women devotees of Dionysus, to whom they give the name of Thyads, in Bacchic frenzy wandering at night unwittingly arrived at Amphissa. As they were tired out, and sober reason had not yet returned to them, they flung themselves down in the market-place, and were lying asleep, some here, some there. The wives of the men of Amphissa, fearing, because their city had become allied with the Phocians, and numerous soldiers of the despots were present there, that the Thyads might be treated with indignity, all ran out into the market-place, and, taking their stand round about in silence, did not go up to them while they were sleeping, but when they arose from their slumber, one devoted herself to one of the strangers and another to another, bestowing attentions on them and offering them food. Finally, the
τέλος δὲ πείσασαι τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπηκολούθησαν αὐταῖς ἄχρι τῶν ὅρων ἁσφαλῶς προπεμπομέναις.

XIV. ΟΤΑΛΕΡΙΑ ΚΑI ΚΛΟΙΙΑ

Ταρκύνιον Σοῦπερβον, ἑβδομον ἀπὸ 'Ῥωμίλου βασιλεύοντα 'Ῥωμαίων, ἐξῆλασεν ύβρις καὶ ἄρετὴ Λουκρητίας, γυναικὸς ἄνδρι γεγαμημένης λαμπρῷ καὶ κατὰ γένος προσήκοντι τοῖς βασιλεύσιν. ἐβιάσθη μὲν γὰρ ὑφ’ ἐνὸς τῶν Ταρκύνιον παίδων, ἐπιξενωθέντος αὐτῆς φράσασα δὲ τοῖς φίλοις καὶ οἰκείοις τὸ πάθος εὐθὺς ἀπέσφαξεν εὐαυτὴν. ἐκπεσὼν δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς ἐπολέμησε πολέμους, πειρώμενος ἀναλαβεῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τέλος ἄρχοντα Υπρηνὴν Πορσίναν ἐπεισεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἁρώμην στρατεύσαι μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως. ἀμα δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ λιμοῦ συνεπιτιθεμένου τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, πυνθανόμενοι τὸν Πορσίναν οὐ πολεμικὸν εἶναι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δίκαιον ἄνδρα καὶ χρηστόν, ἐβούλοντο χρήσθαι δικαστὴ πρὸς τὸν Ταρκύνιον. ἀπανθαδισαμένου δὲ τοῦ Ταρκύνιον καὶ τὸν Πορσίναν, εἶ μὴ μὲνεὶ σύμμαχος βέβαιος, οὐδὲ κριτὴν δίκαιον ἐσεθαὶ φάσκοντος, ἀφεὶς ἐκεῖνον ὁ Πορσίνας ἐπράτησεν, ὅπως φίλος ἀπεισὶ Ῥωμαίων, τῆς τε χώρας ὅσην ἀπετέμημην Τυρρηνῶν καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους

C κομισάμενος. ἐπὶ τούτοις ὅμηροιν αὐτῷ δοθέντων

1 ύβρις] υλὸς ύβρις S. A. Naber, wrongly, as is clear from Plutarch's Life of Publicola, chap. i.
2 μὲνεὶ] μὲνεὶ G. Papavassiliu, wrongly, as is clear from Plutarch's Life of Publicola, chap. xviii.

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women of Amphissa, after winning the consent of their husbands, accompanied the strangers, who were safely escorted as far as the frontier.

XIV. VALERIA AND CLOELIA

The two things that brought about the expulsion of Tarquinius Superbus, seventh king of Rome from Romulus, were arrogance and the virtue of Lucretia, a woman married to a distinguished man of royal lineage. For she was outraged by one of Tarquin’s sons who had been welcomed as a guest at her home. She told her friends and family what had been done to her, and immediately slew herself. Deposed from power, Tarquin waged various wars in his endeavours to regain his sovereignty. Finally he persuaded Porsena, ruler of the Etruscans, to march against Rome with a great force. At the same time with the war famine also attacked the Romans, and they, learning that Porsena was not merely a great soldier but a just and fair man as well, wished to make him judge in their case against Tarquin. But Tarquin was stubborn, saying that Porsena, if he did not remain faithful as an ally, would not be a just judge either; and so Porsena renounced him and made it his endeavour that when he went away he should be a friend of the Romans, and should get back such part of the land as they had cut off from the Etruscans, and also the prisoners of war. To confirm these

a The story is told (with interruptions) by Plutarch in his Life of Publicola, chaps. xvii-xix. (106-107) as well as by many other writers. Cf., for example, Livy, ii. 13; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Roman Antiquities, v. 32-34; Seneca, Consolatio ad Marciam, 16. 2; Valerius Maximus, iii. 2. 2; Polyaeus, Strategemata, viii. 31.

b Cf. Livy, ii. 9.

c Ibid. 11.
(250) δέκα μὲν ἀρρένων παῖδων δέκα δὲ θηλείων (ἐν αἷς ἦν ἡ Ποπλικόλα τοῦ ὑπάτου θυγατήρ Οὐαλερία), πάσαν εὐθὺς ἀνήκε τὴν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον παρα- 
σκευήν, καίπερ οὕτω τέλος ἔχονσι τῆς ὁμολογίας.

Αἱ δὲ παρθένοι κατέβησαν μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν
ὡς λουσόμεναι μικρὸν ἀπωτέρω τοῦ στρατοπέδου:
μᾶς δ' αὐτῶν ὅνομα Κλούλιας προτρεψαμένης,
ἀναδησάμεναι περὶ τὰς κεφαλᾶς τοὺς χιτωνίσκους
παρεβάλοντο1 πρὸς βεῦμα πολὺ καὶ δίνας βαθείας


1 παρεβάλοντο] παρεβάλλοντο in some mss., perhaps rightly.
2 καὶ added by F.C.B., as seems to be demanded by the
Life of Publicola, chap. xix., which puts βεῦμα and δίνας in
the same construction.
terms hostages were given to him, ten youths and ten maidens, among whom was Valeria, the daughter of Publicola the consul, whereupon Porsena at once remitted all his preparation for the war, although the agreement was not yet consummated.

The maidens went down to the river as if to bathe, a short distance away from the camp. At the instigation of one of them, Cloelia, they fastened their clothes to their heads, and took the risk of breasting a swift current and deep-whirling eddies, and by swimming close together they reached the other side by dint of a hard struggle, and with many a chance of failure. There are those who say that Cloelia procured a horse and, mounting it, swam it across slowly, acting as guide for the others, and encouraging and helping them as they were swimming. The argument with which they support this I will mention in a moment.

When the Romans saw them safe and sound, they admired the maidens' bravery and daring, yet did not like their coming back, nor could endure to prove themselves less honourable than one man in keeping faith. Accordingly they commanded the girls to go back again, and sent men with them to see that they got there. Tarquin set an ambush for these when they had crossed the river, and came very near getting the maidens in his power. But Valeria, daughter of the consul, Publicola, with three servants succeeded in escaping to the camp of Porsena, and the others Porsena's son, Aruns, rescued from the enemy by hastening with all speed to their assistance.

His purpose, according to other accounts, was to prevent the return of the hostages, and so to make it appear that the Romans had not kept faith.
'Επεὶ δ’ ἡχθησαν, ἵδιων αὐτὰς ὁ Πορσίνας ἐκέλευσεν εἰπεῖν, ἦτις ἐστὶν ἡ προτρεπμένη καὶ κατάρξασα τοῦ βουλεύματος. αἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλαι φοβηθεῖσαι περὶ τῆς Κλούλιας ἐοικύτησαν: αὐτὴς δὲ τῆς Κλούλιας εἰπούσης ἐαυτῆς, ἀγαθεῖς ὁ Πορσίνας ἐκέλευσεν ἱππον ἀχθῆναι κεκοσμημένον εὔπρεπῶς, καὶ τῇ Κλούλιᾳ δωρησάμενος ἀπεπεμβεν εὔμενως καὶ φιλανθρώπως πάσας. τούτο Φ ποιοῦνται σημείου οἱ πολλοὶ τοῦ τῆς Κλούλιαν ἱππῶν διεξελάσαι τὸν ποταμὸν· οἱ δ’ οὐ φασίν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ρώμην θαυμάσαντα καὶ τὴν τόλμαν αὐτῆς ὡς κρείττονα γυναικὸς ἀξιόωσι δωρεάς ἀνδρὶ πολεμιστῇ πρεπούσῃ. ἀνέκειτο γοῦν ἐφιππὸς εἰκὼν γυναικὸς ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἱερᾶς λεγομένης, ἢν οἱ μὲν τῆς Κλούλιας οἱ δὲ τῆς Οὐαλερίας λέγουσιν εἶναι.

XV. ΜΙΚΚΑ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟ

"Ἀριστότιμος Ἡλείως ἐπαναστὰς τύραννος ἄσχυμε μὲν δὲ Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ βασιλέως, ἔχρητο δὲ τῇ 251 δυνάμει πρὸς οὐδὲν ἑπιεικὲς οὐδὲ μέτριον· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἦν φύσει θηριώδης, καὶ τοῖς φυλάττουσι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸ σῶμα βαρβάρους μιγάσι δουλεύων ὑπὸ φόβου, πολλὰ μὲν ὑβριστικὰ πολλὰ δ’ ὡμὰ τοὺς πολίτας ὑπ’ αὐτῶν περιέφρα πάσχοντας· οὗν ἦν καὶ τὸ Φιλοδήμου πάθος. ἔχοντο γὰρ αὐτοῦ βυχατέρα καλὴν ὄνομα Μίκκαν ἐπεχειρήσει τις τῶν

a Cf. Plutarch’s Life of Publicola, chap. xix. (107 c); Livy, ii. 13, who gives a slightly different explanation of the “virgo insidens equo” Pliny, Natural History, xxxiv. 13 (28-29).

b Plutarch seems to be our only authority for the details of this narrative, although the atrocities and death of Aristocr-
When they were brought to the camp, Porsena, with a look at them, bade them say which one of them was the instigator and leader in the plan. The others, for fear regarding Cloelia, said not a word; but Cloelia of her own accord said that it was herself, and Porsena, in admiration of her, ordered a horse to be brought, fittingly caparisoned, and presented it to her, and then sent them all back kindly and humanely. Many make of this an indication that Cloelia rode across the river on a horse. Others, however, say this is not so, but that Porsena, because he admired her strength and daring as above that of a woman, deemed her worthy of a gift fitting for a warrior. At all events, there stood an equestrian statue of a woman close beside the Sacred Way, as it is called, and some say that this is the statue of Cloelia, others of Valeria.

XV. MICCA AND MEGISTO

Aristotimus, having succeeded in becoming despot over the people of Elis, was able to prevail through the support of Antigonus the king, but he used his power for no seemly or moderate purpose. He was himself brutal by nature, and he was led by fear to be subservient to a band of mixed barbarians who kept guard over his person and his sovereignty, and he overlooked many arrogant and cruel deeds done to the citizens by them. An example is what happened to Philodemus. This man had a beautiful daughter named Micca, and this girl one of the timus are recorded briefly by Pausanias, v. 5. 1 (cf. vi. 14. 11), and by Justin, Historiae Philippicae, xxvi. 1. Aristotimus's name is found on coins of Elis (Head, Historia Numorum, p. 356).

"Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedonia, 283-239 B.C."
(251) περὶ τοῦ τύραννον ἕσαγων ὑνομα Λεύκιος ὑβρεῖ μᾶλλον ἡ ἔρωτι συγγενέσθαι· καὶ πέμψας ἐκάλει τὴν παρθένον. οἱ μὲν οὖν γονεῖς τὴν ἀνάγκην
Β ὀρθώτες ἔκελενον βαδίζειν· ἡ δὲ παῖς ὄσα γενναία καὶ μεγαλόφρων ἔδειτο τοῦ πατρὸς περιπλεκομένη καὶ καθικετεύουσα μᾶλλον αὐτὴν περιπεῖ ἀποθανοῦσαν ἢ τὴν παρθενίαν αἰσχρῶς καὶ παρανόμως ἀφαιρεθεῖσαν. καὶ διατριβής γενομένης, σπαργῶν καὶ μεθύων ὁ Λεύκιος αὐτὸς ἔξανέστη μεταξὺ πίνων πρὸς ὀργὴν· καὶ τὴν Μίκκαν εὐρών ἐν τοῖς γόναις τοῦ πατρὸς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔχουσαν ἔκελευσαν αὐτὴν συνακολουθεῖν· οὐ βουλομένης δὲ τὸ χιτώνιον περιρρήξας ἐμαστίγον γυμνῆν, αὐτὴν μὲν ἐγκαρτερῶσαν σωπὴ ταῖς ἀληθοῦσιν· ὃ δὲ πατὴρ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ, ὃς οὗδὲν ἀντιβολοῦντες καὶ δακρύοντες
C ἐπέρανον, ἐτράποντο πρὸς θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀνάκλησιν ὃς δεινὰ καὶ παράνομα πάσχοντες. ὃ δὲ βάρβαρος ἐκμανεῖς παντάπασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ καὶ μέθης ἀποσφάττει τὴν παρθένον, ὡς ἐτυχεῖν ἐν τοῖς κόποις τοῦ πατρὸς ἔχουσα τὸ πρόσωπον. ἂλλʼ οὗδὲ τούτοις ὁ τύραννος ἐκάμπτετο, τολλοῦς δʼ ἀνήρει καὶ πλείονας ἐφυγάδευεν· ὄκτακόσιοι γοῦν λέγονται καταφυγεῖν εἰς1 Αίτωλοι δεόμενοι τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ νήπια τῶν τέκνων κομίσασθαι παρὰ τοῦ τυράννου. ὅλιγω δʼ ὑστερον αὐτὸς ἐκήρυξε τὰς βουλομένας γυναῖκας ἀπίηναι πρὸς τοὺς ἀνδρας, ὅσον βουλοῦται τῶν γυναικείων χρημάτων ἐπιφερομένας. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάσας ἡσθετο
D μεθʼ ᾧδονῆς τὸ κήρυγμα δεδεγμένας (ἐγένοντο γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἐξακοσίας2 τὸ πλήθος), ἔκελευσαν ἀθρόας

1 εἰς van Herwerden: ἔπ.
2 ὑπὲρ ἐξακοσίας Bernardakis: ὑπὲρ ἐξακόσια.
officers of the despot's mercenaries named Lucius, to show his arrogance, rather than for love of her, undertook to make his paramour, and sent a summons for her. Her parents, seeing the necessity, advised her to go, but the girl, being noble and high-minded, begged her father, embracing and beseeching him, that he would rather bear to see her dead than robbed of her maidenhood in such a shameful and lawless way. There was some delay, and Lucius himself, lustful and drunk, started forth in the midst of his drinking in a passion. Finding Micca with her head on her father's knees, he commanded her to follow with him. But, as she was not willing, he tore off her clothes and whipped her naked body, while she bravely bore the painful blows in silence. Her father and mother, effecting nothing by their intrigues and tears, resorted to calling upon gods and men to witness their frightful and lawless treatment. But the barbarian, utterly crazed by rage and drink, killed the maiden, as she lay with her face in her father's bosom.

The despot, however, was not moved even by things like this, but he made away with many, and forced even more into exile. At any rate, it is said that eight hundred men fled for safety to the Aetolians, asking for rescue of their wives and youngest children from the despot. A little later he himself caused proclamation to be made that the women who wished might go away to their husbands, taking along as much as they wished of their feminine possessions. When he learned that they all received the proclamation with gladness (and their number was over six hundred), he issued orders that all
(251) ἡμέρα ῥητῇ βαδίζειν, ὡς τὴν ἀσφαλειαν αὐτὸς παρέξουν. ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας, αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς πῦλας ἠθροίζοντο τὰ χρήματα συσκευασάμεναι, καὶ τῶν τέκνων τὰ μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις φέρουσαι τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμαξῶν ἔχουσαι, καὶ περιέμενον ἀλλήλας· ἀφνω δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν τοῦ τυράννου ἐπεφέροντο,1 μένενι βοώντες ἐτι πόρρωθεν. ὡς δὲ ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο, τὰς μὲν γυναίκας ἐκέλευον ἀναχωρεῖν ὀπίσω, τὰ δὲ ἱεύγη καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας ὑποστρεφαντες ἔωσαν εἰς αὐτὰς καὶ διὰ μέσων ἀφειδῶς.

Ε διήλαυνυν, οὕτ' ἀκολουθεῖν οὔτε μένειν ἐώντες οὔτε τοὺς νηπίοις βοηθεῖν ἀπολλυμένου (τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκπίπτοντα τῶν ἀμαξῶν τὰ δ' ὑποπίπτοντα διεφθείροντο),2 βοῇ καὶ μάστιξιν ὡσπερ πρόβατα τῶν μισθοφόρων ἐπειγόντων ἀνατρεπομένας ὑπ' ἀλλήλων, ἐως εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἐνέβαλον ἀπάσας, τὰ δὲ χρήματα πρὸς τὸν 'Αριστότιμον ἀπεκομίσθη.

Χαλεπῶς δὲ τῶν 'Ηλείων ἐπὶ τούτους ἐχόντων, αἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἑραί γυναῖκες, ἃς ἐκκαίδεκα καλούσαν, ἰκτητρίας καὶ στέμματα τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ λαβοῦσαι περὶ τὴν ἄγορὰν ἀπήντησαν τῷ 'Αριστότιμῳ, καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων ὑπ' αἰδοὺς διαστάντων, ἐστησαν τὸ πρῶτον σιωπῆ ὀσίως3 προσοχόμενα τὰς ἰκτητρίας. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένοντο φανερὰ δεόμεναι καὶ παρατούμεναι τὴν ὀργὴν ὑπ' τῶν γυναικῶν, παροξυνθεὶς πρὸς τοὺς δορυφόρους καὶ κεκραγὼς ὅτι προσελθεῖν εἴεσαν αὐτὰς ἐποίησε τὰς μὲν ὅθοντας τὰς δὲ τύπτοντας ἐξ-

1 ἐπεφέροντο] ἐπεφαίνοντο Cobet.
2 διεφθείροντο] διεφθείρετο Dinse, wrongly.
3 ὀσίως] καὶ ὀσίω Schellens.
should proceed in a company on a specified day, as if purposing himself to assure their safety. When the day arrived, the women gathered at the gates with their possessions which they had packed up, and some of their children they carried in their arms, and others they had in wagons, and they were waiting there for one another. Suddenly many of the despot's men bore down upon them, calling out to them, while still a long way off, to wait. And when these came near, they ordered the women to move back, and then turned the teams about and rode them at the women, driving them through their midst mercilessly, and giving the women no chance either to follow or to stay or to come to the help of their little ones who were being killed, some of whom perished by being thrown from the wagons, others by falling under foot. The mercenaries urged them on like a flock of sheep, with shouts and whips, while the women tripped over one another, until the soldiers had cast them all into prison. Their possessions were carried off to Aristotimus.

The people of Elis being highly indignant over this affair, the holy women devoted to Dionysus, whom they call the Sixteen, taking supplicant branches and fillets from those sacred to the god, went to meet Aristotimus close by the market-place. His bodyguard made way out of respect, and the priestesses silently halted, first of all reverently holding out their supplicant branches. But when it became clear that they were petitioning in behalf of the women, and trying by intreaty to mollify his anger, he, greatly exasperated with his guards, screamed out that they had permitted the priestesses to come into his presence, and he made them drive these from the
ελάσαι ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ἐκάστην δὲ δυσὶ ταλάντους ἐξημίωσε.

Γενομένων δὲ τούτων, ἐν μὲν τῇ πόλει συνεστήσε

πράξει ἐπὶ τὸν τύραννον Ἐλλάνικος, ἀνὴρ διὰ γῆς ἦδη καὶ δύο τέκνων θάνατον ὡς οὐδὲν ἦν 252

πράξας ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου περιορώμενος. ἐκ δὲ

Ἁλυσίας διαπεράσαντες οἱ φυγάδες καταλαμβάνουσι τῆς χώρας ἐπιτήδειον ἐμπολεμεῖν ἔριμα

τὴν Ἀμυμώνην, καὶ συνήνος προσεδέχοντο τῶν

πολιτῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἡλύδου ἀποδιδράσκοντας. ταῦτα
dὲ δείσας ὁ Ἀριστότιμος ἑσῆλθε πρὸς τὰς γυναῖ-

κας, καὶ νομίζων φόβῳ μάλλον ἡ χάριτι διαπρά-

ξεθαί προσέτατε πέμπειν καὶ γράφειν αὐτὰς τοῖς

ἀνδράσιν ὅπως ἀπίστων ἐκ τῆς χώρας· εἰ δὲ μὴ,

κατασφάξειν ἥπειλε πάσας αἰκισμένος καὶ προ-

Βανελῶν τοὺς παιδας. αἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλαι, πολὺν

χρόνον ἐφεστῶτοι καὶ κελεύοντο εἰπεῖν εἰ τι

πράξουσι τούτων, οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίναντο πρὸς ἐκεῖνον,

ἄλλα προσέβλειαν ἄλληλαις σωπῆ καὶ διένευσαν, ἄνθομολογούμεναι τὸ μὴ δεδεῖναι μηδ' ἐκπε-

πλήθαί τὴν ἀπειλὴν. Μεγιστώ δ' ἡ Τιμολέόντος

γυνὴ καὶ διὰ τὸν ἀνδρα καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἡγεμονικὴν

ἔχουσα τάξειν, διαναστήναι μὲν οὐκ ἦξισσεν οὐδ'

εἰασε τὰς ἄλλας· καθεξομένη δ' ἀπεκρίναντο πρὸς

αὐτόν, "εἰ μὲν ἦς ἀνὴρ φρόνιμος, οὐκ ἂν διελέγω

γυναιξὶ περὶ ἀνδρῶν, ἄλλα πρὸς ἐκείνους ἃν ὡς

κυρίους ἡμῶν ἐπεμπτεῖς, ἀμείνονας λόγους εὐρῶν

C ἢ δὲ ὅπο ἡμᾶς ἐξηπάτησατε· εἰ δ' αὐτῶς ἐκείνους

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1 διένευσαν Wyttenbach: δ' εὐνοιαν.
market-place by pushing or striking one or another, and he fined each woman four hundred pounds.

After these events, Hellanicus started a concerted activity against the despot. He was a man who, owing to his advanced years and the death of two sons, was not thought of by the despot as likely to be active in any way. The exiles crossed over from Aetolia and occupied Amymone, a stronghold in Elis, well adapted to serve as a base for warlike operations, and there they received a great addition to their numbers from the citizens who managed to escape from Elis. Aristotimus, alarmed at this, went to see the imprisoned women, and, thinking that he should accomplish his purpose better by fear than by favour, he gave orders to them to write and send letters to their husbands so that the men should leave the country; and if they would not write, he threatened to put them all to death after torturing them and making away with their children first. As he stood there a long time and urged them to say whether they would carry out any part of this programme, most of the women made no answer to him, but looked at one another in silence, and showed by nods that all their minds were made up not to be frightened or perturbed at the threat. Megisto, the wife of Timoleon, who, on account of her husband and her own virtues as well, held the position of leader, did not think it meet to rise, nor would she allow the other women to do so; but, keeping her seat, she made answer to him: "If you were a sensible man, you would not be talking to women about husbands, but you would send to them, as to those having authority over us, finding better words to say to them than those by which you tricked us. But if you despair
(252) πείσαι ἀπεγνωκός δι' ἡμῶν ἐπιχειρεῖς παρα-
λογίζεσθαι, μηθ' ἡμᾶς ἐλπίζε πάλιν ἐξαπατήσειν
μὴ τ' ἐκεῖνοι κακῶς οὕτω φρονῆσειν, ὡστε φει-
δόμενοι παιδαρίων καὶ γυναικῶν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τὴν
τῆς πατρίδος ἐλευθερίαν· οὐ γὰρ τοσοῦτο κακὸν
αὐτοῖς ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσαι μηδὲ νῦν ἔχοντας, ὅσον
ἀγαθὸν ἐξελέσθαι τῆς σῆς ὑμότητος καὶ ὑβρεῖς
tοὺς πολίτας."

Ταῦτα τῆς Μεγιστοῦς λεγοῦσης, οὐκ ἀνασχό-
μενος δ' Ἀριστότιμος ἐκέλευσε τὸ παιδίον αὐτῆς
ὡς ἀποκτενῶν ἐν ὁιεί κομισθήναι. ξητούντων δὲ
tῶν ὕπηρετῶν ἀναμεμεμυγμένον ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις
παῖδοις καὶ διαπαλαίους, ἡ μήτηρ ὅνοματι
προσκαλεσάμενήν, "δεῦρο," ἐφῃ, "τέκνον, πρὶν
αἰσθέσθαι καὶ φρονεῖν ἀπαλλάγῃ τῆς πικρᾶς
tυραννίδος· ὡς ἔμοι βαρύτερὸν ἐστὶ δουλεύοντά
σε παρ' ἄξιαν ἐφοράν ἢ ἀποθυγήσκοντα."

Τοῦ δ' Ἀριστότιμου σπασμένου τὴν μάχαιραν
ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἐκείνην καὶ μετ' ὀργῆς ἐπιφερομένου,
tῶν συνήθων τις αὐτῷ Κύλων ὄνομα πιστὸς δοκῶν
ἐστί, μισῶν δὲ καὶ μετέχων τῆς συνωμοσίας τοῖς
περὶ τὸν Ἐλλάνικον, ἀντέστη καὶ ἀπέστρεψε
δεόμενος καὶ λέγων ἄγεννῄς εἶναι καὶ γυναικῶδες

Ε οὐκ ἀνδρὸς ἡγεμονικοῦ καὶ πράγμασι χρήσθαι
μεμαθηκότος τὸ ἔργον· ὡστε μόλις ἐννοοῦν γενόμενον
τὸν Ἀριστότιμον ἀπελθεῖν.

Γίγνεται δὲ σημεῖον αὐτῷ μέγα· μεσημβρία μὲν

1 γυναίκων] γυναικών S. A. Naber, wrongly.
2 Κύλων] Κύλλων in the Delphian inscription (Ditten-
berger³ no. 423).

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of persuading them yourself, and are attempting to use us to mislead them, do not expect to deceive us again, and I pray that they may never entertain such a base thought that, to spare their wives and little children, they should forsake the cause of their country's freedom. In truth, it is not so bad a thing for them to lose us, whom they have not at present, as it is a good thing to rescue the citizens from your cruelty and overbearing insolence."

As Megisto spoke thus, Aristotimus could not brook her words, and ordered her young child to be brought, as if intending to kill him in her sight. As the servants sought for him mingled among the other children playing and wrestling, his mother, calling him by name, said, "Come here, child, and, before you can realize and think, be delivered from this bitter despotism; since for me it is more grievous to look upon your undeserved slavery than upon your death."

At this, Aristotimus drew his sword upon the mother herself, but as he was rushing at her in a rage, one of his intimate associates, Cylon by name, who was thought to be loyal to him, but really hated him, and was in the conspiracy with Hellanicus and the rest, intervened and turned him from his purpose by intreating him and saying that such action was ignoble and womanish, not that of a manly ruler who had learned to meet any situation. The result was that Aristotimus, with difficulty regaining his senses, came away.

An ominous thing, however, happened to him.

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*a* See the inscription in honour of Cylon found at Delphi, Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscript. Graec.* no. 423 (no. 920 in the second edition).
γὰρ ἂν καὶ μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀνεπαύετο· παρα-
σκευαζομένων δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸ δεῖπνον, ἀετὸς
μετέωρος ὑφθη δυνούμενος ύπέρ τῆς οἰκίας, εἰθ’
ὡσπερ ἐκ προνοίας καὶ στοχασμοῦ λίθων ἀφῆκεν
εὐμεγέθη κατ’ ἐκεῖνο τῆς στέγης τὸ μέρος, οὔ τὸ
δωμάτιον ἂν, ἐν ὦ κατακείμενος ἐτύγχανεν ὁ
Ἄριστότιμος. ἀμὰ δ’ ἀνωθεν ψόφον μεγάλου
καὶ κρανγῆς ἐξωθεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἱδόντων τὸν ὄρνη

F γενομένης, ἐκπλαγεὶ καὶ πυθόμενο τὸ γεγονὸς
μετέπεμψατο μάντιν, ὦ χρύμενος διετέλει κατ’
ἀγοράν, καὶ διηρότα περὶ τοῦ σημείου συντεταραγ-
μένος. ὦ δ’ ἐκεῖνο μὲν παρεκάλει ὡς τοῦ Διὸς
ἀυτὸν ἐξεγείροντος καὶ βοηθοῦντος, οἷς δ’ ἐπίστευε
τῶν πολιτῶν ἐφρασεν ὅσον ὦπω τῆν δίκην αἰώρου-
μένην ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἐμπεσεῖσθαι τῷ τυράννῳ. διὸ
καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἐλλάνικον ἐδοξε μη μέλλειν,
ἀλλ’ ἐπιτίθεσθαι τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ.

Τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς Ἐλλάνικος ἐδόκει κατά τοὺς
ὕπνους τῶν τεθνηκότων νῷ ὑὸ τὸν ἔτερον λέγειν
αὐτῷ παραστάντα, “τ’ πέπονθας, ὦ πάτερ,
253 καθεύδων1; αὖριον δὲ σε δεὶ τῆς πόλεως στρατη-
γείν.” οὔτος τε δὴ διὰ τὴν ὦμιν εὐθαρσῆς γεγενη-
μένοι παρεκάλει τοὺς ἑταῖρους;2 ὦ τ’ Ἄριστοτιμος
πυθόμενος Κρατερὸν αὐτῷ βοηθοῦντα μετὰ πόλλῆς
δυνάμεως ἐν ’Ολυμπία καταστρατοπεδεύειν, οὔτως
ἐξεθάρρησεν, ὡστ’ ἀνευ δορυφόρων εἰς τὴν ἄγορὰν
προελθεῖν μετὰ τοῦ Κύλλωνος. ὅσον συνείδη τὸν
καιρὸν Ἐλλάνικος, ὦ μὲν ἂν σημεῖον αὐτῷ πρὸς
τοὺς μέλλοντας ἐπιχειρεῖν συγκείμενον οὐκ ἔδωκεν,

1 πέπονθας . . . καθεύδων :] πεπονθῶς . . . καθεύδεις; Dinse.
2 ἑταῖρους Wyttenbach: ἑτέρους.

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It was midday, and he was resting, and his wife was with him. While preparations for dinner were going on, an eagle was seen high in air circling over the house; then, as if with intent and design, it let fall a good-sized stone on that part of the roof under which was the room where Aristotimus happened to be lying. At the same moment there was a great crash above and shouting outside by those who saw the bird. Aristotimus was seized with consternation, and when he learned what had happened, he sent for a seer whom he constantly consulted in the market-place, and, much perturbed, questioned him about the ominous happening. The seer encouraged him to believe that Zeus was rousing him and aiding him, but, on the other hand, told those citizens in whom he trusted that judgement was hovering over the despot’s head, and was all but ready to fall on him. Wherefore it seemed best to Hellanicus and his friends not to delay but to make their attack on the next day.

That night Hellanicus in his sleep dreamed that one of his dead sons stood beside him and said, "What has happened to you, father, that you are asleep? To-morrow you must be commander of the city." So he, having gained good courage because of the vision, urged on his associates, while on the other hand, Aristotimus also having learned that Craterus was coming to his aid with a numerous force and was encamped at Olympia, became so extremely bold that without his body-guard he went forth into the market-place in the company of Cylon. When, therefore, Hellanicus realized the opportunity, he did not give the signal which had been agreed upon between himself and those who were to make the attempt, but with clear
(253) λαμπρὰ δὲ τῇ φωνῇ καὶ ἀμα τὰς χειρας προτείνων Β ἄμφοτέρας, "τί μέλλετε;" ἀνδρες ἀγαθοὶ; καλὸν τὸ θέατρον ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πατρίδος ἐναγανισάσθαι." πρῶτος μὲν οὖν ὁ Κύλων σπασάμενος τὸ ἐξίφος παίει τινὰ τῶν ἐπομένων τῷ Ἀριστοτέμιῳ. Θρασυ-βούλου δὲ καὶ Λάμπιδος ἐξ ἔναντίας ἐπιφερομένων, ἐφθη μὲν ὁ Ἀριστοτέμιος εἰς τὸ τοῦ Δίως ἱερὸν καταφυγὼν· ἐκεῖ δ' ἀποκτείναντες αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ σῶμα προβαλόντες εἰς τὴν ἀγώραν ἐκάλουν τοὺς πολίτας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. οὐ μὴν ἐφθησάν γε πολὺ τὰς γυναῖκας· εὐθὺς γὰρ ἐξέδραμον μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ ὀλολυγμοῦ, καὶ περιστάσαι τοὺς ἀνδρας ἀνέδουν καὶ κατέστεφον. εἶτα τοῦ πλῆθους ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ τυράννον ὑμέντος, ἡ μὲν γυνὴ συγ- C κλείσασα τὸν θάλαμον αὐτὴν ἀνήρτησε. δύο δ' ἦσαν αὐτῷ3 θυγατέρες, παρθένοι μὲν ἐτί, κάλλισται δὲ τὴν ὤψιν, ἦδη γάμων ὥραν ἔχουσαι· ταύτας συλλαβόντες εἰδίκον ἔξω πάντως μὲν ἀνελεῖν, αἰκί-σασθαι δὲ καὶ καθυβρίασαι πρότερον ἐγνωκότες. ἀπαντήσασα δ' ἡ Μεγιστώ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐβόα δεινὰ ποιεῖν αὐτούς, εἰ δῆμος ἀξιοῦντες εἶναι ταύτα4 τολμῶσι καὶ ἀσελγαῖνοι τοῖς τυράννοις ὁμοία. ἐντερπομένων δὲ πολλῶν τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς γυναικὸς παρρησιαζομένης καὶ δακρυόνης, ἐδοξέν ἄφελεν D τὴν ύβριν, αὐτὰς δ' ἐάσαι δι' αὐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν.

"Ὡς δ' οὖν ἀναστρέψαντες ἐνδὸν ἐκέλευον εὐθὺς ἀποθνῄσκειν τὰς παρθένους, ἡ πρεσβυτέρα Μυρὼ5 λύσασα τὴν ζωήν καὶ βρόχον ἐνάψασα τὴν

1 mēllete] Dinse would insert ἔφη or ἔβησεν.  
2 polu Cobet: pollai.  
3 autw] autò [Dinse.  
4 tauta] tauta Cobet, omitting ὁμοία.  
5 Myrò] Noiρò Cobet.
voice, stretching out both arms at the words, he said, "Why delay, brave men? Fair is this place on the soil of your own native land to stage your contest!" So then Cylon first, drawing his sword, smote one of the men following with Aristotimus, but, as Thrasybulus and Lampis rushed at him from the opposite side, Aristotimus forestalled the conspirators by taking refuge in the temple of Zeus. There they slew him, and, exposing his corpse in the market-place, they sounded for the citizens the call to freedom. As a matter of fact, they were not much ahead of the women, for these at once ran forth with joyful acclamations and, surrounding the men, adorned them with ribbons and garlands. Then the crowd surged towards the house of the despot, but his wife, bolting the doors of her chamber, hanged herself. He had two daughters, still un­wedded, most beautiful to look upon, of marriage­able age. These they seized and dragged out, having resolved to do away with them, but to torture and insult them first. But Megisto, with the rest of the women, meeting them, cried out that they were committing a frightful crime if they who deemed themselves worthy to be a democratic people were, in this matter, showing recklessness and wanton violence like despots. As many had respect for the high worth of the woman who spoke so boldly amid her tears, they decided to omit the violence, and permit the daughters to die by their own hand.

When, therefore, they had returned the maidens to the house and ordered their death immediately, the elder, Myro, loosing her girdle and making a noose of it, bade farewell to her sister and urged
Των μὲν οὖν κοινῇ πεπραγμένων γυναιξὶ μυρίων ὄντων ἰκανὰ ταῦτα παραδείγματα· τὰς δὲ καθ’ F ἐκάστην ἀρετὰς, ὅπως ἄν ἐπιη, σποράδην ἀναγράψωμεν, οὐδὲν οἴομεν τῆς κατὰ χρόνων τάξεως δεῖσθαι τὴν ὑποκειμένην ἱστορίαν.

XVI. ΠΙΕΡΙΑ

Τῶν εἰς Μίλητον ἀφικομένων Ἰώνων στασιάσαντες ἔνιοι πρὸς τοὺς Νεῖλεως² παῖδας, ἀπεχώρησαν εἰς Μυσόντα κάκει κατώκους, πολλὰ κακὰ πᾶσχοντες ὑπὸ τῶν Μιλησίων· ἐπολέμουν γὰρ αὐτοῖς διὰ

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³ Neilew] there is considerable authority for the spelling Neilews.

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her to take note and do exactly what she saw her do, "so that," she said, "we may not end our lives in any humiliating way, unworthy of ourselves." But when the younger sister wanted the other to concede to her the privilege of dying first, and seized hold of the girdle, the elder said, "I have never denied you anything else that you wanted; and so you may receive this favour also, and I will patiently endure and bear what is more grievous than death, and that is, dearest, to see you die first." Thereupon she instructed her sister how to put the noose around her neck, and when she saw that she was dead she took her down and covered her. She herself begged Megisto to take care of her and not to suffer her to be laid in any ignominious way when she should be dead. In consequence no one there was so bitter or such a hater of despots as not to shed tears and commiserate the nobility of the maidens.

Of the deeds, countless in number, done by women acting together these may suffice as examples. But cases of individual bravery I will put down as they come to me, not in any order, because I think that the record of the present subject does not at all require a chronological arrangement.

XVI. PIERIA

Some of the Ionians who came to Miletus, owing to lively disagreements with the sons of Neileus, went away to Myus and settled there, suffering many ills at the hands of the Milesians; for these made war upon

* Cf. Polyaeus, Strategemata, viii. 35; Aristaenetus, Letters, i. 15.
tēn ἀπόστασιν. 1 οὐ μὲν ἀκήρυκτος ἦν 2 οὐδ’ ἀνεπλ-μετος ο τόλεμος, ἀλλ’ ἐν τισιν ἐφοταῖς ἐφείτων εἰς Μιλησίων ἐκ τοῦ Μυσύντος αἱ γυναῖκες. ἦν δὲ Πύθης ἁνὴ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐμφανής, γυναῖκα μὲν ἔχουν ’Ιαπυγλὰν, θυγατέρα δὲ Πιερίαν. οὔσης οὖν ἐφοτης ’Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ θυσίας παρὰ Μιλησίων, ἦν Νηληίδα. 3

254 προσαγορεύοντος, ἐπεμψε τὴν γυναίκα καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα, δεθείσας ὅπως τῆς ἐφοτης μετάσχων· τῶν δὲ Νεῖλεως 4 παίδων ὁ δυνατώτατος ἄνωμα Φρύγιος τῆς Πιερίας ἐρασθεὶς ἐνενόει τι ἀν αὐτῇ μάλιστα γένοιτο παρ’ αὐτοῦ κεχαρισμένον. εἰπού-ςης δ’ ἐκείνης “εἰ διαπράξαμο μου τὸ πολλάκις ἐνταῦθα καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν βαδίζειν,” συνεϊς 5 ὁ Φρύγιος δεομένην φιλίας καὶ εἰρήνης τοῖς πολίταις

Β κατέπαυσε τὸν πόλεμον. ἦν οὖν ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς πόλεσι δόξα καὶ τιμὴ τῆς Πιερίας, ὡστε καὶ τὰς Μιλησίων εὑχεσθαι γυναίκας ἄχρι νῦν οὕτως τοὺς ἄνδρας 6 ἐραῖν αὐτῶν, ὡς Φρύγιος ἡράσθη Πιερίας.

ΧVII. ΠΟΛΑΚΡΙΘ

Ναξίους καὶ Μιλησίων συνέστη πόλεμος διὰ τὴν Ἡμικρέοντος τοῦ Μιλησίου γυναίκα Νέαιραν. αὕτη γὰρ ἡράσθη Προμεθέωντος Ναξίου καὶ συν-έπλευσεν, δι’ ἢν μὲν ἔξον τοῦ Ἡμικρέοντος, ἐρα-σθείση δὲ τῆς Νεαίρας συνήλθε, καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα φο-βουμένην ἀπαγαγών εἰς Νάξου ἵκετων τῆς ’Εστίας

1 ἀπόστασιν Cobet: ἀποστασίαν.
2 ἦν] γ’ ἦν Cobet. 3 Νηληίδα] Νείλη Cobet.
4 Νεῖλεω] there is considerable authority for the spelling Νείλεως.
5 συνεῖς Bernardakis: συνεῖς οὖν; better perhaps συνεῖς αὐτήν.
6 τοὺς ἄνδρας seems to be a necessary supplement.
them because of their defection. However, the war was not without truce or intercourse, but at certain festivals the women commonly went to Miletus from Myus. There was among the people of Myus a prominent man named Pythes, who had a wife named Iapygia and a daughter Pieria. As there was a festival in honour of Artemis, and a sacrifice, which they call Neleis, he sent his wife, and daughter, who had asked that they might participate in the festival. The most influential of Neileus's sons, Phrygius by name, fell in love with Pieria, and tried to think what could be done on his part that would be most pleasing to her. And when she said, "If only you could make it possible for me to come here often and many with me," Phrygius was quick to understand that she wanted friendship and peace for the citizens, and stopped the war. There was, consequently, in both cities repute and honour for Pieria, so that the women of Miletus pray even to this day that their husbands may love them as Phrygius loved Pieria.

XVII. POLYCRITE

A war arose between the Naxians and Milesians on account of Neacra the wife of Hypsicreon of Miletus. It was because she fell in love with Promedon of Naxos and sailed away with him. He was a friend and guest of Hypsicreon, but yielded to Neacra's ardent advances, and then, as she was in fear of her husband, he took her away to Naxos, and placed her as a suppliant at the shrine of Hestia.

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(254) ἐκάθισεν. τῶν δὲ Ναζίων οὐκ ἐκδιδόντων χάριν
C τοῦ Προμέδοντος, ἄλλως δὲ ποιούμενων πρόφασιν
τὴν ἱκετείαν, ὁ πόλεμος συνέστη. τοῖς δὲ Μιλη-
σίοις ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ προθυμότατα τῶν Ἰώνων
Ἐρυθραίοι συνεμάχουν, καὶ μήκος ἐσχε καὶ συμ-
φορὰς ἤγεγκε μεγάλας ὁ πόλεμος· εἰτ' ἐπαύσατο
dι' ἀρετὴν γυναίκος, ὡς συνέστη διὰ μοχθηρίαν.
Διόγνητος γὰρ ὁ τῶν Ἐρυθραίων στρατηγὸς
ἐχὼν καὶ πεπιστευμένος ἐρύμα κατὰ τῆς Ναζίων
πόλεως εὐ̂ πεφυκὸς καὶ κατεσκευασμένον, ἥλασατο
λείαν τῶν Ναζίων πολλήν καὶ γυναίκας ἐλευθέρας
καὶ παρθένους ἔλαβεν· ὃν μᾶς Πολυκρίτης ἐρα-
σθεῖς ἔχειν αὐτὴν ὦν ὡς αἰχμάλωτον ἀλλ' ἐν τάξει
γαμητῆς γυναίκος. ἐορτῆς δὲ τοῖς Μιλησίοις καθ-
ηκούσης ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ πρὸς πόσων ἀπάντων
D καὶ συνουσίας τραπομένων, ἡρώτησε τὸν Διόγνητον
ἡ Πολυκρίτη μὴ τι κωλύοι πεμμάτων μερίδας
ἀποπέμψαι τοῖς ἄδελφοις αὐτῆς. ἐπιτρέπαντος δ' ἐκεῖνον καὶ κελεύσαντος, ἐνέβαλε μολίβδινον γραμ-
ματίδιον εἰς πλακοῦντα, κελεύσασα φράσαι τὸν
κομίζοντα τοῖς ἄδελφοις ὅπως αὐτοὶ μόνοι κατανα-
λῶσων α ἐπεμψε. οἱ δ' ἐντυχόντες τῷ μολίβδῳ
καὶ τὰ γράμματα τῆς Πολυκρίτης ἀναγγοντες,
κελευούσης νυκτὸς ἐπιθέσατο τοῖς πολεμίοις, ὡς
ὑπὸ μέθης διὰ τὴν ἐορτὴν ἐξημελημένων πάντων,
προσήγγισαν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ παρώρμησαν
Ε ἐξελθεῖν μετ' αὐτῶν. ἄλοντος δὲ τοῦ χωρίου καὶ
πολλῶν διαφθαρέντων, ἔξητήσατο τὸν Διόγνητον
ἡ Πολυκρίτη παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ διέσωσεν.

1 ἐχὼν καὶ] Cobet would omit.
2 ἐλευθέρας Bernardakis, proper but not imperative: ἐλευθέρους.

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When the Naxians, as a favour to Promedon, refused to give her up, though they advanced another excuse, her position as suppliant, the war arose. Besides the many others who fought on the side of the Milesians the Erythraeans were the most zealous among the Ionians; and the war dragged on and on, and brought great calamities. Then it came to an end through a woman’s bravery, as it had arisen through a woman’s badness.

Diognetus, the general of the Erythraeans, entrusted with the command of a stronghold, its natural advantages reinforced by fortification to menace the city of the Naxians, gathered much spoil from the Naxians, and captured some free women and maidens; with one of these, Polycrite, he fell in love and kept her, not as a captive, but in the status of a wedded wife. Now when a festival which the Milesians celebrate came due in the army, and all turned to drinking and social gatherings, Polycrite asked Diognetus if there were any reason why she should not send some bits of pastry to her brothers. And when he not only gave her permission but urged her to do so, she slipped into a cake a note written on a sheet of lead, and bade the bearer tell her brothers that they themselves and no others should consume what she had sent. The brothers came upon the piece of lead and read the words of Polycrite, advising them to attack the enemy that night, as they were all in a state of carelessness from drink on account of the festival. Her brothers took this message to their generals and strongly urged them to set forth with themselves. When the place had been taken and many slain, Polycrite begged for the life of Diognetus from her citizens, and saved him. When
αὐτὴ δὲ πρὸς ταῖς πῦλαις γενομένη πρὸς1 τοὺς πολίτας ἀπαντῶντας αὐτῇ, μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ στεφάνων ὑποδεχομένους καὶ βαυμάζοντας, ὡς ἄνεγκε τὸ μέγεθος τῆς χαρᾶς, ἀλλ’ ἀπέθανεν αὐτοῦ πεσοῦσα παρὰ τὴν πύλην· ὅπον τέθαται, καὶ καλεῖται βασκάνων τάφος, ὡς βασκάνως τινὶ τύχῃ τὴν Πολυκρίτην φθονηθείσαν ἀπολαύσει τῶν τιμῶν. Οὕτω μὲν οἱ Ναξίων συγγραφεῖς ἱστοροῦσι· ὁ

F δ’ Ἀριστοτέλης φησίν οὐδ’ ἀλούσης τῆς Πολυ-
κρίτης, ἀλλὰς δὲ πως ἵδοντα τὸν Διόγνητον ἐρα-
σθῆναι καὶ πάντα διδόναι καὶ ποιεῖν ἑτοιμὸν εἶναι·
tὴν δ’ ὑμολογεῖν ἀφίξεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, ἔνος μόνον
tυχοῦσαι, περὶ οὗ τὸν Διόγνητον, ὡς φησίν ὁ

φιλόσοφος, ὥρκον ἤτησεν· ἐπεὶ δ’ ὑμοσεῖν, ἡξίου

τὸ Δήλιον αὐτῇ δοθῆναι (Δήλιον γὰρ ἐκαλεῖτο τὸ

χωρίον), ἀλλὰς δ’ οὐκ ἄν ἐφ’ συνελθεῖν. δ’ δὲ καὶ
dιὰ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ διὰ τὸν ὥρκον ἐξέστη καὶ

παρέδωκε τῇ Πολυκρίτῃ τὸν τάπον, ἐκεῖνη δὲ τῶν

πολίτας. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πάλιν εἰς ἵσον καταστάντες,

ἐφ’ οἷς ἐβούλοντο2 πρὸς τοὺς Μιλησίους διελύθησαν.

ΧVIII. ΛΑΜΨΑΚΗ

255 Ἐκ Φωκαίας τοῦ Κοδριδῶν γένους ἦσαν ἀδελ-

φοὶ δίδυμοι Φόβος3 καὶ Βλέψος· ὅν οὐ Φόβος ἀπὸ
tῶν Λευκάδων πετρῶν πρώτος ἀφῆκεν ἐαυτὸν εἰς

θάλατταν, ὡς Χάρων ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς ἱστορήκεν.

1 πρὸς added by F.C.B. (probably omitted on account of

the preceding πρὸς). E. Kurtz would read αἰσθομένη for

γενομένη.

2 ἐβούλοντο the preferred form: ἐβούλοντο.

3 Φόβος] Φόξος Polyaeus, Strategemata, viii. 37.

* Frag. 559 (ed. Rose) = Aulus Gellius, iii. 15.

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she herself arrived at the gates, and found herself confronting the citizens who came to meet her, welcoming her with joy and garlands and giving expression to their admiration for her, she could not bear the immensity of her joy, but fell down dead beside the gate; and there she is buried, and her tomb is called the Tomb of Envy, as though by some envious fortune Polycrite was begrudged the enjoyment of her honours.

This is the story which the Naxian writers record. Aristotle, however, says that Polycrite was not taken captive, but that Diognetus, in some other way, saw her and fell in love with her, and stood ready to give or to do anything; and she agreed to come to him, if she might obtain just one thing, for which, as the philosopher asserts, she required an oath of Diognetus. And when he had given the required oath, she demanded in fulfilment that Delium be given to her (the place was called by this name), otherwise she would have nothing to do with him. He, because of his love and his oath, was carried quite away, and handed over the spot to Polycrite, and she in turn to the citizens. Following this, the Naxians were again put on an equal footing, and effected a reconciliation with the Milesians on such terms as they desired.

XVIII. LAMPSACE

There came from Phocaea twin brothers Phobus and Blepsus of the family of the Codridae, of whom Phobus was the first to throw himself into the sea from the Leucadian Rocks, as Charon of Lampsacus

\[\text{\textsuperscript{a}}\text{ Cf. Polyaenus, } Strategemata, \text{ viii. 37.}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{b}}\text{ As a remedy for love, at least in later times.}\]
(255) ἔχων δὲ δύναμιν καὶ βασιλικὸν ἀξίωμα παρεπλευσεν εἰς Πάριον ἵδιων ἐνεκα πραγμάτων καὶ γενόμενος φίλος καὶ ἔνοιος Μάνδρων, βασιλεύοντι Βεβρύκων τῶν Πιτυοσσηνῶν προσαγορευομένων, ἐβοήθησε καὶ συνεπολέμησεν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν προσβοίκων ἐνοχλουμένοις. ὁ δὲ Μάνδρων ἀλλήν τε πολλήν ἐνεδείξατο τῷ Φόβῳ φιλοφροσύνην ἀποπλέοντι καὶ μέρος τῆς τε χώρας καὶ τῆς πόλεως ὑπισχνεῖτο δώσειν, εἰ βούλοιτο Φωκαείς ἔχων ἐποίκους εἰς τὴν Πιτυόσσαν ἀφικέσθαι. πείσας οὖν τοὺς πολίτας ὁ Φόβος ἐξέπεμψε τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἄγοντα τοὺς ἐποίκους. καὶ τὰ μὲν παρὰ τοῦ Μάνδρωνος ὑπήρχεν αὐτοῖς, ὡστερ προσεδόκησαν ὄφελείας δὲ μεγάλας καὶ λάφυρα καὶ λείας ἀπὸ τῶν προσοίκων βαρβάρων λαμβάνοντες, ἐπίφθονοι τὸ πρῶτον εἶτα καὶ φοβεροὶ τοῖς Βέβρυξιν ἦσαν. ἐπιθυμοῦντες οὖν αὐτῶν ἀπαλλαγήναι, τὸν μὲν Μάνδρωνα, χρηστὸν ὑντα καὶ οὐκ ἐπείσαν, ἀποδημήσαντος δὲ ἐκείνου, παρεσκευάζοντο τοὺς Φωκαείς δόλω διαφθείραι. τοῦ δὲ Μάνδρωνος ἦ θυγατὴρ Λαμψάκη παρθένος οὐδα τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν προέγνω, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐπεχείρει τοὺς φίλους καὶ οἶκείους ἀποτρέπειν καὶ διδάσκειν ὅσ ἔργον δεινὸν καὶ ἀσέβες ἐγχειροῦσι πράττειν, ἐνεργεῖτας καὶ συμμάχους ἄνδρας νῦν δὲ καὶ πολίτας ἀποκτινώντες. ὡς δ’ οὐκ ἐπείθε, τοῖς Ἐλληνσιν ἐφρασε κρύφα τὰ πραττόμενα καὶ παρεκελεύσατο φυλάτ-53s
Phobus, having influence and princely rank, sailed to Parium on some business of his own, and having become the friend and guest of Mandron, who was king of the Bebrycians who are called the Pityoessenians, he aided them by fighting on their side when they were being harassed by their neighbours. When Phobus took his departure Mandron expressed the utmost regard for him, and, in particular, promised to give him a part of their land and city if Phobus wished to come to Pityoessa with Phocaean colonists. So Phobus prevailed on his citizens and sent out his brother with the colonists. And what Mandron had promised was at their disposal, as they expected. But they, inasmuch as they made great gains for themselves through the spoils and booty which they took from the neighbouring barbarians, were first an object of envy, and later an object of fear also, to the Bebrycians, who, desiring to be rid of them, could not prevail on Mandron, who was a fair and just man in his treatment of the Greeks; but when he had gone away on a journey, they prepared to destroy the Phocians by treachery. But the daughter of Mandron, Lampsace, a young girl, learned of the plot beforehand, and tried first to dissuade her friends and relatives and to point out to them that they were undertaking to carry out a frightful and wicked deed in murdering men who were their benefactors and allies and now also their fellow-citizens. But when she could not prevail on them, she secretly told the Greeks what was afoot, and warned them to be on their guard. And they,


\[b\] Cf. Strabo, xiii. (589), and Stephanus of Byzantium under Lampsacus.
(255) τεσθαι. οί δὲ θυσίαν τινὰ παρασκευασάμενοι καὶ ἔξεκαλέσαντο τοὺς Πιτυοεσσηνούς εἰς τὸ προάστειον· αὐτοὺς δὲ διελόντες δίχα, τοῖς μὲν τὰ τεῖχα κατελάβοντο τοῖς δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀνείλον. οὕτω δὴ τὴν πόλιν κατασχόντες τὸν τε Μάνδρωνα μετεπέμποντο, συμβασιλεύειν τοὺς παρ' αὐτῶν κελεύοντες· καὶ τὴν Λαμψάκην ἐξ ἀρρωστίας ἀποθανοῦσαν ἐθαυμασάν ἐν τῇ πόλει μεγαλοπρεπῶς, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀπ' αὐτῆς Λάμψακον προσηγόρευσαν. ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ Μάνδρων προδοσίας ὑποψίαν φεύγων τὸ μὲν οἰκεῖν μετ’ αὐτῶν παρηγήσατο, παῖδας δὲ τῶν τεθνηκότων καὶ γυναικάς ἥξισε κομίσασθαι, καὶ ταῦτα προθύμως οὐδὲν ἀδικήσαντες ἐξέπεμψαν· Ε καὶ τῇ Λαμψάκῃ πρότερον ἠρωικάς τιμᾶς ἀποδίδοντες ὑστερον ὡς θεῶ θύειν ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ διατελοῦσιν οὕτω θύοντες.

XIX. ΑΡΕΤΑΦΙΛΑ

'Αρεταφίλη δ' ἡ Κυρηναία πολαία μὲν οὐ γέγονεν ἄλλ' ἐν τοῖς Μυθριδατικοῖς καιροῖς, ἀρετήν δὲ καὶ πράξιν ἐνάμιλλον τῇ βουλῇ τῶν ἠρωιδῶν παρέσχεν. ἦν δὲ θυγάτηρ μὲν Αἰγλάτωρος Φαιδίμου δὲ γυνή, γνωρίμων ἀνδρῶν· καλὴ δὲ τὴν ὤψιν οὖσα, καὶ τὸ φρονεῖν ἐδόκει περιττὴ τις εἶναι καὶ πολιτικῆς δεινότητος οὐκ ἀμοιροσ· ἐπιφανή δ' αὐτῆς αἱ κοιναὶ τύχαι τῆς πατρίδος ἐποίησαν.

F Νικοκράτης γὰρ ἐπαναστὰς Κυρηναίοις τύραννος

1 τῇ βουλῇ] τῇ βελτίστῃ S. A. Naber, wrongly. 2 τὸ] τῷ Wythenbach.
having made ready a sacrifice and banquet, invited the Pityoessenians to come to it just outside the city; then, dividing themselves into two parties, with the one they took possession of the walls, and with the other made away with the men. Having gained control of the city in this manner, they sent for Mandron, and bade him be king jointly with one or another of their own number. Lampsace died as the result of an illness, and they buried her within the city most magnificently, and called the city Lampsacus after her name. When Mandron, endeavouring to avoid any suspicion of treachery, asked to be released from dwelling with them, but asked as his right to take away with him the children and wives of the slain, they sent them forth, doing them no wrong. They rendered heroic honours to Lampsace at first; later they voted to offer sacrifice to her as to a goddess, and so they continue to do.

XIX. ARETAPHILA

Aretaphila, of Cyrene, was not born long years ago, but in the crucial times of Mithradates; she displayed, however, a bravery and an achievement which may well rival the counsel of the heroines of olden time. She was the daughter of Aeglator and the wife of Phaedimus, both men of note. She had beautiful features, and was reputed to be unusually sensible and not deficient in political wisdom, but the common misfortunes of her country brought her into prominence.

Nicocrates, having made himself despot over the

\[a\] Cf. Strabo, xiii. (589), and Stephanus of Byzantium under Lampsacus.

\[b\] Cf. Polyaeunus, Strategemata, viii. 38.
Who killed her husband Alexander. Cf. Moralia, 856 a; Xenophon, Hellenica, vi. 4. 35-37; Diodorus, xvi. 14; Cicero, De divinatione, i. 25 (53), De inventione, ii. 49 542
people of Cyrene, not only ordered the murder of many persons, but killed with his own hand Melanippus the priest of Apollo, and took the priesthood himself. He also killed Phaedimus the husband of Aretaphila, and made Aretaphila his unwilling wife. In addition to his other unnumbered acts of lawlessness, he stationed guards at the gates, who maltreated the dead that were being borne to the grave, prodding them with daggers, and applying red-hot irons to them, so that none of the citizens should be secretly carried out in the guise of a corpse.

Even for Aretaphila her own troubles were hard enough to bear, although the despot, because of his love for her, granted her the fullest enjoyment of his power, for he was quite vanquished by her, and with her alone did he conduct himself civilly, being relentless and brutal in all else. But even so, the piteous and undeserved suffering of her country distressed her the more; for one citizen after another was slaughtered, and there was no hope of vengeance from any quarter; for the exiles, altogether weak and timid, were scattered here and there and everywhere. So Aretaphila, risking herself as the sole remaining hope for the common weal, and emulating the glorious and far-famed daring of Thebe of Pherae, but being destitute of faithful supporters in the household, such as the circumstances provided for Thebe, undertook to dispatch her husband by poison. In preparing, procuring, and testing many potent mediums she did not go unnoticed, but was betrayed. And when proofs were presented,

(144) and *De officiis*, ii. 7 (25); Valerius Maximus, ix. 13, ext. 4. Theopompus wrote an account of this (as Plutarch says, *Moralia*, 1093 c).
(256) ἔλεγχων, Καλβία μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Νικοκράτους μὴτηρ, φύσει φονικῇ γυνῇ καὶ ἀπαραίτητος, εὐθὺς ὠς ὅτεν δὲν ἀναίρειν αἰκισαμένην τὴν Ἀρεταφίλαν· τοῦ δὲ Νικοκράτους μέλησαι ἐνεποίει τῇ ὀργῇ καὶ ἀσθένειαν ὡ ἔρως, καὶ τὸ τὴν Ἀρεταφίλαν ἐρρω-μένως ὀμός ὁρείν ταῖς κατηγορίαις ἀμύνοσαν ἕαυτῆ πρόφασιν τινα τῷ πάθει παρεῖχεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατελαμβάνετο τοῖς ἐλέγχοις καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν τῆς φαρμακείας ἐώρα μὴ δεχομένην ἄρνησιν,

C ὡμολογεῖ, παρεσκευάσθαι δ' οὐκ ὀλέθριον φαρ-μακείαιν· 'ἀλλ' ὑπέρ μεγάλων,' εἶπεν, 'ὡ ἂνερ, ἀγωνιζόμαι, τῆς σῆς εὐνοίας πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως, ἣν διὰ σὲ καρποῦμεν πολλαῖς ἐπί-φθονος ὁδὸν κακαίς γυναιξίν· ὅπως φάρμακα δε-δοκυῖα καὶ μηχανάς ἐπείσθην ἀντιμηχανήσασθαι, μωρὰ μὲν ἰσός καὶ γυναικεῖα, θανάτου δ' οὐκ ἄξια· πλὴν εἰ κρυτῇ σοι δόξει εἶπτιρων ἕνεκα καὶ γοη-τείας κτείναι γυναῖκα, πλείον ἢ σοὶ βούλει φιλεῖσθαι δεομένην.'

D Τοιαῦτα τὴν Ἀρεταφίλαν ἀπολογομουμένην ἐδοξε τῷ Νικοκράτει βασανίσει· καὶ τῆς Καλβίας ἐφεστώσης ἀτέγκτον καὶ ἀπαραίτητον, ταῖς βασά-νοις ἀνέκρινε· καὶ διεφύλαττεν αὐτὴν ἀῆττητον ἐν ταῖς ἀνάγκαις ἀχρι καὶ τὴν Καλβίαν ἀποκαμεῖν ἀκούσαν. ὡ δ' Νικοκράτης ἀφίκηκε πεισθείς καὶ μετενδεῖ βασανίσας· καὶ χρόνον οὐ πολὺν διαλυπῶν ἀδύσι ̣ηκεν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους εἰς αὐτὴν φερόμενος, καὶ συνὴν ἀδύσι ἀναλαμβάνων τῆς καὶ φιλο-φροσύναις τὴν εὗνοιαν. ή δ' οὐκ ἔμελλε χάριτος

1 αἰκισαμένην] αἰκισάμενον Meziriacus.
2 ἀκούσαν] κακούσαν S. A. Naber, wrongly as ἀνέκρινε (just above) shows.
Calbia, Nicocrates's mother, who was by nature bloodthirsty and inexorable, felt that she ought to make away with Aretaphila after torturing her. But Nicocrates' love had the effect of tempering his anger with procrastination and weakness, and the fact that Aretaphila vigorously met the accusations and defended herself against them provided some excuse for his attitude. But when she was apprehended by the proofs, and saw that her preparations for the poisoning admitted no denial, she confessed, but said that she had prepared no fatal poisoning. "No, my dear," said she, "my striving is for very important things, your affection for me, and the repute and influence which I enjoy because of you, and so am an object of envy to bad women. It was fear of their potions and devices that led me to invent some devices to counteract them. It was foolish and feminine perhaps, but not deserving of death, unless you as judge decide to put to death because of love-potions and charms a woman who yearns for more love than you are willing to grant her."

In spite of this defence of Aretaphila's, Nicocrates decided to have her put to the torture, and, with Calbia standing by, relentless and inexorable, he tested her in this way. She sustained herself with indomitable courage under the torments until even Calbia unwillingly gave over; and Nicocrates was convinced, and acquitted her, and was sorry that he had caused her to be tortured; and after no long time he came back again, impelled towards her by his passion for her, and resumed the old relations, and tried through honours and acts of kindness to regain her goodwill. But she, who had been trium-
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ήττασθαι κρατήσασα βασάνων καὶ πόνων, ἀλλὰ τῷ φιλοκάλῳ φιλονικίας1 προσγενομένης ἐτέρας ἦπτετο μηχανῆς.

E "Ἡν γὰρ αὐτῇ θυγάτηρ ἀνδρὸς ὠραν ἔχουσα καὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἐκανή. ταυτὴν ὑφήκε τάδελφῳ τοῦ τυράννου δέλεαρ, ὡντευ μειρακίως πρὸς ἡδονάς εὐαλώτως. πολὺς δὲ λόγος ἐστὶ χρησμαζόνη γοητεία καὶ φαρμάκως ἐπὶ τῇ κόρῃ τὴν Ἀρεταφίλαν, χειρώσασθαι καὶ διαφθείρατο τοῦ νεανίσκον τὸν λογισμὸν· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Λέανδρος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤλωκει καὶ λυπαρῆς τὸν ἄδελφον ἐπιχεῖ τοῦ γάμου, τὰ μὲν ἡ κόρη παρήγγειν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς διδασκομένη καὶ ἀνέπειθεν ἐλευθεροῦν τὴν πόλιν, ὡς μηδ'.

F αὐτὸν ἐλευθεροῖν ἐν τυραννίδι ξώντα μηδὲ τοῦ λαβεῖν γάμον ἡ φυλάξα κύριον ὄντα, τὰ δ' οἱ φίλοι τῇ Ἀρεταφίλα χαριζόμενοι διαβολάς τινὰς ἀεὶ καὶ ὑπονοοῖς κατασκευάζον αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν ἄδελφον. ὡς δ' ἤσθετο καὶ τὴν Ἀρεταφίλαν τὰ αὐτὰ3 βουλευομένην καὶ σπουδάζουσαν, ἐπεχείρει τὸ ἐργον,4 καὶ Δάφνην οὐκέτι παρομηνήσας ἀπέκτεινε δι' ἐκείνου τοῦ Νικοκράτην. τὰ λοιπὰ δ' οὐκέτι τῇ Ἀρεταφίλᾳ προσεῖχεν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐδείξε τοῖς ἐργοις ἀδελφοκτόνος οὐ τυραννοκτόνος γεγονὼς.

257 ἤρχε γὰρ ἐμπλήκτως καὶ ἀνοήτως. τιμὴ δὲ τὶς ὀμῶς ἢν τῆς Ἀρεταφίλας παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ δύναμις, οὐκ ἀπεχθανομένην οὐδὲ πολεμοῦσις ἀντικρύς ἀλλ' ἀδήλως διαστάτουσις τὰ πράγματα. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ Λιβυκὸν ὑπεκύνησε πόλεμον, Ἀνά-

1 φιλονικίας F.C.B.: φιλονεικίας.
2 ἐκανή] καλὴ S. A. Naber, wrongly, for the second sentence below shows that her beauty was not overpowering.
3 τὰ αὐτὰ] ταύτα Dinse, proper but not necessary.
4 τὸ ἐργον] τῷ ἐργῷ Turnebus.
phant over tortures and pain, had no intention of being vanquished by a show of favour, and, with eagerness for victory added to her eagerness for the honourable and good, she resorted to another device. She was fortunate in having a daughter of marriageable age, rather good-looking. Her she dangled as a bait before the despot's brother, who was a young man and an easy prey to pleasures. There is much talk to the effect that Aretaphila, by using charms and love-potions on the girl, got the youth in hand and upset his reasoning powers. His name was Leander. When he had been captivated, and, by importuning his brother, had gained his consent to the marriage, the girl, on the one hand, instructed by her mother, tried to influence him and to induce him to set the city free, arguing that not even he himself was living as a free man under the despotism, and had not even warrant to contract a marriage or to keep to it; and, on the other hand, his friends, thinking to do a favour to Aretaphila, suggested to his mind certain prejudices and suspicions against his brother. When he discovered that Aretaphila was planning and working to the same end, he undertook the deed, and by urging on Daphnis a servant, through him he slew Nicocrates. For the rest, he no longer paid any attention to Aretaphila, but straightway showed by his deeds that he had made away with his brother, but not with the despot; for he ruled in a crazy and foolish way. Nevertheless there remained with him some respect for Aretaphila and some influence on her part, as she was not hateful to him and not directly hostile, but carried on her activities in his affairs unknown to him. First she secretly stirred up a war with the Africans for him by persuading a
(257) βοῦν τινὰ πείσασα δυνάστην τὴν χύραν ἐπιδραμεῖν καὶ τῇ πόλει προσαγαγεῖν, ἐπείτα διέβαλε τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς πρὸς τὸν Λέανδρον, ὡς πολεμεῖν οὐκ ὄντας προθύμους, εἰρήνης δὲ μάλλον δεομένους καὶ ἡσυχίας, ἣν καὶ τὰ πράγματα ποθεῖν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τυραννίδα, βουλομένου

Β βεβαιῶς κρατεῖν τῶν πολιτῶν· αὐτῇ δὲ πράξεων ἐφή τὰς διαλύσεις καὶ τὸν 'Ανάβουν εἰς λόγους αὐτῶν συνάξειν, ἦν κελευθή, πρὶν ἀνήκεστον τι τὸν πόλεμον ἐξεργάσασθαι. κελεύσαντος δὲ τοὺς Λεάνδρου, πρότερον αὐτῇ τῷ Λίβυν διελέχθη, συλλαβεῖν δεομένη τὸν τύραννον ἐπὶ δωρεάς μεγάλας καὶ χρήμασιν, ὅταν εἰς λόγους αὐτῶν παραγένηται. πεισθέντος δὲ τοῦ Λίβυνος, ὥκνει μὲν ὁ Λέανδρος, αἴδευθεις δὲ τήν 'Αρεταφίλαν αὐτὴν παρέσεσθαι φάσκουσαν, ἐξῆλθεν ἄνωπλος καὶ ἀφυλακτός. ὡς δ' ἐγγὺς ἦλθε καὶ τὸν 'Ανάβουν εἶδεν, αὕθια ἔδοξε-χέραινε καὶ περιμένειν ἐβούλετο τοὺς δορυφόρους·

C η δ' 'Αρεταφίλα παροῦσα τὰ μὲν ἐδάρρυνεν αὐτῶν τὰ δ' ἐκάκυς· τέλος δὲ γενομένης διατριβῆς, ἐφελκυσμένη τῆς χειρὸς ἴταμος πάνυ καὶ τεθαρ-ηκότως προσῆγαγε τῷ βαρβάρῳ καὶ παρέδωκεν. εὐθὺς οὖν ἀνήρπαστο καὶ συνειλήπτο καὶ δεθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Λιβύων ἐτρεῖτο, ἀχρὶ οὗ τὰ χρήματα τῇ 'Αρεταφίλα κοµίζοντες οἱ φίλοι παρεγένοντο μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν. πυθόμενοι γὰρ οἱ πλει-στοὶ ἐξεδραμοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν παράκλησιν· ὡς δ' εἶδον τὴν 'Αρεταφίλαν, ὀλίγον1 ἐδέσαν ἐκλαθέσθαι τῆς πρὸς τὸν τύραννον ὀργῆς, καὶ πάρεργον τὴν ἐκεῖνον

1 ὀλίγον in Hutten's edition: ὀλίγον, however, the reading of the mss., may stand.
certain potentate Anabus to overrun the country and lead his army against the city; then she falsely accused to Leander his friends and generals, intimating that they were not zealous in carrying on the war, but wanted rather peace and quiet, which his circumstances and despotism required, as he wished to hold secure his power over the citizens. She said that she herself would effect the reconciliation, and would get Anabus to come to a conference with him, if he would but give the word, before the war should have wrought some irremediable ill. When Leander gave the word, she herself had a talk with the African beforehand, in which she desired him, on the promise of many presents and much money, to seize the despot when he should come to the conference with him. When the African had been won over, Leander was hesitant, but, abashed before Aretaphila, who said that she would be present herself, he went forth unarmed and unattended. When he came near and saw Anabus, he again felt uneasy, and wanted to wait for his bodyguard. But Aretaphila, who was there, at one moment encouraged him, and the next called him a coward. Finally, as a delay ensued, she, quite impulsively and boldly dragging him by the hand, brought him up to the barbarian and handed him over. Instantly he was seized and made a prisoner, and, after having been put in bonds, was kept under watch by the Africans, until Aretaphila's friends, who were bringing the money for her, arrived, accompanied by the rest of the citizens. For almost all of them, on hearing the news, ran out at the call. When they saw Aretaphila, they came near forgetting their anger against the despot, and considered vengeance upon him a
D τιμωρίαν ἐνόμιζον· ἔργον δὲ πρῶτον ἦν αὐτοῖς καὶ
(257) ἀπόλαυσμα τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐκείνην ἀσπάσασθαι
μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ δακρύων, ὥσπερ ἀγάλματι θεοῦ
προσπίπτοντας. ἂλλων δὲ ἐπὶ ἄλλοις ἐπιρρεόντων,
μόλις ἐσπέρας τὸν Λέανδρον παραλαβόντες ἐπι-
ανήλθον εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν τιμῶν τῆς
'Αρεταφίλας καὶ τῶν ἐπαίνων ἐνεπλήσθησαν, οὕτω
τραπόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους τὴν μὲν Καλβίαν
ξώσαν κατέκαυσαν, τὸν δὲ Λέανδρον ἐνράψαντες
eἰς βύρσαν κατεπόντυσαν. ἦξίοις δὲ τὴν 'Αρετα-
φίλαν συνάρχειν καὶ συνιδοικεῖν τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἀν-
Ε ἤρασι τὴν πολιτείαν. ἦ δὲ ὡς πουκίλον τι δράμα
καὶ πολυμερὲς ἁγωνισμένη μέχρι στεφάνου δια-
δόσεως, ὥσ ἐπείδη τῇ πόλιν ἐλευθεραν, εὖθυς εἰς
tὴν γυναικωνίτιν ἐνεδύσετο, καὶ τοῦ πολυπραγ-
μονείν ὀπτοῦν παραβαλλομένη,¹ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον
ἐν ἵστοις ἤσυχίαν ἁγουσα μετὰ τῶν φιλῶν καὶ
οἰκείων διετέλεσεν.

XX. KAMMA

¹Ἡσαν ἐν Γαλατίᾳ δυνατώτατοι τῶν τετραρχῶν
καὶ τι καὶ κατὰ γένος προσήκοντες ἄλληλοις
Σινάτος τε καὶ Σινώριξ.· ὅν ὁ Σινάτος γυναῖκα
παρθένων ἔσχε Κάμμαν ὅνομα, περίβλεπτον μὲν
F ιδέα σώματος καὶ ώρα, θαυμαζομένην δὲ μάλλον
dι' ἀρετὴν· οὐ γὰρ μόνον σώφρων καὶ φιλανδρός,
ἄλλα καὶ συνετὴ καὶ μεγαλόφρων καὶ ποθευτή τοῖς
¹ παραβαλλομένη] περιβαλλομένη in some mss.
² Σινώριξ probably the correct spelling: σινώριξ.

*The Cup, a drama by Alfred Lord Tennyson, follows
closely Plutarch’s story of Camma, which inspired it. The
play (published in 1884) may be found in Tennyson’s
550
secondary concern. Their first concern in the enjoyment of their freedom was to greet her with joy and tears, prostrating themselves before her as before the statue of a god. As the people surged on, one close upon another, it was with difficulty that by evening they took over Leander and returned to the city. When they had had their fill of honours and praises for Aretaphila, they then turned their attention to the despots. Calbia they burned alive, and Leander they sewed up in a leathern sack and sank in the depths of the sea. They asked that Aretaphila, as her proper due, should share with the best citizens in the control and management of the government. But she, as one who had played through a drama of varying sort and of many roles up to the winning of the prize, when she saw the city free, withdrew at once to her own quarters among the women, and, rejecting any sort of meddling in affairs, spent the rest of her life quietly at the loom in the company of her friends and family.

XX. CAMMA

There were in Galatia two of the most powerful of the tetrarchs, distantly related to each other, Sinatus and Sinorix. One of these, Sinatus, had married a maiden, Camma by name, conspicuous for her form and beauty, but even more admired for her virtues. Not only was she modest and fond of her husband, but she was also quick-witted and high-collected works. It was presented at the Lyceum Theatre in 1881 by Henry Irving and ran for over one hundred and thirty nights. Certainly the account of Camma’s death does not lack dramatic quality.

Plutarch repeats the story in Moralia, 768 b, and Poly-aenus, Strategemata, viii. 39, also gives his version.
υπηκόους ἢν διαφερόντως ὑπ' εὐμενείας καὶ χρηστότητος. ἐπιφανεστέραν δ' αὐτὴν ἐποίει καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱέρειαν εἶναι, ἢν μάλιστα Γαλάται σέβοντο, περί τε πομπᾶς ἄει καὶ θυσίας κεκοσμημένην ὑράσθαι μεγαλοπρεπῶς.

Ἐρασθεὶς οὖν αὐτῆς ὁ Σωνόριξ, καὶ μὴ τείσαι μήτε βιάσασθαι ζῴωντος τοῦ ἄνδρος δυνάτος ἢν, ἔργου εἰργάσατο δεινόν· ἀπέκτεινε γὰρ δόλῳ τὸν Σωνότον, καὶ χρόνον οὐ πολὺν διὰλειπὼν ἐμνάτο τὴν 258 Κάμμαν ἐν τῷ ἵερῷ ποιομενήν διατρίβας καὶ φέρουσαν οὐκ οἰκτρῶς καὶ ταπεινῶς ἄλλα θυμῶν νοῦν ἔχοντι καὶ καιρὸν περιμένοντι τὴν τοῦ Σωνόργος παρανομίαν. ὃ δὲ λυπαρῆς ἦν περὶ τὰς δεήσεις, καὶ λόγων ἐδόκει μὴ παντάπασιν ἀπορεῖν εὐπρεπεῖαν ἐχόντων, ὡς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα Σωνότου βελτίωνα παρεσχηκὼς ἐαυτὸν ἄνελων δ' ἐκεῖνον ἔρωτι τῆς Κάμμης1 μὴ δι᾽ ἐτέραν τινὰ πονηρίαν. ἦσαν οὖν τὸ πρῶτον ἀρνήσεις οὐκ ἄγαν ἀπηνεῖς τῆς γυναικὸς, εἰτα κατὰ μικρὸν ἐδόκει μαλάπτεσθαι. Β καὶ γὰρ οἰκεῖοι καὶ φίλοι προσέκειντο θεραπεία καὶ χάριτι τοῦ Σωνόργους μέγιστον δυναμένου, πείθοντες αὐτὴν καὶ καταβιαζόμενον· τέλος δὲ συνεχόρει καὶ μετεπέμπτο πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἐκεῖνον, ὡς παρὰ τῇ2 θεῷ τῆς συναινέσεως καὶ καταπιστώσεως γενησομένης. ἔλθοντα δὲ δεξαμενή φιλοφρόνως καὶ προσαγαγόσα τῷ βωμῷ κατέσπευσεν ἐκ φιάλης, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐξέπιεν αὐτῇ τὸ δ' ἐκεῖνον

1 Κάμμης Hatzidakis: Κάμμας.
2 τῇ Xylander, presumably from Polyaeon, Strategemata, viii. 39: τῇ.
minded, and unusually dear to her inferiors by reason of her kindness and benevolence. A thing that brought her into greater prominence was the fact that she was the priestess of Artemis, whom the Galatians especially reverence, and was seen magnificently attired always in connexion with the processions and sacrifices.

So Sinorix fell in love with her, and not being able to prevail upon her either by persuasion or force as long as her husband lived, he committed a horrible deed, and treacherously killed Sinatus. Then, without allowing much time to elapse, he commenced to woo Camma, who was spending time in the temple and bearing Sinorix's lawless transgression in no pitiful nor abject manner, but with a spirit that showed sense and bided its time. He was persistent in his suit, and seemed not to be at all at a loss for arguments that had some plausibility, to the effect that in all other respects he had shown himself a better man than Sinatus, and had made away with him for love of Camma and not because of any other nefarious intent. The woman's denials at the first were not too peremptory, and later, little by little, she appeared to be softened; for her relatives and friends also brought pressure to bear upon her by way of service and favour to Sinorix, who held such very great power, and they tried to persuade and coerce her. Finally she yielded, and sent for him to come to her, on the ground that the consenting and pledging should take place in the presence of the goddess. When he had come, she received him kindly and, having led him to the altar, poured a libation from a bowl, then drank a portion herself and bade him drink the rest; it was poisoned mixture.
(258) ἐκέλευσεν· ἢν δὲ πεφαρμαγμένον μελίκρατον. ὡς δὲ εἴδε πετσοκότα, λαμπρόν ἀνωλόξε ὡς καὶ τὴν θεὸν προσκυνήσασα, "μαρτύρομαι σε," εἶπεν, "ὁ πολυτίμητε δαίμον, ὃτι ταύτης ἑνεκα τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπέζησα τῷ Σινάτου φόνῳ, χρόνον τοσοῦτον οὐδὲν Κ ἀπολαύσωσαν τοῦ βίου χρηστόν ἀλλ᾽ ἦ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς δίκης, ἦν ἑξούσα καταβαίνει πρὸς τὸν ἐμὸν ἄνδρα. σοὶ δὲ, ὃ πάντων ἀνοσιώτατε ἀνθρώπων, τάφον ἀντὶ θαλάμου καὶ γάμου παρασκευαζότατοι οἱ προσήκοντες."

Ταύτα δὲ ἀκούσας ὁ Γαλάτης καὶ τοῦ φαρμάκου δράντος ἦ δὶ καὶ διακινοῦντος τὸ σῶμα συναισθήματος ἔπεβη μὲν ὀχήματος ὡς σάλῳ καὶ τυγγαμῷ χρησόμενος, ἐξεύθεσε δὲ παραχρήμα καὶ μεταβὰς εἰς φορεῖον ἐσπέρας ἀπέθανεν. ἦ δὲ Κάμμα διενεγκόσα τὴν νύκτα καὶ πυθομένη τέλος ἐχεῖν ἐκεῖνον, εὐθύμιως καὶ ἑλάρως κατέστρεψεν.

XXI. ΣΤΡΑΤΟΝΙΚΗ

Παρέσχε δὲ ἦ Γαλατία καὶ Στρατονίκην τὴν

1) Δημιοτάρου καὶ Χιομάραν τὴν Ὄρτιάγοντος, ἀξίας μνήμης γυναίκας.

'Ἡ μὲν οὖν Στρατονίκη δεόμενον γυναικῶν παιδῶν ἐπὶ διαδόχη τῆς βασιλείας ἐπισταμένη τὸν ἄνδρα, μὴ τίκτουσα δὲ αὐτῆς συνέπεισεν ἐξ ἐτέρας γυναικὸς παιδοποιησάμενον αὐτῇ τὸ παιδίον περιδείν ύποβαλλόμενον. τοῦ δὲ Δημιόταρος τὴν τε γυνὴν ϑαυμάσαντος καὶ πᾶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς ποιησαμένου, παρθένον εὐπρεπῆ παρασκευάσασα τῶν αἰχμαλω-

1 ἀπολαύσωσα Wytenbach: ἀπολαβοῦσα, cf. 259 ε, 272 f.
2 ἂλλ᾽ ἦ Bernardakis: ὁ λαῦ τα.
of milk and honey. When she saw that he had drunk, she uttered a clear cry of joy, and, prostrating herself before the goddess, said, "I call you to witness, goddess most revered, that for the sake of this day I have lived on after the murder of Sinatus, and during all that time I have derived no comfort from life save only the hope of justice; and now that justice is mine, I go down to my husband. But as for you, wickedest of all men, let your relatives make ready a tomb instead of a bridal chamber and a wedding."

When the Galatian heard these words, and felt the poison already working and creating a disturbance in his body, he mounted a chariot as if to try shaking and jolting as a relief, but he got out almost immediately and changed over into a litter, and in the evening he died. Camma endured through the night, and when she learned that he had come to his end, she died cheerful and happy.

XXI. STRATONICE

Galatia produced also Stratonice the wife of Deiotarus and Chiomara the wife of Ortiagon, women that deserve to be remembered.

Stratonice, well knowing that her husband desired children from her to succeed to the kingdom, but having no child herself, prevailed upon him to have a child by another woman, and to connive at its being passed off as her own. Deiotarus thought highly of the idea, and did everything in dependence upon her judgement, and she procured a comely
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(258) των ὄνομα Ἡλέκτραν συνείρξε τῷ Δημιοτάρῳ, καὶ τοὺς γενομένους παιδας ὡσπερ γνησίους αὐτῆς ἔθρεψε φιλοστόργως καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς.

XXII. XIOMAPRA

Χιομάραν δὲ συνέβη τὴν Ὀρτιάγοντος αἰχμαλώτων γενέσθαι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων γυναικῶν, ὅτε Ἀττικὸι καὶ Γναῖος ἕνικησαν μάχῃ τοὺς ἐν Ἁσίᾳ Γαλάτας. ὡς δὲ λαβὼν αὐτὴν ταξιάρχος ἔχρησατο τῇ τύχῃ στρατιωτικὸς καὶ κατήχυσεν· ἥν δ’ ἀρά καὶ πρὸς ἑδονὴν καὶ ἀργύριον ἀμαθῆς καὶ ἄκρατῆς ἀνθρωπος· ἥττήθη δ’ ὀμος ύπὸ τῆς φιλαργυρίας, καὶ χρυσίου συχνοῦ διομολογηθέντος ύπέρ τῆς γυναικὸς, ἤγεν αὐτὴν ἀπολυτρῶσων, ποταμοῦ δὲ τῶν ἐν μέσῳ διείργοντος. ὡς δὲ διαβάντες οἱ Γαλάται τὸ χρυσίου ἐδωκαν αὐτῷ καὶ παρελάβαν τῇ Χιομάραν, ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ νεῦματος προσέπταξεν ἐνὶ παῖς τὸν Ἀττικὸν ἀσπαζόμενον αὐτὴν καὶ φιλοφρονοῦμενον· ἐκείνου δὲ πεισθέντος καὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀποκόψαντος, ἀραμένη καὶ περιστείλασα τοὺς κόλπους ἀπῆλαυνεν. ὡς δ’ ἤλθε πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν κεφαλήν αὐτῶ προέβαλεν, ἐκείνου θεαμασάντος καὶ εἰπόντος, “ὅ γὰρ καλῶν ἡ πίστις,” “ναι,” εἶπεν, “ἄλλα κάλλιον ἕνα μόνον ζην ἐμοὶ συγγεγενημένον.”

1 ἀμαθῆς καὶ] Cobet would omit.

* This is printed as one of the fragments of Polybius, xxi. 38 (xxii. 21), from whom it is possible that Plutarch copied the story. Cf. also Livy, xxxviii. 24; Valerius Maximus, vi. 1, ext. 2; Florus, Epitome of Roman History, i. 27. 6 (ii. 11. 6). 556
BRAVERY OF WOMEN, 258

maiden from among the prisoners, Electra by name, and sealed her to Deiotarus. The children that were born she brought up with loving care and in royal state as if they had been her own.

XXII. CHIOMARA

It came to pass that Chiomara, the wife of Ortiagon, was made a prisoner of war along with the rest of the women at the time when the Romans under Gnaeus overcame in battle the Galatians in Asia. The officer who obtained possession of her used his good fortune as soldiers do, and dishonoured her. He was, naturally, an ignorant man with no self-control when it came to either pleasure or money. He fell a victim, however, to his love of money, and when a very large sum in gold had been mutually agreed upon as the price for the woman, he brought her to exchange for the ransom to a place where a river, flowing between, formed a boundary. When the Galatians had crossed and given him the money and received Chiomara, she, by a nod, indicated to one man that he should smite the Roman as he was affectionately taking leave of her. And when the man obediently struck off the Roman's head, she picked it up and, wrapping it in the folds of her garment, departed. When she came to her husband and threw the head down before him, he said in amazement, "A noble thing, dear wife, is fidelity." "Yes," said she, "but it is a nobler thing that only one man be alive who has been intimate with me." 

Gnaeus Manlius Vulso; the battle took place in 189 B.C.
A centurion, according to the Roman account.
"Tempora mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis."
TAU'TH MEV Ὅ ΠΟΛΥΒΙΟΣ ΦΗΣΙ ΔΙΑ ΛΟΓΩΝ ΕΝ ΣΆΡΔΕΣΙ
ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΘΑΥΜΆΣΑΙ ΤΟ ΤΕ ΦΡΆΝΗΜΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΣΩΝΕΣΙΝ.

XXIII. ΓΤΝΑΙΟΝ ΕΠΕΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ

Ἐσεὶ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ἐξήκοντα Γαλατῶν τοὺς ἄριστους μεταπεμψάμενος εἰς Πέργαμον ὡς φίλους, ὑβριστικῶς ἔδοκει καὶ δεσποτικῶς προσφέρεσθαι, καὶ πάντες ἥγανακτοι, Πορθδόρις, ἀνὴρ τὸ τε σῶμα ῥωμαλέος καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν διαφέρων (ἥν δὲ Τοσιωπῶν τετράρχης), ἀνεδέξατο τὸν Μιθριδάτην, ὅταν ἐν τῷ βήματι ἡ γυμνασίῳ χρηματίζῃ συναρπάσας ὠσεὶ ἀμα σὺν αὐτῷ κατὰ τῆς φάραγγος. τῆς δὲ τοι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης οὐκ ἀναβάντος εἰς τὸ γυμνάσιον αὐτοῦ, μεταπεμπομένου δὲ τοὺς

Β Γαλάτας οἷκαδε, ὑπαρχεὶν παρεκάλει, καὶ ὅταν ἐν ταύτῳ γένωνται, διαστάσας τὸ σῶμα καὶ διαφείραι πανταχόθεν προσπεσόντας. τοῦτ' οὐκ ἔλαβε τὸν Μιθριδάτην, ἀλλὰ μηνύσεως γενομένης, καὶ ἐνα ὑπὸ τῶν Γαλατῶν παρεδίδου σφαγησόμενον. εἰτά πως ἀναμνησθεὶς νεανίσκου πολὺ προέχοντος ὤρα καὶ κάλλει τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν ἄκτιρε καὶ μετενετῇ καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἀχθόμενος ὡς ἐν πρῶτοις ἀπολωλότοις, ὄμως δ' ἐπεμψεν, εἰ ẓων εὐρεθείη, μεθείη κελευνών, ἦν δ' ὄνομα τῷ νεανίσκῳ βηπολιτανός. καὶ τις αὐτῷ τῆς θαυμαστή συνέπεσε· καλῆ γὰρ ἐσθήτα

C καὶ πολυτελὴ συνελήφθη φορῶν· ἦν ὁ δήμιος ἀν-

1 The title (not in the mss.) was added by Xylander.
2 Πορθδόρις an early correction: πορθδόρας.
3 Τοσιωπῶν] Τολιστοβῶγων Wytttenbach: Τεκτοσάγων suggested by Bernardakis on the basis of inscriptive evidence, but certainty is impossible.
4 ἐν added by F.C.B.
5 προέχοντος Wytttenbach: προέχοντος πρωτεύσαυτος.

Polybius says that he had a conversation with this woman in Sardis, and that he admired her good sense and intelligence.

XXIII. A WOMAN OF PERGAMUM

When Mithradates, after sending for sixty of the noblest of Galatians to come to Pergamum as friends, seemed to comport himself arrogantly and despotically toward them, and all were indignant, Poredorix, a man of great bodily strength and of unusual spirit, tetrarch of the Tosiopians, undertook, when Mithradates should be hearing cases on the tribunal in a gymnasium, to seize hold of it suddenly and precipitate him, tribunal and all, down into the ravine. But by some chance Mithradates did not go up to the gymnasium on that day, but sent for the Galatians to come to his house, whereupon Poredorix urged them to keep up their courage and, when they all should be met together there, to rend Mithradates limb from limb, and kill him, by falling upon him from all sides at once. Knowledge of this came to Mithradates through the agency of some informer, and he delivered over the Galatians one by one to be executed. A little later, happening to remember a young man who, in comeliness and beauty, far surpassed those of his age, he felt sorry for him and changed his mind. It was plain that he was much distressed, since the youth had probably been put to death among the first; yet he sent orders that, if the youth should be found alive, they should let him go. The young man's name was Bepolitanus, and a marvellous piece of luck befell him in this wise: when he was arrested he was wearing very beautiful and costly clothing, which the executioner wished to
(259) αἴμακτον αὐτῷ καὶ καθαρὰν διαφυλάξαι βουλόμενοι, καὶ ἀποδύων ἡρέματον τὸν νεανίσκον, εἶδε τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως προσθέοντας ἁμα καὶ τούνομα τοῦ μειρακίου βοῶντας. τὸν μὲν οὖν Βηπολιτανὸν ἡ πολλοὺς ἀπολέσασας φιλαργυρία διέσωσεν ἀπροσδοκήτως.

'Ο δὲ Πορηδόρις κατακοπεῖς ἄταφος ἐξεβέβλητο, καὶ τῶν φίλων οἰδεὶς ἐτόλμησε προσελθεῖν γύναιον δὲ Περγαμηνῶν, ἐγνωσμένον ἃφ’ ώρας ἔσοντι τῷ Γαλάτῃ παρεκκυδόνευσε θάψαι καὶ περιεστείλαι τὸν νεκρόν. ἡτοίμασε δ’ οἱ φύλακες καὶ συλλαβόντες ἀνήγαγον πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. λέγεται μὲν οὖν τι καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὤψιν αὐτῆς παθεῖν ὁ Μιθριδάτης, νέας παντάπασι καὶ ἀκάκου τῆς παιδίσκης φανείσης. ἐπὶ δὲ μάλλον ὡς έοικε τὴν αἰτίαν γνοὺς ἐρωτικήν οὖσαν ἐπεκλάσθη καὶ συνεχώρησεν ἀνελέσθαι καὶ θάψαι τὸν νεκρὸν ἑσθήτα καὶ κόσμον ἐκ τῶν ἑκείνου λαβοῦσαν.

XXIV. TIMOKLEIA

Θεαγένης θ. Θηβαῖος, 'Επαμεινώνδα καὶ Πελοπίδα καὶ τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἀνδραὶς τὴν αὐτήν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως λαβῶν διάνοιαν, ἔπτασε περὶ τὴν κοινὴν τύχην τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ, κρατῶν ἡγῆ καὶ διώκων τοὺς κατ’ αὐτὸν ἀντιτεταγμένους. ἐκείνος Ε γὰρ ἦν δ’ πρὸς τὸν ἐμβοηθήσαντα, "μέχρι τοῦ διώκεις;" ἀποκρινάμενος, "μέχρι Μακεδονίας."

1 ἡρέμα Cobet: ἄτρέμα.
2 Πορηδόρις an early correction: πορηδόραξ.
3 ἔσοντι] ἔσω τι! E. Kurtz.

* Plutarch tells of Timocleia more briefly in his Life of 560.
keep, unstained by blood and unsullied, for himself, and he was stripping this off in a leisurely way, when he saw the messengers from the king running towards him and shouting the youth's name. So in the case of Bepolitanus, avarice, which has been the undoing of many a man, unexpectedly saved his life.

Poredorix was executed and his body cast forth unburied, and not one of his friends dared to go near him; but a woman of Pergamum, who for her loveliness had been known to the Galatian while he was living, took the risk of burying and covering up his body. The guards, noticing her, arrested her and took her before the king. It is said that Mithradates' emotions were stirred at the sight of her, as the girl appeared altogether young and innocent. A still stronger influence very likely came from his having learned that love was the reason behind it all; at any rate, he relented and granted her permission to remove and bury the corpse, and to take for it clothing and adornment from what belonged to him.

XXIV. TIMOCLEIA

Theagenes of Thebes, who had come to entertain the same aspirations for his city as Epameinondas and Pelopidas and the noblest of the Thebans, came to grief, involved in the general fortunes of Greece at Chaeroneia, when he was already overpowering and pursuing the opposing lines. He is the one who, in answer to a man who cried out, "How far is your pursuit to go?" said, "As far as Macedonia!"

*Alexander, chap. xii. (671 a). Cf. also Polyaenus, Strategemata, viii. 40; Hieronymus, Adversus Iovinianum, 35; Zonaras, iv. 9 (185 b).
Αποθανόντι δ' αυτῷ περιήν ἁδέλφη μαρτυροῦσα κάκεινον ἀρετῆ γένους καὶ φύσει μέγαν ἄνδρα καὶ λαμπρον γενέσθαι. πλὴν ταύτη γε καὶ χρηστὸν ἀπολαύσαι τι τῆς ἀρετῆς ύπήρξεν, ὥστε κοινήτερον, ὅσον τῶν κοινῶν ἀτυχημάτων εἰς αὐτὴν ἤλθεν, ἐνεγκείν.

Επεὶ γὰρ ἐκράτησε Θηβαίων Ἀλέξανδρος, ἄλλοι δ' ἄλλα τῆς πόλεως ἐπόρθουσι ἐπιώντες, ἔτυχε τὴν Τιμοκλείας οἰκίαν καταλαβῶν ἀνθρωπός οὐκ ἐπιεικῆς οὐδ' ἡμερος ἄλλ' ύβρισθῆς καὶ ἀνόητος· ἤρχε de Θρακίου τινὸς ἀλής καὶ ὁμωνύμος ἦν τοῦ F βασιλέως οἰδὼν δ' ὁμοίως. οὔτε γὰρ τὸ γένος οὔτε τὸν βίον αἰδεσθεὶς τῆς γυναικὸς, ὡς ἐνέπλησεν ἑαυτὸν οἶνον, μετὰ δειπνὸν ἐκάλει συναναπαυσομένην. καὶ τοῦτο² πέρας οὐκ ἦν ἄλλα καὶ χρυσὸν ἐξῆτε καὶ ἄργυρον, εἴ τις εἰς κεκρυμμένοις ὑπ' αὐτῆς, τὰ μὲν ὡς ἀπολῶν τὰ δ' ὡς ἐξων διὰ παντὸς ἐν τάξει γυναικὸς. ἡ δὲ δεξαμενὴ λαβὴν αὐτοῦ διδόντος, "ὡφελον μέν," εἰπε, "τεθνάναι πρὸ 260 ταύτης ἐγὼ τῆς νυκτὸς ἢ ἥν, ἢν³ το γοῦν σῶμα πάντων ἀπολυμένων⁴ ἀπειρατόν υβρέως διεφυλαξα⁵· πεπραγμένων δ' οὕτως, εἰ σε κηδεμόνα καὶ δεσπότην καὶ ἄνδρα δεῖ νομίζειν, τοῦ δαίμονος διδόντος, οὐκ ἀποστερήσω σε τῶν σῶν· ἐμαυτη γὰρ ὁ τι βουλήσῃ ὀρὼ γεγενημένην. ἐμοὶ περὶ σῶμα κόσμος ἦν καὶ ἄργυρος ἐν ἐκπώμασιν, ἢν τι καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ νομισμάτος. ὡς δ' ἡ πόλις ἡλίσκετο, πάντα συλλαβεῖν κελεύσασα τάς

1 ἀλής Xylander: εἰλῆς.
² τοῦτο Meziriacus: τούτου.
³ ἢν added by F.C.B.
⁴ ἀπολυμένων] ἀπολωμένων Cobet.
⁵ διεφύλαξα | διαφυλάξαi most mss.: διαφυλάξασα Meziriacus.
A sister survived him to bear witness that by reason of the virtues of the family and his own natural endowment he was a great and splendid man. However, she had the advantage of getting some benefit from her virtues, so that she could bear more lightly so much of the general misfortunes as came upon her.

For when Alexander had overpowered the Thebans, and some of his men were going to this part of the city, and others to that, and plundering, it happened that a man took possession of Timotheia's house who was not reasonable or civil but arrogant and foolish. He was commander of a certain Thracian troop, and bore the same name as the king, but was in no way like him; for, without showing the least respect for the ancestry or the estate of the woman, after he had guzzled his fill of wine, he summoned her after dinner to spend the night with him. And this was not the end: he asked for gold and silver, if any had been hidden away by her, at one time threatening to kill her, at another promising to keep her for all time in the position of a wife. She, seizing upon the hold he offered, said, "Would God I had been dead before this night rather than to be alive, so that I might at least, when all else is being ravaged, have preserved my honour. But, since what has been done is done, if I must look upon you as my protector, lord, and husband, by God's will, I will not deprive you of your own; for I see that I myself have become whatever your will shall decide. I did possess personal ornaments and silver fashioned into drinking-cups, and there was also some gold and money. When the city was being captured, I told

* In 335 B.C.
(260) θεραπαυίδας ἔρρυφα, μᾶλλον δὲ κατεθέμην εἰς
φρέαρ ύδωρ ὅν τὸ ἔχον· οὐδ` ἦσασιν αὐτῷ πολλοί·
Β πώμα γὰρ ἐπεστὶ καὶ κύκλῳ περιπέμφθηκεν ὕλη
σύσκιος. ταῦτα σὺ μὲν εὐτυχοῦσι λαβὼν, ἐμοὶ
δ' ἔσται πρὸς σε μαρτύρια καὶ γνωρίσματα τῆς
περὶ τὸν οἶκον εὐτυχίας καὶ λαμπρότητος."

Ἀκούσας οὖν ὁ Μακεδών οὐ περιέμειν τὴν
ημέραν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, ἤγου-
μένης τῆς Τιμοκλείας· καὶ τὸν κήπον ἀποκλείσας
κελεύσας, ὅπως αὐτοῦτο μηδείς, κατέβαινεν ἐν τῷ
χιτῶνι. στυγερὰ δ' ἤγειτό Κλωθῷ τιμωρῶς ὑπὸ
τῆς Τιμοκλείας ἐφεστῶσι ἀνωθεν. ὡς δ' ἤσθετο
τῇ φωνῇ κάτω γεγονότος, πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῇ τῶν
C λίθων ἐπέφερε πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ μεγάλους αἱ θερα-
παυίδες ἐπεκυλύδουν, ἀχρὶ οὗ κατέκοψαν αὐτὸν
καὶ κατέχωσαν. ὡς δ' ἐγνώσαν οἱ Μακεδόνες καὶ
τὸν νεκρὸν ἀνείλοντο κηρύγματος ἢδη γεγονότος
μηδένα κτείνειν Θηβαίων, ἤγον αὐτὴν συλλαβόντες
ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα καὶ προσήγγειλαν τὸ τετολμη-
μένον. δ' δὲ καὶ τῇ καταστάσει τοῦ προσώπου
καὶ τῷ σχολαίῳ τοῦ βαδίσματος ἀξιωματικόν τι
καὶ γενναίον ἐνδών πρῶτον ἀνέκρινεν αὐτὴν τῆς
εἰς γυναικῶν. ἡ δ' ἀνεκπληκτος πάνῃ καὶ
tεθαρρηκότως εἶπεν, "ἐμοὶ Θεαγένης ἢν ἀδελφός,
δ' ἐν Χαριωνείᾳ στρατηγῶν καὶ μαχόμενος πρὸς
ὑμᾶς ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἐλευθερίας ἔπεσεν,
ὅπως ἡμεῖς μηδὲν τουστὸν πάθωμεν" ἐπεὶ δὲ

1 ὑπὸ] ὑπὲρ Hartman.

* The poetic expression probably comes from some lyric
or dramatic poet. It can hardly have been made up by
Plutarch from Hesiod's *Shield of Heracles*, 258.
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my maid-servants to get this all together, and I threw it, or rather deposited it, into a dry well. Nor do many know of it; for there is a cover over the well, and a shady wood growing all around it. I hope you may be fortunate in obtaining it, and for me it will serve as proofs and tokens to you of the happy and splendid state of my house."

When the Macedonian heard this, he could not wait for daylight, but went straight to the place under the guidance of Timocleia, and, after ordering the garden to be shut close, so that nobody should find out what was going on, he climbed down into the well in his shirt only. An odious Fate led him on, destined to work vengeance upon him at the hands of Timocleia standing over him at the top of the well. When she could tell by his voice that he had reached the bottom, she herself brought many of the stones, while her maid-servants rolled in many big ones on top until they had beaten him down and completely buried him. When the Macedonians came to know of this and recovered the corpse, inasmuch as proclamation had been made before this to kill none of the Thebans, they arrested Timocleia and brought her to the king, and told of her daring deed. But he, seeing in the composure of her countenance and her unhurried step an indication of high rank and noble blood, first questioned her as to who she was among the women. She quite un-dauntedly and courageously said, "I had the good fortune to have a brother Theagenes, who was a general at Chaeroneia and fell there, fighting against you Macedonians for the freedom of Greece, that we might not have any such experience as we have had. But since we have had an experience un-
(260) πεπόνθαμεν ἀνάξια τοῦ γένους, ἀποθανεῖν οὐ
D φεύγομεν· οὔδε γὰρ ἁμεινὸν ᾳως ζῶσαν ἐτέρας
πειρᾶσθαι νυκτός, εἰ σὺ τοῦτο μὴ κωλύσεις."

Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐπιεικέστατοι τῶν παρόντων ἐδάκρυ-
σαν· Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δ’ οἰκτίρειν μὲν οὐκ ἔπηκε τὴν
ἀνθρώπων ὡς μείζονα, θαυμάσας δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν
καὶ τὸν λόγον εὗ μάλα καθαβάμενον αὐτοῦ, τοὺς
μὲν ἥρμοσὶ παρῆγγελε προσέχειν καὶ φυλάττειν,
μὴ πάλιν ὑβρισμα τοιοῦτον εἰς οἰκίαν ἐνυδόξον
γένηται· τὴν δὲ Τιμόκλειαν ἀφῆκεν αὐτὴν τε καὶ
πάντας ὅσοι κατὰ γένος αὐτῇ προσήκοντες
εὐρέθησαν.

XXV. ΕΡΤΕΩ

Βάττον τοῦ ἐπικληθέντος Εὐδαίμονος ύίὸς Ἄρ-
Εκεσίλαος ἦν οὖδέν ὁμοίος τῷ πατρί τοὺς τρόπους·
καὶ γὰρ ζῶντος ἔτι περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν περιθέει
ἐπάλξεις ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐξημιώθη ταλάντῳ· καὶ
tελευτήσαντος ἐκείνου, τοῦτο μὲν 1 φύσει χαλέπος
ὠν (ὅπερ καὶ ἐπεκλήθη), τοῦτο δὲ φιλῳ πονηρῷ,
Λάαρχῳ, χρώμενος ἀντὶ βασιλέως ἐγεγόνει τύραν-
nος. ὡ δὲ Λάαρχος2 ἐπιβουλεύων τῇ τυραννίδι καὶ
tους ἀριστοὺς τῶν Κυρηναίων ἐξελαύνων ἢ
φονεύων, ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρκεσίλαον τὰς αἰτίας ἐτρεπε·

F καὶ τέλος ἐκείνου μὲν εἰς νόσον ἐμβαλὼν φθυάδα
καὶ χαλεπὴν, λαγὼν πιόντα θαλάσσιον, διέθειερεν,

1 μὲν van Herwerden: μὲν οὖν.
2 Λάαρχος] Ἀλιάρχος (or Λέαρχος?) Herodotus, iv. 160, but
Λάαρχος occurs in inscriptions.

a Cf. Herodotus, iv. 160; Polyaeinus, Strategemata, viii.
Frag. 52. b He was nicknamed 'The Harsh.'

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deserved by our family, we have no wish to escape death; for it were better, perhaps, not to live to experience another such night, unless you put a stop to this thing."

At this the most sympathetic of those present began to weep, but it did not occur to Alexander to pity the woman, for he felt that she was too great for that, but he marvelled at her bravery and her words, which touched him greatly, and he issued orders to his officers that they should take good care and be on the watch that no such insult should again be offered to a noted house. Timocleia he allowed to go free, both herself and all others who were found to be related to her.

XXV. ERYXO

Arcesilaus, the son of Battus who was nicknamed 'The Happy,' was not at all like his father in his ways. In fact, while his father was still living, he surrounded his house with a rampart, and was fined two hundred pounds by his father; and when his father had come to his end, for one thing Arcesilaus, being harsh by nature (and this gave him his nickname), and for another consorting with a vicious friend Laarchus, instead of being a king became a despot. Laarchus, secretly scheming to become despot, banished or murdered the noblest among the men of Cyrene, and diverted all the blame for this from himself to Arcesilaus; and finally he brought Arcesilaus into a wasting and grievous illness by a drink containing sea-hare,* and thus

* A kind of fish (Lepus marinus); Plutarch (Moralia, 983 f) says that it is fatal to human beings.
αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν ἀρχήν ἐσχεν¹ ὡς τῷ παιδί τῷ ἐκείνου Βάττω διαφυλάττων. ὁ μὲν οὖν παῖς καὶ διὰ τὴν χωλότητα καὶ διὰ τὴν ἠλικίαν κατεφρονεῖτο, τῇ δὲ μητρὶ πολλοὶ προσείχοιν αὐτοῦ, σώφρων τε γὰρ ἦν καὶ φιλάνθρωπος οἰκείους τε πολλοὺς καὶ δυνατοὺς εἶχε. διὸ καὶ θεραπεύων αὐτὴν ὁ Λάαρχος ἐμνηστεύετο, καὶ τὸν Βάττον ἦξίου παίδα θέσαι γήμας ἐκείνην, καὶ κοινωνὸν ἀποδείξατ' τῆς ἀρχῆς. ἦ δ' Ἕρμιξ' (τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα τῇ γυναικὶ) Βουλευσαμένη μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, 261 ἐκέλευε τὸν Λάαρχον ἐντυγχάνειν ἐκείνους, ὡς αὐτῆς προσειμένης τὸν γάμον. ἔπει δ' ὁ Λάαρχος ἐνετύγχανε τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς, ἐκείνου δ' ἐπίτηδες παρῆγον καὶ ἀνεβάλλοντο, πέμπει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ Ἕρμιξ' βεραπαινίδα παρ' αὐτῆς παραγγέλλουσαν, ὅτι νῦν μὲν ἀντιλέγουσιν οἱ ἀδελφοί, γενομένης δὲ τῆς συνόδου παύσονται διαφερόμενοι καὶ συγχωρήσουσι. δεῦν³ οὖν αὐτὸν, εἰ βούλεται, νῦκτωρ ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς αὐτὴν· καλῶς γὰρ ἔξειν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς γενομένης.

'Ἡν οὖν ταῦτα καθ' ἱδονῆν τῷ Λαάρχῳ, καὶ παντάπασι ἀναπτοηθές⁴ πρὸς τὴν φιλοφροσύνην Β τῆς γυναικὸς ὑμολόγησεν ἢξειν, ὅταν ἐκείνη κελεύῃ. ταῦτα δ' ἔπραττεν ἡ Ἕρμιξ' μετὰ Πολύαρχου τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου τῶν ἀδελφῶν. ὃρισθέντος δὲ καιρὸν πρὸς τὴν σύνοδον, ὁ Πολύαρχος εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον τῆς ἀδελφῆς παρεισῆξθη κρύφα, νεανίσκους ἔχων δύο σὺν αὐτῶν ἔξειν, φόνῳ

¹ ἐσχεν F.C.B.: εἰσχεν.
² ἀποδείξαι Bernardakis: ἀποδείξα.
³ δεῦν Benseler: δεί (or else ἢξειν below should be changed to ἢξει).
⁴ ἀναπτοηθές] ἀναπτερῳθές Cobet.
accomplished his death; then he took over the sovereign rule himself on the pretext that he was keeping it for Arcesilaus's son Battus. The boy, by reason of his lameness and his youth as well, was looked down upon, but to his mother many gave heed, for she was discreet and humane, and had many influential relatives. Wherefore Laarchus lavished attentions upon her, trying to win her as his wife, saying that it was only right and proper to make Battus his own son by marrying her, and to proclaim him colleague in the sovereignty. Eryxo (for that was the woman's name), after taking counsel with her brothers, bade Laarchus to have an interview with them, as if she herself looked with favour on the marriage. But when Laarchus interviewed them, and they purposely misled him and put him off, Eryxo sent a maid-servant to him to tell him from her that at present her brothers declared themselves opposed, but if the union should be consummated, they would cease their dissent and give over; he must, therefore, come to her by night if he were willing; for if the beginning were once made, all the rest would be well.

This was joyful news to Laarchus, and, all excitement in view of the woman's compliant mood, he agreed to come whenever she should give the word. Eryxo carried out all this in consultation with Polyarchus the eldest of her brothers. When a time had been determined upon for the coming together, Polyarchus was secretly introduced into his sister's room, having with him two young men with sword in hand who were intent on avenging

\[ aυτος \, \text{Bernardakis: } aυτος. \]
(261) πατρὸς ἐπεξίοντας, δὲν ὁ Δάρρχος ἑτύγχανεν ἀπεκτονῶς νεωστὶ.

Μεταπεμψιμένης δὲ τῆς Ἐυρέος αὐτῶν, ἀνευ δορυφόρων εἰσῆλθε, καὶ τῶν νεανίσκων αὐτῷ προσπεσόντων τυπτόμενος τοῖς ἔφεσιν ἀπέδανε. τὸν μὲν οὖν νεκρὸν ἔρριψαν ὑπὲρ τὸ τείχος, τὸν δὲ Βάττον προσαγαγόντες ἀνέδειξαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πατρίους βασιλέα, καὶ τὴν ἄρχὴς πολιτείαν ὁ Πολύαρχος ἀπέδωκε τοῖς Κυρηναίοις.

C Ἐπήγχανον δὲ Ἄμασίδος τοῦ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέως στρατιώται συνοι παρόντες, οἰς ὁ Δάρρχος ἔχριτο πιστοῖς, καὶ φοβερὸς ἦν οὐχ ἢ κιστὰ δὲ ἐκεῖνων τοῖς πολῖταις. οὕτως πρὸ Ἀμασίν ἐπεμψαν τοὺς κατηγορήσοντας τοῦ τε Πολυάρχου καὶ τῆς Ἐρυξόος. χαλεπαίνοντος δὲ ἐκεῖνον καὶ διανοούμενον πολεμεῖν τοῖς Κυρηναίοις, συνεβή τὴν μητέρα τελευτήσαι, καὶ ταφᾶς αὐτής ἐπιτελοῦντος, ἀναγγέλλοντας ἐλθεὶν παρὰ τοῦ Ἄμασίδος. ἔδοξεν

D οὖν τῷ Πολυάρχῳ βαδίζειν ἀπολογισμομένως τῆς δ' Ἐρυξόου μὴ ἀπολεπιμένης, ἀλλ' ἐπεσθαὶ καὶ συγκινδυνεύειν βουλομένης, οὖδ' ἢ μήτηρ Κριτόλα, καίπερ οὔσα πρεσβύτης, ἀπελείπτο. μέγιστον δ' αὐτῆς ἢν ἄξιωμα, Βάττον γεγενημένης ἀδελφῆς τοῦ Εὐδαίμονος. ὥς οὖν ἦλθον εἰς Ἀγυπτόν, οὔ τ' ἀλλοι θαυμαστῶς ἀπεδέξατο τὴν πρᾶξιν αὐτῶν, καὶ ὁ Ἄμαςις οὐ μετρίως ἀπεδέξατο τὴν τε σωφροσύνην καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν τῆς γυναικὸς. δύρως δὲ τιμήσας καὶ θεραπεία βασιλικῆ τὸν τε Πολυάρχον καὶ τὰς γυναίκας εἰς Κυρήνην ἀπέστειλεν.

1 προσαγαγόντες van Herwerden: προσαγαγόντες.
2 παρὰ] Hartman would omit.
the murder of their father, whom Laarchus, a short time before, had put to death.

When Eryxo sent for Laarchus, he came in unattended, and, the young men falling upon him, he was run through by their swords and killed. His body they threw over the wall and, bringing forward Battus, they proclaimed him king in succession to his father’s rights, and Polyarchus restored to the people of Cyrene their original form of government.

It happened that there were in the city numerous soldiers of Amasis, king of the Egyptians. These Laarchus had employed as trusty retainers, and they were not the least of his instruments through which he terrorized the citizens. These soldiers sent men to Amasis to accuse Polyarchus and Eryxo. He was much incensed and had thoughts of making war on the people of Cyrene, but just then it happened that his mother died, and it was during the days in which he was holding her funeral that messengers returned from Amasis with the tidings. So Polyarchus thought it best to go there to make his defence. When Eryxo would not be left behind, but expressed her wish to go with him and share the danger, their mother Critola, although well on in years, would not be left behind either. Her standing was of the highest, since she was the sister of Battus the Happy. When they came to Egypt, the people expressed wondrous approval of their exploit, and Amasis expressed extraordinary approval of the self-control and courage of the woman; and after honouring both Polyarchus and the women with presents and royal attentions he sent them back to Cyrene.
E Οὕχ ἦττον δ' αὖ τις ἀγάσαιτο τῆν Κυμαίαν Ἑνοκρίτην ἐπὶ τοὺς πραξάτησι περὶ Ἀριστόδημον τοῦ τύραννον, ὥ τινες Μαλακόν ἐπίκλησιν οἴονται γεγονέναι, τὸ ἀλήθειαν ἀγνοοῦντες. Ἐπεκλήθη γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων Μαλακός, ὡς ἄτιμαις, ὅτι μειράκιον ὥν παντάπασι μετὰ τῶν ἦλικων ἐτὶ κομίστων (οὐς κορωνιστὰς ὡς ἔοικεν ἀπὸ τῆς κόμης ωνόμαζον) ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους πολέμοις ἐπιφανῆς ἢ καὶ λαμπρὸς οὗ τόλμη μόνον οὐδὲ χειρὸς ἔργοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνέσει καὶ προνοίᾳ φανεῖς περιττός. Ὅθεν εἰς τὰς μεγίστας προσήθησιν ἀρχὰς θαυμαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ Ῥω-Φ μαίος ἐπικουριάν ἄγων ἐπέμφθη πολεμομενέοις ὑπὸ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν Ταρκύνων Σουπέρβου ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν καταγόντων. ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ στρατείᾳ μακρὰ γενομένη πάντη πρὸς χάριν ἐνδιδοὺς τοῖς στρατευομένοις τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ δημαγωγῶν μᾶλλον ἢ στρατηγῶν ἐπεισεν αὐτοὺς συνεπιθέσθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ συνεκβαλεῖν τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ δυνα-τωτάτους. ἐκ δὲ τούτου γενομένου τύραννος ἢν μὲν ἐν ταῖς περὶ γυναίκας καὶ παιδῶν ἐλευθέρους ἀδικίαις αὐτὸς ἐαυτοῦ μοιχηρότερος. Ἡστορηθηκαί γὰρ ὅτι τοὺς μὲν ἅρρενας παιδὰς ἦσκει κομίαν καὶ

1 τὸ ἀλήθεια Bernardakis, in sudden access of virtue, would write τάληθες; but cf. 229 a in his text.
2 στρατεία Bernardakis: στρατιά.
3 μοιχηρότερος van Herwerden: μοιχηρότατος.
4 κομίαν Meziriacus: κόμαι.

* Cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Roman Antiquities, v. 4-12; Diodorus, VII. 10.

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No less admiration might be expressed for Xenocrite of Cumae for her behaviour towards Aristodemus the despot, who, some think, had the nickname of 'Mild' given to him, but they do not know the truth. The fact is that by the barbarians he was called 'Mild,' which, in their tongue, means 'childlike,' because, when he was a mere youth with others of his age who were still wearing their hair long (whom they called 'harassers,' from their long hair presumably), in the wars against the barbarians he was conspicuous and brilliant, not merely by daring and the work of his hands, but showing himself to be above others in quickness of mind and forethought. Wherefore he advanced to the highest offices, being admired by his fellow-citizens, and he was sent to bring aid to the Romans when they were besieged by the Etruscans who would restore Tarquinius Superbus to his kingdom. In this campaign, which lasted a long time, he gave in altogether to the citizens who were in the military service, and, by playing the part of a demagogue rather than that of a general, he persuaded them to join him in attacking the Senate and in driving into exile the noblest and most influential. Following upon this, he made himself despot, and in the ways in which he misconducted himself towards women and free-born youth he surpassed his former record for viciousness. In fact it is recorded in history that he imposed on the boys the custom of wearing long hair and golden

\[b\] Strollers who went about singing begging songs. Cf. Athenaeus, 359 d-360 b. "Harassers" as a corruption of "Hair-raisers" is no more weird than Plutarch's Greek etymology!
χρυσοφορεῖν, τὰς δὲ θηλείας ἥναγκαζε περιπτρόχαλα κείρεσθαι καὶ φορεῖν ἐφηβικὰς χλαμύδας καὶ τῶν 262 ἀνακάλων χιτωνισκῶν. οὗ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐξαιρέτως ἐρασθεῖς τῆς Ξενοκρίτης εἴρηκεν αὐτήν φυγάδος οὖσαν πατρὸς, οὐ καταγαγὼν οὐδὲ πείσας ἐκεῖνον, ἀλλ' ὅπωςον ἤγουμενοι ἀγαπάν συνούσαν αὐτῷ τὴν κόρην, ἀτε δὴ ξηλομενήν καὶ μακαριζομένην ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν. τὴν δὲ ταύτα μὲν οὐκ ἐξεπλήττεν· ἄχθομεν δ' ἐπὶ τῷ συνοικεῖν ἀνέκδοτος καὶ ἀνέγγυς οὐδὲν ἦττον ἐπέθεε τῶν μισομενῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου τὴν τῆς πατρίδος ἐλευθερίαν.

"Εστικε δὲ κατ' ἐκείνον καιρὸν τάφρον ἄγων B κύκλω περὶ τὴν χώραν ὁ 'Ἀριστόδημος, οὔτ' ἀναγκαίον ἔργον οὔτε χρήσιμον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἤρθε δὲ τρίβειν καὶ ἀποκαίεειν πόνοις καὶ ἀσχολίαις τοὺς πολίτας βουλόμενος· ἂν γὰρ προσταταγμένον ἐκάστῳ μέτρῳ των ἀριθμῶν ἐκφέρειν τῆς γῆς. γυνὴ δὲ τις ἡς εἰδὲν ἐπίοντα τὸν 'Ἀριστόδημον, ἐξέκλυε καὶ παρεκαλύφατο τῷ χιτωνισκῳ τὸ πρόσωπων. ἀπελθόντος οὖν τοῦ 'Ἀριστόδημου, σκώπτοντες οἱ νεανίσκοι καὶ παῖζοντες ἡρωτῶν οἱ δὲ δὴ μόνον ὑπ' αἴδους φύγοι τὸν 'Ἀριστόδημον, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀλλούς οὐδὲν πάθοι τοιοῦτον· ή δὲ καὶ μάλα μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀπεκρίνατο, "μόνοις γάρ," ἔφη, "Κυ-

Χαλέν, ἀριστόδημος ἀνήρ ἐστι." Τούτῳ γὰρ λεξικὴ τὸ ῥῆμα πάντων μὲν ἤπιστο, C τοὺς δὲ γενναίους καὶ παρώξυνεν αἰσχύνη τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀντέχεσθαι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ξενοκρίτην ἀκούσασαν εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἐβούλετ' ἃν καὶ αὐτῇ γην

1 οὐδὲν] οὐδενὸς E. Kurtz.
2 γυνὴ δέ τις added by F.C.B.: Wyttenbach would write ἐν τούτοις δὲ καὶ γυνὴ τις. 3 ἐπίοντα Xylander: ἀπίοντα.
ornaments, and the girls he compelled to bob their hair and to wear boys’ clothes and the short under-garment. However, he was singularly enamoured of Xenocrite, whom he kept, the daughter of an exiled father, without restoring her father to his country or winning his consent, but believing that somehow the girl was contented to be with him, inasmuch as she was envied and deemed happy by the citizens. But all this did not make any great impression on her. She was distressed at being partner to a union in which there had been no giving in marriage nor plighting of troth, and she longed for her country’s freedom no less than did those who were the object of the despot’s hatred.

It happened at that juncture that Aristodemus was extending a moat all the way round the country, a work neither necessary nor useful, but the real reason was that he wished to wear out the citizens and waste their strength with toils and labours; for it was prescribed for each one to carry out a certain number of measures of earth. One woman, when she saw Aristodemus approaching, stepped well out of his way and covered her face with her garment. When he had gone, the young men made fun of her and asked her, in joke, why her modesty led her to avoid Aristodemus only, when she had no such feeling towards the rest of the men. She with a very serious purpose replied, “Because among all the people of Cumae Aristodemus is the only man!”

These few words thus spoken laid hold upon them all, and also incited the noble-minded, for very shame, to struggle for their liberty. It is said that when Xenocrite heard of it she said that she herself would

4 γὰρ] γοῦν Meziriacus. 6 οἰσχόνη] οἰσχόνη Dinsie.
(262) ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρὸς φέρειν παρόντος ἡ τρυφής συμμετέχειν Ἀριστοδήμῳ καὶ δυνάμεως τοσαύτης. ἐπέρρωσεν οὖν ταῦτα τοὺς συνισταμένους ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀριστοδήμου, ὡν ἤγειτο Θυμοτέλῃς· καὶ τῆς Ἐνοκρήτης εἰσόδου παρεχούσης αὐτοῖς ἀδειαν καὶ τὸν Ἀριστοδήμου ἀνοπλον καὶ ἀφύλακτον, οὐ χαλεπῶς παρεισπεσόντες διαφθείρουσιν αὐτόν. οὕτω μὲν ἡ Κυμαίων πόλις ἠλευθερωθή δυοῦν ἀρετὴ γυναικῶν, τῆς μὲν ἐπίνοιαν αὐτοῖς καὶ δύμην ἐμβαλούσης τοῦ ἑργοῦ, τῆς δὲ πρὸς τὸ τέλος συλλαβομένης.

Τιμῶν δὲ καὶ δώρεων μεγάλων τῇ Ἐνοκρήτῃ

D προτεινομένων ἐάσασα πάσας ἐν ἡτήσατο, θάψαι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου καὶ τοῦτ' οὖν ἐδοσαν αὐτὴ καὶ Δήμητρος ἱέρειαν αὐτὴν ἐиλοντο, οὖν ἤπτον οἱμένοι τῇ θεῷ κεχαρισμένην ἡ πρέπουσαν ἐκεῖνη τιμὴν ἔσεσθαι.

XXVII. ΠΤΟΣΕΩ ΓΥΝΗ

Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τῆς Πύθεω τοῦ κατὰ Ἐρέξην
gυναικα σοφὴν γενέσθαι καὶ χρηστὴν. αὐτὸς μὲν
gαρ ὁ Πύθης ὡς έουκε χρυσείως ἐντυχών μετάλλους
καὶ ἀγαπήσας τὸν έξ αὐτῶν πλοῦτον οὐ μετρίως
ἀλλ' ἀπλήστως καὶ περιττῶς, αὐτὸς τε περὶ ταῦτα
dιέτριβε καὶ τοὺς πολίτας καταβιβάζων ἀπαντᾷς
ὅμαλως ὀρύττειν ἡ φορεύν ἡ καθαίρειν ἡνάγκαζε
Ε τὸ χρυσίον, ἄλλο μηδὲν ἐργαζόμενος τὸ παράπαν

1 toûs added by Patzig.
2 πυθεω γυνη added by Xylander: not in the mss.

* Cf. Polyaenus, Strategemata, viii. 42; Herodotus, vii. 27-29 and 38-39, where the name is given as Pythius.
rather carry earth for her father, if he were only in his own land, than be associated with Aristodemus in all his luxury and power. These things gave added strength to those who were banding together against Aristodemus, at the head of whom was Thymoteles. And when Xenocrite provided them with a safe way to get in and assurance that Aristodemus was unarmed and unattended, they forced their way in without much difficulty, and dispatched him. Thus the city of Cumae was made free by the bravery of two women, the one who put into their minds the thought and impulse for the deed, and the other who co-operated with them to bring about its conclusion.

Honours and great gifts were tendered to Xenocrite, but she would have none of them; one request only she made, to bury the body of Aristodemus, and this they granted her, and chose her to be priestess of Demeter, feeling that the honour would be no less pleasing to the goddess than appropriate for Xenocrite.

XXVII. THE WIFE OF PYTHES

It is said the wife of Pythes, contemporary with Xerxes, was wise and good. Pythes himself, as it appears, came by chance upon some gold mines, and, delighting in the wealth from them not with moderation, but insatiably and beyond measure, he himself spent all his time over them, and put the citizens down there also, and compelled all alike to dig or carry or wash out the gold, performing no

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b On the source of the gold of Pythes see T. Leslie Shear in the *Classical Weekly*, xvii. p. 186.
Herodotus tells the story of Pythes’ (Pythius’s) relations with Xerxes at length in vii. 27-39.
other work and carrying on no other activity. Many perished and all were completely exhausted, when the women, coming to the door of the wife of Pythes, made supplication. She bade them depart and not lose heart; then she summoned the goldsmiths whom she trusted most, secluded them, and ordered them to make golden loaves of bread, cakes of all sorts, fruit, and whatever else in the way of dainties and food she knew Pythes liked best. When these had all been made, Pythes arrived home from abroad; for he had been travelling. And when he called for dinner, his wife caused a golden table to be set before him which contained nothing edible, but everything of gold. At first Pythes was delighted with the mimic food, but when he had gazed his fill, he called for something to eat; and she served to him a golden replica of whatever he chanced to express a desire for. By this time he was in a high dudgeon and shouted out that he was hungry, whereupon she said, "But it is you who have created for us a plentiful supply of these things, and of nothing else; for all skill in the trades has disappeared from among us; no one tills the soil, but we have forsaken the sowing and planting of crops in the soil and the sustaining food that comes from it, and we dig and delve for useless things, wasting our own strength and that of our people."

These things moved Pythes, and he did away with much of his activities at the mines, but not all, ordering a fifth of the citizens to work the mines in turn, and the remainder he transferred to agriculture and the trades.

When Xerxes a was on his way to invade Greece, Pythes, who had been most splendid in his enter-
(263) γενόμενος χάριν ἦττισατο παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, πλειόνων αὐτῷ παίδων οὖντων, ἐνα παρεῖναι τῆς Β' στρατεύας καὶ καταλιπεῖν αὐτῷ γηροβοσκεῖν. 1 ὁ δὲ Ξέρξης ὑπ' ὀργῆς τούτον μόνον, ὅν ἐξητήσατο, σφάξας καὶ διατεμὸν ἐκέλευσε τὸν στρατὸν διελθεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐπηγάγετο, καὶ πάντες ἀπώλοντο κατὰ τὰς μάχας.

'Εφ' οἷς ὁ Πῦθης ἀθυμήσας ἐπαθεν ὅμως πολλοῖς τῶν κακῶν καὶ ἀνοίτων· τὸν μὲν γὰρ θάνατον ἐφοβεῖτο, τὸ βίω δ' ἣχθετο. Βουλόμενος δὲ μὴ ζην, προέσθαι δὲ τὸ ζήν μὴ δυνάμενος, χώματος ὄντος ἐν τῇ πόλει μεγάλον καὶ ποταμοῦ διαρρέοντος, ὃν Πυθοπόλιτην ὠνόμαζον, ἐν μὲν τῷ χώματι κατεσκεύασε μνημείον, ἐκτρέψας δὲ τὸ ἱεῖθρον, ὥστε διὰ τοῦ χώματος φέρεσθαι ψαύοντα τοῦ τάφου τὸν ποταμὸν· ἐπὶ τούτοις συντελεσθείσιν αὐτὸσ μὲν εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον κατήλθε, τῇ δὲ γυναικὶ τὴν ἁρχὴν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀναθεὶς ἀπασαν ἐκέλευσε μὴ προσέναι, πέμπειν δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον αὐτῷ καθ' ἐκάστην ἔμέραν εἰς βάριν ἐνυθείσαν, ἁχρὶ οὖν τὸν τάφον ἡ βάρις παρέλθη τὸ δεῖπνον ἀκέραιον ἔχουσα, τότε δὲ παύσασθαι πέμπουσαν, ὡς αὐτοῦ τεθνηκότος. ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖτω τὸν λουτὸν βίον διήγεγ, ἢ δὲ γυνὴ τῆς ἁρχῆς καλὸς ἐπεμελήθη καὶ μεταβολὴν κακῶν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παρέσχε.

1 γηροβοσκεῖν] γηροβοσκὸν Cobet.
tainments and gifts, asked as a favour from the king that, as he had several sons, the king should exempt one from military duty, and leave him at home to be a comfort to Pythes in his old age. Xerxes, in his rage, ordered that this one son for whom the father made his request should be killed and cut in two, and that the army should march between the two halves; the others he took with him, and all perished in the battles.

Because of this Pythes lost all spirit, and went through an experience similar to that of many bad and foolish men; for he was afraid of death and burdened with life. He wished not to live, and yet could not let go of life. As there was a great mound in the city, and also a river flowing through it, which they called the Pythopolites, he made ready a mausoleum in the mound, and then turned the course of the stream so that the river was carried through the mound with its waters touching the tomb. Upon the completion of all this he went down into the mausoleum, committing the government and care of the whole city to his wife, and ordered her not to come near him, but to send his dinner for him every day, by placing it in a boat, until the time when the boat should pass by the tomb with the dinner untouched; then she should cease sending, taking it for granted that he was dead. He passed the remainder of his life in this way, and his wife administered the government excellently, and gave the citizens relief from their miseries.

a Cf. Seneca, De ira, iii. 16; Pliny, Natural History, xxxiii. 10 (47).
INDEX

Aberda, 289: a town in Thrace near the mouth of the river Nestus.
Academy, the, 137, 381: the school of philosophy founded by Plato at Athens, so called from the place of meeting.
Achaean, 171: a people in the N.W. of the Peloponnesus.
Achilles, 89, 479: one of the most prominent Greek leaders in the Trojan war.
Acrotatus, 295: eldest son of Cleomenes II., king of Sparta. Acrotatus, dying before his father (before 309 B.C.), never became king.
Acrotatus, 247, 249: grandson of the elder Acrotatus, and son of Areus I., king of Sparta. He succeeded his father in 265 B.C. but fell in battle the same year at Megalopolis.
Ada, 57: queen of Caria.
Adelantus, 89: Corinthian naval commander in the Persian war, 480 B.C.
Aegina, 99, 235: an island off the coast of Attica near Athens.
Aegidius, 541: a citizen of Cyrene.
Aegospotami (battle of), 373.
Aemilius, see Paulus.
Aeschylus quoted, 97: Athenian tragic poet, 527-456 B.C.
Aetolians, 253: a country in the S.W. of Greece, north of the Gulf of Corinth.
Agamemnon, 75, 249: brother of Menelaus, and commander-in-chief of the Greeks in the Trojan war.
Agasicles, 243: an early king of Sparta.
Agathocles, 37, 39: ruler of Syracuse and Sicily 316-239 B.C.
Agathon, 39, 40: Athenian tragic poet, circa 447-400 B.C.
Agesipolis I., 285-287: son of Pausanias, and king of Sparta 394-380 B.C.
Agesipolis II., 285: son of Cleombrotus, and king of Sparta 371-370 B.C.
Agis II., 125-127, 187-293, 329, 357: son of Archidamus II., and king of Sparta 427-401 B.C.
Agis III., 125-127, 133, 293, 329, 413: son of Archidamus III., and king of Sparta 338-331 B.C.
Agis IV., 283: son of Eumidas II., and king of Sparta 245-241 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.
Ahenobarbus, see Domitius.
Ajax, 479: son of Telamon, from the island of Salamis, one of the Greek heroes of Troy. Sophocles' Ajax portrays his last day.
Albinus, Aulus Postumius, 185: a Roman who wrote poems and a Roman history in Greek, and doubtless other works as well. He was praetor in 155 and consul in 151 B.C.
Alcimus, 295, 447: son of Teleclus, and king of Sparta for 38 years (?79-742 B.C. or 785-748 B.C.) at the time of the first Messenian war.
INDEX

Alexander, 359: a young Spartan who put out Lycurgus's eye.

Alcestis, 479: daughter of Pelias and Anaxibia, and wife of Admetus. She died to save her husband from dying. Cf. Euri- pides, Alcestis.

Alcibiades, 99-101, 413: a handsome Athenian, ward of Pericles and friend of Socrates, banished 415 B.C. for alleged sacrilege; most of his later life was spent in exile.

Alexander of Pherae, 145, 153, 542: was master of Thessaly from 369 to 358 B.C., when he was assassi- nationed.


Alexandria (Alexandrians), 191, 193, 231: a city in Egypt, founded by Alexander the Great in 332 B.C.

Amasis, 571: king of Egypt circa 569-525 B.C.

Amazons, 503: a mythical (?) race of warlike women. (There is a tradition that many of them were slain by Bellerophon when they invaded Ly西亚, in the reign of Iobates.)

Amisosdarius (Isaras, in Lycinian), 501: a king of Lycia (Hom. II. xvi. 328).

Ammon (shrine of), 61.

Amphiaraus, 97: an Argive, son of Oecles and Hypermnestra; a prophet and hero at Argos. Took part in the Calydonian boar hunt, the Argonautic expedition, and the expedition of the Seven against Thebes, where he met his death. Worshipped as a hero after death; oracular shrine at Oropus.

Amphissa (the women of), 511-513: a town in Locris near the borders of Phocis.

Amymone, 523: a stronghold in Elis.

Anabus, 549: a ruler in northern Africa, otherwise unknown.

Anacreon, 477: celebrated Greek lyric poet of Teos in Asia Minor; circa middle of 6th cent. B.C. to early 5th cent.

Anaxander, 299: king of Sparta, earlier part of 7th cent. B.C.

Anaxandridas, 297-299: king of Sparta circa 560-520 B.C.

Anaxarchus, 57: a philosopher from Abdera, of the school of Demo- critus, in favour with Alexander.

Anaxibius, 312 footnote.

Anaxilas, 299: a Spartan, son of Archidamus, 7th cent. B.C.

Anaximenes, 73: of Lampsacus, historian, rhetorician, and orator, 4th cent. B.C.

Androcles, 299: a Spartan, perhaps the opponent of Lysander.

Antagoras, 75: an epic poet from Rhodes, circa first half of 3rd cent. B.C.

Antalcidas, 121, 137, 273, 277, 299, 301, 361: a Spartan, author of the "Peace of Antalcidas" between Greece and Persia, 387 B.C.

Antigones, 63: one of the generals of Alexander the Great.

Antigone, 147: a famous flute-player from Thebes, latter part of 4th cent. B.C.

Antigonon, 69-75: called the "One-eyed," circa 380-301 B.C., general of Alexander the Great.


Antiochus, 137, 303: an ephor at Sparta.

Antiochus "The Hawk" (Hierax), 81, 83: younger son of Antiochus II., king of Syria (227 B.C.).

Antiochus III. (The Great), 81, 167, 171: king of Syria 223-187 B.C.

Antiochus IV. (Epiphanes), 203: king of Syria 176-163 B.C.

Antiochus VII., 87: king of Syria 137-128 B.C.

Antipater, 49, 51, 59, 61, 81, 115, 311, 413: trusted Macedonian officer, appointed regent by Alexander during his Asiatic expedition, 334 B.C., and con-
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Antipatrides, 61: a friend of Alexander the Great. 
Antiphanes, 91: a handsome youth favoured by Themistocles. 
Antony, Mark (Marcus Antonius), 229, 231: friend of Caesar, triumvir with Octavian and Lepidus, enamoured of Cleopatra; lived 83-30 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life. 
Apelles, 477: perhaps the most famous Greek painter, second half of the 4th cent. B.C. 
Aphrodite, 441: the Greek goddess of love. 
Apollo, 131, 247: the Greek god, brother of Artemis. 
Appius, (battle of), 59. 
Arcadia (Arcadians), 309, 311; the league, 149: a country in the centre of the Peloponnesus. 
Arcesilaus II., 567, 569: called "The Harsh," son of Battus II., and king of Cyrene in Africa circa 560-550 B.C. He was killed by his brother (or friend) Learchus (or Haliarchus). 
Archelaus, 39, 41: king of Macedon 413-399 B.C. 
Archidamidas, 305: an unknown Spartan. 
Archidamus II., 123, 305-309: son of Zeuxidamus, and king of Sparta 469-427 B.C. 
Archidamus III., 133, 136, 137, 309-311: son of Agesilaus, and king of Sparta 361-338 B.C. 
Archilochus, 443: from the island of Paros; wrote elegiac poetry as well as the iambic, of which he was reputed to be the inventor; circa 650 B.C. 
Aretus, 231 (233 probably the same man): of Alexandria, a philosopher and friend of Caesar Augustus. 
Ares, 441: the Greek god of war. 
Aretaphila, 541-551: of Cyrene, daughter of Aegeator, and wife of Phaedimus. 

Areas, I., 303: king of Sparta; son of Acrotatus, grandson of Cleomenes II., whom he succeeded, Acrotatus having died. He reigned 309-265 B.C. 
Argicleon, 124, 313, 455: the mother of Brasidas. 
Arginusa (battle of), 333. 
Argos (Argives), 127, 145, 287, 323, 333, 337, 339, 373, 379, 389, 401; the women of, 489-491: an important city in the east of the Peloponnesus. 
Ariameses, 15: son of Darius I. of Persia. 
Aristagoras, 455, 457: of Miletus, instigated the Ionian revolt in 500 B.C. 
Aristeides, 95-97: a high-minded Athenian, often called "the Just"; fought at Marathon and Salamis; died 408 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life. 
Aristodemus, 73: a friend of Antigonus the "One-eyed." 
Aristodemus, 573, 575, 577: tyrant of Cuma in Campania, 502-492 (?) B.C. 
Aristogiton, 111: unscrupulous Athenian orator against whom two of Demosthenes' orations are directed. He died in prison. 
Aristotimus, 517, 519, 521, 523, 525, 527, 529: tyrant of Elis for six months in 271 B.C. 
Aristotle, 49: the philosopher, 384-322 B.C. 
Aristotle quoted, 587. 
Armenia, 205, 235: a country in the N.E. of Asia Minor. 
Artaxerxes I. (Long-hand), 17: king of Persia 465-425 B.C. 
Artaxerxes II. (Mnemon), 9, 21: king of Persia 404-358 B.C. (The latter date is questioned.) Son of Darius and Parysatis, and brother of the younger Cyrus. 
Artemis, 81, 485, 501, 553, 555; Orthia, 443: the Greek goddess, sister of Apollo.
### INDEX

| Aruns, 515 | king of the Etruscan people. |
| Astyages, 491 | son of Cyaxeres, and last king of Media; reigned circa 584-550 B.C.; overthrown by Cyrus the Great. |
| Astycratidas, 311 | a Spartan, otherwise unknown. |
| Ateas, 25 | king of the Scythians, 4th cent. B.C. |
| Athenodorus, 233 | a Stoic philosopher and friend of the emperor Augustus. |
| Attalus II. Philadelphus, 83 | born 200 B.C., second son of Attalus I.; king of Pergamum 169-188 B.C. |
| Attica, 113. |
| Augustus (C. Iulius Caesar Octavius), 229-237 | born 63 B.C., was the first emperor of Rome, 23 B.C.-A.D. 14 (although he had been at the head of the State for at least ten years before that). |

### BABYLONIANS, 17.

| Bacis, 477 | a legendary seer, reputed author of oracles which were quoted in classical times. |
| Baetis, 183 | a river in southern Spain. |
| Banon, 507 | an interpreter in the army of Hannibal. |
| Baria (Barea, Bareia, Badia, Batheia), 165 | a town on the S.E. coast of Spain. |
| Battus II., 567, 571 | son of Arcesilaus I., and king of Cyrene in Africa circa 583-560 (?) B.C. He was called "The Happy." |
| Battus III., 569, 571 | son of Arcesilaus II., and king of Cyrene in Africa circa 550-530 B.C. He was called "The Lame." |
| Bebrycians, 539 | a people in the N.W. of Asia Minor. |
| Bellerophon, 508, 505 | son of Glaucus, king of Corinth. Antei wife of Proctus, fell in love with him, etc. |
| Bepolitanus, 559, 561 | a Galatian. |
| Bias (Anaxibius?), 313 | a Spartan general (?) see footnote on page 312. |
| Birdless Rock (in India), 65. |
| Black Broth (at Sparta), 427. |
| Blepsus, 537 | a Phocaeans, descendant of Codrus. |
| Boeotia (Boeotians), 147, 149, 361, 375 | a country in the east of Greece, N.W. of Attica. |
| Bowmen (on the coins of Persia), 261. |
| Brasidas, 123, 237, 313-315 | a distinguished Spartan general in the Peloponnesian war. He fell at Amphipolis in 422 B.C. |
| Brauron, 497, 501 | a place on the east coast of Attica. |
| Brundusium, 227 | a city in Calabria in the extreme S.E. of Italy. |
| Brutus (Decimus Iunius Brutus Albinus), 229, 479 | intimate and trusted friend of Julius Caesar, but later joined in the conspiracy against Caesar; put to death by order of Antony in 43 B.C. |
| Bulis, 417 | a Spartan, sent with Sperchis to Xerxes to atone for the killing of the Persian heralds. |
| Caepio, Q., 205 | Roman general (consul in 106 B.C.), badly defeated by the Cimbrians in 105 B.C. |
| Caesar, C. Iulius, 213, 219, 221, 223-229, 231 | famous Roman general, statesman, and writer, 100-44 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life. |
| Caesar, C., 235 | son of M. Agrippa and of Julia, daughter of the emperor Augustus; died in A.D. 4 of a wound received in Armenia. |
| Calbia, 545, 551 | mother of Nico-ocrates of Cyrene. |
| Callicratidas, 331-335 | upright Spartan commander who succeeded Lysander in command of the Spartan fleet off Asia Minor in 406 B.C. He met his death in the battle of Argo
cinusae soon after. |
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Callias (Calleas), 277: a Spartan (unknown except for this incident).


Callippus, 39: an Athenian who followed Dion to Syracuse, but afterward assassinated him, and became ruler of Syracuse for a short time.

Callistratus, 145: Athenian orator and demagogue, 4th cent. B.C.

Camerinum, 201: a town in Umbria in Italy.

Camama, 551-555: wife of Sinatus of Galatia.

Cannae (battle of), 159.

Caphisias, 495: a Carian maiden.

Caphisias, 85: a flute-player.

Cara, 249: a country in S.W. Asia Minor.

Carthage (Carthaginians), 163, 165, 185, 187, 191, 495: celebrated city on the northern coast of Africa, settled by the Phoenicians.

Casander, 61: (circa 350-297 B.C.) son of Antipater, and ruler of Macedonia (and Greece) from 317 B.C. till his death.

Cassius Longinus, 229: one of the assassins of Julius Caesar; defeated at Philippi, he ordered his freedmen to kill him.

Cato (M. Porcius Cato the Elder), 177-185, 187, 479: commonly called the Censor, 234(?)-149 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.

Cato, M. Porcius, 213, 229: commonly called Cato Uticensis, or Cato Minor, 95-46 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.

Catullus, Quintus, 208: consul in 102 B.C. with C. Marius. He was a highly educated man, author of orations and poems, and of a history of his consulsiphip and the Cimbrian war.

Catulus, Quintus, 223: a leading Roman aristocrat, often opposed to Caesar; consul in 78 B.C., censor in 65 B.C., died in 60 B.C.

Celtiberians, 183, 189: a powerful people in central Spain.

Celtic women, 493-495.

Ceos, the women of, 509-511.

Cephisophon, 443: an unidentified orator.

Cephisus, 139, 301: a river west of Athens.

Chabrias, 105-107, 147, 149: celebrated Athenian general, early 4th cent. B.C.

Chaeroneia (battle of), 45, 309, 561, 565.

Chares, 105, 111: unscrupulous Athenian general, middle of 4th cent. B.C.

Charillus (Charilans), 121, 305, 393-395: an early king of Sparta, by tradition put in the time of Lycurgus.

Charon, 403: a Theban, instrumental in helping to dislodge the Spartans from Thebes in 370 B.C.

Charon of Lampsacus quoted, 537: Greek historian of the 5th cent. B.C.

Chimaera, 503: the fabulous monster, lion, goat, and serpent combined.

Chimarrhus, 501: a pirate, otherwise unknown.

Chiomara, 555-557: wife of Ortiagon.

Chios (Chians), 392, 463, 485, 487: the women of, 485, 389: a large island off the coast of Asia Minor.


Cimbro (Cimbrian), 201, 205: a Celtic people who attempted to invade Italy circa 105 B.C.

Clancius (Appius Claudius Pulcher), 189: consul in 143 B.C.; father-in-law of Tiberius Gracchus. He lived in constant enmity with Scipio Africanus Minor.

Clea, 473, 475: priestess at Delphi, and a friend of Plutarch's.

Cleander, 331, 335: a Spartan associated with Callixeridas in command of the fleet in 406-405 B.C.; harmost of Byzantium in 400 B.C.

Cleitomachus, 191: of Carthage, born circa 187 B.C.; came to Athens and became a pupil of
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Carneades, and was for two years at the head of the Academy; a prolific writer, mostly of philosophical works.

Cleitorians, 391: a people in northern Arcadia, in the central Peloponnesus. Those who drank at the fountain in Cleitor lost for ever any desire for alcohol.

Cleon, 269: a rhetorician of Halicarnassus (circa 400 B.C.).

Cleonea, 485: a town near Hyampolis in Phocis.

Cleombrotus, 335: son of Pausanias, and king of Sparta 380-371 B.C. He fell at the battle of Leuctra.

Cleomenes I, 303, 333-341, 347, 455, 469, 491: son of Anaxandridas, and king of Sparta circa 517-488 B.C. (the dates are uncertain).

Cleomenes II, 135, 343: son of Cleombrotus, and king of Sparta 370-309 B.C.

Cleonymus, 315: younger son of Cleomenes II, king of Sparta; excluded from the throne in 309 B.C., when his father died.

Clodius (Publius Claudius (Clodius) Pulcher), 223: unprincipled Roman of patrician birth; obtained adoption by a plebeian to become tribune of the plebs in 59 B.C., so as to avenge himself on Cicero, who was forced into exile. Clodius was also enamoured of Caesar's wife, Pompeia.

Cloelia, 513-517: one of the maidsen given as hostages to Lars Porsena.

Conon, 273: distinguished Athenian general. With Persian assistance he defeated the Spartan fleet off Cnidus in 494 B.C., and rebuilt the long walls at Athens in 393 B.C.

Corinth (Corinthians), 127, 147, 265, 267, 287, 307, 329, 375; battle of, 131.

Coroneans, 487: a people on the west coast of Asia Minor (probably Greek colonists).

Coronea (battle of), 265: a town in Boeotia.

Cornelia, 479: a Roman matron, mother of the Gracchi; 2nd century B.C.

Cornelius, see Scipio.

Cosmetics, forbidden in Sparta, 365.

Cotys, 25: king of the Odrysae in Thrace, 352-358 B.C.

Crassus, P. Licinius, 173: praetor 176, consul 171 B.C., when he was appointed to conduct the war against Perseus, by whom he was defeated in a battle in Thessaly.

Crataidas, 499: Spartan leader of a colony to Melos and Crete.

Craterus, 67, 311, 527: a distinguished general of Alexander the Great.

Crates, 51: a relative of Harpalus.

Cratidas, 377: an ephor at Sparta.

Crete, 459, 499: the large island south of Greece, home of early Aegean civilization.

Cripola, 571: mother of Eryxos.

Cronus (=Semitic Baal, El, or Moloch), 27.

Cryssus, 495, 497: a city in Caria.

Culleo, see Terentius.

Cumae, 572, 575, 577: a city in Campania in Italy.

Curius (Manius Curius Dentatus), 155: consul in 290 B.C., in which year he defeated the Samnites (ending the Samnite war), and also conquered the Sabines who had revolted. In 275 B.C. he defeated Pyrrhus at Beneventum. He celebrated two triumphs in 290 B.C., a third in 275, and perhaps still another in the interval between the second and the third.

Cyclops, 69: the one-eyed giant who was blinded by Odysseus.

Cylon (Cyllon), 525, 527, 529: one of the leaders in the revolt against Aristotimus tyrant of Elia.

Cynisca, 267: sister of Agesilaus.

Cyrene, 541, 567, 571: a city in northern Africa founded by Battus in 651 B.C.

Cyprus the Elder, 13, 491, 493: also called "The Great," first king of the Persians, founder of the Persian empire, killed in 529 B.C.

Cyprus the Younger, 19, 331, 333: the second of the sons of Darius Nothos, king of Persia; attempted to wrest the kingdom from his
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brother Artaxerxes, and fell at the battle of Cunaxa, 401 B.C.

Daiphantus, 483, 485: a Phocian, son of Bathylus, and leader of the Phocians against the Thessalians some years before the Persian wars. Plutarch wrote his life, now lost.

Daiphantus, 151: a Theban officer, slain at the battle of Mantinea in 362 B.C.

Damatra, 459: a Spartan woman.

Damidas, 315: a Spartan, otherwise unknown.

Damis, 315: a Spartan, otherwise unknown.

Damonidas, 135, 315: a Spartan, otherwise unknown, but apparently prominent in his day.

Daphnis, 547: a servant of Leander the brother of Nicocrates.

Darius I., 13, 15: king of Persia 521-485 B.C., associated with Gobryas in overthrowing Smerdis (Herodotus iii. 67-78).

Darius III., 59, 225: (circa 380-330 B.C.) king of Persia conquered by Alexander the Great.

Deiotarus, 555, 557: presumably the elder Deiotarus, tetrarch of Galatia in the earlier part of the 1st cent. B.C.

Delium, 537: a stronghold in Naxos.

Delos, 351: an island in the Aegean sea, one of the Cyclades.

Delphi, 247: a town in Phocis, the seat of the celebrated oracle of Apollo.

Delphus, 499: Spartan leader of a colony to Melos and Crete.

Demades, 69, 81, 115, 183, 293: a brilliant Athenian orator, opponent of Demosthenes; put to death by Antipater, 315 B.C.

Demaratus, 317-319, 345, 491: king of Sparta circa 510-491 B.C. Deposed on the charge of illegitimacy, he went to Persia and accompanied Xerxes on his expedition against Greece in 480 B.C.

Demaratus, 53: of Corinth, a friend of Philip of Macedon.

Demeter, 577: the Greek goddess of agriculture, worshipped especially at Athens and Eleusis.

Demetrius of Phalerum, 119: Athenian orator and writer, 350 (?)-233 B.C., put in charge of Athens by the Macedonians (317 B.C.), but forced to flee, 308-307 B.C., by Demetrius Poliorcetes.

Demetrius Poliorcetes, 73, 75-77: king of Macedonia, and famous as a general; son of Antigonus the “One-eyed”; lived 337-283 B.C.

Demosthenes, 109: the famous Attic orator, 385-322 B.C.

Dercyllidas, 363: a prominent Spartan general, active in Asia Minor from 411 to about 396 B.C.

Dercyllidas (Mandrocles in Plut. Life of Pyrrhus, chap. xxvi.), 315: a Spartan, one of the ambassadors sent to Pyrrhus in 272 B.C., when Pyrrhus undertook to restore Cleonymus as king of Sparta.

Diodotus, 217: teacher of Q. M. Metellus Nepos.

Diogenes, 399: of Sinope 420 (?)-323 B.C., the famous Cynic philosopher, to whom are ascribed numerous pungent and witty sayings.

Diogenes, 535, 537: general of the Erythraeans.

Diomedon, 145: from Cyzicus; sent by Artaxerxes with money for Epameinondas.

Dion, 89: of Syracuse in Sicily, brother-in-law of the elder Dionysius. Plutarch wrote his life.

Dionysius the Elder, 29-35, 127, 305, 371, 427: born 480 B.C., rose to be tyrant of Syracuse, 405-367 B.C.

Dionysius the Younger, 35, 37: son of Dionysius the Elder, succeeded his father as ruler, but was finally driven out by Timoleon in 343 B.C.

Dionysius, priestess of, 521.

Diphridas, 265: one of the Spartan ephors.

Dodona, 247: the seat of the oracle of Zeus in Epeirus.

Dolabella, P., 229: profligate son-in-law of Cicero; espoused Caesar’s side in the Civil War, but after
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Caesar's death joined the assas-
sins. Besieged in Laodicea by
Cassius, he ordered one of his
soldiers to kill him to save him
from his enemies.

Domitius (Cn. Domitius Aheno-
barbus), 171: consul 192 B.C.;
legate of L. Scipio in the war
against Antiochus the Great.

Domitius (Cn. Domitius Aheno-
barbus), 209: consul in 87 B.C.;
son-in-law of L. Cornelius Cinna.

Proscribed by Sulla for choosing
the side of Marius, he fled to
Africa and raised an army, but
was defeated by Pompey in 81
B.C.

Dromichaetas, 79: king of the Getae
in Thrace circa 300 B.C.

Dyrrachium, 227: the Greek Epi-
damnus, a city in Illyria.

ECPREPES, 319: an ephor at Sparta.

Egypt, 133, 215, 231, 281.

Egyptian kings, 23.

Eirene, 479: mistress of Ptolemy
brother of Ptolemy Philadephus
(Athenaeus, 593 b).

Elaphobolia, 455: a festival at
Hyampois (in Phocis) in honour
of Artemis.

Ellis, 125, 289, 327, 517, 521: country
in N.W. of the Peloponnesus. In
it was Olympia where the
Olympic games were held.

Epaminondas, 139-151, 153, 279,
281, 561: of Thebes in Boeotia,
circa 420-362 B.C., famous general
and statesman, founder of the
Theban League.

Epeirus (Epirotes), 157: a country
in the N.W. of Greece.

Ephesus (Ephesians), 81: a city on
the coast of Asia Minor.

Epicharmus, 29: comic poet from
the island of Cos, but lived most
of his life in Sicily under the
patronage of Hiero.

Epicydes, 89: popular leader at
Athens in 480 B.C.; his name is
known only in connexion with
Themistocles.

Eretria (Eretrians), 93.

Eros, 223: a slave of Cicero's.

Eros, 231, 238: procurator in Egypt
at the time of Augustus Caesar.

Erythrae (Erythraeans), 487, 535:
a city on the coast of Asia Minor
opposite Chios.

Eryxio, 567-571: wife of Arcesilaus
II. of Cyrene.

Eteocles, 413: an ephor at Sparta.

Etruscans, 573; Etruscan women,
497-501.

Euboedas, 319: a Spartan, other-
wise unknown.

Eudamidas, 137, 319-323: brother
of Agis III., and king of Sparta for
a few years beginning with 331
B.C.

Eumenes II., 83: king of Pergamum
197-159 B.C.

Euphrates (river), 211.

Euripides, 39: Athenian tragic poet,
circa 485-400 B.C.

Euripides quoted, 219 (?), 477.

Eurotas, 139, 301, 367, 427, 429, 459:
a river east of Sparta.

Eurybiades, 89, 91: a Spartan,
commander of the allied Greek
fleet in the Persian war, 480 B.C.

Eurycycles, 235: probably one of the
commanders at the battle of
Actium.

Eurycratidas, 823: king of Sparta in
the first half of the 6th cent. B.C.

Evius, 61: a flute-player from
Chalcis in Euboéa.

FABRIUS, see Maximus.

Fabricius (C. Fabricius Luscinus),
155-159: a grand and simple
Roman of the old school. Consul
in 232 and 278 B.C. Sent as am-
bassador to Pyrrhus (280? B.C.),
and later (278 B.C.) conducted the
war against Pyrrhus which re-
sulted in the evacuation of Italy
by Pyrrhus. He was also censor
in 275 B.C. when he tried to com-
batt the rising tide of luxury.

Faustus Cornelius Sulla, 219: son
of Sulla the dictator (circa 88-46
B.C.); sided with Pompey in the
civil war, and put to death by
Caesar's soldiers.

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Flaminius, T. Quintius, 169-171: Roman general, consul 193 B.C.; conquered Philip V. of Macedon at Cynoscephalae in 197 B.C., and proclaimed the freedom of Greece at the Isthmian Games in the following year. He died about 174 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.

Galgia (Galatians), 81, 551, 555, 557, 559, 561: a people of Asia Minor.

Gellius (L. Gellius Poplicola), 211: consul 72 B.C.; censor 70 B.C.; defeated Crixus and a part of Spartacus’s army, but was later defeated himself.

Gelon, 27, 29: ruler of Gela 491-483 B.C., and of Syracuse 485-478 B.C.

Geradatas (Geradas), 367: a Spartan of early times.

Gnaeus Manlius Vulso, 557: Roman general; consul in 189 B.C.

Gorgias, 475: of Leoncini in Sicily; famous as an author and rhetorician, born about 480 B.C., and said to have lived over one hundred years.


Gracchus, C., 197: one of the two brothers who attempted to bring about a reform in the laws relating to public lands in Italy. He died a violent death in 121 B.C.

Granicus (the battle of), 55.

Gyrtias, 457-459: the mother of Areus I., king of Sparta (or else of his wife).

Hannibal, 159, 161, 165, 167, 169, 493, 505, 507: son of Hamilcar Barca, and a very famous Carthaginian general, who attempted to conquer Rome. He lived 247-183 B.C.

Harmodius, 103: one of the two slayers of Hipparthus at Athens in 514 B.C.; one of his descendants also had this name.

Harpalus, 51: a Macedonian, son of Machatas; treasurer of Alexander the Great, and for a time governor of India.

Hecataeus, 305: of Abdera (circa 300 B.C.); philosopher, historian, and reputed to have been also a critic and grammarian.

Hecate, 147: a chthonic deity, often worshipped at cross-roads.

Hegesippus, 107: patriotic Athenian orator, 4th cent. B.C., strongly opposed to Philip of Macedon.

Hellanicus, 528, 525, 527: leader in the revolt against Aristotimus tyrant of Elis.

Hellespont, 203: the modern Dardanelles.

Helots, 255, 297, 441, 445, 497: the name given to the slave population in Sparta.

Hephaestion, 59, 67: son of Amyntor and intimate friend of Alexander the Great and cavalry commander under him.

Heracleia, 505: a Greek city on the south shore of the Black Sea.

Heracles, 65, 137, 159, 301, 373, 377: the famous strong man of the Greeks.

Hermaeus, 491: (an Argive month).

Hermodotus, 71: an obscure poet.

Hieron, 333: pilot of Callicratidas’ ship at the battle of Arginusae.

Herodotus quoted, 491: Greek historian of the 5th cent. B.C.

Herondas, 325: a Spartan, otherwise unknown.

Hesiod, 335: of Ascra in Boeotia, epic poet of the 8th or 9th century B.C.

Hidrieus (Idrieus), 131, 253: ruler of Caria, middle of 4th cent. B.C.

Hiero, 29: ruler of Gela and Syracuse 478-467 B.C.

Hipparchus, 49: one of the three men appointed by Philip, about 343 B.C., to rule Eretria in Euboea.

Hippocitus, 485: king of Chios.

Hippocrates, 329-331: an early king of Sparta.

Hippodamus, 329: see the note on p. 328.
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Homer, 75, 89, 101, 335: the traditional author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

Homer, the *Iliad* quoted, 61, 245, 249.

Homer, the *Odyssey* quoted, 191.

Hortensius, Q. Hortalus, 219: famous Roman orator (114-50 B.C.). Consul in 69 B.C.; defended Verres against the prosecution by Cicero in 70 B.C.

Hyampolis, 458: a town on the eastern border of Phocis.

Hypsicreon, 533: of Miletus.

**Iapygia**, 533: wife of Pythes of Myus.

Idanthrysus, 25: king of the Scythians circa 500 B.C.

Imbros, 497: an island west of the north part of Asia Minor.

"Impudence," festival of, 491.

Indarnes (Hydarnes), 417: a Persian, commander for Xerxes in Asia Minor.

India (Indians), 63, 65.

Iobaidas, 151: a Theban officer, slain at the battle of Mantinea, 362 B.C.

Iphicrates, 103-105, 149: celebrated Athenian general, early part of 4th cent. B.C.

Iron money, 355.

Isenars, see Amisodarus.

Ismenias, 25: a celebrated flutoplayer, 4th cent. B.C.

Isthmian Games, 169.

Italy (Italians), 197.

Ithaca, 39: an island on the west coast of Greece.

Jason of Pherae, 143, 145: ruler ("Tagus") of Thessaly early in 4th cent. B.C.

Jerusalem, 87.

Jews, 87.

Julia, 235: the daughter of Augustus, who married Tiberius (later emperor) as her third husband. Her reputation was not lily-white.

**Laarchus (Learchus, Haliarchus?),**

567, 569, 571: friend (or brother) of Aresilus II. of Cyrene.

Labotas, 343: an early king of Sparta.

Lacedaemon (Lacedaemoniai), see Sparta.

Laelius, C. (Sapiens), 189: consul 140 B.C.; intimate friend of Scipio Africanus Minor; the principal character in Cicero's *De amicitia*.

Laenas, see Popillius.

Laevinus, P. Valerius, 157: consul in 250 B.C. when he was defeated by Pyrrhus who had invaded Italy.

Lamachus, 101: brave and devoted Athenian general; born circa 470; fell in the Syracusan expedition, 414 B.C.

Lampis, 529: supporter of Aristotimus tyrant of Elis.

Lampis, 411: a wealthy ship-owner of Aegina.

Lampsace, 537-541: daughter of Mandron, king of the Pityeosenians.

Lampsacus, 541: a city at the east end of the Hellespont.

Larissa, 203: a town in northern Thessaly.

Lasthenes, 47: of Olynthus, accused by Demosthenes of having betrayed his country to Philip of Macedon.

Leander, 547, 549, 551: brother of Nicocrates of Cyrene.

Lemnos, 497, 501: an island west of the north part of Asia Minor.

Lentulus (Ch. Cornelius Lentulus Cidianus), 211: consul 70 B.C. and censor 72 B.C. with L. Gellius Poplicola; defeated by Spartacus.

Leo, 345: son of Eucentidas, and king of Sparta in the 7th cent. B.C.


Leonidas, 55: tutor of Alexander the Great.

Leontis, 475: an unknown woman.

Leosthenes, 113: an Athenian, commander-in-chief of the Greek
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forces at the beginning of the Lamian war, 323-321 B.C.
Leotychidas I, 343, 361: son of Anaxilas, and king of Sparta at the time of the second Messenian war, 7th cent. B.C. (Herodotus viii. 131).
Leotychidas II, 345: son of Menares (Ariston in Plutarch is thought to be a mistake), and king of Sparta circa 491-469 B.C. (The dates are uncertain.) Herodotus viii. 131.
Leucadian Cliff, 421, 537: the southern extremity of the island of Leucas, west of Greece. To leap from it was traditionally thought to be a cure for love.
Leucania, 485, 487: a town on the west coast of Asia Minor, probably on the peninsula opposite Chios.
Leucothea, 369: Ino, the daughter of Athamas of Boeotia, threw herself into the sea and was changed into a deity, bearing the name of Leucothea.
Leuctra (battle of), 143, 279, 401.
Licinius (C. Licinius Sacerdos), 191: a Roman knight.
Licinius, see Crassus.
Livius, M. Macatus, 161: commander of the garrison in Tarentum in the second Punic war.
Lochagus, 351: an unknown Spartan.
Locrians, 267: peoples of central Greece.
Lucius, 519: an officer in the mercenary force of Aristotimus tyrant of Elis.
Lucullus, Lucius Licinius, 205-207, 211, 218: Roman general; consul in 74 B.C.; friend and confidant of Sulla the dictator. Defeated Mithradates and Tigranes in several battles, 74-68 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.
Lusius, 201: nephew of C. Marius.
Lutatius, see Catulus.
Lycian women, 501-505.
449: the reputed founder of the Spartan constitution. Plutarch wrote his life.
Lygdamis, 419: tyrant of Naxos, in the latter half of the 6th cent. B.C. He was ousted by the Spartans, probably in 524 B.C.
Lyre, strings of, 319, 437.
Lysander, 127, 269, 381, 371-379, 417: Spartan general and naval commander; brought to a close the Peloponnesian war by winning the battle of Aegospotami, 404 B.C.; fell in the battle of Halmauris, 395 B.C.
Lysanoridas (v.l. Lysander), 403: one of the Spartan governors (harmonists) of Thebes after it was treacherously seized by Phoebidas in 382 B.C.
Lysimachus, 79, 401: a Macedonian, one of the generals of Alexander the Great, at whose death he became king of Thrace. In 291 B.C. he tried to subdue the Greeks, but was compelled to surrender. He fell in battle against Seleucus in 281 B.C.
Macedon (Macedonians), 169, 173, 175, 263, 311, 321, 447.
Machaeta, 51: an unknown Macedonian, unless Machatas, the father of Harpalus, is meant.
Maeandrius, 341: succeeded his brother Polycrates as despot of Samos in 522 B.C. The name is everywhere spelled Maeandrius except twice in Plutarch.
Maecenas, C. Cilnius, 233: a wealthy Roman, patron of letters; friend of Horace, Virgil, and other poets, as well as of the emperor Augustus, to whom he bequeathed his property on his death in 8 B.C.
Mandron, 539, 541: king of the Pityoessenian Bebrycians.
Manlius (Cn. Manlius Vulso), 557: consul in 189 B.C. when he conquered the Galatians in Asia Minor.
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Mantineia (battle of), 125, 281, 287.
Marathon (battle of), 89.
Marcellus, M. Claudius, 159, 161: distinguished Roman general, five times consul, conqueror of Syracuse; appointed colleague of Q. Fabius Maximus to conduct the war against Hannibal in 216 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.
Marius, C., 199-203, 209: famous Roman general, seven times consul, the first time in 107 B.C. at the age of 50. Defeated Jugurtha and saved Rome from the Cimbri and Teutones. Died in 86 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.
Marsyas, 71: brother of Antigonus the "One-eyed."
Masaesylians, 507: a people of Numidia (western part) in Africa.
Maximus, Q. Fabius (Venucosus), 159-163: consul in 233, 228, 215, 214, and 209 B.C. Dictator to conduct the war against Hannibal in 217 B.C. From his cautious policy in this war he received the name of "Cunctator." He died in 203 B.C.
Megabates, 251: son of Spithridates.
Megalopolis, 311: a large city in Arcadia in the Peloponnesus.
Megara (Megarians), 127, 271, 375: a country in Greece N.E. of the Isthmus of Corinth.
Megisto, 523-531: the wife of Timoleon.
Melos, the women of, 495-497.
Memmius, 195: a military tribune under Scipio Africanus Minor.
Memnon, 23: of Rhodes; an ally of Darius against Alexander the Great.
Menecrates, 129, 271, 273: a very successful physician from Syracuse. He seems to have gone (about 359 B.C.) to the court of Philip of Macedon.
Menyllus, 113: a Macedonian, commander of the garrison in Athens which was imposed by Antipater after the Lamian war (322 B.C.).
Messene (Messeniens), 137, 149, 295, 303, 389: a country west of Sparta in the Peloponnesus.
Metapontum, 399: a Greek city on the Gulf of Tarentum in southern Italy.
Metellus (L. Caecilius Metellus Creticus), 225, 227: tribune of the plebs in 49 B.C.; attempted to thwart Caesar's designs.
Metellus, Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus, 197-199: Roman general; praetor in 145 B.C. when he defeated the pretender to the Macedonian throne, and later the Greeks, their conquest being completed by Mummius in 146 B.C. Consul in 143 B.C. with the province of Hither Spain. Died in 115 B.C. Often confused with Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus, whose life Plutarch wrote.
Metellus (Q. Marcus Metellus Nepos), 217: brother of Metellus Celer; supported Pompey, and, for a time, opposed to Cicero, but when consul (in 57 B.C.) he did not oppose the recall of Cicero from exile.
Micca, 517-519: daughter of Philodemus.
Micion, 113: commander of the Macedonian forces which invaded Attica in 322 B.C.
Miletus (Milesians), 57, 531, 553, 555: the women of, 509: a city on the coast of Asia Minor.
Miltiades, 57, 89: one of the ten generals in command of the Athenians at Marathon. He held the supreme command on the day of the battle.
Minucius (M. Minucius Rufus), 159: consul 221 B.C. In 227 B.C. he was magister equitum to the dictator Q. Fabius Maximus in the war against Hannibal.
Mithradates, 75: founder of the line of kings of Pontus.
Mithradates VI., 559, 561: king of Pontus circa 120-63 B.C.
Musle, Spartan, 433-437.

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Myro, 529: elder daughter of Aristotimus.
Myronides, 95: noted Athenian general in the 5th cent. B.C.
Myus, 531: an Ionian city in Caria.

Namertes, 379: an unknown Spartan.
Narthaclium, 265: a mountain in Thessaly.
Nasica (P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Corculum), 175: 2nd cent. B.C., a wise and learned man, twice consul; consistently opposed to Cato's policy regarding Carthage.
Naxos (Naxians), 533, 535, 537: a large island in the Aegean sea.
Neera, 583: wife of Hypsicreon of Miletus.
Nectanabis, 131, 283: last king of the Sebennite dynasty in Egypt, middle of 4th cent. B.C.
Neileus (or Neileos), 581: son of Codrus (the last king of Athens) and founder of the city of Miletus in Asia Minor.
Nestor, 479: of Pylos, the wise old man of the Homeric poems.
Nicanor, 43: a Macedonian.
Nicias, 181, 253: a friend of Agesilaus.
Nicocrates, 541, 543, 545, 547: tyrant of Cyrene in Africa.
Nicodemus, 151: a cripple.
Nicomachus, 477: a distinguished Greek painter, middle of the 4th cent. B.C.
Nicostratus, 137: Argive general, middle of the 4th cent. B.C.
Nonius, 221: an officer in Pompey's army at the battle of Pharsalus.
Numantia (Numantians), 193, 197: most important town of the Celtiberians in Spain; destroyed by Scipio Africanus Minor in 133 B.C.
Nymphaeus, 495, 497: of Melos, leader of a colony of Melians to Caria.
Nymphis, 505: Greek historian of Heracleia in Pontus, 2nd cent. B.C.

Ochus, 493: son of Artaxerxes II. (Mnemon), and king of Persia 358 (?)-338 B.C.
Odysseus, 479: a most important character in the Homeric poems.
Oedipus, 145: king of Thebes in Boeotia, subject of Sophocles' plays which bear that name.
Olympia, 479: wife of Philip of Macedon and mother of Alexander the Great.
Olympic games, 125, 289, 323, 847, 381, 413, 421.
Olynythus, 285: a flourishing town in the Chalcidian peninsula at the head of the Gulf of Torone, captured by the Spartans in 379 B.C., and by Philip in 348 B.C.
Optillettis, 385: epithet of Athena.
Orestes, 145: son of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra; he slew his mother to avenge the death of his father.
Orontes, 21: Persian satrap of Mysia; honoured with Athenian citizenship 340-345 B.C.
Orontes, 317: a prominent Persian; probably unknown except in this connexion.
Ortiagon, 555, 557: one of the three princes of Galatia at the time of the Roman invasion in 189 B.C.

Paedaretus (Paedaritus, Pedaritus), 135, 385, 463: Spartan general at the time of the Peloponnesian war.
Panaitius, 193: of Rhodes, a Stoic philosopher, friend of Scipio Africanus Minor.
Panthoidas, 381: Spartan governor (harmost) who fell at Tanagra 377 B.C. (Plut. Life of Pelopidas, chap. xv.)
Parium, 539: a town of Mysia on the Hellespont.
Parmenio, 41, 53, 57, 59, 81: trusted general of Philip and Alexander; accused of plotting against the life of Alexander, he was assassinated by command. He lived 400-380 B.C.
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Parysatis, 21: wife of Darius II. (Ochus, or Notius).
Paulus (L. Aemilius Paulus Macedonicus), 173: distinguished Roman general; aedile 192, praetor 191, consul 182 and 168 B.C.; conquered Perseus (last king of Macedonia) at Pydna in 168 B.C. He lived 230-160 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.
Pansanius, 381: son of Cleombrotus; regent of Sparta from 479 B.C.; commanded the Greeks at the battle of Plataea; died 468 B.C.
Pansanius, 383-385: son of Pleistoanax; king of Sparta (444 nominally) 408-394 B.C.
Pegasus, 503: Bellerophon's winged horse.
Peisistratus, 117-199: benignant "tyrant" of Athens, off and on, from 560 to 526 B.C.; rated by some as one of the Seven Wise Men.
Pelagians, 499: the traditional name of the early inhabitants of some parts of Greece (including Attica).
Peloponnesus, 145, 147, 171.
Pergamum, 559, 561: a city near the west coast of Asia Minor, opposite Lesbos.
Periander, 309: a physician, 4th cent. B.C.
Perillus (or Perilaus?), 57: a Macedonian, brother of Casander (?).
Perinthus, 291: an important town in Thrace.
Perseus, 83, 173, 175: son of Philip V. and last king of Macedonia (from 178 to 168 B.C).

| Persian women, 491-493. |
| Petillius (Q.?), 167: accuser of Scipio Africanus. |
| Phaedimus, 541, 543: of Cyrene, husband of Aretaphila. |
| Pharnabazus, 273: Persian satrap, governing the provinces about the Hellespont from 412 to 393 B.C. |
| Pharnaces, 229: king of Pontus 63-47 B.C.; son of Mithradates the Great. |
| Pharsalians, 265: the people of Pharsalia in Thessaly. |
| Pharsalus (battle of), 215, 221, 227. |
| Philip V., 169, 487, 489: king of Macedon, able and eminent, defeated by the Roman general Flamininus at Cynoscephalae in 197 B.C. He lived from 237 to 179 B.C. |
| Philip, 69, 71: a son of Antigonus the "One-eyed." |
| Philip, 345: a priest of the Orphic mysteries. |
| Philippides, 79: Athenian, poet of the New Comedy, circa 300 B.C. |
| Philodemus, 517: a citizen of Elis, otherwise unknown. |
| Philon, 47: a Theban. |
| Philophanes, 243: a sophist, otherwise unknown. |
| Philopoemen, 171: (circa 252-183 B.C.) of Megalopolis; distinguished general of the Achaean League. |
| Phobus, 537, 539: a Phocaean, descendant of Codrus. |
| Phocian "Desperation," 485. |
| Phocion, 109-115: upright Athenian general and statesman, 402-317 B.C. He was put to death on a charge of treason. Plutarch wrote his life. |
| Phocis, the women of, 483-485, 511-513. |
| Phoebidas, 391: Spartan general who in 382 B.C. treacherously
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seized the Cadmeia in Thebes; fell in battle against the Thebans sometime after 378 B.C.
Phraates III. (Arsaces XII.), 211: king of the Parthians circa 70–60 B.C.
Phrygia, 249: a country in central Asia Minor.
Phrygius, 533: son of Neileus of Miletus.
Phrynis, 319: a celebrated dithyrambic poet, second half of 5th cent. B.C.
Pieria, 551-553: daughter of Pythes of Myus.
Pindar quoted, 397: famous Greek lyric poet, 522–442 B.C.
Piso (C. Calpurnius Piso Frugi), 221: husband of Cicero’s daughter Tullia; quaestor in 55 B.C.
Piso, 237: probably Cn. Calpurnius Piso, consul in 7 B.C.
Pityoessenians, 539, 541: apparently a sub-division of the Bebrycians.
Plataea (battle of), 383.
Plato, 35: the celebrated philosopher, 427–346 B.C., friend and follower of Socrates, and founder of the Academic school of philosophy.
Pleistarchus, 387: son of Leonidas, and king of Sparta 480–458 B.C. He was only a child at the time his father fell at Thermopylae, and Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus was regent during most of his reign.
Pleistoanax, 387: son of the elder Pausanias, and king of Sparta circa 458–408 B.C.
Pollis, 499: Spartan leader of a colony to Melos and Crete.
Polyarchus, 569, 571: eldest brother of Eryx and wife of Arcesilaus II. of Cyrene.
Polybius, 185, 187, 559: of Megalopolis, celebrated Greek historian, circa 201–120 B.C.; he was a hostage in Rome 168–150 B.C.
Polycrates, 337: ruler of Samos latter part of 7th cent. B.C.; son of Aeacides.
Polycratidas (better perhaps Polystratidas), 391: an unknown Spartan.
Polycrite, 533–537: a maiden of Naxos.
Polydorus, 389: son of Alcamenes, and king of Sparta in the second part of the 8th cent. B.C.
Polysperchon, 85: distinguished general under Alexander the Great and his successors.
Polyxenus, 35: perhaps the brother-in-law of Dionysius the Elder.
Pompela, 223: daughter of Q. Pompeius Rufus and of Cornelia the daughter of the dictator Sulla. She was married to Julius Caesar as his third wife, and divorced by him in 61 B.C.
Pompey, Quintus, 189: son of Aulus Pompey; of humble origin, no mean orator, consul in 141 B.C., and censor in 131 B.C.
Popillius (C. Popillius Laenas), 203: consul 172 and 158 B.C., Roman general, in command against Antiochus IV. Epiphanes in 168 B.C.
Popillius, Castus, 219: a Roman of plebeian family, otherwise apparently unknown.
Porcia, 479: daughter of Cato Uticensis, and wife of M. Brutus.
Poredorix, 559, 561: tetrarch of the Tosiopians.
Porsena, Lars, 513, 515, 517: king of Clusium in Etruria (end of 6th cent. B.C.?).
Porsus, 67: a king of India at the time of Alexander the Great.
Priam, 259: king of Troy at the time of the Trojan war.
Promedon, 533, 535: of Naxos.
Protogenes, 77: a celebrated Greek painter, latter part of 4th cent. B.C.
Ptolemy (Soter), 69, 119: son of
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Lagus, and king of Egypt 323-285 B.C.

Ptolemy VII. (Physcon), 192; king of Egypt circa 145-116 B.C.
Ptolemy, 79: son of Pyrrhus king of Epeirus; he held commands under his father, and was killed in battle in 272 B.C. at the early age of 23.
Pylaean, 448: a place in Sparta (?).
Pylae, 327: a town in S.W. of the Peloponnese.

"Pyrrhic Victory," 85.


Pytheas, 107: unprincipled Athenian orator, 4th cent. B.C.; opposed to Demosthenes.

Pytheas, 583: a prominent citizen of Myus.

Pythes (Pythius) and his wife, 577-581: a wealthy Lydian, son of Atys. He seems to have lived at Celaenae in Phrygia.

Python, 61: a Macedonian, commander under Alexander the Great, and later under Alexander's successors.

Python, 85: a flute-player.

Pythopolites, 581: a river (the Marsyas?) flowing through Celaenae.

QUINTIUS, see Flaminius.

Quintus, 167: accuser of Scipio Africanus.

RHODES (Rhodians), 75, 77: an island off the southern part of Asia Minor.

Rhoeometalces I., 231: king of Thrace towards the close of the 1st cent. B.C.

Roma, 481: one of the Trojan women.

Rubicon, 225: the river which marked the boundary between Gaul and Italy.

Rufus, see Minucius.

SACERDOS, see Licinius.

Salmantica, the women of, 505-507: a city in Spain, the modern Salamanca.

Samnites, 155: a people of Italy.

Samos (Samians), 105, 395, 401, 403: a large island off the S.W. coast of Asia Minor.

Samothrace (mysteries) 299, (oracle of) 375.

Sappho, 477: of Lesbos, the famous poetess, often called the tenth Muse.

Satibarzanes, 19: chamberlain of Artaxerxes I.

Seilurus, 27: king of the Scythians 2nd or 1st cent. B.C.

Scipio, Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus Maior, 163-169: Roman general, consul 205 B.C.; conquered the Carthaginians at Zama 202 B.C. He lived 235-183 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life to parallel the Life of Epameinondas; both are now lost.

Scipio, Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus (Minor), 185-197, 199: son of Aemilius Paulus, adopted by P. Cornelius Scipio, son of Scipio Africanus Maior; Roman general, consul in 147 and 184 B.C.; censor 142 B.C.; conqueror of Carthage in 147-146 B.C.; friend of Polybius the historian. He lived 185-129 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life, which is now lost.

Scipio (Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica), 229: sometimes called Metellus Scipio, because he was adopted by Metellus Pius; consul (with Pompey) in 52 B.C. An enemy of Caesar, he killed himself after Caesar's victory at Thapsus in 46 B.C.

Seiraphidas, 448: an unknown Spartan.

Sicyon, 263: commander of hoplites in the army of Agesilaus.

Seirames, 11: a Persian, otherwise unknown.

Seleucus I., 77: commander under Alexander the Great, and after his death one of his successors, becoming ruler of Syria; the first of the line of Seleucid kings († 280 B.C.).

Selinus, 303: important Doric colony in S.W. Sicily.
Semiramis, 15, 477: an early Assyrian (or Babylonian) queen (or princess), about whose name a mass of legend has gathered.
Seriphus, 91: a small island in the Aegean sea.
Sertorius, Q., 211: a Sabine by birth; began his military career in 105 B.C.; opposed to the aristocracy; retired to Spain in 82 B.C., organized the barbarians, and successfully withstood the Romans. He was assassinated in 72 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.
Servilius (P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus), 209: Roman general, consul in 79 B.C., subdued the pirates in Cilicia and its neighbourhood, and organized the Roman province of Cilicia († 44 B.C.).
Servius Tullius, 479: the sixth king of Rome.
Sesostris, 447: a legendary (?) king of Egypt (see Herodotus ii. 102-111), by some identified with Rameses II. of the 19th dynasty.
Shields (Spartan) 317, ("either this or upon this") 465.
Silo, Q. Pompaedius, 203: leader of the Marsi in the Social war in Italy, 90-88 B.C. He fell in the last battle of that war.
Simonides of Ceos, 91: distinguished lyric and epigrammatic poet, 556-467 B.C.
Simonides (of Ceos), quoted, 233.
Sinatus, 551, 553, 555: a tetrarch of Galatia.
Sinorix, 551, 553, 555: a tetrarch of Galatia.
Smicythus, 43: a Macedonian.
Social war, 201: (in Italy, 90-88 B.C.).
Socrates, 305: the well-known Athenian philosopher, 465-399 B.C.
Socrates, 491: a Greek historian, of Argos (works not preserved).
Sois, 391: third king of Sparta (Euryponid).
Sophocles quoted, 58, 215: Athenian tragic poet, 495-406 B.C.

Sperchios, 417: a Spartan, sent with Bulis to Xerxes to atone for the killing of the Persian heralds.
Spithridates, 251: Persian commander sent by Pharnabazus to block the passage of the Ten Thousand; later he forsook the Persians and joined the Greeks under Agesilaus.
Sthennus, 207: of Thermae in Sicily; friend of C. Marius; leader of the Mamertines.
Stratonice, 555-557: wife of Deiotarus.
Sulla, L. Cornelius, 203, 207, 209: (188-78 B.C.) surnamed Felix, served in the army under C. Marius, but later became his rival and overthrew him; was appointed dictator and proscribed many persons. Plutarch wrote his life.
Sulla, Faustus, see Faustus.
Syracuse (Syracusans), 27, 31, 33, 37: a city in Sicily.
Syria (Syrians), 171: a country at the eastern end of the Mediterranean sea.

Taanarum, 497: the south-western promontory of Laconia.
Tarcentum (Tarentines), 161: an important city in southern Italy.
Tarquin (L. Tarquinius Superbus), 513, 515, 573: the last king of Rome circa 534-510 B.C.
Taygetus, 367, 499: the mountain range west of Sparta.
Teleclus, 121, 393: king of Sparta 8th cent. B.C.
Telesilla, 489: an Argive poetess and heroine, circa 500 B.C.
Telesippa, 63: a woman otherwise unknown.

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<td>Theophrastus, 41: of Lesbos, born 372 b.c., pupil of Aristotle, and a distinguished philosopher and writer.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Theopompus, 123, 327, 447: king of Sparta in the 8th (?) cent. b.c.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thericles, 195: a famous Corinthian potter.</td>
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<td>Thermopylae (battle of), 347, 349, 351.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thessaly (Thessalians), 63, 143, 263, 483, 485: a country in N.E. Greece.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thoryeion, 329: a Spartan, otherwise unknown.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thrace (Thracians), 23, 24, 125, 263, 313, 385: the country at the north of the Aegean sea.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thrasybulus, 117: son-in-law of Peisistratus.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thrasybulus, 411: a Spartan, son of Tynnichus.</td>
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<td>Thrasybulus, 529: supporter of Aristotimus tyrant of Elis.</td>
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<td>Thrasylus, 73: a Cynic philosopher.</td>
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<td>Thucydides, 237, Greek historian of the Peloponnesian war, born 471 b.c.</td>
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<td>Thucydides quoted, 475.</td>
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<td>Thyads, 511: frenzied devotees of Dionysus.</td>
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<td>Thymoteles, 577: leader of the revolt against Aristodemus tyrant of Cumae.</td>
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<td>Tiber, 481: a river in Italy.</td>
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<td>Tigranes, 205: king of Armenia from 96 to 66 B.C., when he submitted to the Roman general Pompey († circa 56 B.C.).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Timocleia, 479, 561-567: sister of Theagenes of Thebes.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Timoleon, 528: a prominent citizen of Elis.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Timotheus, 41, 437: lyric poet from Miletus in Asia Minor (447-357 B.C.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timotheus, 105: Athenian, general from 378 to 356 B.C. († 353).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tissaphernes, 247, 249, 251: Persian satrap of lower Asia Minor from 414 B.C.; opposed to the younger Cyrus, whose generals he treacherously put to death after Cyrus was killed. He succeeded to Cyrus's satrapy also, and carried on war against the Greeks,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
but was himself put to death in 395 B.C.
Tosiopians, 559: one of the divisions of the Galatians in Asia Minor.
Trajan, 9: Roman emperor, A.D. 98-117.
Trallians, 268: a people in Thrace.
Trebonius, 201: a young man in the army of C. Marius.
Trojan women, 481.
Tynnichus, 411: a Spartan, father of Thrasybulus.
Tyrtaeus, 383, 417: a poet, who according to tradition was summoned from Attica to help the Spartans in the second Messenian war.

Valeria, 513-517: daughter of the consul Publicola, and one of the hostages given to Lars Porsena.
Vatinus, P., 217: a Roman of dubious character. As tribune of the plebs (in 59 B.C.) he seems to have sold his services to Caesar. He sided with Caesar in the Civil War and was consul suffectus for a short time in 47 B.C.
Velling of married women, 398.
Verres, C., 217, 219: procurator in Sicily, 75-71 B.C.; prosecuted by Cicero for malfeasance in office and convicted in 70 B.C.
Voconius, 219: probably Q. Voconius Naso, who was judge at the trial of Cluentius in 66 B.C. (Cicero, Pro Cluentio, 53-54.)

Xanthians, 505: people of Xanthus, the most important city of Lycia.
Xenocrates, 263: commander of the cavalry in the army of Agesilaus.
Xenocrates, 67, 137, 319, 321: of Chalcedon, 399-314 B.C., disciple of Plato; succeeded Speusippus as head of the Academic school of philosophy.
Xenocrates, 573-577: beloved by Aristodemus tyrant of Cumae, was instrumental in bringing about his assassination.
Xenophon, 267: Greek historian and general writer, 430-350 (?) B.C.

Zacynthus (Zacynthians), 171: island on the west coast of Greece, the modern Zante.
Zeno, 79: from Citium in Cyprus, founder of the Stoic school of philosophy at Athens, circa 270 B.C.
Zeus, 61, 131, 247: the supreme Greek god.
Zeuxidamus, 323-325: an early king of Sparta, or else the son of Leotychidas II. If the latter, he died before his father, and so never became king.
Zeuxis, 477: a most celebrated Greek painter; latter part of 5th century B.C.
Zopyrus, 15: a distinguished Persian; personal friend of Darius I.
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